

# BONAVENTURE PONDERING WITH AUGUSTINE: *DE CIVITATE DEI* 11.2 AND THE MAKING OF THE *ITINERARIUM MENTIS IN DEUM*

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*This article presents Augustine's De civitate Dei 11.2 as a valuable but overlooked source of influence on Bonaventure's making of the Itinerarium mentis in Deum. First, a detailed exposition analyzes the structure and content of Augustine's compact mystical treatise on the "ascent of the mind to God" located at the turning points of his magnum opus. Second, a study of the prologue of the Itinerarium mentis in Deum demonstrates how this passage informed Bonaventure's conception of his unique project. Third, the article offers support for his explicit reception of De civitate Dei — and Book 11 in particular — through an annotated summary of Bonaventure's references to the work in his earlier and later written corpus. Initial findings present how Anonymi Contra philosophos appears to have functioned as a privileged point for reception of De civitate Dei 11.2 among the early Franciscans scholastics from Alexander of Hales to Bonaventure and Matthew of Aquasparta. The present research also offers a fresh case study through which to modify the central claims of Lydia Schumacher's scholarship on the Bonaventurian use of Augustine and the nature of early Franciscan theology. The closing section explores some of the possible influences shaping this approach. Finally, this article invites medievalists to expand their expectations of how De civitate Dei 11 may have communicated Augustine's thought through diverse forms of Franciscan reception and wide-ranging applications beyond the academy.*

After a poetic opening prayer, Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (ca. 1217–1274) transports the reader of the *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* to the peak of Mount La Verna. There Saint Francis had received his vision of the six-winged seraph

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The following abbreviations are used in the notes of this paper: DCD = Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. Bernard Dombart and Alphonse Kalb, CCL 47–48 (Turnhout, 1955) cited by book, chapter and line number with volume and page numbers in parentheses; and IMD = Bonaventure, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, ed. Augustine Sepinski, O.F.M., in *Opera Theologica Selecta, Tomus V: Tria Opuscula, Sermones Theologici* (Florence, 1964), 179–214, cited by section number with page numbers in parentheses. References to Bonaventure's works in this paper, unless otherwise stated, are to the *Opera omnia* edited in ten volumes by the Fathers of the Collegium S. Bonaventurae (Quaracchi, 1882–1902).

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in the form of the Crucified leaving him imprinted with the stigmata. Bonaventure describes his own time of retreat on the holy mountain in 1259, far from his pressing duties as the seventh minister general of Francis's order. While immersed in prayer and reflections on "various ascents of the mind to God," he explains that "among other things" the miracle of Francis gave him the key to his quest for peace.<sup>1</sup> Bonaventure encounters in Francis's mystical experience the way by which one may come to contemplation, and the inspiration to compose the *Itinerarium*. He tells us that he will compose it according to the six-winged seraph, with three sets of two facing one another (which add up to six), and end with a seventh chapter of the longed for rest in the divine.<sup>2</sup> He recommends lenience towards the author, patience in reading, and thoughtful rumination.<sup>3</sup> In the same spirit, let us explore the conditions of medieval composition with modern eyes and ask the question: was *De civitate Dei* 11.2 one of the "various ascents of the mind to God" which Bonaventure pondered as he conceived his great mystical treatise on Franciscan contemplation?

Scholars have never questioned the certain influence of Augustine,<sup>4</sup> Pseudo-Dionysius,<sup>5</sup> and the Victorines,<sup>6</sup> on Bonaventure's thought and on the making of the *Itinerarium*. Nevertheless, Stephen Brown has wisely cautioned that "despite the dependence on Richard and Boethius, the *Itinerarium* itself is a stunningly original work, giving enriched life to these sources by the inspired meditation that Bonaventure brought to the stigmata of St. Francis."<sup>7</sup> With the same awareness of originality and reception, I propose that Augustine's *De civitate*

<sup>1</sup> IMD, *Prologus* 2 (179–80): "contigit ut nutu divino circa Beati ipsius transitum, anno trigesimo tertio ad montem Alvernae tanquam ad locum quietum amore quaerendi pacem spiritus declinarem, ibique existens, dum mente tractarem aliquas mentales ascensiones in Deum, inter alia occurrit illud miraculum, quod in praedicto loco contigit ipsi beato Francisco." trans. Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M., in *Saint Bonaventure's Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* (Saint Bonaventure, NY, 1956), 54. Unless otherwise noted, all English translations of the IMD are from this edition.

<sup>2</sup> IMD *Prologus* 2, 3, and 5 (179–181); and IMD 7.1 (211–12).

<sup>3</sup> IMD *Prologus* 5 (181).

<sup>4</sup> Marianne Schlosser, "Bonaventure Life and Works," in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. Jay M. Hammond, J. A. Wayne Hellmann, and Jared Goff (Leiden, 2014), 9–59, at 11–12.

<sup>5</sup> Gerald Cresta, "From Dionysius' *thearchia* to Bonaventure's *hierarchia*: Assimilation and Evolution of the Concept," *Studia Patristica* 69 (2013): 325–32; Troy Overton, "Saint Bonaventure's Illumination Theory of Knowledge: The Reconciliation of Aristotle, Pseudo-Dionysius and Augustine," *Miscellanea Franciscana* 88 (1998): 108–21; and W. J. Hankey, "Dionysius Becomes an Augustinian: Bonaventure's *Itinerarium VI*," *Studia Patristica* 29 (1997): 252–59.

<sup>6</sup> Dale M. Coulter, "The Victorine Sub-Structure of Bonaventure's Thought," *Franciscan Studies* 70 (2012): 399–410; and Stephen F. Brown, "Reflections on the Structural Sources of Bonaventure's *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*," in *Medieval Philosophy and Modern Times*, ed. Ghita Holmström-Hintikka (Dordrecht, 2000), 1–16.

<sup>7</sup> Brown, "Reflections on the Structural Sources," 6.

*Dei* 11.2 (hereafter DCD) shaped and inspired Bonaventure's project because of its own expansive but succinct nature.<sup>8</sup> DCD 11.2 constitutes a pithy address on the heights of spiritual mysticism, various grades of knowledge, and the essential role of Christ the Mediator whose humanity provides the "way" and his divinity provides the "the goal" in the mind's journey to reach God. It serves as a significant hinge between the first ten books on pagan history and natural knowledge, and the last twelve books on Christian life and divine revelation.<sup>9</sup> My research shows that this text was one of those "various ascents of the mind to God" studied by Bonaventure during his academic career in Paris. It was, therefore, still present to him as he pondered over Francis and the stigmata on Mount La Verna. So being, it provides a new portrait of how early Franciscan thinkers understood and employed DCD, one that challenges the common tendency among some Bonaventure scholars to minimize its influence and puts into doubt a new thesis which recasts completely the nature of Augustinian reception. These findings will also shed light on the intellectual and spiritual unity of Bonaventure as scholar, friar, theologian, and leader of the Franciscan order in tumultuous times.

This article will present first a thematic analysis of DCD 11.2; second, a review of how the *Itinerarium* reflects a continuity with Augustine's work; and third, a review of historical support for Bonaventure's familiarity and explicit use of DCD 11.2 and DCD 11 in general. I will further propose a common reading of DCD 11.2 between the early Franciscans Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, and Matthew of Aquasparta, which is not shared by other scholastics. In the final portion of this article, I will propose how this case study revises present opinion by pointing to new lines of continuity and originality in Bonaventure's use of an overlooked Augustinian text.

#### ANALYSIS OF *DE CIVITATE DEI* 11.2 AS MYSTICAL EXPERIENCE AND THE MIND'S JOURNEY TO GOD

Comprising only thirty-six lines, the second chapter of Book 11 of DCD is written in a prayerful, poetic tone reminiscent of a number of similarly dazzling short chapters of Augustine's *magnum opus*.<sup>10</sup> These interludes offer concise overviews of the larger work, afford mental relief for the reader, and unite a personal spiritual dimension to the demands of study incumbent on such a large and detailed text.<sup>11</sup> DCD 11.2 provides a short *anagoge* or *anabasis*, the classical

<sup>8</sup> DCD 11.2 (48.322).

<sup>9</sup> Jean-Claude Guy, SJ, *Unité et structure logique de la «Cité de Dieu» de saint Augustin* (Paris, 1961), 84–85.

<sup>10</sup> For the complete Latin text and English translation of DCD 11.2, see Appendix I.

<sup>11</sup> DCD 5.11 (47.141–2); 11.18 (48.337); 15.25 (48.493); and 19.20 (48.687). Additionally, see DCD 18.32 (48.623–626), which shares in the common poetic genre, but is much longer than the others.

ascent of the soul through the liberal arts, most notably characteristic of Augustine's early works composed closer to the time of his conversion, namely, *De immortalitate animae*, *De quantitate animae*, *De musica*, *De dialectica*, *De ordine*, and *De vera religione*.<sup>12</sup> Yet, as Gareth Matthews has noted, DCD 11.2 belongs to Augustine's later work and reveals a more mature tension in his thought between the possibilities and the limits of philosophy to achieve great spiritual heights, and the more clear need for grace in the mystical ascent.<sup>13</sup>

This analysis will divide the short text at hand into three sections according to its internal progressive themes: (1) the poetic opening *in medias res* that considers the infrequent height of mystical experiences leading up to the encounter between the *mens* ("mind") and God Himself; (2) a description of the general role of the *mens*, its current condition in fallen man, and the normative steps needed for restoration; (3) the journey to reach the encounter with God bridged by the humanity of Christ which serves as the road for the mind to God.<sup>14</sup>

#### *Primacy of Mystical Experience (DCD 11.2, lines 1–15)*

Before he launches into the expositions of Scripture and takes up the various theological and philosophical questions found in the second part of DCD (Books 11–22), Augustine gives primacy to an experience which is personal, prayerful, and mystical. Book 11, Chapter 2 opens by declaring that "it is a great and exceedingly rare thing"<sup>15</sup> to describe the mystical heights which a man reached in his approach to God. After elaborating on the conditions for this experience, Augustine devotes a long passage to making distinctions between types of mystical revelations (lines 6–14).

The opening phrase of this passage has sometimes been translated in a way that diminishes Augustine's unique experience into a universal human experience ("man in his speculation")<sup>16</sup> or an exceptional mental function ("rarely and

<sup>12</sup> Frederick Van Fleteren, "The Ascent of the Soul in the Augustinian Tradition," in *Paradigms in Medieval Thought: Applications in Medieval Disciplines*, ed. Nancy van Deusen and Alvin E. Ford (New York, 1990), 93–110, at 93, 101, 103, and 109. Among these, *De musica* and *De vera religione* are later cited in the *Itinerarium* by name. In Chapter 2.10 Bonaventure explicitly recommends Book 6 of *De musica* (before including an extensive direct quote) as well as *De vera religione*, which he again names in IMD 3.3.

<sup>13</sup> Gareth Matthews, "Knowledge and Illumination," in *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine*, ed. Eleanor Stump and Norman Kretzmann (Cambridge, 2001), 171–185, at 183–84.

<sup>14</sup> For a summary of the structure of DCD 11.2, see Appendix II.

<sup>15</sup> DCD 11.2, 1 (48.322): "magnum est et admodum rarum"; trans. William Babcock, *The City of God (De civitate Dei) XI–XXII*, in *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century*, ed. Boniface Ramsey (Hyde Park, NY, 2013), 1/7:2. Unless otherwise noted, all English translations of the DCD are from this edition.

<sup>16</sup> Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, trans. Henry Bettenson (New York, 1972), 430.

only with great effort does a mind”).<sup>17</sup> Rather, Augustine here illuminates the exceptional experience to a few privileged individuals, not one common to all humanity. Indeed, the chapter later distinguishes between the mystical experience which is “great and exceedingly rare,” and the common path of fallen mankind beginning with the universal need to “train” and “purify” the mind.<sup>18</sup> This distinction does not exonerate those few from the regular means of grace and effort prescribed for all. However, Augustine clearly enumerates the steps they have passed through leading up to such exceptional experiences of God.

Augustine explains that the “great and exceedingly rare” mystical experience forming the *incipit* of DCD 11.2 takes place only after other conditions have been met, namely: (a) consideration of the created universe, both corporeal and incorporeal;<sup>19</sup> (b) concentration of the mind to reach the conclusions that the created world is mutable;<sup>20</sup> and (c) conviction of the immutable substance of God.<sup>21</sup> Only at this point does the *mens* finally arrive at a state (“there”) wherein it can learn from God himself that “all nature that is not what God himself is was, in fact, made by none other than God.”<sup>22</sup> After outlining the steps to reach that “place” of encounter with God, Augustine describes another unique path to knowledge: “For in this case God does not speak with a person through any corporeal means.”<sup>23</sup> In order to make his point clear, he negates the normal human means of knowing that are sometimes imitated in a mystical vision. He explains that God does not communicate by “making sounds for bodily ears in such a way that there is a vibration in the airy spaces between the speaker and the hearer” nor “does he speak through some spiritual means which is represented by bodily images, as happens in dreams or anything else of that sort.”<sup>24</sup> He specifically rejects these types of revelations since these are ultimately mere imitations of the corporeal senses.<sup>25</sup> Instead, Augustine offers a powerful description of the heights of mystical experience: “Rather he speaks by means of the truth itself, if anyone is capable of hearing him with the mind instead of the

<sup>17</sup> *Saint Augustine: The City of God, Books VIII–XVI*, trans. Gerald G. Walsh, SJ, and Grace Monahan, O.S.U. (New York, 1952), 188.

<sup>18</sup> DCD 11.2, 1 (48.322): “magnum est et admodum rarum”; and DCD 11.2, 25 (48.322): “fuerat inbuenda atque purganda.”

<sup>19</sup> DCD 11.2, 1–2 (48.322): “universam creaturam corpoream et incorpoream.”

<sup>20</sup> DCD 11.2, 3 (48.322): “intentione mentis excedere.”

<sup>21</sup> DCD 11.2, 3–4 (48.322): “atque ad incommutabilem dei substantiam pervenire.”

<sup>22</sup> DCD 11.2, 4–5 (48.322): “et illic discere ex ipso, quod cunctam naturam, quae non est quod ipse, non fecit nisi ipse.”

<sup>23</sup> DCD 11.2, 5–7 (48.322): “sic enim deus cum homine non per aliquam creaturam loquitur corporalem.”

<sup>24</sup> DCD 11.2, 7–10 (48.322): “corporalibus instrepens auribus, ut inter sonantem et audientem aëria spatia verberentur, neque per eius modi spiritalem, quae corporum similitudinibus figuratur, sicut in somnis vel quo alio tali modo.”

<sup>25</sup> DCD 11.2, 10–13 (48.322).

body.”<sup>26</sup> In this way DCD 11.2 serves as a guide to explain how certain exceptionally elevated mystical revelations come through the way of the mind (*mens*) following exerted speculative thought and its contingent purifications.

The opening of chapter two strongly suggests a reference to a unique type of mystical experience, such as Paul’s entrance into the “third heaven” (2 Cor. 12:2–4) or perhaps Augustine’s own experiences including those early ones in the garden and with Monica at Ostia which he describes in *Confessiones* (7.17, 9.10).<sup>27</sup> Throughout his writings, Augustine shows interest in articulating the various forms of mystical experience. For example, in *De Genesi ad litteram* (12.27.54) he makes distinctions between corporeal, spiritual, and intellectual visions when analyzing texts from the Old and New Testaments including the mystical experiences of Paul who articulates his entrance into “the third heaven”.<sup>28</sup> Our present text begins with the description of the “great and unusual” mystical conversation with God at the start of the chapter; however the next portion explores the way to God through the *mens*, the usual route for those who are not capable (*idoneus*) of attaining these heights.

*A Description of the Mens, the Current Condition in Fallen Man, and the Actions Needed (DCD 11.2, lines 15–26)*

Augustine defines the *mens* as both the traveler and the locus of the encounter with God. He argues that this holds true not only in that exceptional man, but also in the ordinary one: “that part of man which is better than everything else of which a man consists, than which only God himself is better.”<sup>29</sup> The topic now shifts from the subjective encounter with God to the speculative study of philosophical and theological anthropology: “For, since man is most rightly understood — or, if this is not possible, at least most rightly believed — to be made in the image of God.”<sup>30</sup> With a simple turn of phrase Augustine reveals his dry humor and realistic approach to recognizing the *imago Dei*. If the depraved conditions of fallen humanity (individually or collectively) have so obscured the

<sup>26</sup> DCD 11.2, 13–14 (48.322): “sed loquitur ipsa veritate si quis sit idoneus ad audiendum mente, non corpore.” Augustine also describes the direct communication of truth itself in *De diuersis quaestionibus lxxxiii*, q. 51, 2, 4; PL 40.11. Truth speaking directly to the height of the mind is also treated in the same work in question 54.

<sup>27</sup> Augustine, *Confessiones libri XII*, ed. L. Verheijen, CCL 27 (Turnhout, 1981), 7.17.23 (107); and 9.10.23–26 (147–148).

<sup>28</sup> Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim* 12.27, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 28/3.1 (Vienna, 1894), 420–22, a discussion of the types of mystical experiences of Moses. See Robert E. Wright, “Mysticism,” in *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald, O.S.A. (Grand Rapids, MI, 1999), 579.

<sup>29</sup> DCD 11.2, 14–16 (48.322): “ad illud enim hominis ita loquitur, quod in homine ceteris, quibus homo constat, est melius, et quo ipse deus solus est melior.”

<sup>30</sup> DCD 11.2, 17–18 (48.322): “cum enim homo rectissime intellegatur vel, si hoc non potest, saltem credatur factus ad imaginem dei.”

true nature of the human person as made as an *imago Dei* that it can no longer be grasped by the intellect (*si hoc non potest*), then one ought at least to believe it by faith (*saltem credatur*).

Augustine develops this scriptural affirmation of man as *imago Dei* (Gen. 1:27, Col. 1:15, Col. 3:10) to a definition of the *mens*, the power by which and place where man can reach the height of his mystical encounter with God. But Augustine quickly moves the logical progression down from the heights of the encounter with God which correspond to the dignity of the *mens*. He describes it as that which is “by nature the seat of reason and intelligence,” yet found in a lower condition of being “enfeebled by dark and inveterate faults.”<sup>31</sup> In order to overcome the distance from God established by the situation of sin Augustine insists that faith and healing grace are necessary: “until it has been renewed from day to day, and healed, and made capable of such happiness, it had first to be trained and cleansed by faith.”<sup>32</sup> He thus employs the language of the catechumenate and of baptism to unite the moral and spiritual state with the contemplative and intellectual search for God.

*The Journey to Reach the Encounter with God, the Bridge of the Humanity of Christ, the Unity of the Road and the Goal for the Mind to God (DCD 11.2, lines 26–36)*

In the last ten lines of the chapter, Augustine offers the beautiful image of the *mens* “walk[ing]. . . toward the truth” and of the Truth itself coming out to meet the *mens* in the person of Christ Jesus so that the journey may be more sure. This depiction of the incarnate Truth in the act of divine condescension travelling towards a broken humanity shares the image of the father in the parable of the prodigal son who comes out of the house and runs towards the sinful but repentant son who approaches the father’s house from afar (cf. Luke 15:20). Christ becomes incarnate and thus “established and founded this same faith, so that man might have a path to man’s God through the man who was God.”<sup>33</sup> Thus the Incarnation of Christ reveals him as God and as man, the “only one way that is fully proof against all errors,” for only the person of Jesus Christ can give assurance for the mind’s journey since he himself is “the goal as God” and “the way as man.”<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> DCD 11.2, 20–24 (48.322): “sed quia ipsa mens, cui ratio et intellegentia naturaliter inest, vitiis quibusdam tenebrosis et veteribus invalida est, non solum ad inhaerendum fruendo, verum etiam ad perferendum incommutabile lumen.”

<sup>32</sup> DCD 11.2, 24–26 (48.322): “donec de die in diem renovata atque sanata fiat tantae felicitatis capax, fide primum fuerat inbuenda atque purganda.”

<sup>33</sup> DCD 11.2, 26–29 (48.322): “in qua ut fidentius ambularet ad veritatem, ipsa veritas, deus dei filius, homine adsumpto, non deo consumpto, eandem constituit et fundavit fidem, ut ad hominis deum iter esset homini per hominem deum.”

<sup>34</sup> DCD 11.2, 34–36 (48.322): “sola est autem adversus omnes errores via munitissima, ut idem ipse sit deus et homo; quo itur deus, qua itur homo.”

ANALYSIS OF SELECTED TEXTS FROM THE *ITINERARIUM MENTIS IN DEUM*

In the opening passage of the *Prologus*, Bonaventure describes his own two-tiered interior experience at La Verna: first, being there “as when” one comes to “a quiet place” seeking peace of the spirit by means of love. Second, he explains how while being “there” in La Verna and in such a spiritual state he begins in his mind to “bring out,” “ponder over,” “drag forth” — as it were from the shelf of his memory — “some mental ascensions into God.”<sup>35</sup> Translators inevitably struggle with the rich meanings of *mens*, and many reduce the phrase to “pondering on certain spiritual ascents to God,”<sup>36</sup> “reflecting on various ways by which the soul ascends to God”<sup>37</sup> or simply ignore the plural and translate it as “while I mediated on the ascent of the mind to God.”<sup>38</sup> But these English renderings obfuscate the progressive distinctions between the search for “peace of the spirit (*spiritus*) by love (*amore*),” and the “mental ascensions (*mentales ascensiones*) to God by the mind (*mens*).”

Bonaventure here describes discovering “among other things” the miracle of the stigmata of Saint Francis as the core of his solution to the speculative questions of the relationship between philosophy and spirituality.<sup>39</sup> His interpretation of the stigmata and the six-tiered ascent of the soul to God in the person of Francis defines the structure and meaning of the *Itinerarium* as a whole. The project also allows Bonaventure to address the weighty internal political debates raging among the Franciscan friars at that time: whether the friars should pursue scholarship or observe a radical poverty far from books and universities.<sup>40</sup>

Bonaventure further depicts the stigmata as a singular mystical contemplative ecstasy which can only be reached through ardent love of the Crucified; it

<sup>35</sup> IMD 2 (179): “ad montem Alvernae tanquam ad locum quietum amore quaerendi pacem spiritus declinare ibi que existens dum mente tractarem aliquas mentales ascensiones in deum.”

<sup>36</sup> *Saint Bonaventure’s Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, trans. Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M. (Saint Bonaventure, NY, 1956), 31.

<sup>37</sup> *Bonaventure: The Soul’s Journey into God, The Tree of Life, and the Life of St. Francis*, trans. Ewert Cousins (Mahwah, NJ, 1978), 54.

<sup>38</sup> *The Mind’s Road to God*, trans. George Boas (New York, 1953), 3.

<sup>39</sup> IMD *Prologus* 3 (180): “inter alia occurrit illud miraculum quod in praedicto loco contingit ipsi beato Francisco de visione scilicet seraph alati ad instar crucifixi. In cuius consideratione statim visum est mihi quod visio illa praetenderet ipsius patris suspensionem in contemplando et viam per quam pervenitur ad eam.”

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Malcom D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210–1323* (St. Bonaventure, NY, 1998); John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order: From Its Origins to the Year 1517*, rev. ed. (Chicago, 1988); Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1210–1517)*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 11 (Leiden, 2000); and Neslihan Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order 1209–1310* (Ithaca, 2011).



resembles the mystical heights experienced by Paul.<sup>41</sup> This mystical encounter, however, creates an enduring effect on the body of Francis. The stigmata of Francis following his mystical ascent results from the vision of the man on the crucifix surrounded by the six wings of the seraph. Bonaventure instructs his reader that the six wings “to be rightly understood as signifying the six uplifting illuminations by which the soul is disposed, as by certain grades or steps, to pass over to peace through the ecstatic transports of Christian wisdom.”<sup>42</sup> In this way he invokes an existing scholastic view of the stages of contemplation and the wings of seraphim or cherubim which he would have learned in Paris, and ties it to the mystical experience of Francis. Most notably, the *Benjamin Maior* of Richard of St. Victor reinforces the six-part structure,<sup>43</sup> as do, of course, the genre of short works concerning the six wings of the cherubim produced by Alain Lille under the influence of Hugh of St. Victor.<sup>44</sup> Bonaventure further develops the role and importance of the numbers three and six in relation to the six-winged seraph and in Chapter 1.3–6 just as Augustine does in DCD 11.9 and 11.30. The humanity of Francis receives bodily the five wounds of the Crucified one who is framed by these six-fold wings, three on each side. The rest of the *Itinerarium* is in fact structured around the six steps concluding in the seventh which constitute the chapters of the book, the steps of the throne of Solomon.

Let us now examine in greater detail how the mystical spirituality and philosophical assertions found in DCD 11.2 appear to have been among Bonaventure’s exemplars of the “various ascents of the mind to God.”<sup>45</sup> Prominent texts from the *Itinerarium* parallel and suggest the influence of the thematic divisions of Augustine’s text as outlined above: (1) the poetic opening *in medias res* considering the height of infrequent mystical experiences leading up to the encounter between the “mind” (*mens*) and God Himself; (2) a description of the general role of the *mens*, its current condition in fallen man, and the normative steps needed for reform; and (3) the journey to reach the encounter with God bridged by the humanity of Christ which serves as the road for the mind to God.

<sup>41</sup> IMD *Prologus* 3 (180): “Via autem non est nisi per ardentissimum amorem crucifixi qui adeo Paulum ad tertium caelum raptum transformavit in Christum ut diceret: Christo confixus sum cruci vivo autem iam non ego.”

<sup>42</sup> IMD *Prologus* 3 (180): “Nam per senas alas illas recte intelligi possunt sex illuminationum suspensiones quibus anima quasi quibusdam gradibus vel itineribus disponitur ut transcat ad pacem per ecstaticos excessus sapientiae christianae.”

<sup>43</sup> Brown, “Reflections on the Structural Sources” (n. 6 above), 2–3.

<sup>44</sup> See Jean-Claude Schmitt, “Les images classificatrices,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des chartes*, 147 (1989): 311–41, at 317–318; and Meredith J. Gill, *Angels and the Order of Heaven in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 2014), 18, 25, 61 n. 47, 244 n. 71, and 245.

<sup>45</sup> IMD *Prologus* 2 (180): “aliquas mentales ascensiones in Deum.”

*Primacy of Mystical Experience (DCD 11.2, lines 1–15) in the Itinerarium*

As in DCD 11.2, mystical experience enables one to progress towards the philosophical and theological goals of the *Itinerarium*. From the beginning Francis is assigned the special role of “our guide and father” who intercedes for the journey especially because of his own experience. And as in DCD 11.2, the *mens* is essential to this mystical experience. Bonaventure carefully concludes the opening invocation with an ingenious patchwork of scriptural phrases and his own philosophical terms: that [the Eternal Father] may enlighten the eyes of our mind to guide our feet into that way of peace which surpasses all understanding.<sup>46</sup> Notably, “of our mind (*mentis nostrae*)” is Bonaventure’s addition to the Pauline text “may enlighten the eyes (*det illuminatos oculos*).”<sup>47</sup> So too, in linking the texts of Luke 1:79 and Philippians 4:7 he has inserted the demonstrative “of that (*illius*) way of peace” as the new phrase concludes with an experience of peace beyond the experience of the senses. We may recall here Augustine’s choice of *mens* (as opposed to *spiritus*, *anima*, or other spiritual terms) as that which transcends the experiences of the senses in order reach a direct encounter with God: “Rather he speaks by means of the truth itself, if anyone is capable of hearing him with the mind (*mente*) instead of the body (*corpore*).”<sup>48</sup> The direct communication of Truth to the mind as described here is also related to Augustine’s *83 Quaestiones* (q. 51, 2, 4) which Bonaventure cites twice in the *Itinerarium*.<sup>49</sup>

Bonaventure likewise ties the mystical experience of Francis to the *mens* when he describes the impact of the love of the Crucified as “this love so absorbed the soul (*mentem*) of Francis, that his spirit (*mens*) shown through his flesh (*carne*).”<sup>50</sup> Despite the imprecision of the English translation, Bonaventure is naming the *mens* as the link between Francis’s mystical love and physical manifestation of the stigmata. Bonaventure’s language and treatment of Francis’s heroic mental and physical conformity with the passion of Christ also echoes

<sup>46</sup> IMD *Prologus* 1 (179): “*det illuminatos oculos (Eph. 1:17) mentis nostrae ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis (Luke 1:79) illius, quae exsuperat omnem sensum*” (Phil. 4:7; cf. John 14:27).

<sup>47</sup> Eph. 1:17.

<sup>48</sup> DCD 11.2, 13–14 (48.322): “*sed loquitur ipsa veritate si quis sit idoneus ad audiendum mente, non corpore.*”

<sup>49</sup> IMD 3.4 (197) and 5.1 (203–204); cf. Augustine, *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus* Q. 51.2, 46–50, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCL 44A (Turnhout, 1975), 80: “*Quare cum homo possit particeps esse sapientiae secundum interiorem hominem, secundum ipsum ita est ad imaginem, ut nulla natura interposita formetur, et ideo nihil sit deo coniunctius. Et sapit enim et vivit et est, qua creatura nihil est melius.*”

<sup>50</sup> IMD *Prologus* 3 (180): “*Qui etiam adeo mentem Francisci absorbit quod mens in carne patuit dum sacratissima passionis stigmata in corpore suo ante mortem per biennium deportavit.*”

Augustine's description of the martyrs in *De Patientia* in terms of *mens* and *caro* (not *anima/spiritus* and *corpus*).<sup>51</sup> For Bonaventure, the mystical experience of Francis now provides a vivid example of the way of the mind's ascent to God by reflection, mystical experience and physical martyrdom.

Bonaventure also explicitly relates the mystical transformation of Francis to that of Paul:

The road to this peace is through nothing else than a most ardent love of the Crucified, the love which so transformed Paul into Christ when he was rapt to the third heaven that he declared: *With Christ I am nailed to the Cross. It is now no longer I that live, but Christ lives in me.* And this love so absorbed the soul of Francis too that his spirit shone through his flesh the last two years of his life, when he bore the most holy marks of the Passion in his body.<sup>52</sup>

As noted above, Augustine describes similar mystical experiences in DCD 11.2 and addresses the example of Paul directly in a gripping poetic excursus in the apostle's honor in DCD 14.9, which follows a description of the Christian's way of living the passions as opposed to the model of the Stoic philosophers (14.8). Such a formal ode to Paul applying the faculties and passions of the soul to the life of a preeminent saint would probably not have gone unnoticed for a sensitive and astute reader like Bonaventure. Towards the end of his *Sermon on Holy Saturday*, Bonaventure encourages the simple friars not to be discouraged if they do not reach the heights of contemplation, adding that "it is nonetheless a great thing (*magnum tamen est*) that the Christian way of life has men who do."<sup>53</sup> Both Augustine's treatment of Paul's entrance into "the third heaven" in 2 Corinthians 12:2–4 discussed in *De Genesi ad litteram* (12.27.54) as well as the passages in Books 11 and 14 of DCD may have been among the well-known descriptions of such mysticism that helped Bonaventure interpret the events surrounding Francis at La Verna.

*A Description of the Mens, the Current Condition in Fallen Man, and the Actions Needed (DCD 11.2, lines 15–26) in the Itinerarium*

Further on in the Prologue of the *Itinerarium*, Bonaventure describes how to prepare for the same union and "way of peace" enjoyed by Francis. The way to

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Augustine, *De patientia* 10.8, lines 15–16, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 41 (Vienna, 1900), 671: "et pietate immobili subdiderunt deo mentem, cum paterentur in carne . . ."

<sup>52</sup> IMD *Prologus* 3 (180): "Via autem non est nisi per ardentissimum amorem crucifixi qui adeo Paulum ad tertium caelum raptum transformavit in Christum ut diceret: *Christo confixus sum cruci vivo autem iam non ego. Vivit vero in me Christus.* Qui etiam adeo mentem Francisci absorbit quod mens in carne patuit dum sacratissima passionis stigmata in corpore suo ante mortem per biennium deportavit.

<sup>53</sup> Bonaventure, *Sabbato sancto: Sermo 1* (9.268): "Et si homo non velit ad istam perfectionem pervenire, magnum tamen est, quod lex christiana habet tales." trans. Brown, "Reflections on the Structural Sources" (n. 6 above), 6.

become a “man of desires”<sup>54</sup> is a commitment to prayer and to a series of speculative acts akin to the various steps undertaken by the *mens* in DCD 11.2, 1–2. Bonaventure exhorts the reader to imitate Daniel thus: “Now such desires are enkindled in us in two ways: through the outcries of the prayer, which makes us groan from anguish of heart, and through the refulgence of speculation by which our mind most directly and intently turns itself toward the rays of light.”<sup>55</sup>

In Chapter 1.2, Bonaventure builds on the scriptural affirmation of man as *imago Dei* (Gen. 1:27, Col. 1:15, Col. 3:10) much in the same way that Augustine did in DCD 11.2, 18ff, presenting the *imago Dei* as the *mens*, both the power “whereby” and the place “in which” man can reach the height of his mystical encounter with God: “Next we must enter into our mind which is the image of God — an image which is everlasting, spiritual and within us. And this is to enter the truth of God.”<sup>56</sup> Just as Augustine described the steps of the *mens*, from contemplating the created and mutable universe to the immutable God, Bonaventure identifies the steps that lead to the interior “entrance into our mind” and into “the truth of God” as successive kinds of knowledge. Contemplation of the vestiges of God’s presence found in the created world forms the ladder to reach God.

After describing the progressive steps of knowledge through contemplation of the vestiges, Bonaventure rather suddenly plunges downward to sum up the fallen condition in classically Augustinian terms: “We have these powers implanted within us by nature, deformed through sin, reformed through grace. They must be cleansed by justice, trained by knowledge, and perfected by wisdom.”<sup>57</sup> This diagnosis and intellectual therapeutic program parallels Augustine’s logical progression from establishing the dignity of the *mens* as that which is “by nature the seat of reason and intelligence” down to its fallen condition of being “enfeebled by dark and inveterate faults.”<sup>58</sup>

Just as Augustine calls for a renewal and healing “from day to day” as the *mens* is “trained and cleansed by faith”<sup>59</sup> so too does Bonaventure propose the “three

<sup>54</sup> IMD *Prologus* 3 (180): “Non enim dispositus est aliquo modo ad contemplationes divinas quae ad mentales ducunt excessus nisi cum Daniele sit vir desideriorum.”

<sup>55</sup> IMD *Prologus* 3 (180): “Desideria autem in nobis inflammanur dupliciter scilicet per clamorem orationis quae rugire facit a gemitu cordis et per fulgorem speculationis qua mens ad radios lucis directissime et intensissime se convertit.”

<sup>56</sup> IMD 1.2 (182–83): “Oportet nos intrare ad mentem nostram quae est imago dei aeviterna spiritualis et intra nos et hoc est ingredi in veritate dei.”

<sup>57</sup> IMD 1.6 (184): “Hos gradus in nobis habemus plantatos per naturam deformatos per culpam reformatos per gratiam purgandos per iustitiam exercendos per scientiam perficiendos per sapientiam.”

<sup>58</sup> DCD 11.2, 21–22 (48.322): “sed quia ipsa mens, cui ratio et intellegentia naturaliter inest, vitiis quibusdam tenebrosis et veteribus invalida est.”

<sup>59</sup> DCD 11.2, 24–26 (48.322): “donec de die in diem renouata atque sanata fiat tantae felicitatis capax, fide primum fuerat inbuenda atque purganda.”

days' journey in the wilderness."<sup>60</sup> Moreover, Bonaventure attributes levels of knowledge to the days and times of day:

This is the three-fold enlightenment of a single day: the first is like evening; the second, morning; and the third, noon day. It reflects the threefold existence of things: in matter, in the understanding, and in the eternal art, according to which it was said: Let it be made, He made it, and it was made.<sup>61</sup>

This imagery is found almost exactly in DCD 11.7 where Augustine compares degrees of knowledge to the various degrees of illumination in a single day:

Now, in comparison with the creator's knowledge, a creature's knowledge is like the dusk of an evening. But when that knowledge is directed to the praise and love of the creator, it becomes the full light of morning, and it never sinks into night as long as the creator is not abandoned out of love for a creature.<sup>62</sup>

Bonaventure continues in Chapter 1 to name the levels of knowledge which will form the structure of his chapters:

Finally, it reflects the threefold substance in Christ, Who is our ladder, the corporeal, the spiritual, and the divine substance. In keeping with this threefold progression, our mind has three principle ways of perceiving. In the first way it looks at the corporeal things outside itself, and so acting, it is called animality or sensitivity. In the second, it looks within itself, and is then called spirit. In the third, it looks above itself, and is then called mind.<sup>63</sup>

Here we find the main themes of DCD Book 11 gathered all together: the meaning of the first days described in Genesis, the creation of the angels, the degrees of knowledge. Augustine further describes the distinction of the days of creation as made "on account of the seven phases of knowledge, namely, the six of the works that God created, and the seventh of God's rest"<sup>64</sup> and treats the days of creation, forms of knowledge and angels throughout Book 11.<sup>65</sup> The similarities

<sup>60</sup> IMD 1.3 (183).

<sup>61</sup> IMD 1.3 (183): "Haec est triplex illuminatio unius diei et prima est sicut vespera, secunda sicut mane, tertia sicut meridies. Haec respicit triplicem rerum existentiam scilicet in materia in intelligentia et in arte aeterna secundum quam dictum est: fiat fecit et factum est."

<sup>62</sup> DCD 11.7 (48.327): "quoniam scientia creaturae in comparatione scientiae creatoris quodam modo vesperascit, itemque lucescit et mane fit, cum et ipsa refertur ad laudem dilectionemque creatoris; nec in noctem vergitur, ubi non creator creaturae dilectione relinquitur."

<sup>63</sup> IMD 1.3–4 (183): "Haec etiam respicit triplicem substantiam in Christo qui est scala nostra scilicet corporalem spiritualem et divinam. Secundum hunc triplicem progressum mens nostra tres habet aspectus principales. Unus est ad corporalia exteriora secundum quem vocatur animalitas seu sensualitas alius intra se et in se secundum quem dicitur spiritus tertius supra se secundum quem dicitur mens."

<sup>64</sup> DCD 11.9, 56–57 (48.329): "propter septenarium cognitionem senariam scilicet operum quae fecit Deus, et septimam quietis Dei."

<sup>65</sup> These are themes treated throughout DCD 11.6 (48.326), 11.7 (48.326–327), and 11.9 (48.328–330).

in terminology — particularly in the use of *mens* — and the parallel progression of Augustine and Bonaventure's accounts of ascent lead us to the two concluding themes of Augustine's short chapter and Bonaventure's conception of the *Itinerarium*: the journey and the way.

*The Journey to Reach the Encounter with God, the Bridge of the Humanity of Christ, the Unity of the Road and the Goal for the Mind to God (DCD XI.2, lines 26–36) in the Itinerarium*

For Bonaventure, the stigmata of Francis present the contemporary imitation of Christ as the incarnate union between the mind and the flesh, between contemplation and speculation: “As I reflected on this marvel, it immediately seemed to me that this vision suggested the uplifting of Saint Francis in contemplation and that it pointed out the way by which that state of contemplation can be reached.”<sup>66</sup> The next phrase maps out the entire *Itinerarium*:

The six wings of the seraph can be rightly understood as the six uplifting illuminations by which the soul is disposed by certain grades or steps, to pass over to peace through the ecstatic transports of Christian wisdom. The road to this peace is through nothing else than a most ardent love of the Crucified . . .<sup>67</sup>

This powerful image with which the *Itinerarium* begins is also where it ends. In the final chapter in which Bonaventure describes the *mens* beholding Christ hanging on the cross, he reiterates: “This also was shown to the Blessed Francis, when in a transport of contemplation.”<sup>68</sup>

Augustine concludes Book 11.2 in precisely the same way, arguing that the humanity of Christ provides “a path to man's God through the man who was God,”<sup>69</sup> that is, through the incarnate Word, the “only one way that is fully proof against all errors.”<sup>70</sup> The love for the Crucified described by Bonaventure is the same assurance of the mind's journey ascribed by Augustine to the person of Jesus Christ since he is “the goal as God” and “the way as man.”<sup>71</sup> Thus, for Augustine and Bonaventure, Christ is inextricably linked to the *way* to God. For Bonaventure, the vision and love for the Crucified is the *via*, the road the mind travels to God. In Augustine's pithy phrase, Christ is the “goal as God” and the “way as man.” This was the way that Francis experienced the

<sup>66</sup> IMD *Prologus* 2 (180).

<sup>67</sup> IMD *Prologus* 3 (180): “Nam per senas alas illas recte intelligi possunt sex illuminationum suspensiones quibus anima quasi quibusdam gradibus vel itineribus disponitur ut transcat ad pacem per ecstaticos excessus sapientiae christianae. Via autem non est nisi per ardentissimum amorem crucifixi . . .”

<sup>68</sup> IMD 7.3 (212).

<sup>69</sup> DCD 11.2, 28–29 (48.322): “ut ad hominis Deum iter esset homini per hominem Deum.”

<sup>70</sup> DCD 11.2, 34–35 (48.322): “sola est autem adversus omnes errors via munitissima.”

<sup>71</sup> DCD 11.2, 35–36 (48.322): “quo itur Deus, qua itur homo.”

great mystical union with God: “This love so absorbed the soul of Francis, that his spirit shown through his flesh.”<sup>72</sup>

Having examined the strong textual and thematic parallels between DCD 11.2 and the *Itinerarium*, let us consider whether such a massive historical-theological work like DCD could possibly play a role in so original and spiritually charged a work as the *Itinerarium*. Bonaventure not only used Augustine’s classic work — and Book 11 in particular — elsewhere in his writings, but he praised it by name, as we shall see. These integrated endorsements reinforce the probability that DCD 11.2 constituted one of the “various ascents [of] the mind to God” that he brought forth from his trained memory “to ponder” at La Verna thirty-three years after the death of St. Francis.

#### DE CIVITATE DEI IN THE WRITINGS OF BONAVENTURE

As a formally educated cleric in thirteenth-century Europe, Bonaventure was heir to the pervasive influence of Augustine from the late patristic and early medieval period down to his own day. He received a thorough education in both Augustine’s own thought and words as well as through the secondary vectors of transmission and interpretation produced at the abbey of Saint Victor, enshrined in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and woven into the corpus of medieval biblical commentaries — all of which were built on the foundation of Augustine’s seminal works.<sup>73</sup> Although DCD is a central text of Augustine, the massive work has remained notably ignored when scholars identify the central Augustinian texts influential for early Franciscans.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, some past scholarship has

<sup>72</sup> IMD *Prologus* 3 (180): “mentem Francisci quod mense in carne patuit.”

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Willemien Otten “The Reception of Augustine in the Early Middle Ages (c. 700–c. 1200): Presence, Absence, Reverence, and Other Modes of Appropriation,” and Eric L. Saak “Augustine and his Late Medieval Appropriations (1200–1500),” in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. Karla Pollmann and Willemien Otten (Oxford, 2013), 1:23–38 and 1:39–50, respectively.

<sup>74</sup> Interestingly, Marianne Schlosser, “Life and Works” (n. 4 above), 11–12 does not include DCD by name in her list of central Augustinian texts known to Bonaventure in his studies: “The canon of books consisted of almost all the works of St Augustine (*Enchiridion*, *De trinitate*, *Confessiones*, *De doctrina Christiana*, *De Genesi ad litteram*, *De libero arbitrio*, writings against Pelagians, about moral-ascetic questions, letters, sermons, etc.)” In connection with “Letter to an Unknown Master,” Joshua Benson summarizes Bonaventure as listing “the top three of Augustine’s theological works in the Middle Ages: the *Confessiones*, the *Literal Commentary on Genesis* and *On the Trinity*,” thus overlooking DCD even though Bonaventure himself refers to the work. See J. Benson, “Augustine and Bonaventure,” in *T&T Clark Companion to Augustine and Modern Theology*, ed. Chad C. Pecknold and Tarmo Toom (London, 2013), 131–50, at 137. Robert Glenn Davis briefly notes DCD 11 in his study on Bonaventure’s association of synderesis with *pondus* as a way to understand *affectus*. Treating the *pondus amoris* in Augustine only briefly, Davis brings DCD 11.28 into relation with texts in *Confessiones* 13.9, *De Genesi ad litteram* 4.3–4, and *De libero arbitrio* 3.1. See

identified a few textual and thematic influences of DCD on the *Itinerarium*.<sup>75</sup> These three distinct passages appear in various chapters of Bonaventure's text. They include the following:

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<i>Itinerarium</i>	<i>De civitate Dei</i>
1.12	DCD 12.4: Influence of ages and the number six <sup>76</sup>
1.14	DCD 8.4: <i>causa essendi, ratio intelligendi, et ordo vivendi</i> <sup>77</sup>
2.5	DCD 22.19, 2 and <i>De Musica</i> 6.13, 38 on the definition of beauty; <sup>78</sup> a principle additionally found in DCD 22.24 <sup>79</sup>
3.6	DCD 8.4: three-fold division from Plato, <i>causa essendi, ratio intelligendi, ordo vivendi</i> <sup>80</sup>
5.7	DCD 8.4: <i>causa essendi, ratio intelligendi, ordo vivendi</i> <sup>81</sup>

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While these examples aid our vision of how DCD contributed to the *Itinerarium*, it has proven instructive to look at the 170 instances where Bonaventure refers to the title “De civitate Dei” in his own writings. I take the textual presence of the title “De civitate Dei” as an explicit indicator of awareness in Bonaventure's thought, whether he is simply repeating references within a known tradition or making his own an original use of Augustine. Seen together these references demonstrate his wide-ranging familiarity with Augustine's *magnum opus*.

The title “De civitate Dei” appears 135 times in Bonaventure's *Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard* (1250–52). Such references are not to be taken as necessarily original to Bonaventure *per se*, but rather they witness to the centrality of the work for the scholastic conversations and offer evidence of his familiarity with the text over the course of many years.<sup>82</sup> Bonaventure also mentions the title

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Davis, *The Weight of Love: Affect, Ecstasy, and Union in the Theology of Bonaventure* (New York, 2017), 75–78.

<sup>75</sup> These notes are gathered from the Quaracchi Edition of the *Opera Omnia* edited by Augustine Sepinski, O.F.M., in *Opera Theologica Selecta, Tomus V: Tria Opuscula, Sermones Theologici* (Florence, 1964) as well as the editions prepared by Boehner, *Bonaventure: The Soul's Journey into God* (n. 1 above) and Cousins, *Bonaventure* (n. 37 above).

<sup>76</sup> Boehner, *Saint Bonaventure's Itinerarium* (n. 1 above), 114, n. 18.

<sup>77</sup> Sepinski, *Tria Opuscula*, 187, n. 26; and Boehner, *Saint Bonaventure's Itinerarium* (n. 1 above), 46, n. 21.

<sup>78</sup> Sepinski, *Tria Opuscula*, 189, n. 8; and Boehner, *Saint Bonaventure's Itinerarium* (n. 1 above), 54, n. 3.

<sup>79</sup> Boehner, *Saint Bonaventure's Itinerarium* (n. 1 above), 117, n. 7.

<sup>80</sup> Sepinski, *Tria Opuscula*, 198, n. 23; and Boehner, *Saint Bonaventure's Itinerarium* (n. 1 above), 124, n. 16.

<sup>81</sup> Sepinski, *Tria Opuscula*, 207, n. 18; Boehner, *Saint Bonaventure's Itinerarium* (n. 1 above) 86; and Cousins, *Bonaventure* (n. 37 above), 99, n. 13.

<sup>82</sup> Closer comparative study between these instances and the use of DCD in the *Summa* of Alexander of Hales may be fruitful, but lies outside the current study.



“De civitate Dei” in thirty-five other passages ranging from early formal theological works to pastoral sermons and his unfinished *Hexaëmeron*.

Bonaventure names Augustine’s DCD explicitly in various important works predating the *Itinerarium*, as well as in ongoing later works. The title appears nine times in *De scientia Christi* (1254),<sup>83</sup> five times in *Quaestiones disputatae de mysterio Trinitatis* (1254),<sup>84</sup> three times in *Quaestiones disputatae de perfectione evangelica* (1255).<sup>85</sup> He also cites “De Civitate Dei” four times in biblical commentaries, once in *On John* (1254–57)<sup>86</sup> and three times in *On Luke*.<sup>87</sup> Even in his later preaching Bonaventure does not hesitate to name DCD as his source and to return explicitly to three central passages. He cites Book 17 of DCD concerning Solomon as a figure of Christ in three different sermons.<sup>88</sup> Four homilies demonstrate how Bonaventure integrated DCD 22 into his preaching: two named references to DCD on the future absence of corruption,<sup>89</sup> and quoting the poetic *incipit* of DCD’s final chapter on the joys of heaven appears twice as well.<sup>90</sup> The passage from DCD 8 which appears three times in the *Itinerarium* as noted above also resurfaces in his preaching,<sup>91</sup> together with the famous definition of the “peace of the whole universe” in DCD 19.<sup>92</sup> At the end of his life he continues to integrate references to DCD into his studies on the *Hexaëmeron*, explicitly naming it seven times between the short and long versions.<sup>93</sup> The number of these references to the title alone, often accompanied by contextual echoes, demonstrates that Bonaventure knew and respected DCD and chose to

<sup>83</sup> Bonaventure, *De scientia Christi*, q. 1.3 (5:3); q. 1.10 (5:3); q. 1.79 (5:4); q. 2.64 (5:8); q. 3.63 (5:16); q. 4.43 (5:17); q. 6.86 (5:33); q. 7.11 (5:39); and q. 7.2 (5:40).

<sup>84</sup> Bonaventure, *Quaestiones disputatae de mysterio Trinitatis*, q. 1.1, argumenta, sect. 8 (5:46); q. 1.1, argumenta, sect. 9 (5:46); q. 4.1, argumenta, sect. 5 (5:79); q. 5.2, conclusion (5:95); and q. 7.1, conclusio, sect. 5 (5:108).

<sup>85</sup> Bonaventure, *Quaestiones disputatae de perfectione evangelica*, q. 4.1, argumenta, sect. 4 (5:179); q. 4.1, sed contra, sect. 1 (5:180); and q. 4.1, conclusion (5:181).

<sup>86</sup> Bonaventure, *Commentarius in Evangelium sancti Iohannis*, 12.41 (6:419).

<sup>87</sup> Bonaventure, *Commentarius in Evangelium sancti Lucae*, 6:29, par. 69 (7:154); 24:42 seq., par. 54 (7:600); and 24 :53, par. 66 (7:604).

<sup>88</sup> DCD 17.8 (48.570–572); Bonaventure, *Sermones* 1.8.151 and 20.1.3, in *Sermones dominicales*, ed. Jacques Guy Bougerol (Grottaferrata, 1977), 136 and 272, respectively; and *Sermon* 51.1.3 *De assumptione b. Mariae Virginis*, in *Sermones de diversis*, ed. Jacques Guy Bougerol (Paris, 1993), 2:660.

<sup>89</sup> DCD 22.20 (48.841); Bonaventure, *Sermones* 1.14.219 and 27.14.210, ed. Guy, 136 and 327, respectively.

<sup>90</sup> DCD 22.30 (48.862); Bonaventure, *Sermo* 2.14.252, ed. Guy, 147; and *Sermon* 2.3.239, ed. Bougerol, 1:97.

<sup>91</sup> DCD 8.4 (47.220); Bonaventure, *Sermo* 33.17.263 *Dom. XXII post pentecosten*, ed. Bougerol, 1:414.

<sup>92</sup> DCD 19.13 (48.679); Bonaventure, *Sermo* 55.6.146 *De sanctis angelis*, ed. Bougerol, 2:719.

<sup>93</sup> Bonaventure, *Collationes in Hexaëmeron* 7.5, 7.14, 14.17, and 19.4; ed. F. Delorme, in *Collationes in Hexaëmeron et Bonaventuriana quaedam selecta* (Florence, 1934), 5:366, 5:367, 5:396, and 5:420; see also 4.2.1; 4.2.9; 3.7.4.

integrate key passages of it into his own thought. It is a work of Augustine present across the range of his original writings: scholarly, theological, pastoral, and mystical.

*DCD 11 in Bonaventure's Early Works*

Bonaventure's specific use of DCD 11 and his awareness of the text of DCD 11.2 can be noted in his commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, revealing diverse implementation of DCD 11 as a supporting authority.

<i>Commentaria in quattuor libros Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi.</i>	<i>De civitate Dei</i>
<i>I Sent.</i> d. 33, a. <i>unicus</i> , q. 1 (1:572).	DCD "undecimo" actually adapted from DCD 12.3 (48.357-358).
<i>I Sent.</i> d. 35, a. <i>unicus</i> , q. 5 (1:611).	DCD 11.10 (48.332).
<i>I Sent.</i> d. 36, a. 1, q. 2 (1:622).	DCD 11.24 (48.343) paraphrased.
<i>I Sent.</i> d. 39, <i>dubia circa litteram Magistri: dubium: 3</i> (1:698).	DCD 11 (unidentifiable intended reference).
<i>I Sent.</i> d. 46, a. <i>unicus</i> , q. 5 (1:830).	DCD 11.23 (48.342) with slight textual variation.
<i>I Sent.</i> d. 47, a. <i>unicus</i> , q. 3, conclusion (1:844).	DCD 11.18 (48.337) with slight variation.
<i>II Sent.</i> d. 3, p. 2, a. 1, q. 2 (2:116).	DCD 11.15 (48.335).
<i>II Sent.</i> d. 3, p. 2, a. 1, q. 2, <i>conclusion</i> (2:116).	DCD 11.15 (48.335-336) cited in context of Paris controversies on angelic nature before their fall.
<i>II Sent.</i> d. 3, p. 2, a. 1, q. 2, <i>conclusio</i> (2:117).	DCD 11.15 (48.335-336) conclusion of same reference.
<i>II Sent.</i> d. 4, a. 3, q. 1, <i>conclusio</i> (2:140).	DCD 11 (unidentifiable intended reference).
<i>II Sent.</i> d. 37, a. 1, q. 3 (2:867).	DCD 11.15 (48.336) with slight variation.

DCD 11 also appears prominently in his even more original work *Omnium artifex*, the first half (*commendatio*) of Bonaventure's two-part inaugural sermon. The second half (*resumptio*) is better known and has long circulated under the title *De reductione artium ad theologiam*.<sup>94</sup> In *Omnium artifex* dated most likely to 1254,<sup>95</sup> Bonaventure cites sixteen different works of Augustine, but DCD

<sup>94</sup> Joshua Benson, "Bonaventure's Inaugural Sermon at Paris: *Omnium artifex docuit me sapientia*, Introduction and Text," *Collectanea franciscana* 82 (2012): 517–62, esp. 517, n. 1 for earlier studies demonstrating the literary genre and manuscript evidence. Citations of *Omnium artifex* list the section with line number and page number in parentheses from this publication.

<sup>95</sup> Benson, "Bonaventure's Inaugural Sermon," 524. See also Jay Hammon "Dating Bonaventure's Inception as Regent Master," *Franciscan Studies* 67 (2009): 179–226.

most of all: ten references to the title, and thirteen different passages cited or named.<sup>96</sup> The passages come from across six books in the work with various citations drawn from Books 11 and 18. Sometimes the passages are paraphrased or adapted quotations, and on a few occasions the chapter citations do not correspond exactly to the text (either from memory lapse, or apparent scribal error in dictation or copying). An overview of these references in *Omnium artifex* will aid us in detecting Bonaventure’s own manner of ordering the selections.

<i>Omnium artifex</i>	<i>De civitate Dei</i> [*citations corrected from Bonaventure’s own indication]
section 7 (lines 13–15, p. 540)	DCD 11.3 (48.322–23) <i>hic [mediator] enim prius per prophetas . . .</i>
7 (15–18, p. 540) <i>eiusdem libri principio</i>	DCD 11.1 (48.321) paraphrased ( <i>scriptura testis est, quae non fortuitis motibus animorum . . .</i> )
9 (3–4, p. 541) <i>secundum 12 De civitate 16</i>	DCD 12.18* (48.374) <i>si ratio refutare non posset, fides inridere deberet.</i>
10 (21, p. 541–3, p. 542) <i>ut deducit Augustinus, 18 De civitate, capitulo 37, 38, 39; et concludit</i>	DCD 18.37; DCD 18.38; DCD 18.39 (48.634) paraphrased with minor omissions: <i>nulla igitur gens de antiquitate suae sapientiae super patriarchas et prophetas nostros . . .</i>
13 (24, p. 543–1, p. 544)	DCD 8.11 (47.227–28) Augustine on Plato
18 (6–8, p. 547) <i>Unde Augustinus 18 De civitate capitulo 4</i>	DCD 18.40* (48.635) <i>nos vero in nostrae religionis historia fulti auctoritate divina, quidquid ei resistit, non dubitamus esse falsissimum</i>
20 (19–20, p. 547)	DCD 11.3 (48.323) paraphrased with minor omissions: <i>hoc est de invisibilibus quae a nostro sensu interiore remota sunt, his nos oportet credere, qui haec in illo incorporeo lumine disposita didicerunt vel manentia contuentur.</i>
21 (3–4, p. 548)	DCD 18.41 (48.638) <i>in illa civitate populo commendata sunt, non argumentationum concertationibus inculcata, ut non hominis ingenium, sed dei eloquium contemnere formidaret qui illa cognosceret.</i>
	[B: ‘argumentorum concertationibus inconculata’]

*Continued*

<sup>96</sup> In progressive order of the books of *De civitate Dei* these are: DCD 8.11 (47.227–28); 11.1 (48.321); 11.3 twice (48.322–23 and 48.323); 12.18 (48.374); 15.25 (48.493); only named 18.37, 18.38, and 18.39 (48.634); 18.40 (48.635); 18.41 (48.636); and 19.20 (48.687).

*Continued*

<i>Omnium artifex</i>	<i>De civitate Dei</i> [*citations corrected from Bonaventure's own indication]
22 (1–2, p. 549)	DCD 15.25 (48.493) <i>sed si non utatur scriptura talibus verbis, non se quodam modo familiarius insinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum, ut et perterreat superbientes et excitet negligentes, et exerceat quaerentes et alat intellegentes; quod non faceret, si non se prius inclinaret et quodam modo descenderet ad iacentes.</i> [B: ‘ <i>Talibus verbis Scriptura utitur ut terreat superbientes, excitet negligentes, exercitet quaerentes, alat intelligentes</i> ’]
28 (12–14, p. 551)	DCD 18.41 (48.636) <i>quid agit aut quo vel qua, ut ad beatitudinem perveniatur, humana se porrigit infelicitas, si divina non ducit auctoritas?</i>
28 (17–20, p. 551)	DCD 19.20 (48.687) <i>non enim veris animi bonis utitur, quoniam non est vera sapientia, quae intentionem suam in his quae prudenter discernit, gerit fortiter, cohibet temperanter iuste que distribuit, non ad illum dirigit finem, ubi erit deus omnia in omnibus, aeternitate certa et pace perfecta.</i>

It is significant that Bonaventure cites DCD 11.1 and 11.3 (twice) in this inaugural sermon, demonstrating both his familiarity with the first chapters of this Book and the references to the mediator which bridge the close of 11.2 with the opening lines of 11.3 cited in the sermon.<sup>97</sup>

Another of the most significant references to DCD appears in Bonaventure's "Letter to an Unknown Master" (1254–55). Here he articulates his view of DCD by recommending its use for specific fields of inquiry:

After all, no one describes the nature of time and of matter better than Augustine as he probes and discusses them in his *Confessions*; no one has explained the origins of forms and the development of things better than he in his *Literal Commentary on Genesis*; no one has better treated questions on the soul and on God than he in his book *On the Trinity*; and no one has better explained the nature

<sup>97</sup> Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 7, lines 13–15 (540); 7, lines 15–18 (540); and 20, lines 19–20 (547).

of angels and the creation of the world than he in *The City of God*. To put it briefly, our masters of theology have set down little or nothing in their writings that you will not find in the books of Augustine himself.<sup>98</sup>

Bonaventure's recommendation of *De civitate Dei* for the study of angels and the creation of the world must refer to Book 11 since that is precisely where Augustine writes most about angels.<sup>99</sup> Book 11 also addresses time,<sup>100</sup> creation,<sup>101</sup> and grades of knowledge<sup>102</sup> both in terms of the degrees of light within a day (night-morning-day)<sup>103</sup> and in the progression of the six days of creation.<sup>104</sup> Both of these images of time and knowledge are later found as central themes in the Prologue and first chapter of the *Itinerarium*.

### Contra philosophos as a Common Franciscan Point of Reception for DCD 11.2?

Concerning the oneness of wisdom, Bonaventure cites DCD 11.10 in each of the first three questions of *De scientia Christi*.<sup>105</sup> Closer scrutiny reveals that while he names his source, he twice cites the text with a marked variation. Augustine's original text describes *sapientia* as having "in her" many *thesauri*, "treasure-boxes" or "store-houses," of intelligible things, some of them are "infinite treasure-boxes" while others are "finite treasure-boxes" (*sunt infiniti quidam eique finiti thesauri rerum intellegibilium*).<sup>106</sup> Wisdom herself is one, but within her there are these different kinds of cabinets for intelligible things.<sup>107</sup> By contrast, Bonaventure renders the phrase so that in wisdom there are "certain infinite things" and there are "finite treasure-boxes of intelligible things" (*sunt infinita quaedam*

<sup>98</sup> "Letter in Response to Three Questions of an Unknown Master," 12, trans. Dominic Monti, O.F.M., in *Works of Saint Bonaventure, Volume 5: Writings Concerning the Franciscan Order* (Saint Bonaventure NY, 1994), 53.

<sup>99</sup> DCD 11.9 (48.328–30), 11.13 (48.333–35), 11.19 (48.337–38), and 11.32–34 (48.351–55). See Gill, *Angels and the Order of Heaven* (n. 44 above), 15–18 and 22–26.

<sup>100</sup> DCD 11.4–7 (48.323–27).

<sup>101</sup> DCD 11.7–8 (48.326–28) and 11.11 (48.332–33).

<sup>102</sup> DCD 11.16 (48.336) and 11.27 (48.346–47).

<sup>103</sup> DCD 11.7 (48.326–27), 11.19 (48.337–38), 11.21 (48.339–40).

<sup>104</sup> DCD 11.30–31 (48.350–51).

<sup>105</sup> Bonaventure, *De scientia Christi*, q. 1 (5:3), DCD 11.10 (48:332): "neque enim multae, sed una sapientia est, in qua sunt infinita quaedam eique finiti thesauri rerum intellegibilium, in quibus sunt omnes invisibiles atque incommutabiles rationes rerum etiam visibilium et mutabilium, quae per ipsam factae sunt;" q. 2 (5:8), DCD 11.10 (48:332): "sed una sapientia est;" q. 3 (5:16), DCD 11.10 (48:332): "iste mundus nobis notus esse non posset, nisi esset; deo autem nisi notus esset, esse non posset."

<sup>106</sup> DCD 11.10 (48.332): "neque enim multae, sed una sapientia est, in qua sunt infiniti quidam eique finiti thesauri rerum intellegibilium . . ."

<sup>107</sup> Patristic and medieval authors frequently employ the term *thesaurus* (*thesaurus*) to refer to book-cabinets, literally and as a common metaphor for a trained memory.

*eique finiti thesauri rerum intellegibilium*).<sup>108</sup> In these two instances, Bonaventure has employed a variation of the nominative neuter plural, though he has adapted the second *infiniti* to *finiti* which is more like the turn of phrase in the original Augustine.<sup>109</sup> The digital corpus of edited Latin manuscripts to date<sup>110</sup> identifies the presence of this same main variant of DCD 11.10 in only two other medieval authors: Alexander of Hales (ca. 1185–1245)<sup>111</sup> and Matthew of Aquasparta (1237–1302).<sup>112</sup> However, even earlier than these Franciscans it also appears uniquely in the sixth-century anonymous work *Contra philosophos (sunt infinita quaedam eique finiti thesauri rerum intellegibilium)*.<sup>113</sup>

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Augustine, DCD, 11.10 (48.332)	“in qua sunt infiniti quidam eique finiti thesauri rerum intellegibilium.”
<i>Contra philosophos</i> , disp. 5 (58A:302)	“in qua sunt infinita quaedam eique finiti thesauri rerum intellegibilium”
Alexander of Hales, <i>SH</i> , 2: P1, In1, Tr2, Q2, M1, C1 (n. 54), p. 68.	“in qua sunt infinita quaedam, eique sunt infiniti thesauri rerum intellegibilium”
Bonaventure, <i>De Scientia Christi</i> , q.1 (5:3) and q.2 (5:8)	“in qua sunt infinita quaedam eique finiti thesauri rerum intellegibilium”
Matthew of Aquasparta, <i>Quaestiones disputatae de productione rerum et de providentia</i> , q.5, responsio S.2.b.	“in qua sunt infinita quaedam atque finiti thesauri rerum intellegibilium”

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<sup>108</sup> Bonaventure, *De Scientia Christi*, q.1 (5:3) and q.2 (5:8): “Neque enim multae, sed una sapientia est, in qua sunt infinita quaedam eique finiti thesauri rerum intellegibilium . . .”

<sup>109</sup> By contrast, Bonaventure has employed a different compressed form which is more grammatically coherent in his *Commentary on the Sentences*: Bonaventure, *I Sent.*, d. 35, art. unicus, q. 5 (1:611), “Augustinus de Civitate Dei undecimo: ‘Una est sapientia, in qua infiniti sunt thesauri omnium rerum intellegibilium.’”

<sup>110</sup> Brepols Latin Complete (Series A and B) and Monumenta Germaniae Historica.

<sup>111</sup> Alexander of Hales, *Summa theologica Halensis* (hereafter *SH*) (Quaracchi, 1924–48), 2: P1, In1, Tr2, Q2, M1, C1 (n. 54), p. 68. “Unde Augustinus, XI De civitate Dei: ‘Non sunt multae, sed una est sapientia, in qua sunt infinita quaedam, eique sunt infiniti thesauri rerum intellegibilium, in quibus sunt omnes invisibiles atque incommutabiles rationes rerum visibilium et mutabilium.’”

<sup>112</sup> Matthew of Aquasparta, *Quaestiones disputatae de productione rerum et de providentia*, q.5, responsio S.2.b, ed. G. Gál (Quaracchi, 1956), 123: “Unde Augustinus, XI De civitate, cap. 11: ‘Non, inquit, multae, sed una sapientia est in qua sunt infinita quaedam atque finiti thesauri rerum intellegibilium, in quibus sunt omnes invisibiles atque incommutabiles rationes rerum, etiam visibilium et mutabilium quae per ipsum factae sunt.’”

<sup>113</sup> *Anonymi Contra philosophos vel Altercationes christianae philosophiae contra erroneas et seductiles paganorum philosophorum versutias (excerptae ex s. Augustini libris aliquot)* 5, ed. Diethard Aschoff, CCL 58A (Turnhout, 1975), 302: “Neque enim multae, sed una sapientia est, in qua sunt infinita quaedam eique finiti thesauri rerum intellegibilium, in quibus sunt omnes invisibiles atque incommutabiles rationes rerum etiam visibilium et mutabilium, quae per ipsam factae sunt.” Hereafter *Contra philosophos* will be abbreviated as CP.

The variation of DCD 11.10 corresponds to the fifth *disputatio* of the *Contra philosophos* (hereafter CP), a sophisticated florilegium of Augustinian texts arranged into five books of thirty-one *disputationes* between Augustine and various philosophers. The work was first identified in 1942 by A. E. Anspach in a manuscript in Valencia.<sup>114</sup> In 1949 Bernhard Blumenkranz recognized another copy of it in Rawlinson codex A 368 at the Bodleian Library along with a similar treatise against the Jews drawn from Augustinian quotations apparently by the same unknown author.<sup>115</sup> Diethard Aschoff prepared the critical edition of CP for Corpus Christianorum in 1975, and edited the corresponding *Contra Iudaeos* in 2009.<sup>116</sup> Scholars have ranged in their estimates for its date from as early as the sixth century (even associating it with the age and environment in which Eugippius worked)<sup>117</sup> to as late as the twelfth century.<sup>118</sup> At present the earlier date for composition is commonly held,<sup>119</sup> though the stemma proposed by Aschoff marks a divide around 1150 which gave rise to the two surviving fifteenth-century manuscripts.<sup>120</sup> Although it has been called a florilegium, Marcia Colish has pointed out that CP is actually far more than a mere anthology since the anonymous author integrates many sources outside of Augustine and often uses Augustine to mine the opinions of the philosophers he opposes.<sup>121</sup> Although the difficulty of distinguishing and identifying “mixed” florilegia which circulated around medieval universities is well known, familiarity with

<sup>114</sup> MS Valencia, Biblioteca de la cathédrale 253 (previously numbered as 178). Anspach published his findings of the initial diplomatic edition as *Anonymi altercationes christianae philosophiae contra erroneas et seductiles paganorum philosophorum uersutias excerptae ex s. Augustini libris aliquot* in the series *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones científicas* (Madrid, 1942).

<sup>115</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A 368; Blumenkranz published his findings in “Une survie médiévale de la polémique antijuive de saint Augustin,” *Revue du Moyen Âge latin* 5 (1949): 193–96.

<sup>116</sup> *Anonymi Contra philosophos*, ed. D. Aschoff, CCL 58A (Turnhout, 1975); and *Anonymus: Contra Iudaeos*, ed. D. Aschoff, CCL 58B (Turnhout, 2009).

<sup>117</sup> Eligius Dekkers, OSB, “Quelques notes sur des florilèges augustiniens anciens et médiévaux,” in *Collectanea Augustiniana: Mélanges T. J. van Bavel*, ed. B. Brunning, M. Lamberigts, and J. van Houtem (Leuven, 1990), 27–44, at 30–31.

<sup>118</sup> In his introduction to his edition of the CP, Diethard Aschoff has noted that Heinz Schreckenberg favors the earlier dating, while Bernhard Blumenkranz and Jean-Paul Bouhot have proposed the later dating. See *Anonymi Contra philosophos*, ed. Aschoff, xi.

<sup>119</sup> See Arnaldo Momigliano, “Declines and Falls,” *The American Scholar* 49 (1980): 37–50, at 46.

<sup>120</sup> *Anonymi Contra philosophos*, ed. Aschoff, xxxi.

<sup>121</sup> Marcia L. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, Volume 2: Stoicism in Christian Latin Thought through the Sixth Century* (Leiden, 1990), 290–91.

the content and design of this work could help manuscript researchers to identify more copies or fragments of CP in the future.<sup>122</sup>

The pattern of this common variant suggests a scenario of transmission between early Franciscan masters and students beginning with Alexander's use of CP passed to Bonaventure, and subsequently to Matthew of Aquasparta.<sup>123</sup> The latter's reception could be facilitated by personal contact with Bonaventure as a master, or from Matthew's own especially attentive readings of the *Summa Halensis*. The identification of the source for this common variant among early Franciscans offers a view into an important mediated Augustinian reception. The shared variant between these three Franciscans supports identifying *Contra philosophos* as a likely point of transmission of DCD 11.10 for Bonaventure.

Bonaventure's possible familiarity with *Contra philosophos* from within Franciscan circles may also correspond to his knowledge and esteem for the short mystical treatise DCD 11.2. Only twenty-two lines further down from the citation of DCD 11.10 Augustine makes a lengthy response to Plato based on twenty-five lines from DCD 11.2.<sup>124</sup> The long fragment is composed of two block quotations, the first one runs from *magnum et admodum rarum to non fecit nisi ipse* (DCD 11.2, lines 1–5); and the second one picks up at *sed quia ipsa mens* and concludes with *hic est enim mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christius Iesus* (DCD 11.2, lines 21–30). At this juncture of the fifth *disputatio* the author of CP has taken Augustine's description of Origen's position referred to as "those believe with us" from DCD 11.23 (lines 2–4), and put it into Plato's mouth who adopts the phrase as "we believe with you."<sup>125</sup> Augustine then responds to Plato (and

<sup>122</sup> Dekkers, "Quelques notes sur des florilèges augustiniens" (n. 117 above), 38–40.

<sup>123</sup> A similar pattern of unique variants between Alexander of Hales and Bonaventure can be found regarding DCD 11.23 and the Augustinian anthology of Eugippius. Compare DCD 11.23 (48.342): "quoniam sicut pictura cum colore nigro loco suo posito, ita uniuersitas rerum, si quis possit intueri, etiam cum peccatoribus pulchra est, quamuis per se ipsos consideratos sua deformitas turpet"; Eugippius, *Excerpta ex operibus s. Augustini* 16.31, ed. Pius Knoell, CSEL 9 (Vienna, 1885), 155; Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in quattuor libros Sententiarum: glossa in librum primum* (1951, 12.465) I, D46 (*de eadem respectu boni et mali*), N12, Pb, line 20; *Summa Halensis* I, P1, In1, Tr3, Q3, M3, C5, Art2 (n. 121), p. 190; SH I, P1, In1, Tr6, Q3, t2, M2, C2, Art3 (n. 279), p. 386; SH II, P1, In1, Tr2, Q3, C6, Art1 (n. 82), p. 104; SH II, P1, In4, Tr2, Q2, C3 (n. 433), p. 523; and Bonaventure, *I Sent.* d. 46, a. *unicus*, q. 5 (1:830).

<sup>124</sup> The common variation of DCD 11.10 appears at CP 5.509 (58A.302), while the lengthy citation of DCD 11.2 extends for twenty-one lines (5.531–52) on the following page.

<sup>125</sup> Diethard Aschoff, "Studien zu zwei anonymen Kompilationen der Spätantike: Anonymi contra philosophos et contra judaeos," *Sacris Erudiri* 27 (1984): 37–127, at 67. See DCD 11.23, lines 2–4 (48.341): "qui unum nobiscum credunt omnium rerum esse principium, ullam que naturam, quae non est quod deus est, nisi ab illo conditore esse non posse." and CP 5, 527–30: "Plato: Nobiscum agis, qui etiam unum vobiscum credimus omnium rerum esse principium, nullam que naturam, quae non est quod deus est, nisi ab illo conditore esse non posse."



Origen) by pronouncing the long excerpt from DCD 11.2: *Magnum est et admodum rarum*.<sup>126</sup> Augustine's *incipit* to 11.23 (*sed multo est mirandum amplius*) expresses his wonder that so learned a thinker as Origen could have erred concerning the goodness of creation. The author of CP has applied this same amazement to the failure of Plato to grasp this truth. The passage of DCD 11.2 describing a "great and rather unusual" mystical experience proposes an alternative path for contemplation which leads to truth about God. *Contra philosophos* develops a marked contrast between the heights of mystical contemplation and mere philosophical searching. This interpretation of DCD 11.2 corresponds closely to the objectives of the *Itinerarium* and the tension among early Franciscans between the role of formal study and fidelity to their charism according to Saint Francis.

The Franciscan Matthew of Aquasparta also includes a long passage of DCD 11.2 in his *Quaestiones disputatae de fide* which matches exactly the second part of the fragment in CP 5.<sup>127</sup> He identifies it as coming from DCD 11, though he mistakenly cites it as the third chapter not the second. Despite the potential limits to their contact with the complete text of DCD, additional evidence from Alexander of Hales implies that his reading of DCD 11.2 extended beyond CP. In the *Summa Halensis* (hereafter SH), Alexander of Hales cites in full a passage of DCD 11.2 which picks up where the anonymous compiler ends (lines 30–32).<sup>128</sup> Even if new research confirms that this portion of the text belongs to the posthumous publications appended by Alexander's continuers, the presence of DCD 11.2 in the SH and beyond CP affirms that early Franciscans employed this chapter of Augustine for their own work. The overlap between CP and Bonaventure's use of DCD 11.10 in early works like *Quaestiones disputatae de mysterio Trinitatis* and *De scientia Christi* also suggests contact with CP *disputatio* 5 as a useful anthology and interpretive lens.

<sup>126</sup> Diethard Aschoff's highly detailed study of *Contra philosophos* recognizes the substantial presence of DCD 11, especially chapters 21–28 in *Disputatio* 5.555–703. However, the lengthy citation of DCD 11.2 in CP 5.531–52 immediately before is not noted separately in his chart. See Aschoff, "Studien zu zwei anonymen Kompilationen," 45–46.

<sup>127</sup> Matthew of Aquasparta, *Quaestiones disputatae de fide*, q.2, *Responsio*, p. 65.

<sup>128</sup> SH 3: P1, In1, Tr5, Q1, M6, C1, A2, P3, (n. 159), p. 220: "Tertio quaeritur quo modo mediator sit. Augustinus, XI De civitate Dei: 'Hic est mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus: per hoc mediator, per quod homo, per quod et via. Quia si inter eum qui tendit, et illum quo tendit, via media est, est spes perveniendi.'"

Bonaventure		<i>De civitate Dei</i>	<i>Contra philosophos</i>
<i>Quaestiones disputatae de mysterio Trinitatis</i>	q. 4, a. 1, argumenta, sect. 5 (5:79)	Bonaventure names “DCD 11” but actually the text is in DCD 12.19 (48.375): “Omnis infinitas quodam ineffabili modo Deo finita est.”	
	q. 5.2, conclusio (5:95)	DCD 11.28 (48.348): “Unde Augustinus, undecimo de Civitate Dei, capitulo vigesimo octavo: ‘Deus, ad cuius imaginem sumus creati, est vera aeternitas, aeterna veritas, aeterna et vera caritas; est que ipse aeterna et vera et cara Trinitas’.”	CP disp. 5, lines 688–691 (58A: 308).
Bonaventure, <i>De scientia Christi</i>	q. 1 (5:3)	DCD 11.10 (48.332): “neque enim multae, sed una sapientia est, in qua sunt infiniti quidam eique finiti thesauri rerum intellegibilium, in quibus sunt omnes invisibiles atque incommutabiles rationes rerum etiam visibilium et mutabilium, quae per ipsam factae sunt.”	CP disp. 5, line 509–513 (58A:302). This is especially noteworthy since the lengthy citation of DCD 11.2 begins shortly after, at CP disp. 5, line 531 (58A:303).
	q. 2 (5:8)	DCD 11.10 (48.332): “sed una sapientia est.”	CP disp. 5, lines 509–510 (58A:302).
	q. 3 (5:16)	DCD 11.10 (48.332): “iste mundus nobis notus esse non posset, nisi esset; deo autem nisi notus esset, esse non posset.”	CP disp. 5, line 528–530 (58A:302). The phrase is reworked in an adapted form.

Alexander of Hales could have brought DCD 11.2 to Bonaventure’s attention since he employs it concerning the question on the manner by which Christ is Mediator.<sup>129</sup> After stating the question, the third book of the SH names Augustine’s DCD 11 as its source and then begins a lengthy citation starting from the key passage common to CP and to the examples given above: “hic est enim mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christius Iesus.”<sup>130</sup> The quotation continues for the remainder of DCD 11.2 demonstrating that Christ as truly God and truly Man is the only sure way by which hope is found and which is safe against all errors.<sup>131</sup> Alexander then adds his own commentary that Christ is mediator by means of his humanity united to the divinity, the divine person and the human nature. *Disputatio* 5 of CP is largely dedicated to the question of Christ as mediator. Analyzing this text and how it makes use of Augustine could reveal more common variants found in the writings of Alexander of Hales and inform our understanding of his Augustinian reception. This future work would also develop scholarly understanding of CP, a text which still “has not yet been properly appreciated.”<sup>132</sup>

Contextualizing Bonaventure’s use of DCD allows us to gain new insights into how the mystical treatise DCD 11.2 functioned among early Franciscans. Alexander of Hales uses DCD 11.2 as he treats the humanity of Christ at the center of his mission as mediator between mankind and God. In Francis’s vision of Christ on the cross surrounded by the six wings of the seraph, the humanity of Christ also provides the structural center. The overall design of Bonaventure’s *De scientia Christi* forms a 3-1-3 structure in which the humanity of Christ forms the center of the seven-part work.<sup>133</sup> Chapter four features the question on human knowledge through the lens of the incarnate Christ at the center. Just as the humanity of Christ as mediator gives structure to Bonaventure’s *De scientia Christi*, and it appears to do so in the *Itinerarium* as well through Francis’s conformity to the Crucified flanked by three chapters on each side — like the six wings of the seraph. Thus, while the Incarnation stands at the center of all Christian theology, and it marks the Franciscan charism and theological tradition as a particular focus.

CURRENT THINKING ON THE FRANCISCAN INTELLECTUAL TRADITION

Examining the language and themes of DCD 11.2 in the *Itinerarium* provides an excellent opportunity to articulate the conceptual, theological, and historical

<sup>129</sup> SH 3: P1, In *unica*, Tr5, Q1, M6, C1, A2, P3 *Quo modo Christus mediator est. Tertio quaeritur quo modo mediator sit* (n. 159), p. 220.

<sup>130</sup> DCD 11.2, lines 29–30 (48.322).

<sup>131</sup> DCD 11.2, lines 30–36 (48.322).

<sup>132</sup> See Momigliano, “Declines and Falls” (n. 119 above), 46.

<sup>133</sup> Joshua Benson, “Structure and Meaning in St. Bonaventure’s *Quaestiones Disputatae De Scientia Christi*,” *Franciscan Studies* 62 (2004): 67–90, at 68–71 and 88.

conditions of Bonaventure's reception of Augustine and to modify a thesis put forward by Lydia Schumacher. Her research posits that Augustine served as a helpful and necessary foil for the first generations of Franciscan scholars, but not as a true influence or guide.<sup>134</sup> Bonaventure and others were justified in merely paying lip-service to Augustine because their innovative theology met with unsurmountable resistance within the hardened method and unbending demands of Parisian scholastics.<sup>135</sup> This thesis offers a new lens for Franciscan studies by asserting that Bonaventure's use of Augustine does not constitute reception and development as has been previously believed by scholars until now.<sup>136</sup> Schumacher's studies of Augustine's thought in the *Itinerarium* contributed to forming this interpretation.<sup>137</sup> Though Bonaventure consistently makes use of Augustinian phraseology, the new approach calls for an adjusted hermeneutic which identifies Franciscan positions at odds with Augustine to prove that his name and his texts are employed only to gain academic legitimacy.<sup>138</sup> The thesis has also been applied to the wider field of early Franciscan theology and integrated into several new publications focused on Alexander of Hales in particular.<sup>139</sup>

My present research on DCD 11.2 in the making of the *Itinerarium* offers a new opportunity to consider this thesis in view of a previously unrecognized point of Augustinian reception in Bonaventure. The *Itinerarium* is especially apropos for considering Schumacher's interpretation since scholars all concur that it is Bonaventure's most original work, beyond any fixed medieval category or genre.<sup>140</sup> It

<sup>134</sup> Lydia Schumacher, *Divine Illumination: The History and Future of Augustine's Theory of Knowledge* (Oxford, 2011); and eadem, "Bonaventure," "The Franciscan Order," and "Illumination, Divine," in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine* (n. 73 above), 2:696–701; 2:1004–1010; and 2:1176–1182, respectively.

<sup>135</sup> Lydia Schumacher, *Early Franciscan Theology: Between Authority and Innovation* (Cambridge, 2019), 25.

<sup>136</sup> Schumacher, "Bonaventure," 696–701; and eadem, "New Directions in Franciscan Studies," *Theology* 120 (2017): 253–61, at 259.

<sup>137</sup> Schumacher, *Divine Illumination*, 110–53, esp. 116 and 135–53; and eadem, "Bonaventure's Journey of the Mind into God: A Traditional Augustinian Ascent?," *Medievorum* 37 (2012): 201–29.

<sup>138</sup> Schumacher, *Divine Illumination*, 152; and eadem, "Bonaventure's Journey," 226.

<sup>139</sup> Schumacher, *Early Franciscan Theology*; and eadem, "The *Summa Halensis* and Augustine," in *The Summa Halensis: Sources and Context*, ed. Lydia Schumacher, Veröffentlichungen des Grabmann-Institutes zur Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Theologie und Philosophie 65 (Berlin, 2020), 33–53. Schumacher has also edited an accompanying volume of essays: *The Summa Halensis: Doctrines and Debates* (Berlin, 2020). These collections join Michael Basse's 2018 publication: *Summa theologica Halensis: De legibus et praeceptis: Lateinischer Text mit Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Berlin, 2018). Schumacher has also collaborated with Oleg Bychkov on a forthcoming publication "Early Franciscan Theology: A Reader."

<sup>140</sup> Scholars have alternately described the *Itinerarium* as a "metaphysical reflection" on the transcendentals: Christopher Cullen, *Bonaventure* (Oxford, 2006), 88; a "dense summa of medieval Christian spirituality": Cousins, *Bonaventure* (n. 37 above), 12; "an essential

does not constitute a commentary or postil on any pre-existing work, and it was composed outside the scholastic university setting. According to the current thesis we would expect to find one of two things: (1) either that Bonaventure would not employ Augustine in the *Itinerarium* at all since he now writes to his friars and lay readers beyond the academy; or (2) that if he did still choose to use Augustine for secondary ulterior motives, he would be very explicit about invoking this authority in order to benefit from it while promoting his own alternative ideas. To the contrary, however, the texts of the *Itinerarium*, *De scientia Christi*, and *Omnium artifex* demonstrate how Bonaventure integrated thematic and linguistic allusions from Augustine DCD 11 in an organic way by interweaving them into his own creative undertaking. The research presented in this article shows that Augustine does not serve simply as an authority employed defensively, but instead as a true *magister* for Bonaventure, one who has shaped his own most creative thought and Franciscan intellectual training from the inside out.

#### *Wider Implications of This Study*

The argument for an alternative reading of a “Franciscan Augustine” in the thought of Bonaventure relies on two things: a view of the scholastic method as a series of fixed allegiances which demand unwavering textual reiteration,<sup>141</sup> and the mistaken tendency of modern scholars to expect medieval citations of authorities to function according to their own critical contemporary standards.<sup>142</sup> I find compelling objections to each of these points which may in turn open the way for a modification of Schumacher’s thesis.

Mary Carruthers has shown that the way in which “literature” is understood impacts directly how texts function in society and what kind of corresponding scholarship will develop.<sup>143</sup> When a tradition “understands words not as signs or clues but takes them as things in themselves,” then master and student alike are expected only to “rephrase the meaning of the written document,” to clear away the “detritus of history and linguistic change,” and to correct “inadvertent

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complement to the systematic theology of the *Sentences* and the *Breviloquium*”: Gregory E. LaNave, *Through Holiness to Wisdom: The Nature of Theology According to St. Bonaventure* (Rome, 2005), 86; and a “spiritual guide, leading the mind of the reader to contemplate God and the highest things”: Timothy B. Noone, “St. Bonaventure: *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*,” in *Debates in Medieval Philosophy: Essential Readings and Contemporary Responses*, ed. Jeffrey Hause (New York, 2014), 204–13, at 205.

<sup>141</sup> Schumacher, “*Summa Halensis*,” 35–36 and 40. The masters and students of the medieval universities were expected to demonstrate “exact allegiance to [Augustine’s] opinions,” producing “a straightforward re-iteration of any Augustinian theory,” and to “operate in an entirely servile manner with reference to past authorities.”

<sup>142</sup> Schumacher, “*Summa Halensis*,” 35.

<sup>143</sup> Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), 11–12.

obscurities produced by history.”<sup>144</sup> Carruthers’s description aligns closely with how Schumacher portrays the medieval scholastic method which Franciscan innovators were forced to confront.<sup>145</sup> However, such a hardened position towards text should also typically “deny legitimacy to interpretation,” and “ideally should produce no gloss or commentary.”<sup>146</sup>

Alternatively, Carruthers explains that “textual communities” develop differently when they assume that words (*verba*) serve and convey realities (*res*) which have ontological primacy.<sup>147</sup> A social and rhetorical process develops around the language of stories, the dynamic role of memory, and a tradition of training in the “conventions of debate, and meditation, as well as oratory and poetry, are rhetorically conceived and fostered.”<sup>148</sup> Medieval training of the *memoria* found so prominently in the work of Hugh of St. Victor is oriented to the internal sphere where the words of others — as vehicles of ideas — interact with one’s own words as an “interactive process.”<sup>149</sup> Appropriation of texts through trained memory constituted a standard and widespread scholastic method, one which fostered a capacity to relate seemingly disparate texts more easily.<sup>150</sup> Analogy and resemblance play a central role for Bonaventure’s own creative thought.<sup>151</sup> The outlook of literature as signs, furthermore, is conducive not only to rhetoric itself, as Carruthers has concluded, but also to a flourishing of sacramental theology, consecrated life, and the visual arts in Christian circles. Schumacher’s depiction of scholastic thinkers as promulgating and enforcing strict forms of textual adherence through repetition corresponds to a different tradition which understands words “as things in themselves.” When this view has predominated in Christian thought it is usually accompanied by iconoclastic tendencies and the rejection of consecrated life. The scholastic method used by intellectuals working in Paris in the thirteenth century, by contrast, combined common source

<sup>144</sup> Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 11.

<sup>145</sup> Schumacher, “*Summa Halensis*” (n. 139 above) 35–36. Direct Franciscan novelty met with total resistance in a system which prepared scholars to be “perpetrators of a monolithic past tradition.”

<sup>146</sup> Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 11–12.

<sup>147</sup> Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 189–91.

<sup>148</sup> Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 11–12.

<sup>149</sup> Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 13 and 20.

<sup>150</sup> The early fourteenth-century Franciscan scholar William of Ockham composed his *Dialogus* in exile under a papal interdiction banning him from receiving requested books. Nevertheless, he produced from memory a written debate comprising 551 folio pages citing a wide range of authorities, though frequently bemoaning the lack of books so as to “perfect” (not “correct”) his work. While belonging to a bookish intellectual context, his training of the literature of theology and philosophy assumed above all a “memorial” approach. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 156–58 and 160.

<sup>151</sup> Philip L. Reynolds, “Bonaventure’s Theory of Resemblance,” *Traditio* 58 (2003): 219–55.

texts integrated by memory, layers of past interpretation, and carefully crafted contemporary debate. The new movements of mendicant friars, Franciscans and Dominicans alike, also engaged actively in this method of collaborative teaching and learning.

Finally, the new thesis also rests on the view that modern scholars have long underestimated early Franciscan originality by assuming that scholastic thinkers cited authorities the way that they do, that is, in a straightforward manner. Instead, Schumacher proposes, early Franciscan creativity reveals itself by using Augustine's words while neglecting his actual ideas so as to circumvent the scholastic system. While I do not accept this portion of the argument, I agree with Schumacher that modern misconceptions about the scholastic method can hinder accurate understanding of medieval theology. In this way her work may be especially productive in the call for a new evaluation of the scholasticism by contemporary medievalists, even among scholars who do not share all of her current conclusions. Ultimately, Bonaventuran reception of Augustine poses particular demands for any modern scholar for the simple reason that as Philip L. Reynolds has noted so well, "he is incorrigibly medieval. It is difficult to regard him, as many regard Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, as a ghostly colleague in a modern department of philosophy."<sup>152</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

Only a few years after the end of his extensive scholarly career in Paris, Bonaventure goes to Mount LaVerna in 1259 to ponder "various ascents of the mind to God." He comes to this moment with a rich interior library, heavily stocked with Augustine and prominently bookmarked on Book 11 of DCD. Bonaventure had already proven his explicit familiarity and esteem for DCD 11 in the inaugural sermon *Omnium artifex* (1254), *De scientia Christi* (1254), and "Letter to an Unknown Master" (1254/55). Now in conceiving of the *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* Bonaventure recasts all the key topics present in DCD 11: angels (the six-winged seraph), mystical ascents (Francis's stigmata), and Jesus Christ the mediator (to whom Francis conformed his humanity). This study has shown how the *Itinerarium* adopts language and structure common to DCD 11.2, sharing Augustine's specific uses of *mens*, *via*, and *iter*. Bonaventure expands on Augustine's treatment of Paul by adding Francis as his peer, showcasing them together as preeminent Christian mystics who used the progressive grades of knowledge to reach the heights of contemplation where God alone speaks to the soul.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Reynolds, "Bonaventure's Theory," 254.

<sup>153</sup> IMD *Prologus* 3 (180): "Via autem non est nisi per ardentissimum amorem Crucifixi, qui adeo Paulum ad 'tertium caelum raptum' transformavit in Christum...qui etiam adeo

The entire *Itinerarium* reflects Bonaventure's conviction that the intellectual and spiritual life must be seen holistically as one. If each human being is an *imago Dei*, then rejection of contemplation by the *mens* is rejection of human nature and of the means by which the God-man comes to souls. Bonaventure stands against any attempt to reduce the path to knowledge of the goodness of God through Christ the mediator, to a purely natural philosophical ascent to the simplicity of God. The same argument in CP 5 employs DCD 11.23 and DCD 11.2 to defend the Christian position — a text which his late teacher, Alexander of Hales, most likely pointed out with him. All of these historical factors taken together contribute to a portrait of Bonaventure reading DCD 11.2 as an apt refutation of merely secular philosophy and an eloquent tribute to contemplative mysticism through Christ the mediator.

Finally, the view of Bonaventure sincerely pondering *with* Augustine does not detract from his brilliance or underestimate the innovative contribution of the *Itinerarium*, but it may elucidate important dimensions of the approach to study found among early Franciscan theologians. Indeed Bonaventure reveals scholarly pursuits as an authentic imitation of Francis who “is set forth as an example of perfect contemplation, just as he previously had been of action, like a second Jacob-Israel.”<sup>154</sup> The impact of recognizing CP and DCD 11 as Augustinian sources for Franciscan theology, spirituality, and angelology awaits further research. But we may here begin that path by adding DCD 11.2 to the influences which accompanied Bonaventure as he charted the *Itinerarium* from the six-winged seraph and Francis's stigmata to the mind's journey to God through the incarnate Word, true God and true man.

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**Keywords:** Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei*, early Franciscan scholarship, *Anonymi contra philosophos*, Franciscan reception of Augustine

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mentem Francisci absorbit, quod mense in carne patuit, dum sacratissima passionis stigmata in corpore suo ante mortem per biennium deportavit.”

<sup>154</sup> IMD 7.3 (212): “Positus est in exemplum perfectae contemplationis, sicut prius fuerat actionis, tanquam alter Iacob et Israel.”



## APPENDIX I

*DE CIVITATE DEI* 11.2: COMPLETE LATIN TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

*Sancti Aurelii Augustini, De Civitate Dei, Libri XI–XXII*, ed. Bernard Dombart and Alphonse Kalb, CCL 48 (Turnhout, 1989), 322, lines 1–36.

[1] magnum est et admodum rarum universam creaturam corpoream et incorpoream consideratam compertamque mutabilem intentione mentis excedere atque ad incommutabilem Dei substantiam pervenire et illic discere ex ipso, quod cunctam [5] naturam, quae non est quod ipse, non fecit nisi ipse. sic enim deus cum homine non per aliquam creaturam loquitur corporalem, corporalibus instrepens auribus, ut inter sonantem et audientem aëria spatia verberentur, neque per eius modi spiritalem, quae corporum similitudinibus figuratur, [10] sicut in somnis vel quo alio tali modo (nam et sic velut corporis auribus loquitur, quia velut per corpus loquitur et velut interposito corporalium locorum intervallo; multum enim similia sunt talia visa corporibus); sed loquitur ipsa veritate si quis sit idoneus ad audiendum mente, non corpore.

ad illud [15] enim hominis ita loquitur, quod in homine ceteris, quibus homo constat, est melius, et quo ipse Deus solus est melior. Cum enim homo rectissime intellegatur vel, si hoc non potest, saltem credatur factus ad imaginem Dei: profecto ea sui parte est propinquior superiori Deo, qua superat inferiores suas, [20] quas etiam cum pecoribus communes habet. sed quia ipsa mens, cui ratio et intelligentia naturaliter inest, vitiis quibusdam tenebrosis et veteribus invalida est, non solum ad inhaerendum fruendo, verum etiam ad perferendum incommutabile lumen, donec de die in diem renovata atque sanata fiat [25] tantae felicitatis capax, fide primum fuerat inbuenda atque purganda.

in qua ut fidentius ambularet ad veritatem, ipsa veritas, Deus Dei filius, homine adsumpto, non Deo consumpto, eandem constituit et fundavit fidem, ut ad hominis Deum iter esset homini per hominem Deum. hic est enim mediator [30] Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus. per hoc enim mediator, per quod homo, per hoc et uia. quoniam si inter eum qui tendit et illud quo tendit via media est, spes est perveniendi; si autem desit aut ignoretur qua eundum sit, quid prodest nosse quo eundum sit? sola est autem adversus omnes errores [35] via munitissima, ut idem ipse sit Deus et homo; quo itur Deus, qua itur homo.

*The City of God (De Civitate Dei) XI–XXII*, trans. William Babcock, in *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century*, ed. Boniface Ramsey (Hyde Park, NY, 2013), I/7:2–3.

It is a great and exceedingly rare thing for a person, after he has considered the whole corporeal and incorporeal creation and found it mutable, to go beyond it by sheer concentration of mind and arrive at the immutable substance of God, there to learn from God himself that all nature that is not what God himself is was, in fact,

made by none other than God. For in this case God does not speak with a person through any corporeal means, making sounds for bodily ears in such a way that there is a vibration in the airy spaces between the speaker and the hearer, nor does he [p. 3] speak through some spiritual means which is represented by bodily images, as happens in dreams or anything else of the sort (for even in this instance he speaks as though for the ears of the body, due to the fact that he speaks through a body and as though across an intervening interval of bodily space, for such visions are very like bodies). Rather he speaks by means of the truth itself, if anyone is capable of hearing him with the mind instead of the body.

For here he speaks to that part of man which is better than everything else of which a man consists and than which only God himself is better. For, since man is most rightly understood — or, if this is not possible, at least more rightly believed — to be made in the image of God (Gen. 1:26), he undoubtedly stands nearer to God, above him, by virtue of that part of him by which he himself surpasses those lower parts which he has in common with the beasts. But because the mind itself, by nature the seat of reason and intelligence, is enfeebled by the dark and inveterate faults and is unable not only to cling to and enjoy but even to endure God's immutable light, until it has been renewed from day to day, and healed, and made capable of such happiness, it had first to be trained and cleansed by faith.

And in order that, by faith, the mind might walk more confidently towards the truth, the truth itself, God, the Son of God, having assumed humanity without ceasing to be God, established and founded this same faith, so that man might have a path to man's God through the man who was God. For this is the mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus (1 Tim. 2:5). For it is as man that he is mediator, and it is as man, too, that is the way (John 14:6). If there is a way between one who strives and that toward which he strives, there is hope of reaching the goal [arriving], but if there is no way, or if that way is not known, what use is it to know the goal? And there is only one way that is fully proof against all errors, in that he is himself both God and man: the goal is God, the way as man.

## APPENDIX II

### SUMMARY OF THE STRUCTURE OF *DE CIVITATE DEI*, 11.2.

- 1) Stages in the Mystical Experience of a Few
  - a) after having considered all corporeal and incorporeal creatures “in his speculation” (*intentione mentis*), and finding them mutable
    - i) he “arrives” (*pervenire*) at the immutable substance of God (*ad incommutabilem dei substantiam*)
  - (1) once “there” (*illic*) he learns from God himself that whatever nature which is not God himself, was not made except by Him (*quod cunctam naturam, quae non est quod ipse, non fecit nisi ipse*).

- (2) concerning the nature of this way of God speaking with a man
  - (a) distinguished from natural hearing or hearing with images or figures as in dreams or visions which are likened to natural senses.
  - (b) instead “he speaks direct by the direct impact of truth itself” (*loquitur ipsa veritate*).
  - (c) under the condition that the listener is “capable” or “fit” (*si quis sit idoneus*) to listen “by the mind not by the body” (*ad audiendum mente, non corpore*).
  
- 2) Description of the “mind” (*mens*) in relation to the image of God, the realities of fallen state of humanity, and the Training needed to prepare for an ascent to God
  - a) *mens*, the best part of man as made in the image of God
    - i) God speaks to the best (*melius*) of all that constitutes man, having only God himself as being higher (*quo ipse deus solus est melior*)
    - ii) for man is “made in the image of God” (*factus ad imaginem dei*) which can be “rightly understood” (*rectissime intellegatur*), or if one cannot understand, at least it can be believed (*saltem credatur*).
  - b) *mens*, the best part of man in relation to lower parts of his nature
    - i) the part that is closer to God (*propinquior superiori deo*)
    - ii) the part that “rises superior” (*superat*) to the lower parts (*inferiores suas*) which are common with “brute creation” (*cum pecoribus*).
    - iii) it is called the “mind” (*mens*)
  
- (1) the “mind” (*mens*) as *positive natural faculty*: the mind in which is found “the natural seat of reason and understanding” (*cui ratio et intellegentia naturaliter inest*)
- (2) the “mind” (*mens*) as *negative limited wounded condition*: “weakened by long-standing faults which darken it” (*vitiis quibusdam tenebrosis et veteribus invalida est*)
  - (a) the state of being unable to “to cleave to that changeless light and to enjoy it; it is too weak even to endure that light” (*non solum ad inhaerendum fruendo, verum etiam ad perferendum incommutabile lumen*)
  - (b) the healing solution needed:
    - (i) “to be renewed and healed day after day” (*donec de die in diem renovata atque sanata*)

- (ii) “so as to become capable of such felicity” (*fiat tantae felicitatis capax*)
  - (iii) “first being trained and purified by faith (*fide primum fuerat inbuenda atque purganda*)
- 3) The Journey and the Way: The Humanity of Christ as the Road for the Mind to God
- a) man is walking towards truth (*ambulet ad veritatem*)
    - i) to do so with “greater confidence” (*fidētius*)
      - (1) Truth himself (*ipsa veritas*)
        - (a) God the Son of God (*deus dei filius*)
        - (b) “took manhood” (*homine adsumpto*)
        - (c) “without abandoning his godhead (*non deo consumpto*)
      - (2) “established and founded this faith” (*eandem constituit et fundavit fidem*)
    - ii) “so that man might have a path (*iter*) to man’s God (*ad hominis deum*) through the man who was God” (*per hominem deum*); this is the man Jesus Christ (quotes 1 Tim. 2:5)
  - b) “as man he is our mediator” (*per hoc enim mediator*); “as man he is our way” (*per quod homo, per hoc et via*).
  - c) the traveler
    - i) The hope to arrive at the end (*spes est perveniendi*) if there is a road and one possesses it (*qui tendit et illud quo tendit via media est*)
    - ii) The futility of knowing there is an end (*si autem desit aut ignoretur qua eundum sit*) if there is no knowledge of how to get there (*quid prodest nosse quo eundum sit*)
  - d) the one road (*sola est . . . via*)
    - i) most secure way (*munitissima*)
    - ii) against all errors (*adversus omnes errores*)
    - iii) one is who is himself god and man (*idem ipse sit deus et homo*)
      - (1) “as God, he is the journey’s [goal]” (*quo itur deus*)
      - (2) “as man, he is the journey’s [path]” (*qua itur homo*)