

The Graduate Theological Union's Distinguished Faculty Lecture (Tuesday, November 5, 2013)

"From Paris to Alcalá: The Franciscan School and the University, 1219-1533"

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Franciscans arrived in medieval Paris (1219) and, despite dramatic conflicts, made significant contributions at the University there and at Oxford. Cisneros, the Franciscan founder of Alcalá (1499), reimagined the University through the study of languages, a preparation that helped Franciscans in founding the College of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco in Mexico (1533).

Francis of Assisi liked to characterize himself and the men and women who surrounded him in the early Franciscan movement as *advenae et peregrini*, citing the First Letter of Peter 2:11, "*pilgrims and strangers in this world, serving the Lord in poverty and humility*" (*Rule of the Friars Minor* 6:2). That expression may worthily serve to frame my remarks this evening, for it speaks to the itinerant nature of the Franciscan form of Gospel living: always ready to set out on a journey, "to follow the footprints of Our Lord Jesus Christ," as Francis would put it. It should not be surprising that even in its institutional expressions that this evangelical movement should value movement over stability, change over permanence, the contingent and concrete over the universal and abstract.

About forty-five years ago, when the Graduate Theological Union itself was only five years old, the Old Mission Theological Seminary of Santa Barbara pulled up stakes and moved to Berkeley, glad to be welcomed by our good neighbors at the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, where we had our first home before occupying the old Zeta Beta Tau Fraternity House on Euclid and Le Conte.

Today, the first student to graduate from that new institution, one who had physically hauled the chairs and beds and tables from Santa Barbara, then young Frater Bret, now finds himself as FST's President Joseph Chinnici, with the task of moving it back to Southern California, and even further South, at Mission San Luis Rey, just north of San Diego. It was there that the first Franciscan professor of theology on this Coast founded the first of the Alta California Missions in 1769. Fray Junípero Serra had earlier resigned his Chair as Professor of the Theology of John Duns Scotus at the Lullian University in Palma de Mallorca in 1749 in order to sail some 5,000 miles to come to the Americas. From its very origins on the Pacific Coast, the Franciscan theological tradition has been marked by this character of a journeying, not prompted by a simple *Wanderlust* or even restlessness, but by a deep sense that there are other people to meet, other places to go, other places to be sent, a fact celebrated in the name and the great rear window of this Chapel of the Great Commission of the Pacific School of Religion. It is that itinerant

character of the tradition that I would like to explore with you this evening in this lecture.

I am deeply grateful to my GTU colleagues for honoring me with the very happy duty of addressing you this evening: this indeed is a burden and a yoke, but sweet and light because of my fondness for this place and its people. And a special word of thanks to my colleague Dr. Christopher Ocker of SFTS, who has kindly agreed to respond to these words of mine this evening.

My own journey as a theological student and teacher began here forty years ago as a recent graduate of the University of San Francisco. Just five years after FST moved here, I had the pleasure of learning my first centuries of Christian History from one of the GTU's earliest Distinguished Faculty Lecturers, Dr. Robert Goeser of PLTS. On the good authority of GTU Dean, Arthur Holder, a former Distinguished Lecturer himself, Bob's lecture is the only one for which the GTU Archives has no text, an ironic twist when I consider Professor Goeser's insistence on proper documentation for the study of history!

This Fall Semester also marks the 30th anniversary of my return here as a teacher in 1983, and it is with fondness that I recall my first attempts at teaching History of Christianity I with Dr. Mary Ann Donovan of JST, who did a very credible impersonation of the Hadewijch the Beguine to the delight of first-year students from across GTU. And I have felt less like a refugee here in California because of the presence over the years of many fellow Seattleites and Washingtonians at GTU, including Dr. John Endres of JST, Dr. Beth Liebert of SFTS, Dr. Rebecca Parker of Starr King, and Dr. Eldon Ernst of ABSW. But, resisting the magnetic draw of remembrance, let us point ourselves toward the subject of this evening's lecture.

I would invite you to take a journey with me, travelling in the space of a brief hour in Italy, visiting Paris, touching Spain before sailing to Mexico and walking up to California. And along the way I want to point out places where the Franciscan School has settled for a longer or shorter time in the neighborhood of the University. And let us turn first to the University itself.

To The University

In *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*,¹ the eminent historian of medieval theology and spirituality, Jean Leclercq, described an ancient form of Christian theologizing in almost aesthetic terms. He called this "monastic theology," and held up Bernard of Clairvaux as an example of it. Bernard famously never got to the point (from our perspective) in his 86 Sermons on the Song of Songs. He careened wildly from the etymology of a Latin word to common-sense observations about agriculture, to the

¹ Trans. Catherine Misrahi (NY: Fordham University Press, 1982).

heights of mystical union. And though Solomon's Canticle, as it was known, was recognized as a love poem, that was considered essentially a cover for the real business going on there, which was an account of mystical encounter with God. All was allegory and symbol, layer upon layer of meaning, only gradually disclosed to the pure eye of the spiritually mature reader.

At Paris this ancient and venerable theological method received an abrupt challenge from the New Logic, championed by Bernard's nemesis, Abelard, as the claims of dialectic made the older theological approach seem woolly-minded and foggy. Now all was to be sharp and clear and reasonable. "*Sic et non*," "Yes and No," and not too many maybe's. Soon the first theological textbook appeared, Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences*, destined to remain at the top of the theological Hit Parade for three centuries. Ah, here was an academic method for a new age: a new method, and it was soon to meet a new content.

In the lovely posthumous publication, *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature*,² C. S. Lewis gave us the fruit of a lifetime spent in learning and teaching about the Middle Ages. And he gives a clear picture of the constraints imposed by the new dialectical method as it shaped the content of the university disciplines:

At his most characteristic, medieval man was not a dreamer nor a wanderer. He was an organiser, a codifier, a builder of systems. He wanted 'a place for everything and everything in the right place'. Distinction, definition, tabulation were his delight. Though full of turbulent activities, he was equally full of the impulse to formalise them. ... Highly original and soaring philosophical speculation squeezes itself into a rigid dialectical pattern copied from Aristotle. Studies like Law and Moral Theology, which demand the ordering of very diverse particulars, especially flourish. ... There was nothing which medieval people liked better, or did better, than sorting out and tidying up. Of all our modern inventions I suspect that they would most have admired the card index.³

The drive to organize knowledge, religious and secular, to rationalize it, to open it to the careful dissection of logical inquiry: this new method signalled an enormous change from the earlier model of theological learning, the *theologia monastica*. And it would be used to break open a new content as well.

The careful preservation of Aristotle's large corpus of writings on Logic by Muslim scholars had finally allowed Latin-reading Christians to introduce these texts into the Arts curriculum and to the work of theology. The old, tame Aristotle of the earlier

² (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964).

³ *The Discarded Image*, 10.

Middle Ages now had recovered a kind of adolescent vigor and some new opinions that were troubling. This new Aristotle was a problem! (Of course old Plato presented no problem, as he had clearly been baptized by Anselm as he was preparing to baptize Augustine).

A new institutional form accompanied the new method and its new content. From a cluster of schools where individual masters lectured, mostly along the Left Bank of the Seine, in the shadow of the slowly rising Cathedral of Notre Dame, the University of Paris was created. The collection of schools, each with a distinctive approach imparted by a master, formed a union by virtue of statutes that gave a structure for common decision-making. The model of varied schools united in a common enterprise, in different forms at Paris and Oxford, certainly found one of its most successful modern expressions in the founding of the GTU itself, and the old *universitas* of Parisian masters could perhaps even serve as a point of comparison with today's GTU Core Doctoral Faculty. But I am slipping yet again into anachronism.

Within the university, beyond the Faculty of Arts, the new method (to be called Scholasticism) and a new content, the expanded Aristotelian corpus, presented serious questions. This was heady stuff, and controversial. Should the schools allow a little Aristotle or a lot? Could the theological faculty allow an author who was not Christian in life or education to become the obligatory point of reference for a theological formation? Or, as it would later be expressed, Should students be permitted to read the works of Thomas Aquinas? Could such innovations ever gain the stamp of orthodoxy?

Even once the new method was accepted, the problem of Christian theology entering into serious dialogue with a system of thinking and living that was both religiously and intellectually "other" generated both brilliant syntheses and doctrinal condemnations as well. Into this heady mix the first Franciscans walked, quite unprepared, in the second decade of the 13th century.

The Franciscan School

I have gotten a little ahead of myself. Before I tangle with Aristotle and mention Aquinas, I must first create some foundations for a Franciscan School, and then get some Franciscans to Paris. Taking a long step backward, let me try to do that now.

Francis of Assisi is rightly credited as the founder of the Franciscan theological tradition because of his own writings, winning the epithet of "vernacular theologian" from Bernard McGinn. But he is also founder in another sense, through his encouragement of theological study among his followers. That encouragement, cautious but real, is epitomized in his very brief "Letter to Brother Anthony," addressed to the former Augustinian Canon, Fernando Martins de Bulhões of Lisbon, better known today as Anthony of Padua: "To Brother Anthony, My Bishop: It pleases me that you teach the brothers Sacred Theology, as long as study of this kind does not extinguish the spirit of

prayer and holy devotion." Given this cautious encouragement, during the life of Francis and shortly after his death, his followers established study centers in Bologna (1220-3), Montpellier and Toulouse (both between 1225 and 1227), Oxford (between 1224 and 1229), and Paris (on and off from 1217 to 1229, as we shall see).

Brother Anthony himself had already received his education among the Canons of the College of the Holy Cross in Coimbra, Portugal, before he joined the brotherhood gathered around Francis. He was a competent professor of Scripture, and of both Testaments, as witnessed by his contemporaries. And we know there was a center of study near the University of Bologna by the early 1220s, where he likely served as the first teacher of the brothers. The first biographer of Francis, Thomas of Celano, was personally involved in an incident there, it would seem, when Francis heard that the house had become known as the brothers' own property, which he took as a violation of their vow of poverty. He unceremoniously threw all the brothers out of the house, including the sick Brother Thomas who would later write his biography. Not a very auspicious beginning for a Franciscan School, unfortunately.

In the South of France, Benedictine monks at Vézelay had welcomed an early contingent of friars in their abbey there. They in turn provided an introduction to the monks of St. Denis in Paris for the group that was travelling, probably walking, to Paris from Assisi. At their arrival in 1217, they were kindly received by the Abbey of St Denis. As they tried to find more permanent lodging, Pope Honorius III had to write to reassure the Archbishop of Paris and others (*Pio dilectis*, May 29, 1220) that these oddly dressed wanderers were in fact Catholics. They were fortunate to find a friend in Philip, the Chancellor of the Cathedral of Notre Dame.⁴ We have a St. Giles Day (September 1) Sermon of 1228, in which he solicits donations from the congregation for building the first Franciscan residence, on lands belonging to the Abbey of Saint-Denis at Vauvert (near today's Luxembourg Gardens). His efforts were apparently successful as the house was built and ready for its first occupants the next year. But on the very date of its dedication in 1229 the roof gave way and the entire building collapsed. Another less than auspicious start for the founding of a Franciscan school.

By 1230, Francis' brothers had taken up residence in another house, this time alongside Saint-Germain des Prés, and with generous support from Louis IX, their house there grew over the years into the "*Grand Couvent*," the "Great Convent" of the *Cordeliers*, so named because of the friars' characteristic cords used as belts. It survived until the French Revolution, and the facade of its refectory can still be seen in the College of Surgery now located there.

Much like the Graduate Theological Union in its early history, the theological schools at Paris grew up around an anchoring institution, not the University of California but the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Individual masters, like Peter Abelard and Peter Lombard,

⁴ Francois d'Assise: *Ecrits, Vies, Temoignages* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2010) I: 3041.

created a school by attracting students to their lectures and eventually turning over their "chair" to a new lecturer. Twelve chairs had been created for Masters of Theology by the first decades of the 1200s, when the first members of the new mendicant Orders began to arrive on the Left Bank of the Seine.

But the relationship between the newly arrived "mendicant" or begging friars, Dominicans and Franciscans, and the tenured faculty of the Theology Department soon turned stormy. (Then as now, the Dominican School, St. Jacques, was only a short walk from the Franciscan School). Both Orders attracted Masters of the University to join their communities and, with that, gained the right to present candidates for the degree of Master, deemed underhanded chair-jacking by the other divines, devious, and probably the work of the Antichrist, according to a pamphlet "On the Dangers of the Last Days," by their spokesman, Guillaume de Saint-Amour, which I believe we might translate as William of Holy Love.⁵

Bonaventure and his classmate, Thomas Aquinas, were both good students, we surmise, yet were held up for a year before graduating because of squabbles over this issue among members of the doctoral faculty. Their degrees were finally granted after personal intervention by the Pope (a method not recommended for current GTU doctoral students). After taking up their teaching positions both classmates articulated a justification for the presence of these new movements within the world of the Church and the University: Thomas, in the "*Contra impugnantes*" ("Against Those Who Assail the Worship of God and Religion") and Bonaventure in the "*Apologia pauperum*," or "Defense of the Mendicants."

On the Franciscan side, their very status as travellers, itinerants, made the friars seem ill-suited either to the structure of the University or to that of the parochial and diocesan Church. A global organization founded in Italy in 1209, which already had a presence in Syria by 1220, in Ireland by 1230, and would reach Beijing by 1290, a group with a rather loose tether to the local diocesan Bishop or to the University Chancellor, seemed a threat destined to harm the hard-won *stabilitas* of two institutions, church and university. Thus, in an apocalyptic tone popular at the time, the arrival of the Franciscan School at the University was read by some as a sign of the End Times. I am oddly reminded that Joe Chinnici recounts that the early days of the new FST community at GTU in 1968 were marked by the police launch of tear-gas grenades near Euclid Avenue during the People's Park uprising. But that too is leading me toward anachronism.

Once allowed their place within the University, friar scholars gathered around Masters like Alexander of Hales and his student Bonaventure, attempting to translate into the framework of Scholasticism the elements of a charismatic inheritance traceable back to

⁵ G. Geltner, ed., trans., *De periculis novissimorum temporum*, Dallas Medieval Texts and Translations 8 (Louvain, Paris: Peeters, 2007).

the Little Poor Man of Assisi himself. It was not always easy, as the founder himself did not use the language of the new dialectic, but that of a simple appeal to the clear meaning of the words of the Gospel as he read them.

In the posthumously published study, *The Two Reformations*, Heiko Oberman pointed toward Francis's importance as the pioneer of a fundamental insight of the later theological tradition that bears his name:

A couple of generations before Thomas, Saint Francis of Assisi had already envisioned a God who stood in a different relation to his creation than what was taught in the platonizing theology of divine Being. ... Francis frequently refers to God by the personal title "Dominus Deus," or Lord God. In the widely circulating treatise *Sacrum commercium S. Francisci cum Domina Paupertate* (probably written in 1227, within a year of the saint's death and bearing the strong impress of his thinking), God and his creatures are bound in a personal covenant. Developed by his early academic interpreters, Saint Bonaventura and Duns Scotus, the two propositions, God as personal lord and his action as covenant, became the two pivotal points of a surprisingly cohesive new tradition centering on the Franciscan vision of history. The Thomistic unmoved mover was becoming the highly mobile covenantal God who acts, a God whose words are deeds and who wants to be known by these deeds.⁶

This leads, says Oberman, to the conclusion that a "paradigm shift is in the making." That "highly mobile" God of the covenant could disturb some well-established religious notions.

Could it be that theology itself could be understood as a journey? That is, the theologian's work is not that quintessentially medieval task of arranging a set of known quantities into a cohesive system, but something that is more an adventure, a discovery, setting off into the unknown, more like an exodus than an academic procession? It is tempting to think that such an idea was behind the choice of title for Bonaventure's classic text on the relation of reason and ecstasy, or between what he called scholastic theology and mystical theology. He called it a Journey, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, the "Journey of the Mind (or perhaps the Soul) into God."⁷

In its seven chapters, the *Itinerarium* traces a path to be followed, beginning from the careful scrutiny of the Creator's traces in the world perceived by the sense, through a lengthy inner examination of God's image within the composition of the human person,

⁶ Heiko Oberman, *The Two Reformations: The Journey from the Last Days to the New World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003) 26.

⁷ Ewert Cousins, ed., *Bonaventure: The Soul's Journey into God, the Tree of Life, the Life of St. Francis* (Mahwah NJ: Paulist Press, 1978).

to a blinding encounter with a Triune Love into whose presence the intellect cannot enter, One who is Love and met only by love.

This is about as far from "knowledge for the sake of knowledge" as one can get. And despite his respectful use of the Aristotle, Bonaventure, at once the Scholastic and Mystic theologian, seems bemused by some of the Philosopher's enthusiasms. The eminent Bonaventure scholar, Zachary Hayes, puts it this way:

In the 17th collation on the *Hexameron*, Bonaventure describes the pleasure Aristotle seemed to take in knowing that the diameter of a circle is asymmetrical to the circumference. About this Bonaventure writes: "Let him enjoy it, if he can" (Hex. 17.7 [V, 410]). The primary reason for being engaged in the intellectual life is either for the sake of one's personal spiritual life (prudence) or for the sake of the spiritual life of others (charity).⁸

Nowhere has this vision of Bonaventure been expressed more impressively than in two miniature masterpieces: The *De Reductione artium ad theologiam* and the *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*. In both cases, the entire intellectual project as known and structured in the Middle Ages is integrated into the broader picture of the spiritual journey of the human person to its ultimate end with God. For whatever secondary reasons one may be engaged in studies, the primary reason should not be lost sight of. Certainly, the mind can delight in knowledge; but knowledge is not virtue. And certainly, scholars need to make a living; but knowledge is not a mere object of commerce. Surely over the centuries we have bestowed honors on outstanding scholars and teachers; but to pursue knowledge with that as our principal motivation is to demean the significance of the intellectual life. The deepest meaning of all study is to be found in the deepening of our understanding and our love for God. In the words of Bonaventure, "In a wonderful way, the soul takes delight in understanding what it believes with faith" (I Sent. proem. q. 2).⁹

To paraphrase Hayes, excusing the rhyme, here theology touches on spirituality. Piety goes beyond mere education. A larger pattern, one Hayes called "the larger pattern of the journey of the human person to God" must be included in the theological project. This does not entail a demeaning of sharp thinking. But it does mean that "head and heart ought to work together in drawing the person on the way of the spiritual journey into God."¹⁰ Such an integrative view of the theological enterprise is challenging,

⁸ Zachary Hayes, OFM, "The Intellectual Tradition in the Franciscan Order," in *Ministrare Spiritum et Vitam: Congressus Repraesentantium sedum studiorum OFM, Rome 4-5 Iulii 1994: Acta congressus repraesentantium sedum studiorum OFM in curia generali ordinis* (Rome: Secretariatatus generalis pro formatione et studiis OFM, 1994), 5.

⁹ Hayes, 6.

¹⁰ Hayes, 6-7.

something noticed by Luther, who considered Bonaventure, among the "Scholastic doctors" as the best of the lot. But, in the *Tischreden*, Luther confesses: "he [Bonaventure] drove me out of my mind, because I wanted to feel the union of God with my soul, as union of both the intellect and will."¹¹ Luther got it right: this is difficult, and difficult precisely because it takes the intellectual stuff of rigorous theological study and puts it into the midst of the messiness of our lives.

The purpose of our theological work, Bonaventure says in his *Commentary on the Book of Sentences* is, in an Aristotelian phrase, "that we may become good people," "*ut boni fiamus*." The theological journey has as its goal the transformation of its practitioners, becoming what he calls an "affective habit," in-between the speculative and the practical, participating in both. "We do theology for the sake of our development in holiness. With respect to the speculative, we do theology as a step toward deeper contemplation of the mystery of the supreme truth and goodness that is God."¹²

Journey, change, transformation: the themes of the Minorite tradition, were carried forward by such leaders as the English friars John Duns Scotus in Paris, Oxford and Cologne and William of Ockham at Oxford, London, Avignon and Munich. Regrettably, the continuation of that tradition is frequently undervalued, even by those who know its Bonaventurian phase well. In fact, the young Professor Joseph Ratzinger wrote his *Habilitationsschrift* on the Hexaemeron of Bonaventure, and could thank the Franciscan Doctor for his first teaching appointment. Sadly, soon after being elected as Bishop of Rome as Pope Benedict XVI, disturbed many admirers of the Franciscan theological tradition with these critical remarks in his Regensburg Address:

In all honesty, one must observe that in the late Middle Ages we find trends in theology which would sunder this synthesis between the Greek spirit and the Christian spirit. In contrast with the so-called intellectualism of Augustine and Thomas, there arose with Duns Scotus a voluntarism which, in its later developments, led to the claim that we can only know God's *voluntas ordinata*. Beyond this is the realm of God's freedom, in virtue of which he could have done the opposite of everything he has actually done. This gives rise to positions which clearly approach those of Ibn Hazm and might even lead to the image of a capricious God, who is not even bound to truth and goodness.¹³

¹¹ Timothy J. Johnson, "Prologue As Pilgrimage: Bonaventure as Spiritual Cartographer," *Miscellanea Franciscana* 106-107 (2006-2007) 445, citing Oberman, *The Two Reformations*, 185, n. 41.

¹² Hayes, 10. Scotus too identifies theology as a "practical science" rather than theoretical-speculative, in *Opus Oxoniense*, prol. q. 3.

¹³ *Faith, Reason and the University: Memories and Reflections*, University of Regensburg, September 12, 2006.

Such a negative characterization of the later Franciscan tradition is unnecessary and unwarranted, though pointing to the deep dissatisfaction of many theologians with the nominalism fostered by Friar William of Ockham and his numerous disciples. The great architecture of Scholastic theology, built on Being and populated with vigorous Universals, was revised, de-constructed if you like, or destroyed by the new tools of linguistic inquiry. And that is a great loss (especially if all those things actually existed in the first place).

And it is that turn toward language that now must take us to the next stop on our journey, far to the South of Paris, to the center of Spain.

To Alcalá

About 20 miles Northeast of Madrid, a sleepy little town once best known as a holiday spot for wealthy clergy, was destined to become the center of a new theological approach. Alcalá de Henares in its name testifies to the Islamic history of the Iberian peninsula, recalling the Arabic word for "castle" or citadel, on the river Henares, substituted for its ancient Roman name, *Complutum*.

It was here in the early 1450s that a poor but intelligent young man entered the small Franciscan theological study center named "San Pedro y San Pablo." His name was Fray Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros. By the 1490s the poor young friar was effectively the Foreign Minister of Spain, Inquisitor, Archbishop of Toledo, and primate of all Spain.

Under the lavish patronage of the Queen, Isabel *la Católica*, Cisneros built, adjoining his old theology classrooms, an entirely new University, based in the Colegio Mayor de San Ildefonso, a university new in its buildings with their Plateresque facades, but new also in its curriculum. While the Liberal Arts held their usual place as preparatory studies for theology, the earlier philosophical curriculum now saw Languages taking a much more prominent place in the preparation of new scholars.

With a passion that marked many proponents of a Christian Humanism, Cisneros endowed chairs of Greek and Hebrew, projected similar appointments in Arabic and Chaldean; assembled scholars whom he hired away from older, established institutions like the University of Salamanca, and lured some of the most technically proficient book publishers of the peninsula to provide texts for the fast-growing student population.¹⁴

If linguistic preparation in ancient languages was the highly valued content of the program of study, the new method was that of using printed books as an impetus for the new learning fostered by Christian Humanists. Immense amounts of time, talent

¹⁴ Stafford Poole, "Juan de Ovando's Reform of the University of Alcalá de Henares, 1564-1566," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 21:4 (Winter, 1990) 575-606.

and cash were expended on the production of the technically sophisticated and beautifully printed Alcalá Bible, the Complutensian Polyglot. Special fonts were purchased to print what is arguably the Bible's most typographically beautiful Greek text. Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Chaldean fonts, accurately arranged in complex enumerated columns provided one of the masterly scholarly publications of the 16th century.

It is a project about the new linguistic urgency of Renaissance Christian Humanism, and it is about use of the wonderful invention of the printing press to standardize and distribute that text uniformly. But such technological innovation came at a price within the world of theological education. Elizabeth Eisenstein, in a classic study on the printing press as agent of social change, remarks on this difference for teachers and students of the period:

Granted that the replacement of discourse by silent scanning, of face-to-face contacts by more impersonal interactions probably did have important consequences: it follows that we need to think, less metaphorically and abstractly, more historically and concretely about the sort of effects that were entailed and how different groups were affected. Even at first glance, both issues appear to be very complex.¹⁵

The problems concerned theological method as well, as students insisted that even in the presence of printed texts, the Master should remain after the lecture "*al poste*," to answer questions. The "*poste*" in question was simply a pillar in the corridor outside the lecture hall, where every student had the opportunity to ask the professor a question in person, refusing to allow the new medium of print to interrupt the give-and-take of theological debate fostered at Alcalá. In a famous example, one such debate there lasted a full fourteen hours, at the conclusion of which each side claimed a stunning rhetorical victory over the other before simply collapsing into sleep.

The members of the very talkative "Alcalá movement" in the early years of the new University served as a point of reference in Spain for the dissemination of the works of Erasmus. Cisneros himself tried, unsuccessfully, on two different occasions to persuade Erasmus to take up a position at Alcalá, as editor in chief of the great Biblical publishing projects of the faculty there. The great Dutch Humanist, in a letter to Thomas More, famously, and briefly, gave his reason for declining: *Non placet Hispania*. "I don't like Spain!"¹⁶

¹⁵ *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) I: 129.

¹⁶ *Opus epistolarum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913) no. 597.

The rigorous training in linguistic and philological method made the graduates of the Alcalá school among the greatest proponents of language study as a basis for theological study throughout Europe. Their influence, in turn, shaped the evangelizing mission of Franciscan missionaries sent to the Americas with Columbus, beginning with his second voyage.

The friars founded the College of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco in Mexico City in 1533 for the children of Nahua (Aztec) nobles, and through one of their brothers, Archbishop Juan de Zumárraga OFM, successfully urged the founding of the University of Mexico in 1551. With these foundations, the heritage of Alcalá moved onto the North American continent.¹⁷ The College of Santa Cruz became a center for the study of native languages, especially Nahuatl, under one of the first teachers at Tlatelolco, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. Sahagún enlisted elders of towns around Mexico and Nahua students of the College. Elders answered questionnaires prepared by Sahagún on their life and culture; these were recorded in pictograms. The Nahua students of Santa Cruz then rendered the pronunciation of the Nahuatl expressions in Latin characters. Sahagún then translated the Nahuatl text into Spanish. The great work was finished by 1575–77, having begun in the 1540s. This was indeed an American linguistic and cultural *tour de force* worthy of Alcalá's Complutensian Polyglot! The great collaborative project, called the *General History of the Things of New Spain*, beautiful in its illustrated manuscript form known as the Florentine Codex, remained virtually unknown for three hundred years, as it was not to benefit from the printing press until 1829 (Bustamante edition, Mexico).¹⁸ One thinks Cardinal Cisneros would have moved that along a little more quickly!

By way of conclusion

You must be tired after the long distances you have travelled this evening, and even a little thirsty perhaps? You have patiently followed my meandering from Assisi to Paris, from Alcalá to Mexico, tracking a tradition of itinerant scholarship that has marked the Franciscan School from its earliest years. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, in a world of theological education marked by the upheaval produced by the new electronic learning, the globalization of information, and even of machine-produced translations in multiple languages, the Franciscan School in Berkeley is moving again, at the end of this academic year.

All of us at FST, students, staff and faculty, present and past, living and deceased, have found at the GTU a home and friendship over nearly five decades. A new call has urged us to move on, knowing that "we have here no lasting home," even on Euclid Avenue!

¹⁷ Manuel Casado Arboniés. Pedro Manuel Alonso Marañón, "Alcalá de Henares y América: Un nexo universitario," in Antonio Gutiérrez and María Luisa Laviana, eds., *Estudios sobre América: siglos XVI-XX. La Asociación Española de Americanistas en su vigésimo aniversario* (Seville, AEA: 2005) 255-289.

¹⁸ *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, 3 vols. (Mexico, A. Valdés: 1829-30)

We are sad to move away from a lovely location and rich intellectual community. Yet we look forward to reconnecting with our earliest roots in California, near Mission San Diego, first of the Franciscan Missions in this part of American West. And we move, well-prepared by our years here at GTU and close to the University of California, toward a new partnership with the University of San Diego, named for an uneducated Franciscan laybrother who lived in a town famous for its learning, San Diego de Alcalá (d. 1463).

We are able to continue this journey because of all of you, the friends who have accompanied us along this part of our long journey. The Franciscan School has benefitted immensely from your wisdom and kindness during our time in Berkeley, a time for which we will ever be grateful. For our part, we can now offer you, besides our intangible gratitude, the rather more concrete hospitality of friends with a house offering Margaritas near the Mexican border, with a decent theological Library and a very nice swimming pool about ten minutes from good surfing beaches. We do not then make this some solemn "Farewell," an operatic Italian "*Addio*," but rather, "until we see each other again," with that lyric Italian expression, "*Arrivederci*." And with that, in the words used by Francis of Assisi whenever he spoke publicly, let me end by saying, "May the Lord give you peace."