

INTRODUCTION:
THE FRANCISCAN FASCINATION WITH THE WORD

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On the feast of the Assumption of the Mother of God in that year, 1222, when I was studying in Bologna, I saw Saint Francis preaching in the square in front of the public palace, where almost the entire city had assembled. His sermon began with: 'Angels, men, and demons;' he treated these three spiritual and rational beings so well and so wisely that the well-educated in attendance became unrestrained in their admiration for the sermon of this unlettered man. Nevertheless, he'did not possess a manner of preaching, but more that of political oratory. In truth, the substance of his words moved back and forth between the need to extinguish hostilities and to restore the peace treaty. His habit was dirty; as a person he was contemptible and his face was disgraceful looking. But God conferred such efficacy on his words that many noble families, among whom the tremendous madness of ancient hostilities had raged so that much blood was shed, were brought back to peaceful deliberations. Truly, there was such reverence and devotion for this man that men and women rushed him in masse, pressing in to either touch the fringes or grab some part of his little garment.¹

Thomas of Spalato's remarkable eyewitness account of Francis of Assisi's preaching in Bologna offers a privileged glimpse of an accomplished "professional of the word" performing his craft in the early years of the thirteenth century.² Moving back and forth with agility across the conceptual

¹ "Eodem anno – agit de anno 1222 – in die assumptionis Dei Genitricis, cum essem in Bononiae in studio, vidi sanctum Franciscum praedicantem in platea ante palatium publicum, ubi tota paene civitas convenerat. Fuit autem exordium sermonis eius: 'Angeli, homines, daemones'; de his enim tribus spiritibus rationalibus ita bene et discrete proposuit, ut multis literatis, qui aderant, fieret admirationi non modicae sermo hominis idiotae; nec tamen ipse modum praedicantis tenuit, sed quasi concionantis. Tota vero verborum eius discurrebat materies ad extinguendas inimicitias et ad pacis foedera reformanda. Sordidus erat habitus, persona contemptibilis et facies indecora; sed tantum Deus verbis illius contulit efficaciam, ut multae tribus nobilium, inter quas antiquarum inimicitiarum furor immanis multa sanguinis effusione fuerat debachatus, ad pacis consilium reducerentur. Erga ipsum vero tam magna erat reverentia hominum et devotio, ut viri et mulieres in eum catervatim ruerent, satagentes vel fimbriam eius tangere aut aliquid de panniculis eius auferre." Thomas Spalatensis, *Testimonia minora saeculi xiii*, ed. Leonardus Lemmens (Florence, 1926), p. 10. Translation is by the author.

² On this theme, see Carlo Delcorno, "Professionisti della parola: predicatori, giullari, concionatori" in Carlo Delcorno, *Quasi quidam cantus' Studi sulla predicazione medievale*,

and affective landscapes of the audience, Francis labored to engage, impress, and persuade those in the square to take his penitential message to mind and heart. His words, undoubtedly, were accompanied by gestures intended to garner the immediate attention and eventual assent of those in attendance.³ His sermon venue was open to the public and outdoors while the content included theological subtleties and ethical exhortations suited to a church pulpit; the speaker was decidedly unattractive yet the crowd longed to touch whatever clothed his body; his striking oratory style was reminiscent of a secular politician whose powers of persuasion were enlivened, nonetheless, by the divine and fostered reconciliation among long-standing social enemies.⁴ While Thomas noted the seemingly contradictory elements of the events that played out in the streets of Bologna, the success of the endeavor was evident to him in the admiration and the remarkable transformation of many citizens who heard Francis preach peace.

This public preaching by Francis, according to André Vauchez, is best understood within the profound anthropological-religious shift taking place in the first decades of the thirteenth century when the word, be it spoken or written, emerged from the monasteries and cathedrals to become the privileged means of social communication and pastoral work throughout medieval society.⁵ The call to proclaim the word of God to the laity in particular, and the corresponding need for suitable preachers to seek them out wherever they lived, crystallized in the tenth canon of the

eds. Giovanni Baffetti, Giorgio Forni, Silvia Serventi, Oriana Visani (Florence, 2009), pp. 3–21.

³ On this account of Thomas of Spalato, Francis of Assisi, and the *ars concionandi*, see Raoul Manselli, “il gesto come predicazione per San Francesco d’Assisi” in *Collectanea Franciscana* 61 (1991), 5–16.

⁴ Preaching and the appeal for civic peace is a hallmark of Franciscan as well as Dominican preaching in Italy throughout the Middle Ages, see Carlo Delcorno, “Medieval Preaching in Italy (1200–1500)” in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly M. Kienzle (Brepols, 2000), pp. 452–453. See also, Augustine Thompson, *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233* (Oxford, 1992). The call for peace is so crucial to Franciscan identity that Raoul Manselli claimed that the absence of this motif in the *Sermones dominicales* of Anthony of Padua demonstrated that they predate his entrance into the Minorite Order, see Raoul Manselli, “La coscienza minoritica di Antonio” in *Le fonti e la teologia dei sermoni antoniani* (Padova, 1982), pp. 31–32. On the desire of the audience to touch the preacher, see Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, *Pescatori di uomini. Predicatori e piazze alla fine de Medioevo* (Bologna, 2005), pp. 126–131.

⁵ André Vauchez, *François d’Assise: Entre histoire et mémoire* (Paris, 2009), pp. 439–443. On this thirteenth-century phenomenon, see Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt, “Au xiii^e siècle: parole nouvelle” in *Histoire vécue de peuple chrétien*, ed. Jean Delumeau, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 257–279.

Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.⁶ Francis and his early companions were ideally situated as itinerant mendicants to take up this challenge, and their pastoral potential did not escape the attention of Innocent III. While fiercely loyal to the Church, Francis displayed a familiarity with urban society and proven ability to preach repentance to those in the cities and towns of central Italy. Indeed, introduced to the evangelical life as a young layman in Assisi, Francis held on to this perspective and praxis even after his ordination as a deacon and exemplified the new cultural realities of the thirteenth century.⁷ He laid claim to the communicative, pastoral power of his own words, which he carefully wrote down or dictated, and likewise commanded to be preserved and read by his followers.⁸ This fascination for words was reflected even in his followers’ dedication to the production of texts, evidenced in what Attilio Bartoli Langeli described as the Franciscan “religion of the book.”⁹ Francis’s own appreciation of the written word, both from his own hand and that of the Sacred Scriptures, accompanied a keen sense of the possibilities and, admittedly, the limitations of the spoken word. While some brothers may be approved by the hierarchy, others were not sanctioned to do so; nevertheless, no one was absolved from the duty of preaching. The *Earlier Rule* (1221) insisted: “Let no brother preach contrary to the rite and practice of the Church or without the permission of his minister ... Let all the brothers, however, preach by their deeds.”¹⁰ Since their bodies were the locus of the incarnation, their lived example could become an efficacious, powerful word of salvation for those they encountered.

While certainly a “professional of the word” who respected theologians as ministers of divine words,¹¹ Francis neither wrote nor spoke as a master of Sacred Scripture. Nevertheless, his intuitive theological sense of the claim and consequences of the Johannine text, “The Word became flesh,

⁶ On the tenth canon and the Lateran Council, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1979), pp. 56–60. On the question of preaching with particular reference to lay preaching, see Rolf Zerfass, *Der Streit um die Laienpredigt: Eine pastoralgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Verständnis des Predigtamtes und zu seiner Entwicklung im 12 u. 13 Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1974), esp. pp. 230–244 with regard to Francis of Assisi.

⁷ Vauchez, *François d’Assise*, pp. 430–431.

⁸ For example, see *LtR* 9, *FAED* 1, p. 58; *Fontes*, p. 108; *LtCus* 9, *FAED* 1, p. 57; *Fontes*, p. 66; *2LtCus* 6–7, *FAED* 1, p. 60; *Fontes*, p. 69; *LtOrd* 47–48, *FAED* 1, p. 120; *Fontes*, p. 103; *Test* 35–39, *FAED* 1, p. 127; *Fontes*, p. 231.

⁹ Attilio Bartoli Langeli, “I libri dei frati. La cultura scritta dell’Ordine dei Minori” in *Francesco d’Assisi e il primo secolo di storia francescana* (Torino, 1997), pp. 296–297.

¹⁰ *ER* 17: 1–3, p. 75; *Fontes*, p. 200.

¹¹ *Test* 13, *FAED* 1, p. 125; *Fontes*, p. 228.

and lived among us" (John 1:14), is essential to understanding Francis as a preacher, and the evangelical efforts of his confreres throughout the Middle Ages. He maintained that the outpouring of God's love in the incarnation of the Son as the Word, witnessed initially throughout creation and most completely in the Eucharist, should not go unanswered.¹² Faced with this radical, uncompromising self-gift of God, Francis responded in kind, and demonstrated that preaching encompassed the entire person and should avail itself of every potential manifestation of the divine to convey the Gospel. A manuscript fragment of the *Earlier Rule* found in Worcester Cathedral states, "Let the brothers preach with integrity."¹³ Integrity is used here to denote the moral entirety of the person. For Francis, proclamation was holistic performance, and every moment an opportunity to manifest the goodness of God. His willingness to adopt the rhetorical style of a public orator, to compose a vernacular poem to be sung by his brothers to promote reconciliation,¹⁴ to urge the birds near Bevagna to praise the Creator,¹⁵ to cross the battle lines into the camp of the Saracen sultan,¹⁶ to be dragged by the neck through the streets as a glutton¹⁷ (Fig. 1), or to silently strew ashes in a gesture of penance while at San Damiano,¹⁸ reflected his conviction in the polyvalent nature of God's word and the necessity and possibility to "... preach with integrity." In the ensuing years of the thirteenth century and subsequent centuries, his followers sought, with varying degrees of fidelity and success, to follow the itinerant, creative, all-encompassing example of Francis.¹⁹ They would travel as far as the court of the Great Khan, and discover a renewed

¹² On Francis as theologian and the incarnation, see Alexander Gerken, "The Theological Intuition of St. Francis of Assisi" in *Greyfriars Review* 7/1 (1993), 71-94, esp. pp. 72-74.

¹³ 1 Frq 41, *FAED* 1, p. 89 reads, "Let the brothers preach in every way" while the Latin is "Omnes fratres moribus praedicent." See *Fontes*, p. 127.

¹⁴ *CtC*, *FAED* 1, pp. 113-114; *Fontes*, pp. 39-41.

¹⁵ 1 C 58, *FAED* 1, p. 234; *Fontes*, pp. 332-334.

¹⁶ 1 C 57, *FAED* 1, p. 231; *Fontes*, pp. 328-332.

¹⁷ 1 C 52, *FAED* 1, p. 228; *Fontes*, pp. 326-327 and *LMj* c. 6, n. 2, *FAED* 2, p. 570; *Fontes*, p. 824. On spectacles and the performative nature of this event in medieval culture, see Vauchez, *François d'Assise*, p. 104. On medieval preaching and performance, see Beverly M. Kienzle, "Medieval Sermons and their Performance: Theory and Record" in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Brill, 2002), pp. 89-124, esp. pp. 108-109.

¹⁸ 2 C 207, *FAED* 2, pp. 379-380; *Fontes*, pp. 622-623.

¹⁹ Not surprisingly, Francis was often the subject of Minorite sermons. In addition to the essays in this volume by Anderson and Nold, see: Jacques Dalarun, "Francesco nei sermoni: agiografia e predicazione" in *La predicazione dei frati dalla metà del '200 alla fine del '300. Atti del XXII Convegno Internazionale Assisi, 13-15 ottobre 1994* (Spoleto, 1995), pp. 339-504.

reverence for words as they suffered the limits of their linguistic abilities and the aggravating shortcomings of their interpreters.²⁰

If Roger Bacon, a mid-thirteenth century confrere of Francis was correct in asserting, "The principle work of the rational soul is the word, in which it takes the greatest delight"²¹ and again "The greatest word ... is revealed by God,"²² the creative dynamic of preaching, evident in the life of Francis, could be considered a potential dialogue of delight between humanity and the divine, with the preacher as the intermediary.²³ There is a marvelous dimension to this exchange, since Bacon notes, "Every miracle since the beginning of the world came about through words."²⁴ With Francis and his early companions, the locus of the dialogue shifted from ecclesial centers such as the monasteries into the public squares of urban areas, and with his scholastic confreres from the cathedral schools to the burgeoning universities. Franciscan philosophers like Bacon and theologians like Bonaventure reveled in exploring the implications of a religious worldview permeated with a predilection for words – and the Word. Bacon noted in the *Opus tertium* that taking delight in the word carries a corresponding responsibility, for words are potent.²⁵ History demonstrates that there are no miracles without words. They are strongest when knowledge and desire are united with confidence and the proper intention. Bonaventure also maintained the twofold nature of the word, both human and divine, and argued that every creature in the world is a "word of God"²⁶ and creation is a divine book.²⁷ In *The Commentary on John*, the young scholar further defined his notion of the divine word when he writes that there is no better designation than "Word" or "Verbum"

²⁰ William of Rubruck lamented how his interpreter did not have the vocabulary to translate his preaching and compensated by simply uttering whatever came into his head or claimed he could not continue due to fatigue, see *The Mongol Mission*, ed. Christopher Dawson, trans. Anonymous nun of Stanbrook Abbey (New York, 1955), pp. 113-114; p. 141.

²¹ "Et opus animae rationalis praecipuum est verbum, et in quo maxime delectatur." *Opus tertium* in Roger Bacon in *Opera Quaedam Hactenus Inedita*, vol. 1 containing 1) *Opus tertium* 2) *Opus minus* 3) *Compendium philosophiae*, ed. J.S. Brewer (London, 1850), p. 96.

²² "Optimum verbum ... ipso Deo revelatum." *Opus tertium*, p. 72.

²³ On the preacher as intermediary, see Beverly M. Kienzle, "Introduction" in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Kienzle, p. 154.

²⁴ "... omnia miracula facta a principio mundi fere facta sunt per verba." *Opus tertium*, p. 96.

²⁵ *Opus tertium*, p. 96.

²⁶ "Et duplex est verbum, quo recognoscimus omnia: verbum scilicet divinum et verbum humanum. Verbum divinum est omnia creatura, quia Deum loquitur; hoc verbum percipit oculus. Verbum humanum est vox prolata, et hoc percipit auris." *Comm Ec*, c. 1, q. 2 (6: 16b).

²⁷ *Comm Ec*, c. 1, q. 2 (6: 16b).

for the second person of the Trinity.²⁸ "Word" is preferred over "Son" since the latter is understood only in terms of the Father-Son relationship, but the former is polyvalent. "Word" references a relationship to the one speaking, the message conveyed through the word, the voice shrouding the word, and the knowledge produced in others through the mediation of the word. In a culture where words, in their myriad incarnations, were the preferred medium of social communication and pastoral work, this emphasis on the word should not be a complete surprise; nevertheless, Bonaventure's particular delight in appealing to the word as a hermeneutical category echoed throughout his own pastoral praxis of teaching, writing, and preaching.²⁹

The insights of Bacon and Bonaventure in the mid-thirteenth century, while intellectually expansive and inclusive, marked a period when the opportunity and responsibility for preaching had already been restricted primarily to educated clerics. By 1279 all clerics would be required to attend a *studium* where they would receive a scholastic education.³⁰ All the brothers could still "preach with their deeds" but they had to be careful of what they said, and where they said it, lest they run afoul of church authorities. Memories of uneducated albeit charismatic brothers, such as Francis in Bologna, were relegated to the past and interpreted as analogous to the dawn of Christianity when poor fisherman proclaimed the Gospel, only to be followed by learned masters.³¹ As early as the 1230s, the initial difference between the simple penitential preaching of the Minors and the scholarly sermons of the Dominicans was erased by Franciscans such as John of Plano Carpini and Caesar of Speyer, who preached in Latin to cathedral clergy on both sides of the Alps.³² The clericalization of the Minors, which emphasized study and the acquisition of intellectual knowledge for preaching and confession,³³ risked the institutional hierarchization of the sermon and the status of preachers. Alexander of Hales, who upon entering the Minorite Order became the bane of Bacon and the mentor of Bonaventure, delineated three levels of preaching in a disputation

²⁸ *Comm. Jn.*, c. 1, resp. (6: 247b).

²⁹ Bonaventure's popularity is attested to in Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole: La prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1998), p. 105.

³⁰ Luigi Pellegrini, *L'incontro tra due 'invenzioni' medievali: Università e ordini mendicanti* (Napoli, 2005), p. 139.

³¹ *Epistola de tribus quaestionibus*, n. 13(8: 336a-b).

³² Pellegrini, *L'incontro tra due 'invenzioni' medievali*, pp. 133-134.

³³ Jacques Guy Bougerol, "Le origini e la finalità dello studio nell'ordine francescano" in *Antonianum* 53 (1978), 405-422.

on this ecclesial office.³⁴ The first is the simple teaching of the tenets of the Creed and the Our Father in narrative fashion, and, Alexander maintained, even an old woman could hold this office inasmuch as she can instruct children in the faith. The second is the office proper to deacons and priests, who offer pious explanations of doctrine grounded in a literal understanding of the biblical text. The third is the exclusive domain of those who hold the office and the knowledge required for the tropological, allegorical, and anagogical exposition of the Sacred Scriptures. In an educational system where their confreres' sermons referred to them as "professionals of holiness" given their clerical status, young students were reminded that their world was that of heaven above, and the laity was on the earth below.³⁵

Emphasis on the nuanced interpretation of the divine Word did not assure audiences of a more compelling sermon; in fact, Bacon lamented that the sophisticated knowledge of the young masters combined with the artificiality of their *sermo modernus* style of composition actually impeded the reception of the message.³⁶ While it is impossible to verify his critique, his accusations suggested that the admonition of Francis in the *Later Rule* (1223) seemed to have been ignored, if not forgotten, by some: "Moreover, I admonish and exhort those brothers that when they preach their language be well-considered and chaste for the edification of the people, announcing to them vices and virtues, punishment and glory, with brevity, because our Lord when on earth kept his word brief."³⁷ Bacon singled out Berthold of Regensburg as one who was widely popular, and avoided the pitfalls of the emerging academic model.³⁸ Anthony of Padua, according to a sermon from John of Rupella in 1242, also focused his efforts on condemning vice and lauding the blessings afforded to the virtuous.³⁹ Rose of Viterbo (d. 1251/2), Margherita of Cortona (d. 1297), Angela of Foligno (d. 1309), and Angelina of Montegiove (d. 1435) proclaimed the Gospel without the benefits or burdens of a scholastic formation in

³⁴ Alexander of Hales, "De officio praedicationis," q. 24, resp. in *Quaestiones disputatae 'antequam esset frater'* in vol. 1 (Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1960), pp. 518-519.

³⁵ Jacques Guy Bougerol, "Les sermons dans les 'studia' des mendiants" in *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti* (Todi, 1978), pp. 256-257.

³⁶ *Opus tertium*, p. 304.

³⁷ LR 9: 3, FAED 1, p. 105; *Fontes*, p. 178.

³⁸ *Opus minus*, p. 310. On Berthold, see also Thomas Ertl, *Religion und Disziplin. Selbsteutung und Weltordnung im frühen deutschen Franziskanertum* (Berlin, 2006), pp. 113-116.

³⁹ Jacques Guy Bougerol, "La struttura del 'sermo' antoniano" in *Le fonti e la teologia dei sermoni antoniani*, p. 104.

somatic fashion.⁴⁰ Lay confraternities throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries evinced an aversion to the thematic approach, opting instead for simple explanations of biblical texts.⁴¹ Despite these examples and Bacon's concerns, the *sermo modernus* remained the standard form of expression through the medieval period,⁴² and the clerical members of the Order of Minors, as well as their Dominican counterparts, displayed a remarkable ability to communicate the complex teachings of their scholastic masters into the simple language required for successful popular preaching.⁴³ While the focus varied due to cultural concerns and the growing interest in humanism, later Franciscans like Bernadine of Siena (d. 1444) retained the thirteenth-century model. In doing so, however, they crafted their sermons with the embodied language reminiscent of Francis and his early companions⁴⁴ and returned outside to the squares of European cities.

The emergence of Bernadine of Siena together with John of Capistrano (d. 1456), John of the Marches (d. 1476), and Robert of Lecce (d. 1495), into the public spaces of fifteenth-century European society suggests a return to an earlier Franciscan preaching paradigm, although the academic preparation of these itinerants separated them from Francis and his early companions. As Carlo Delcorno points out, Lapo Mazzei, upon hearing the Dominican preacher, Giovanni Dominici, in the Florentine Duomo, observed that the Dominican sounded like a disciple of St. Francis.⁴⁵ This account serves as a cautionary tale for those who might be tempted to draw broad distinctions between Franciscan and Dominican preaching, and justify their arguments by appealing to a priori religious charisms or common truisms about religious orders. While the early preaching of Francis may have lacked the sharp edge of Dominican sermons due to their focus on heresy,⁴⁶ the rapid clericalization and education of the

⁴⁰ On Rose of Viterbo, Angela of Foligno, and Angelina of Montegiove, see the article by Darleen Pryds in this volume. On Margherita of Cortona, see Beverly M. Kienzle, "Margherita of Cortona: Women, Preaching, and the Writing of Hagiography," in *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 54 (2010), 35–50.

⁴¹ Delcorno, "Medieval Preaching in Italy (1200–1500)," pp. 483–485. See also, David L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 32–36 on the preaching in confraternities in the thirteenth century.

⁴² Delcorno, "Medieval Preaching in Italy (1200–1500)," pp. 478–486.

⁴³ Bougerol, "Les sermons dans les 'studia' des mendiants," p. 280.

⁴⁴ Delcorno, "Medieval Preaching in Italy (1200–1500)," pp. 478–482. On the relative stability of preaching from the 13th to the fifteenth century, see also d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 255–257.

⁴⁵ Delcorno, "Medieval Preaching in Italy (1200–1500)," pp. 481–482.

⁴⁶ Vauchez, *François d'Assise*, p. 132.

Franciscans assured a commonality of model sermon content with the Order of Preachers.⁴⁷

While differing doctrinal positions were ascribed to the Dominicans and Franciscans, members of each did not necessarily agree among themselves and their sermons could reflect the perspectives generally ascribed to the other. Bonaventure, for example, was not a proponent of the Immaculate Conception like his Dominican counterpart, Thomas Aquinas, and later Minorite confrere, John Duns Scotus.⁴⁸ That being said, Dominican opposition and Franciscan support of this Marian doctrine via the medium of preaching came into sharp relief in fifteenth-century Castile.⁴⁹ A thirteenth-century Franciscan preacher like Servasanto da Faenza appealed to Aristotle, despite the tendency by some scholars to simply equate The Philosopher with the Dominicans.⁵⁰ At best, an appeal to Wittgenstein's famous insights into "family resemblances" allows for the recognition of similar themes, approaches, and concerns in Franciscan preaching⁵¹ without creating a premature synthesis. The studies in this volume are intended to serve this end and, when read in conjunction with other studies on Franciscan preaching in particular, and medieval preaching in

⁴⁷ The commonality of model sermon content is evident in David L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* and idem, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford, 2001). On the common educational goals of the mendicants, see Alfonso Maierù, "Formazione culturale e tecniche d'insegnamento" in *Studio e 'Studia': Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo*, ed. Enrico Menestò (Spoleto, 2002), p. 11. On the question of *exempla* where different nuances between the two Orders can be observed, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Recueils franciscains d'Exempla' et perfectionnement des techniques intellectuelles du XIIIe au XVe siècle" in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 135 (1977), 5–21 and Markus Schürer, *Das Exemplum oder die erzählte Institution: Studien zum Beispielgebrauch bei den Dominikaner und Franziskaner des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 2005), esp. pp. 300–309. Special thanks to David d'Avray for his correspondence on this question.

⁴⁸ On Bonaventure, preaching, and the Immaculate Conception, see George H. Tavard, *The Forthbringer of God* (Chicago, 1988), esp. pp. 109–141.

⁴⁹ See the essay in this volume by Francisco Javier Rojo Alique.

⁵⁰ David L. d'Avray, "Some Franciscan Ideas about the Body" in *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*, eds. Nichole Beriou and David d'Avray (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 167–168. See also David L. d'Avray, "Philosophy in Preaching: The Case of a Franciscan Based in Thirteenth-Century Florence (Servasanto da Faenza)" in *Literature and Religion in the Later Middle Ages. Philological Studies in Honour of Siegfried Wenzel*, ed. R.G. Newhauser & J. Afford (Binghamton, New York, 1995), pp. 263–73.

⁵¹ Ludwig Wittgenstein speaks of "Familienähnlichkeiten" or "family-resemblances" as "a complicated network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing; sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of detail" in *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G.E.M. Anscombe (Oxford, 2002) ns. 66–67, pp. 27–28. Wittgenstein's family resemblance concepts are useful when analyzing religious categories, see John Hick, *An Interpretation of Religion* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 3–5.