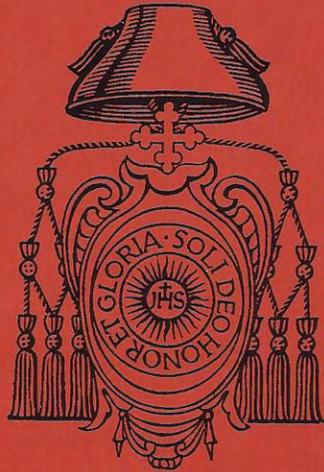


VOLUME XII

# Works of St. Bonaventure



The Sunday Sermons of St. Bonaventure

Introduction, Translation and Notes  
by Timothy J. Johnson

WORKS of  
ST. BONAVENTURE

THE SUNDAY SERMONS  
OF  
ST. BONAVENTURE

BONAVENTURE  
TEXTS IN TRANSLATION  
SERIES

General Editor  
Robert J. Karris, O.F.M.

Volume XII

THE SUNDAY SERMONS  
OF ST. BONAVENTURE

Franciscan Institute Publications  
Saint Bonaventure University  
2008

WORKS of  
ST. BONAVENTURE

THE SUNDAY SERMONS  
OF ST. BONAVENTURE

Edited by Timothy J. Johnson

Franciscan Institute Publications  
The Franciscan Institute  
Saint Bonaventure University  
Saint Bonaventure, NY 14778  
2008

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St. Bonaventure University  
St. Bonaventure, New York

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ISBN: 978-1-57659-145-1

Bonaventure, Saint, Cardinal, ca. 1217-1274.  
The Sunday Sermons of St. Bonaventure / edited by Timothy  
J. Johnson.

p. cm. -- (Works of St. Bonaventure ; xii)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-57659-145-1 (alk. paper)

1. Sunday--Sermons--Early works to 1800. 2. Catholic Church--  
Sermons--Early works to 1800. 3. Sermons, Latin--Translated  
into English. I. Johnson, Timothy J. II. Title.

BX1756.B58S86 2007  
252'.02--dc22

2007039168

Printed in the United States of America  
Bookmasters, Inc.  
Ashland, Ohio

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CCSL xxxvi	<i>Sancti Avrelii Avgustini In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV</i> . Ed. Radbodvs Willems. Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.
CCSL 1	<i>Sancti Avrelii Avgustini De Trinitate Libri XV (Libri I-XII)</i> . Ed. W.J. Mountain; Fr. Gloire. Turnhout: Brepols, 1968.
CCSL 1a	<i>Sancti Avrelii Avgustini De Trinitate Libri XV (Libri XIII-XV)</i> . Ed. W.J. Mountain; Fr. Gloire. Turnhout: Brepols, 1968.
CCSL lxxii	<i>S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera Pars I Opera Exegetica 1: Hebraicae quaestiones in Libro Geneseos, Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum, Commentarioli in Psalmos, Commentarius in Ecclesiasten</i> . Ed. P. Antin; Turnhout: Brepols, 1959.
CCSL cxli	<i>Gregorius Magnus, Homiliae in Evangelia</i> . Ed. Raymond Étaix. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.
CCSL cxliii	<i>S. Gregorii Magni Moralia in Iob Libri I-X</i> . Ed. Marc Adriaen. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979.
CCSL cxliiia	<i>S. Gregorii Magni Moralia in Iob Libri XI-XXII</i> . Ed. Marc Adriaen. Turnhout: Brepols, 1979.
CCSL cxliiib	<i>S. Gregorii Magni Moralia in Iob Libri XXIII-XXXV</i> . Ed. Marc Adriaen. Turnhout: Brepols, 1985.
CFS	Cistercian Fathers Series
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSS	Cistercian Studies Series
CUA	Catholic University of America
Critical Edition	<i>Sancti Bonaventurae Sermones dominicales</i> . Ed. Jacques Guy Bougerol. Bibliotheca Franciscana scholastica Medii

- Aevi 27; Grottaferrata: Collegio S. Bonaventurae, 1977.
- Cronica* I and II Salimbene de Adam  
 Douay Version *The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate ... The Douay Version of the Old Testament; The Confraternity Edition of the New Testament.* New York: P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1950.
- FC Fathers of the Church  
 FC 24 *Saint Augustine The City of God Books XVII-XXII.* Translated by Gerald G. Walsh and Daniel J. Honan. New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1954.
- FC 78 *St. Augustine Tractates on the Gospel of John 1-10.* Translated by John W. Rettig. Washington: CUA Press, 1988.
- FC 79 *St. Augustine Tractates on the Gospel of John 11-27.* Translated by John W. Rettig. Washington: CUA Press, 1988.
- FC 88 *St. Augustine Tractates on the Gospel of John 28-54.* Translated by John W. Rettig. Washington: CUA Press, 1995.
- FC 90 *St. Augustine Tractates on the Gospel of John 55-111.* Translated by John W. Rettig. Washington: CUA Press, 1994.
- FA:ED *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents, Volumes 1-3.* Edited by Regis Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellmann, William Short. New York: New City Press, 1999-2001.
- Franciscans at Prayer* The Medieval Franciscans, Volume 4. Edited by Timothy J. Johnson. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007.
- GGHG Gregory the Great's Homilies on the Gospels
- Hurst *Gregory the Great: Forty Gospel Homilies.* Translated from the Latin by Dom David Hurst. CSS 123; Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1990.
- LCL Loeb Classical Library  
 Omnia Opera *S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia.* Studio et Cura PP.Collegii a S. Bonaventura (Ad Claras Aquas).Quaracchi: Collegium S.

- Bonaventurae, 1882-1902. There are nine volumes of text and one volume of indices. The volume number is first given and then the page number, e.g., V, 312b.
- PG Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca. Ed. J. P. Migne.
- PL Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina. Ed. J. P. Migne.
- PLS Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum. Ed. A.J. Hamman. Turnhout: Brepols, 1958-1974.
- SBOp *Sancti Bernardi Opera I-VIII* Ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais with the assistance of C. H. Talbot for Volumes I-II. Rome: Editiones Cisterciensis, 1957-77.
- Sermones dominicales Sancti Bonaventurae Sermones dominicales.* Edited by Jacques Guy Bougerol. Grottaferrata: Collegio S. Bonaventura, 1977.
- Sermons de tempore Sancti Bonaventurae Sermons de tempore.* Edited by Jacques Guy Bougerol. Paris: Les Éditions Franciscaines, 1990.
- Sermons de diversis Sancti Bonaventurae Sermons de diversis.* Edited by Jacques Guy Bougerol. Paris: Les Éditions Franciscaines, 1993.
- Vulgate *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem.* Adiuvantibus B. Fischer, I. Gribomont (†), H. F. D. Sparks, W. Thiele recensuit et brevi apparatu critico instruxit Robertus Weber (†) editionem quartam emendatam cum sociis B. Fischer, H. I. Frede, H. F. D. Sparks, W. Thiele praeparavit Roger Gryson. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1969. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. 1994.
- WAE *The Works of Aristotle.* Volumes 1-12. Translated into English under the Editorship of W.D. Ross. London: Oxford University Press, 1928.
- WSA Works of Saint Augustine
- WSB Works of St. Bonaventure

Old Testament

Gen	1 Chron	Cant	Obadiah
Ex	2 Chron	Wis	Jonah
Lev	Ezra	Isa	Micah
Num	Nehemiah	Jer	Nah
Deut	Tob	Lam	Hab
Joshua	Judith	Bar	Zeph
Judges	Esther	Ez	Haggai
Ruth	Job	Dan	Zech
1 Sam	Ps	Hosea	Mal
2 Sam	Prov	Joel	1 Macc
1 Kings	Qoh	Amos	2 Macc
2 Kings	Sir		

New Testament

Matt	1 Cor	1 Thes	Hebr	3 John
Mark	2 Cor	2 Thes	James	Jude
Luke	Gal	1 Tim	1 Peter	Rev
John	Eph	2 Tim	2 Peter	
Acts	Phil	Titus	1 John	
Rom	Col	Phlm	2 John	

## INTRODUCTION TO THE *SUNDAY SERMONS* OF SAINT BONAVENTURE

### BROTHER BONAVENTURE AS PREACHER

In his wide-ranging, engaging, and eminently readable chronicle, Salimbene de Adam notes that Bonaventure's secretary, Brother Mark of Montefeltro, did not hesitate to chide and challenge the General Minister before a sermon:

Also, whenever Brother Bonaventure, the General Minister, had to preach to the clergy, Brother Mark would go to him and say to him, 'You are merely a hired servant, and at another time, when you preached, you didn't even know what you were saying, and I hope you will do the same now.' Brother Mark said this, however, to provoke him to speak better, in accord with what is written in Ecclesiasticus 22:24: *He that pricks the eye, brings out tears, and he that pricks the heart, brings forth understanding*. Nevertheless Brother Mark wrote down all of Brother Bonaventure's sermons and wished to have them.<sup>1</sup>

Despite his critique, Brother Mark so treasured his friend's words that he endeavored to preserve them. His efforts could be dismissed as merely indicative of deep

---

<sup>1</sup> Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica I*, edited by G. Scalia, CCCM cxxv (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 471.

personal friendship, if an extensive textual tradition did not confirm a widespread appreciation for Bonaventure's homiletic abilities. As Nicole Bériou notes, the abundance of his extant sermons indicates a pattern of frequent preaching, which was greatly appreciated in his day. The evidence is convincing. Due to the monumental editorial efforts of Jacques Bougerol and others, readers may avail themselves of 381 authentic sermons<sup>2</sup> in the critical editions of the *Sunday Sermons*,<sup>3</sup> *Seasonal Sermons*,<sup>4</sup> and *Diverse Sermons*.<sup>5</sup> In addition to this textual wealth, there are also three series of university sermons, the *Collations on the Ten Commandments*,<sup>6</sup> the *Collations on the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit*,<sup>7</sup> and the *Collations on the Six Days*.<sup>8</sup>

The textual testimony to Bonaventure's preaching suggests many of his brothers, like Mark of Montefeltro, wanted to keep his words for themselves. Beyond the extant homilies, echoes of the General Minister's ministry are perceptible as well in the personal accounts of not only Salimbene, who heard him preach to the brothers in Bologna on temptation,<sup>9</sup> but also Peter Olivi, who re-

<sup>2</sup> Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole: La prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1998), 105.

<sup>3</sup> *Sancti Bonaventurae Sermones dominicales*, edited by Jacques Guy Bougerol (Grottaferrata: Collegio S. Bonaventura, 1977).

<sup>4</sup> *Sancti Bonaventurae Sermons de tempore*, edited by Jacques Guy Bougerol (Paris: Les Éditions Franciscaines, 1990).

<sup>5</sup> *Sancti Bonaventurae Sermons de diversis*, vols. 1-2, edited by Jacques Guy Bougerol (Paris: Les Éditions Franciscaines, 1993).

<sup>6</sup> *Collationes de decem praeceptis*, 507a-532b in *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae opera omnia*. 10 volumes (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1882-1902). References to the writings of Bonaventure, unless noted otherwise, come from *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae opera omnia*, 10 volumes (Quaracchi, 1882-1902), and are cited by volume and page number. For the English translation see WSB VI.

<sup>7</sup> *Collationes de septem donis Spiritus sancti*, (V, 457a-503b).

<sup>8</sup> *Collationes in hexaëmeron*, (V, 329a-449b).

<sup>9</sup> Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica II*, edited by G. Scalia, CCCM cxxv (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 865.

membered Bonaventure's homily in the Parisian chapter on Francis as the sixth angel of the Apocalypse.<sup>10</sup> The interest of the brothers in Bonaventure's instruction is matched by his interest in their formation. As Master Regent at the University of Paris in 1255, he eagerly engaged young brothers, who were preparing for their twofold ecclesial mission of preaching and confessing, through the medium of his own sermons. His subsequent election as General Minister in 1257 only served to heighten Bonaventure's concern vis-à-vis the spiritual development of the Minorite or Franciscan Order. Crisscrossing Europe on at least nine different occasions within seventeen years, he traveled on foot to visit convents as near as Paris and as distant as Rome to encourage the brothers.<sup>11</sup> The *Seasonal Sermons* alone contain 54 sermons delivered to his conferees gathered in chapter.<sup>12</sup> Given the intimate, familiar nature of this prayerful setting, these sermons are particularly indicative of the spiritual directives the General Minister wished to impart to those in his charge.<sup>13</sup> While striving to encounter the brothers personally when possible, Bonaventure also guided them on the institutional level through a literary

<sup>10</sup> Petrus Iohannis Olivi, *Lectura super apocalysim* in Warren Lewis, "Peter John Olivi: Prophet of the Year 2000." (Ph. D. diss., Tübingen Universität, 1972), 392-94.

<sup>11</sup> Bougerol, *Sermons de tempore*, 23. On Bonaventure's preaching in the south of France, see Jacques Paul, "La prédication de Saint Bonaventure dans le Midi" in *La prédication en Pays d'Oc (XIIe-début XVe siècle) Cahiers de Fanjeaux 32* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1997) 127-57.

<sup>12</sup> Bougerol, *Sermons de tempore*, 28.

<sup>13</sup> Bougerol, *Sermons de tempore*, 29. The continual emphasis found in these sermons on light underscores the spatial dynamic of Bonaventure's theology. See also Timothy J. Johnson, "Into the Light: Bonaventure's Minor Life of Saint Francis and the Franciscan Production of Space," in *Francis of Assisi: History, Hagiography and Hermeneutics in the Early Documents*, edited by Jay M. Hammond (New York: New City Press, 2004), 247-48.

ministry evident in texts comprising a diversity of genres, from *The Journey of the Mind into God*<sup>14</sup> to the *Prologue to the Constitutions of Narbonne*.<sup>15</sup> The *Sunday Sermons* are representative of Bonaventure's conscious attempt to utilize the sermon genre to call the *virī spirituales*, that is, those called to evangelical perfection and the ministry of preaching within the Minorite Order through the rhythm of the liturgical year. While the *Sunday Sermons* can be considered a model sermon collection, Bonaventure does not intend this unified text to be used primarily to assist his confreres in their preaching to the laity, but rather, to shape the identity of his confreres as they reflect on Scripture, and preach among themselves and to likeminded religious and clerics.<sup>16</sup> To better understand the role of the *Sunday Sermons* in Bonaventure's ministry, it is necessary to examine the context and content of this unique expression of institutional theology.

<sup>14</sup> *Itinerarium* (V, 295a-313b), for the English translation see WSB II.

<sup>15</sup> "Statuta generalia ordinis edita in capitulis generalibus celebratis Narbonae 1260, Assisii an. 1279, atque Parisiis an. 1292," edited by M. Bihl in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 34 (1941), 13-94; 284-358.

<sup>16</sup> On model sermons and mendicant preaching, see Jussi Hanska, "And the Rich Man also died; and He was buried in Hell" *The Social Ethos in Mendicant Sermons* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1997), 21. Hanska speaks of model sermons as the "voice of the common mendicant" that are helpful in understanding the mentality of the thirteenth century mendicant – something Hanska claims the writings of Bonaventure and Aquinas are unable to do. Both the context and content of the *Sunday Sermons* indicate a more specific institutional concern on the part of Bonaventure that distinguishes them as a model sermon collection from those Hanska identifies with the "common mendicant."

## PREACHING IN PARIS

When comparing the preaching of Francis of Assisi with the *Seasonal Sermons*, Jacques Bougerol notes that there is nothing in common between the style of the Poverello and that of Bonaventure.<sup>17</sup> The same claim regarding style holds true for the *Sunday Sermons*. Early accounts of Francis offer an image of a preacher without a formal sermon style, whose words and gestures seemed to fuse into compelling exhortation to repentance to praise.<sup>18</sup> Thomas of Spalato, a youthful eyewitness to Francis's preaching in the public piazza of Bologna in 1222, claimed he spoke like one addressing a public assembly, as he urged those gathered to forsake violence and to work for civil peace.<sup>19</sup> While similar thematic concerns are found throughout Francis and Bonaventure's preaching, the text of the *Sunday Sermons*, like that of the *Seasonal Sermons* and *Diverse Sermons*, represents the *sermo modernus* style, which witnessed a growing popularity in Paris and elsewhere.<sup>20</sup> This innovative style of clerical preaching appeared at the close of the twelfth century; it developed a thematic approach to a specific scripture text and supplanted the earlier patristic-monastic technique of verse commentary.<sup>21</sup> Numerous authors of the period offered *artes praedicandi* to assure

<sup>17</sup> Bougerol, *Sermons de tempore*, 25.

<sup>18</sup> Helmut Feld, *Franziskus von Assisi und seine Bewegung* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 1996), 199-202.

<sup>19</sup> *Testimonia minora saeculi xiii*, edited by Leonardus Lemmens (Florence: Ad Claras Aquas, 1926), 10.

<sup>20</sup> For an extended treatment of this novel sermon style, which Nicole Bériou names the "nouvelle art de prêcher," see Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole*, vol. 1, 133-214.

<sup>21</sup> M. Michèle Mulchahey, "First the Bow is Bent in Study ...." *Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1998), 401-19.

the proper formulation of this emerging literary genre,<sup>22</sup> which was remarkably suited to both clerical and lay audiences.<sup>23</sup> The structure of this manner of sermon included the theme, the protheme, the initial prayer, and the subdivision of the theme.<sup>24</sup> After announcing the theme, a protheme invited the audience to prayer. The preacher then returned to the theme and stated how he would develop his thoughts. Bonaventure's predilection is obvious in his frequent threefold thematic division, whereas other mendicant preachers like Thomas Aquinas and Jean de la Rochelle preferred a fourfold structure.<sup>25</sup> In the *Sunday Sermons*, Bonaventure frequently separates each of the three subsections or primary members into three secondary members.<sup>26</sup> His task, like others employing the *sermo modernus*, required him to elaborate on the scriptural theme through a *dilatatio*, that is, a careful development of the previously announced indi-

<sup>22</sup> Nicole Bériou, "Les sermons latins après 1200" in *The Sermon*, edited by Beverly Kienzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000) 370. Bériou mentions the date of 1210 in *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole*, vol. 1, 259.

<sup>23</sup> D.L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 193.

<sup>24</sup> Bougerol, *Introduction to the Works of Saint Bonaventure*, 137. Many manuscripts indicate that the *sermo modernus* often concluded with an intercessory prayer, or preconium, see Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole*, vol. 1, 274-79. Although all the Sunday Sermons end with an intercessory prayer, none of them contain the full prayer. An intriguing example of Bonaventure's use of the preconium is found in *Sermon 45 (1) On Saint Mark Evangelist*, in *Sermons de diversis*, vol. 2, 593.

<sup>25</sup> Bougerol, *Sermons de tempore*, 30.

<sup>26</sup> There are exceptions to this treatment of the theme in the *Sunday Sermons*. *Sermo 6* has four primary members accompanied by three secondary members. *Sermo 31* and *Sermo 37* have only two primary members, which are developed further by three secondary members

vidual members.<sup>27</sup> As D.L. D'Avray indicates, this methodology fosters a matrix of ideas that spread out from the original scripture text.<sup>28</sup> The very first sermon of the *Sunday Sermons, On Advent*, demonstrates this pattern:

Theme: *The one desired by the nations will come.*

Haggai 2:8

Protheme: *There is a time and opportunity for each affair.*

Wisdom 8:6

Prayer: At the outset of our words, let us, most beloved, first call upon the Father...

Subdivision of Theme: *The one desired by the nations will come.* Haggai 2:8

First: As the most gracious mediator

Second: As the most truthful doctor

Third: As the most humble king

First Primary: [he] *will come*

First Secondary: To display the remedies of peace and harmony

Second Secondary: To offer proofs of piety and justice

Third Secondary: To demonstrate examples of humility and indigence

Second Primary: *the one desired*

First Secondary: Because of the splendor of original innocence

Second Secondary: Because of the preciousness of illuminating grace

Third Secondary: Because of the pleasure of soothing wisdom

Third Primary: *all the nations*

---

<sup>27</sup> On this methodology, see Mulchahey, "First the Bow is Bent Study," 407-14.

<sup>28</sup> D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 246.

First Secondary: Because the original fault was deleted

Second Secondary: Because the just judgment was relaxed

Third Secondary: Because the nations sought the sublimity of final glory<sup>29</sup>

The introduction of the *sermo modernus* model coincided in Paris with an expanding ecclesial commitment to pastoral care initiated by, among others, Peter the Cantor, on the cusp of the thirteenth century.<sup>30</sup> The rapid growth and subsequent clericalization of the Minorites necessitated a sermon style commensurate with their ecclesial ministry. Far removed from the early penitential preaching style and form of life revealed in the *Earlier Rule* of 1221, the brothers in Paris and other urban centers integrated papal directives, such as Gregory IX's *Quoniam abundavit iniquitatis* of 1237, into their formation theory and practice. Sermon construction, given the requisite dogmatic content, now belonged by rights to ordained brothers alone, who were entrusted to contest heresy and drive out vice through the good news of God's word.<sup>31</sup> Since a theological education was intrinsic to this

<sup>29</sup> *Sermo 1, Sermones dominicales*, 131-38.

<sup>30</sup> On the renewal in preaching that preceded the Minorite arrival at the University of Paris, see Jörg Oberste, "Predigt und Gesellschaft um 1200: Praktische Moralthologie und pastorale Neuorientierung im Umfeld der Pariser Universität am Vorabend der Mendikanten" in *Die Bettelorden im Aufbau: Beiträge zu Institutionalierungsprozessen im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum*, edited by Gert Melville and Jörg Oberste (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1999), 245-95.

<sup>31</sup> Oberste, "Predigt und Gesellschaft um 1200," 292-94. While the *Later Rule* reflects dimensions of the early preaching style of the brothers, there is no doubt that it represents a view removed from that first proposed and practiced by Francis. On this point, see Servus Gieben, "Preaching in the Franciscan Order (Thirteenth Century)" in *Monks, Nuns, and Friars in Medieval Society* (Swanee: Swanee Medieval Colloquium, 1989), 9-12. An English translation of *Quoniam abundavit iniquitatis* is available in *FA:ED 1*, 575-77.

manner of ministry, it is not surprising that, perhaps as early as 1243, Innocent IV forbid the laity in *Noverit universitas vestra* from the office of preaching.<sup>32</sup> Although their pastoral preaching evidenced distinctive characteristics,<sup>33</sup> Minorite clerics, like their counterparts in the Order of Preachers, dedicated their intellectual efforts to the demanding task of sermon preparation in the *studia* throughout the Order.<sup>34</sup> Preaching within this academic environment served as an integral component of pastoral preparation.<sup>35</sup> Legislation within the Minorite Order on the constitutional level, which only comes into view after the contentious General Chapter of 1238, evinces an effort to coordinate the preaching office with papal directives and academic policies. This insistence on intellectual development within the Order and the Church is exemplified by John of Parma, who preceded Bonaventure as General Minister in 1247. Not only did John claim that study was an indispensable wall for the edifice of the Minorite Order according to Thomas of Eccleston,<sup>36</sup> but he also did not hesitate to brusquely scold Salimbene when he thought

<sup>32</sup> Lawrence Landini, *The Causes of the Clericalization of the Order of Friars Minor* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968), 68-69.

<sup>33</sup> On some of the possible differences between the preaching of the Order of Preachers and the Minors, see Carla Casagrande, in *Pre-diche alle donne del secolo XII: Testi di Umberto da Romans, Gilberto da Tournai, Stefano di Borbone*, edited by Carla Casagrande (Milano: Bompiani, 1978) xvi-xxi. On the danger of drawing distinctions between the Minorites and Preachers after the thirteenth century, see Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 293.

<sup>34</sup> Jacques Bougerol, "Le origini e la finalità dello studio nell'ordine francescano" in *Antonianum* 53 (1978), 405-22.

<sup>35</sup> Jacques Bougerol, "Les sermons dans les 'studia' des mendi-cants" in *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti* (Todi: Accademia Tudertina, 1978), 251-80.

<sup>36</sup> *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston Tractatus de adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, edited by A.G. Little (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951), 74.

the young brother might attempt to escape from a rigorous examination before receiving the office of preacher.<sup>37</sup>

Minorite efforts to foster preaching through solid academic preparation and administrative directives, while understandable given the institutional concerns of the Church, required a theoretical justification that was internally coherent to the brothers, and externally comprehensible – albeit controversial – to friends and foes alike. Bonaventure offers an example of such dual reasoning in the *Letter in Response to Three Questions of an Unknown Master* from 1254-1255, when he appeals to the experience of the Church to propose a hermeneutics of institutional accommodation; that is to say, the validity of the Minorite Order within the ecclesial structure is verifiable inasmuch as it conforms to the institutional pattern of the Church itself.<sup>38</sup> This interpretive stance permits him to simultaneously affirm the historical roots of the Minorite Order in the experience of Francis and confirm the contemporary reality of the convents in Paris and elsewhere. Nowhere is this more apparent than when he responds to a question that is not tangential to preaching: study. The unknown master raised an issue when he noted the stark contrast between early companions of Francis and those who later entered the Order. According to the *Later Rule* of 1223, those who are illiterate should not desire learning, but now, according to the master, even laymen who gave little thought to philosophical reasoning, eagerly read, write, refute, and elaborate doctrinal teachings.<sup>39</sup> Bonaventure does not dispute the claim, but

<sup>37</sup> Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica I*, 455.

<sup>38</sup> *Epistola de tribus quaestionibus*, n. 13 (V, 336a-b). For the English translation see WSB V, 54.

<sup>39</sup> *Epistola de tribus quaestionibus*, n. 1(V, 331b). For the text from the *Later Rule of 1223*, see *Regula Bullata*, c. 10 in Kajetan Esser, *Die Opuscula hl. Franziskus von Assisi* (Grottaferrata: Ad Claras Aquas, 1976), 370. For an English translation see WSB V, 43.

utilizes it rather as the foundational justification of the Minorite evangelical endeavor. Just as the Church began with simple and uneducated fisherman and grew to include illustrious and learned doctors, so too, does the Order comprise many doctors. Given that one discerns the workings of Christ in this unceasing growth of the Church through the centuries, it is readily apparent that God authenticates the Minorite Order through the same institutional dynamic. Bonaventure candidly confesses that this reading of ecclesiastical history drew him to lovingly embrace Francis's way of life. The undeniable consequence of this hermeneutic is the affirmation that books and anything else essential to Minorite ministry is an integral aspect of their ecclesial identity as preachers:

Hear me now on what I have to say about books and other tools. The Rule states in no uncertain terms that the brothers have the right and duty of preaching, something that, to my knowledge, is found in no other religious rule. Now, if they are not to preach fables but the divine Word, which they are cannot know unless they read, nor read unless they have books, then it is perfectly clear that it is totally in harmony with the perfection of the Rule for them to have books, just as it is for them to preach.<sup>40</sup>

This defense of the Order and his preaching while at the University of Paris certainly underscores Bonaventure's commitment to this essential aspect of the Minorite vocation, yet it is within the period of his generalate where he labored most extensively to educate his confreres concerning the ministerial mandate entrusted to them by the Church. Throughout his ministry Bonaven-

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<sup>40</sup> *Epistola de tribus quaestionibus*, n. 6 (V, 332b-333a). Citation is from Monti's translation in WSB V, 46.

ture consciously grounded his pedagogy on the foundation of words and deeds. Not only did he remind the brothers of the necessity and the manner of evangelical preaching in his writing, he also endeavored to offer them a living example of a preacher in their midst through his extensive travels. It is within this context, that the uniqueness of the *Sunday Sermons* emerges; for they give voice to Bonaventure's desire to preach to the brothers, through the mediated presence of an edited sermon collection intended not to assist them in composing sermons for the laity, but rather, to call the preachers themselves to conversion.

### CONTEXT AND COMPOSITION OF THE *SUNDAY SERMONS*

As Jacques Bougerol indicates in the critical edition of the *Sunday Sermons*, he together with other scholars originally situated this text within the period of Bonaventure's university tenure. Longpré spoke of the general period from 1253 to 1257. Mehr, Bougerol, Manselli narrowed the timeframe to 1250-1251, while Brady and Quinn posited 1252-1253, and Cantini, Glorieux, di Fonzo, Clasen, and Dufiel spoke in favor of 1252-1253.<sup>41</sup> Although they disagreed as to which date, all the scholars claimed the *Sunday Sermons* originated within a single academic year. The difficulty with such unanimity lies in the nature of preaching at the University of Paris, and the content of the *Sunday Sermons*. The statutes governing the university invited masters to preach *coram universitate* once a year. While Bougerol acknowledges some may have done so more frequently, none left a complete series comparable to the *Sunday Sermons*.<sup>42</sup> As a mem-

<sup>41</sup> See the discussion of this issue with detailed bibliography in Bougerol, *Sermones dominicales*, 15-17.

<sup>42</sup> San Bonaventura, *Sermoni domenicali*, edited by Jacques Bougerol, Cornelio del Zotto, and Leonardo Sileo, vol 10 in *Opere di San Bonaventura* (Roma: Città Nuova Editrice, 1992), 7.

ber of the Parisian Minorite *studium*, Bonaventure undoubtedly also preached within the convent on selected Sundays for the brothers, yet other confreres, both masters and bachelors at Saint Magdalene would have done likewise within the academic year. Furthermore, these sermons *coram fratribus* were typically directed toward those in religious formation.<sup>43</sup> The content of the *Sunday Sermons*, while certainly intended to promote the intellectual and spiritual growth of the brothers,<sup>44</sup> does not reveal a decided emphasis on the importance of academic development or the formation concerns of Bonaventure's young Minorite confreres evident in the *Instructions for Novices*, but suggests instead a more mature and cultured audience of preachers, religious and prelates. This conclusion naturally excludes the possibility that the *Sunday Sermons* represent Bonaventure's preaching to laity.

While the Parisian situation and the thematic concerns of the *Sunday Sermons* argue against the scholarly position first proposed by Longpré, Bougerol also found the manuscript tradition itself to be a foil. Salimbene claimed that Bonaventure's secretary, Mark of Montefeltro, "... wrote down all of Brother Bonaventure's sermons and wanted to have them,"<sup>45</sup> yet there is no extant manuscript. One of the most prominent sermon manuscripts, Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, cod. A. 11 sup. (Mi) appears, however, to be a copy of Mark's now lost original collection. Discovered in 1872 by Fedele da Fanna, it contains 295 sermon schemas from the thirteenth century, 269 of which are attributed to Bonaventure, and was published in a critical edition as the *Sermones de tempore*, or *Seasonal Sermons*. A noteworthy feature of this crucial

<sup>43</sup> Bougerol, "Les sermons dans les 'studia' des mendicants" in *Le scuole degli ordini mendicante*, 254-70.

<sup>44</sup> Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole*, vol. 1, 187.

<sup>45</sup> See note 1.

manuscript is that rubrics accompany 258 sermons, thus allowing scholars to situate Bonaventure's ministerial activity within a specific ecclesial and liturgical context. Only seven of the sermon schemas found in the Milanese text reappear, albeit far more finely crafted, in the *Sunday Sermons*.<sup>46</sup> Another important manuscript Fanna uncovered is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 14595 (Pa), which is also dated to the thirteenth century. The Italian copyist states his intention in this document to compile material from Bonaventure together with that of other ministers and preachers, but refrains from including rubrics for the 321 sermons. Three sermons common to Mi, in addition to two more, are found in the *Sunday Sermons*.<sup>47</sup> Previous to discovering Pa, Fanna believed that the incredible collection from Milan came directly from the hand of Mark of Montefeltro; however, the Parisian manuscript was remarkably similar yet clearly distinct from Ma. As Bougerol notes, Fanna was forced to conclude that both Ma and Pa represented the labors of Italian scribes, who worked independently from each other.<sup>48</sup>

If the *Sunday Sermons* do not come from the academic period of 1250-1257, and if only nine of the sermons in Mi and Pa are found in this Sunday cycle, when, where, and why were they preached? When redacting the critical edition of the *Sunday Sermons*, Bougerol noted there were twenty-one manuscripts containing the entire corpus with minor variations as to prothemes and sermon sequence, and ten additional manuscripts with individual Sunday sermons.<sup>49</sup> Mark of Montefeltro's extensive compilation, clearly recognizable in Ma and Pi, stretches from 1253 to 1274, but since only nine sermons,

<sup>46</sup> Bougerol, *Sermones dominicales*, 20-23.

<sup>47</sup> Bougerol, *Sermons de tempore*, 11-12.

<sup>48</sup> Bougerol, *Sermons de diversis*, vol. 1, 10.

<sup>49</sup> Bougerol, *Sermones dominicales*, 31-53.

dated from 1258-1267, are identifiable in the corpus of *Sunday Sermons*,<sup>50</sup> the origin of the Sunday cycle must lie elsewhere. Together with Ignatius Brady, Bougerol concluded that Bonaventure composed almost the entire corpus of the *Sunday Sermons de novo* without ever having actually preached them in a public setting.<sup>51</sup> Working perhaps alone or with his secretary outside of Paris in the convent of Mantes,<sup>52</sup> he selected and developed nine sermons from Mark's collection suitable for a model Sunday collection and wrote forty-one more, most likely between April 24, 1267, and May 17, 1268. This period, which may have included the editing of earlier academic version of the *Commentary on the Gospel of Saint Luke*<sup>53</sup>, is circumscribed by the conclusion of the *Collations on the Ten Commandments* in mid April, 1267, and his Ascension sermon *coram universitate* on May 17, 1268.<sup>54</sup> The General Minister's inspiration for undertaking this sermon project appears in a rare autobiographical reference found in the *Thirteenth Sunday after Pentecost*:

<sup>50</sup> Bougerol, *Sermones dominicales*, 27-29.

<sup>51</sup> In *The Preaching of the Friars*, 97, D'Avray claims the *Sunday Sermons* are taken from sermon texts Bonaventure had previously preached "live" in a number of places, but this is not the case according to Jacques Bougerol since the schemas of only nine previous sermons are identifiable in the *Sunday Sermons*. On the originality of the *Sunday Sermons*, see Jacques Bougerol, *Sermones dominicales*, 27-29, and idem, *Introduction à Saint Bonaventure* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1988), 223, and idem, *Sermoni domenicali*, 8-9, 22.

<sup>52</sup> On Bonaventure's residence at Mantes during the period of his generalate, see Jacques Bougerol, *Saint Bonaventure* (Paris: Éditions Franciscaines, 1963), 82.

<sup>53</sup> On the dating of the extant *Commentary on the Gospel of Saint Luke*, see Dominic Monti, "Bonaventure's Interpretation of Scripture in his Exegetical Works." (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1979), 152-55.

<sup>54</sup> Bougerol, *Sermones dominicales*, 29. For this sermon, see *In Ascensione Domini* in *Sermones de diversis*, vol. 1, 342-52.

Second, the soul has a religious posture that remains steadfast in overcoming diabolical temptations with strength. Whence Ephesians 6:11; 14 says: *Put on the armor of God so you may resist the snares of the devil*; and: *Gird your loins with truth and put on the breastplate of justice*. The armor we must wear to overcome diabolical temptations is the passion of Christ; if this memory is evoked affectionately, every demon flees in terror immediately, as experience has taught me on numerous occasions. For once, when the devil grasped me by the throat and tried to strangle me with such a tight grip of the throat, that I was unable to call out to the friars for help, I began to breath out with unimaginable pain; suddenly overcome by the memory of the Lord's passion, I multiplied my gasps out of compassion for his suffering. As I surrendered, feverish groans began to replace the sound of my voice. By virtue of what took place through the passion of the Lord, I, a servant of the cross, composed this present collection of sermons to praise the name of Christ and to honor his sacred cross, and testify that I was freed from such a cruel death.<sup>55</sup>

In composing the *Sunday Sermons* in praise of Christ, Bonaventure utilized the pre-established sequence of Gospel pericopes proper to the Franciscan lectionary with the notable exceptions of Palm and Easter Sundays.<sup>56</sup> In the Bolognese Chapter of 1243, the fifth Minorite Gener-

<sup>55</sup> *Sermo 40*, n. 4, *Sermones dominicales*, 407. On the autobiographical aspect of this text, see Bougerol, *Sermones dominicales*, 105-07.

<sup>56</sup> It was not unusual for preachers to choose Scriptural texts other than the proposed Epistle or Gospel pericopes on feast days to ensure their ability to treat the thematic subject of the feast as they wished; see Bougerol, *Introduction à Saint Bonaventure*, 139.

al Minister, Haymo of Faversham, established an order of Mass readings for the Temporal and Sanctoral cycles in the *Ordo Missale*, and Bonaventure's immediate successor, John of Parma, officially authorized them after 1247.<sup>57</sup> Distinguishing themselves from the Order of Preachers and Parisian customs, the Minorites patterned their liturgical life on a modified model taken from the Papal Court. The promulgation of the *Ordo Missale* allowed the followers of Francis to radically simplify their worship practice, since one single book, and not a collection of them, held everything from scriptural readings to gradual chants for the Masses celebrated in honor of the saints and throughout the liturgical year. Although the commonly-held notion of the liturgical year is evident in the *Sunday Sermons*, it is important to recall that Easter, that is, the annual commemoration of the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ, held pride of place among early Christians, who originally gave prominence to a weekly cycle ordered to the celebration of the Lord's Supper before they began to observe Easter universally in the second century.<sup>58</sup> The next several centuries witnessed an expanding period of preparation for Easter marked by fasting, which became identified as the Lenten season, and the fifty days of Eastertide leading up to, and including, the day of Pentecost.<sup>59</sup> During the period preceding Gregory the Great, textual evidence suggests the beginning of the liturgical year in the West shifted from the beginning of March to December 25<sup>th</sup>, and the four Sundays of Advent were fixed and

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<sup>57</sup> Maura O'Carroll, "The Lectionary for the Proper of the Year in the Dominican and Franciscan Rites of the Thirteenth Century," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 49 (1979), 82.

<sup>58</sup> Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, translated by William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1986), 305.

<sup>59</sup> Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 309-11.

remained so throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>60</sup> It is this relatively late addition of the Advent Sundays that provides Bonaventure with a richly nuanced biblical entry point into the mystery of redemption that unfolds from the beginning of the *Sunday Sermons*, and culminates in the exultant praise of Christ during the Easter celebration.<sup>61</sup>

When constructing the individual sermons within the liturgical year of the *Ordo Missale*, Bonaventure appealed to a variety of traditional authorities and personal resources beyond the obvious primary text of the Old and New Testaments. Church Fathers, Scriptural *Glosses*, and his own writings provided a wealth of homiletic material. The works of the three great preachers of the Western Church, Augustine, Gregory, and Bernard are woven throughout the *Sunday Sermons*, together with references to Jerome, Pseudo Dionysius, Bede, Anselm and the Victorines.<sup>62</sup> Bonaventure, who cited Augustine over three thousand times in the *Opera Omnia*,<sup>63</sup> turns to the vast literary corpus of this great Latin Father and Doctor of the Church on sixty-eight separate occasions to elucidate selected sermon themes.<sup>64</sup> He makes use of Jerome's *On Hebrew Names* in over forty instances when commenting on the symbolic meaning of people and places in the Scriptures.<sup>65</sup> Equally crucial to Bonaventure's expository efforts are the *Interlinear Gloss* and the *Ordinary Gloss*, which are quoted some twenty-six and fifty-one times respectively,<sup>66</sup> and in the case of a text such as the *Fifth Sunday after Pentecost*, constitute a substantial

<sup>60</sup> Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 313.

<sup>61</sup> Bougerol, *Sermo 21*, n. 2, *Sermones dominicales*, 281.

<sup>62</sup> On Bonaventure's library, see Bougerol, *Introduction a Saint Bonaventure*, 43-118.

<sup>63</sup> Bougerol, *Introduction à Saint Bonaventure*, 58.

<sup>64</sup> Bougerol, *Sermones dominicales*, 495.

<sup>65</sup> Bougerol, *Sermones dominicales*, 500.

<sup>66</sup> Bougerol, *Sermones dominicales*, 499.

portion of the entire sermon.<sup>67</sup> As important as the traditional authorities are for the Seraphic Doctor, what is particularly noteworthy in an examination of his sources is the extensive presence of his own theological and exegetical writings in the *Sunday Sermons*. Bougerol's attentive redaction of the critical edition revealed one hundred fifty uses of the *Commentary on the Sentences*, fifty-six of the *Commentary on the Gospel of Saint Luke*, thirteen of the *Collations on John*, five of the *Commentary on Saint John*, two of the *Disputed Questions on the Knowledge of Christ*, two of the *Disputed Questions on Evangelical Perfection*, and one of the *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*. In addition, Bougerol identified single parallel texts in the *Sunday Sermons* from the following sermons: *On the Reign of God, Christ the One Master of All*, *On Epiphany* (the fifth sermon), *On the Nativity of the Lord* (the first sermon), *On the Angels* (the fifth sermon), and *On the Annunciation* (the third sermon).<sup>68</sup>

A closer examination of Bonaventure's reliance on his own corpus, especially the *Commentary on the Sentences* and the *Commentary on the Gospel of Saint Luke*, provides the opportunity to situate the *Sunday Sermons* within the context of the Minorite community during his generalate and identify his pastoral concern for his confreres. The preference of the General Minister for the two works is evident, not only in the number of times he appeals to them in the course of redacting the *Sunday Sermons*, but by their pervasive presence throughout the text, as thirty-six sermons rely on the *Commentary on the Sentences* and twenty-five sermons on the *Commentary on Saint Luke*.<sup>69</sup> This decided emphasis on two particular texts suggests Bonaventure's perspective on preaching. D.

<sup>67</sup> This is also the case with *Sermo 34* and *Sermo 35*.

<sup>68</sup> Bougerol, *Sermones dominicales*, 82.

<sup>69</sup> Bougerol, *Sermones dominicales*, 82.

L. D'Avray's study of mendicant preaching in Paris before 1300 underscored the essentially conservative nature of sermons.<sup>70</sup> Since they are molded by existing religious thought and the beliefs of their audiences, preachers echo prevailing religious views; consequently, their texts are hardly examples of original thinking, but of accommodation and adaptation. The *Sunday Sermons* are no exception, in fact, Bonaventure extensive use of the *Commentary on the Sentences* and the *Commentary on the Gospel of Saint Luke* underscores his intention to consolidate the mid-thirteenth century decidedly urban Minorite identity on the intellectual and pastoral level. The rigorous results of the academic *lectio* and *disputatio* found in the *Sentences*, when combined with the pedagogically astute reading of Scripture in the *Commentary on the Gospel of Saint Luke*, constitute a solid ministerial foundation for those called to Gospel conversion and charged with the ecclesial mandate of *predicatio*. As early as the *First Encyclical Letter*, written upon his election as General Minister in 1257, Bonaventure expressed grave concerns regarding those who were inadequately prepared for this office.<sup>71</sup> Instead of preaching fables as Bonaventure feared in the *Letter in Response to Three Questions of an Unknown Master*, his confreres would proclaim the Divine Word, which they had examined and debated in the schools, and prayed and chanted in the choirs throughout the expanding, dynamic urban centers of Europe.

<sup>70</sup> D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 258-59.

<sup>71</sup> *Epistola I*, n. 4 (VIII, 469b). For an English translation see WSB V, 61.

## PREACHING, PRAYER AND THE MINORITE AUDIENCE

The *Sunday Sermons* that Bonaventure composed most likely between April of 1267 and May of 1268 are intended primarily for the cultivated audience of clerical confreres he addressed in over twenty years of ministry, both as professor and General Minister.<sup>72</sup> Their refined composition and doctrinal density illustrate Carlo Delcorno's assertion that Bonaventure's sermons stand as one of the highpoints of Franciscan eloquence.<sup>73</sup> While the text of the *Sunday Sermons* provided others even outside the Order with a homiletic model for the entire liturgical year or specific Sundays as the manuscript tradition attests, the *Sunday Sermons* are best appreciated when considered as Bonaventure's institutional message to those who affirmed and embraced the second generation Minorite construction of the evangelical life that emphasized preaching.<sup>74</sup> As Jacques Bougerol indicates, the *Sunday Sermons* were never distributed to a public audience through the *pecia* system at the University of Paris. Instead, they were intended, as was Mark of Montefeltro's sermon compilation, for an audience of readers within the Order.<sup>75</sup>

This homogeneous literary opus presupposes the identity of the *virī spirituales* or spiritual men, who, like

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<sup>72</sup> On the audience for Bonaventure's sermons, see Sophronius Clasen, "Der hl. Bonaventura als Prediger," *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 24 (1961), 101-05 and Bougerol, *Sermons de tempore*, 21-34. The rubrics accompanying many of Bonaventure's extant sermons, and the clear editorial intent of the *Sunday Sermons*, serve to overcome to a large degree the problems inherent to audience identification noted by Carolyn Muessing in "Preacher, Sermon and Audience: An Introduction" in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, edited by Carolyn Muessing (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 6-7.

<sup>73</sup> Carlo Delcorno, *La predicazione nell'età comunale* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1974), 33-34.

<sup>74</sup> *Sermoni domenicali*, 22.

<sup>75</sup> Bougerol, *Sermones dominicales*, 29-30.

Francis of Assisi, are dedicated to contemplative reflection and spirited proclamation of the Scriptures. Bonaventure read the life of the Poverello as a confirmation of this conception in three earlier texts, which are fundamental to the evolving Minorite self-understanding: the *Journey of the Mind into God*, the *Major Life of Saint Francis*, and the *Commentary on the Gospel of Saint Luke*. Written in 1259 from the heights of Mount Alverna where the General Minister paused in 1259 to reflect on his stigmatized predecessor, the *Journey of the Mind into God* portrays Francis as a second Jacob-Israel, an exemplar of the active-contemplative synthesis for other spiritual men.<sup>76</sup> Francis is once again the model in the *Major Life of Saint Francis* as Bonaventure reworks earlier hagiographical material in accord with the established Minorite hermeneutic. In Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Francis*, written in 1229, Francis appears in a nocturnal vision to his companions gathered in prayer,<sup>77</sup> but in Bonaventure's account,<sup>78</sup> this event comes to pass in Rivotorto after Francis has preached in the cathedral of Assisi and retired for prayer in the evening. Not surprisingly, the Poor Man of Assisi now embodies the Minorite model of urban preaching,<sup>79</sup> and those who adhere faithfully to his pattern of ap-

<sup>76</sup> *Itin*, c. 7, n. 3 (V, 312b). For an English translation see WSB II, 135.

<sup>77</sup> *1 Celano*, c. 18, n. 47 in *Fontes Franciscani*, edited by Enrico Menestò and Stefano Brufani (Assisi: Portiuncula, 1995), 321-22.

<sup>78</sup> *LMj*, c. 4, n. 4 (VIII, 513b-514a). For an English translation see FA:ED, vol. 2, 544.

<sup>79</sup> Hanska draws attention in "And the Rich Man also died", 138, to the preaching activity of mendicant preachers outside of urban areas by noting that most of the medieval populace lived in rural areas and the sermons of many preachers refer to peasant concerns. While the use of such rustic imagery can be attributed to some degree to the possible rural provenance of preachers and recent urban migrants, the city was admittedly not the only site of Minorite preaching in Bonaventure's time. Nevertheless, the locus of Minorite dwelling and institutional instruction in preparation for preaching was decidedly

ostolic life are spiritual men in the tradition of Elijah. In the *Commentary on the Gospel of Saint Luke*, the defining virtue of Bonaventure's *virī spirituales* is humility, since Christ and the apostles before them were willing to be seated among the lowly at the wedding banquet.<sup>80</sup> Hands lifted high in expectation of divine providence; they are to raise their eyes in reflection, their voices in preaching, and their hands in good works.<sup>81</sup> Like Mary and Martha, they must learn how to serve and be served; namely, how to integrate the active and contemplative dimensions of the spiritual life within their ministerial activities.<sup>82</sup>

The *Sunday Sermons* continue Bonaventure's insistence on prayerful reflection and apostolic preaching. Especially evident in the prothemes is the call to prayer, which accompanies the careful depiction of the characteristics proper to the Minorite preacher.<sup>83</sup> Similar to one presiding at liturgy, the preacher plays a pivotal role in inviting, animating, and directing the community gathered for prayer. The prothemes of the *Sunday Sermons* demonstrate how Bonaventure consciously constructs the identity of Minorite preachers at prayer. The specificity of Bonaventure's project is further demonstrated by an examination of the extant prothemes of the *Sunday Sermons* with those found in the other major sermon col-

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urban. The *Sunday Sermons* reflect this geographical and cultural reality, thus functioning almost like an *ad status* collection for second generation urban Minorites.

<sup>80</sup> *Comm Lc*, c. 9, n. 89 (VII, 245a). For an English translation see WSB VIII, 895-96.

<sup>81</sup> *Comm Lc*, c. 21, n. 49 (VII, 536b). For an English translation see WSB VIII, 2013-14.

<sup>82</sup> *Comm Lc*, c. 10, n. 75 (VII, 276a). For an English translation see WSB VIII, 1005-07.

<sup>83</sup> Most of what follows in this section is based on Timothy J. Johnson "The Prothemes of Bonaventure's *Sermones dominicales* and Minorite Prayer" in *Franciscans at Prayer*, 95-122, edited by Timothy J. Johnson. *The Medieval Franciscans 4* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), where this theme is developed more extensively.

lections, the *Sermons de tempore*, or *Seasonal Sermons*, and *Sermons de diversis*, or *Diverse Sermons*, attributed to him by Bougerol. Of the seventeen prothemes among the two hundred and ninety-five sermons in the *Seasonal Sermons*, the only one explicitly referring to the role of preacher and audience is in the *First Sunday of Advent*, which Bonaventure preached to the Parisian university community gathered at the Dominican convent in Paris, on November 29, 1254 or November 28, 1255.<sup>84</sup> The remaining prothemes are primarily simple invitations to prayer markedly devoid of the elegance and sophistication proper to the *Sunday Sermon* prothemes.<sup>85</sup> While there may have been other prothemes in the original sermons that formed the basis for the *Seasonal Sermons*, it is entirely possible that the copyist chose to see them as unnecessary, and thus eliminated them. The *Diverse Sermons* count thirty-one prothemes among sixty-two sermons. Eight prothemes treat the question of preaching and requisite preparation of those called to proclaim the divine word before inviting the congregation to pray.<sup>86</sup> While the audiences certainly vary widely for the *Diverse Sermons*, these particular prothemes are found in sermons Bonaventure delivered among the Parisian Minorites, such as the *Feast of Saint Stephen the Martyr*,<sup>87</sup> and other sermons elsewhere for similar educated clerics, who more often than not are brothers of the Seraphic Doctor, fellow mendicants like the Preachers, or educated clerics at the University of Paris.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *Sermo 3, Sermons de tempore*, 47-50.

<sup>85</sup> *Sermons de tempore*, 27.

<sup>86</sup> In the *Sermones de diversis*, see: *Sermo 5*, 119-20; *Sermo 8*, 147; *Sermo 35*, 460-61; *Sermo 39*, 517-18; *Sermo 45*, 605; *Sermo 55*, 724; *Sermo 55 Collatio*, 728-29; and *Sermo 57*, 749-50.

<sup>87</sup> *Sermo 5, Sermones de diversis*, 119-20.

<sup>88</sup> Rubrics for Bonaventure's sermons often offer external evidence indicating the place where he preached and the audience present. For example, see the rubric of *Sermo 115* in the *Sermones de tempore*

Of all his sermon collections, the *Sunday Sermons*, given their prothemes and intended audience, best reveals how Bonaventure carefully constructs the identity and the prayer of the Minorite preacher. His counterpart among the Preachers, Humbert of Romans believed the protheme served multiple purposes, both practical and spiritual, but Bonaventure's extant prothemes exhibit an exclusive concern with the art and craft of preaching by individuating the subject, that is to say the preacher, together with the community and God as the divine source of the ministry. This emphasis is due, no doubt, to the nature of the *Sunday Sermons*, which are not based primarily on previous sermons delivered to a live audience and Bonaventure's conscious pastoral intention in the formation of his confreres in accord with the *virī spirituales* paradigm. Whereas the word for preacher, *praedicator*, explicitly appears in ten prothemes,<sup>89</sup> others refer to those who as ministers of God speak of or offer something of spiritual significance to the community,<sup>90</sup> bear a sweet yoke and light burden,<sup>91</sup> propose or present the word of

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(176), which corresponds to *Sermo 5* in the *Sermones de diversis* on Saint Stephen Martyr. At other times, internal evidence clarifies the context as is the case with *Sermo 39* on The Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the *Sermones de diversis*, 517-30. Bonaventure speaks of purification and the ecclesial hierarchy and ends by referring to perfection manifested in humility (obedience), chastity and poverty, the vows of perfection common to religious life.

<sup>89</sup> *Sermo 2*, n. 1, 138; *Sermo 4*, n. 1, 156; *Sermo 5*, n. 1, 163; *Sermo 6*, n. 1, 169; *Sermo 10*, n. 1, 199; *Sermo 11*, n. 1, 205; *Sermo 14*, n. 1, 227; *Sermo 15*, n. 1, 234; *Sermo 16*, n. 1, 243; *Sermo 18*, n. 1, 258; *Sermo 50*, n. 1, 473 of the *Sermones dominicales*.

<sup>90</sup> *Sermo 1*, n. 131; *Sermo 8*, n. 1, 185; *Sermo 9*, n. 1, 192; *Sermo 12*, n. 1, 212; *Sermo 21*, n. 1, 281 of the *Sermones dominicales*.

<sup>91</sup> *Sermo 3*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 148.

God,<sup>92</sup> receive the divine word,<sup>93</sup> examine the Scripture,<sup>94</sup> draw something of divine wisdom,<sup>95</sup> or explain the divine word.<sup>96</sup> As the protheme for the *Fourth Sunday of Advent* depicts through the image of the disciples fishing with Jesus, preaching is indeed a collaborative endeavor requiring both human and divine effort eliciting prayer:

*Master, we have worked through the night and have taken nothing; but at your word I will lower the net.* Luke 5:5. If the net is the sermon by which people are taken like fish in a net, then the fisher is the preacher whose role is to lower the nets, that is, to compose the sermon, wash the nets, that is, to adorn the sermon, and to restore the nets, that is, to confirm the sermon with authorities: unless God commands with his word that the nets be lowered, preaching is shrouded in darkness by the obscurity of error, which is suggested when it says: *through the night*; it is an onerous burden given the weight of the labor which is noted when it adds: *as worked*; and it is unfruitful work, without benefit, as mentioned when it adds: *we have taken nothing*. Before all else it is necessary to ask God with a prayer so that with his word of grace and piety, he wash the net, that is, our sermon and ennoble it with the clarity of truth by removing the obscurity of error, with the delight of rest by removing the gravity of labor, and with the usefulness of charity by removing unfruitfulness of the works, so that with clear understanding, delighted

<sup>92</sup> *Sermo 13*, n. 1, 218; *Sermo 17*, n. 1, 252; *Sermo 49*, n. 1, 466 of the *Sermones dominicales*.

<sup>93</sup> *Sermo 27*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 320.

<sup>94</sup> *Sermo 7*, *Sermones dominicales*, 178.

<sup>95</sup> *Sermo 44*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 433.

<sup>96</sup> *Sermo 47*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 453.

affections, and beneficial works, we might be able to say some things to the praise and glory, etc.<sup>97</sup>

Given the respective role of the preacher as minister of the divine word, Bonaventure speaks of prayer as a necessity. The prothemes of the *Sunday Sermons* indicate that the affective interiority common to Parisian Minorite theology informs the context and content of the requisite prayer which initiates their preaching. More often than not, reference is made to the interior life of the soul by shaping the parameters of the protheme with language reflecting the affective and intellectual dimensions of human spirituality, the powers of the soul, and the crucial role of the theological virtues of faith, hope, and love. This effort is often evident in Bonaventure's frequent tripartite division of weaknesses confronting both the preacher and audience. Such defects inhibit both the effective delivery and efficacious reception of the word of God, so they are to be acknowledged and, like the ailments plaguing the body, treated. Not to do so would be analogous to ignoring the words of a physician when sick according to the *Fourth Sunday after Epiphany*.<sup>98</sup>

Bonaventure's tripartite configuration and interest in the interior life of his brothers comes into sharp relief in the penultimate sermon of the *Sunday Sermons*, the *Twenty-Second Sunday after Pentecost*, where he details the corrosive corruption of the inner person. Commenting on the verse, Psalm 17:36, chosen for the protheme, *You will teach me your discipline itself*, the General Minister accentuates the discipline, humility, and zeal religious people require given the spiritual dangers assailing them. The interior life is usually corrupted in three ways congruent to the respective powers of the soul: love for comfort in concupiscent power; vain honor in the irascible

<sup>97</sup> *Sermo 5, n. 1, Sermones dominicales, 163.*

<sup>98</sup> *Sermo 8, n. 1, Sermones dominicales, 199.*

power; and sublime truth in the rational power. Integrity or personal wholeness is reestablished when discipline reforms concupiscence by impeding any deviation from the ways of God, the irascible is brought low by curtailing pride, and the rational is illuminated by strenuous labor, undertaken to drive away obscurity. Bonaventure here fashions a petition directed toward the giver of all good gifts, so that reformed in affection, humble in effect, and illuminated in understanding, the words of the sermon might give praise to God, honor the Virgin Mary and please those in attendance.<sup>99</sup> Concerns regarding concupiscence emerge in the last sermon of the *Sunday Sermons*, the *Twenty-Third Sunday after Pentecost*, where he comments on the verse chosen for the protheme, Song of Songs 7:1: *How beautiful are your feet in sandals, daughter of the prince*. Referring to every religious soul, Bonaventure states that one becomes a daughter of the most high prince, Christ, by embracing chastity as an antidote to concupiscence, poverty to counter avarice, and humility in opposition to pride. He concludes by asking that the grace and piety of the Lord be at work in the sermon, so that his works would be beautifully honest, his speech be prompt to announce the truth, and his heart filled with charity.<sup>100</sup>

Although the entire collection of prothemes in the *Sunday Sermons* implicitly or explicitly posits human indigency, Bonaventure crafts many with an accent on the gifts God intends to share with those entrusted with the ministry of preaching. His emphasis on interiority carries throughout the threefold structure of petitions addressed to the Father of mercies. The *First Sermon of Advent* sets the stage for a number of subsequent prothemes emphasizing the irascible, affective, and rational powers, which he juxtaposes with the power, goodness, and truth found

<sup>99</sup> *Sermo 49*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 465-66.

<sup>100</sup> *Sermo 50*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 473-74.

in the grace preachers seek in prayer as they stand at the threshold of public proclamation. Under the influence of divine grace, they will be fortified in action, gladdened in will, and enlightened in will.<sup>101</sup> The significance of the aforementioned powerful action in the life of the Minorite preacher is exemplified later in two sermons, the *Sunday within the Octave of the Nativity*<sup>102</sup> and the *Fifth Sunday after Epiphany*.<sup>103</sup> The Seraphic Doctor shapes their prothemes around Sirach 48:1: *The prophet Elijah stood up like a burning fire, and his word burned like a torch*. Both prothemes interpret *Elias stood up* as signifying the summons to an active, conscious withdrawal from secular concerns and pray for it accordingly. They also ask for charity, the *burning fire* that interiorly inflames preachers with love for God and neighbor and for the evangelical truth of the *prophet*, whose *word burned like a torch* to exteriorly illuminate through personal holiness. Bonaventure also binds charity and truth to the expression of sanctity in the initial invocations concluding another protheme doublet based on the Psalm verse: *You, who are seated above the Cherubim, shine forth before Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasses* (Psalm 79:2) in the *Third Sunday before Lent*<sup>104</sup> and the *Twentieth Sunday after Pentecost*.<sup>105</sup>

In the *Sunday Sermon* prothemes, there is an underlying emphasis on interior dispositions and personal sanctity but attention is given to the question of eloquence, especially in the case of the passion, where divine wisdom dictates humble reverence and profound content be joined to forceful eloquence.<sup>106</sup> According to the protheme for the

<sup>101</sup> *Sermo 1*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 131-32

<sup>102</sup> *Sermo 6*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 169-70.

<sup>103</sup> *Sermo 11*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 204-05.

<sup>104</sup> *Sermo 12*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 211-12.

<sup>105</sup> *Sermo 47*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 452-53.

<sup>106</sup> *Sermo 14*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 227. See also: *Sermo 17*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 252-53.

*Second Sunday of Lent*, Bonaventure's Minorite preacher should speak in a useful manner, but briefly as suggested by Francis of Assisi, who reminds his brothers in the *Later Rule* that the Lord "used few words on earth."<sup>107</sup> Bonaventure extols the prayerful longing for God's wisdom in the *Sunday Sermon* prothemes, not the eloquence of preachers, as he likewise lauds the myriad blessings that flow from this most desirable of gifts. Commenting on the Epistle of James (James 1:5) in the protheme for the *First Sunday of Lent*, Bonaventure reminds preachers that God, who is both generous and pious, bestows wisdom in prayer:

*If any of you are wanting in wisdom, let that one ask it of God who gives abundantly to everyone, and does not reproach.* James 1:5. Any preacher at the beginning of his sermon should consider the three things understood in the canonical letters of blessed James. The first is the indigence of human deficiency, second is the insistence of devout prayers, and the third is the affluence of divine liberality. The indigence of human deficiency is noted, therefore, when it says: *If any of you are wanting in wisdom*; truly the insistence of devout prayers is noted when it adds: *let that one ask it of God*; but the affluence of divine liberality is also noted when it states: *who gives abundantly to everyone*. On that account, dearly beloved, since we know from experience the indigence of our deficiency and the affluence of divine liberality, let us have recourse with the insistence of devout prayer to God, the Father of lights and the bestower of

<sup>107</sup> *Sermo 13*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 218-219. On this admonition and Bonaventure's preaching, see Ray Petry, "Verbum Abbreviatum. St. Bonaventure's Interpretation of the Evangelical Preaching of St. Francis" in vol. 2 of *S. Bonaventura 1274-1974*, edited by Jacques Bougerol (Grottaferrata: Collegio S. Bonaventura, 1973), 209-23.

wisdom, so that with his accustomed piety, God might give us his wisdom, so we are able to offer something worthwhile to his praise and the consolation of our souls. Amen.<sup>108</sup>

While divine grace is required together with prayer in the search for wisdom, Bonaventure reminds his confreres that they must labor hard at the preaching task, and if they do preach successfully, they will merit God's blessings. In the *Third Sunday before Lent* he links work and preaching when considering Matthew 20:8 *Call the workers and give them their wages*. Reference to *workers* prompts Bonaventure to unfold the threefold nature of meritorious work: tilling the interior earth of the conscience gains the sweet fruit of God's grace; freely acting to promote justice in accord with the mercy and the divine will receives the blessing of intimacy with God; and promulgating the divine law so as to educate the ignorant comes to know divine truth.<sup>109</sup> The pedagogy of the evangelist who illumines others entails the living witness of a chaste and austere mind and body, for an example in the flesh teaches better than words. Yet, when it comes to bodily labor, Bonaventure is convinced that the efforts devoted to studying Scripture with the intent of illuminating others are of greater merit than any physical toil. To underscore this view, which is essential to the Minorite identity of the urban *viri spirituales*, he quotes Ambrose on the relative importance of intellectual work over and against physical labor, "The one who studies the word of God is not lazy, nor is the one who works outside of greater merit than the one who practices the work of

<sup>108</sup> *Sermo 15*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 234-35.

<sup>109</sup> *Sermo 12*, ns. 7-10, *Sermones dominicales*, 215-16.

knowing divine truth.”<sup>110</sup> Bonaventure returns to the issue of intellectual work, religious life, and Ambrose’s appraisal again in the *First Sunday of Advent*, where he examines the meaning of the word *desert* found in the Gospel of the day, Matthew 4:1 *Jesus was led into the desert by the Spirit so he might be tempted by the devil*. Considering the desert as metaphor for religious life, the General Minister calls to mind the story of Mattathias in 1 Maccabees 2:27-30, who proclaimed to the faithful the necessity of leaving all things.<sup>111</sup> Bonaventure sees him as prefiguring Christ, who preaches zealously the evangelical law and the requisite abandonment of a worldly manner of life. Similar to the followers of Mattathias, religious are to hold the world in contempt while they seek out a place where they can quiet their minds, repose their hearts, pray with devotion, and take up sacred reading. Observing the situation around him, Bonaventure notes that many enter into the desert of religious life, but instead of dedicating time to prayer, prefer to accumulate material possessions and suffer the inevitable disquiet of heart and mental distractions. Unable thus to recognize the usefulness of studying God’s word as Ambrose affirmed, they like others caught up in worldly concerns, choose to adjudicate quiet time as wasted time.

### THE LITURGICAL YEAR AND THE MINORITE MEMORY OF THE PASSION

While the *Sunday Sermons* undoubtedly fall into the category of model sermons, their unique composition *de novo* as an integral corpus of decidedly personal origin

<sup>110</sup> *Sermo 12*, n. 10, *Sermones dominicales*, 216. Bonaventure adapts *Sermon 11*, n. 11 of Ambrose, *Expositio in Psalmum David CXVIII*. See PL 15:1423C.

<sup>111</sup> *Sermo 15*, n. 10, *Sermones dominicales*, 238.

suggests Bonaventure intended these sermons as a pastoral guide for meditation and not only as a pedagogical tool to instruct his confreres in the art of prayer and preaching. As their General Minister he is concerned with their salvation, which is historical; that is to say, it is “fleshed out” in the cycle of the liturgical year as Christians narrate the triumphal struggle of the Word made flesh. This embodied story of salvation is not an abstract reality to the General Minister, but something he knew in the body. Bonaventure’s frightening encounter with evil personified, recounted in *Thirteenth Sunday after Pentecost*, left him gasping for life’s breath and unable to communicate with his confreres.<sup>112</sup> Here in the *Sunday Sermons* he confesses to have survived due to the overpowering “memory of Lord’s passion,” which evoked a compassionate desire to commingle his suffering with Christ’s own.<sup>113</sup> Concluding this narrative interlude, Bonaventure states his *intentio auctoris*, “By virtue of what took place through the passion of the Lord, I, a servant of the cross, composed this present collection of sermons to praise the name of Christ and to honor his sacred cross...”<sup>114</sup> The name of Christ and the symbol of the cross

<sup>112</sup> See n. 55 above.

<sup>113</sup> Bonaventure links corporality and the memory of Christ’s passion in his narrative of the young Francis at prayer outside the walls of Assisi in *LMj* c. 2, n. 5 (VIII, 507a). For an English translation see *FA:ED*, vol. 2, 539.

<sup>114</sup> *Sermo 40*, n. 4, *Sermones dominicales*, 407. The personal aspect of the *Sunday Sermons* argues against the gap between Bonaventure’s preaching recorded only in sermon *reportationes* and the *Sunday Sermons* suggested by Hanska in “*And the Rich Man also died*,” 140-41. The difference Hanska notes between *Sermo 28* from 1272 in the *Sermons de diversis* and the *Sunday Sermons* on the topic of riches is not likely due to a fear on Bonaventure’s part that prompted him to mitigate his message on the institutional level, since the *Sunday Sermons* were not intended apparently for general distribution beyond the Minorite Order as evidenced by their conspicuous absence from the *pecia* system at the University of Paris. The difference between *Sermo 28*

are linked with a Bonaventure's own memory and ministerial identity. As Mary Carruthers notes in *The Craft of Thought*, memory for medieval men and women was not limited to rote reproduction, but an essential element in the craft of meditation. Images, ideas, words, held in the inventory of the memory, are the constitutive elements of creative rumination and prayer.<sup>115</sup> Unlike a mélange of sermons preached over time and gathered together latter under a subsequent generic title, the *Sunday Sermons* are a consciously constructed invitation from the General Minister to his confreres to pass the liturgical year in his company by recalling the manifold mysteries of salvation in history, thereby crafting with him the redemptive memory of Christ's own passion in their lives.

Bonaventure's appeal to memory and experience, recounted in the first person, foregrounds the *Sunday Sermons* as an authoritative, guided meditation for individual readers.<sup>116</sup> As a meditation text, the redacted sermon collection functions in a manner similar to earlier Bonaventurian writings like the *Journey of the Mind into God*, the *Soliloquium*, the *Five Feasts of the Child Jesus*, and the *Tree of Life*. Conscious of his role as shepherd, Bonaventure weaves the memory of Christ and, in particular, his redemptive passion, throughout the *Sunday*

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and Bonaventure's *Commentary on the Gospel of Saint Luke*, which was part of the *pecia* system, could also be attributed to a later development of his thought, which is seen in other areas such as his understanding of piety and philosophy, or simply the lack of an earlier opportunity to preach on Luke 16:25.

<sup>115</sup> Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, rhetoric, and the making of images* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4.

<sup>116</sup> On sermons intended for individual reading, or "prédication dans un fauteuil" see Michel Zink, *La prédication en langue romaine avant 1300* (Paris: Editions Champion, 1982), 478. On memory and authority, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 189-220.

*Sermons* from the outset of Advent to the conclusion of the liturgical year. Certainly the genre of the *Sunday Sermons* is not identical with his earlier meditation works; nevertheless, the pastoral intent is much the same. As the General Minister of 30,000 brothers in regions stretching from the Bay of Biscay to the steppes of Asia, he is painfully aware of the responsibilities that are his, and the inevitable consequences of pastoral negligence.<sup>117</sup> Upon his election to the generalate in 1257, he wrote the *First Encyclical Letter* in which he identified the deleterious spiritual condition of erring confreres and urged fellow Minorite ministers to act immediately and decisively. He returned to these pastoral concerns with even greater solicitude in 1266 in the *Second Encyclical Letter* with an explicit mention of the passion and the stigmata of Francis.<sup>118</sup> Bonaventure recognized that to be a shepherd of souls was to bind one's own salvation inextricably to the eternal fate of each individual community member. If one of the sheep were lost, the shepherd would be liable before the judgment seat of God. The high stakes of pastoral care elicited Bonaventure's attempt to bridge the undeniable "pastoral gap" resulting from geographical distance and temporal constraints. Given the medium of meditation texts, with their emphasis on experience and affinity to oral discourse,<sup>119</sup> Bonaventure can also employ the *Sunday Sermons* to speak in an intimate manner with the *homo interior* of each confrere in the course of the liturgical year, even as he simultaneously

<sup>117</sup> Timothy J. Johnson, "Ground to Dust for the Purity of the Order' Pastoral Power, Punishment, and Minorite Identity in the Narbonne Enclosure," *Franciscan Studies* 64 (2006), 293-318.

<sup>118</sup> *Epistola II*, n. 3 (VIII, 470b). For an English translation see WSB V, 227-28.

<sup>119</sup> On orality and medieval reading practices, see Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California, 1984), 175-76.

proposes a sermon model suitable for the entire Minorite Order of *virī spirituales* gathered on the Lord's Day.

As both the beginning and end of the liturgical week, Sunday, or the Day of the Lord, was pivotal to medieval worship,<sup>120</sup> and consequently a privileged temporal locus of Christological memories manifest in the *Sunday Sermons*. The broad parameters Bonaventure's intensive preaching activity, decipherable in the rubrics and content of the *Seasonal Sermons*, demonstrate that he follows the circular *ductus* of the Christian liturgical year, with a decided preference for the Advent and Christmas seasons. In this sermon collection there are 52 Sunday sermons spread through the four Sundays of Advent, 34 sermons for the Feast of the Nativity, and 15 Sunday sermons within the Octave of Nativity. Additionally, there are 25 sermons for the Feast of the Epiphany and 10 Sunday Sermons for the Octave of Epiphany. In sharp contrast to this winter activity, the *Seasonal Sermons* contain a single Easter sermon, 4 Sunday sermons in the Octave of Easter, and 5 Pentecost sermons. As Bougerol maintains, the preponderance of sermons from the winter period is understandable given the poor travel conditions that impeded the General Minister's pastoral visitations.<sup>121</sup> Beyond this seasonal context, Bonaventure's sustained attention on the mysteries of the Advent, Christmas, and Epiphany also mirrored the Minorite devotion to the memory of the Lord's birth, which Francis of Assisi had evoked and reenacted in 1223 with the Greccio manger.<sup>122</sup> To the credit then of his secretary, Mark

<sup>120</sup> Éric Palazzo, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Age* (Paris: Aubier, 2000), 110-11.

<sup>121</sup> Bougerol, *Sermons de tempore*, 22.

<sup>122</sup> Bonaventure's hagiographical account of Francis at Greccio frames the event in terms of devotion and memory in the chapter of the *Major Life of Saint Francis* dedicated to prayer; see *LMj*, c. 10, n. 7 (VIII, 535a). For an English translation see FA:ED, vol. 2, 610-11.

of Montefeltro, Bonaventure had numerous Advent and Christmas sermons at hand when composing the *Sunday Sermons* through 1267-1268, which he could redact to reflect with his confreres on the incarnation of the Lord. He chose, however, to compose each Advent and the Nativity sermon anew. The same creativity appears in the Lenten Season sermons, and most every Sunday in ordinary time,<sup>123</sup> as Bonaventure composes a unique meditative *ductus* through the liturgical year, whereby his brothers can journey with him on the path of salvation.<sup>124</sup>

The memory of Christ, which Bonaventure cultivates in Advent, Nativity, and Epiphany readings in the *Sunday Sermons*, coalesces at the outset in the image of the mediator, even if other images such a king,<sup>125</sup> judge,<sup>126</sup> learned doctor,<sup>127</sup> and high priest<sup>128</sup> also appear. In the opening sermon, *On Advent*, Jesus is the most gracious mediator who united humanity and divinity in his own flesh, bringing peace through the cross:

First, he comes as the most gracious mediator to display the remedies of peace and harmony. Ephesians 2:14-17 speaks of this: *For he himself is our peace, he it is who has made both one, and has broken down the intervening wall of the enclosure, the enmity, in his flesh. He has voided the Law of the commandments expressed in the decrees; ... com-*

<sup>123</sup> On Mark of Montefeltro's schemas and the composition of the *Sunday Sermons*, see Bougerol, *Sermones dominicales*, 27-29.

<sup>124</sup> On the concept of *ductus*, movement, and medieval texts, see Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, 262-63.

<sup>125</sup> *Sermo 1*, n. 6, *Sermones dominicales*, 134-35, *Sermo 4*, n. 10, 160-61, *Sermones dominicales*, and *Sermo 5*, n. 5, *Sermones dominicales*, 165-66.

<sup>126</sup> *Sermo 2*, n. 3, *Sermones dominicales*, 140-41 and *Sermo 5*, n. 6, *Sermones dominicales*, 166.

<sup>127</sup> *Sermo 1*, n. 5, *Sermones dominicales*, 134, *Sermo 4*, n. 9, *Sermones dominicales*, 160, and *Sermo 5*, n. 4, *Sermones dominicales*, 165.

<sup>128</sup> *Sermo 4*, n. 8, *Sermones dominicales*, 160.

*ing he preached peace to us.* The Son of God, assuming human nature in the unity of his person, made both, that is, divinity and humanity, one, by taking on the voluntary torment of the cross and death without obligation, so that free from all sin, he *voided* the divine decree that closed the door of paradise; *breaking down the intervening wall* of hostility and discord, which was between us and God; as so Christ, as the true mediator, in *coming he preached peace*, and established harmony between us and God through himself and not through another, as that would not be fitting.<sup>129</sup>

The *Second Sunday of Advent* considers the query of John the Baptist in Matthew 11:2 regarding the identity of Christ, *When John had heard in prison of the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples to him to say to him: Are you the one who is to come, or should we expect another?*<sup>130</sup> In response Jesus tells John's disciples to report the good news of his healing ministry. Bonaventure attributes the cleansing of the lepers to Christ, the mediator since leprosy signifies separation from the community, and Christ brings what is estranged together again in harmonious unity. The Gospel text for the *Third Sunday of Advent* from John 1:26, *In your midst stood one whom you did not know*,<sup>131</sup> offers Bonaventure a privileged point of departure for an extended reflection on Christ as the medium, who in the incarnation, joins the extremes of divinity and humanity within himself.<sup>132</sup> The centrality of his passion, symbolized by the life-giving properties of the human heart and the tree of life in the middle of paradise, enable the Church to dispense the sacraments, for

<sup>129</sup> *Sermo 1*, n. 4, *Sermones dominicales*, 133.

<sup>130</sup> *Sermo 3*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 148.

<sup>131</sup> *Sermo 4*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 156.

<sup>132</sup> *Sermo 4*, ns. 3-6; n. 12, *Sermones dominicales*, 157-59; 161.

“... all sacraments are said to receive their efficacy from the passion of Christ.”<sup>133</sup> The charitable outpouring of his own blood proffers the promise of the resurrection and renders the Lord worthy of praise.<sup>134</sup> The *Octave of the Nativity* and the *Octave of the Epiphany* continue to draw attention to Christ’s passion as Bonaventure reads the Lucan accounts of Simeon’s prophecy and Mary’s anxious search for Jesus in the Temple. As a “sign of contradiction” in Luke 2:34, Christ will accept death on the cross and, by virtue of his passion, become a sign of salutary healing like the serpent Moses raised in the desert.<sup>135</sup> The affective dimension of Bonaventure’s appeal to the passion of Christ comes into sharp relief in the *Octave of the Epiphany*, where he addresses Mary in the first person and narrates her experience as co-martyr with the crucified. Uniting herself intimately with her suffering son, Mary’s soul is pierced by the intense pain of the passion, and her beauty fades in reflection of Christ’s marred appearance. The depths of Mary’s devotion draw forth a plea from Bonaventure, “Who would assist me to grow dark with Christ, become pale with his Mother and to be red with shame and abandon myself, so I might have a share in the passion of my Lord?”<sup>136</sup>

Between the Octave of Epiphany and Lent, Bonaventure develops the memory of Christ as a powerful, healing thaumaturgist,<sup>137</sup> farmer,<sup>138</sup> master of an estate,<sup>139</sup> and judge,<sup>140</sup> whose passion on the cross brings salvation

<sup>133</sup> *Sermo 4*, n. 6, *Sermones dominicales*, 159.

<sup>134</sup> *Sermo 5*, n. 5, *Sermones dominicales*, 165-66.

<sup>135</sup> *Sermo 6*, n. 14, *Sermones dominicales*, 176.

<sup>136</sup> *Sermo 7*, n. 9, *Sermones dominicales*, 182.

<sup>137</sup> *Sermo 8*, n. 2, *Sermones dominicales*, 186, *Sermo 9*, n. 2, 193, and *Sermones dominicales*, *Sermo 10*, n. 2, 199-200.

<sup>138</sup> *Sermo 11*, n. 3, *Sermones dominicales*, 206.

<sup>139</sup> *Sermo 11*, n. 3, *Sermones dominicales*, 206.

<sup>140</sup> *Sermo 12*, n. 2, *Sermones dominicales*, 212-13.

to the world.<sup>141</sup> The *Second Sunday after Epiphany*, contrary to the customary treatment of marriage on this Sunday noted by D'Avray,<sup>142</sup> first looks back to the miraculous star of Epiphany as the miracle at Cana is a similar sign illuminating and guiding his disciples.<sup>143</sup> Since the literal understanding of Scripture needs to be transformed into the wine of spiritual understanding in order to understand God's commands,<sup>144</sup> Bonaventure turns his attention to water imagery. He sees the water Christ turned to wine as a sign of regenerated water, thus evoking the memory of Christ's passion and the cross or Thau sign the Lord imprints on the soul in the sacrament of baptism.<sup>145</sup> The passion theme constitutes the entirety of the *First Sunday before Lent*, and introduces the subsequent Lenten Season. The concomitant protheme takes up the verse from Proverbs 8:6, *Hear me for I will speak of great things*, which Bonaventure claims intimates the three

<sup>141</sup> *Sermo 14*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 227.

<sup>142</sup> David L. D'Avray, "The Gospel of the Marriage Feast of Cana and Marriage Preaching in France" in Nicole Bériou and David L. D'Avray, *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*, Bibliotheca di "Medioevo Latino" 11 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull' Alto medioevo, 1994), 135-53. Bonaventure's conspicuous avoidance of the marriage theme mirrors the interests of his Minorite audience and his pastoral concerns. D'Avray sees the continual association of particular themes with specific Sundays throughout the liturgical year as a form of mass media, which gradually inculcated prescribed beliefs over a long period of time. See D'Avray, "Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons" in *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons*, 9. See also, David L. D'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1-2. On D'Avray's claims and their methodological application to the field of sermon studies, see Jussi Hanska, "Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching: A Method and Its Limits – An Analysis of Sunday Sermons" in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, 293-314.

<sup>143</sup> *Sermo 8*, n. 11, *Sermones dominicales*, 190.

<sup>144</sup> *Sermo 8*, n. 5, *Sermones dominicales*, 187-88.

<sup>145</sup> *Sermo 8*, n. 6, *Sermones dominicales*, 188.

elements essential to preaching on the passion: humble reverence, understanding, and forceful eloquence.<sup>146</sup> Petitioning the Lord for this threefold gift, he concludes with an invitation to hymnic prayer, “So we may more easily obtain this, let us say, if it pleases, that verse: ‘Hail, O Cross, O only hope.’”<sup>147</sup> Intersecting images of the cross and the suffering Christ allow Bonaventure to linger over the psychological and corporeal punishment the crucified Son of God endured for the sake of salvation. Betrayed by a trusted friend<sup>148</sup> and vilified by his own people,<sup>149</sup> the Lord hangs from the cross without any means of support except the nails piercing his hands and feet. The intense pain of the passion is magnified, according to Bonaventure, due to the amalgamation of nerves in punctured areas of a crucified body. As the blood and water flowed, the maximum pain of death ensues for the soul that by nature longs to dwell in the body, and is torn from its desired domicile with the ebbing of life-sustaining fluids.<sup>150</sup>

The Lenten Season, as a penitential period, commences in the lectionaries of both the Preachers and the Minorites with the struggle of Jesus with the devil in the Judean desert and culminates in the triumphant entrance of Palm Sunday that, according to Bonaventure, is a liturgical pre-figuration of the passion. A noteworthy exception to the shared mendicant cycle is the Second Sunday of Lent, where the transfiguration narrative is read among the Minorites while the Preachers and diocesan congregations hear of the Prodigal Son. Images of Jesus as the

<sup>146</sup> *Sermo 14*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 227.

<sup>147</sup> *Sermo 14*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 227.

<sup>148</sup> *Sermo 14*, n. 4, *Sermones dominicales*, 229.

<sup>149</sup> *Sermo 14*, ns. 10-11, *Sermones dominicales*, 231.

<sup>150</sup> *Sermo 14*, n. 14, *Sermones dominicales*, 233-34.

astute ascetic,<sup>151</sup> exorcist,<sup>152</sup> healing physician,<sup>153</sup> and gardener<sup>154</sup> constitute the Christological memory Bonaventure constructs at this juncture in the *Sunday Sermons*. The cross and the Lord's passion emerge in the *Second Sunday of Lent* as Bonaventure interprets the figure of James the apostle. Led by Jesus together with Peter and John up Mount Tabor, James represents the necessity of penitential consideration of Christ's passion – a cognitive activity Carruthers links with memory<sup>155</sup> – whereby, "... a person considers how he crucifies the Son of God within himself once again through the repetition of sin."<sup>156</sup> The image of the Crucified returns again in the *Third Sunday of Lent* as Bonaventure points the finger of blame at the devil<sup>157</sup> and in the *Fourth Sunday of Lent* where the General Minister asserts no one can see Christ, and share his victory, unless he or she be crucified with him,<sup>158</sup> whose self-sacrificial passion paid the price of redemption.<sup>159</sup> Interestingly enough, neither the cross nor the passion are the focal points of Bonaventure's thoughts in the *Passion Sunday*. He opts rather to speak to his brothers about the role the powers of the soul play in enabling the reception of, and adherence to, the divine word in faith, hope, and love thereby assuring their liberation from eternal punishment. This freedom does presuppose baptismal grace merited by Christ's passion.<sup>160</sup> Drawing on the urban and royal imagery suggested by the Palm Sunday text, *Song of Songs* 3:11, *Go forth and see, daugh-*

<sup>151</sup> *Sermo 15*, n. 11, *Sermones dominicales*, 239-40.

<sup>152</sup> *Sermo 17*, n. 10, *Sermones dominicales*, 256.

<sup>153</sup> *Sermo 18*, n. 2, *Sermones dominicales*, 259.

<sup>154</sup> *Sermo 19*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 266.

<sup>155</sup> Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 197.

<sup>156</sup> *Sermo 16*, n. 5, *Sermones dominicales*, 246.

<sup>157</sup> *Sermo 17*, n. 4, *Sermones dominicales*, 254.

<sup>158</sup> *Sermo 18*, n. 6, *Sermones dominicales*, 261.

<sup>159</sup> *Sermo 18*, n. 12, *Sermones dominicales*, 264.

<sup>160</sup> *Sermo 19*, n. 11, *Sermones dominicales*, 271.

ter of Zion, King Solomon in the diadem with which is mother crowned him, Bonaventure juxtaposes the images of the Church and the Synagogue in the *Palm Sunday*. This allows him then to compare the glorious entrance of Christ into Jerusalem and his shameful departure on the Passover.<sup>161</sup> According to Bonaventure, the Church reads aloud the Passion at the conclusion of their liturgical procession in remembrance of the suffering that enveloped the Lord when he was forced from the holy city.<sup>162</sup>

The image of Jesus as the liberator of humanity holds pride of place in the Easter Season, and elicits an affective exclamation of praise from Christians as they gather together in song on Easter Sunday.<sup>163</sup> In Bonaventure's *Resurrection Sunday*, the memory of the passion is a constitutive element of this paschal celebration, for by laying down his life the Lord has merited a powerful antidote to death<sup>164</sup> and proffered freedom to the imprisoned.<sup>165</sup> Like clusters of grapes in a winepress, his bodily members are wringed dry, blood flows, and the punishment incurred by humanity, which is mired in the poverty of sin, is removed.<sup>166</sup> The *Sunday in the Octave of Easter* considers the joy that the disciples experienced on seeing the risen Lord, whose flesh still bears the marks of redemptive suffering. The wounds of the passion, clearly evident in his members, demonstrate the continuity of identity between the one who suffered and the one who rose.<sup>167</sup> While there are numerous images of Christ in the Easter Season, Bonaventure shows his preference for Jesus as the Good Shepherd in the *Second Sunday after Eas-*

<sup>161</sup> *Sermo 20*, ns. 1, 12, *Sermones dominicales*, 272-73; 279.

<sup>162</sup> *Sermo 20*, n. 12, *Sermones dominicales*, 279.

<sup>163</sup> *Sermo 21*, ns. 2-3, *Sermones dominicales*, 281-82.

<sup>164</sup> *Sermo 21*, n. 4, *Sermones dominicales*, 282-83.

<sup>165</sup> *Sermo 21*, ns. 5, 9, *Sermones dominicales*, 283-84; 287.

<sup>166</sup> *Sermo 21*, n. 9, *Sermones dominicales*, 287.

<sup>167</sup> *Sermo 22*, n. 8, *Sermones dominicales*, 293.

ter. Commenting on John 10:11, *I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep*, the Minorite General Minister interprets the incarnation as Christ's investiture in the flesh of humanity.<sup>168</sup> Once embodied among the flock as their shepherd, the Lord willingly renders himself vulnerable to the vicious attacks of demonic enemies<sup>169</sup> in order to liberate his sheep.<sup>170</sup> The wounds he endures on the cross paradoxically become a sanctuary from evil when those who are assailed by the devil remember the Lord's passion in meditation:

So when troublesome temptation arises, most especially in the flesh, *hide in the pit*, that is, in the body of Christ pierced by multiple wounds, not through a bodily presence, but assiduous meditation. Take what you lack from the inner recesses of Christ because, as grapes squeezed in the press from the wounds of his body, torrents of grace are not wanting. Inflamed and comforted by them, you will triumph easily over the deception of the devil, the troublesomeness of the world, and the enticements of the flesh.<sup>171</sup>

Bonaventure continues to encourage meditation on the Lord's passion in the *Third Sunday after Easter*. Affective engagement with this memory is transformative because "The *deep* of Christ's passion *calls out to the deep* of Christian compassion."<sup>172</sup> The example of the Apostle Paul, who himself bore the mark of Christ in his flesh, reveals that the sadness provoked by recalling Christ's sufferings to mind leads to heartfelt compassion followed

<sup>168</sup> *Sermo 23*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 296.

<sup>169</sup> *Sermo 23*, ns. 1, 5, *Sermones dominicales*, 297; 299.

<sup>170</sup> *Sermo 23*, ns. 11-13, *Sermones dominicales*, 302-03.

<sup>171</sup> *Sermo 23*, n. 8, *Sermones dominicales*, 301.

<sup>172</sup> *Sermo 24*, n. 8, *Sermones dominicales*, 306.

by conformity with the image of the Crucified.<sup>173</sup> To suffer with Christ, is to share in his glory as well. That is why the sorrowful meditation on the passion is changed to the joy of celestial consolation when Christ's glory is revealed.<sup>174</sup>

In the remaining Sundays of the liturgical year, Bonaventure accentuates for his confreres the salvific memory of the passion, particularly evident in the preaching and sacramental mission of the Church. In *On Pentecost*, Bonaventure integrates the passion into the evangelical preaching of the apostles. The outpouring of the Holy Spirit gifts them with divine eloquence to proclaim the glory of God initiated in the incarnation, continued without diminution in the passion, and experienced in the reception of the Spirit.<sup>175</sup> Images of Christ as banquet host,<sup>176</sup> physician,<sup>177</sup> administrator,<sup>178</sup> and woman in search of a lost drachma<sup>179</sup> reinforce the goodness of salvation offered by Christ through his weakened body and soul in the passion.<sup>180</sup> Battered by suffering and stripped of everything on the cross, the nude Christ is the memorable exemplar for evangelical poverty.<sup>181</sup> Quoting 1 Peter 2:21 in the *Fourth Sunday after Pentecost*, Bonaventure writes, "Whence Christ suffered for us, leaving you an example that you may follow in his steps. Oh sweetest word, what truest word, worthy of all remembrance and praise!"<sup>182</sup> This most pleasant of memories, juxtaposed with the im-

<sup>173</sup> *Sermo 24*, n. 8, *Sermones dominicales*, 307.

<sup>174</sup> *Sermo 24*, n. 12, *Sermones dominicales*, 308.

<sup>175</sup> *Sermo 27*, n. 8, *Sermones dominicales*, 324.

<sup>176</sup> *Sermo 29*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 334.

<sup>177</sup> *Sermo 30*, n. 7, *Sermones dominicales*, 344, *Sermo 43*, n. 6, *Sermones dominicales*, 428, *Sermo 45*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 441.

<sup>178</sup> *Sermo 35*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 373.

<sup>179</sup> *Sermo 30*, n. 11, *Sermones dominicales*, 347.

<sup>180</sup> *Sermo 30*, n. 11, *Sermones dominicales*, 347.

<sup>181</sup> *Sermo 31*, n. 3, *Sermones dominicales*, 350-51.

<sup>182</sup> *Sermo 31*, n. 8, *Sermones dominicales*, 353-54.

age of the cross, stands in sharp contrast to the memory of worldly delights the devil employs to seduce those who have escaped from sin.<sup>183</sup> Bonaventure treats the sacramental, indeed sensual, dimension of this appeal to the passion and the cross in the *Ninth Sunday after Pentecost*. When considering ecclesial architecture and the nature of liturgical space, he notes the cross represents the altar of Christ's eucharistic sacrifice. To partake of the sacramental body and blood is to taste a satiating sweetness that simultaneously quiets the appetite of the soul and stills the distractions of the mind.<sup>184</sup> According to Bonaventure's reading of the Good Samaritan parable, the Eucharist and other sacraments derive their medicinal efficacy from the passion since Christ healed humanity in his crucified body.<sup>185</sup> This restorative or healing power<sup>186</sup> is accompanied by informed, doctrinal preaching so that wayfarers, who are fortified by the sacraments, may return to their eternal homeland.<sup>187</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The *Sunday Sermons* of Saint Bonaventure are a compelling testimony to his pastoral commitment to the Minorite confreres entrusted to his guidance, and his deep seated concern for the entire ecclesial community to whom they preached. Convinced of their evangelical mission on the cusp of the final age,<sup>188</sup> he invites and encourages each confrere in his care to follow Christ with him

<sup>183</sup> *Sermo 33*, n. 13, *Sermones dominicales*, 366.

<sup>184</sup> *Sermo 36*, n. 5, *Sermones dominicales*, 381. On the passion, the cross and the Eucharist, see also *Sermo 23*, n. 4, *Sermones dominicales*, 299.

<sup>185</sup> *Sermo 39*, n. 12, *Sermones dominicales*, 404.

<sup>186</sup> *Sermo 43*, n. 1, *Sermones dominicales*, 426-27.

<sup>187</sup> *Sermo 39*, n. 13, *Sermones dominicales*, 404-05.

<sup>188</sup> See FA:ED, vol. 2, 527, note a.

through the salvific mysteries of the liturgical year. Conformed to the Crucified through meditation on the passionate suffering and death of the Good Shepherd, they are likewise invited to a life of compassionate service so they may proclaim to the world, with emotions and words shaped by prayer and study, the good news of the Gospel.

My attempt to read these *Sunday Sermons* in the company of Bonaventure, and subsequent efforts to translate and interpret them for others would have been impossible without a community of colleagues, friends, and family who accompanied me every step of the way. I am most grateful to Sister Margaret Carney, President of Saint Bonaventure University, who revitalized the Bonaventure Texts in Translation Series (BTTS) when she was the Director of the Franciscan Institute, and secured the initial funding for my translation project. I undoubtedly owe a debt of thanks to all the members of the BTTS Board, but I want to acknowledge specifically the contribution of Father Robert Karris to the successful conclusion of this volume. As General Editor not only did he painstakingly critique the English text and offer insightful suggestions and corrections, but he kindly and most generously compiled the lion's share of the biblical and theological sources found in the footnotes. Thanks are due as well to the William J. Fulbright Commission of the United States Department of State and Professor Gert Melville at the Technische Universität in Dresden for providing me with a welcoming residence near the Weser, where I could engage in the uninterrupted study of the *Sunday Sermons* during the summer of 2004. My appreciation and comprehension of Bonaventure's sermons was furthered by the students who studied these texts with me at Flagler College and Saint Bonaventure University. I thank them for their passion, insight, and suggestions. A word of gratitude goes also to William T. Abare, Jr., President of Flagler College and Father Mi-