

GREYFRIARS OXFORD
CENTRE FOR FRANCISCAN STUDIES

RICHARD
BOILEAU

Crib & Cross Franciscan Ministries

TAYLOR INSTITUTION, SEMINAR ROOM 3



Poster designed by Cristina Neagu

Consciousness, Conversion & Communication
in Franciscan Spirituality

Monday, 7 March 2011, 5:15 pm

Francis of Assisi had brought forth onto the world a sun. - Dante

**CONSCIOUSNESS, CONVERSION AND
COMMUNICATION
IN FRANCISCAN SPIRITUALITY ©**

Or
Meaning and Authenticity
In Franciscan Spirituality

A Public Lecture given by
Richard L. Boileau MA, sfo, pd

Greyfriars Oxford Centre for Franciscan Studies

March 7, 2011

SUMMARY¹

It is generally understood that the spirituality of Francis of Assisi is a life-long journey of religious consciousness and conversion, which begins with an experience of God's love and proceeds through an ongoing commitment to living each day authentically in accordance with gospel values. Through a deliberate and explicit use of Lonergan's transcendental method for enabling theology that is sound and meaningful, the author considers the historic context in which the *poverello's* communication was conceived, crafted and conveyed. Moreover, he indicates the merit of using this same carefully honed methodological approach to communicate Francis' numerous religious insights to our own contemporary culture in a manner that is both relevant and compelling.

INTRODUCTION

Thank you for your attendance this evening. I have been preaching, teaching and writing about Christianity from a Franciscan perspective for some time. And it has been a passion of mine to gain a better appreciation of the man at the source of Franciscan spirituality, a far more inspiring man than the pious figure that adorns birdbaths.

In the beginning, I sensed that there is a great mind as well as a loving heart inside someone who could summarize so much wisdom with so few words. I needed to know how poverty in scholarship and such simplicity in expression could encompass the totality of Gospel teaching without doing violence to even its subtlest nuance.

How could a man venture so close to the praxis of groups condemned as heretical, and yet garner the support of the hierarchical church? How could a man, scarcely literate write so poetically?

Gradually, I came to understand how major social, political and religious changes in his environment shaped his interpretation of religious experience. I came to imagine how his judgments would form, and how his intellectual, moral and religious consciousness would sharpen by being attentive to the conflicts and inconsistencies around and within him.

I did this through the lens of Bernard Lonergan's method for exploring any significant existential question. This process revealed to me why scholars typically regard conversion as the leitmotif of Franciscan spirituality. But it was my look at the communication of Francis' insights that most convincingly brought me to appreciate Lonergan's method.

Few of the Christian tradition, other than Jesus himself, have been the subject of as much speculation as Francis of Assisi: More books and articles have been published about him than any other figure in Christian history.² No one has resembled more the image of Jesus Christ and the evangelical form of life than Francis.³ No one has had a larger spiritual family: Franciscans have made up the largest religious order in the history of Christianity.

Why is this? One author suggests that the ways in which the founders of major religions introduced newness. First, they were originators of meaning and value; the past became "new" to their visions. They did not give new answers; they raised new questions. Second, their own lives were the best narratives, the best stories to reveal the goodness, the beauty, and the rightness for which they stood.⁴

Notwithstanding his genius, Francis was not everyman; he was a particular man. The more we know about his particularity, the better we can receive his spirituality.

No doubt Francis was very perceptive and intelligent, possessing an uncanny ability to recall even the minutest details of scripture that was read in liturgies. In the beginning at least, this was probably his only exposure to the verses that he cited so freely in his own writings.

As for his personality, if we applied the types identified in the Myers-Briggs Inventory to Francis, we might speculate that he was an extroverted sensor, feeler and perceiver.

We conclude that he was an extravert because of his initiative, and his expressive, gregarious and enthusiastic nature, whereas the sensing assumption is suggested by his concrete, realistic, practical, experiential and traditional thinking.

He was a feeler inasmuch as he was empathetic, compassionate, accommodating, accepting and tender. Meanwhile, perceiving is marked by the casual, open-ended, pressure-prompted and spontaneous style that was certainly his.

Francis “exhibited all the marks of the Sensor-Perceiver temperament, which is characterized by an attitude of willingness to go in any direction the Spirit calls.”⁵ As an SP, Francis was interested in the events, and therefore places, of Jesus’ life more than in his teachings. “The events surrounding [Jesus’] birth, his hidden life, his baptism, his miracles, his passion, death, and resurrection will hold special interest for the SP.”⁶

Conclusions such as these are only possible by plucking nuggets of fact from mountains of legend. The specific questions that I address today are these: How did Francis of Assisi form and communicate his spirituality, and how can we do so authentically today?

Lonerger’s *Method in Theology* was used explicitly in structuring my investigation because it enabled me to better understand, sort through and order mounds of literature in search of verifiable historical information about who Francis was initially, about why and how he was transformed over time, and about how he communicated to those who gathered around him.

LONERGAN’S TRANSCENDENTAL METHOD

Before applying his method, which he called transcendental, to the life of Francis of Assisi, let me highlight some of the basic aspects of Lonergan’s approach, which is “concerned with objectifying the human subject’s actual cognitional process”.⁷

The term “transcendental” is used to represent a system of striving for higher levels of consciousness by moving from “the world of immediacy to the world filled with meaning and permeated with value.”⁸

Of particular importance in understanding Lonergan’s method in general and its application to Francis in particular are his perceptions of consciousness or intentionality. It is to this that Lonergan related the eight functional specialties that he saw as comprising the work, not only of theology, but of other disciplines as well.

Lonerger thought of human beings as coming to awareness through progressive levels of consciousness. The first level is **experience** to which he urged us to be attentive. On this level are situated all sensory operations.

The second level is **understanding**, which requires us to be intelligent in the operation of inquiring, imagining, understanding, conceiving and formulating.⁹ The third level is **judging** for which being reasonable is the operative precept as one reflects and determines the sufficiency of evidence.¹⁰

The fourth level of consciousness is **deciding**, which demands that we be responsible in the choices that we make and in the actions that we undertake to breathe life into our decisions.¹¹ The apex of this ascent is **mystery**, the state of being in love.¹²

Essentially, the goal of doing theology is the authentic and historically contextualized appropriation of someone else's insights, to then mediate between that appropriation and the particular culture in which we intend to explain, adapt or refute it. This almost inevitably calls for the development and use of a new set of tools for effective communication.

In fact, through these **four levels of consciousness**, Lonergan discovered **eight basic activities**, which he called functional specialties, the first four progress from experience to decision in order to enable us to appropriate a tradition. They are research at the level of experience; interpretation, at the level of understanding; history at the level of judgment; and dialectic at the level of decision.

The next four come back down this ladder in order to mediate between a tradition and the contemporary culture. These are foundations at the level of decision; doctrine at the level of judgment; systematics at the level of understanding; and communication at the level of experience, this time the experience of others.

HOW FRANCIS APPROPRIATED A RELIGIOUS TRADITION

Now, let's consider with the help of Lonergan's method how Francis appropriated the Christian religious tradition that he received.

I applied the functional specialty of research to his experience of religion; interpretation to how the culture affected his understanding; history to his discernment within the church; dialectics to the conflicts that led to his conversion. I further applied foundations to the development of his form of life; doctrine to his new priorities; systematics to his early rule and admonitions and, finally, communication to the writing of his Testament.

Let's begin with experience. Francis enjoyed easy access to considerable wealth, and—as he grew up—he observed the exercise of tremendous power, sometimes directed to destructive ends. He was deeply affected by this.

Partly for this reason, Francis was not keen to join the family business. Rather, he dreamed of a yet more glamorous career as a soldier and eventually a knight. But instead of winning the coveted crown of victory, he was captured and spent a lonely year in an inhospitable dungeon cell.¹³ After being ransomed by his father, the demoralized young man returned home in poor health.

Yet his dreams of knighthood persisted. In the spring of 1205, he eagerly joined the forces gathered to oppose in Apulia certain German princes.¹⁴ With his father's financial support, he was outfitted with magnificent armour and set off for glory but had only reached Spoleto before sensing a sudden divine call to turn back.

Thinking this to be the call of God, he then returned to Assisi, only a day's ride away, but he soon resumed his former practice of high living. As this left him increasingly unsatisfied, he

began to practice almsgiving. After meeting a leper and being transformed by that experience, he began to visit a leper hospital.

Soon, Francis began to pray with increased frequency in quiet and withdrawn places, presumably to sort out the confusion in his mind. During this time, he had a religious experience in the church of San Damiano, which he then began to repair. Finally, this behaviour so upset his father, that he imprisoned Francis. When Francis escaped, Pietro Bernadone sought restitution for what he had sold, precipitating an event before the bishop at which Francis stripped himself of his father's possessions and of his former life.

After he left the secular world, Francis' attitudes and opinions were shaped by his experience of the conflicting spiritual, political, and ecclesial currents that were prevalent at the close of the 12th century. One such experience that is generally overlooked is his exposure to the penitential movement.

Oftentimes, when seeing references to him as the "penitent from Assisi", people assume that Francis literally invented that movement. In fact, the movement had been around in one form or another since the 3rd century, from imposed penance and then voluntary penance, to the rise of the *donati* and "oblates", and onward into Francis' own time.¹⁵

There was nothing sudden about Francis' transformation either. During his agonizing yet perseverant quest for meaning, Francis prayed a lot and sought guidance from Scripture.¹⁶ In his *Testament*, he would later clearly identify the Gospel as the inspiration for his form of life, so it is fair to assume that his experience of it was significant.

There are few landmark moments in Francis' experience of the Gospel as weighty as his hearing Christ's call to preaching in the Gospel of Matthew:

(Quote) Go and preach, 'The Kingdom of Heaven is near! Heal the sick, bring the dead back to life, heal those who suffer from dreaded skin-diseases, and drive-out demons. You have received without paying, so give without being paid. Do not carry any gold, silver or copper money in your pockets; do not carry a beggar's bag for the journey or an extra shirt or a stick. A worker should be given what he needs.' (Unquote) (Mt10: 7-10).

Another experience that would change the course of Francis' life was the fact that he charismatically attracted others. First there were a few. Soon there would be many. There is every indication that providing leadership to hundreds and then thousands of followers was not part of his original plan.

As he had become solitary in prayer, this required adjustment to his self-understanding. With time, Francis would develop an impressive balance between prayer and preaching. His primitive hermitage experience and his experience of apostolic action would combine to create a new form of spirituality that would become the movement's trademark.¹⁷

+ + +

Interpretation, as Lonergan understood the term, is the second function to be considered. It calls on the full range of one's intellectual capabilities but specifically concerns the

understanding of data, not to settle what was written, which is the work of research, but to settle what was meant.

To know what was intended, we need context.

Francis was born as the earlier culture of feudalism was giving way to new forces. Merchants asserted themselves as a new social class, with money and trade replacing barter and subsistence agriculture. Meanwhile, improved roads opened the possibility of travel.¹⁸

But the most fundamental change was in the size of population, which is estimated to have doubled between the 10th and 14th Centuries.¹⁹

As a result, there were corresponding changes in economic systems that could safely be characterized as revolutionary. This period witnessed an explosion in trade, the spawning of small businesses, the emergence of professions, and a dramatic adjustment in banking and credit arrangements.²⁰

The crusades were also hugely important in the development of social change. In their wake, knights streamed through Italian towns. Traveling minstrels sang of their great deeds and writers glamorized their life in epics. The crusades' more sinister legacy, however, was leprosy, which also spread throughout the region.

With social and economic change underway, political change was inevitable but slow to follow.²¹ This resulted in the breakdown in authority that had been prevalent since the classical period. Religious pressures present in Southern Europe during the 12th and 13th centuries also testify to this challenge.

The process of replacing Episcopal authority gave rise to the birth of communes, whose character actually goes a long way toward accounting for elements of Franciscan spirituality. When Francis was born the rural model of political organization was being replaced “by a new form of free association of urban men. Rather than swear allegiance to a specific person such as a duke or baron, men in communes pledged themselves to the good of the city.”²²

Other aspects of the rise of communes were deeply disturbing to the young Francis. The speed with which the new economic order rose to dominance was disruptive and divisive—a recipe for an almost permanent conflict between people who had by then adjusted to the vagaries of a class-based system.

Social, economic and political changes could not but impact on the church itself, on its own interests, people and institutions. These would continue to militate in favor of a new ecclesial order.

+ + +

What did Francis intentionally choose to carry forward from his understanding of religious experience? How did this choice shape his decisions about the course of his life?

In a way, we can argue that he picked the best of both worlds, the old and the new. Indeed, the path his spirituality would follow or, if you will, his sense of the true continuity of

Gospel meaning would begin at the crossroad of knighthood and brotherhood, of knightly duty and the post-feudal freedoms exercised for the good of all. In effect, Francis redefined for a new age the higher values of chivalry.

Knighthood was the ideal of his youth and, in some respects at least, the lens through which we can better understand the decision he would take in the course of his conversion. In youth, he sought fame, honour and privilege, not through wealth, but through worthy deeds. He sought to dedicate himself, in the best tradition of chivalry, to a lady—Lady Poverty.

His manner would be courtly, but rather than that of a combative and privileged knight, it would be that of a troubadour, a minstrel, a fool for Christ. For this reason, it was natural for him to distance himself from the *nouveau riche*, like his father, whose designs were, in his view, not coherent with Gospel values.

Brotherhood would integrate Gospel values with the freedoms that hard-working individuals were seeking. He could relate to the cry of groups that sought the common good, not according to restricted forms of living, but according to the liberating model that Jesus provided.

The convergence of knighthood and brotherhood was not his unique ideal. This was the time during which the Arthurian legend emerged. The emblematic round table served as a poignant contrast to the elongated table with an obvious head and a clear seating arrangement that indicated the power structures that prevailed. The round table heralded an era of fraternity.

Being a man of integrity, Francis would transform into action his rational judgment about the experience of religion that he had come to understand in the context of his immediate surroundings. Having been reasonable in judgment, he would have to be responsible in deciding how to change his life in a fashion that would be consistent with his new outlook.

+ + +

Lonergan saw **dialectic** as the operation at the fourth level of consciousness, which reveals the need to make responsible decisions based on rational judgements. He perceived the existence of numerous strings of interpreted data, each having the potential of conflicting with others. The responsible resolution of overt or latent conflicts, he argued, results in intellectual, moral or religious conversion.

Lonergan defined **intellectual conversion** as “a radical clarification and, consequently, the elimination of an exceedingly stubborn and misleading myths concerning reality, objectivity, and human knowledge.”²³ He saw **moral conversion** as “changes in the criterion of one’s decisions and choices from satisfaction to value.”²⁴ **Religious conversion** he understood as “being grasped by ultimate concern. It is otherworldly falling in love. It is total and permanent self-surrender without conditions, qualifications, or reservations.”²⁵

To illustrate this step, let’s consider conversion operating in Francis. We begin with his insights regarding brotherhood as oriented toward intellectual conversion; then, his encounter with lepers leading to moral conversion; and, finally, his decision to repair the church of San Damiano as a sign of religious conversion.

Each of these would present him with the need to make difficult choices about the form his life would take. Francis strove to reconcile discordant values from two eras; to marry the heroic principles of knighthood with the commercial social structures of the post-feudal economy. The tension that ensued haunted him relentlessly.

Braced with a newfound sense of belonging to a collectivity rather than a hierarchy, he would no longer view authority and knowledge as fixed structures, and, certainly, no longer would he view them as designed for the benefit of an earthly leader or lord. No longer would he view the people in this new world order as immovable fixtures with immutable roles and rules.

Rather, Francis would undergo an intellectual conversion. He would begin to see how people can freely assemble to achieve great things, and future possibilities would be at once exciting and frightening, giving rise to good and evil, depending on the value with which one conceived and seized those possibilities.

In the opening part of his *Testament*, Francis declared what **moral conversion** resulted from an encounter with lepers: “While I was in sin, it seemed very bitter to me to see lepers. And the Lord Himself led me among them and I had mercy upon them.”²⁶ Then comes the sentence that signifies that this encounter developed into a major conversion experience and evidence of a key insight: “And when I left them that which seemed bitter to me was changed into sweetness of soul and body.”²⁷

This was for Francis an epiphany experience and the beginning of a new way of understanding that would affect his judgments and key decisions about how to live out his faith. He wrote, “And afterward I lingered a little and left the world.”²⁸ This is generally seen as the single most powerful occurrence of his conversion.

The **religious conversion** that began at San Damiano, on the other hand, was “a struggle to discern God’s will”²⁹ for his particular life. His desire to have a clear sign of God’s will, in the midst of social turmoil and moral confusion, is evident in the prayer that he uttered on that occasion: “Most high, glorious God, enlighten the darkness of my heart and give me, Lord, a correct faith, a certain hope, a perfect charity, sense and knowledge, so that I may carry out your holy and true command.”³⁰

While Francis accords his encounter with lepers a prominent place in his *Testament*, he has provided no written record of his time at San Damiano. Nonetheless, we can accept that the prominent tradition does reveal a basic truth about Francis’ call to transform the church.

The small stone structure at San Damiano was in disrepair, evidently suffering from years of neglect.³¹ He repaired it physically, but the great merit of this incident was that this gesture also symbolized the healing that he was to bring to the broader Church community, which was afflicted by numerous corruptions, errors and scandals.

The story of Francis at San Damiano illustrates the fact that his conversion transported him to the ultimate level of consciousness, namely to religious conversion. He experienced the profound and transformational feeling of “being in love in an unrestricted fashion.”³²

For Francis, the freedom that he exercised by choosing to spend time at San Damiano gave him the capacity to move toward greater meaning. This was not flight from a world that might have disappointed him but more an intentional act of responding to love with love.

Judging from Celano's account, Francis' experience of divine love; his experience of value as articulated in the Gospel; and his experience of seeing the church that housed the painted symbol of Christ's self-emptying love falling into ruin and disgrace combined to provoke him into decisive action.

The "voice" talked about in this story was, at minimum, an insight. It was at the very least a objectification of his consciousness regarding the role of Church in the expression of God's love. He can be said to have judged from that moment that God's house - and later, metaphorically, the faith community of God's people - could no longer be allowed to fall into disrepair.

Such experiences converge to give meaning to his status as a 13th century Italian penitent, for this was key to his self-understanding. Indeed, Francis accorded life-long penance, or what Lonergan would call continuous conversion, made this his very first testament reference, even before his mention of lepers: "The Lord granted me, Brother Francis, to begin to do penance in this way..."³³

Day after day, as he prays his Little Office, Francis recalls the words of the psalm: Holy Father, zeal for your house has devoured me (PsF 5:9).³⁴ This constant reminder certainly helped him grasp the full scope of the invitation that he had heard in the little chapel of San Damiano. The house to be repaired was not only a material building, or even himself, but the whole Church, and beyond it, all of humanity, and finally, all of creation.³⁵

Repairing churches³⁶ became a concrete expression of his consciousness growing from the visible to the invisible: from broken chapels to the wounds of the crucified mystical body of Christ: "He was serving Christ in helping to rebuild his house, where he was present under the species of bread and wine. It was Christ who was the centre, Christ who was his source of joy. When he imitated Christ, he found joy."³⁷

Shifting from introspection to self-awareness, from personal satisfaction to value, and from focus on self to centering on God, the total conversion that resulted from Francis' frank and diligent journey through a maze of questions and answers and the questions raised by those answers, Francis was now ready to establish new footings for his evolving belief system.

HOW FRANCIS' SPIRITUALITY TRANSCENDED HIS CULTURE

Let's now consider how Francis mediated between the received Gospel tradition and his own culture. We begin with **foundations**, the fifth function proposed by Lonergan.

Foundations bears many of the characteristics of the previous function, namely dialectics. For instance, both struggle to discern the best course among evidently defensible meanings attributable to the events of history. The challenge is to differentiate the two.

Whereas dialectics looks back at what we have appropriated, foundations is a reflection on the new horizons that we have chosen and arrived at in our search for truth and value in the first mediating phase of theology.³⁸ Foundations, therefore, looks forward from whom we have become by the choices that we have made through our careful understanding and evaluation of the past.³⁹

Awareness of the Gospel produced in Francis a dramatic broadening of horizons and elevation of consciousness. He approached intellectual conversion, moral conversion and religious conversion with the willingness to find God in all things and all people. He showed the courage to align his life with his evolving outlook on faith and love—to “walk the talk” in peace and joy⁴⁰.

Francis relentlessly sought to make decisions that were concrete and meaningful when faced with contradictions and dark spaces between daily life, church life and Gospel life.

As illustrations, I have chosen three courses of action that he chose in relation to the received faith of his mother and the religion of his church community. My focus today concerns priesthood, brotherhood, and the role of the magisterium, specifically the papacy.

Francis’ decision to not become a priest must be viewed from at least two angles. First, he does not appear to have felt a call, at least initially, to life within hierarchical structures of the church. Second, the life and privilege that clergy enjoyed was not compatible with his view of penance.

Yet, the call to living the Gospel in the footsteps of Jesus Christ was of paramount importance for Francis. Without disparaging the call to priesthood or monastic life in others, he vigorously pursued a life in union with Lady Poverty that he saw as the mirror of Christ. Consequently, he understood his call as being “to give witness to the Gospel by having nothing and being nothing, by living on the social and geographical margins of urban Italian society”.⁴¹

Also, having seen the dark side of privilege and prestige, he feared that he might fall into the less desirable habits that he saw in some church officials. He understood how compelling is their lure, and how power can corrupt.

Francis’ spirituality is only comprehensible in the context of fraternal life,⁴² which he chose once having reflected on the meaning of the attraction of others to his chosen way of life. He came to see these brothers as a divine sign about how he was called to live his faith.⁴³ In his *Testament*, he would write, “The Lord gave me brothers.”⁴⁴

Soon brotherhood became his hermeneutical lens and the horizon on which he understood the Gospel and applied its teachings to his own life.

Further evidence of the centrality of brotherhood can be found in his most amazing work, *The Canticle of the Creatures*, written near the end of his life. In it, he celebrates all of creation as one large family, in union with the Holy Trinity, the ultimate form and meaning of relationship.

From this evidence, we may conclude that one of the key foundations of Francis' spirituality was his insight that, at least for him, "spiritual direction" comes not so much from a "master" but from "living out one's calling to be brother and sister".⁴⁵

It is quite understandable, therefore, that Francis would want to lead a fraternal and Gospel life within a particular horizon, and it is not entirely surprising that he deliberately chose to live that life under the authority of the Pope, despite his disappointment with some aspects of church life.

Rather than operate negatively in regards to excesses and laxities in the church, Francis chose to operate positively in fidelity to Christ's Gospel and to the pope that he felt Jesus had designated to lead the new generations of his disciples.

Francis wanted to guard his fraternity from the temptation to evolve into a protest movement. This would have entailed further temptations, each with its own risk of deviating from truth out of pride and self-sufficiency. Francis intentionally chose, therefore, to align himself with the Pope, to pledge the obedience of his brotherhood to the Holy See, and to ask papal permission for his form of life.

The very early years of the thirteenth century, which happen to coincide with Francis' conversion, mark the high point of the rise and spread of the Cathars. Sources make it clear that their teaching had reached Umbria before the beginning of the century, including the valley of Spoleto of which Assisi was one of the gems.⁴⁶

Rather than to openly oppose the movement led by Francis, the Roman Curia busied itself in protecting it, in order to use for its own ends, but not without modifying it. Francis was conscious of this. He suffered as a result but bowed in obedience and accepted the mutilation of his intentions, with a sense of death in his soul.⁴⁷

As a result, the movement became more an ecclesial institution than the *poverello* had originally intended. There is no doubt that he initially intended a lay movement, living without ecclesial privileges. Yet his determination to remain faithful to the Holy See remained steadfast throughout.⁴⁸ For Francis, the Church provided the safest guarantee of fidelity to the Gospel.

Certainly, other decisions taken by Francis are noteworthy as he began to live in communion with Christ, poor and crucified, in the love of God and in brotherhood with all humanity and all creation. His authentic quest for the practical meaning of Gospel value continuously led Francis onto new horizons, preparing him for the next leg of the journey wherein clear statements of his beliefs could be phrased and proclaimed, leading ultimately to the conversion of others.

+ + +

So, let's now explore the sixth function of sound theology, namely **doctrine**. From among various foundational principles that result from the proper operation of dialectic, key doctrinal statements can be articulated: "The statements that doctrines express are judgments of fact and judgments of value."⁴⁹

It can be said, therefore, that the effective communication of faith principles depends on the methodical organization of doctrine as the application of judgment.

Several doctrinal statements can be declared to underpin the belief system that we associate with Francis and Franciscanism. Let's consider some of these.

First, **God is good**: It was the inherent goodness of God—perfect and gratuitous—that Francis chose to emphasize. This reality eventually took on gargantuan proportions. It was for him the pervasive and all-encompassing truth. No other aspect of God's existence so stirred Francis into joy and anguish than the profound realization that God so loved him that he sent his son to reveal his love fully and, in the process, die for our mistakes. This would be communicated concretely at Greccio and La Verna.

Second, **voluntary poverty is the privileged path that disposes us to his goodness**: There is no Franciscan charism without poverty and no real knowledge of that charism without an appreciation of what it meant to him. Indeed, it is the thread that provides continuity in eight centuries of Franciscan tradition.⁵⁰ Poverty, however, was not an end in itself but the path of union with Jesus.⁵¹

Third, **humility is the grateful acceptance of God's goodness**, especially in the gift of God's Son in Word and Eucharist⁵²: In the face of grandeur, Francis chose humility. He would encourage his brothers in his early rule to do so as well.⁵³

Humility was not for Francis a pious posture. Rather, it leads to true self-understanding and enables the building of durable communities.

Francis sought to be humble in relation to God, from whom all good things come. His model was the humility of the Incarnation, which reflected love rather than any false modesty or self-deprecation. Its expression was harmony with and fraternal love toward all of humanity and all of creation.

Fourth statement, **compassion is our response to God's goodness**: When we are conscious of what we receive and where it comes from, we are grateful, and if we are grateful we are inclined to reciprocate. The most direct, though never adequate way of doing so is by acting toward others as God has behaved toward us. The response, for Francis and his followers, became compassion for the poor.

Fifth, **Jesus, the Incarnate Word, is at the very centre of human existence** and all that we do must flow from there: While Francis devoted equal attention to God Father, Son and Holy Spirit, an appreciation of the nature of his relationship to Jesus is the key to understanding and practicing his particular form of spirituality.

Whereas, in his day, the triumphant Christ was the way in which most Christians imaged Jesus, it was in the humanity of Jesus - that Francis found solace in troubled times. Though not alone in reaching this insight, Francis found a stable equilibrium between the humanity of Jesus and his divinity. In so doing, he enriched our understanding of two great mysteries of faith, the Trinity and the Incarnation.⁵⁴

Sixth, **we are brother and sister to all creation**: Because God the Father is creator of all, Francis understood himself to be brother and sister to all.

Statements, such as these six, can be viewed as Francis' distillations of Gospel value. These went to the very heart of the meaning of Christianity, at least insofar as his own experience of it as a received religion was concerned.

From imminently concrete manifestations of what Francis judged to be Gospel truths would evolve a systemization of particular truths into a structure of beliefs that would soon facilitate and foster effective communication.

+ + +

Lonergan underscored the risk of confusing the work focused on doctrine with that of work centered on **systematics**, the seventh functional specialty. While acknowledging the similarities and their common purpose of fostering understanding, he clarified the differences:

“It is not the intent of systematics to increase certitude but to promote an understanding of what one is already certain about. It does not seek to establish the facts, but strives to uncover why the facts are what they are.”⁵⁵

In recent years, Francis' written communication has been painstakingly analyzed with the result that many studies have revealed important information regarding his intentions, thereby helping us to experience more authentically his understanding of Gospel meaning.

Twenty-eight writings are attributed to him, some very brief indeed, but two documents stand out in this corpus to reveal his system of beliefs: The *Earlier Rule*, also known as *regula non bullata* or The Rule Without a Papal Seal, written in stages probably between 1209 and 1221; and the *Admonitions*, with uncertain dating.

Franciscanism's origins have no more eloquent witness than the text of the *Early Rule*.⁵⁶ A form of it had likely been approved by Pope Innocent III in 1215.⁵⁷ No doubt this rule emanated from the heart of Francis himself. There is also no doubt that it was developed over time as a result of discussions held during the gathering of the first brothers.

The text that we know today includes negative insertions⁵⁸, elaborations and clarifications⁵⁹, and elements that reflect the influence of the Fourth Lateran Council.⁶⁰ These passages may not be rooted in the spontaneous thinking of Francis, but they do reflect his deep concern that the rule be a useful guide for the conduct of growing numbers of adherents. Certain beliefs would have to be systematized for the good of order.

The *Admonitions* are gentle counsels or exhortations: twenty-eight teachings that offer insights into the ways in which he translated biblical thoughts into the ordinary experiences of daily life.⁶¹

Judging by the epithets used by leading Franciscan scholars, it is virtually impossible to exaggerate the significance of the *Admonitions* in capturing the essence of Francis' spirituality.

It has been called “the Charter of a life in the Christian spirit of brotherhood,”⁶² “the Franciscan Sermon on the Mount”, and “a mirror of Perfection.”⁶³

Although systematics as expressed in the *Admonitions* are oftentimes innovative and insightful, the ideas that they contain are not always new. For instance, scholars have found traces of Augustine and others in the first four admonitions. Rather, Francis’ originality can be found principally in his systematization of insights both new and borrowed.

While both the *Early Rule* and the *Admonitions* are communications in their own right, I refer to them as an illustration of his systematics. Upon this solid structure rests a range of communication activities, many of which had a major impact on his culture as well as on many religious traditions that we have inherited.

+ + +

Lonergan’s view of **communication** is that it is the functional specialty of theology that transposes consciousness from the realm of theory to the realm of common sense in relating Christian doctrine to cultural reality.⁶⁴

With communication, we return to the basic level of consciousness in order to situate what we have come to know in a context that is relevant to the experience of others.

Broadly speaking, Francis’ communication takes many forms. Today, I will mention four: his way of living, his preaching, his use of drama and his writing.

For Francis, authentic communication could no more be detached from how he lived than the act of flying could be detached from the birds to which legend says that he preached.⁶⁵ It appears that he understood that very well: “Francis the apostolic man and Francis the mystic were not two sides or phases; they were fused.”⁶⁶

So imperative was the need to integrate prayer with the content of his apostolic action that he admonished his brothers to preach with their very lives. His most critical decisions would have less to do with whether or how to preach but how to live in order to preach authentically. Preaching the Gospel would have to mean being the good news to others, much as Jesus had been in his own time.

His preaching touched, not on abstract theological ideas, but on the sacredness and wonder of creation as a mirror of God, its creator. He focused on events in Christ’s life as much as he did on his teachings. This relentless reference to Jesus as the Word made man was the natural consequence of a prayer and fraternal life centered on the humanity of Jesus.

Indeed, to fully apprehend this focus on the person of Christ in preaching as well as other forms of Franciscan communication, we must take a step back to examine its interior expression, namely prayer. In the realm of mystical prayer, Francis was innovative; his religious experience dramatically shaped the future of Western Christianity as a pioneer of what one author called “the mysticism of the historical event.”⁶⁷

Up to Francis’ time, most Christian prayer had been primarily “soul” mysticism (an interior, neo-platonic, world-transcending prayer) or nature mysticism, which sought contact with

God through creation. Francis synthesized the two with contemporary themes in theology, especially a devotion to the humanity of Christ ushered in by Bernard of Clairvaux. Francis did this by celebrating concrete details of the life of Jesus infusing them with spiritual energy and meaning.⁶⁸

Francis' preaching was centered on Jesus, and it was concise. In the Rule of 1223, chapter nine, we find these words, "Moreover, I advise and admonish the friars that in their preaching, their words should be examined and chaste. They should aim only at the advantage and spiritual good of their listeners, telling them briefly about vice and virtue, punishment and glory, because our Lord himself kept his words short on earth."

If Francis saw in Jesus the exemplar of authenticity, who did what he preached and preached what he did, then he could expect nothing less of brothers who also preached. His dearest wish was that no one could accuse them of hypocrisy. "They were penitents preaching penance."⁶⁹

Although we have no record of sermons delivered by Francis, we do have this first-hand account of his preaching at Bologna in 1222, which underscored the efficacy of his preaching: (Quote) "Men and women flocked to him; it was a question of who would at least touch the fringe of his clothing or who would tear off a piece of his poor habit."⁷⁰ "His word was like a burning fire."⁷¹ (unquote.)

Francis' way of preaching was neither rhetorical nor doctrinal. In effect, he preached as though he were a captain exhorting his troops to steel their courage for the battle ahead. His goal was to rally his fellow countrymen to undertake conversion and campaign for peace with the same vigour that would be needed to wage a war.

If his style was unlike that used in standard sermons, so was the content. In the later rule, solemnly approved by Pope Honorius III in 1223, chapter nine is dedicated to preaching. "From the first sentence on, it appears that the Order is conscious of its apostolic mission, which does not depend on the authority of a bishop, though his authority must be respected".⁷² As though to avoid controversy regarding doctrine, this article made it clear that (quote) "the friar's sermons should concern morality and the practice of Christian life".⁷³ (Unquote)

We must also look upon Francis' physical presentation as a deliberate form of communication. There is no doubt that he had an intuitive sense of dramatic style and an astute appreciation of the impact of theatrical devices. One cannot consider his dress and gestures without seeing an intention to create an effect.

Similarly, one cannot fail to appreciate the far-reaching impact of so grand a gesture as his foolhardy journey across the frontiers of a holy war to embrace a Moslem prince. Nor can we forget Francis' dramatic re-enactment of the Lord's Nativity, not with gold and incense, but with a live ox and ass.

It is to two key documents that our minds now turn as we finally receive the communication of Franciscan tradition, and Francis' long journey that led to it. In fact, both documents can

be generally called testaments, one being chapter 22 of his *Early Rule*; the other being the *Testament* itself that Francis appears to have dictated near the end of his life.

One author calls this chapter “The Testament of 1219.”⁷⁴ Its setting is specific: Francis envisages a martyr’s death as he prepares to leave for Egypt, applying many verses of Jesus’ farewell discourse from John’s gospel. As one might expect, he refers to what matters most in the spirituality and form of life of the order.

HOW WE APPROPRIATE FRANCIS’ RELIGIOUS INSIGHTS

Francis was a sincere, intelligent and successful communicator. The evidence that we have for this is quite simply the durability of its form and content, and the constantly renewed and re-invigorated interest it has elicited for the past 800 years.

The challenge is to apply to the communication of Franciscan spirituality the best practices of modern corporate communications. Today, we have a broader array of media available to us than Francis had and a deeper understanding of how even traditional tools of communication operate.

In 40 years of communication theory and practice, I have become aware of numerous principles and tools that enable people to better reach disparate audiences with key messages to affect change—in other words, to cause conversion. I have no doubt that the learning that we have achieved in the secular arena can now be harnessed at the service of a particularly Franciscan worldview for the benefit of those for whom it would have resonance.

It would be necessary, I believe, if not imperative, to apply to Franciscan communication Lonergan’s insights. These insights are very consistent with those of Francis. The outcome promises, I believe, to support the church’s hopes for a new era of evangelization.

Perhaps the most compelling aspects of Francis’ religious reality is the balance that he struck between being authentically faithful to the meaning of the Gospel, as he understood it, and fidelity to the official teachings of the church, as witnessed by his wholesale inclusion of council decrees in his own writings.

I am reminded of the parallels that exist between this simple and sincere post-conciliar person who prayed and preached in the shadows of both heretical and church-led reform movements and us, who dwell, worship and navigate in a sea of isms: aggressive atheism, passive agnosticism, rationalized hedonism, doctrinal secularism, awkward pluralism, and on and on.

Returning to Lonergan as the lens through which we have formed a fuller appreciation of how Francis communicated his spirituality, we can also get a glimpse of how we can more effectively communicate the tradition of Franciscan spirituality available to us today by seizing certain opportunities for further development.

The conclusion for us is that our communication must make judicious use of symbols to faithfully convey meaning. Too often traditional symbols are misrepresented, misused or

misunderstood, or mindlessly applied long after they have lost their capacity to bear meaning in cultural circumstances remote from those in which they were first conceived.

Clearly, this problem is insidious because “the communication of the Christian vision resides largely in its symbols. Yet these symbols are understood differently by different people. Their meaning is not transparent. They require both the critical examination of their meaning in the first century and the critical understanding of them in the (21st) century.”⁷⁵

Our point of departure must, of course, be with Jesus, just as it was for Francis. If continuous conversion was at the heart of his spiritual life, it must be so for anyone wishing to communicate his spirituality in our own culture.

Indeed, conversion, as understood in the method of Lonergan, is by definition something to which we must remain disposed at all times, and it must be an authentic expression of decisions to change in order to progress—a transformation that begins with an experience to which we are attentive, understood by being intelligent, judged by being reasonable, and acted upon by being responsible.

Indeed, all Christians are called to make sober judgements and coherent decisions about the meaning of the Gospel, and to take responsible and loving action that is suited to their own particular circumstances. We all are called to consciousness in faith, to conversion in hope, and to self-transcendence in Love.

Francis’ charism has been celebrated and condemned. He himself has been imitated and ridiculed. Still, his communication of meaning endures.

We can learn something about his enduring legacy by examining what people say and write about it today. Themes as timeless as peacemaking, preaching by example, the brotherhood of creation and the balance between prayer and action remain relevant.

Enduring also are the appeal of his simplicity to a stressed and weary age, pointing as it does to the continuing relevance of “down-to-earth” experiences of God, and the spirituality of reconciliation.

So, the next question is this: Was Francis’ way of looking at things compatible with our own?

When Pope John Paul II declared Francis of Assisi to be the patron saint of ecology, I doubt that anyone was surprised. His *Canticle of Creation* alone would have earned him that accolade. On the surface, it appears rustic and naive, but “when it is seen in terms of Francis’ other works and the motivation behind its composition, the poem in fact acquires indisputable claim to originality and complexity.”⁷⁶

Francis tied all things together into a single integrated worldview, which encompassed God, humankind and all things great and small created by God’s own hand. He understood their intended connectedness, so it would not be surprising to find a prominent liberation theologian eight centuries later to write a book linking the cry of the earth and the cry of the poor.⁷⁷

Scarcely anyone feels immune from conflict. As anxiety grows about the nature and frequency of distrust, disputes, aggressive behavior and armed conflicts intensify; people still dare to dream of peace. So the need for peacemakers is as obvious today as it was in Francis' time.⁷⁸

Despite growing public interest in matters of religion and spirituality, a phenomenon often heralded under the banner of post-modern values, it must be recognized that we live in a very materialistic world. The acquisitive and clinging tendency that seems to fuel an insatiable appetite for power and possessions creates remarkable anxiety in our lives and provokes us to assume roles and adopt behaviors that sink us into ever-darkening depths of stress.

This was also true in Francis' day, albeit manifested differently. His spirituality, however, provided relief from the anguish of unnatural ambitions: evangelical poverty was the antidote that he prescribed. While the challenge that this spirituality poses is daunting, for which reason we are often inclined to dismiss it, it is as relevant to us today as it was to him in his day. He would have been no more eager to part with property than we would be. But it was the price that he was prepared to pay to find meaning, authenticity and joy in Christ rather than the ways of the world.

We live, as Francis did, in an age when divergent opinions regarding the way in which we are called to witness to gospel value in our daily lives are confronted to one another as soldiers pitted against one another on a battlefield. It seems that at such a time, his response to this cognitive dissonance is worthy of our attention.

Francis saw in his day those who would imitate Jesus concretely as well as those who would adapt his ways more symbolically. Francis saw those who chose a direct route to God as well as those who would place more emphasis on structures and intermediaries. He witnessed trends that encouraged heterogeneity and others that stressed the need for orthodoxy and orthopraxis.

These trends are still with us today and the divisions between people and communities continue to widen. Perhaps it is no wonder that we are so attracted to a gentle person who held deep-seated convictions but, in a genuine sense of spiritual poverty, sought to humbly apply them to his own life rather than bitterly reproach others.

The challenge is to communicate these insights with language that resonates for people today, particularly those who are unfamiliar with the expressions and even the categories of traditional religious discourse and the rituals of its celebration and worship. The challenge is also to use the stories of Francis' life in new ways to engender passion in faith and compassion in love. It is finally to leverage genuine conversion, as Lonergan understood the term, in the hearts and minds of God's people.

These challenges call us to be creative in the way we present Francis, always mindful of the adaptations required, and always recalling that Francis communicated by his life more than by his words ...as Jesus had done. While Francis' form of theology can be described as "archaic"⁷⁹, his spirituality is timeless because it continues to "elicit our wonder and to

inspire our feeble attempts to follow (him) in his dedication to the ‘vita evangelii Jesu Christi.’”⁸⁰

CONCLUSION

What is most remarkable for me about the life and spirituality of Francis—what certainly makes these relevant today—is that they encapsulate the drama of authentic human existence. I conclude with this very loose quotation from a book by Brain Braman on meaning and authenticity in which he cites Bernard Lonergan and Charles Taylor:

(Quote) Authenticity is the experience of a profound transformation in one’s being and doing. This transformation rests on an inner conviction that is the fruit of conversion and it is the concrete principle of authentic self-transcendence. It is expressed in choosing ourselves in the light of the infinite. The principle of redemption is self-sacrificing love.

What will ransom us and the world is an ability to love the world, ourselves and God, to see it as good in spite of the wrong. The fruit of authentic self-transcendence consist in a “yes” of incomparable presence apprehended as beauty, meaning, truth, or goodness, this consent brings about joy, peace, detachment, and freedom.⁸¹ (Unquote)

These, above all, are the gifts of Francis to a world that scavenges in all the wrong places for meaning and joy.

Dante once boldly proclaimed, “Francis of Assisi had brought forth onto the world a sun.” In a way, it is true. Francis did shine a special light on the meaning of Christian scripture, and on the truth of our own lives. It is a warm natural light, the material of Creation.

Meaning and authenticity: This is what fascinates us even today about the *poverello*. The drama of human existence constantly changes setting; characters are adapted; the dialogue evolves. But the narrative remains unchanged. That is the value of telling the story of Francis, especially today.

Francis of Assisi remains an inspiration because he has communicated effectively. What he communicated is timeless. It is the result of consciousness and conversion that develops progressively.

But what is perhaps most remarkable is his falling in love. That, above all, is why he is for so many people an icon of Christian spirituality.

Endnotes

¹ Based on a thesis: Richard Boileau, *The Communication of Franciscan Spirituality: Appropriating Francis of Assisi’s Religious Insights* (Montreal: Concordia University, 2004)

² “According to the Smithsonian bibliography, more lives have been written of him than of any other person.” – Richard Rohr, *Hope Against Darkness: The Transforming Vision of Saint Francis in an Age of Anxiety* (Cincinnati: St. Anthony Messenger Press, 2001), 109. Hereafter *Hope*.

-
- ³ Pope Pius IX, Encyclical “Rite Expiatis” quoted by Pope Paul VI in the preamble to the revised Rule for Secular Franciscans promulgated in 1978. *The Rule of the Secular Franciscan Order* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1979), 2.
- ⁴ Vernon Gregson, *The Desires of the Human Heart: An Introduction to the Theology of Bernard Lonergan* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), 95. Hereafter Gregson *Desires*.
- ⁵ Chester P. Michael and Marie C. Norrissey, *Prayer and Temperament* (Richmond: William Bird Press, 1984), 69.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 72.
- ⁷ Carla Mae Streeter, “Glossary of Lonerganian Terminology”, *Common Ground*, 326.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹ *Method*, 6.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² Robert M. Doran, “Foreword: Common Ground”, *Common Ground*, xiv.
- ¹³ II Celano 4 in *Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis*, ed. Marion A. Habig (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1983), 364. Hereafter *Omnibus*.
- ¹⁴ Cook *Francis*, 34. Though Celano (I, 7) mentions Apulia as the location of a dream that changed the course of Francis’ military career, some earlier chronicles state, including a chronology prepared by Omer Englebert and Raphael Brown which appears in *Omnibus*, that he was actually responding to the call of Pope Innocent III for a Holy Crusade against the Saracens. In the more recent anthology of early documents edited by Armstrong, Hellmann and Short we find this note, “Apulia is located in the southern part of the peninsula. It is the place where Walter of Brienne, head of Innocent III’s papal militia, was fighting against Markwald of Anweiler, seneschal of the German Empire. The latter claimed tutelage over the young Frederick II, who had been entrusted to the pope.” - *Early Documents*, 185n.
- ¹⁵ Pazzelli offers what is perhaps the best survey of the history of the penitential movement in the book referred above, which bears the subscript: “The Franciscan and pre-Franciscan Penitential Movement”.
- ¹⁶ Cook *Francis*, 24f.
- ¹⁷ For an excellent exploration of this theme, see Martino Conti, “Hermitage and Evangelization in the Life of Francis” in Andre Cirino and Josef Raischl, *Franciscan Solitude* (St. Bonaventure, N/Y/: The Franciscan Institute – St. Bonaventure University, 1995), 1231-127.
- ¹⁸ *Poverty and Joy*, 25f.
- ¹⁹ David Waley, *The Italian City-Republics* (New York and Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969), 14. Hereafter Waley *Republics*.
- ²⁰ *Republics*, 15
- ²¹ Little *Economy*, 8
- ²² Warner *Franciscans*, 2-7.
- ²³ *Method*, 238.
- ²⁴ *Method*, 240.
- ²⁵ *Method*, 240.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 154.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ *Works*, 103
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² *Method*, 105.
- ³³ Francis of Assisi, “Testament”, *Works*, 154. This sentence begins a passage sometimes referred to as “remembrance”.
- ³⁴ Refers to “Psalm Five” in Francis’ Little Office of the Passion, section 9 which comments on Jn 17:11 and Ps 68:10.
- ³⁵ Laurent Gallant and André Cirino, *The Geste of the Great King: Office of the Passion of Francis of Assisi* (St. Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, 2001), 27.
- ³⁶ Francis is understood to have also repaired San Pietro de la Spina and St. Mary of the Angels, affectionately known as “Portiuncula”, “the little potion”. – Warner *Franciscans*, 3-11.
- ³⁷ Cook *Francis*, 39.
- ³⁸ Saeur *Commentary*, 268.

³⁹ Gregson *Desires*, 100.

⁴⁰ Lonergan remarked that “the gift of God’s love, spontaneously reveals itself in love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, fidelity, gentleness, and self-control” – *Method*, 266.

⁴¹ Warner *Franciscans*, 8-4.

⁴² In his modest corpus of writing, he used the word “brother” and its derivatives 306 times. - Warner *Franciscans*, 6-4.

⁴³ “Faith is knowledge born of religious love...Catholic tradition has tended to deal with faith as authoritative knowledge contained in doctrines...Lonergan has moved below the common sense and theoretical realms in which such a faith is usually located to focus on the gift of divine love...When faith (self-transcendent falling-in-love) expresses itself to a common culture, it transvalues (re-prioritizes) human concerns. When moral conversion (value) is coupled with religious conversion (faith), there is a shift from the human being (person) as the originating and terminal value to the originating value of God (as good) and the terminal value is the universe (as good).” – Sauer *Commentary*, 133-134.

⁴⁴ “Testament”, *Works*, 154.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 6-14.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Matura Church*.

⁴⁸ Matura demonstrated that Francis’ ‘doctrines’ on the church are contained in documents that span the entire period of his writings. *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Common Ground*, 319.

⁵⁰ “Francis of Assisi saw poverty exemplified in Christ and it becomes the Gospel value he embraces as he followed the ‘poverty and humility of Our Lord Jesus Christ’. Clare embraced radical poverty to foster a life of contemplation of the poor Christ. Bonaventure taught poverty is the first step of the spiritual journey toward God. Jacopone da Todi believed that poverty was having nothing in order to possess all things in freedom. Subsequently, Spiritual Franciscan John Peter Olivi (d. 1298) and Ubertino da Casale (d. 1341) insisted that strict poverty was key to authentic living of the Rule. With Angelo of Clareno (d. 1337), poverty took on an eschatological significance necessary for the renewal of the whole Church. Later in the 15th century, the First Order Observant movement attempted to recapture and promote a simpler life of strict poverty as it was found in the tradition of the rural or more eremitical friaries. John Capistran (d. 1456) and James of the Marshes (d. 1476) were strong promoters for this renewal of poverty in the life of the First Order.” - J. Hammond & J. Hellmann, “Franciscan Spirituality” in *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Second Edition (Farmington Hills, MI: Thomson Gale, 2003), 895f. Hereafter *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 294.

⁵² *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 896.

⁵³ *Works*, 129

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Common Ground*, 329.

⁵⁶ *Birth*, 3.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 16. Some studies propose other dates, e.g. “(The Earlier Rule) has its origins in the simple form of life which Francis brought to Pope Innocent III for his approval in 1209 or 1210.” – *Early Documents*, 63. “The reference to Pope Innocent III (+July 16, 1216) suggests that the roots of this document are the *propositum vitae*, the primitive document, which the Pope approved orally in 1209.” – *Ibid.*, 63n.

⁵⁸ Flood has demonstrated that these occur in chapters four, five, six, seven and eight. *Birth*, 23-31.

⁵⁹ Flood showed indicated that these are to be found in chapter nine through thirteen, *Birth*, 31-35.

⁶⁰ Flood identified these influences in chapters eighteen through 20. *Birth*, 40-44.

⁶¹ *Early Documents*, 128.

⁶² *Origin*, 247.

⁶³ *Works*, 25.

⁶⁴ *Common Ground*, 315. According to Streeter who wrote the glossary, communication “operates through the basic art of talking, teaching, preaching, writing, arty, gestures, etc.”

⁶⁵ Refers to a popular legend in Celano’s “The Life of Saint Francis”, Chapter XXI, *Early Documents*, 234.

⁶⁶ Cook *Francis*, 84.

⁶⁷ Ewert Cousins, “Francis of Assisi: Mysticism at the Crossroads”, *Mysticism and Religious Traditions* (Oxford University Press, 1983), 164.

⁶⁸ Warner *Franciscans*, 9-8.

⁶⁹ Warner *Franciscans*, 10-3.

- ⁷⁰ Ibid., 6.
- ⁷¹ Celano's "First Life", *Omnibus*, 247.
- ⁷² Ibid., 9.
- ⁷³ Ibid., 11.
- ⁷⁴ David Flood, "The Genesis of the Rule" in *The Birth of a Movement* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1975), 44-50.
- ⁷⁵ J.J. Mueller, "The Role of Theological Symbols in Mediating Cultural Change" in *Common Ground*, 294.
- ⁷⁶ Sorrell *Francis*, 136f.
- ⁷⁷ Leonardo Boff, *Cry of the Earth, Cry of the Poor* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1997)
- ⁷⁸ No account of Francis as peacemaker is complete without recalling that Francis severely disrupted the cycle of violence in his immediate surroundings by imposing on Secular Franciscan, known as Tertiaries, the following proscription: "The brothers may not receive arms to be wielded against any person, not bear them on the person. Let all refrain from taking solemn oaths, except in those instances decreed by the Pope,; namely where peace, the Fait, or a juridical oath is at stake." Because the pope had declared that Tertiaries were exempt from the oath of fealty and under the protection of the bishop, many people joined the Third Order. - Hilarin Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi* (New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, 1925), 292f.
- ⁷⁹ Bernard McGinn, "Reflections on St. Francis at the New Millennium" in *Franciscan Studies* (St. Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, 2000), 12f.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid., 18.
- ⁸¹ Brian J. Brama, *Meaning and Authenticity: Bernard Lonergan and Charles Taylor on the Drama of Authentic Human Existence* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 98-100.

Bibliography

A - Lonergan Sources – Primary

Lonergan, Bernard. *Method in Theology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.

B - Lonergan Sources – Studies

Crowe, Frederick. *Approaching Lonergan's Idea*. Washington: The Catholic University Of America Press, 1989.

Dunne, Tad. *Lonergan and Spirituality: Towards a Spiritual Integration*.

Gregson, Vernon. *The Desires of the Human Heart: An Introduction to the Theology of Bernard Lonergan*. New York: Paulist Press, 1988.

--. *Lonergan, Spirituality, and the Meeting of Religions*. Lanham. MD: University Press of America, 1985.

Sauer, James. *A Commentary on Lonergan's Method in Theology*. Ottawa: The Lonergan Website, 2001.

C - Lonergan Studies on the Functional Specialty of Communications

Creamer, David. *Guides for the Journey: John MacMurray, Bernard Lonergan, and James Fowler*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1996.

Farell, Thomas and Soukup, Paul (eds.). *Communications and Lonergan: Common Ground for Forging the New Age*. Kansas City: Sheet and Ward, 1993.

D - Studies in History

Cantor, Norman F. *The Meaning of The Middle Ages: A Sociological and Cultural History*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1973.

Little, Lester. *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978.

Sheldrake, Philip. *Spirituality and History*. New York: Crossroad, 1992.

Waley, Daniel. *The Italian City-Republics*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Waller, Ralph and Ward, Benedicta. *Introduction to Christian Spirituality*, Ed. London: SPCK, 1999.

E - Franciscan Sources – Primary (English Translations)

Armstrong, R and Brady, I. Ed. *Francis and Clare: The Complete Works*. New York:

-
- Paulist Press, 1982.
- Francis of Assisi: Early Documents* (3 volumes plus Index). Edited by Regis Armstrong, J.A.Wayne Hellman and William Short. New York: New City Press, 1999.
- St. Francis of Assisi: Writing and Early Biographies: English Omnibus of the Sources for The Life of St. Francis*. Ed. Marion A. Habig. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1983.
- The Rule of the Secular Franciscan Order*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1979.
- F - Franciscan Sources - Studies**
- Blastic, Michael. "Franciscan Spirituality" in *The New Dictionary of Catholic Spirituality*. Ed. Michael Downey. Collegeville: A Michael Glazier Book: The Liturgical Press, 1993.
- Bluma, Dacian. "Franciscan Life of Prayer" in *The Cord* 13 (1963).
- Boff, Leonardo. *Cry of the Earth, Cry of the Poor*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1997.
- . *The Prayer of Saint Francis: A Message of Peace for the World Today*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001.
- Brown, Raphael. *The Roots of St. Francis: A Popular History of the Church in Assisi and Umbria Before St. Francis As Related to His Life and Spirituality*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press.
- Brunette, Pierre. *Francis of Assisi and His Conversions*, tr. Paul Lachance and Kathryn Krug. Quincy, Ill.: Franciscan Press, 1997.
- Carney, Margaret. "Legend of the Three Companions XIV: 60". *The First Franciscan Woman: Clare of Assisi and Her Form of Life*. Quincy, III.: Franciscan Press, 1993.
- Chinnici, Joseph P. "The Lord Give You Peace", *Westfriars*, February 1985.
- Conti, Martino. "Hermitage and Evangelization in the Life of Francis". Andre Cirino and Josef Raischl, *Franciscan Solitude*. St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: The Franciscan Institute – St. Bonaventure University, 1995.
- Cook, William R. "Francis of Assisi: The Way of Poverty and Humility" in *The Way of the Christian Mystic* Vol. 8. Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier.
- . "Beatus Pacificus: Francis of Assisi as Peacemaker" in *The Cord* 33 (1983) 130-136.
- Cousins, Ewert. "Francis of Assisi: Mysticism at the Crossroads". *Mysticism and Religious Traditions*. Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Desbonnets, Theophile. "Son Epoque" in *Francisains*. Paris : Les Editions du Cerf, 1981.
- Esser, Kajetan. *Origins of the Franciscan Order*. Chicago: Franciscan herald Press, 1970.
- , *Rule and Testament of St. Francis. Conferences to Modern Followers of Francis*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1977.
- Felder, Hilarin. *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, 1925.
- Foley, Leonard; Weigel, Jovian; and Normile, Patti. *To Live as Francis Lived: A Guide For Secular Franciscans*. Cincinnati: St. Anthony Messenger Press, 2000.
- Flood, David. "Franciscans At Work" in *Franciscan Studies*. St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: The Franciscan Institute, 2001.
- and Mattura, T. *The Birth of A Movement: A study of the First Rule of St. Francis*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1975.
- . *Why Francis Talked the Way He Did: The Sources and Purposes of Franciscan Discourse*.
- . *Regulam melius observare*. Unpublished essay transmitted courtesy of D. Flood.
- Fortini, Arnaldo. *Francis of Assisi*. Tr. Helen Moak. New York: Crossroad, 1981.
- Gallant, Laurent, OFM and André Cirino, OFM, *The Geste of the Great King: Office of the Passion of Francis of Assisi*. St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: The Franciscan Institute, 2001.
- . *Francis of Assisi: Forerunner of Interreligious Dialogue?: Chapter 16 of the First Rule Revisited – a Contribution to Ongoing Research*, a self-published monograph.
- . "L'Evangeliaire de Saint François d'Assise", *Collectanea Franciscana* 53 (1983).
- Gelber, Hester Goodenough. "A Theatre of Virtue: The Exemplary World of St. Francis Of Assisi". John Stratton Hawley, ed. *Saints and Virtues*. Berkley: University of

- California Press, 1992.
- Gieben, Servus. "Preaching in the Franciscan Order (Thirteenth Century)". *Monks, Nuns, And Friars in Medieval Society*, ed. Edward B. King, Jacqueline T. Schaefer and William B. Wadley. Sewanee, Tennessee: The Press of the University of the South, 1989.
- Hellman, J.A. "The Spirituality of the Franciscans". *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages & Reformation*, Ed. Jill Raitt. New York: Crossroad, 1988.
- . & Hammond, J. "Franciscan Spirituality". *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, 2nd Edition. Farmington Hills, MI: Thomson Gale, 2003.
- Hugo, William. *Studying the Life of Francis of Assisi*. Quincy, Il.: Franciscan Press, 1996.
- Iriarte, Lazaro. *Franciscan History: The Three Orders of St. Francis of Assisi*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1982.
- Jeffrey, David. "St. Francis and Medieval Theatre" in *Franciscan Studies*. St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: The Franciscan Institute, 1983.
- Kopaczynski, Germain, "Peace in the Vision of St. Francis of Assisi", *The Cord* 37, 1987.
- Lambert, Malcolm D. *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210-1323*. St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: The Franciscan Institute, 1998.
- Lehmann, Leonard. "Essential Elements of Franciscan Mission according to Chapter 16 in the Rule of 1221". *Mission in the Franciscan Tradition*. Spirit and Life, Vol. 6. St. Bonaventure, N.Y. : Franciscan Institute, 1994.
- Lippert, Pierre. "Un modèle de bonté: François d'Assise. *Bonté, Vertu d'aujourd'hui et De demain*. Aubier, 1946.
- Leclair, E. *Francis of Assisi: Return to the Gospel*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1983.
- Manselli, Raoul. "The Spirituality of St. Francis of Assisi" in *Greyfriar Review* 3:1 (1989) 43-54.
- . *St. Francis of Assisi*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1988.
- Mattura, Thaddée. *Francis of Assisi: The Message in His Writings*. St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: The Franciscan Institute, 1997.
- . "The Church in the Writings of Francis of Assisi". Trans. Helen M. Eckrich, OSF, "L'Église dans les écrits de François d'Assisi", *Antonianum* LVII (Jan-Dec, 1982).
- Merton, Thomas. "Franciscan Eremitism" in Roy Gasnick, *The Francis Book*. New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1980.
- McGinn, Bernard. "Reflections on St. Francis at the New Millennium" in *Franciscan Studies*. St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: The Franciscan Institute, 2000.
- Moorman, John. *A History of The Franciscan Order: From its Origins to the Year 1517* Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1988.
- Pazzelli, Raffaele, *St. Francis and The Third Order: The Franciscan and Pre-Franciscan Penitential Movement*. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1982 For SFU Course.
- Riley, Paul V., Jr. "Francis' Assisi: Its Political and Social History, 1175-1225" in *Franciscan Studies*. St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: The Franciscan Institute, 1974.
- Rohr, Richard. *Hope Against Darkness: The Transforming Vision of Saint Francis in an Age of Anxiety*. Cincinnati: St. Anthony Messenger Press, 2001.
- Short, William J. *Poverty and Joy: The Franciscan Tradition*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1999.
- Sorrell, Roger. *St. Francis of Assisi and Nature*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Stefun, Bonaventure. "The Poverello's Legacy" in *Review for Religious* May/June 2001.
- Talbot, John Michael. *The Lessons of St. Francis: How to Bring Simplicity and Spirituality into your Daily Life*. New York: Dutton, 1997.
- Warner, Keith. *The Franciscans: A Family History*. Loretto, Penn.: Institute for Contemporary Franciscan Life – St. Francis University, 1997.

G - Various

Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, tr. R.S. Pine-Coffin. London: Penguin Books, 1961.

Catechism of the Catholic Church. Ottawa: Publication Service of the Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops, 1994.

Encyclopedia Britannica. Chicago, London, Toronto, Geneva: William Benton, Publisher, 1962.

The New Dictionary of Theology. Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1987.