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FOREWORD

As I write this I am watching a late winter (or early spring depending on one's outlook) snowstorm. The younger inhabitants on campus had delighted in above-average temperatures for weeks but today had to put away the shorts and flipflops for boots, gloves and scarves. Whether we actually get the promised eight-inch accumulation will be another of Mother Nature's surprises, but it always reminds me that we are only in control of how we respond – whether it is to persons, the environment, or the bigger picture of God's plans.

In this context I am grateful to one of my facebook friends who recently posted a plea that we all commit “random acts of kindness” — a phrase, some say, coined by Anne Herbert, which also included the concept of “senseless acts of beauty.” We are seldom completely aware of the impact what we do and say has on others, but imagine what it could be if we consciously infused what we do and say with kindness. While Lent is over for now, perhaps we could spread some of the Lord's resurrected glory around by being consciously kind to those we meet.

This issue continues our attempt to celebrate Clare's anniversary year with articles about her life and gifts to the Franciscan family. In addition, we have a potpourri of other offerings in the hope of contributing to a continuing dialogue about Franciscan values and how they can be enlivened in twenty-first century life.

Our thanks, also, to those who completed and returned the survey about *The Cord*. When our new advisory board members convene, the collated responses to the survey will be a major part of the discussion and help us in planning future issues of *The Cord*.

As April morphs into May, let us look to Mary, the mother of Jesus, as our model of faithful discipleship in being bearers of the Good News.

Daria R. Mitchell, O.S.A.

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**THE TESTAMENT OF CLARE
AND THE ORDER OF FRIARS MINOR**

JEAN-FRANÇOIS GODET-CALOGERAS

Until recently the *Testament* of Clare had not received great attention. There was no manuscript tradition of a Latin text; there were only some copies in old French and old German, languages most likely unknown to Clare. There weren't many studies of Clare's *Testament*, except to discuss its authenticity. Finally, in recent decades, Latin manuscripts were brought to light, critical editions appeared, and the authenticity of Clare's *Testament* was established, although not without scholarly disputes. And now, this precious document can receive the attention it deserves, for it is Clare's last cry before dying. As it happens with testaments, Clare must have composed hers when she knew that Sister Death was approaching. She had already put the *Form of Life* of San Damiano in writing, and the document had received, in 1252, the approval of Lord Rainaldus, the cardinal protector of the Lesser Brothers and of the Poor Sisters. But in 1253 Clare was still waiting for the approval of Pope Innocent IV. In case she would die before and without a papal written confirmation, she must have decided to summarize in one writing what was the most important, the most fundamental, the most essential elements of her *Form of Life*. And, as Francis did before dying, she wrote a testament. Francis addressed his testament to his brothers, Clare addressed hers to her sisters. But not only to her sisters, as she wrote:

I recommend all my sisters, both present and those to come, to holy mother the Roman Church, to the supreme Pontiff, and especially to the Lord Cardinal who has been appointed for the religion of the Lesser Brothers and for us (TestCl 44).

And a little further:

I commend and leave my sisters, both those present and those to come, to the successor of our blessed father Francis and to the eentire religion (TestCl 50).

Like Francis, Clare wanted her sisters to remain in the realm of the Church, and she recommended them to the pope, but especially to the cardinal who the pope had assigned to be the “governor, protector and corrector” of the Order of Lesser Brothers (LR 12:3; FLCl 12:12). But Clare also explicitly recommended her sisters to the Lesser Brothers themselves.

Our purpose in this brief essay is to examine what are the elements of the way of life of San Damiano Clare wanted to emphasize, and why she wrote them not only for her sisters, but also for the Lesser Brothers.

The essential elements of the way of life of San Damiano that Clare recalls in her *Testament* are also contained in the sixth chapter of her *Form of Life*, a text that can truly be called the heart of the *Form of Life*. (Let us note, however, that in the bull of approval of Innocent IV, the *Form of Life* of Clare is a continuous text without any division into chapters; that division will occur later to make it look more like a rule.)

First of all, Clare and her sisters have embraced the evangelical life of penance. That conversion has brought them to live in holy poverty, that is, the poverty of Jesus: owning nothing, appropriating nothing. That commitment to holy poverty has to be observed until the end. They will not appropriate anything nor accept more than

they need. Such is the “life and the most high poverty” of Jesus they want to observe.

Clare and her sisters have been called to that life by the example and the teaching of Francis. In her *Testament*, Clare mentions the name of Francis seventeen times. Every time, it is to bring his authority – and his holiness – as a warranty to their way of life in evangelical poverty. Every time, the name of Francis is highlighted with words like holy, blessed, most blessed, father. In her usual assertive way, Clare wants to bring back to mind that Francis, by his words and his example, was for her the instrument of God’s call, of God’s “mercy and grace.” Therefore, Clare calls herself the *plantula*, the little plant of Francis. In medieval language, it means that she and the sisters of San Damiano have been founded by Francis; Francis was their founder. We are not dealing here with a poetic or romantic image, but with an official status. To make it clear, Clare invokes the fact that she and her sisters responded to God’s call by embracing Francis’s way of life and promising him obedience. Francis must have been a little surprised or embarrassed because – always according to Clare – he needed to realize that those women were dealing very happily with the difficulties of that life in evangelical poverty. It took Francis a little while, but eventually he saw that Clare and her companions were not inferior to his brothers when they were put to the test. Consequently, he responded positively to Clare, and, as she wrote:

he bound himself, both personally and through his religion, always to have the same loving care and special solicitude for us as for his own brothers (TestCl 29).

The commitment of Francis was actually going further than promising to care for Clare and her sisters the same way he cared for his brothers. He was also committing the brothers to the care of the poor ladies of San Damiano. Because they were all living the same way of life ac-

cording to the Gospel, they were all included in the same circle of mutual care and attention, the same *fraternitas*.

But what Clare recalled in her *Testament* was the situation of forty years prior, when those men and women belonged as brothers and sisters to a *fraternitas* living in evangelical poverty and caring for the needs of one another, the brothers on the road, the sisters in San Damiano. The men were itinerant, the women were enclosed, but they were sharing the same form of life according to the Gospel. Since those early years, many things had changed, and Clare knew it. The brothers had become a religious order, the Order of Lesser Brothers, officially recognized by the Church. After Francis's death, the Order of Lesser Brothers expanded with great success, and evolved into a clerical order, serving the Church in priestly ministries, preaching and teaching theology. Some had even become bishops. That evolution had changed the lifestyle of the Lesser Brothers and their way of relating to people in general, and to the Poor Sisters in particular.

After Francis's death, Clare struggled to maintain the identity not only of San Damiano, but also of the *fraternitas*. She knew that the brothers and the sisters needed each other to continue to faithfully observe the evangelical poverty they had promised. And Francis's companions knew it as well, and kept a close relationship with Clare. San Damiano became the repository of Francis's inspiration. In his *Life of Blessed Francis* composed soon after Francis's canonization in 1228, Thomas of Celano praised the "glorious religion and most excellent Order of Poor Ladies" living at the church of San Damiano. And he is not shy to sing at length the virtues of "Lady Clare ... the most precious stone and the strongest of the whole structure" (1C 18-20). A few years later, in her first letter to Agnes of Prague, Clare echoed the allegory of the *Sacrum commercium sancti Francisci cum domina Paupertate*:

What a great and praiseworthy exchange: to receive the hundred-fold in place of one, and to possess a blessed, eternal life (1LAg 30).

A little later, when Agnes was having a difficult time with Pope Gregory IX who was trying to impose his own constitutions on the new community in Prague, Clare told her to follow, before any other advice, the counsel of Brother Elias, the general minister (2LAg 15-16). Elias was the brother Francis put at the head of the whole *fraternitas*. So, Clare considered him as the general minister of the sisters as well as of the brothers.

Other stories underline the place of the women in the early times. Written in 1246, possibly by Brother Rufino, Clare's cousin, the so-called *Legend of the Three Companions* tells the story of Francis working at the restoration of the church of San Damiano, and prophesying that the place would become "a monastery of ladies through whose fame and life our heavenly Father will be glorified in the universal church" (L3C 24). Clare will relate the story again in her Testament, but she will add that, at that time, Francis did not even have brothers or companions yet (TestCl 9-17), suggesting that the sisters' existence was announced before that of the brothers!

In 1247, in his *Memoriale in desiderio animae*, Thomas of Celano inserted again the praises of the Poor Ladies of San Damiano, putting in Francis's mouth that "that one and the same spirit had led the brothers and those little poor ladies out of this world" (2C 204).

Finally, in the *Legenda sanctae Clarae* that Thomas wrote shortly after Clare's canonization in 1255, it is clearly stated that two companions of Francis were standing at Clare's bedside when she died: Brother Leo and Brother Angelo (LC1 45).

All those documents illustrate not only that, after Francis's death, his companions kept Clare and her sisters in high esteem, but also that together – and maybe under Clare's moral leadership – they maintained, the best they could, the *fraternitas* of the early times during

institutional developments that pushed the sisters and the brothers apart. That explains why Clare repeatedly requested the help and support of the Lesser Brothers to be faithful to the evangelical life of poverty they all had promised, reminding them that Francis had committed not only himself, but also his brothers.

Francis had indeed promised, for himself and for the brothers, to take care of Clare and her sisters, with the same loving care as for the brothers. Clare brought that promise back, both for the sisters and for the brothers, in her *Form of Life* (FLCl 6:2) and in her *Testament* (TestCl 33). That Francis honored his promise is demonstrated by two other documents. One is a *lauda* he composed for the Poor Ladies in the early months of 1225. At that time, Francis was very ill and was staying at San Damiano. And yet, that is the time he composed his beautiful *Canticle of the Creatures* (CtC), and soon after, “out of great love” his canticle of exhortation for the Poor Sisters (CtExh). The second and last document we have, quoted by Clare in her *Form of Life*, was written by Francis shortly before he died and was, in Clare’s words, his last will for the sisters:

I, little brother Francis, want to follow the life and poverty of our most high lord Jesus Christ and of his most holy mother, and to persevere in this until the end. And I ask you, my ladies, and I give you the my advice that you live always in this most holy life and poverty. And keep careful watch that you never depart from this by reason of the teaching or the advice of anyone (FLCl 6:7).

From what Clare did after Francis’s death, it is obvious that she not only got the message, but she took it as a mission.

**THE POSSIBILITY OF FRANCISCAN PRESBYTERS
ACCORDING TO CHAPTER V
OF THE *REGULA BULLATA*:
A REPLY TO SOLANUS BENFATTI, C.F.R.**

DANIEL P. HORAN, O.F.M.

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between the Franciscan vocation to live as friars minor and the ministerial call to serve the church and world as ordained presbyters has always been a complicated, if at times divisive, subject to explore. The history of the founding of a community of brothers who sought to follow in the footprints of Jesus Christ modeled by the particular expression of one medieval Italian's baptismal vocation and its subsequent and rather rapid experience of clericalization is complex and contentious.¹

¹ For the latest study, taking into consideration the recent critical edition of the *Regula non Bullata* of Carlo Paolazzi ["La 'Regula non bullata' dei Frati Minori (1221), dallo 'stemma codicum' al testo critic," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 100 (2007): 5-148], see William Short, "The Rule of the Lesser Brothers: The *Earlier Rule*, *Fragments*, *Later Rule*, the *Rule for Hermitages*," in *Rules, Testaments and Admonitions*, ed. Michael Blastis, Jay Hammond and J.A. Wayne Hellmann (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2011), 17-160. Concerning the notion of Francis's baptismal vocation, see Regis Armstrong and Ingrid Peterson, *The Franciscan Tradition* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2010), xi-xv.

There are few studies that explore the clericalization of the Order of Friars Minor to any great extent. The most notable is the revised doctoral dissertation of Lawrence Landini, *The Causes of the Clericalization of the Order of Friars Minor: 1209-1260 in the Light of Early Franciscan Sources* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968). Among other studies that consider this development are included Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Franciscan Order (1226-1538)*

Each attempt to explore the historical context, influence and eventual impact of the shift renders a necessarily idiosyncratic and oftentimes partisan perspective, which seeks to sincerely elucidate an ostensibly “authentic” reading of the identity of Franciscan friars who are at one and the same time ordained presbyters. This paper is an attempt to contribute to the ongoing scholarly and popular conversation within and without the immediate Franciscan community that strives toward a clarification of the relationship between seeming disparate vocations, joined in the lived experience of friars who profess to live according to the Rule and Constitutions of the Order of Friars Minor, yet are ordained for a particular form of ministry in the universal church.

The impetus for this particular contribution is an essay that appeared in the April/June 2011 issue of the journal *The Cord* titled, “Franciscan Priesthood Today,” written by Solanus Benfatti, a member of the Community of the Franciscan Friars of the Renewal (C.F.R.).² Benfatti acknowledges the tension and challenge referenced above as he begins his reflection: “Trying to articulate the identity of the Franciscan priest is not easy but perhaps can be made easier if certain foundational facts can be identified.”³ His starting point and goal for the article is a twofold presentation of what he describes as “historical and theological” foundational facts for understanding both “the compatibility of Franciscan life and priesthood” and “the nature of the priesthood, its difference from the common priesthood of all the faithful, and the nature of consecrated life.”⁴ He sets out to accomplish this aim by drawing on theological and magisterial sources to sup-

(Rome: Capuchin Historical Institute, 1987); and, more recently, Grado Giovanni Merlo, *In the Name of Saint Francis: History of the Friars Minor and Franciscanism until the Early Sixteenth Century*, trans. Raphael Bonnanno, ed. Robert Karris and Jean François Godet-Calogeras (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2009).

² Solanus Benfatti, “Franciscan Priesthood Today,” *The Cord* 61.2 (April/June 2011): 117-28.

³ Benfatti, “Franciscan Priesthood Today,” 117.

⁴ Benfatti, “Franciscan Priesthood Today,” 120-21.

port his outlook. It is precisely the matter of sources that warrants a response in the form of this present essay.

Benfatti is to be commended for his willingness to engage a question that continues to unsettle the Franciscan family as it continually seeks to understand the role of ecclesiastical, pastoral and sacramental ministry in light of the foundational Franciscan vocation to live the *vita evangelica* in *fraternitas*. However, I wish to raise some serious questions about Benfatti's particular starting point, method and conclusion in light of the tradition with which he seeks to engage. I suggest that a review of the historical context, contemporary conciliar magisterial teaching, recent Franciscan scholarship and an examination of the foundational sources of the tradition leave us with an entirely other picture of the relationship between the vocation to Franciscan life and the identity of a friar who is also an ordained presbyter. Whereas the conclusion proffered by Benfatti, following Lawrence Landini's 1976 essay, "The Franciscan Priest in the Midst of Renewal,"⁵ is that one should understand one's "Franciscan vocation" and "vocation to the priesthood" as a singular reality, or as Landini describes it, "a fundamental unity between our Franciscan life and the ministerial priesthood,"⁶ I suggest that there is a clear demarcation that must be made when approaching our tradition for clarification about the relationship between religious life and ordained presbyteral ministry within the Franciscan context.

What I will suggest below is not a cause for psychological or spiritual compartmentalization, something both Benfatti and Landini seem to fear.⁷ Instead, borrowing from the moral theological tradition, I claim that there is

⁵ Lawrence Landini, "The Franciscan Priest in the Midst of Renewal," in *Studies Honoring Ignatius Charles Brady, Friar Minor*, ed. Romano Stephen Almagno and Conrad Harkins (St. Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, 1976), 331-40.

⁶ Landini, "The Franciscan Priest in the Midst of Renewal," 335.

⁷ See Benfatti, "Franciscan Priesthood Today," 12; and Landini, "The Franciscan Priest in the Midst of Renewal," 335.

a vocational analog to the “hierarchy of truths,”⁸ which rightly adjudicates that which is considered primary (or dogmatic) and what is secondary (or disciplinary or, in some cases, even definitively defined). This is not to suggest that what is secondary is of little or no importance. On the contrary, that one is an ordained presbyter is an important aspect of one’s identity, lifestyle and ministry – but only an aspect nonetheless. Within the Franciscan tradition, one’s *primary* identity is that of *friar minor*, which is the *a priori* and foundational character of this form of religious life in the Church. I believe that the tradition, bolstered by recent historical and theological scholarship, encourages us to look at another possibility for locating the identity of the religious presbyter in the Franciscan tradition. I suggest that this identity is to be situated within the context of Chapter V of the *Regula Bullata*, the sectional heading of which is generally translated as, “On the Manner of Working.”⁹ The summary position is that God calls friars first and foremost to an evangelical way of life following the model of Francis of Assisi in the *Ordo* known as “Franciscan” according to the *Regula* of 1223 and the constitutions of the respective iterations of that way of life, but the brothers, exhorted by Francis himself, are supposed to work – preferably in the trades or according to the skills a brother possesses upon entrance into the community – and within the manifold

⁸ First presented in the Second Vatican Council document, *Unitatis Redintegratio* (§11), the notion of a “hierarchy of truths” is most thoroughly studied in the work of Jesuit Francis Sullivan. See Francis Sullivan, *Creative Fidelity: Weighing and Interpreting Documents of the Magisterium* (New York: Paulist Press, 1996), esp. 12-27. Also see Francis Sullivan, *Magisterium: Teaching Authority in the Catholic Church* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983).

⁹ The English translation is Francis of Assisi, “The Later Rule (1223),” in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, 3 vols., ed. Regis Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellmann, and William Short (New York: New City Press, 1999-2001), 1:99-106; Chapter V is at 102-03. This source will hereafter be cited as *FA:ED* followed by volume and page number with critical edition page number parenthetically cited.

The critical edition cited in what follows is Kajetan Esser, ed., *Opuscula sancti patris Francisci Assisiensis* (Grottaferrata: Biblioteca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi XII, 1978).

expression of the injunction to labor is found ordained ministry in the Church. While some friars might have, over the centuries, sought entrance in the Franciscan Order with the intention of ordination to the presbyterate, the community's foundational purpose and grounding did not seek that end. To suggest otherwise is a *post facto* fallacy that seeks to anachronistically revise the Franciscan movement's genesis and development. The aim of this essay is to, as the Second Vatican Council instructed us, return to our charismatic roots to examine the sources for renewed clarity in understanding our way of life in the Church and world.

The structure of this essay is threefold with a conclusion. First, we will briefly examine the Second Vatican Council's instruction on the ministry of the presbyterate and some recent scholarship on the theology of religious presbyters. Second, we will return to the foundations of the Franciscan movement to glean insight about the origins of the tradition in an effort to better understand the relationship between *fraternitas* as the a priori and primarily constitutive dimension of the Franciscan vocation and the identity of the religious presbyter in Franciscan life. Third, we will look to Chapter V of the *Regula Bullata* and to the scholarly commentaries on that Rule in order to identify the ways we can situate ordained ministry in the Franciscan Order according to that aspect of our commitment to this particular way of life. Finally, this essay ends with a recapitulative conclusion.

VATICAN II AND POSTCONCILIAR SCHOLARSHIP ON THE RELIGIOUS PRESBYTER

Solanus Benfatti rightly began his theological reflections with a reference to the Second Vatican Council's Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (*Lumen Gentium*), for in order to approach the relationship between Franciscan life and ministerial priesthood, we must always

situate ourselves within the postconciliar context.¹⁰ All that we do as Church today must bear constant reference to the texts of the Second Vatican Council, if not explicitly then through the ways in which we inform our hermeneutical outlook and heuristic trajectories.¹¹ Benfatti's reference to *Lumen Gentium* § 10 first appears in an effort to establish the ministerial priesthood both in relationship with and in contradistinction to the universal experience of the baptismal priesthood shared by the entire body of Christ. Yet, as theologians and church historians have observed, the Second Vatican Council does not engage the question of the identity of the ministerial priesthood with any sustained treatment, opting instead to take up the unfinished business of the First Vatican Council concerning a theology of the ministry of bishops.¹² There are times in which the Council Fathers take up the question of the identity of the presbyter (or ministerial priest) such is the case at *Lumen Gentium* § 28 when the identity of the presbyter is presented in functional terms as the leader of prayer and one who acts "in the person of Christ," proclaims Christ's Mystery and unites "the prayers of the faithful with the sacrifice of their head."¹³ Little treatment is given to the independent identity of the presbyter, instead we read time and again of the ministerial priesthood being defined by function or relationship – relationship to the rest of the baptized, relationship to the local bishop and relationship to Christ.

¹⁰ All Second Vatican Council documents are taken from *The Documents of Vatican II: With Notes and Index* (Strathsfield: St. Paul's Publishing, 2009), and hereafter referenced by Latin title and paragraph number with parenthetical citation of pages found in this source.

¹¹ See Ormond Rush, *Still Interpreting Vatican II: Some Hermeneutical Principles* (New York: Paulist Press, 2004).

¹² For more on this see Richard Gaillardetz, *The Church in the Making: Lumen Gentium, Christus Dominus, Orientalium Ecclesiarum* (New York: Paulist Press, 2006), 74-82. At one point, Gaillardetz writes: "Because of the considerable attention given to the office of the bishop, theological reflection on the presbyterate was somewhat neglected at the council" (82).

¹³ *Lumen Gentium* §28 (42-44).

The most substantial treatment of ordained ministry to come from the council is found in the Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests (*Presbyterorum Ordinis*). It is in *Presbyterorum Ordinis* that we read again of the functional character of the ministerial priesthood. "In the measure in which they participate in the office of the apostles, God gives priests a special grace *to be ministers of Christ among the people*. They perform the sacred duty of preaching the Gospel, so that the offering of the people can be made acceptable and sanctified by the Holy Spirit."¹⁴ The Council Fathers also seem clear in the permanent character that enables the ordained ministers to fulfill these functions, but what is lacking in any discussion of the identity of the presbyter is a sense of an ontological or metaphysical feature that serves as the primary distinguisher between the priesthood of the ordained and the priesthood of the baptized, something about which many speak about colloquially without any theological or otherwise magisterial evidence to support it. Instead, the relationship of the particular member of the Body of Christ who is ordained changes in relationship to the rest of the baptized Body and to the local bishop, who, we are told in *Lumen Gentium*, expresses the fullness of ministerial priesthood and with whom the presbyter is to remain in communion.

The work of the Second Vatican Council in clearly expressing the identity of the presbyter remains unfinished, as Franciscan theologian Kenan Osborne notes well.¹⁵ Even more so the Council leaves the relationship between the ambiguous identity of the presbyter and its place in certain religious communities unaddressed. What little is said by the Council concerning presbyters is further

¹⁴ *Presbyterorum Ordinis* §2 (313). Emphasis added. See also *Presbyterorum Ordinis* §13 (327-28). For a recent commentary on this text, see Maryanne Confoy, *Religious Life and Priesthood: Perfectae Caritatis, Optatam Totius, Presbyterorum Ordinis* (New York: Paulist Press, 2008).

¹⁵ See Kenan Osborne, *Priesthood: A History of Ordained Ministry in the Roman Catholic Church* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1989), esp. 337-42.

made complicated for members of religious communities because, as John O'Malley notes well, *Presbyterorum Ordinis* appears to assume that all priests are parochial ministers of a diocesan variety (so-called "secular priests"), not counting the manifold iteration of ministries sponsored by ordained members of religious communities.¹⁶ This is a concern that transcends the confines of the Franciscan movement to include other religious communities, including the Franciscan's mendicant brothers, the Order of Preachers (Dominicans). Dominican Anthony Fisher recently published an article titled "Reflections on Priesthood in the Dominican Order," in which he reflects concerns about the ambiguity that plagues theological reflection on ministerial priesthood in the Dominican Order.¹⁷

Despite the dearth of resources immediately present to us in the conciliar documents, three scholars, John O'Malley, David Power and Kevin Seasoltz, have offered some general theological reflections on the religious presbyter that might be of particular assistance to us in adjudicating a starting point for consideration of the relationship between ordained ministry and the Franciscan tradition.¹⁸ Coincidentally each of the three of these thinkers (none of whom is a member of a mendicant Order, but a Jesuit, an Oblate of Mary Immaculate and a Benedictine, respectively) pauses to mention the Francis-

¹⁶ See John O'Malley, "Priesthood, Ministry, and Religious Life: Some Historical and Historiographical Considerations," *Theological Studies* 49 (1988): 223-57.

¹⁷ Anthony Fisher, "Reflections on Priesthood in the Dominican Order," *New Blackfriars* 92 (November 2011), 651-63, esp. 653-54.

¹⁸ See O'Malley, "Priesthood, Ministry, and Religious Life: Some Historical and Historiographical Considerations," 223-57; David Power, "Theologies of Religious Life and Priesthood," in *A Concert of Charisms: Ordained Ministry in Religious Life*, ed. Paul Hennessy (New York: Paulist Press, 1997), 61-103; and R. Kevin Seasoltz, "Institutes of Consecrated Life: Identity, Integrity and Ministry," in *Ordering the Baptismal Priesthood: Theologies of Lay and Ordained Ministry*, ed. Susan K. Wood (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2003), 228-55. For additional essays that seek to address this theme, see *A Concert of Charisms: Ordained Ministry in Religious Life*.

cans and Dominicans as unique entities in the history of the development theology of ordained ministry. This, I believe, further emphasizes our need to explore the Franciscan tradition itself to develop an understanding of the place of ordained ministry and the identity of the religious presbyter in the Franciscan Order.

O'Malley notes the key difference between the Franciscans and Dominicans rests with the source and origin of the respective Orders. Neither community finds its origin in the "office" (*officium*) of the clerical state. This changes rather quickly for the Dominicans given their primary apostolates of preaching (liturgical and otherwise) and teaching, but for the Franciscans this remains a charismatic thread of continuity, whether acknowledged or not. It is here that the Franciscan movement presents us with a unique point of departure and reflection. O'Malley explains:

If we take the life of St. Francis as somewhat paradigmatic for the origins of Franciscan ministry, we have a somewhat different picture. It is true that the Franciscan movement cannot be understood apart from the history of the Waldensians and similarly heretical groups, but the direct inspiration for Francis's preaching seems almost certainly to have been the impelling force he felt within himself to speak of the Lord and of his love for all creatures. While the Origin of Dominican ministry was a quite specific situation "out there," a need, the origin of Franciscan ministry was more internal to Francis's spirit. The origin of these two ministries were similar, however, in one extremely important regard. Neither of them derived from office.¹⁹

O'Malley then goes on to explain that because these two communities were not founded on the *officium* of the clerical state or privileges of religious benefice – a point

¹⁹ O'Malley, "Priesthood, Ministry, and Religious Life: Some Historical and Historiographical Considerations," 232.

against which Francis's whole movement was situated in distinction, wishing to own nothing for himself – the communities' ministry "would almost be the antithesis" of the traditional clerical and hierarchic model of medieval ministry, "evidencing by its flexibility and adaptability the inward inspiration that was its source."²⁰

Furthermore, a return to the founding charism and historical context of the Franciscan movement in particular reveals a more startling point emphasized by O'Malley. While Francis and his followers did not "define themselves as against the Church or apart from it," their way of living out the *vita evangelica* was *kerygmatic* in a way that did not immediately adhere to the norms of the ecclesial models for institutional formation and ordained ministry. Among the many differences, and this one is absolutely central, was Francis's absolute commitment to egalitarianism within his community of lesser brothers. "Francis underscored that egalitarianism when he consistently referred to his group as a *fraternitas*."²¹ Fraternity served as the starting point and constant referent for Francis's new community, not the form of ministry or clerical privilege. David Power says as much in a succinct way: "As is well known, Francis and his first followers did not see themselves as a community of priests, though

²⁰ O'Malley, "Priesthood, Ministry, and Religious Life: Some Historical and Historiographical Considerations," 233.

²¹ O'Malley, "Priesthood, Ministry, and Religious Life: Some Historical and Historiographical Considerations," 233. Cajetan Esser, the renowned Franciscan scholar and editor of the early sources, notes that the early chronicles of the Order reflect an awareness of this distinction between what Francis had inaugurated by virtue of first living his individual vocation and of later setting out to develop a *regula* for his brothers. See Cajetan Esser, *Origins of the Franciscan Order* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1970), 26-27: "It is significant, for example, that Jordan speaks of brother Caesar of Speyer as 'still a secular,' when, before entering the Order, he was 'an imitator of evangelical poverty.' Such an incidental remark testifies strongly to the awareness of the young Order that it was different from the secular clergy.... In addition, the prologue to the Chronicle of Thomas of Eccleston can provide further confirmation that the Order was conscious of its *own* individuality." Emphasis original.

they did engage in preaching and in bringing people to penance and conversion.”²²

The emphasis O'Malley and others place on the particularity of the Franciscan way of life echoes the Second Vatican Council's call for religious orders to return to their respective founding charisms so as to renew the form of life for which they were established as expressed in the Decree on the Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life (*Perfectae Caritatis*).²³ Concerning the relationship between the ministerial priesthood and the Franciscan Order, as is the case more generally between the ministerial priesthood and religious life, the conciliar texts leave us with little substantive or constructive direction. The clearest directive comes in a heuristic form, offering Franciscans (and other religious communities) the particular trajectory of each religious community's founding and intent. Therefore, we now turn to briefly examine the foundation and early history of the Order of Friars Minor, a return to the founding charism, to help elucidate the relationship between the presbyterate and Franciscan life.

RETURNING TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE FRANCISCAN MOVEMENT

The historical starting point of the article, “Franciscan Priesthood Today,” is the distinctive character of the Franciscan movement as compared to the longstanding monastic communities of the day. While Benfatti's characterization of monastic communities in the thirteenth century needing few priests does not entirely reflect the clericalization of the early and later medieval context, his point is well put that Francis's personal embrace of the *vita evangelica*, which became regularized as the Order of Friars Minor, was in fact quite novel for several reasons.²⁴

²² Power, “Theologies of Religious Life and Priesthood,” 74.

²³ See *Perfectae Caritatis* §1-§25 (273-84).

²⁴ For a survey of the shifts in monastic life and influence, at times even juxtaposed with the emergent thirteenth century mendicant

Not the least reason being the egalitarianism about which John O'Malley emphasizes and Benfatti echoes: "[the Franciscan movement] was not clerical insofar as it was a mixed community of lay brothers and priests. It was a fraternity, in the medieval usage of the term, and neither brothers nor priests dominated the brotherhood in numbers or influence."²⁵ From here Benfatti makes mention of the other way Francis's community shirked a form of "clericalism," namely, through renunciation of the clerical privileges that came with such an office. But here is where Benfatti's examination of the founding of the Order of Friars Minor ends in order to immediately highlight the rapidity with which the Order became clericalized. Before turning to the historical confluence of factors that led to this now recognized experience, it would be helpful in addressing this concern about the relationship between presbyteral ministry and Franciscan life to look at *what precisely* Francis and his early brothers set out to do.

As so many contemporary scholars have noted, one cannot talk about the origin, foundation or early development of the Franciscan movement without taking into consideration the historical reality of the person of Francis of Assisi. Francis was not a priest, a fact universally recognized. There is still some debate about what ecclesiastical office he did hold by virtue of his ministry (namely, preaching). It is true that in his *Testament*, Francis makes a self-referential statement that seems to include him in a category of some kind of cleric: "We clerical [brothers] said the Office as other clerics did; the lay brothers said the Our Father; and we quite willingly remained in churches. And we were simple and subject to all."²⁶ The meaning of Francis's self reference as "one of the clerics" contin-

communities, see C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (New York: Longman, 2000).

²⁵ Benfatti, "Franciscan Priesthood Today," 118.

²⁶ Francis of Assisi, "The Testament," 18-19, in *FA:ED* 1, 125 (310-11): "*Officium dicebamus clerici secundum alios clericos, laici dicebant: Pater noster, et satis libenter manebamus in ecclesiis. Et eramus idiotae et subditi omnibus.*"

ues to be subject of some scholarly debate.²⁷ Contemporary scholars seem to be in agreement that Francis was never ordained to one of the major orders, although it is quite possible he was admitted to one of the minor orders through tonsure and thereby would have understood himself (and seen by the Roman Curia) as a “cleric.” This distinction is nearly immaterial, however, because recent scholarship suggests that one of the primary reasons this passage is included in Francis’s final remembrances has less to do with his identification as a cleric than it does with his understanding of the Order’s Catholicity, joining together with the prayer of the universal Church over and against the distinction between so-called “lay brothers” and “priests.” His agenda in outlining his remembrances in the form of the *Testament* is believed to reflect his concern about the over-institutionalization of his way of life in the canonically refined *Regula bullata* and his desire that the brothers not lose sight of the foundational narrative and impulse that led to the founding of this *fraternitas*. His concern was, in some part, directly a result of the form of life and work in which the friars were increasingly engaged near the time of his death. In his recent commentary on the *Testament*, Franciscan scholar J. A. Wayne Hellmann explains:

One also finds this self-referential term “cleric” in Francis’s two versions of the “Exhortations to the Clergy,” in *FA:ED* 1, 52-55 (96-101). About this authorial reference, Michael Blastic writes: “the author(s) are identifying themselves as clerics, belonging to the group to which the admonition is addressed,” suggesting that it might not have been Francis alone who composed this text. See Michael Blastic, “Letter to the Clergy,” in *Letters and Prayers*, ed. Michael Blastic, Jay Hammond and J. A. Wayne Hellmann (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2011), 104.

²⁷ For one survey of the sources and secondary literature about Francis’s frequent hagiographical and artistic depiction as a deacon, see Noel Muscat, “Saint Francis, Deacon?” *Spiritu u Hajja* 92 (April/June 2010): 3-9. For a lengthier study see Mariano D’Alatri, *San Francesco d’Assisi, Diacono nella Chiesa* (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 1977).

Francis saw that the new ways in which the Lesser Brothers of 1226 were working did not evolve out of their common history, but were instead new introductions foreign to the dynamic of the fraternity. He perceived that an emerging clerical element among some of his brothers promoted new and different experiences and expectations. Francis's final "remembrance, admonition, exhortation, and (my) testament"²⁸ was, therefore, an attempt to preserve the earlier historical understanding of their way of life that was no longer evident in the canonical *Later Rule* of 1223. Thus, Francis was speaking his final witness. He attempted to underline the simplicity and fraternal dimensions behind the *Later Rule*.²⁹

That Francis was so concerned with the direction the Order was taking toward the end of his life should be taken as a sign to take seriously the *poverello*'s desire that we keep in mind the "simplicity and fraternal dimensions," as Hellmann says, that were the sources of this particular expression of Gospel life. Historian Grado Merlo makes a similar point about the purpose of Francis's *Testament* and the desire the dying founder had in chronicling his remembrances for the generations of lesser brothers that would come after.

This text is fundamental to the Franciscan enterprise in all its aspects. In it brother Francis sets down everything he wants remembered of his own Christian experience and that of his brothers (*frat-ers*), and everything he considers essential to his and their journey of faith, and his and their man-

²⁸ Francis of Assisi, "The Testament," 34, in *FA:ED* 1, 127 (315): *haec est recordation, admonition, exhortation et meum testamentum ...*

²⁹ J. A. Wayne Hellmann, "The Testament of Brother Francis (1226)," in *Rules, Testaments and Admonitions*, ed. Michael Blastic, Jay Hammond and J. A. Wayne Hellmann (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2011), 236-37. Also see David Flood, "The Politics of *Quo elongati*," *Laurentianum* 29 (1988): 199-214.

ner of working. He contrasts this with the choices and orientations which he saw in action in a very different way in the Order.³⁰

It seems clear that the Francis himself was distressed by the direction of the Order, which, as many scholars have noted, had already succumbed to the clericalizing forces *ad extra* introduced to the then nascent Order. Following Francis's personal and dying injunction, we should approach any question of the place or identity of ordained presbyters in the Franciscan Order from the foundational principles and charism of the movement itself.

To rehearse the entire history of the initial conversion and subsequent coalescing of the early Franciscan movement would be beyond the scope of this essay, but an initial if broad recollection of that earliest experience of Francis moving from personal baptismal response to God's invitation to live the *vita evangelica* in a particular way to a religious movement that was open to and came to include others is necessary. The Franciscan scholar William Short reminds us that Francis essentially develops a way of life that is intentionally different from the other religious communities of his day. After the initial years of personal conversion, when those who were inspired by his life came to follow his model of Christian living, Francis sought a *vita evangelica* that "would resemble more closely the life of Jesus himself, shared with Mary and the disciples during the brief years of their mission in Galilee and the surrounding territory."³¹ This way of life was less settled than that of the monks or canons regular of his day, but amid the radical dependence on God and embrace of evangelical poverty, there was a concerted effort to maintain unity and equality within the community.

This unity and equality included the prioritization of minority as *modus operandi* of the lesser brothers from the beginning of their entrance into this way of life. Fran-

³⁰ Merlo, *In the Name of Saint Francis*, 67.

³¹ William Short, *Poverty and Joy: The Franciscan Tradition* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999), 22.

cis accepted, from a wide array of aspirants, all who were interested in his *vita evangelica*. This would eventually include priests and other clerics, as it also included the uneducated, poor and others in society. It is from what we might anachronistically call “the foundation” of the Franciscan movement that Francis indiscriminately welcomes all who wish to follow in the footprints of Jesus Christ. He welcomed these would-be friars where they were in life, without a formula to which they would be required to adhere. His way of life would not be shaped by a unifying apostolate or charitable work, but seek to live the Gospel in whatever and every way God had provided for each brother according to his respective gifts, talents and trade. If one were a carpenter, it might be expected that he continue to do carpentry work as a lesser brother. Likewise, if one were a priest, it might be expected that he continue to minister as such in the Church as a lesser brother. This seems to be what is meant in Chapter VII of the *Regula non bullata* when Francis writes: “Let the brothers who know how to work do so and exercise that trade they have learned, provided it is not contrary to the good of their souls and can be performed honestly.”³² There is no provision in the *Rule* for friars who enter as clerics, although there is acknowledgment of the existence of brothers who are clerics (e.g., Chapter III, vv. 3-4; Chapter XVII, v. 5; and Chapter XX, vv. 1-5), and there is certainly no provision for those who might aspire to receive Holy Orders. This is something about which Lawrence Landini comments at the end of his study of the clericalization of the Order:

An outstanding characteristic of the early fraternity, which was retained in the final Rule of 1223, was the fraternal equality among all the brothers regardless of their clerical or lay status. All were accepted who were led by the Spirit of God to em-

³² Francis of Assisi, “The Earlier Rule,” ch. VII, v. 3, in *FA:ED* 1, 68 (253).

brace this way of life, and all were eligible for the office of the Order.³³

Capuchin John Corriveau summarizes this egalitarian starting point and the authentic vision of the Franciscan way of life in the following way:

Francis established a community without segregation or discrimination. This is evident from the Rule and other writings of Francis, as well as from the composition and history of the early Franciscan fraternity. Its members had different tasks and charisms, came from different social classes, enjoyed different levels of education and learning, were of different ecclesial status (both cleric and lay), and exercised differing ministries. Yet all were integrated – they shared equal dignity, obligations and privileges – in a single brotherhood according to the gospel. This was the essential and novel characteristic of the Franciscan charism of fraternity.³⁴

That a shift took place by which those who either entered as presbyters (former monks, canons or secular clergy) or somehow were ordained after entrance into the community began to be treated differently, or, more accurately, treat other friars differently, should not be understood as a reflection of Francis's "original intent" to form a "clerical religious order" as Landini would go on to say in a 1981 article and others, such as Solanus Benfatti, would later advance.³⁵ Instead, one must recall both the internal (an increased number of clerics-turned-friars)

³³ Landini, *The Causes of the Clericalization of the Order of Friars Minor*, 142.

³⁴ John Corriveau, "The Issue of Clericalization," in *Our Franciscan Charism in the World Today*, ed. Alcuin Coyle (St. Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, 1987), 82.

³⁵ See Lawrence Landini, "The Clerical Character of the Order of Friars Minor – Then and Now," *The Cord* 31 (1981): 235-43; and Benfatti, "Franciscan Priesthood Today," 120-21, in which Benfatti ex-

and external (the Roman Curial influence on the nascent Order) factors that come together to inform and set the tone for charismatic interpretation of the community's mission and ministry. I propose that, instead of viewing the clericalization of the Order of Friars Minor as the natural evolution of Francis's authentic vision, we might return to Francis's vision itself contained in the *Regula* of his *vita evangelica* to situate the possibility of Franciscan presbyters within the broader context of his particular way of life. The locus of this relationship is found in Chapter V of the *Regula bullata* (the later adaptation of Chapter VII in the *Regula non bullata*): "On the Manner of Working."

CHAPTER V OF THE *REGULA BULLATA* AND THE MINISTERIAL PRIESTHOOD

Lawrence Landini rightly acknowledges a history of tension present in the lived experience of many Franciscan friars who grapple with clarifying and understanding the identity of Franciscans who happen to be ordained

presses a more implicit assent to Landini's outlook than Landini's own overtly clerical reading of the tradition.

While Landini's original dissertation-turned-book, *The Causes of the Clericalization of the Order of Friars Minor*, was indeed an important effort that remains a noteworthy study, Joseph Chinnici has made the sound observation that "New scholarship has moved beyond the pioneering studies of Landini to reveal the even deeper complexity of the issues involved in clericalization and the development of the Order." Joseph Chinnici, "The Impact of Clericalization on Franciscan Evangelization," in *Franciscan Evangelization: Striving to Preach the Gospel*, Washington Theological Union Symposium Papers 2007, ed. Elise Saggau (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2008), 85. Chinnici refers us to the following important studies published since Landini's work: Giovanni Miccoli, *Francesco d'Assisi e L'Ordine dei Minori* (Milan: Edizioni Biblioteca Francescana, 1999); Jacques Dalarun, *Francis of Assisi and Power* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2007); Dominic Monti, "The Friars Minor: An Order in the Church?" *Franciscan Studies* 61 (2003): 235-52; and Raoul Manselli, "St. Bonaventure and the Clericalization of the Friars Minor," *Greyfriars Review* 4 (1990): 85-98.

presbyters.³⁶ However, the diagnosis of the cause of this nebulous tension reveals a certain clerical paradigm that understands the vocation to the ministerial priesthood to contain an ontological or metaphysical character that at first seems, if not opposed, then competing with that of a vocation to the Franciscan life. What becomes necessary in such a worldview is either the subordination of one of the two dimensions of a given friar's identity or the subsuming of one into the other. It is this latter move of subsuming that Landini at first (and Benfatti in turn) appropriates. The way that Landini suggests a reconciliation of this ostensible tension is by the understanding that "the friar priest sacramentalizes" his Franciscan vocation through Holy Orders.³⁷ While this perspective is at first appealing for its seeming reconciliation of the tension between two competing identities, what it in effect does is create an new "Franciscan" ontological category that distinguishes – within the Franciscan fraternity – those who are presbyters and those who are not by virtue, not of their shared vocation to live the Gospel as friars minor, but by the *officium* of one's clerical state.

The distinction then becomes something of a first-degree or primary-level categorization that establishes the relationship among brothers as unequal members of a community. This "sacramentalized Franciscan vocation" is only instantiated and therefore expressed in a select number of friars, if perhaps even a majority, while no comparable sacramental expression is found in the vocation of the brothers who are not presbyters. Nowhere is this disparity accounted for in the foundational texts of the Franciscan Order, nor does Francis endorse such an outlook in his own writings or lived example. There is an insidious elitism that emerges with a paradigmatic outlook akin to that which Landini posits as the reconciliation of an observable tension between these two ecclesial identities. This is to say nothing about the counterfactual

³⁶ Landini, "The Franciscan Priest in the Midst of Renewal," 335.

³⁷ Landini, "The Franciscan Priest in the Midst of Renewal," 335; and Benfatti, "Franciscan Priesthood Today," 120-21.

revision that Landini's clerical or "sacramental" approach presents, given, as Chinnici and other scholars remind us, that "a host of studies have shown how the Franciscan movement emerged from within the lay penitential movement; how its interactions with the laity insured its vitality; and how the close relationship between the friars and evangelical communities of women in religious life and in the communes placed the Order in tension with ecclesiastical structures."³⁸ If one wants to talk about an ecclesial state that best encompasses the Franciscan way of life, dating back to its origins in the lived model of Francis, then it is in truth the so-called "lay state" as opposed to the "clerical state." To propose that somehow "friar priests sacramentalize the Franciscan vocation" in a way that brings the *vita* of Francis to ecclesial fulfillment is a suggestion foreign to the Franciscan tradition.

Yet, the reconciliation of the apparent tension between the life of a lesser brother and the ministerial priesthood remains a task worthy of exploration. The lack of resolution in the Landini approach originates in the ontological or metaphysical presuppositions associated with the clerical state. And while such an outlook might make sense in other ecclesiastical contexts or even other religious communities – although I might argue that this outlook is universally unhelpful – it does not make sense according to the Franciscan way of life. Instead, one must understand the call to live the Gospel according to the example of Francis of Assisi as the primary or foundational vocation for any friar. This is the starting point, an *a priori* and grounding principle of Francis's *vita evangelica*. To talk about minority or lesser brotherhood means to talk about the unifying principle of an egalitarian community that welcomes all as existentially united in relationship first by virtue of creation and secondly, in Christ, by virtue of baptism. If anyone wishes to talk about the "sacramentalized" expression of the Franciscan vocation in terms of priesthood, then it must always and everywhere

³⁸ Chinnici, "The Impact of Clericalization on Franciscan Evangelization," 85-86.

be situated within the context of the universal priesthood of all the baptized. But what about the ministerial priesthood? To this question we turn to Francis's vision for his community of brothers outlined in the *Regulae* of 1221 and 1223.

The Franciscan scholar David Flood has been a leader in the second half of the twentieth century in the study of work as a constitutive element of the primitive Franciscan life. Beginning with his landmark book, *Work For Everyone*, Flood has urged members of the worldwide Franciscan family to return to the origins of our tradition to understand better the place of work, labor and the economy in Francis's vision of Gospel living.³⁹ In his more recent study, *The Daily Labor of the Early Franciscans*, Flood draws on the sentiment expressed above in our review of Francis's *Testament* that Francis became frustrated with the direction the Order had taken in the later years. "Francis was bothered that his brothers had abandoned the cause to which they had originally committed themselves."⁴⁰ Two of the ways that the brothers had strayed from their commitments, Flood asserts, is that some were concerned with the work of *cura aliorum* and others simply wanted ecclesiastical "careers" within the Order and the Church (*praelatio*). As for the first term, the brothers were now focusing their energies toward what we might call "pastoral services" or "care of souls," accepting positions of clerical *officium*. The second concern was the "careerist" brothers who aspired to positions of power and influence within and without the Order. Both of these things did not align with what Francis had envisioned as the work of the brothers, likely in part because these brothers did not enter the Order with such a trade already or aptitude in progress. Flood summarizes: "Many brothers had turned from the way they

³⁹ See David Flood, *Work For Everyone: Francis of Assisi and the Ethic of Service* (Quezon City, Philippines: CCFMC Office for Asia/Oceania, 1997).

⁴⁰ David Flood, *The Daily Labor of the Early Franciscans* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2010), 4.

worked in the early years. Some were pursuing careers, either in the order or in the church, while others had become brothers for a free ride.”⁴¹

There is a sense in which the more “pastoral” work of some of the brothers might have irked Francis’s desire to remain connected with the working and poor classes of society, but it is unclear that it was the *work itself* that was irksome (except of course when no work was being done) and not the affective disposition such activity in medieval society encouraged among some of the brothers. The privilege of clerical status discouraged the radical accessibility and relationship that Francis had sought to emulate during his life. Flood explains that some of Francis’s focus on work in his *Testament* is directly aimed at seemingly idle clerics who had, by virtue of their *officium*, avoided the manual labor or substantive work expected of all the lesser brothers. “When [Francis] says that those who do not know how [to work] should learn, he means the clerical population of the brotherhood.”⁴² There was in Francis’s own time a burgeoning elitism among the educated and clerics of the community. This is best illustrated by the biting diatribe against Brother Elias found in the *Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*. Take the following excerpt for instance:

The third fault of Brother Elias was that he promoted unworthy men to offices in the Order. For he placed lay brothers in the positions of guardians, custodians, and ministers, an absurd practice, since there was an abundance of good clerics available in the Order. I myself, for instance, was under the authority of a lay custodian, and, in the course of my life, more than one lay guardian.⁴³

⁴¹ Flood, *The Daily Labor of the Early Franciscans*, 5.

⁴² Flood, *The Daily Labor of the Early Franciscans*, 30.

⁴³ *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, ed. Joseph Baird (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1986), 81.

Presented in Salimbene's enumeration of the many "faults" of the last non-presbyter General Minister of the Order, that so-called lay brothers were treated as equals to the presbyters was seen by some like Salimbene as "an absurd practice." While it is unlikely that *every* friar who was, like Salimbene, also a presbyter thought so lowly of the non-ordained brothers, what is depicted here early on in the Franciscan movement is the contentious environment that marked cultural, ecclesiastical and, eventually it seems, fraternal divides.

That Francis presented a particular view of what was to be expected from the brothers by way of work and fraternity seems to have been quickly set aside once a number of cleric friars obtained leadership positions and readily desired to critique such a lifestyle. This should not be understood as Francis's intention so much as a creeping clerical elitism despite the will and vision of the founder. Flood interprets Salimbene's remarks as emblematic of the clerical brothers' desire to refuse lay brothers political voice, "although the original Franciscan system, a system to which later Franciscans could appeal, expected that they claim that voice as full and therefore responsible members of the organization."⁴⁴ There were, Flood notes, a "clerical assumption of control" and "the unconscious depreciation and rejection" of the non-ordained brothers' way of life – the very *forma vitae* that Francis inaugurated in the early movement.⁴⁵

One can see in a rather straightforward manner the quick subordination of the early Franciscan focus on work as that which was intuitive to each particular brother as he entered the fraternity with specific gifts and skills to a more institutionalized and clerical affect that reflected a shift in the daily experience of the friars as they negotiated the internal and external factors shaping the more ministerially focused mission of the Order.⁴⁶ Flood's work

⁴⁴ Flood, *The Daily Labor of the Early Franciscans*, 39.

⁴⁵ Flood, *The Daily Labor of the Early Franciscans*, 38.

⁴⁶ David Flood makes the point toward the end of his book that this shift of focus, particularly from the "top-down" clerical leadership

has provided us with an appreciation for the centrality of ordinary work as a constitutive element of Franciscan life, which arises as a secondary feature of one's vocation after entering the community and the shift in administrative outlook that led the more educated and clerical brothers to lose all perspective on what it meant to live a life so different from the one to which they became accustomed – a life modeled just a generation earlier by Francis himself.

The brothers are to work. This is the primary injunction found in the *Regulae* and the work of a presbyter would seem to qualify for that which does not “generate scandal or [is] harmful to their souls.”⁴⁷ Pastoral work and sacramental ministry, therefore, would fall under the collective genus of “the work” that the brothers are exhorted to do in response to their commitment to this evangelical life.

Michael Blastic in his insightful commentary on the *Regula bullata* notes the shift between the *Regula non bullata* and its successor approved in 1223. Chapter VII of the *Regula non bullata* provides a more general and detailed sketch of what Francis and the early brothers intended by the injunction, “Let the Brothers who know how to work do so and exercise that trade they have learned, provided it is not contrary to the good of their souls and can be performed honestly.”⁴⁸ Blastic explains

and educated brothers, “was not a question of changing the rule but of drawing out its central meanings, meaning to which the non-clerical brothers – because of their different cultural background – had better access than the learned brothers. The story suggests the incapacity of the learned class in the order to grasp an understanding of the life different from their own. Their refusal to listen to those Franciscans who worked with their hands helped silence them,” (Flood, *The Daily Labor of the Early Franciscans*, 147).

⁴⁷ Francis of Assisi, “Earlier Rule,” ch. VII, v. 1, in *FA:ED* 1, 68 (253).

⁴⁸ Francis of Assisi, “Earlier Rule,” ch. VII, v. 3, in *FA:ED* 1, 68 (253): *Et fratres, qui sciunt laborare, laborent et eandem artem exercent, quam noverint, si non fuerit contra salute animae et honeste poterit operari.*

that there were two forms of “work” that were anticipated in this *Regula*.

The *Earlier Rule* foresaw two kinds of workers among the brothers – those who were involved in domestic service (i.e., dependents without any specific skills who served in the houses of the lords) and those who were artisans and, in that sense, independent or specialized. Those brothers who stayed among others to serve or work (*apud alios ad serviendum vel laborandum*) could not accept positions that were not in keeping with their life of being “lesser ones and subject to all” (*sed sint minores et subditi omnibus*). Brothers who had a skill were to use this skill as long as it was honest and served the good of souls.⁴⁹

This expectation of the brothers to work, Blastis explains, includes those members of the fraternity who were also clerics. “Given the fact that both clerics and laymen were members of the Order at this time, the obligation to work applied to clerics as well.”⁵⁰ This would seem to lend a notable degree of support to an interpretation of the second group of friar workers (i.e., the “artisans” or practitioners) as including friars who were presbyters. The clerics were understood to work as the non-ordained brothers were expected, and their ordination provided them with a specialized “trade” that was, in perhaps the truest sense, compatible with the exhortation to “serve the good of souls.” This universal Franciscan expectation is again echoed in Francis’s *Testament* as he reflects back on his own experience and that of the early brothers.

There is a shift in the revised and redacted Chapter V of the *Regula bullata* two years later. What was once explicitly and universally applied to the entire fraternity

⁴⁹ Michael Blastis, *A Study of the Rule of 1223: History, Exegesis and Reflection* (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, 2008), 48.

⁵⁰ Blastis, *A Study of the Rule of 1223*, 48.

now became more restricted, qualifying the brothers who are to work with the clause: "to whom the Lord has given the grace of working."⁵¹ There are several possible interpretations of this shift to a more exclusive mandate for a limited portion of the fraternity. Among the potential reasons Blastic suggests is the aging of those earliest brothers and perhaps it was intended to lighten the burden or guilt of sick friars.⁵² Yet, there stands another plausible and compounding factor: the shifts in the Order toward a more conventual form of living and the growing number of clerics "who engage in ecclesial ministries of preaching and confessing."⁵³ As we have seen in the Chronicle of Salimbene and the historiography of the Order, there was a movement of power from the egalitarian sharing of authority and responsibility in the fraternity to a cleric-run institutionalization of the community. The earlier emphasis on manual labor and work might now seem irrelevant to the new power-holders in the Order or even repugnant to the curial officials presiding over the drafting of the *Regula* of 1223. Those ordained to serve in the ministerial priesthood were to be busy about matters of the sacraments and spiritual things, not the physical tasks or "duties of the laity."

Another thing this shift signals is the focus on the intrinsic difference that ordination introduces into an otherwise egalitarian community of lesser brothers. Expectations and standards begin to vary from brother to brother based on his particular ecclesial status. This, I would argue, was not what Francis intended in the period of 1209-1221 during the formation of the *Regula non bullata*, a view that is bolstered by Francis's independent and direct references to his earlier intentions concerning work in his *Testament*.⁵⁴ Francis had no problem with fri-

⁵¹ Francis of Assisi, "The Later Rule," ch. V, v. 1, in *FA:ED* 1, 102 (231): *Fratres illi, quibus gratiam dedit Dominus laborandi ...*

⁵² Blastic, *A Study of the Rule of 1223*, 49.

⁵³ Blastic, *A Study of the Rule of 1223*, 49.

⁵⁴ My view is supported by the interpretation of the *Regula non bullata*, *Regula bullata* and *Testament* in the commentary of William Short. See Short, "The Rule of the Lesser Brothers," 183.

ars also being presbyters, but he made no special provision for their distinctive existence within the community, nor did he provide for their exemption from the Rule's insistence that they work. That phenomenon, concretized in the *Regula bullata*, occurred after Francis had already resigned as General Minister of his Order.⁵⁵ Grado Merlo makes the point that the *Regula bullata* indeed "contains a clear Franciscan inspiration," but that near the point of death felt compelled to reiterate his *personal* view of what his *vita evangelica* looked like.⁵⁶ It is for this reason that I believe the *Regula bullata*, particularly Chapter V on work, should be read in light of the more substantive *Regula non bullata* Chapter VII and the comments on work in Francis's *Testament*.

In reading Chapter V of the *Regula bullata* in the manner closest to Francis's vision for the *fraternitas*, I believe the tension between the seeming disparate identities of the lesser brother and the religious presbyter or ministerial priest comes closer to resolution. The primary, foundational and universal vocation is to live as a lesser brother, a Franciscan friar. As a Franciscan friar, then, one might find oneself led by the Spirit to serve the Church and world as a presbyter, thereby working according to the Rule of the Order. The process of discernment is, in a sense, distinct from that of the discernment to join Franciscan life as a member of the First Order according to the Rule and Constitutions. But, as Landini and Benfatti have also sought to clarify, these two aspects of a friar's life are not in conflict and are certainly compatible, provided the friar understand his particular ministry as an ordained presbyter to carry the dignity and value of work to which all of the lesser brothers are called to live. A

⁵⁵ This is generally said to have taken place during the chapter of Michaelmas (September 29) 1220. See Merlo, *In the Name of Saint Francis*, 57-63. Curiously, just one week prior to his public resignation as General Minister of the Order of Friars Minor, the papal curia had intervened in the governmental affairs of the *fraternitas*, imposing a mandatory novitiate for prospective friars with the bull *Cum secundum consilium* (English translation in *FA:ED* 1, 560-61).

⁵⁶ Merlo, *In the Name of Saint Francis*, 63.

friar who is a presbyter happens to live Chapter V of the *Regula bullata* in uniquely ministerial, pastoral and sacramental way, and that is a secondary characteristic of his identity.

CONCLUSION: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

If there is one thing this brief study has presented, it is the complexity of the Franciscan tradition and its relationship to the ministerial priesthood of the Church. There are no easy and clear-cut answers the questions that haunt the Order's shift from a charismatic, at-times naïve and novel movement of youthful Christians seeking to follow in the footprints of Christ in a new and relevant way in the early thirteenth century. There are many factors that came together to produce the conditions for the possibility that a radically egalitarian *fraternitas* and religious-life experiment could turn into an institutionalized and clericalized religious order, shirking the universal fraternity of Francis's vision of the *vita evangelica* for the hierarchal and canonically structured reality in less-than two decades. It is important for the Franciscans of our day to realize that this process should not be mistaken for Francis of Assisi's foundational vision and model.

Following the instruction of the Second Vatican Council to return to our Order's sources, we should responsibly study and reflect upon the richness – if at times also the complexity – of our tradition. Because the Order has arrived in the twenty-first century in the form we have inherited today does not mean that it authentically reflects the foundational charismatic thrust of Francis's vision and model. We cannot reverse the direction of history and return to the days and years immediately proceeding 1209, but we can become more sensitive to the ways in which our tradition calls us to move beyond the *status quo* of our inert appropriation of institutional demands, while resisting the romantic and entropic temptation to abandon our necessary structures for yet another novel

expression of our own personal desires, agendas and interests – all in the name of Francis of Assisi.

I have argued that we live out our individual and collective vocations as friars minor when we take as our starting point the tradition that we have professed to live and seek to understand in our own time and context.⁵⁷ For friars who are also clerics (and for the purpose of full disclosure, I should say that I am one), this means looking outside the Franciscan tradition for the primary instruction on how to make sense of one's religious and ministerial identity. Instead, friars should cherish and celebrate both aspects of their lives: (a) the primary and fundamental vocation to live as a lesser brother in the way of Francis of Assisi; and (b) the important, albeit subordinate, form of work as an ordained minister in the Church, something for which, as the Rule reminds us, "the Lord has given the grace" to do.

⁵⁷ One positive sign that this sort of activity is taking place today comes in the form of a new document recently released by the Conference of Major Superiors of Men concerning the presbyteral formation of men in religious communities. See CMSM, *Formation for Presbyteral Ministry in Institutes of Religious Life* (Washington, DC: Conference of Major Superiors of Men, October 2011), available online: <http://cmsmtemp.trueserver.com/documents/FormationReligiousPriests-Oct2011.pdf> [accessed 23 November 2011].

DUNS SCOTUS AND GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS

ROBERT STEWART, O.F.M.

Duns Scotus was a Scottish Franciscan philosopher, theologian and mystic who was born in Duns in Scotland in 1266 and died in Cologne in 1308. His life was brilliantly summed up in the words of the Latin text on the sarcophagus in the Franciscan Church where he was buried:

Scotus me genuit (Scotland bore me)
Anglia me suscepit (England received me)
Gallia me docuit (France taught me)
Colonia me tenet (Cologne holds me)

Scotus born in Scotland, educated in Oxford, taught philosophy and theology in Oxford, Paris, Cambridge and Cologne, was seen by Pope John Paul II as the “minstrel of the Word Incarnate and the “poet” of the Immaculate Conception. The whole of Scotistic theology is dominated by the notion of love. The characteristic note of this love is its absolute freedom. Scotus is best remembered by many as the great defender of the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

He was beatified by Pope John Paul II in 1993.

Gerard Manley Hopkins was born in Stratford, Essex, England in 1844. He was raised in a prosperous and artistic family and studied the classics at Balliol College, Oxford. In 1964 he read the *Apologia pro vita sua* of John Henry Newman in which Newman laid out the reasons

for converting to Catholicism. Two years later Hopkins converted and was received into the Church by Newman.

Hopkins decided to become a priest and in 1867 he joined the Jesuits. It was at this time that Hopkins vowed to “write no more ... unless it was by the wish of my superiors.” He burnt all the poetry that he had written to date and would not write poetry again until, in 1875, he wrote the masterpiece “The Wreck of the Deutschland.”

Although his poems were never published in his life time, his friend, the poet Robert Bridges, edited a volume of Hopkins “Poems” which were published in 1918 eighteen years after his death.

Today he is considered one of the greatest of the English poets.

Hopkins first read Scotus in 1872 and immediately found an affinity in the practical theology of Scotus and its emphasis on the primacy of love and the affirmation of the beauty of each individual. The word love and all its variants deeply appealed to Hopkins and above all the manifestation of the love of God in all creation. He expresses this in the poem, “God’s Grandeur.”

The world is charged with the grandeur of God.

It will flame out, like shining from shook foil;

It gathers to a greatness, like the ooze of oil Crushed.
Why do men then now not reck his rod?Generations
have trod, have trod, have trod;

And all is seared with trade; bleared, smeared with
toil;

And wears man’s smudge and shares man’s smell:
the soil

Is bare now, nor can foot feel, being shod.

And for all this, nature is never spent;

There lives the dearest freshness deep down things;

And though the last lights off the black West went
Oh, morning, at the brown brink eastward, springs—

Robert Stewart

Because the Holy Ghost over the bent
World broods with warm breast and with ah!
bright wings.¹

Hopkins held that the whole of the world is “word, expression, news of God” (Sermons, 129). He believed that in the works of Scotus he had found confirmation of his concept of the sacramental view of creation and in the “Inscape.”

Inscape is a deeply religious concept bound up with Hopkins’s sacramental view of the world in which the Incarnation is the summation of all creation. For Hopkins, as for Scotus, each being carries within it the centre of itself. Inscape is the inner nature of any object, animate or inanimate, and the visible outer characteristics by which it reveals the love of God.

One day when the bluebells were in bloom I wrote the following. I do not think I have ever seen anything more beautiful than the bluebells I have been looking at, I know the beauty of the Lord by it. It[s inscape] is [mixed of] strength and grace, like an ash [tree]” (Journals, 199).

After reading Scotus, Hopkins wrote that he was “flush with a new stroke of enthusiasm. It may come to nothing or it may be a mercy from God. But just then when I took in an inscape of the sky or sea I thought of Scotus “

The concept of inscape is similar to Scotus’s concept of *Haecceitas* or “thisness.” *Haecceitas* refers to the principle of individuation: the intrinsic principle that makes any given thing what it is. Haecceity is the “me- of me or the “youness” of you. This principle is the unrepeatable identity of each and every creature.

Hopkins captures this vision in the poem “As Kingfishers Catch Fire.”

¹ Gerard Manley Hopkins, “God’s Grandeur,” ed. Robert Bridges (London: Humphrey Milford, 1918), 7.

As kingfishers catch fire, dragonflies dráw fláme;
As tumbled over rim in roundy wells
Stones ring; like each tucked string tells, each
hung bell's
Bow swung finds tongue to fling out broad its
name;
Each mortal thing does one thing and the same:
Deals out that being indoors each one dwells;
Selves—goes itself; *myself* it speaks and spells,
Crying *Whát I do is me: for that I came.*

Í say móre: the just man justices;
Kéeps gráce: thát keeps all his goings graces;
Acts in God's eye what in God's eye he is— Christ—
for Christ plays in ten thousand places, Lovely in
limbs, and lovely in eyes not his
To the Father through the features of men's faces.²

Hopkins held that the whole physical order has been created in love in Christ and this view finds resonance in Scotus's theology which emphasizes Christ as the consummation of the physical order, so that the Incarnation would have occurred even if there had been no original sin and fall from Paradise. God became human, not because of our fallen state, but because of our value and his love.

Hopkins expressed his admiration for Scotus in the sonnet "Duns Scotus Oxford."

Towery city and branchy between towers; Cuckoo-
echoing, bell-swarmèd, lark-charmèd,
rook-racked, river-rounded;
The dapple-eared lily below thee; that country and
town did
Once encounter in, here coped and poisèd powers;

² Gerard Manley Hopkins, "As Kingfishers Catch Fire," ed. Robert Bridges (London: Humphrey Milford, 1918), 34.

Robert Stewart

Thou hast a base and brickish skirt there, sours
That neighbour-nature thy grey beauty is ground-
ed

Best in; graceless growth, thou hast confounded
Rural rural keeping—folk, flocks, and flowers.

Yet ah! this air I gather and I release
He lived on; these weeds and waters, these walls
are what
He haunted who of all men most sways my spirits
to peace;

Of realty the rarest-veinèd unraveller; a not Ri-
valled insight, be rival Italy or Greece;
Who fired France for Mary without spot.³

Hopkins describes Scotus as “he who of all men most sways my spirit to peace” and as “of reality the rarest-veined unraveller.”

Scotist educated at Oxford was a realist starting always in reality. He believed, however that the world is beyond and independent of the knowing mind of mankind and that objective truth is knowable and exists. He unravelled the most intricate strands, “veins,” of reality, with his *distinction formalis a parte rei* which distinguishes two or more formalities which are objectively distinct but nonetheless inseparable. Scotus used this formal distinction to unraveller of on the one hand, the nature an object shares with others of the same species and, on the other its individuality. The poem “As Kingfishers catch fire” is frequently described as Hopkins’s Scotist sonnet, since it stresses individualities in God’s creation.

All of this philosophy was at times difficult to understand; “philosophy is not religion” as Hopkins wrote (Sermons, 261) but nevertheless Hopkins defended Scotus even in his most obscure teachings. Hopkins wrote:

³ Gerard Manley Hopkins, “Duns Scotus Oxford,” ed. Robert Bridges (London: Humphrey Milford, 1918), 20.

he saw too far, he knew too much; his subtlety overshot his interests; a kind of feud arose between genius and talent, and the ruck of talent in the Schools finding itself, as his age passed by, less able to understand and so first misquoted and then refuted him (Letters III, 349).

Hopkins was also impressed by Scotus's defense of the Immaculate Conception of Mary: "Who fired for France Mary without spot." In an age when the doctrine was opposed by the majority of the theologians Scotus stood steadfast in the face of almost unanimous opposition and argued his case rationally for Mary's Immaculate Conception. Preaching on this topic Hopkins wrote "it is a comfort to think that the greatest of the divines and doctors of the Church who have spoken and written in favour of this truth came from England" (Sermons, 45).

Another topic of Scotus's teaching that appealed to Hopkins was the fact "that freedom is compatible with necessity." Both divine and human causal concurrence is necessary and jointly sufficient for a free human action. Glimpses of this divine and human concurrence as jointly sufficient is seen in Hopkin's Masterpiece, "The Wreck of the Deutschland."

Five! The finding and sake
And cipher of suffering Christ.
Mark, the mark is of man's make
And the word of it Sacrificed.
But he scores it in scarlet himself on his own be-
spoken,
Before-time-taken, dearest prizèd and priced-
Stigma, signal, cinquefoil token
For lettering of the lambs fleece, ruddying of the
rose-flake.
...

Robert Stewart

Ah! there was a heart right!
There was a single eye!
Read the unshapeable shock night
And knew the who and the why;
Wording it how but by him that present and past,
Heaven and earth are word of, worded by? –
The Simon Peter of a soul! to the blast
Tarpeian-fast, but a blown beacon of light.⁴

Hopkins was influenced by Scotus's practical theology; he wrote

Scotus says God revealed the mystery of the Trinity that His servants might direct their thoughts in worship towards, determine them, pit them, upon the real terms, which are the Persons, of His being the object of that worship (Sermons 186).

Both Scotus and Hopkins believed that theology leads to right action and that the basic moral principle is that "God is to be loved." Commenting on the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius, Hopkins wrote, "Spiritual Exercises though called exercises only become really *praxis* proper or a course of conduct when made; for in them the exercitant really reforms his life, listens to Christ's call, and so on" (Sermons 174-5, 209). Hopkins's use of the words practice and praxis was influenced by Scotus.

Gerard Manley Hopkins was an English Jesuit poet of the Victorian era and though he had difficulties with his life as a Jesuit, especially during his years teaching in Ireland, he remained an English Jesuit poet but one I maintain was deeply influenced by a medieval Scottish Franciscan. They were united by their search across the centuries for God, the God of Love and compassion, one using the tools of philosophy, the other of poetry, they remain forever one in mind and love.

⁴ Gerard Manley Hopkins, "The Wreck of the Deutschland," ed. Robert Bridges (London: Humphrey Milford, 1918), 4.

I wish to acknowledge my dependence on the research of Sjaak Zonneveld of the University of Amsterdam for much of what I have written on Scotus and Hopkins.



HOMILY FOR THE SIXTH SUNDAY IN ORDINARY TIME¹

MARYA GRATHWOHL, O.S.F.

Strangely, contrary to our first impression on hearing them, these Scriptures are less about the social and ritual consequences of skin disease and more about the power of words. Words can indeed eat away at flesh, disfiguring faces and crippling hands. Words can destroy nerve and deaden feeling. Words can divide and isolate. Words can also heal and welcome. Words can lift up the heart and strengthen community. Words can create a whole new reality. *WORD* is a name for God.

Months ago when the committee asked me to do a Chapter² homily, I naively said yes. When I saw the readings I was given, I lamented to the Benedictine Sisters at our daily dinner together: these readings are all about gory, detailed laws dealing with skin diseases. They all commiserated.

One of the Benedictines, Sister Sarah Schwartzberg, doctoral candidate in Jewish studies with a focus on Scripture and Midrash, quietly said, “Those laws are really about guarding the tongue, about what we choose to say and listen to.”³

¹ The readings for the Sixth Sunday in Ordinary Time were proclaimed on February 12, 2012: Leviticus 13:1-2, 44-46; 1Corinthians 10: 31-11:1; Mark 1:40-45.

² The Sisters of St. Francis, Oldenburg met in Chapter of Affairs February 9-13, 2012.

³ www.torah.org/learning/halashon/ccbio.html

In the weeks that followed, I learned from Sarah that for almost fourteen centuries rabbis pondered these Leviticus laws, searching for their deeper meaning. They analyzed obscure phrases and the nuances of grammar to discern the *spiritual* teachings in the laws. What possibly could have energized *fourteen centuries* of contemplation on skin disease laws?!!!

The sudden and puzzling leprosy of Miriam when she grumbled against Moses.

WORDS. GRUMBLING WORDS.

The rabbis' collective study and contemplation led them to the conclusion that the words people speak to each other indicate how well they are remembering that God is in their midst. Fourteen centuries of scholarship and contemplation were then distilled into thirty-one teachings about guarding the tongue.⁴ The core teaching is that people are not to profane God's presence and name in the community through tale bearing and false reports, testifying against someone, embarrassing a person and speaking from anger or a grudge, or grumbling.

Ultimately, the rabbis' thirty-one teachings about right use of words are *primarily* about the great positive commandment of right relationships, to *love*: God, self and neighbor.

It all comes down to this: God is here. God acts here, in the community, to heal, energize and transform. And it is through words that people either collaborate with or inhibit God's action. Skin diseases were perceived as outward manifestation of the community's failure to recognize God's presence and to speak words that like God, *with* God, create a whole new reality. Skin disease revealed how far the community had strayed from its home within the heart of God.

⁴ Rabbi Israel Meir HaCohen Kagan, *Chofetz Chayim*, 1873.

The message is very simple. God is here. Recognize that. Speak words that help bring about God's dream for the community. Of course, it's not simple.

So, we turn to Jesus. "Jesus was a very good rabbi," Benedictine Sister Sarah, Jewish by birth, said with such affection and warmth in her voice that my heart turned over and I met Jesus again for the first time. Like the man with the skin disease.

First time. He recognizes God's presence, presence that can heal, energize and transform his life. He speaks. Not the prescribed words, announcing his disease and ritual uncleanness, but words of recognition. "You can heal me."

Jesus reaches across an ingrained religious and social divide and touches the man with compassionate hand and words that heal. Right there on a dusty road in Galilee, a simple exchange of words that unleashes the transforming power of God, creates a whole new reality for the man. And, it seems, for Jesus.

A Chapter is words, millions of spoken and written words. They all have power, real power in our real moment now as a Franciscan religious congregation. A marriage is words. Work is lots of words. Our political process is endless words. These words have power, real power, to divide, injure or heal and unite. All our words shape lives, families, the nation, and the future of Earth.

What are some ways our words can collaborate with God's creative and liberating Word? I think I found some hints in the Ted Dunn article we read in preparation for Chapter.⁵

Word-work is exacting. Word-work is also God in our midst as love, and as the transforming Word that is already accomplishing what we seek. This Word evokes our all-out effort, summons depth of reflection, genuine participation and full ownership of outcomes. It enables us to work through resistance with respect and honesty. The transforming power of God is unleashed.

⁵ Ted Dunn, "Gather the wisdom, weave a dream: Transformative visioning as a refounding process," *Human Development* 31 (2), 15-21.

Two brief concluding thoughts. Three Native American traditions that I am familiar with teach that words are powerful and, indeed, sacred. This is because they begin in the heart and are carried into the world on our breath. We began our Chapter with the song, “Ruah, Ruah, Breath of God within me.” Our song continues to sing itself in our deliberations.

In the Jerusalem Bible translation of this gospel, the phrase “at once” is used two times: to describe the healing ... at once; and the urgency of Jesus’ command that the man go show himself to the priest ... at once. “At once” evokes the actions and words of St. Clare of Assisi, of course. She sought Christ “with swift pace, light step and unswerving feet.” Clare was a lover, running full tilt toward her Beloved.⁶

Into our lives, into our Chapter, rush these Scriptures, laced with Franciscan nuance, not so much about skin diseases as about the power of words. Here in God’s presence: words that nourish intimacy with God, words that strengthen community for a vibrant, unexpected future.

We are as surprised and delighted as the man Jesus healed.

Now, speaking words that imitate Christ, let us go at once with joy, and continue to show the healing.

⁶ Carol Lee Flinders, *Enduring Grace: Living Portraits of Seven Women Mystics* (New York: Harper Collins, 1993), 23.

LADY CLARE ... NOT A “WAS”

WILLIAM DeBIASE, O.F.M.

Is Clare relevant to the living of the Franciscan today or is she simply someone to be admired? The reality is that 800 years is a very long time. Indeed, it is a wide gulf. I believe that Clare has spanned those years and is still the “keeper of the dream.”

When trying to come to grips with the place of Clare in Franciscan life it is necessary to keep some very fundamental principles in mind. The first of these is that Clare is a gift from God. She is the result of grace. As all gifts given by God, Clare is meant to be shared. Her holiness and vision are not to be held onto but to be shared. St. Clare was gifted with the ability to see Francis’s vision clearer than anyone else and to be able to articulate that vision. This gift did not cease with her death but continues in her writings.

The second principle is that Clare exercised this gift in the thirteenth century. Different culture, different mind-sets ... She expressed the vision in the imagery and vocabulary of that time. What it comes down to is that what Clare is saying is wrapped in a thirteenth century package. This does not take anything away from the gift, just takes a little longer to get to it.

The third principle is that we have to get over learned attitudes. Specifically that Clare is for women and Francis for men. Quite obviously this way of looking at Clare can be automatic. She wrote for thirteenth century wom-

en. It would be unfair to expect her to express herself in masculine terms.

The classical distinction between substance and accident might be helpful in applying this principle. Substance is what Clare is saying and accident is how she is saying it. In listening to Clare the accidents would be imagery and terminology and the substance is what her message is. To let the accidents stop us from getting to the message is an easy mistake to make.

The final principle is that the way Clare is relevant is by making her relevant in our Franciscan lives. What she said back in the thirteenth century is still true. It still has and will always have meaning for us. To take what she still says and make it part of our vision is indeed making Clare relevant. In short, Clare is important (read: relevant) for attempting to live a Franciscan life.

Taking these principles I ask myself the question: what would Clare say to me today? If she wrote me a letter, very much the way she wrote those beautiful letters to Agnes of Prague, what would she say to me? It comes very close to presumption, but I imagined the answer to this question. I closed my eyes and tried to listen to the answer. The following is the "letter" I received from Clare:

Dear Bill,

Hope all is well and I do hope that you are enjoying your relaxed years. The purpose of this note is just to refresh your memory in regard to some basics about the Franciscan life. These are not the sum total but simply some points we all have to keep fresh. The Franciscan life is really so basic that we must always review the basics.

Be thankful for our vocation. Not only for the initial call but for all the times that the Lord has called us through the years. Remember that the vocation is a once and always thing. He is never quite finished calling us. Be thankful for the times you have heard these calls and sorry for the times

you have missed them. It never occurred to me until now but perhaps saying “thank you” and saying “I am sorry” are just two sides of the same coin. This dynamic really adds a lot of excitement to our lives.

The vows are the means to live this intimate relationship with the Lord. Although I did speak of poverty quite a bit it must be looked at in the context of chastity. Chastity seems to be the pivotal vow. I say that because in chastity we enter into an exclusive contract with the Lord. Let me say that it is another way of expressing that intimate relationship. With the vow of chastity we choose the Lord to be our life companion. It is he with whom we share our life.

This is where poverty enters the picture. Poverty becomes holy when it is looked at not as an end in itself but as a means. It is a means of preserving that relationship untarnished. I think Francis gives a good example of this. Remember the evening when he said he was going to marry the most beautiful woman. He meant poverty. It was only because he wanted nothing to get in the way of his relationship with God. No dust was to cloud his vision.

Obedience is the final act of this story between the Lord and ourselves. I do not want to be philosophical but the reason God gave us free will is to be able to love. So, it seems to me, that the vow of obedience covers poverty and chastity with the mantle of love. Maybe the vows are just one great big act of love looked at from three points of view.

Finally, to keep all this fresh, remember prayer. I do not mean simply the mandated prayers, but those quiet moments when you really invite the Lord into your life and you try to enter his. This is what keeps our vocation young. He said he was the “life of the word.” Life, to me, means not only

breathing but a vibrancy, excitement, and sense of “not yet.” There is really nothing sadder than to see someone lose the excitement of their vocation and simply go through the motions. Keep looking at the Lord. There is a lot more I can and probably should say. I realize that this letter amounts to a thumbnail sketch of the Franciscan life. Perhaps in the future I will draw out some of the implications of what I have written.

Stay healthy, do not work too hard, and of course, enjoy listening to your Shakespeare.

Love, your Sister,
Clare



SAN DAMIANO IN 1228: ITS HISTORY IN A NUTSHELL

Stefano Brufani called a brief passage in Thomas of Celano's first life of Francis a "history in a nutshell" of Clare and her sisters. Brufani was speaking at a 1992 conference on Clare of Assisi. He was referring to a passage in which Thomas of Celano tells how Francis of Assisi was restoring churches and soon got to San Damiano. At one moment the author breaks off his account to sum up how Lady Clare and her sisters were to turn the church into "a blessed and holy place." Not long after Brufani called attention to the passage, Marco Guida proposed that those paragraphs on the community of San Damiano were a later insertion into the text which Thomas was forced to make. In his account, Thomas seems to give support to Pope Gregory IX's attempt to make San Damiano, with Clare and her sisters, the focal point of a new widely spread order of holy women. Now we know, thanks to Maria Pia Alberzoni's studies on the divergence of views between Clare and Hugolino-Gregory IX, that Clare refused to go along with the papal politics on religious women. And so we face the question: How read the "history in a nutshell"?

We can inform ourselves on this question and see how it fits into recent study of Clare and her sisters in an article published by the Swiss Capuchin Niklaus Kuster. In *Klara von Assisi*, the book reviewed in *The Cord* 2011, Issue 4, Kuster reports on the politics intrinsic to the nutshell history. On the occasion he does much more than that. He fits the report into the recent development of Clare scholarship, emphasizes the new and highly positive judgment on Thomas of Celano's various contribu-

tions to Franciscan historiography, and, while offering his answer to the question, goes much further. He explains clearly the difference between Gregory IX and Clare. His reading of Thomas of Celano's two paragraphs leads him to sum up the Franciscan vision of Clare. Kuster's study is in German and for that reason *The Cord* offers a little more information on his treatment of "a key source on the turning-point of 1228/1229." The source is Chapter VIII (Paragraphs 18-19) in the first life of Francis by Thomas of Celano.¹ We also thought it would help us think our own thoughts on the question by asking two historians to offer their reading of the debate.

THREE RESPONSES

DAVID FLOOD, O.F.M.

I propose that there is a progression in the interpretation of Brufani's history in a nutshell. He focussed attention on Chapter VIII, Paragraphs 18-20, in Thomas of Celano's first life of Francis. Then Marco Guida saw clearly that it was a later and forced insertion in Thomas's text. It was forced insofar as it promoted the pope's efforts at organizing religious women in one international association. At this point the question was: Did the addition support Gregory IX's attempt to include San Damiano in his monastic organization of women's religious life? M. Guida thought it looked like that, whatever Thomas's regret.

Niklaus Kuster develops the argument that, in a novel and clever way, Thomas supported Gregory IX's policy on women religious, while excluding San Damiano from its basic tenets. Gregory's basic tenets for religious women were: a cloistered separation from the world, given to contemplation, well propertied for the needed income. In the name of her sisters, Clare had negotiated Gregory's use of

¹ *FA:ED* 1, 196-99.

San Damiano as exemplary community by assuring her community's Franciscan connection. Key element in that connection was Franciscan poverty, which assured the Franciscan reference to the gospel and the gospel journey. Clare held the papal rescript whereby San Damiano would remain without property.

Kuster explains how Thomas of Celano brought that out in his several paragraphs on Clare and San Damiano.² Thomas describes "the noble structure" that arose above Clare and her sisters. (He refers to Clare as he begins and concludes by referring to all the women of San Damiano.) Thomas lists seven virtues. It is clear by the way he characterizes the first and the seventh that they are, structurally, what carries the whole building. The keystone that holds the structure together is the fourth, which stands out rhetorically as well as serially: Franciscan poverty. (*Altissima puapertas*. That is the expression Francis uses in Chapter VI of the 1223 Rule.) Kuster observes that medieval literature readily drew symmetry into its texts, and that is what we have here. Thomas's praise for Clare and San Damiano is intrinsically Franciscan; it distinguishes San Damiano clearly from Gregory IX's position on religious women. At the end of his article, Kuster indicates that a similar structure holds Clare's Rule together. It is not as clear a structure as that of the nutshell history, but I can understand that Clare, more literary than Francis, would enjoy giving her Rule such unity and concision.

With what we have learned about the struggle between Clare and Gregory IX, thanks to the work of Maria Pia Alberzoni, I propose that Niklaus Kuster has brought to a fine and clear point the study of the brief history, begun by Stefano Brufani and picked up and advanced by Marco Guida.

Alas, I cannot leave the story there.

² He does that in an excellent article: Niklaus Kuster, "Klaras San Damiano in der Franziskuskvita des Thomas von Celano" in *Klara von Assisi* (Muenster 2011), 385-403.

First a word about Franciscan poverty. The poverty of Rule VI, the 1223 text, has its origins in the early years of the brotherhood. It has a story and that story explains what the term means in the Rule.³ Franciscan poverty is primarily the misunderstanding and the opposition, conscious or unconscious, that men and women undergo when they make their way, guided by the Spirit of the Lord. The opposition will definitely have material consequences, both imposed and embraced (they share). They seek the guidance of that Spirit by doing their best to read Scripture and read their days in Scripture's light. The men and women are Augustine's *City of God* in its dialectical relation to the injustices mixed into the city of man. The early Franciscans lived that unremitting conflict at the core of history as well as they could. They had nothing; they gave much; and they exercised sufficient control over the distribution of goods as to assure the needs of the brothers and the brotherhood. Rule VI sings the praise of poverty and then, in Units 7-9, goes on to assure the brotherhood and each one that they can and do cover their material and spiritual needs. The first Franciscans discovered the basic truth of Christian life in their way. They left traces enough so that we can discover how they lived it and talked about it. It is their story; it is culturally and socially complete. That is, the men did break away from their times in their particular Augustinian dialectic. That is what Francis of Assisi would be celebrating, insofar as Thomas of Celano's *Memoriale* of 1246-1247⁴ has any critical value.

And now a word about the poverty of San Damiano. In 1228 the original poverty of Franciscan history was undergoing a change from a consequence of social criticism to the individual practice of material restraint, often toying with dualism, the while Clare of Assisi was assuring San Damiano's succession from a property-based so-

³ It is definitely not the poverty of the 1242 Commentary on the rule (the so-called commentary of the Four Masters) and the poverty defended by Bonaventure of Bagnoregio in the *Apologia pauperum*.

⁴ *FA:ED* 2, 380-81.

ciety. That was a basic Franciscan move on the part of San Damiano. However, it could not link up with a similar practice on the part of the Franciscan Order. That is, there was no way it could function within what had been the political dynamics of early Franciscanism. The Order had begun developing a use of property that factually involved the brothers and their institution in society. The poverty of Rule VI (1223) was fading away. It ceased. The constitutional work of 1239-1260 redefined Franciscan life. The prologue to the 1260 constitutions sanctioned the new order. The poverty of San Damiano, the poverty of Clare of Assisi, hung incomplete in history. It turned into a silent reproach of the Order's failure to hold to Rule VI and its *altissima paupertas*. The reproach ceased with Clare's demise.

JACQUES DALARUN

I had the good luck to hear Stefano Brufani deliver the paper in which he proposed that Thomas of Celano had worked a hagiographical account of Clare of Assisi, her story in a nutshell, into Chapter VIII of his *Life of Saint Francis* (1228-1229). It was at the 1992 Assisi Conference. And I was staying at the Antonianum in Rome when Marco Guida was drawing up his study of the insertion of this chapter into the legend, as required by Pope Gregory IX. We discussed it at length and with great profit. Now that the oldest manuscript with *The Life of Saint Francis* has been identified,⁵ we know for certain that this Chapter VIII was definitely in the text when Gregory IX confirmed the legend as official on February 25, 1229.

The hagiographical anomaly, which the two Italian scholars have so clearly laid before us, has found its historical place, thanks to the publications of Maria Pia

⁵ Jacques Dalarun has in mind here his "Le plus ancien témoin manuscrit de la *Vita Beati Francisci* de Thomas de Celano," in *Arbor ramosa: studi per Antonio Rigon*, Padova, 2011), 129-51. Translator's Note.

Alberzoni and the work of Niklaus Kuster. These recent studies have definitely advanced scholarship. We have reason to rejoice.

Yet I think of the person, the woman, Clare of Favarone. Without a doubt, she read *The Life of Saint Francis*, with its chapter in her praise. What effect did it have on her to be canonized in this way, to be embalmed while still alive? Such celebration of a living person's virtues is contrary to the classical as well as the Christian tradition, which looked on death as giving meaning to someone's life. We can recall the warning issued by Francis of Assisi to those who praised him, reported in *The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*: "I can still have sons and daughters. Do not praise me as if I were a sure thing! It is not right to praise one whose end is not certain."

The several cases to the contrary of saints whose story were written while they were still alive (Martin of Tours in the fourth century and Clare of Rimini in the fourteenth, for example) were in agony as the account was being written. In 1229 Clare of Assisi was thirty-five years old. She was certainly not still "young in age," as praised in *The Life of Saint Francis*, but she could certainly still "have sons and daughters." Thomas of Celano did not know it at the moment, but she still had the quarter of a century to live.

In a first reading of Chapter VIII in *The Life of Saint Francis*, there are the praises that stand out: "a very precious and strong stone," "an example to countless others," "noble by lineage, more noble by grace," "endowed more than others with wisdom and excelling in humility." And to finish: "bright in name, more brilliant in life, most brilliant in character."

Such a concert of praises would have been a moral danger for one who lacked Clare's exceptional humility. But it was a personal risk for the hagiographer and an institutional risk for the Church. What would have happened if, during the quarter century following the completion of *The Life of Saint Francis*, Clare did not live up to the promise of being practically a saint? Thomas of Cel-

ano would have been discredited. But his legend, made known throughout Christendom, had been required and confirmed by the pope. It would have been the Holy See that would have found itself compromised. Consequently, it was necessary to make sure that, in the life of Clare, nothing changed, she was outside the world, beyond time, already in the eternity of her cloistered life.

Seclusion in San Damiano, the material cloister. Yes, certainly. But after 1229, Clare's real prison was the text of Thomas of Celano: a prison of words. "The Lady Clare, a native of the city of Assisi, the most precious and strongest stone, was the foundation on which rested all the other stones." As the bodies of saints were buried beneath an elaboration of rocks and iron bars to avoid their theft, Clare was contained by the accumulated stones on her founding body. The metaphor of stones goes well with the restoration of San Damiano, the idea of foundation matches with the refoundation of the Church. Clare is equally wedged in between the exhortations of Francis and the example she has become: "an example to countless others." Her sisters themselves keep her set and still: "Above this woman there arose a noble structure of precious pearls."

The presentation of the seven virtues that follow no longer relate to Clare alone, but to all the Poor Ladies: charity, paired with the renunciation of self; humility, which registers assets in heaven; virginity and chastity, which not only preserve purity now and in the future, but do away with past habits; poverty, which cuts these women off from elementary needs of the body; abstinence and silence, interiorized to the point that, for some, "they could hardly recall how to form the words that fit"; a patience that did not blink as time passed; contemplation, uniting them to God as it extricated them from the world.

Thomas of Celano had the prudence to formulate a final wish: "May the eternal God deign by his holy grace conclude such a holy beginning with an end still more holy!" Yet his textual construction, written surely at the express demand of Gregory IX, is a cell, a strait jacket,

which already succeeds in cutting these women off from time, world, and body.

Niklaus Kuster is right to stress the compromise between Gregory IX and Clare as focusing on “most high poverty.” It is set at the center and the summit of this diadem of virtues. But at what price? The price paid is that poverty is now no more than a virtue. Originally, poverty was a social condition. By turning it into a moral virtue, poverty’s social potentialities are undone, as are the corseted bodies of these holy women. More pointedly, they undo themselves, for the interiorization of constraint is the summit of alienation.

Let us jump a quarter of a century ahead to see how the story ends. Clare of Assisi has kept her promises. She has not turned away from her prison of stones and words: she died in the odor of sanctity at San Damiano. As Marco Guida has shown, the same man who sang her praises in 1229, Thomas of Celano, was given the task by a new pope, Alexander IV, to draw up a long Latin legend in prose. He had but to set about and amplify the brief “legend in a nutshell.” “Clare, bright in name, more brilliant in life, most brilliant in character.” It had already been done in 1229. The words were the same, the same eternal play on words; and now in 1255 they brought life to the canonization bull and served as well in each chapter of the hagiographical folder and in the liturgy of Clare.

As Thomas of Celano’s pen has it, *The Legend of Saint Clare. Virgin*, proceeds once more in detailing the virtues: virginity, humility, poverty, mortification of the body, prayer, love of the Crucified, charity towards her sisters. Once more, the pen of the hagiographer operates surgically. Relying for detail on the Acta of the canonization process of 1253, which quietly bear witness to the resilience of Clare and her sisters in the face of the image the clerics had of them, Thomas of Celano lets fall here and there some of the information: the vision of Francis’s breast, the delivery of the Form of Life of the Order of the Poor Sisters now confirmed, the door that falls on Clare, her desire of martyrdom in faraway lands, some

more intimate visions of Christ, the return of Ugolino, the Knight's sexual appetite, the gift of money to those working at the Portiuncola—money which Clare, most likely, gave to Francis's brothers to buy meat (*carne* in Italian, meaning at the same time “meat” and “flesh”). At closer look, dropped was what had to do with the body and with external relations.

Thomas of Celano also adds information not found elsewhere: Palm Sunday, the restoration of San Damiano by Francis (itself the very source of the legend in a nutshell), demonic apparitions, Agnes's conversion, the bestowal of the Privilege of Poverty by Innocent III, the sometimes tense relations with Gregory IX, the presence of the companions of Francis at Clare's bedside.

If we consider no more than the issuance of pontifical privileges, the back and forth⁶ between the process and the legend is fascinating; the sisters giving witness in the process of canonization do not mention the Privilege of Poverty, but mention the confirmation of the Form of Life; the hagiographer says not a word about the Form of Life of Poor Sisters, but supplies information about the Privilege of Poverty. The Rule of Clare is a real transgression, not only in content but also due its author: a woman who in this way breaks the monopoly, masculine and clerical, of putting forth doctrine and norm. Cardinal Raynald and then Innocent IV limit its validity to the sole monastery of San Damiano, while Clare without a doubt dreamed of extending it to the female web of friendly monasteries, and eventually the pontifical chancery forgot to register it in the pontifical archives! On the other hand, even if seized by Clare in a hard-wrought struggle, the Privilege of Poverty could and should be mentioned in a legend of authority, for it is the question of an abstract poverty, lived in seclusion, detached from the social body where it would have meaning.

There we have what Thomas of Celano and five successive popes managed to produce by dint of their re-

⁶ *un chassé-croisé*: a dance in which the partners alternately pass back and forth in front of the other.

markable labor: conform a woman to an idea of holiness which they shared, within the limits of an audacity which they could allow. The results are admirable: a woman predestined to sanctity in 1229, who kept so well the promises which the clerics had staked on her that they were the same ones who drafted the result *in fine*; an Order of Saint Clare, which received and channeled the aspirations of women, bearing the title bestowed on it by Urban IV in 1263, therewith marginalizing definitively the Form of Life of the same Clare that gave the Order its name.

And Clare in all of that? She had to renounce her dream of an active apostolate in the world, of a brotherhood lived with Francis and his brothers, of a faraway martyrdom. In 1224, her body, constrained and broken by the weight of words and of stones, gave way, ruined for good. Her life is no more than one long relapse ending in her death. Detach oneself from one's carnal body cuts one off from the social body. That is where end, since the beginning of the Christian age, the virginity, the chastity, the ascetics, the macerations, the silence, the fasts and the vigils, the privation of food and of sleep. She fled her noble family and held fast to one privilege, the Privilege of most high Poverty, as if true poverty were not always to be sought at the lowest level. Poor Clare!

GERARD PIETER FREEMAN

Let us test the theories of Marco Guida and Niklaus Kuster by looking carefully at the situation of the "glorious religion and most excellent Order of Poor Ladies and holy virgins" in 1228-1229 (1C 18). Clare began living at San Damiano in 1211, where a number of girls and women soon came to live with her. Other communities sprang up. James of Vitry mentions "lesser sisters" in the surroundings of Perugia in July 1216, and nothing forbids us to think they belonged to the same movement as Clare and Francis. In August 1217 Clara left her monastery to

buy land in Foligno, where a community arose that same year.⁷ In July 1219, Cardinal Hugolino took five communities under his protection. Apart from Foligno, they were situated in Florence, Perugia, Siena, and Lucca. The first version of Hugolino's Rule, which must be dated to 1221, tells us there were also monasteries in Spello and Tortona.⁸ Cardinal Rainaldo's letter from 1228 mentions twenty-four monasteries, an impressive number in such a short time.⁹

Were they all monasteries like San Damiano? Rainaldo and Hugolino think so and Thomas of Celano agrees with them, but recent scholarship states quite clearly that most of them were worlds apart from San Damiano. They had sprung up from different sources, stood under Hugolino's influence, and had no ties with the young Franciscan movement. The cardinal wanted to bring San Damiano into his circle and, so this theory goes, forced Clare in July 1228 to join his group and follow his Rule. The Privilege of Poverty he accorded to San Damiano two months later was the prize he had to pay to convince Clare. He considered enclosure more important than poverty and therefore forced communities to accept property. The passage of Celano's *vita* which enumerates seven virtues of the Poor Ladies is supposed to be the author's silent protest. By placing poverty in the middle, Thomas explains, it is the center of Clare's life and spirituality.

This theory is ingenious. Poverty, indeed, is central to Clare. The story behind the theory, however, is improbable. It supposes Hugolino's policy is fixed and does not allow for development. It suggests the cardinal wrote his rule without any knowledge of Clare's way of life. It presupposes Hugolino disapproved of the sisters' poverty. I

⁷ See M. Sensi, "Le clarisse a Foligno nel secolo xiii," in *Collectanea Franciscana* 47 (1977): 349-62, 358.

⁸ G. Boccali, "La *Cum Omnis vera religio* del cardinale Ugolino. Forma Vite primitiva per San Damiano ed altri monasteri" (Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. IV.63), in *Frate Francesco* 74 (2008): 435-77.

⁹ *CA:ED*, 133. The semicolon after "Saint Damian of Assisi:" suggests erroneously San Damiano is not part of its order. Needless to say it is not in the Latin text.

consider these three ideas to be false. It would take a long article to explain this. It is not difficult: one simply has to use more sources than *CA:ED* and *FA:ED*, especially the papal and episcopal letters concerning the other monasteries.¹⁰ To put it very succinctly, Hugolino was impressed by the way Clare and her sisters lived and modelled the prescriptions on daily life in his rule on San Damiano.¹¹ Not everything originated in Assisi. The regulations on enclosure came from Rome.

Hugolino was in favor of poverty. In March 1228 Pope Gregory IX, as he must now be called since his election a year earlier, wrote a letter to the bishop of Trent about the sisters living there. They “had chosen to serve the Lord in ‘most high poverty’,” in *altissima paupertate*, the same expression Saints Francis and Clare used in their rules and the pope would use in the Privilege of Poverty of six months later.¹² He clearly approved. A year later he gave the sisters in Trent an indulgence because “they have consigned their needs to poverty, so that they are sustained solely by the alms of the faithful.”¹³ All the monasteries of the first Poor Ladies were collectively poor, from whatever spirituality they came. Because of that, Pope Honorius had released them from obedience to and taxation by the bishops ten years earlier.¹⁴ When Hugolino was travelling as papal legate between 1217 and 1221, he used a standard exemption form which simply states the sis-

¹⁰ One who reads Dutch can find most of the data in my dissertation *Clarissen in de dertiende eeuw. Drie studies* [Poor Clares in the Thirteenth Century. Three Studies], Utrecht, 1997.

¹¹ See for fasting my “Klarissenfasten im 13. Jahrhundert,” in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* [AFH] 87 (1994): 217-85. Italian translation: “Il Digiuno delle Clarisse nel XIII secolo,” in installments in *Forma sororum* 41 (2004) - 43 (2006).

¹² G. Polli, “Le Clarisse a Trento. Il monastero di San Michele nei secoli XIII-XIV,” in *Studi Francescani* 106 (2009): 33-186, 135, *elegerint in altissima paupertate Domino famulari*.

¹³ Polli, 137, *sufficientiam suam in paupertate posuerint ita quod fidelium tantum helemosinis sustententur*. A similar indulgence was given to seven other monasteries between 1228 and 1236.

¹⁴ Letter of Honorius in *CA:ED*, 72 where the last full sentence has a “not” that is not in the Latin text. Read “If in the future it happens that they get possessions ...”

ters were poor. Sometimes a bishop gave an exemption on the express condition that the sisters had to remain without possessions, for instance in San Severino (1223) and Faenza (1224).

In 1229 the Pope granted the first monasteries, San Damiano among them, a solemn privilege, the so-called *privilegium commune*.¹⁵ It consists of fixed formulas and had been given to countless other monasteries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Every order had its own set of formulas, but the list of properties of a monastery was always an important part: the pope took them under his protection. Exactly this part is lacking in the privileges for the first Poor Clares, simply because they did not have possessions apart from their houses and some surrounding land, but even that was not mentioned. It means the monasteries had no possessions and the pope and his cardinals approved.

Gregory's policy changed in 1227-1228. The Pope started bestowing gifts on monasteries: books for the sisters in Perugia, some lands to the monasteries of Spello and Foligno. In the letter on the sisters in Trent in which Gregory spoke about "most high poverty," he instructed the bishop to give them a new church because they were living in an unfit place. In 1229 the sisters moved and they received a new exemption. It stated they were not obliged any longer to follow "the chapter on not having possessions" of Hugolino's rule.¹⁶ This chapter probably never existed, but the statement indicates that the bishop and Brother Pacifico, who acted in the name of the Clares, considered not having possessions as part of the rule. The reason for the dispensation was that the new church had a lot of property, even with tithes. The difference with the case in Milan is great. Four years earlier, the Milanese sisters had moved, too. Their new church had benefices, landed income for three clerics. The archbishop declared

¹⁵ G. Boccali, "Alcuni nuovi documenti su santa Chiara di Assisi e le Clarisse," in *Frate Francesco* 77 (2011): 279-300, 288-91. The oldest one, for Todì, is very, very poorly translated in *CA:ED* 348-50.

¹⁶ Polli, 141-43.

the clerics could take them to their new house, “because the Order does not allow the nuns to have possessions, their church and house excepted.”¹⁷

Gregory changed his position not because he was an opponent of poverty, but because he saw it was sometimes too hard for the sisters.¹⁸ In 1255, admittedly thirty years later, the bishop of Massa Marittima wrote the pope, the sisters there were “so weighed down by poverty that they cannot lead a poor life, because the other people of the region are very poor and therefore reluctant to give alms.”¹⁹ Some monasteries were too remote for people to come and give alms. In other areas war made begging impossible.²⁰ Brothers oftentimes refused to beg for the sisters.

When he was in Assisi for the canonization of St. Francis in 1228, Gregory also wanted to give Clare gifts, which she refused. He was not angry; he gave her the Privilege of Poverty. It was not a long or fierce struggle. A pope who gives a privilege within two months acts quickly. Clare’s confident attitude is mentioned in her canonization bull and in the liturgy for her feast. It was considered proof of her sanctity, not of disobedience.

To come back to the theories of Marco Guida and Niklaus Kuster: We can be thankful to the first for discovering that the text about the Poor Ladies in Celano’s Life was added later, and to the second for pointing out that poverty is the central, pivotal virtue of the sisters. But the way they construct a story of fierce struggle between Gregory and Clare is not supported by the sources. While reading Celano’s insertion, the Pope surely smiled his approval.

¹⁷ M.P. Alberzoni, *Francescanesimo a Milano nel Duecento* (Bologna 1991), 180.

¹⁸ R. Rusconi, “L’espansione del francescanesimo femminile nel secolo XIII,” in *Movimento religioso femminile e francescanesimo* (Assisi 1980), 263-313, 286-89.

¹⁹ B. Bughetti, “Tabulae capitulares Provinciae Tusciae OM (saec. XIV-XVIII),” in *AFH* 10 (1917): 459-61.

²⁰ For instance in Milan, see Alberzoni, *Milano*, 55 n. 88.

REFLECTIONS ON PAGOLA'S *JESUS*: AN HISTORICAL APPROXIMATION¹

GIRARD ETZKORN

The author of this work, José A. Pagola has impressive qualifications with degrees in both theology and scripture. He is a professor of theology in St. Sebastian Seminary in Northern Spain. Among the goals of his book on Jesus is a descriptive narrative of the culture in which Jesus grew up and lived so as to help those of us who want to understand and embody the Good News better and assist in bringing the kingdom to come. Professor Pagola not only brings to bear the Jewish and Christian scriptures in his search as to what Jesus was doing and teaching, but he also makes his readers aware of the non-canonical/apocryphal Christian writings, such as the Gospels of Thomas and Peter, plus the writings of the Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus. Pagola also frequently alludes to the views, whether favorable to or conflicting with his own, of contemporary or near-contemporary theologians and scripture scholars both Catholic and non-Catholic. In this way, his readers are better able to understand the cultural climate in which Jesus lived and thus better understand the thrust of his deeds and words. Our author reminds his non-Scripture-scholar readers that the Christian Scriptures were preceded by decades and generations of oral traditions prior to their being committed to written documents. There were no stenographers or court-reporters present at Jesus's sermons and parables

¹ José Antonio Pagola, *Jesus, an Historical Approximation* [Kyrios] (Miami: Convivium Press, 2009), 557 pages.

recording his every word. In fact, most of his listeners, including some of the apostles, were illiterate since only an estimated 10% of the population in Jesus's time were able to read and write. However a faithful oral tradition assured the preservation of the Good News.

So what was Jesus up to? He was proclaiming the kingdom of God, not a kingdom at the end of time, but a kingdom here and now, where justice, love and peace reign. Time and again Pagola reminds us readers that Jesus associated by preference with the marginalized by the culture of his time: the poor, the lepers, the beggars, the women, the prostitutes, the tax-collectors. By contrast the powerful and the wealthy have a hard time understanding what is required for the coming of the kingdom much less participate in bringing it about, they hear (physically) but are often reluctant to abandoning wealth, control and domination. The cruelty of the Romans and the Herods exemplified this. The cities, e.g. Sepphoris and Tiberias, were the places where the wealthy and powerful ruled on the backs of the peasants. "They (the poor) were the most oppressed social stratum or sector; those who have lost their land are forced to seek work as day laborers or to live by begging or prostitution." (180-81). Perhaps this is why Jesus by preference proclaimed the Good News in the amphitheater of nature where the poor felt comfortable and safe rather than in buildings and cities.

So what title best befits Jesus? Unquestionably and repeatedly Pagola describes him as a prophet, taken in the original sense as "speaking for another," namely his Father. There is no mention of Christ as king or priest. It is ironic that in Roman Catholicism there is no feast of "Christ the prophet"! For whom does Jesus speak? For a God of mercy and compassion, of love, and not of wrath and vengeance. God is a God of boundless and all inclusive mercy, a love encompassing all of creation. Or as Shakespeare² told it:

² William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, act 4, scene 1.

The quality of mercy is not strained. It dropeth as the gentle rain from heaven upon the place beneath. It is twice blest. It blesseth him that gives and him that takes.

God is one who invites but does not resort to force whether physical or psychological. Jesus often praises those of great faith,³ where faith is understood as the belief that the Father through his servant Jesus can help those who suffer. "What God cared about was liberating the people from whatever dehumanized them and caused them suffering." (106)

The Good News⁴ and the coming of the kingdom are found in the beatitudes and parables. This is where Pagola's description of the cultural background helps us understand the essence of the message which, in Jesus' time as well as today, is basically anti-cultural. The parable of the barn-builder contrasts with accumulating wealth. The parable of the prodigal son whose message of forgiveness and love contrasts with self-righteousness and vengeance. The landowner paying equal wages to the late-comers as well as the early-comers contrasts with a hyper-individualism questioning the generosity of God. The parable of the Pharisee and the tax-collector where the mind-set of the Pharisee may be characterized as mercantile Christianity, viz. "I go to church every Sunday, I have made a novena, I say the rosary daily, therefore God you owe me."⁵ The tax-collector by contrast throws himself on God's mercy and is not self-righteous for simply doing what he's supposed to do (140-43). The spin which

³ How faith came to be taken as belief in doctrine, may be regarded as a hellenization of Christianity, but that is another story.

⁴ I once attended a talk given by a priest who had been a missionary in South America for twenty years ministering to the poor who were working probably in sweat shop conditions. He had to return to the States, presumably for health reasons, and was the pastor of a parish in north-central Missouri. He said that he had a hard time preaching the Gospel to the (affluent?) people of north-central Missouri. This shook my psyche and still does to this day.

⁵ This may be the equivalent of what Dietrich Bonhoeffer called "cheap grace."

Pagola puts on each of the parables makes us, who seek the Good News, re-examine the thrust of each of the parables as to what they mean for us today. Pagola's treatment of the parables makes the book worth reading.

Our author dedicates an entire chapter (207-30) dealing with Jesus's relations to women. In his time, and to some extent also in our time, women were/are regarded as inferior. Jesus's association with women scandalized the minions of religious and secular power. In his time, women were relegated to the three Cs: child-bearing, cooking and cleaning. Men were able to give a bill of divorce for the triviallest of reasons, whereas women had no such right (220). Women were considered as being of lesser intelligence and guided by emotion and sensuality rather than reason. Men were the real 'agents' in the Jewish religion; women had no role to play. Widows were especially vulnerable because they had no man and hence were among the marginalized of society. The same was true of the women who may have had to resort to prostitution to avoid starvation. Jesus's solution to the woman caught in adultery was scandalous! Promiscuous men in Jesus's time were not regarded as adulterers and hence not to be executed by stoning. Ironically it was the women who put themselves at risk by remaining faithful to Jesus crucified whereas the men fled. Pagola characterizes the female followers of Jesus as disciples. Given the prevailing misogynist mind-set of his day, it would have been foolish for Jesus to invite women as his apostles ... they would have gotten no hearing whatsoever! Would they have been incapable of leadership defined as service? Only to the extent that the prevailing cultural mind-set continued and continues to be misogynist.

As an affront to the prevailing mind-set of power and control, Jesus proclaimed a leadership of service in love. The washing of the feet at the Last Supper was a dramatic object-lesson to his followers, but the apostles didn't get it. James and John asked for places of honor. If you would be my followers, then be as little children, who don't understand much less pursue prestige, even if they must be

taught to use power moderately and justly. Jesus's entire life and message of service-in-love was an affront to the religious and secular power-addicts of his day and that is why he had to be disposed of. It is time to rid ourselves of the notion that the Jews killed Jesus. It was the control-freaks and power-addicts who had Jesus crucified. "It was Caiaphas who had counseled the Jews that it was better that one man should die rather than the people" (John 18:14). If a society is structured in such a way that one class is deemed higher, more important, more productive and in control of their inferiors, then love meets a barrier. The power-addict does not want to be loved, but only to be obeyed. As Aristotle remarked long ago, friendship can be only between equals. Jesus said: "You are my friends⁶ if you do what I command you (John 15:14), namely "love one another as I love you" (John 15:12). If indeed a classless society is practically unfeasible, this does not mean that a chosen group may not be of service to the common good. Politicians are occasionally referred to as public servants, but if in their behavior their private interests are being served to the detriment of the common good, then the meaning of service is subverted. It is obvious that this applies to the religious sector as well.⁷ Nothing imprisons the good news more than addiction to power and control where the faithful are regarded as inferior in faith and in need of doctrinal handouts. If Catholicism is hierarchically structured, (it seems we're stuck with it), then the clergy needs to be in the servant mode as Jesus commanded. Not as an attitude of we've got it, as we so often hear, e.g. the church teaches, but as an invitation to use our God-given intellects to seek out the good news so as to understand what is required to implement the Gospel in spite of contemporary cultural obstacles. The principal obligation of the clergy – and this

⁶ In my eighty some odd years I have never heard a sermon on "you are my friends."

⁷ I believe it was Gregory the Great who once said that if a preacher cannot beget spiritual children, i.e. provide spiritual nourishment, then he should be deprived of his office.

needs to be emphasized again and again in seminaries – should be one of providing spiritual nourishment and this requires much reading and reflection. As the saying goes: you can't give what you haven't got.

Although Pagola doesn't say it in so many words, Jesus came primarily to teach us how to live in justice and peace. As immutable, God cannot be offended by our sins, even if we can be offensive. Being redeemed means being shown how to live in love, compassion and forgiveness and Jesus came to show us how. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only Son" (John 3:16). We are called to emulate this love, including also our enemies.⁸ This contrasts markedly with the current atmosphere of xenophobia and paranoia. This was the marvelous insight of John Duns Scotus who claimed that the Son of God would have become man even if Adam had not sinned. Focus on redemption from sin can distort the positive reason for Jesus' being amongst us. Moreover, it is all too obvious that Jesus' coming did not do away with sin or war or genocide. Hence by implementing the positive we can be redeemed from the negative.

In conclusion: it is impossible to do justice to Pagola's Jesus book in this short essay. His efforts stand as an invitation to have another look at what Jesus did and said such that the cultural mind-sets, past and contemporary, which obfuscate the Good News can be removed so that the message will shine forth. Contemporary theologians and scripture scholars can be of great service in separating the dross from the gold.

⁸ There's that marvelous one-liner from the comic strip Pogo: "we have met the enemy and he is us."

**BEAUTIFUL AND RADIANT:
*THE SONG OF ST. CLARE***

STEPHEN R. PASTICK, O.F.S.

Antiphon: “Beloved, let us love one another, for love is from God. And everyone who loves is born of God, and knows God.” [1John 4:7]

I sought him and found him not
I will rise and will go about the city
In the streets and the broad ways
I sought him but I found him not
The watchmen who keep the city found me
Have you seen him whom my soul loves?
Have you seen him?

Once he took up arms and armor
Was dashing debonair of the sun he did shine
O he was beautiful radiant and with much splendor
He was not unkind and though he did not know it
then
We were both of the same mind

It was a time of temper and tempests
Trumpets and hammers on tin
A sharpening of spears swords and wits
Of him and around him was always the rush of wind
Clouds and blood lust dimmed in him the infant light
of Christ

And then there was this strange awakening in him
As if he were born again naked dispossessed no longer
possessed
To none now he posed no threat to none but God did
he owe a debt
With this freedom came joy and from him a most play-
ful noise
Like flames of a divine fire he was ebullient bold in
Jesu alone he did rejoice

With the poor and the leper he found his peace
He fed he clothed he washed the wounds of their dis-
ease
He begged their pardon and broke the bread of amen
with them
He lived as one with them outside the city walls was
he seen
Once one of the mighty now a servant who served up
a grand humility

Have you seen my Seraphic Father
My brother my wayward friend who for the love of God
Would travel to earth's end and then come to win souls
for the heavenly kingdom?
If he should come knocking at your door or washed up
on your shore
Take the stranger in as he is an angel in disguise ban-
daged akin to the crucified Christ

Antiphon: "Beloved, let us love one another, for love is
from God. And everyone who loves is born of God, and
knows God." [1John 4:7]

**SO PRECIOUS CHASTE AND PURE:
*THE SONG OF ST. FRANCIS***

STEPHEN R. PASTICK, O.F.S.

Antiphon: "And now I beseech thee, lady, for I hope to be with you and to speak face to face, that your joy may be full. [2John 1:5a, 12c]

I sought her and found her not
I will rise and will go about the city
In the streets and the broad ways
I sought her but I found her not
The watchmen who keep the city found me
Have you seen her whom my soul loves?
Have you seen her?

She is like the fair moon and the clear light of stars
She is more like the green of Venus
Than the war red of Mars
There is of her the mercy and meekness of gentle Je-
sus
All the children flock to her for kisses and hugs O
sweet emissary of love!

There is ever the praise of God on her lips and in her
eyes
While most comply to Compline I can only breathe out
sighs
Hear me! I am most certain that half of me is her
Like spring water she is most precious chaste and
pure

She is like unto the earth pregnant with purpose
Whilst knowing no man she can she can
Sustain a man and govern him with His Truth
About her beauty is the scent of wildflower herb and
fruit

She cannot contend or offend can only commend
You to Him to seek pardon for your sin
Forgiveness from your neighbor offer you rest from
your labor
To partake in prayer as does this my lady, Clare

She is my Christiana my little plant
With whom I am engaged in incessant conversation
Simple and elegant she is my fellow incendiary
Pledged to set fire to all selfish desire
She is my Christiana my little plant!

Antiphon: "And now I beseech thee, lady, for I hope to be
with you and to speak face to face, that your joy may be
full." [2John 1:5a, 12c]



BOOK REVIEW

Thorn, Willy. *Brother Booker Ashe: "it's amazing what the Lord can do."* Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press Press, 2011. 195 pp. \$20.00. (Paperback)

When he was nearing his death, Francis of Assisi admonished his brothers, "I have done what is mine; may Christ teach you what is yours" (2 Cel: 214). Booker Ashe, one of Francis's twentieth century brothers, took this admonition very seriously. Booker was born in Columbia, South Carolina in 1932 the fourth of six children. His father was an attorney, his mother a school teacher. The family moved to Evanston, Illinois shortly after his birth. Booker described his family as "a very religious family, one that cared about less fortunate people." He graduated from high school in 1951 and shortly thereafter entered the Capuchin branch of the Franciscan Order—the only black man in this Wisconsin-based province.

In 1978, when Brother Booker was celebrating his twenty-fifth anniversary as a Capuchin, he recalled for Michael Holt of the *Milwaukee Community Journal* his decision to enter the Capuchins. "As a teenager I looked at the various religious orders ... each order was founded to do certain types of work. Since the Capuchin order was interested in helping the poor, I decided it was closer to my desires than any of the other orders.... I applied. I thought I'd give it a try. But I never thought I'd stay." Author, Willy Thorn, narrates Booker's intensely engaging story primarily through recollections of a vast range of people, excerpts from contemporary printed sources and striking photographs, weaving these threads together

with selections from Booker's autobiographical material and the author's own sparse narrative.

Booker's story left this reader with the feeling that Booker seemed born to be a Capuchin. He was invested in the Order in 1952, taking the name Brother Agathangelus in honor of a Capuchin martyred in Abyssinia in 1638, and made his final vows in 1956. His first assignment was as secretary to now Blessed Solanus Casey, a Capuchin who, though ordained, was not permitted to preach or hear confessions on the ground of difficulty experienced in his studies. Perhaps this formed a common bond with Brother Agathangelus, who, though extremely talented, was discouraged from pursuing formal education because brothers, at that time, were expected to do manual labor. Capuchin Brother Bob Smith, Booker's nephew, believes his uncle's opportunity to work closely with Solanus was providential. After Solanus's death in 1957, Brother Agathangelus filled a variety of secretarial positions in the Order.

The ministry that became Brother Booker's (he returned to his baptismal name after Vatican II when religious were given this option) life-time commitment called him to Milwaukee when, on December 31, 1967, St. Francis parish announced it was planning "an experimental extension" in the form of a community center. His superior offered Booker the opportunity to participate in the initial planning for the center. Booker later recalled, "When we first talked about it, we didn't know who would be the director and who would be the founder. They felt as a group, it would be better if a black person did it. In those days, I was the only black person around." It was determined that the center would be called House of Peace. Booker recalled, "We felt, a House, rather than just sort of an agency building would be better. And Peace, because of what it says, a house of friendship and love and understanding." Brother Booker and House of Peace became almost synonymous until ill health forced his retirement in 1995.

Brother Booker's accomplishments for House of Peace and adjunct activities seem almost superhuman. Rather than enumerate these, Thorn chooses to describe these years through the recollections of people who lived and worked with Booker. This list of people and Booker's involvements is far beyond impressive. His burning desire was to bring peace and happiness to people. Capuchin Father Lloyd Thiel, a co-worker, stated: "Working with him was great. He had tremendous insight; great sense of compassion. He wanted to constantly see things from their [people's] perspective, their struggle.... He constantly helped all of us to know what it was to walk in their shoes. He was using his own experience in the process. It was very powerful. He would not allow any prejudice in the order." People remembered Brother Booker as one who was "constantly bringing people together, black and non-black;" "great as a bridge builder;" "one who knew how to bring people together in peace." Like Francis, Brother Booker begged tirelessly and unashamedly from everyone for Christ's poor ones. And, like Francis, he admonished, "Return some piece of yourself in return for offerings."

Brother Booker addressed his concerns for the needs of the poor, especially their dignity, primarily through shepherding the House of Peace. Thorn devotes the main portion of this book to the unfolding of Booker's life alongside the contributions of the many persons who helped the House of Peace live up to its name. In addition, through membership and leadership in a wide variety of local, state, national and church organizations, he worked tirelessly for the same cause. He loved the church deeply and wanted desperately for her to recognize that: "We are the Church of the poor or we are not the Church of Christ."

Grounding all of Brother Booker's energy was his gratitude for his vocation to the Capuchin Order. He recognized that his vast talents could have taken him into other fulfilling careers; however, in his words, "This Franciscan way is my life." Comments from his brother Capuchins confirm this. "He was very Franciscan.

Everything was rooted in the Gospel.” “He was faithful to religious observance. Everyday, he went to Mass.” “He made prayer the foundation of his life.” “In a way, he was a very private person. There are a lot of things that he did that he never blew his horn about. He did it very quietly.” “His life was his ministry. It included prayer, but also work. And the two were interchangeable. Booker understood this.” I suspect that circumstances honed and chiseled Booker into the Franciscan he became. And I suspect that in the process Assisi’s Francis and Milwaukee’s Booker carried on some very lively conversations. That Brother Booker was the first brother to be elected to the Provincial Council—and then reelected for a second term—speaks volumes about this group of men vowed to live the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Like the rest of us, Booker had his human shortcomings, some of which are noted by his Capuchin brothers, co-workers and friends. In his final five years ill health forced him to let go of his beloved ministry—a fact not easy for him nor those responsible for his care. Here, too, Brother Booker teaches us what it is to be human—what it is to submit to total care after a life of selfless ministry to others. Brother Booker’s earthly story ended on Christmas Eve, 2000, attended by his brothers.

Thorn’s format for telling Booker’s story produces a somewhat fragmented effect to the text that can be distracting for readers whose preference is a smooth flowing text. Likewise, at times, attempting to follow the text chronologically can be challenging. Having said that, however, the format Thorn chose is, perhaps, the most effective way to convey the freshness and energy evident in Booker’s life and ministry. Inseparable in Booker’s life was his love for his own heritage, the poor, the Capuchins and the Church. Through being keenly alive to his own experience, Brother Booker teaches us how to live the gospel. A wide audience will find this book lives up to its subtitle, *“it’s amazing what the Lord can do.”*

Teresine Glaser, O.S.F.
Dubuque, Iowa

THE FISHERMAN, THE NOBLE LADY AND THE MERCHANT

BENEDICTA DEGA, F.S.S.J.

God chooses persons of varied backgrounds. The commonality in the choice is passion. A fire of love that burns without restraint. A passionate love that turns the world upside down. What a zeal, a spiritual insight!

They hear, see and feel the master's voice. They grow with love until it becomes a reality. The Fisherman, the disciple who Jesus loved was one. He writes his gospel with a soaring spirit.

In the immensity of silence, he heard the unutterable word. The dazzling source of light which illuminates every heart. He soared in the contemplation of the word made flesh. That crackling fire caught the heart of a merchant; Francis. It was the action of the Spirit revealing John's word. It was the Spirit that played melodies in Francis's heart.

The word became real for Francis. In his life and in his speech, he was consumed in love. His love became one in his Rules, but more in his action. It was a fire so powerful, so intense that even at a distance, followers felt the very heart of John's Gospel become, the Word made flesh, come alive.

He experienced contemplation in action that led him to a shared life in the Trinity. The flame of Francis touched the "light" Clare and the world was ablaze anew. The Palm Sunday "I do" was the spark that caused the light's intensity.

Clare's heart and soul were burning with transformation, a brightness as glowing as the Transfiguration. From generation to generation, the light is passed to us anew. We, too, become transformed, one with the Savior of the world.

The sons and daughters of Francis and Clare have been forever changed by the Fisherman, the Noble Lady, and the Merchant. Centuries later, the flames blaze brightly. Empowered by the Spirit's presence, God's people walk with the eternal hope, the Word incarnate. Dramatic, life changing and intense, the heart of God dwells in the "Word made flesh."

STIGMATA

His friends remember him. In fiery orbit or full at
her rising
Faithful and constant, clean and clear the singing
of mountain pools
Dappled playground of wolf and lamb, wind and
fire scouring noble,
Cauldron and furnace
Elegant in her virtue Dame Poverty welcomed com-
panion Sister Death.

Fluted conspirators what secret do you hold? Dis-
til for us his dreaming and
Solitude rough fingers palmed against the dark-
ness confining rock. Measure off bruised
reed, simple courtesy, gentle whisper of great spirit
modest, herald of so noble a Lord, joyful on his
fiddle spare
notes of gratitude soar
boundless
praise of the Most High!
melting, his body lowering to adore, sweet the
earth.
Crumpled joy in matted wool God visits with a
sharing.
Boulders hewn in the age of Giants watch
so intimate
the stained kiss.

Kevin Tortorelli, O.F.M.



Franciscan Life Center

Retreat

Joyfully Living Our Franciscan Values (in our world today)

Saturday, July 7 (7 p.m.) – Friday, July 13 (noon), 2012

Director: Jolynn Brehm, FSPA

A retreat opportunity to re-discover and re-energize our four Franciscan values, especially as a way of life in our world today. It will be a prayerful, reflective exploring of the Third Order Rule and Life which is a spiritual document shared by all Third Order Franciscans worldwide. The focus is the four values of conversion, contemplation, poverty and minority as those express a life of joyful witness in our times.

Sister Jolynn Brehm has directed retreats and workshops on our Rule and Life since 1985 with various religious communities. She also was privileged to do the "Rebirth of a Charism" program at several sites in the U.S. during this time and was a member of the Spirit and Life committee of the Franciscan Federation. Sister Jolynn has a passion for promoting the vitality and relevance of our TOR Rule and Life as we look to the future!

Cost: \$400 (includes meals and lodging).

Pre-register by June 1, 2012, with a \$50 non-refundable deposit.



FRANCISCAN
SISTERS
OF LITTLE FALLS
MINNESOTA

For more information or to register, contact:

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320-632-0668 • franciscanlife@fslf.org • www.fslf.org

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Registration is limited. For more information please contact Beverly at (856) 869-3127 or email ChabalowskiB@LourdesNet.org.
www.LourdesWellnessCenter.org

Lourdes Wellness Center is sponsored by Lourdes Health System, a Ministry of the Franciscan Sisters of Allegany, NY

THE PORTIUNCULA CENTER FOR PRAYER

Summer 2012 at 'The Woods'

WOMEN'S SUMMER RETREAT: "Sowing Seeds of Change"

Wednesday, June 27 (4:30 p.m.) – Sunday, July 1 (Noon)

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Facilitators: Mary Ruth Broz, RSM, Norma Janssen, OSF, Carol Dolan

Fee: \$350 (program, spiritual direction, room and meals)

CLARE OF ASSISI AND THE WOMB OF COMPASSION

Friday, July 13 (7 p.m.) to Friday, July 20 (Noon)

As we celebrate the 800th anniversary of Clare's vocational commitment, you are invited to come and spend retreat with this Franciscan woman who, as mother and sister to us, can teach us how to follow more faithfully our Gospel way of life. As she companions you these days, you will be invited to embrace the vision she models---a contemplative vision that penetrates the mystery of Gospel beatitudes and shows us why the "poor" are "blessed." It is these "poor" that she holds within the womb of her compassion, and because she remained committed to this vision, she changed not only her world, but the future of religious life as well. Facilitator: Clare A. D'Auria, OSF

Fee: \$495 (retreat, room, and meals) Commuter: \$295 (retreat and lunch)

SILENT DIRECTED RETREAT

Wednesday, July 25 (4:30 pm) – Sunday, July 29 (Noon)

Give yourself the gift of time! Sit under a tree, stare out the window, walk the labyrinth, journal in the gazebo, wander down to Hickory Creek, find a bench in the shade! This directed retreat promises an environment that fosters silence, solitude, prayer, rest, and renewal as you find yourself surrounded by the beauty of St. Francis Woods. Spiritual Directors: Mary Ruth Broz, RSM, Father Terry Johnson, and Nancy Hoel. Fee: \$350 (includes room, meals, and daily spiritual direction)



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- The first part of the programme will focus on personal spiritual development, building skills which will be developed and deepened throughout the programme
- The second part includes looking at spirituality within the church and wider community
- The third and final part of the programme will concentrate on the further development of the skills of spiritual direction
- Assessment – each participant will be asked to build up a portfolio of assignments , based on their - independent reading, journaling, experience of leading group discussion and compilation of resources useful in spiritual direction.
- Each participant will be allocated a tutor who will meet with them regularly and be given regular feedback on their progress and development.

For more information and an application form please
e mail: margaret.m@franciscanccs.org or mail Sr Margaret McGrath FMSJ.



The Franciscan Centre for Christian Spirituality is part of the
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CT2 7NA www.franciscanccs.org



Franciscan
International Study Centre

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The programme for Sabbaticals at the Franciscan International Study Centre Canterbury offer those attending an opportunity for quiet reflection, rest or study - or a combination of all three.

- There is a full calendar of social events, including day trips to historical and religious sites within driving distance of the Centre.
- Throughout the year there are a number of evening events where all students and friends of the Centre come together to celebrate special occasions or just to socialise with each other.
- We are within close walking distance of the City of Canterbury giving students plenty of time to explore this beautiful city at their leisure. Canterbury is an ancient Pilgrimage city ideally situated for travel within the UK and Continental Europe.
- Sabbatical students are welcome to attend modules on offer - to listen in as auditors or to sign up for essays if they choose to do so! Our courses cover modules in Scripture, Theology, Philosophy and Franciscan Studies. At the beginning of your stay with us we will meet with you to discuss your choices and offer guidance if required.
- The programme runs for three terms and each term is independent of the others. Due to visa requirements, non EU participants can come for 3 to 6 months. EU participants can come for the whole year.

We look forward to welcoming you to the Franciscan International Study Centre and ensuring that your stay with us will be a memorable one.

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July 24 - August 5, 2012/13 days
October 24 - November 4, 2012/12 days

Franciscan Pilgrimage for Educators, Administrators and Alumni of Franciscan Colleges and Universities

May 21 - 31, 2012/11 days

Pilgrimage for AFCU Sudents

December 27, 2012 to
January 6, 2013/11 days

Franciscan Pilgrimage to Southern California Missions

July 15 - 21, 2012/7 days

Franciscan Pilgrimage to Prague

July 28 - August 6, 2012/10 days

Franciscan Pilgrimages to the Holy Land

March 19 - April 2, 2012/15 days
April 23 - May 7, 2012/15 days
September 24 - October 2, 2012/9 days
October 22 - 30, 2012/9 days

Franciscan Leadership Pilgrimages

October 6 - 16, 2012/11 days
October 12 - 22, 2012/11 days
October 18 - 28, 2012/11 days

Franciscan Study Pilgrimages

July 2 - 25, 2012/24 days
September 13 - October 7, 2012/25 days

Franciscan Pilgrimage to Ireland

Date to be determined
Check web periodically for details.

Franciscan Pilgrimage to Mexico

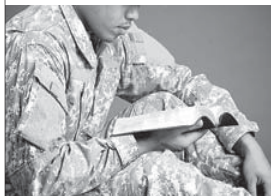
March 2 - 10, 2012

Assisi



Franciscan Pilgrimage to Rome and Assisi for Veterans of the Military

March 5 - 13, 2012/9 days
August 13 - 21, 2012/9 days
September 29 - October 7, 2012/9 days



Rome: St. Peter's Square



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Paula D'Arcy

Fr. Rusty Shaughnessy, OFM

SEPTEMBER 18 - 20, 2012

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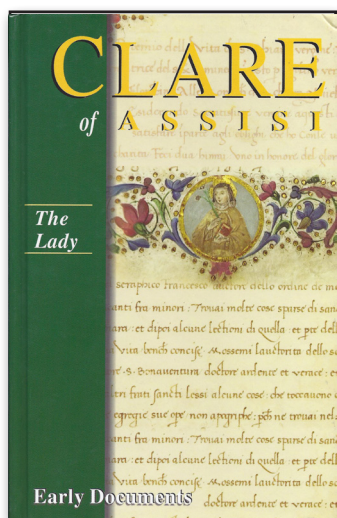
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translated by
Regis J. Armstrong, OFM Cap

Provides new translations of Clare's writings and related primary sources, new introductions and revisions from earlier editions, as well as previously unpublished documents to chronicle the life of Saint Clare.

2006: 472 p.
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FRANCISCAN HERITAGE SERIES

The Franciscan Heritage Series is initiated by the Commission on the Retrieval of the Franciscan Intellectual Tradition (CFIT). The series will, over time, encompass topics such as Christian Anthropology, Ecclesiology, Scriptural Themes, Evangelization, History, the Natural Sciences, the Arts and other areas of contemporary concern. Embedded in this vision and communicated in the Intellectual Tradition are implications for the world of politics, social relations, family life and daily human existence. Can we speak in the midst of our own social and ecclesial location a language of God-with-us, of life, of social witness, a language of the intellect that will help us do what is ours to do in this Christian Catholic Franciscan way of Gospel Life?



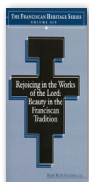
Women of the Streets, Early Franciscan Women and Their Mendicant Vocation by Darleen Pryds

This book about Mendicant women outside the cloister is unique in its content. Rose of Viterbo, Angela of Foligno, Margaret of Cortona, and Sancia, Queen of Naples, were all born within the first century of the Franciscan Order. As women who pursued their religious vocation of voluntary poverty, itinerancy, and preaching outside of monastic walls – in the streets and in their homes – they could very well be called the first generation of mendicant women.

2010: 96 p.

★ Pb 978-1-57659-206-9

\$12.00



Rejoicing in the Works of the Lord: Beauty in the Franciscan Tradition by Mary Beth Ingham, CSJ

The special focus of this study is the appreciation of beauty in the writing of two great theorists of the tradition, Bonaventure of Bagnoregio and John Duns Scotus.

2009: 96 p.

★ Pb 978-1-57659-205-2

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Trinitarian Perspectives in the Franciscan Theological Tradition by Maria Calisi

The purpose of this volume is to present distinctly Franciscan perspectives on the doctrine of the Trinity in the writings of Bonaventure and Francis, and to demonstrate what this tradition has to offer to the Christian Church.

2008: 96 p.

Pb 978-1-57659-204-5

\$12.00



The Franciscan Vision and the Gospel of John: The San Damiano Crucifix, Francis and John, Creation and John by Michael D. Guinan, OFM

The San Damiano Crucifix, meditation on the Word of God in Scripture and the evangelical life of Francis and Clare are at the heart of the Franciscan vision. Professor Guinan shows us the significance of the Gospel of John as a directive force, particularly in its key images of Word, Lamb, Good Shepherd and the One Who Washes Feet. A CD with a power point presentation on the images of the San Damiano Crucifix is included.

2006: 80 p.

★ Pb 978-1-57659-203-0

\$12.00



The Franciscan View of the Human Person: Some Central Elements by Dawn M. Nothwehr, OSF

This brief volume discusses several of the central elements of human persons as found within the Franciscan theological tradition. As that tradition developed over the years, the intuitions and insights of Saints Francis and Clare of Assisi concerning the human person were further

developed and/or restated in language better understood by the people of a particular era. This text provides insight into that development.

2005: 96 p.

★ Pb 978-1-57659-202-1

\$12.00



A Franciscan View of Creation: Learning to Live in a Sacramental World by Ilia Delio, OSF

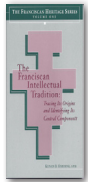
The purpose of this volume is to elucidate in greater detail the theology of creation as a foundational starting point for contemporary belief and practice. The author traces the theme of God and creation from the time of the conversion of Francis of Assisi through the first century

of Franciscan life and thought, which culminated in the work of John Duns Scotus.

2003: 80 p.

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The Franciscan Intellectual Tradition: Tracing Its Origins and Identifying Its Central Components by Kenan Osborne, OFM

The purpose of this volume is to present some general and major themes of the theological formulation of the Franciscan Intellectual Tradition as these themes intersect with contemporary perspectives. It provides a solid foundation for future expositions in this series and challenges readers to express these theological themes in preaching, in pastoral practice, in the works of evangelization, and in the formative experiences of friars, sisters, and laity.

2003: 88 p.

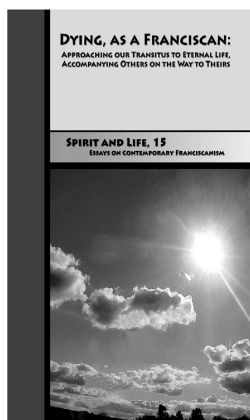
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Dying, As A Franciscan

Spirit and Life - Volume 15

The preparation for the transitus to eternal life by Francis and Clare is well documented in the literature and the art of the lives of both. The Ninth National Franciscan Forum addressed the questions: Is there a particularly Franciscan manner of approaching our passage to the Lord and of helping others do the same? Are there particular elements within the Franciscan tradition – stories, symbols and rituals – on which we can all draw to help us and others in this ultimate pilgrimage of the human journey? The presentations at this conference by Michael Cusato, O.F.M., Thomas Nairn, O.F.M., Mary Petrosky, F.M.M., Daniel Sumasy, O.F.M., Thomas Lynch and Kathleen McCarron, O.S.F., addressed those questions and provides perspectives on death and dying with a specifically Franciscan interpretation.

2011: Pb 978-1-57659-221-2 \$19.95

Volume 17

Her Bright Merits: Essays Honoring Ingrid J. Peterson, OSF

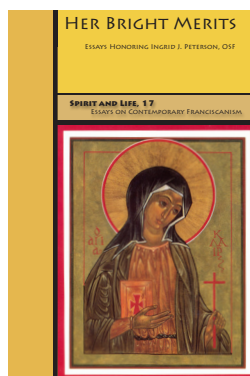
This book, a collection of essays on Clare of Assisi and the women of the early Franciscan movement by several of the best scholars in the field, is offered in tribute to Peterson and her academic and scholarly work.

Divided into four parts, part one introduces Peterson, part two takes us into the heart of studies of franciscan women, part three focuses on how Peterson came to the study of medieval history and the volume concludes with Peterson's own summation of what she leaves for us to do in this field.

Contributors to this collection are:

Regis Armstrong, Margaret Carney, Felicity Dorsett, Jean-François Godet-Calogeras, Pacelli Millane, Ramona Miller, Darleen Pryds, Joy Schroeder, Diane Tomkinson, Paul Lachance, Margaret Klotz, Beth Lynn, Mary Meany and Alison More
2012: 286

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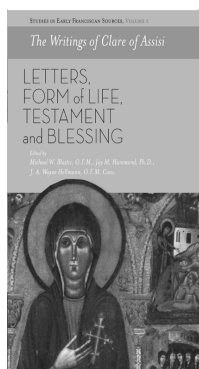
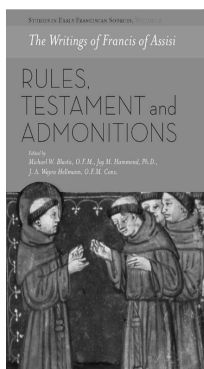
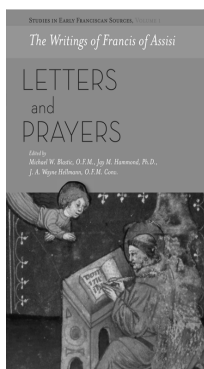
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2011: 336 p. Hc 978-1-57659-293-9 \$34.95

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Rules, Testament and Admonitions contains essays by William J. Short, Michael W. Blastic, Jay M. Hammond, and J.A. Wayne Hellmann.

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2011: 336 p. Hc 978-1-57659-294-6 \$34.95

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The Writings of Clare of Assisi presents the latest scholarship by Ingrid Peterson, Lezlie Knox, Michael W. Blastic and Jean-François Godet-Calogeras.

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2011: 144 p. Hc 978-1-57659-295-3 \$24.95



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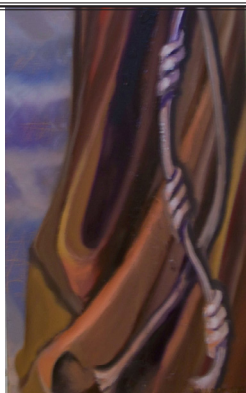
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Summer Enrichment

The Franciscan Institute
St. Bonaventure University

July 9-12, 2012

ARTISTIC PERSPECTIVES AND FRANCISCAN SPIRITUALITY

How can we view conversion and the transitus of Francis of Assisi in the 21st century?

Program Description:

Can we imagine events in the life of Francis from a different point of view, perspective?

This practicum studio workshop will draw on research, reflection and pictorial artistic expressions using the art disciplines of 1, 2, and 3-point perspectives. It will also invite participants into an exploration of bird's eye, worm's eye, and atmospheric perspectives that may inspire new interpretations of the narrative episodes in the life of Francis and our own lives as contemplative Franciscans. They may take the shape of representational, abstract, or non-objective images that reveal diverse results for reflection. Due to time restrictions several dry art mediums (pencil, charcoal, pastel, oil pastel, etc.) will be employed. Some art materials will be provided. No pre-requisites or prior experience in art are required.

Monday — Thursday from 1:00 PM to 4:15 PM (Francis Hall Art Studio)

Easel Exhibit and Social, Thursday, 7:00 PM (San Damiano Room, Francis Hall)

Master Teacher: David Haack, OFM

Program Fee: \$175.00

Limited financial aid is available to those in need. (Apply)

University graduate and senior discounts do not apply.

In-Residence

Townhouse accommodations (5 nights is \$ 125.00)

Meals may be purchased as you choose in the Hickey Dining Hall on the Main Campus.

More Information

www.sbu.edu/art

E-mail: art@sbu.edu

Register on-line

by June 15, 2012

www.sbu.edu/art

Inquiries about this summer enrichment program may be addressed to Br. David Haack, OFM (E-mail: dhaack@sbu.edu). Prospective participants are also invited to visit Br. David's website at dhaackofm.com.

Faculty Development Program
The Franciscan Institute
St. Bonaventure University

July 9-12, 2012

The Challenge of Ethical Living in the 21st Century

J. C. Chandler's *Margin Call* (2011) has been described as providing an "eye opening window" into the "world inside" a fictional investment bank as the 2008 financial meltdown was unfolding. Described by one reviewer as a "tale of greed, vanity, myopia and expediency," the movie is a dark and powerful reminder that, on so many levels and in so many ways, ethical judgments are too easily compromised and moral judgments too often clouded in our contemporary world.

In response to the ethical-moral crises of the 1980s, the Harvard Business School initiated a major project that sought to explore the question: *Can Ethics Be Taught?* A decade earlier James Gustafson sought to answer the question: *Can Ethics Be Christian?* In both instances educators sought to honestly explore their role in the education and formation of men and women as persons of character who were better prepared to become good citizens in a globalized world.

This intensive study program will seek to explore the rich resources of a Franciscan-Scotistic approach to ethical-moral thinking and decision making. Scotus' model will be explored for the promise it holds to offer contemporary men and women a value based approach to ethical living that is potentially formative of persons awakened to the possibilities of building a more just and loving world.



This program might be of particular interest to undergraduate professors of theology and philosophy, faculty in business, marketing and communications with a particular concern for ethical questions, Spiritual Directors, Faith Formation Leaders, and/or individuals who are interested in an in-depth exploration into the ethical-moral vision of John Duns Scotus, the 13th century Franciscan Master.



Master Teacher

Mary Beth Ingham, CSJ

Costs

Program Fee: \$150.00

Plus

In-Residence: \$150.00

Includes Room/Meals/Socials

or

Commuter: \$75.00

Includes 5 meals and socials

More Information

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Call: 716-375-2105

Registration

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by June 15, 2012

Personal Enrichment Program

The Franciscan Institute
St. Bonaventure University



Creating a (Franciscan) Life

July 12-15, 2012

The Franciscan way of life is one that cherishes all of creation and embraces each step and every breath. Lay people have taken up the Franciscan way as a spiritual path from the time of Francis as they face particular challenges from distractions of responsibilities and daily tasks. This workshop uses experiential reflections and lessons from the rich legacy of lay people in the Franciscan tradition—such as Rose of Viterbo, Angela of Foligno, Robert and Sancia of Naples—to reconsider how to live and to provide opportunities for all participants to engage more deeply in a spiritual path that is Franciscan in tone. This workshop features some group discussion, some personal reflection, some experiential opportunities, and much prayer.

This program will also include two special lectures by Italian Franciscan Scholar Maria Pia Alberzoni exploring the legacy of *Clare of Assisi, The First Franciscan Woman*.

Master Teacher: Darleen Pryds, with Maria Pia Alberzoni

COSTS

Program Fee: \$125.00

Plus

In-Residence Fee: \$150.00

(3 nights housing, 6 meals, and socials)

or

Commuter Fee: \$75.00

(5 meals and social)

More information

www.sbu.edu/franciscanlife

E-Mail: franciscanlife@sbu.edu

Ph: 716-375-2105

**Registration
by June 15, 2012**

www.sbu.edu/franciscanlife

University graduate and senior discounts do not apply.



*Summer Enrichment
The Franciscan Institute
St. Bonaventure University*

***On Learning to Love,
Bonaventure's Spiritual Theology
for Everyday Living***

June 25 — 29, 2012

Mon-Thurs. 9:00 – 12:00 AM and 3:00 – 4:15 PM; Fri. 9:00 – 12:00 AM

"On Learning to Love" is the subtitle of Bonaventure's famous treatise *The Threefold Way*. In a succinct and powerful way, it captures the essence of Bonaventure's understanding of the spiritual journey. Bonaventure's theology of the spiritual life provides a dynamic framework within which men and women, lay and religious, might better understand the challenges of human-spiritual development in a diverse cultural and historical context. In very practical ways his vision also invites everyone to follow Christ after the example of Francis of Assisi and make the human-spiritual journey into love "as far as possible" in the state of human pilgrimage (*Itinerarium*, VII. 2).

This intensive one-week program will focus on Bonaventure's theology of the spiritual life as it is found in such important texts as the prologue to the *Second Book of the Sentence Commentary*, *The Major Legend of St. Francis*, *The Perfection of Life Addressed to the Poor Clares*, *On Governing the Soul* and the sermon *On the Way of Life*. Participants will be invited into a critical-reflective study of these texts both as they embody Bonaventure's understanding of the human-spiritual journey as well as offering a vision of spiritual formation and daily living to contemporary men and women.

This program might be of particular interest to Spiritual Directors, Franciscan Formation Directors, Faith Formation Leaders, and/or individuals who are interested in an in-depth exploration into the vision of the spiritual life according to the mind of the Seraphic Doctor, the Franciscan Master of the 13th century.

Required texts include *Works of St. Bonaventure X: Writings on the Spiritual Life*, edited by E. Coughlin (Franciscan Institute Publications, 2006) and either *Such is the Power of Love; Francis of Assisi as Seen by St. Bonaventure*, edited by W. Hellmann, R. Armstrong and William Short (New City Press, 2007) or *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, II The Saint*, edited by R. Armstrong et. al. (New City Press, 2000).

Master Teacher: Edward Coughlin, OFM

Program Fee: \$250.00; \$50.00 deposit due by June 15, 2012

In-Residence Fees:

Townhouse Housing: \$125.00 (5 nights)

Meals may be purchased at the Hickey Dining Hall.

University graduate and senior discounts do not apply.

For More Information

www.sbu.edu/Bonaventure
E-mail: bonaventure@sbu.edu
Phone: 716-375-2105

REGISTRATION

www.sbu.edu/Bonaventure
by June 15, 2012



The Evangelical Counsels in the Writings of Francis and Clare of Assisi

July 2 — 6, 2012

Monday to Friday, 1:00 PM — 4:00 PM

The writings of Francis and Clare of Assisi reveal the heart of a man and a woman who were full of life in the Spirit of the Lord and resolute in their commitment to follow closely in the footprints of Jesus.

This short and intensive program will reflectively and critically invite participants to prayerfully study those writings for insight and a better understanding of what those writings reveal about a “Franciscan” understanding of what it means to embrace the evangelical counsels as poor brothers and poor sisters.

Mentor: Rick Martignetti, OFM

Costs

Program Fee: \$225.00

Plus

In-Residence: \$125.00

Townhouse Accommodations

Meals may be purchased on demand at the
Hickey Dining Hall.

University graduate and senior discounts do
not apply.

More Information

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SCHOOL OF FRANCISCAN STUDIES

Summer 2012: June 25—July 27

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560	Introduction to Franciscan and Medieval Studies (3 cr) Klotz	5 Weeks: June 25-July 27 T-Th/8:30-11:20 a.m. Wed/ 6:45-9:35 p.m.
507	Early Franciscan Movement (See 520) (3 cr)	
508	Early Franciscan Movement I (See 501) (3 cr)	
539	Formation in the Franciscan Tradition (3 cr) Couturier, OFM Cap.	3 Weeks: July 2- July 20 M-F 8:30 – 11:20 a.m.
546	Foundations of Franciscan Theology (3 cr) Lane	3 Weeks: July 2 – July 20 M-F 1:00 – 3:50 p.m
559	Spirituality of Bonaventure [On-line/Residence] (3 cr) Coughlin, OFM	1 Week: June 25 – June 29 M-Th: 9 a.m. – 12: 00 noon and 2:30 – 4:00 p.m. Fri: 9:00 – 12:00 noon
520	Francis: His Life and Charism (2 cr) Meany	2 Weeks June 25 – July 6 M-F 8:30-11:20 a.m
501	Survey of Franciscan History (3 cr) Monti	3 Weeks July 9 – July 27 M-F 8:30-11:20 a.m
563	Independent Study (1-3 cr)	

*Requires admission to the School of Graduate Studies at St. Bonaventure
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DIRECTOR: JOLYNN BREHM, FSPA

For more information or to register, contact:

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See ad p. 194

WOMEN'S SUMMER RETREAT:

"Sowing Seeds of Change"

Wednesday, June 27 (4:30 p.m.) – Sunday, July 1(Noon)

CLARE OF ASSISI AND THE WOMB OF COMPASSION

FRIDAY, JULY 13 (7 P.M.) TO FRIDAY, JULY 20 (NOON)

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