

This is to certify that the

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The Benjamin Minor, or the Preparation of the
Mind for Contemplation by Richard of St. Victor,
Translated with an Introduction and Appendices

presented by

Anne Claiborne Garrison

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Frank Williams
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Abstract of THE BENJAMIN MINOR, or the Preparation
of the Mind for Contemplation, by Richard of St. Victor

Translated, with an Introduction

by

Anne Chamberlain Garrison

a thesis for the degree of Ph. D.

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Approved
Frank Williams
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Anne Chamberlain Garrison

The BENJAMIN MINOR of Richard of St. Victor

The thesis is divided into two parts. The main body of the work consists in a translation of the 12th century Latin treatise entitled the Benjamin Minor. This extremely complex and ingenious example of allegorical Scriptural exegesis is here translated into English for the first time. Previous renditions into Middle English were mere synopses. The text used is that of Migne, edited to the extent of removing palpable typographical errors, which are listed under Textual Emendations.

The introduction and appendices make up half the dissertation. Brief introductory sections deal with the nature of the particular problem of translation, the Augustinian literary style exemplified, and the literary value of the work. As the text has never received thorough-going study in English, it seems necessary to examine it from several pertinent points of view, most especially those of literary history and of the development of the allegorical mode of thought. This is the only exhaustively and consistently developed work of its nature, and study of it sheds light on the nature of allegory both as a critical process and as a creative one.

Richard of St. Victor takes the Augustinian view that self knowledge, developed through moral training, leads finally to the practice of contemplation and the knowledge of God. He expounds the steps of this process as the allegorical significance of the Genesis narrative of Jacob, his wives and his sons. The influence of the Benjamin Minor is traced, beginning with Bonaventure, touching upon German and Flemish devotional works, and concentrating upon English mystical

writings, mainly of the 14th century. The chief English treatises are examined with reference to the allegorical content, which proves to be considerably less in evidence than the psychological approach inherited from Richard.

The following section deals with the history of allegorical exegesis before the 12th century. Beginning with Philo, a close examination is made of the treatment outstanding exegetes such as Origen, Ambrose, Augustine and Walafrid Strabo gave to the same Genesis narrative. It is evident that no one before Richard handled this material with a like fineness or thoroughness. Since no subsequent work attempts so ambitious a figurative interpretation, the Benjamin Minor is unique.

The allegorical structure is then unravelled out into the component strands of literal and figurative meanings and of Richard's comments upon his method of disclosing valid non-literal content. A diagram accompanies this section to show the way he develops his speculative theological system out of the narrative material.

There follows a discussion of the reason for the composition of the Benjamin Minor, and its place in the instruction given at the Victorine school, which became a component part of the University of Paris. Hugh of St. Victor's great teaching treatise, the Didascalicon, is discussed both as exemplifying the school's aims and methods and as specifically calling for a supplementary treatise on the moral preparation for contemplation. Such a treatise is the Benjamin Minor, written by Hugh's pupil and successor, Richard. The conclusion seeks

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to demonstrate that the unique qualities of this work are due to its being part of a definite educational program which put allegory at the service of propaedeutics.

Richard of St. Victor, Benjamin Minor, in Migne, J. P., Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina (Paris, 1844-55), CXCIV, 1-64.

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or, The Preparation of the Mind for Contemplation
by Richard of St. Victor

translated, with an introduction
by

Anne Chamberlain Garrison

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INTRODUCTION

I. Preliminary Observations

1. Purpose of the study.

The purpose of this work can be simply stated. It is to make available for the first time in English the whole of a mediaeval theological allegory in Latin, whose influence has been widely felt in European literature, especially in our own language. In addition to this importance, the treatise is of considerable interest in itself, for there is not another Scriptural allegory of the Middle Ages so extensive in scope, so carefully developed and so consistently maintained as the Benjamin Minor.

Its author, Richard of St. Victor, a Scot, died in 1173 as prior of the immensely influential Abbey of St. Victor in Paris. As a member of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, he was pledged to a life of active good works and contemplation. As the director of the great school of the Abbey, and successor to the philosopher Hugh of St. Victor, he was interested in teaching methods. As a follower of Augustine, he believed that self knowledge was the surest means to knowledge of God. The Benjamin Minor, his small masterpiece, exemplifies Richard's position as theologian, teacher and allegorist. Starting with the Genesis account of Jacob and his wives and sons, he sets forth a systematic exposition of the soul's moral preparation for contemplation, a state which he then describes in terms of the New Testament story of the transfiguration. On so simple a framework of narrative, he constructs

1. Introduction

The first part of the paper discusses the

importance of the research in this field.

The second part of the paper discusses the

methodology used in the study.

The third part of the paper discusses the

results of the study.

The fourth part of the paper discusses the

conclusions of the study.

The fifth part of the paper discusses the

implications of the study.

The sixth part of the paper discusses the

limitations of the study.

The seventh part of the paper discusses the

future research in this field.

The eighth part of the paper discusses the

acknowledgements.

The ninth part of the paper discusses the

references.

The tenth part of the paper discusses the

appendices.

The eleventh part of the paper discusses the

concluding remarks.

a work that is as memorable and subtly contrived as it is ostensibly artless.

Curiously enough, no complete translation of Richard's most popular work has ever been made. A synopsis of it appeared in English in a devotional anthology printed in 1521,¹ but it is quite unworthy of the original. This neglected Latin treatise thus deserves our attention because of its intrinsic value and its great influence, but before turning to these I should like to comment on my selection and treatment of the text itself.

2. Methodology.

Migne's Patrologia Latina devotes one volume to the works of Richard of St. Victor. Being himself a publisher rather than an editor, Migne relied upon another edition for his text, apparently the one which appeared at Rouen in 1650, though he does not explicitly state this. He merely begins his volume with a life of Richard, noting that it was published in that edition of his works. As my primary purpose was not the establishment of a critical edition but rather the presentation of the treatise for the use of the literary historian, I did not collate this text with any other. Such a task remains very much to be desired, but lies outside the range of this project. As the printed text contains some fifty palpable typographical errors and a few obvious faults in reading manuscript contractions, I took the liberty of correcting these, in every case noting my emendations in a list appended to the translation. I believe these changes will appear proper to the textual

¹Published by Henry Pepwell, and reprinted in 1910 in The Cell of Self-Knowledge, edited by Edmund C. Gardner.

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There is always a burden of self-justification laid upon the translator. It is one thing to persuade the reader that this treatise merits his attention, but it is another thing to convince him that one's rendition of it does so. Hence a few words on my principles of translation. A word-by-word equivalence seldom reproduces the important factors of sentence rhythm and the emphasis that rhythm provides. Accordingly, I have looked upon the sentence or clause as the unit to be considered rather than the word itself, and have, within this larger framework, dealt fairly freely with its component words. To my way of thinking the most faithful translation is thus achieved, for faithfulness depends upon a large view of the expression of a complex thought.

As for choice of vocabulary: a work based upon Scripture must continue to bear the imprint of Scripture after being Englished. That is to say, the translation must in its choice of words and phrases call to mind a familiar version of the Bible. This becomes largely an unconscious matter to the translator if his familiarity with Scripture is of long standing. To illustrate: if asked out of context for the English of iustitia, he will give it as justice, but in translating a religious treatise he will automatically render the same word as righteousness, for only so will he evoke the response of Scriptural association in his reader.

It may be objected that a modern version of the Bible, being more faithful to the original Greek and Hebrew, would better govern a scholar's choice of Scriptural vocabulary. Yet a translation should aim at reproducing the whole complex of the response called forth by its original.

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The familiarity of the Vulgate to the 12th Century auditors of the Benjamin Minor is best reproduced by the English version most familiar to the educated modern reader. This is my justification for reliance upon the Authorized Version rather than upon a more recent one. There are places, however, where Richard's text departs so much from our own that I have had to turn to the Douay-Rheims Bible for a corresponding English passage, and I have occasionally had to make my own translation. Such departures from the Authorized Version are all noted. As the numbering of the Psalms is different in the two versions used, I have altered the numbers to correspond to the Authorized Version wherever necessary.

As the style of Richard's treatise is somewhat reminiscent of Augustine's, I have also familiarized myself thoroughly with the excellent translation of the Confessions made by William Watts in 1631, as substantially reproduced in the Loeb Library edition. The Watts version takes some liberties with its original that I have not ventured to do with mine, but the ease of its flow, the free discontinuity, the personal intensity, are as faithful to the style of Augustine as any translator could hope to be. To the extent that a similarity exists between the two Latin authors, a similarity may well exist between the two translations. Further justification for a degree of reliance upon the style of the Watts translation lies in a possible unity imparted to my rendition by the influence of this 17th century stylist writing just twenty years after publication of the Authorized Version in 1611. The frequent Scriptural quotations are accordingly set in a matrix suitable for them.

To keep such a tone is not to be archaistic. Theology, for the

literary reader, comes most appropriately in the vocabulary of a familiar Scriptural version and in the style of a great century of devotional writing. It would falsify the simple directness of Richard to make him speak with the tongue of Launcelot Andrewes or even of Jeremy Taylor, but an echo of 17th century style is in harmony both with Scripture as we are accustomed to read it and with a moral and theological work based upon it.

As for the matter of aids to translation, the inadequacy of Latin dictionaries is a perplexing one to the mediaevalist. The Oxford work in this field is long awaited; meanwhile there is a choice between the massive volumes of Du Cange, not always as useful for theology as for Carolingian law, and Souter's Glossary, which is far too brief. These have to be supplemented by a dictionary of Classical Latin. A useful glossary of mediaeval philosophical terms is found at the end of McKeon's Selections from Mediaeval Philosophers, but the usages are frequently over-precise for a non-philosophical theologian like Richard.

The following terms in the Benjamin Minor warrant attention. I have not burdened my text with alternate meanings or Latin parentheses, but I should state that certain words like doctrine carry more load than might be expected. If one of the terms in the English definitions below is used, the alternatives are likely to be present as overtones.

affectus: emotion, feeling, passion

affectio: affection, disposition, cast of character

commendatio: commendation, praise

dispositio: power, nature, order

doctrina: instruction, learning, principle

historice: literally, historically

mystice: allegorically, anagogically

ordinatus: set in order, ordered, ordained,

brought under control

proprietas: property, substance, special quality

sententia: meaning, pronouncement, opinion

spiritualis: allegorical, anagogical

3. The Literary Style of the Benjamin Minor

The Latin style of Richard of St. Victor, as I have mentioned, is reminiscent of that of Augustine. While usually simpler and more repetitious, as becomes a pedagogic work for oral delivery, the style rises at times into fervent rhythmical prose of considerable intensity. The warm personal note so noticeable in Augustine's Confessions is also present in the Benjamin Minor. The reader of the Latin is struck by certain stylistic features that mark a long tradition from Late Latin down to and including English metaphysical poetry. I illustrate some of these devices:

Echoism

Hoc itaque est illud iudicium quo quisque a propria conscientia convenitur, vincitur, condemnatur, et digna confusionis poena multatur. (So this is that judgment by which every man is visited through his own conscience, and convicted and condemned and punished with a punishment worthy of that offence.) (XLVIII).

Alliteration

Illius internae dulcedinis degustatione allecta. ([Enticed by] a sampling of interior sweetness.) (LXXXIII). Note

that the last word of the phrase also echoes the first.

Word-Play

De vitio orationis quam de vitio elationis. ([They probably feel more shame] over the fault of speech than over the fault of self-esteem.) (XLVI).

Involved and Ornamental Phraseology

Neque enim mysterii huius, tam profunda sublimitas, et tam sublimis profunditas debuit manifestari in valle. (Nor should so profound sublimity nor so sublime profundity of this mystery be made plain in the valley.) (LXXXIII).

In hac namque gemina ecclesia, cogitationum videlicet et desideriorum, in hac gemina unanimitate studiorum et voluntatum. (In this double church of thought and desire, in this double single-mindedness of studies and of wills.) (LXXXIV).

In the passage that follows, there is evident the intensified fervent style to which this treatise rises. Note that added height is achieved by a combination of the stylistic devices already enumerated: here are exemplified in one place echoisms, alliteration, word-play, and involved and ornamental phraseology:

Videsne quod nonnisi veritas in hunc montem deducit, et adducit? Ipsa ducit, ipsa est quae perducit. Libenter sequor veritatem, non habeo suspectum talem ducem. Novit veritas ducere, nescit veritas seducere. Sed quid est veritas? Quid tu dicis, doctor bone, doctor Christe, quid est veritas? (Do you not see that it is truth alone that conducts and brings

us to this hill? Itself it leads and itself is that which persuades us. I gladly follow truth; I do not distrust such a guide. Truth is skilled in leading; truth is unable to mislead. But what is truth? What sayest thou, good teacher, Christ our teacher: what is truth?) (LXXVII).

In the following passage is the best example of Richard's heightened style, a quietly forceful summation of allegory and theological system, achieved through balance of phrase and sentence. These are the closing lines of the treatise:

Toties ergo Joseph super collum Benjamin ruit, quoties meditatio in contemplationem desinit. Tunc Benjamin fratrem suum super se ruentem excipiat quando ex studio meditationis, animus in contemplationem surgit. Tunc Benjamin et Joseph oscula iugunt, quando divina revelatio et humana ratiocinatio in una veritatis attestazione consentiunt. Videsne quomodo divina scriptura circa unam eandemque rem significationis modum alternat, ubique tamen aliquid adiugit unde sensuum suum ex toto latere non sinat? In morte Rachel contemplatio supra rationem ascendit, in introitu Benjamin in Aegyptum, contemplatio usque ad imaginationem descendit, in deosculatone Benjamin et Joseph, divina revelatione humana ratio applaudit. (As often, then, as Joseph falls upon Benjamin's neck, so often does meditation end in contemplation. Benjamin receives his brother who runs to meet him when the mind rises to contemplation from the practice of meditation. Benjamin and Joseph kiss each other when divine revelation and the

power of human reason agree in a single attestation of the truth. Do you not see how Holy Scripture alternates the mode of signification of a single thing and how it adds something else, so that the sense is not permitted to be obscure in respect to the whole? In the death of Rachel contemplation rises above reason; in the entrance of Benjamin into Egypt contemplation goes down into the imagination; in the embrace of Benjamin and Joseph, human reason is pleasing to divine revelation.) (LXXXVII).

A striking characteristic of this work is its adaptation of the mode of expression to fit the level of the discourse. The literal story is presented in bare factual language; the allegorical meaning of the greatest part of the treatise unfolds in a way that is apparently artless and relaxed. But when the last levels of the ascent to contemplation are attained, Richard's style, as just illustrated, attains a rapturous tension that is altogether in keeping with Benjamin's "excess of mind".

4. Intrinsic Value.

Though the Benjamin Minor has an historical influence that I shall treat at some length, it should not be overlooked that the work possesses a literary merit in itself. I have already discussed its stylistic qualities, which entitle it to considerable respect. In addition, traditional Scriptural allegory is employed with a good deal of finesse, and the progress of the contemplative through the stages of moral discipline to the higher levels of religious experience is set forth with great clarity by means of this allegory. As will be seen in the detailed

discussion of the work's structure, the allegory falls into two distinct parts, one based upon Genesis and the other upon the Gospels, but the integration of the two is handled so skillfully that no break in style or thought is apparent.

Characterisation is not generally found to play a part in works of this nature. Yet Richard has repeatedly taken the trouble to make his types act in accordance with the qualities he states them to possess. If Bala the handmaiden is described as a gossip, she is shown running in and out with bits of news for her mistress, and talking even when she has nothing to say, "as a decrepit old woman will do," remarks the author, "even in the absence of an audience." Such behavior becomes this type figure representing the imaginative faculty. Zelpha, the other handmaiden, who typifies sensuality, is shown plying her lady with carnal pleasures in the form of tasty dishes, and thirsting insatiably for strong drink. Similarly the sons of Jacob do not statically represent moral virtues as if they were painted figures with iconological equipment: rather they act, in watching the coastline, waging war, or standing above the battle and surveying the conflict. The death of Rachel, the power of reason, is described in terms of actual physical suffering of a woman in difficult labor. Maintenance of this close reference to a world of human action is unusual in mediaeval Scriptural allegory.²

Another literary quality exemplified by Richard's work is economy of means. This is not immediately apparent. So artless is the style

² See Section III of this Introduction for comparative examples from other Mediaeval allegorists.

and so rambling the discussion of the moral virtues that the treatise seems formless until its close. The reader then realizes that a whole system of moral preparation for contemplation has been set forth step by step, pinned down in his memory for good and all by the use of familiar Scriptural material, and brought to a conclusion that is the starting place for the technically more difficult Benjamin Major, which treats at much greater length of the nature of contemplation, and significantly enough relies much less upon allegorical means. The exposition of the Benjamin Minor has taken relatively little space, the reader realizes. Nor has its compactness meant a sacrifice of a direct warmth in keeping with an oral type of delivery. The hearer is invited to participate in an action that is sufficiently detailed to carry conviction. The exposition is skillfully handled, and very little of it fails to contribute directly to the development of the author's theme.

II. Influence of the Benjamin Minor

There is no other work like the Benjamin Minor. Extended Scriptural allegory, dramatically employed for the purpose of moral training, does not appear again in literature, to the best of my knowledge. Many subsequent writers draw upon various aspects of Richard's work, but just as no author before him handles the entirety of his long Scriptural narrative exegetically and allegorically, so none after his time deals at such length with this type of material. The artistic development of literal and allegorical parallels in the Benjamin Minor is more closely allied to the structure of the Divine Comedy than to subsequent religious writing. Dante, like Richard, keeps up a

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development of the exposition on more than a single level, and does so consistently and at length, as we all know.

Strictly religious allegory subsequent to the Benjamin Minor, on the other hand, tends to become static, to fail in sustaining the movement of an engrossing literal narrative as well as a work of counsel or instruction. The first instance that comes to mind is Bonaventure's Itinerarium mentis ad Deum, written about a century after Richard's work. It affords a good parallel, being written with the same end in view: the moral preparation of the soul for contemplation. It even uses the same motif of the ascent of a mountain. In a vision of the six-winged seraph that appeared to St. Francis on Monte Alverno, Bonaventure sees a revelation of the six stages of the journey toward the beatific vision. These stages are the same as Richard's: beginning with interpretation of natural things, man rises through self-knowledge to contemplation of the divine. Understanding of the mystical meaning of each pair of wings equips the student to rise to a new level of his spiritual life. But there is no motion of the wings themselves, no upward course to the moral development; the Itinerarium is purely schematic. Richard, like Bunyan, dramatized moral training by couching it in terms of physical stress and striving. Bonaventure, on the other hand, calls upon the reader to meditate upon an aspect of religious experience, or upon the meaning of a given set of symbols. A typical example is one of many from The Mystical Vine:

Look, O Christian soul, upon the face of Christ your saviour. Raise your eyes full of tears, and lift up your head contrite and sobbing towards his torments. See what great distress came to him, as he went seeking to find you. Open, therefore, your eyes wide, that you may gaze upon the face of Christ your saviour; listen attentively with your

ears to the things he has to say in his distress; and when you have heard them, lay them up in the cell of your heart, for such treasure is priceless. Behold, too, the rough bed on which he was laid--I mean the bed of death, the cross.³

Richard, through use of literal narrative to carry his allegorical meanings, involves the reader in experience, as does any story-teller. Bonaventure, with no sustained allegorical structure, has recourse to another means of involving his audience. Heightened emotional tone serves his purpose. His discourse is affective rather than expository. Moreover, the parallel of the person of Christ with the growing Vine is as static as a woodcut. We can behold and feel; we cannot experience. How much greater is our involvement with a work in which, as readers, we fall into the Slough of Despond with Christian, or participate in moral battle with Richard's Gad and Asher, personifications of warlike virtue! In Bonaventure, as in later devotional writers under the Victorine influence,⁴ the reader will note a degeneration of the synthesis of allegory and theology. A rich inter-relationship of sustained meanings is gone, and the didactic quality has outrun the imaginative.

Richard's complex inter-relationship of dynamic symbolic content and literal framework finds its closest parallel among religious works centuries later, in St. Teresa's Interior Castle, though here the framework of the story is not strictly Scriptural. Yet writers closer to his own time drew freely upon other aspects of his genius. Such qualities

³ Op. cit., p. 35.

⁴ The influence of Richard as an individual writer is in many places less obvious than the influence of his Victorine school of thought. The nature of this school will be discussed later.

as its expositional economy, characterization and mnemonic reliance upon familiar Scriptural material must have had much to do with the popularity the Benjamin Minor enjoyed, and the liberality with which it was used. Subsequent contemplative writing draws heavily upon this work, as I shall point out. My survey of its influence is necessarily incomplete, as it traces only that line of descent which benefited our own literature.

From Bonaventure, whom I have discussed, it is possible to pass directly to the English mystical writers of the 14th century. It is true that Richard's influence sometimes reached them at second and third hand through Bonaventure or through their slightly older contemporaries, German Dominican writers such as Tauler, Eckhardt and Suso, upon whom Richard had the greatest of influences.⁵ However, the works of Richard, like those of his own master, Hugh of St. Victor, were widely available in England through the houses of the Augustinian Canons, as will appear.

Before passing to closer consideration of the literary influence of the Victorines in England, let us recall that the Imitation of Christ is part of the filiation of religious works dependent upon this school. Familiar as this work is to us all, being the most popular devotional handbook ever written and one of the most reprinted books in the history of printing, let us note that it exhibits the hall-mark of pious writing stemming from 12th century devotional works. It preserves the warm personal tone that Bonaventure, like Richard, had exhibited, but the allegorical technique that undergirded moral

⁵Cf. Denifle, Die deutschen mystiker des 14. jahrhunderts, p. 78.

counselling with narrative development has vanished, leaving only vestigial metaphors. The tone has become one fitting to the exhortation of an unsophisticatedly pious audience. Whether its authorship may be finally attributed to Thomas à Kempis or not, it is identical in tone with Thomas' other works.⁶ He was an Augustinian Canon, that is, of the same order as the Victorines and within their theological tradition. The Imitation reveals many similarities to meditative works of this school. Almost at the close of the Imitation, for example, the author treats at length of the preparation of the soul for contemplation in a chapter that could serve as a paraphrase of the theme of the Benjamin Minor. How accurately he follows the Victorine teaching may be demonstrated in a single sentence:

Whosoever, therefore, with a single heart lifts up his intention to God, and keeps himself clear of all inordinate liking or disliking of any created thing, he shall be the most fit to receive grace, and meet for the gift of true devotion.⁷

This corresponds closely to the course of the discussion in Chapters LXXIX to LXXXII of the Benjamin Minor, an exposition of the soul's meriting of the gift of grace.

The psychology of the Imitation is certainly Victorine in its acceptance of the created order as a necessary step to the understanding of spiritual things, and in its stress, both implied and explicit, upon the process of self knowledge as preparation for the state of grace. The student of the Benjamin Minor may marvel that detached aphorisms,

⁶ See the discussion of authorship in Vacant, Dictionnaire, s.v. Thomas à Kempis.

⁷ II, XV, 3.

however pious, could have better served the purpose of moral training than a unified work in which the tropological intent soars on wings of literal narrative, but such is the case. The Imitation's continuous popularity for centuries testifies to its usefulness. How artistically bare it is, still, in comparison with the subtly developed Benjamin! An occasional metaphor is employed: Simplicity and Purity are "two wings [by which] man is lifted up from things earthly,"⁸ but such a figure is dropped as soon as stated, having served only to introduce a chapter upon the Pure Mind and the Simple Intention.

Returning to the direct line of descent from Richard to the devotional literature of our own language, we find that the 14th century in England shared in the wave of popular mysticism then prevalent in Germany. As students of English literature, we are more closely concerned with this aspect of the influence of the St. Victorine, and shall consider in some detail the effect of his work upon English religious writing. In the confusion of tangled threads of influences it is easier to demonstrate that certain authors are within a general area dominated by previous masters than that they derive a direct inspiration from them. The works that follow are exemplars of a type of meditative writing that may derive in part directly from Bernard of Clairvaux or the Victorines, or indirectly through Bonaventure, or at still another remove, through the German Dominican pietists. Certainly such works as Bonaventure's Meditations on the Passion were widely influential. Yet Richard is assuredly a chief direct influence; he has been considered by at least one scholar as more important in this respect than either

⁸II, IV, 1.

Bonaventure or Bernard, being the greatest single influence upon the English mystics.⁹

The first of these English writers of the 14th century to be considered is Richard Rolle, the Hermit of Hampole, in whose work there is evident a close reliance upon Richard of St. Victor. In a didactic work, "The Commandment," for example, he sets forth systematically the degrees of love of God, in a schema apparently borrowed from the elder writer's De Quattuor Gradibus. Hope Emily Allen, Rolle's editor, comments as follows upon this borrowing:

At this time he evidently studied Richard of St. Victor... The Victorine was to be the master also of the later English mystics (who thus, as at several points, followed Rolle's lead).¹⁰

Rolle's dependence upon the Victorine's teachings on contemplation is the more curious in that the English hermit was a pronounced enemy of the communal religious life, while Richard himself adhered to the rule of the Augustinian Canons, who were equally given to corporate good works of teaching, administration or welfare, and to the cultivation of an intensely personal religion.

In Walter Hilton, himself an Augustinian Canon who died in 1396, Richard's influence is again apparent. Regarding the origin of his mystical teachings in The Scale of Perfection, his editor, Evelyn Underhill, remarks:

He depends upon St. Bernard and St. Bonaventure, and above all on the great Augustinian Richard of St. Victor, whose genius has affected every spiritual writer of the later

⁹Edmund G. Gardner, editor, The Cell of Self-Knowledge, p. xii.

¹⁰The English Writings of Richard Rolle, p. 150, note to p. 74, lines 32 ff.

the same time, the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of a relation is not a contradiction. For example, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of love. In this case, the person is both the one who loves and the one who is loved. This is not a contradiction because the relation of love is not a relation of identity. It is a relation of difference. The person is not identical to the person who is loved. The person is different from the person who is loved. This is why it is possible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation of love.

Similarly, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of knowledge. In this case, the person is both the one who knows and the one who is known. This is not a contradiction because the relation of knowledge is not a relation of identity. It is a relation of difference. The person is not identical to the person who is known. The person is different from the person who is known. This is why it is possible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation of knowledge.

Finally, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of power. In this case, the person is both the one who has power and the one who is subject to power. This is not a contradiction because the relation of power is not a relation of identity. It is a relation of difference. The person is not identical to the person who is subject to power. The person is different from the person who is subject to power. This is why it is possible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation of power.

In conclusion, the fact that a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation is not a contradiction. It is a fact of life. It is a fact that we all experience every day. We are all subjects and objects of relations. We are all subjects and objects of love, knowledge, and power. This is the way that life is. This is the way that we exist. This is the way that we are.

Middle Ages. From him Hilton, like the rest of the English school, takes his psychology en bloc.¹¹

As an illustration of this dependence, I cite a passage from Hilton on the grace of contemplative prayer, a favorite topic with Richard:

This manner prayer, although it be not full contemplation in itself, nor the working of love by itself, nevertheless it is a part of contemplation. For why, it may not be done on this manner wise but in plenty of grace through opening of the ghostly eyes, and therefore a soul that hath this freedom and this gracious feeling in prayer with ghostly savor and heavenly delight hath the grace of contemplation in manner as it is.¹²

This should be compared with Chapter XXIII of the Benjamin Minor, where Richard treats the preliminary stage of contemplation most charmingly in the guise of a hind let loose, bounding over the earth but never rising far above the shadow of the corporeal, which follows it.

Still closer is the dependence of the anonymous 14th century Cloud of Unknowing, which takes not only its title but entire sections of its text from Richard's larger work, the Benjamin Major.¹³ In particular, Chapters 63 to 66 of the Cloud show a derivation from Richard, in this instance from the Benjamin Minor. Here the author deals with a classification of the faculties of the soul in terms of primacy and subordination, but the allegory of Leah, Rachel and their handmaidens has been discarded, and with it a valuable aid to understanding. Compare the following excerpt from Chapter 63 with the author's source, the allegory

¹¹ P. xviii.

¹² Ibid., pp. 437-438.

¹³ See the statement of Phyllis Hodgson, the editor, Cloud of Unknowing, p. lxii.

2. The second section addresses the challenges of data management in a rapidly changing environment. It notes that as the volume of data increases, the complexity of managing it also grows. The author argues that organizations must invest in advanced technologies and skilled personnel to effectively handle this information. This includes not only storage but also the ability to analyze and interpret the data for strategic decision-making.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the role of leadership in fostering a culture of innovation and risk-taking. It states that leaders should encourage their teams to explore new ideas and approaches, even if it means taking calculated risks. The text provides examples of successful companies that have thrived by embracing change and innovation, highlighting the importance of a supportive and flexible organizational structure.

4. The fourth section discusses the importance of continuous learning and development for all employees. It suggests that organizations should provide opportunities for training, workshops, and conferences to keep their workforce up-to-date with the latest industry trends and technologies. The author also mentions the value of cross-functional collaboration and knowledge sharing within the organization to drive growth and innovation.

5. The final part of the document concludes with a call to action, urging organizations to embrace a proactive and forward-thinking mindset. It encourages them to regularly assess their performance, identify areas for improvement, and implement changes accordingly. The text ends with a statement of optimism, believing that organizations that commit to these principles will achieve long-term success and sustainability.

developed in Chapters I to VI of the Benjamin Minor:

... reson & wille, þei ben two worching miȝtes I & so is ymaginacion & sensualite also. & alle þees four miȝtes & þeire werkes mynde conteneþ & comprehendþ in it-self. & on none oþer wise it is seide þat þe mynde worcheþ, bot ȝif soche a comprehencion be a werke.

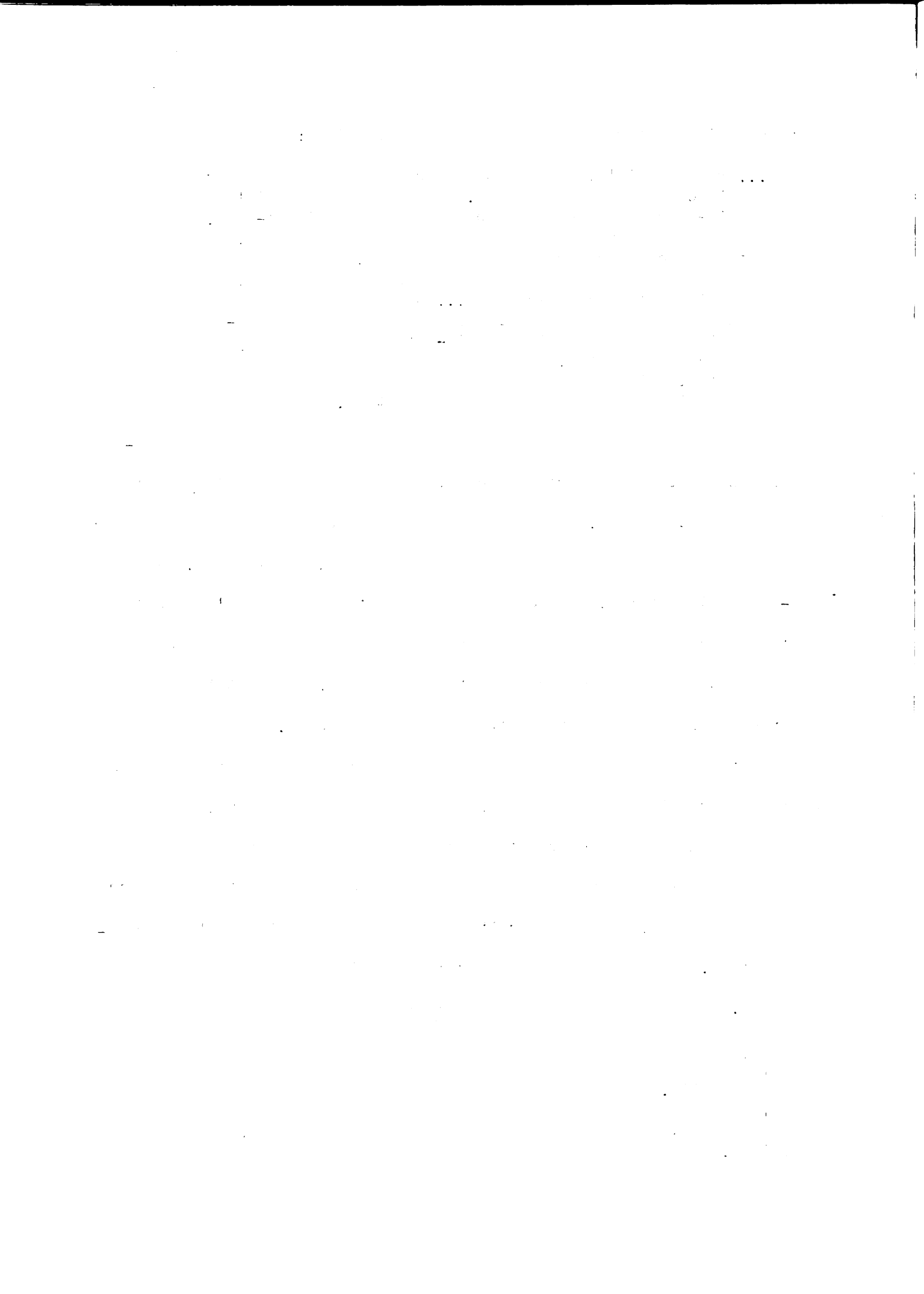
& herfore it is þat I clepe þemiȝtes of a soule, som principal, & som secundary... þe two principal worching miȝtes, reson & wille, worchen purely in hem-self in alle goostly þinges, wiþ-outen help of þe oþer two secundary miȝtes. Ymaginacion & sensualite worchin beestly in alle bodely þinges, wheþer þei be present or absente in þe body, & wiþ þe bodely wittes.¹⁴

The reader will note that this passage is so close to the tropological content of the pertinent chapters of the Benjamin Minor as to be an abstract of them. It is difficult not to conclude that the author was working directly from a manuscript of Richard, rephrasing it in non-allegorical terms. One can be confident that the Cloud's exposition of the principal and secondary powers of the soul would be far more difficult to retain in memory than the sad Rachel, the fertile and unloved Leah, and the bustling or boisterous servants.

As the most directly descended work of all, we have the late 14th century A Treatise Named Benjamin, widely available in manuscript, and printed, as mentioned before, by Henry Pepwell in 1521, together with six other popular devotional works, under the collective title The Cell of Self Knowledge. The Gardner item cited previously is a 1910 reprinting of this. There is also a very recent edition of a manuscript of the work.¹⁵ The Treatise is an awkward synopsis about one fifth the

¹⁴Page 115.

¹⁵In Deonise Hid Divinite, edited by Phyllis Hodgson, EETS (OS) 231, 1955.



length of the Benjamin Minor. It reproduces much of what might be termed the scenario of the original, including the names of the persons involved. The purpose is moral instruction, as is generally true of devotional works for the laity. Gone are Richard's subtleties of development, his delight in marvellous ingenuity of allegory as applied to theological system, and all the adornment of his rhetoric. No stylistic qualities of the original have survived translation and compression. Yet the adapter worked conscientiously to bring the original down to minimum possible size: my own abstract, which I tried to make as brief as possible, worked out to almost exactly the same length.

I reproduce in Appendix D the beginning of the Treatise for purposes of comparison with the full translation. It is reproduced not from the Garner and Pepwell editions but from a late 14th century manuscript in the Houghton Library at Harvard University. Here it appears after St. Augustinus Meditaciouns and Confession in Englysshe in Richardson MS 22. The audience for whom the compilation was prepared is clearly suggested by the colophon to the first work:

(51v) Thankyd be almyhti god my gode sustren. J have now performyd 3owr desyre in englysshinge pese meditaciouns of seint austyn. I have nat wryten alway as it standip ffor in translatynge of oon langage to a noþer som wordis most be chaungyd and some places moo wordes must be seyde ffor englysch is soo buystus of itself þat ellis it wole be ful unsavery to rede þer folwe as me semyþ is most lysabel. And I have wryten in spekyng to god for reverens ye and youres, and so I fynde in þe frensche boke þat I wrote after vous and vostre þat is to seye ye and youres. but some replyhen þer aʒenst for it is seyde þat it is plurie and so schulde þey not done. For oure lorde god þankyð mote he ever be takeþ hede principaly to a mannys entente more þan to the wordis.

Mention should certainly be made of the influence of such works as the Benjamin Minor upon homiletic literature. The historian of the

School of St. Victor, Fourier Bonnard,¹⁶ has pointed out that the training of the students involved daily practice in skills useful in popular preaching. As for the dissemination of great theological works to the man in the nave, G. R. Owst makes frequent mention of the dependence upon the Victorine tradition in his Preaching in Mediaeval England. He points out that Myrc's Festiall, a very popular homily collection, is the work of an Austin Canon and hence of the Victorine School.¹⁷ He also gives direct evidence of the importance of Hugh and Richard of St. Victor in the words of a sermon of John Capgrave, delivered at Cambridge:

We have in oure libraiories (i.e. in the Victorine houses) many sundry bokes that to (2) chanones of that hous mad, on of hem hite Hew, the othir hite Richard; notabel clerkis thei were and men of holy lyf.¹⁸

Owst adds that such works as Richard's remained the favorite reading of homilists of pre-Reformation England.

If, then, Richard's writings were in the hands of these popularizers, it is apparent that the ordinary man came under his influence, however remotely. The homily, a practical religious discourse for the edification of the congregation, can be considered as representing the tropological level of allegory reduced to its lowest terms. If the Benjamin Minor was of use to the homilists, the man in the nave benefited from Richard's allegory to the extent that the allegory was a part

¹⁶ Histoire de l'abbaye royale et de l'ordre des chanoines réguliers de Saint-Victor de Paris, I, 115, 127.

¹⁷ Page 22.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 50.

2. The second section focuses on the role of communication in achieving organizational goals. It highlights the importance of clear and concise communication channels, both internally and externally. The text suggests implementing regular meetings and reports to keep everyone informed and aligned. It also discusses the benefits of open communication, such as improved collaboration and faster problem-solving. The author encourages a culture of transparency and encourages employees to share their ideas and concerns freely.

3. The third part of the document addresses the challenges of managing a large and diverse team. It acknowledges that different team members have varying skills, experiences, and backgrounds, which can lead to misunderstandings and conflicts. The text provides strategies for managing these differences, such as assigning tasks based on individual strengths and providing ongoing training and support. It also stresses the importance of setting clear expectations and deadlines to ensure that the team is working towards common objectives.

4. The final section discusses the importance of innovation and creativity in driving organizational growth. It argues that in a rapidly changing market, companies must be able to think outside the box and develop new products or services. The text suggests creating a supportive environment for innovation by encouraging risk-taking and rewarding creative ideas. It also mentions the importance of staying up-to-date with industry trends and technologies to ensure that the organization remains competitive.

of the teaching equipment of the popular preachers.

As an order occupying a median position between the regular and the secular clergy, the Austin Canons were in a good position to assist in the dissemination of learned works. Their efforts in this direction were part of a wide humanitarian service so diffuse as to cover almost the whole of physical and spiritual life. This service has been well summarized by Evelyn Underhill in her introduction to The Scale of Perfection:

When we remember that Hilton's contemporary Ruysbroek, perhaps the greatest of all Christian contemplatives, lived under the Augustinian Rule; that Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, whose formative influence on mediaeval thought can scarcely be over-rated, were Augustinian Canons; and that we owe to followers of this Rule the foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and the existence of the St. Bernard dog, it will be seen that it could indeed support many varying types of spirituality and service. In England, where fifty-four Augustinian houses were established between the Conquest and the death of Henry II, the Canons were chiefly devoted to preaching and pastoral work, and had considerable reputation for scholarship. At least from 1325 onwards, they sent their students to the schools; and seem to have been among the earliest composers of vernacular religious works. (Footnote: Thus the Austin Canon Richard Cricklade, who died in 1310, wrote homilies on the Gospels in English.)¹⁹

As to the Augustinian study of Scripture: Those who regard the Augustinian Canon Thomas à Kempis as the author of the Imitation of Christ may remember that this book, with over one thousand direct Biblical references, sets a standard of knowledge before which many "Bible Christians" would quail.²⁰

... on this theory (i.e. that Thomas à Kempis wrote the Imitation) we owe to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine the two greatest mediaeval guidebooks to the spiritual life.²¹

¹⁹Page xi.

²⁰Page xvi, note.

²¹Page xxx.

The whole matter of the complete extent of influence of the work of Richard and of the Victorines is a very difficult one. I have limited myself to a brief tracing of one particular line of descent which culminates in the English mystics of the late Middle Ages. All mediaeval speculative theology has the same ultimate roots: the "dark sayings" of the Bible; the Neoplatonic and Pseudo-Dionysian traditions that infiltrate the later Biblical tradition over and over again; the works of Origen and Augustine. All these are used in varying proportions by later writers whose own works tend to cross-fertilize. There are inter-relationships among the contemplative writers of the 12th century, and elements of all of them descend to Bonaventure and later mystics. By the end of the 14th century the task of disentangling influences is well-nigh hopeless. Yet the striking qualities that mark Richard's allegorical and theological works make his hand apparent in the work of later writers, as I have tried to show. No later theologian attempted such a full-scale systematic contemplative treatise on a base of scriptural allegory, for such a work required not only rare powers in the author but also a more sophisticated audience than later devotional works enjoyed.

III. The Historical Background of the Use of Allegory in the Benjamin Minor

In the previous section we appraised the effect of the Benjamin Minor upon Bonaventure, upon the subsequent school of English mystical writers of the 14th century, and digressed to touch upon the Imitation of Christ for the sake of its general importance to European mystical thought. To continue the task of evaluating Richard's treatise we must now turn to similar works that preceded it. This approach defies

chronology but has the advantage of establishing from the first the value of the work under discussion. It now follows to examine its meaning in terms of the history of scriptural allegory before its time, and to determine to what extent this work is an exemplar of a tradition, and to what extent a departure from it.

Such a study should logically start in the first century A.D. with Philo. As an orthodox Jew trained in Greek philosophy, Philo was able to play a role in keeping with the syncretistic intellectual preoccupations of his native Alexandria, and also of the most basic significance for the whole course of Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan thought for centuries to come. He it was who first placed classical philosophy at the service of scriptural interpretation, originating the concept of philosophy as the handmaiden of religion: *Philosophia Ancilla Theologiae*.²²

The meaning of this important tenet of mediaeval thought is a complex one and has undergone some alterations at the hands of later thinkers. But for Philo it means that Scripture, having been revealed by God, is infallible, while philosophy, evolved by human reason or at best the result of an inferior revelation, is always suspect, and must remain under the correction of scriptural revelation. With this reservation in mind, one is free to employ philosophy in all matters.

A valid use for this "handmaiden" was the interpretation of Scripture, for the simplest statement in the Pentateuch was capable of revealing hidden wisdom once one knew the method. The means was allegory:

²²See Harry Austrin Wolfson, *Philo*, I, 155. This work has been largely drawn upon for my remarks on Philo.

figurative explanation that enlarges and elucidates the meaning of a text. Philo stood at the meeting-place of Greek and Jewish thought, and was the beneficiary of two rich allegorical traditions. Greek philosophy had long made use of allegorical techniques (one has only to think of the facility with which Plato "mythologizes") while the Hebrew school of oral or haggadic exegesis of the Pentateuch antedated Philo for several generations. It is entirely with the latter tradition that one modern critic would connect mediaeval scriptural allegory:

Ultimately, of course, allegory in hermeneutics must be referred to Jewish haggadic exegesis, which had an established history of allegorical interpretation for several generations before Philo viewed persons and things in the Old Testament as *figures* of the soul.²³

Actually the Jewish usage is older than the haggadic tradition, for the later books of the Old Testament make allegorical use of the earlier ones: Hosea, for example, apparently allegorizes Jacob's struggle with the angel, and makes him a type-figure of the spiritual seeker.²⁴ As Hosea was written about the 8th century B.C., the tradition of allegorical exegesis would appear to be a very old one. Certainly such a type of interpretation is suggested by the very nature of some of the material in the older books. That instance of ancient Hebrew poetry embedded in Genesis, the so-called "Benedictions of Jacob" in Chapter XLIX, is of special significance for the history of figurative discourse. It invites, even demands, a non-literal interpretation. In it the dying

²³ H. Caplan, "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching," *Speculum* 4 (1929), 285.

²⁴ Darwell Stone, "The Mystical Interpretation of the Old Testament," in *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, Gore et al., 689.

Jacob makes prophecies to his sons in terms of each tribe's place in the future of the Jewish nation. The statements are riddling and obscure, and it was the common practice among exegetes of Genesis to interpret these as moral allegory.²⁵ Some late examples of this usage are to be found in this chapter, and the Benjamin Minor makes much use of the Benedictions throughout.

Rather than searching for more examples of allegory in the Old Testament, let us note that at least one book of the collection was admitted into the canon because it seemed to the Councils of Rabbis at Jamnia in 90 and 118 A.D. to be capable of a mystical interpretation beyond its ostensible erotic subject matter.²⁶ I refer, of course, to the Song of Songs, which Jewish scholars were prepared to accept because of its hidden significance of the love of Jehovah toward Israel. Similarly Christianity accepted the book as an allegory of the love of Christ for the church.²⁷ The nature of the Bible being what it is, a religious library rather than a cultural one, neither faith could have included in its canon what was considered to be of a purely erotic work.

We must now enter upon that thorny and perverse subject, the nature of allegory, as its mediaeval exponents thought it to be. It is useful here to keep hold of the modern literary scholar's scepticism about accepting anyone's own explanation of what he is doing, for it will be apparent frequently that the divisions into levels of meaning are not

²⁵Gore, op. cit., 62.

²⁶Gore, op. cit., 2.

²⁷Gore, op. cit., 416.

1. The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need.

2. The next step is to develop a concept that addresses the market need.

3. The third step is to create a prototype of the product.

4. The fourth step is to conduct market research to determine if there is a demand for the product.

5. The fifth step is to develop a business plan for the product.

6. The sixth step is to secure funding for the product.

7. The seventh step is to manufacture the product.

8. The eighth step is to distribute the product.

9. The ninth step is to monitor the product's performance in the market.

10. The tenth step is to make adjustments to the product as needed.

11. The eleventh step is to continue to market the product.

12. The twelfth step is to evaluate the product's success.

13. The thirteenth step is to make improvements to the product.

14. The fourteenth step is to continue to market the product.

15. The fifteenth step is to evaluate the product's success.

16. The sixteenth step is to make improvements to the product.

17. The seventeenth step is to continue to market the product.

18. The eighteenth step is to evaluate the product's success.

19. The nineteenth step is to make improvements to the product.

20. The twentieth step is to continue to market the product.

21. The twenty-first step is to evaluate the product's success.

22. The twenty-second step is to make improvements to the product.

23. The twenty-third step is to continue to market the product.

24. The twenty-fourth step is to evaluate the product's success.

25. The twenty-fifth step is to make improvements to the product.

26. The twenty-sixth step is to continue to market the product.

27. The twenty-seventh step is to evaluate the product's success.

28. The twenty-eighth step is to make improvements to the product.

29. The twenty-ninth step is to continue to market the product.

being made in accordance with the writer's own explanation of his procedure. I refer the reader to Appendix C to note the variance between Hugh of St. Victor's actual allegorical practice and his analysis of his practice.

A recent stimulating survey of contemporary writing on hermeneutics²⁸ establishes that this confusion about what is going on still exists; the author concludes that neither the classifications of the levels of meaning in the writings of the Fathers, nor the modern attempts to examine the full import of the multiple senses of Scripture, results in an adequate analysis of the total meaning.

Compared with later complications of the division of allegory into three or more levels of meaning, Philo's division seems simple indeed. He designates the literal meaning as *homologoumenon*,²⁹ or describes it as the plain sense, *enochos*.³⁰ To speak figuratively is *kat'alloioutai*.³¹ Literally to speak by another means or in another way thus revealing the *akrota*, or hidden meaning. There is no elaborate breakdown into types of figurative meaning, such as appear from Origen to Dante and later. Wolfson remarks with great cogency:

Altogether too much importance is attached by students of allegory to the kinds of things which allegorists read into texts, and too much attention is given to minute classifications of various types of allegory and to distinctions, mainly arbitrary, between what is real allegory and what

²⁸Walter J. Burghardt, "On Early Christian Exegesis," Theological Studies, XI, 1 (March, 1950), pp. 78-116.

²⁹On the Contemplative Life, III, 28.

³⁰Abraham, XXXVI, 200.

³¹On Joseph, VI, 28.

is not real allegory. The allegorical method essentially means the interpretation of a text in terms of something else, irrespective of what that something else is. That something else may be book learning, it may be practical wisdom, or it may be one's inner consciousness. All these are matters which depend upon external circumstances.³²

It is true that distinctions into types of allegory do become very fine-drawn among mediaeval exegetes, yet they not only allegorize with freedom and ingenuity, but like to point out the reasons for what they do, and the types of meaning they are able to find. With a true mediaeval love for arranging things in lists and series, they categorize the levels of meaning in a way that soon becomes familiar to all students of the period. A famous mediaeval commonplace sets forth the multiple meanings of Scripture as follows:

Jerusalem is understood historically of that earthly city to which pilgrims go: allegorically of the church militant; tropologically of every faithful soul; anagogically of the heavenly Jerusalem that is our country.

One also encounters a mnemonic verse on this topic, in one or the other of these forms:

Littera scripta docet: quid credas allegoria:
Quid speres anagoge: quid agas tropologia.

or:

Littera gesta docet: quid credas allegoria:
Moralis quid agas: quo tendas anagogia.³³

That is to say: the literal meaning teaches the actual written word or deed, allegory teaches what you should believe; anagogy teaches what you should hope for in the future life; tropology or the moral meaning

³²Wolfson, op. cit., I, 134.

³³All three passages quoted in Darwell Stone, op. cit., 694.

teaches what you should do.

These four meanings are the same that Dante sets forth in the Convivio,³⁴ in a passage explaining in detail the "polysemous" method he uses in the Divine Comedy. Yet there was no agreed number of allegorical meanings among the users of this method. Many men have allegorized Scripture over a period of twenty-seven centuries, from Hosea to Kierkegaard. They may uncover two meanings for a passage, or four, or seven. But the four meanings set forth in the examples of the above commonplaces are quite generally in use, and the terms should be defined as closely as possible.

The first meaning is the literal or historical. For example, here is a passage from the first chapter of the Benjamin Minor:

Jacob is known to have had two wives. One was called Leah, the other Rachel: Leah was the more prolific, but Rachel the more beautiful.

Here is a statement of fact, given as such and received as such. From Philo to Reginald Pecock, the consensus of mediaeval thought is that the literal sense is the foundation of a valid reading of Scripture. Through adherence to the actual fact or statement involved in the literal meaning, a basis was thought to be established for evolving the figurative ones. It is stated repeatedly that primacy belongs to this fundamental sense. I shall return to the matter of primacy later, only noting here that many allegorists of Scripture provide themselves with an escape clause in case the literal meaning of a passage involves something

³⁴ Convivio, II, 1. See Edd Winfield Parks, The Great Critics, pp. 145-- for all the relevant passages on Dante's literary theory, together with a useful introduction.

physically impossible or morally repugnant. Origen, for example, states

If God is said to walk in the garden in the evening and Adam to hide himself under a tree, I do not suppose that anyone doubts that these things are said figuratively by means of a history which is external and not literally told, and that they are significant of certain mysteries.³⁵

The next meaning is the allegorical. This term may be used in two senses in scriptural exegesis. Inclusively, it designates any figurative meaning whatsoever: in the Jerusalem example the three last meanings are all allegorical. But frequently the term is restricted in usage to one only of the figurative senses, as is actually the case in the Jerusalem passage. Allegorical as there used applies to an Old Testament type or exemplar with a signification bearing upon the New Testament, and more specifically upon Christ or the church. Thus, Jerusalem is the church militant; the beloved in the Song of Songs is the church also; Joseph is Christ; Benjamin is Paul, etc. Such an allegorical meaning as this should strictly be called typological, or when applying to Christ, Christological.

The moral or tropological sense bears upon conduct. If the slaying of the seducers of Dinah is interpreted as the suppression of the vices of pride and vainglory, this is a tropological or moral reading of the text, that turns a man to the way he should go. Examples of such typological senses in late mediaeval devotional literature outweigh those of other types of allegory, as there grew up a tradition of pious handbooks for the laity, who needed direct moral counselling rather than subtleties of multiple interpretation. Tropology is another term that

³⁵De Principio, IV, iii, 1.

may cause confusion. It comes from the same Greek root as yields the term trope, and is sometimes, in English, used to mean the study or use of tropes, or figurative language. I find no instance of this meaning in mediaeval discussion of allegory. The Latin usage is always synonymous with moral.

The anagogical meaning bears upon the future life: for example in the present work Benjamin's ecstasy foreshadows the final union of the soul with God, and is described in terms of a mystical marriage. This sense is sometimes also known as mystical. As the Benjamin Minor has to do with the preparation of the soul for contemplation, it is chiefly concerned with the tropological implications of the story, and passes over into anagogy when the soul achieves the contemplative state in the closing chapters. At this point the moral counselling has ceased, and the discussion is carried on in terms of the closeness of the ecstatic state to the condition of the future life.

To summarize, here are the types of interpretation most frequently encountered in mediaeval scriptural allegory:

1. Literal (or historical)
2. Allegorical (or figurative, spiritual, mystical)
 - a. allegorical (or typological, Christological)
 - b. moral (or tropical)
 - c. anagogical (sometimes mystical)

It should be noted that there is no reason to expect a particular number of interpretations in any one work. There may be only historical and "allegorical" (meaning anything other than literal, if used inclusively), or there may be a conscientious working out of these three

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that the results of the experiments are not in agreement with the theoretical predictions. The second is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that the results of the experiments are not in agreement with the theoretical predictions.

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The first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that the results of the experiments are not in agreement with the theoretical predictions. The second is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that the results of the experiments are not in agreement with the theoretical predictions.

levels of allegory—or two, or four, or five of them. My own opinion is that a passage of Scripture was in practice mined like a lode of metal: the commentators drove their shafts where they were likely to find ore. The very term "levels of meaning" is misleading, as implying superiority of merit in one particular one: is a typological interpretation higher or lower than an anagogical one? the modern student wonders. At times one wonders, also, if there is always a literal meaning, and this is the largest and most baffling question that can be raised about allegory.

To trace the history of the allegorical interpretation of Scripture would be a lifetime task. The complete account of exegesis as a whole still remains to be written. Yet it is pertinent to ask, even in this brief treatment of an incompletely investigated field, why the popularity of allegory was so great for so many years of church history. A fundamental reason for its use in Christian apologetic is that the acceptance of Christianity by the Jews depended to a great extent on demonstration that it was the patent fulfillment of Judaism, while its acceptance by the Gentiles needed proof that it was the completion of a long revelation of the truth. Parallels had constantly to be drawn between the old accepted religious history and aspects and events of the new dispensation, to indicate that the old foreshadowed the new, that the new was an obvious fulfilling of the old. The Epistle to the Hebrews, in its entirety, is an example of this linkage of the New Testament to the Old by means of typological allegory. Christ is shown to be the fulfillment of promises made under the old dispensation, a figure of whom the patriarchs and kings were but types or symbols. Allegory

was the cement that attached the new law so firmly to the old that subsequent Christian centuries could assume without question that Christianity both fulfilled and superceded Judaism.

Given the multiple meanings set forth above, what use was made of them during the Middle Ages? In approaching Richard of St. Victor's employment of scriptural allegory, it will be illuminating to survey the treatment of the story he was to handle, in the writings of previous allegorical exegetes. Of especial interest, in view of Richard's sustaining his allegory for all of eighty-seven chapters, is the brevity and circumscription of the allegorical treatment of the same material in the other authors to be examined. The account of Jacob and of his two wives and twelve sons, culminating in Joseph's career in Egypt and Jacob's benedictions on his deathbed, form a coherent narrative of considerable length in the Book of Genesis. Yet no allegorist except Richard ever treats the story connectedly. Pieces of it that suit the writer's purpose are usually extracted from the whole, no interest being evinced in developing a large-scale interpretation. This seems, incidentally, curious, for the narrative is lively and memorable, and it concludes with a passage so mysterious as to demand figurative interpretation.

Philo

For reasons of his importance to the development of mediaeval allegory, Philo should have first place in this survey, as I have already mentioned. This despite the fact that he is not, of course, Christian, and that our field is Christian exegesis. He was anxious to give the fullest possible weight of significance to the Old Testament

narrative which is our concern, so he sought out the meanings concealed within the literal tale of Jacob and Joseph. His handling is a rather unexpected one by reason of its discontinuity. The demands of the story would seem to be that an allegory should take into account the filiation of Joseph and Jacob: if one is to be a quality or moral attribute, the other must bear an obvious family connection. Such is not the case with Philo, nor indeed with most other allegorists. Most agree, however, on their allegorization of Jacob. For obvious reasons, he usually appears as the type of the contemplative, as befits the literal meaning of the narrative: he had dreamed of a ladder to heaven, he had wrestled with an angel. Consequently he was ready to hand as a type figure for the visionary or pious or reasonable man. But Joseph is not treated with this unanimity. For example, Philo deals with Jacob and Joseph allegorically in two different works. In one³⁶ he retells the pertinent chapters in Genesis, and then surprisingly states: "...broadly speaking, all or most of the story is an allegory. Joseph is government." The rest of the work consists in a study of the relationships of Joseph and his family, or Joseph and the Egyptians, demonstrating the acquisition and maintenance of political power. The treatment of the theme is even more curious in the other book by Philo. On Dreams depicts Joseph as the mind that is a prey to vainglory and vanity. Jacob, the rational power, resists the arrogant implications of his son's dream about the sheaves bowing down to his sheaf, and protests:

Shall I right reason come: shall fruitful instruction the mother and nurse of the soul-company that yearns for knowledge come too, shall the children of us two press forward... and shall we all address our prayers to vanity?³⁷

³⁶On Joseph, VI, 28.

³⁷Op. cit. II, 85.

The brothers, reasonable and virtuous like their father, also refuse to bow down. When Philo then proceeds to discuss the meaning of the dreams of the baker, the butler and Pharoah, he makes a fresh start, dropping the old Joseph-vainglory allegorization; no effort is made to maintain a continuity.

Origen

It would be profitable for the course of my discussion if the writers I am considering all treated the same passages, but of course they do not. Origen, in his Homilies on Genesis, omits much of the Jacob-Joseph story from his consideration, but deals in an interesting manner with certain portions of it. He discusses the descent of the brothers into Egypt in terms which would also apply to the closing chapters of the Benjamin Minor:

We must note in reading Scripture how in many places the terms ascent and descent are used. If we study this carefully we find that almost never is anyone said to go down into a holy place, nor is anyone found to have gone up to a shameful one. These observations show us that Holy Scripture is not ignorant and rustic as it seems to many, but most fitted for the teaching of divine learning, serving the purpose of mystical things and meanings rather than that of historical narrative... [When the brothers of Joseph] have seen Joseph and Benjamin meet, they ascend out of the land of Egypt.³⁸

[Jacob says:] "It is a great thing to me if my son Joseph lives," as knowing and seeing that life that is in Joseph to be a great one. Spiritually he is now called not Jacob but Israël, because he mentally sees the true light which is the true God Christ... To spurn desire, to flee luxury, to suppress all bodily pleasure, this is to rule over all the land of Egypt.³⁹

³⁸Homily, XV, 240B.

³⁹Ibid., 242A.

Jacob is still the contemplative soul, but Joseph has become Christ, we note. The relationship between Christ and the contemplative is not explained in terms of fatherhood and sonship, nor would such a correlation be easy to maintain throughout the narrative.

Origen treats in the same series of homilies the interpretation of the "Benedictions of Jacob" at the end of the book of Genesis. These mysterious lines lend themselves very well to the allegorical method, as being already highly figurative and obscure. The Greek commentator discusses the words applied to the first son, Reuben:

As elsewhere, we subject the passage to a process of three-fold interpretation, so that the benedictions serve an historical purpose, and their prophecy a mystical and dogmatic one, for the corruption of morals and the objur-gation of corruption tend to moral correction.⁴⁰

Reuben is an historical character first. Then the author allegorizes him typologically as the Jewish people, first strong, later denounced by Scripture for its hardness of heart. Just as he pollutes his father's bed, the Jewish people polluted the Old Testament by their deceitful ways. The moral or tropological meaning is the reproach laid upon the man who lives carnally, outraging the natural law. Neither in Origen nor in any other writer previous to Richard is there a systematic allegorization of the brothers of Joseph as the virtues, or ordered passions, although the fact that they appear together in the literal narrative, and again in the figurative language of the Benedictions, would, one would imagine, have suggested to the allegorists that they should be considered as a related set of personages or qualities. It is curious

⁴⁰ Homily XVII, 253.

that such an occasion to construct a system should have escaped the commentators.

Ambrose

St. Ambrose, the slightly older contemporary of Augustine, devotes three works to the allegorization of the story under discussion. In his book on fleeing the world, De Fuga Saeculi, he considers the acquisition of the contemplative state in the guise of Jacob in flight from his native country. The situation, rather than the narrative, gives rise to his very limited allegory. Once Jacob is accepted as the spiritual seeker in quest of perfection, the Old Testament account plays a very limited part in the development of the author's theme. An example will illustrate the fairly pedestrian employment of the allegorical method:

Thus instructed in these disciplines of patience and perseverance, Jacob bided his time and married wisdom, rich in the dowry of prudence, at that time of life that he was able to acquire her without giving offense. So when the treasure of wisdom was added, he set up a flock of vari-colored sheep, rational, gleaming with a diversity of many virtues. Thence he withdrew from pride of the flesh, signified by the crippling of his thigh. His mind ascended into heaven by these virtues as though by a stairway, and he knew the secrets of God.⁴¹

It is apparent that the allegory is developed more or less hit-or-miss: prudence, the employment of the virtues, appears in three different guises in this brief passage as the dowry of Rachel, the flock of sheep, and the ladder of Jacob's dream. Surely to use figurative language so ineptly is to use it to no purpose.

De Jacob et Vita Beata treat Joseph as the type of chastity acquired

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Op. cit., 609, 22.

by self discipline, Jacob as the type of temperance in acquiring by trickery and patience the birthright of his brother. The two characters are so set forth in a single passage, with no filiation established between them. Then immediately afterward Jacob is reason, when he opposes the fury of his sons.⁴² The slight allegory this treatise contains is developed as carelessly as this passage suggests, and is soon dropped. For example, though Jacob is "full of the fruit of righteousness," his sons are not explained as being these fruits. It is interesting to note that Rachel and Leah represent the church and the synagogue in this passage, for possibly the first time.⁴³

Ignoring the possibility of multiple meanings of the allegory, Ambrose gives an almost exclusively Christological interpretation of the "Benedictions." The prophecy about Reuben is again, as in Origen, given the sense of a curse laid upon the Jewish people for its betrayal and rejection of Christ.⁴⁴

Augustine

A profounder thinker than Ambrose, Augustine was also much more skilled in the use of allegory. In an intensely interesting work, his Contra Faustum, a defense of the Old Testament against the Manichees, he employs the tools of figurative interpretation with considerable skill to prove that Scriptural characters whose behavior is incomprehensible or morally repugnant are to be understood allegorically. Chapters LII--LIX of the twenty-second book are of particular interest

⁴² Op. cit., 631.

⁴³ Op. cit., 654.

⁴⁴ Op. cit., 709.

for this investigation, as being the undoubted source of Richard's own treatment of the Genesis background of the Benjamin Minor. Dom Cuthbert Butler, a student of the speculative theology of Augustine, says of this portion of the Contra Faustum:

The chapters are of great interest for the matter in hand, and are (so far as is known to me) the source of one phase of teaching on contemplative life that runs through the mediaeval mystical writers of the West. The whole is an elaborate allegorical interpretation, worked out in minutest detail, of the story of Jacob's wives (Genesis XXIX-XXX)... Augustine here sets the interpretation that became traditional in the West, whereby Lea represents the active life and Rachel the contemplative.⁴⁵

Yet surely Ambrose, in the passage cited from De Fuga Saeculi, had implied that marriage with Leah is the practice of moral discipline that precedes marriage with Rachel, spiritual wisdom:

Augustine's treatment of the story opens as follows: Although we believe that the two free-born wives of Jacob have to do with the New Testament, by which we are called into liberty, still there is a reason for their being two in number: they foreshadow the two lives in the body of Christ, as can be noted and discovered in Scripture.⁴⁶

He then discusses their descent from Laban, or purification, as signifying the remission of sins. Next he considers the winning of Rachel long after Leah, the gathering of the mandrakes (not mentioning Reuben, the finder of them), the handmaidens (one being imagination, the other not specifically labelled); and he ends with the begetting of Joseph (not named). The whole passage is a discussion of the relative merits of the active and contemplative lives, and the mandrake episode is the only one worked out with thorough attention to the literal narra-

⁴⁵ Western Mysticism, pp. 159-160.

⁴⁶ Contra Faustum LII, 432.

tive. He deals very briefly with the selling of Joseph and the Benedictions, but the whole story is never given. He does not even draw the obvious parallel between the sons of Leah and the virtuous behavior that the pious active life consists in. If this book is the immediate ancestor of the Benjamin Minor, as it appears to be, Richard's subsequent ingenuity in handling all the implications of the allegory are indeed impressive as a piece of independent work.

Isidore

The great encyclopaedist of the early Middle Ages, Isidore of Seville, takes up the theme of Rachel and Leah as types of the active and contemplative lives, not developing the allegory any further, but discussing the actual states they represent. The conclusions he reaches (or abstracts from other thinkers) about the desirability of a mixed life are thoroughly congruent with the type of activity later fostered by the Victorines and the Augustinian Canons. As all of the passage is interesting on these two grounds, I give it in its entirety in Appendix B.

Hrabanus Maurus

Hrabanus Maurus treats the Jacob-Joseph material at considerable length in his commentary on the book of Genesis. Here, as in previous authors, we note that the allegorical method is as inconsistently carried out as it is assiduously pursued. His predilection is Christological interpretation, to such an extent that all possible events and characters are made types of Christ or symbols of events in his life. The sleep of Jacob is the Passion;⁴⁷ the two wives are the two lives to

⁴⁷ Commentariorum in Genesim Libri Quattuor I, 591 D.

which Christ calls us, the active and the contemplative;⁴⁸ the marriage of Jacob and Rachel is the mystical union of Christ and his church;⁴⁹ yet Joseph in turn is Christ,⁵⁰ his long robe a man's lifetime total of good deeds,⁵¹ his dream of being worshipped by his brothers is Christ's rule over the entire world. The descent into Egypt is the Incarnation.⁵² Joseph's meeting with Benjamin represents Christ's approval of the conversion of Paul.⁵³ As for the prophecies about the various tribes of Israel in the Benedictions, each saying is once again given a Christological interpretation if at all possible.

Even the most sympathetic modern student of allegory is likely to feel that such arbitrary handling of it entirely defeats its purpose. No parallel is possible between the development of the literal narrative and the unfolding of a figurative system. Here are not two well-woven textures juxtaposed, but a fabric that is almost a word-for-word copy of the Genesis account, while pinned to it, as if at random, are scraps and tags of mystical meaning. The unit of thought in the interpretation is not the story, but the sentence. Hrabanus Maurus is a particularly good example of this failing to grasp the idea of narrative, which it seems clear is fairly common to the scriptural exegetes being discussed.

⁴⁸Ibid., 598 C.

⁴⁹Ibid., 607 A.

⁵⁰Ibid., 622 C.

⁵¹Ibid., 623 C.

⁵²Ibid., 620.

⁵³Ibid., 641.

Walafrid Strabo

Nor is the case much better with his pupil, Walafrid Strabo, the author of the universally consulted Glossa Ordinaria. He comments sporadically upon the Jacob story in words that are sometimes his own and sometimes directly quoted from earlier exegetes. For him, the sleep of Jacob is a typological allegory of the crucifixion of Christ rather than the Passion.⁵⁴ Morally interpreted,

the dream of the ladder is intended to tell preachers that they should not only seek the head of the church, that is Christ, in contemplation, but they should descend to its members in compassion, as is shown by the angels ascending and descending... Morally, to sleep upon the way is to rest on the path of this mortal life because of the impediment of worldly activities. Jacob saw the angels in his sleep because those men see divine things who close their eyes to the lust for the temporal.⁵⁵

Again it is apparent that allegory is being used unthoughtfully. The sleep of exhaustion due to worldly activity can hardly be the same as the spiritual equanimity that results from giving up lust after temporal things. As in the work of Origen and Hrabanus Maurus, Joseph is Christ, an identification that provides no continuity between the Jacob and Joseph stories in the figurative meaning. Of the Benedictions, Strabo remarks, with a terse dismissal of allegorical excess rare in a mediaeval commentator:

In the Benedictions of Jacob the history has to be retained and the allegory has to be uncovered. The history concerns the dividing up of the promised land, the allegory concerns Christ and the church, and will be revealed at the day of judgment. Hence the foundations of the historical meaning have to be laid first.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Commentarium in Genesim XVIII, 11.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 12.

⁵⁶ Ibid., XLIX.

He gives at length the Rachel-Leah interpretation that Ambrose had previously sketched:

Rachel and Leah are interpreted as the likeness of the church and the Synagogue. Leah, the older, signifies the synagogue, because she first brought forth a people for God... Rachel is younger and more beautiful, first barren and then fecund; she signifies the church, which is later in time but holy in body and soul. Her eyes are beautiful because they deserve to see the Gospel. But she was barren for a long time while the synagogue brought forth a race of men. Jacob served for Rachel, but Leah is less esteemed by him: he wedded the synagogue that he might raise up a church for himself.⁵⁷

We have surveyed the type of treatment that seven previous scriptural exegetes had given to various elements of one particular narrative in Genesis. It is evident that in actual practice interpretation was a fairly arbitrary procedure, departing from or neglecting the story itself in favor of fragmentary figurative development of particular points in it. In no instance has a connected or systematic allegory been developed. The example from Augustine's Contra Faustum, while protracted, does not actually cover a very large proportion of the actual story in question. In actual practice, little pattern for the use of allegory seems to emerge from a study of these writers' use of it. Perhaps a consideration of the views they held about the weight and validity of the various meanings will illuminate their treatment of the text.

Primacy of Meaning

Supposing a multiplicity of meanings in Scripture, the conscientious exegete had still to face the question of which meaning was to have

primacy. Is Jacob a Jewish patriarch who cheated his father-in-law and his brother and had two wives and two concubines, or is he a figure typifying Christ, and the embodiment of the contemplative seeker after God? One of the meanings of a passage has to be basic. Though mediaeval thought has sometimes been considered derived and authoritarian above all else, it is a matter of pressing importance to these scholars to settle this question in their own terms over and over again. A good example of a basic treatment of the relative validity of the different levels of meaning is found in Augustine's Contra Faustum. In defending against the Manichees various tenets of orthodox Christianity, he upheld the claim to reading more meaning in Scripture than the letter alone warranted. He examined the arguments for and against allegorical interpretation with his customary subtlety. In Appendix A, I quote a passage from this work, with notes on the types of allegory he discusses and employs. He passes constantly from one type or level of allegory to another, it will be observed.

To summarize Augustine's position as stated in the long excerpt, it is that all Old Testament passages, however obscure, are to be read as having a prophetic signification of the future Messiah, except for those sections that serve a purely connective function. These are like the cords that bind or support the music-making strings of the cithara. It is the whole cithara that sounds, though these particular strings do not. Likewise all Scripture, even these connective parts, resounds by virtue of its significant passages. Even the prophecies of Christ have another function as well, in serving for moral edification. And however the heretics may object, even those passages that portray wicked

behavior serve for our edification. All the functions of Scripture are beneficial to us. Although certain parts of it may seem absurd, they encourage us to look for a hidden meaning.

A large volume could be made up of such excerpts from the Greek and Latin fathers. What emerges from the animated discussion of the topic (which seemed always to call forth vigorous writing from those who handled it) is the following position, in the majority of cases: primacy has to be given to the literal meaning. Only from this can evidence be drawn for dogmatic pronouncements. The figurative senses are supporting ones: while their usefulness is very great, they must be applied with caution, and only by the skilled. Appendix C is devoted to a spirited defense of this position by Richard's master, Hugh of St. Victor.

He hypothecates a three-fold interpretation: literal, allegorical, (i.e., Christological) and anagogical. (But in exemplifying these meanings, he actually replaces the last one with the tropological or moral sense). Not all Scripture can be forced into this triple explanation, however; at this point he reproduces Augustine's cithara figure, to prove that some things in Scripture are put in solely for "weightiness." The literal meaning is basic to any sound allegorical sense, despite what foolish teachers may say. No interpretations should be attempted by anyone ignorant of the literal meaning. This is not to say that metaphors such as "river of fire" are to be understood strictly as written, for we have to realise what is the intention of such statements, and to see that this intended meaning is the fundamental one. No one should believe that the literal meaning is only a sort of painted

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image for us to allegorize a meaning out of. Such a belief would involve disrespect for the way the Holy Spirit presented truth to us. We must be humble enough to approach the letter with respect, and to apply ourselves zealously to understanding it, so that we may deserve to grasp the spiritual meaning.

A minority group believes, like Richard, that the allegorical senses are of such great importance as to be the basic ones. These men claim (like the 19th century antievolutionist who said that fossils were put in the rocks by God to try our faith) that an absurd literal meaning is sometimes put in Scripture to challenge us to seek a deeper truth. Origen had stated that the literal sense was to be rejected if repugnant to the reason, and this was Philo's position as well.⁵⁸

Augustine was claimed as supporting the primacy of either the literal or the allegorical sense. The passage in Appendix A can furnish either interpretation. Moreover he says on the one hand:

If in the words of God, or of any person assumed to the prophetic office, anything is said which cannot be literally understood without absurdity, certainly it ought to be understood to have been said in a figure for some signification, yet it is not right to doubt that it was said.⁵⁹

On the other hand he warns against the excesses of the method of figurative interpretation, saying that it is impudence for anyone

to interpret anything set in allegory on his own side unless he had also clear evidence by the light of which what is obscure might be made plain.⁶⁰

⁵⁸Wolfson, Philo, I, 138;
De Principiis, IV, 1, 16.

⁵⁹De Genesis ad Litteram, XI, 2.

⁶⁰Epistles, XCIII, 24.

One might well feel that Augustine's position was ambiguous, yet Reginald Pecock, in the late Middle Ages, advances a most modern plea for having his statements judged literally in the light of their context, and appeals to Augustine in defense of sober literal meaning:

And forto knowe what myn undirstonding and meenyng is, and schal be, in wordis of my writingis, englische and latyn, certis, oon ful goode weie is forto attende to þe circumstauncis in þe processis whiche y make þere bifore and aftir, and whichs y make in opire placis of my writingis. ffor bi þis weye seynt Austyn leerned what was þe riȝt meenyng in þe wordis of holi scripture, as he seiþ in his "book of 83 questiouns."⁶¹

The modern student of allegory may suspect that the literal meaning included more, for the mediaeval scholar, that it would subsume today. Included under the literal sense, for the mediaeval user, there is also that which has been called the etiological: the interpretation that has been elicited from an event which took place with that interpretation in mind. Thomas Aquinas in an entire Article devoted to formulating definitively the relative validity of the different meanings, discusses this sub-literal sense as well:

As God is the author of Holy Scripture... it is in his power not only to adapt words to express meaning, as any man can also do, but also to adapt things themselves... The multiplicity of these senses does not produce equivocation, or any other kind of multiplicity, seeing that these senses are not multiplied because one thing signifies several things, but because the things signified by the words can be themselves signs of other things. Thus in Holy Scripture no confusion results, for all the senses are founded on one--the literal--from which alone can any argument be drawn, and not from those intended allegorically, as Augustine says. Nevertheless, nothing of Holy Scripture perishes because of this, since nothing necessary to faith is

⁶¹Donet, p. 4.

contained under the spiritual sense which is not elsewhere put forward clearly by Scripture in its literal sense.⁶²

Then though a statement may represent literal truth, the fact reported was already present in history waiting to be interpreted allegorically. That is, allegory is embedded in the fact itself, in its teleological nature, and not in the chances of interpretation. This means that the vestigia, or traces of God's handiwork, are imprinted not only on the world of nature but also upon history. Man is able to plumb God's intention in history, then, by the use of the allegorical method. The implication is that there is so much connection between the levels of meaning that a man with a firm grasp of literal understanding of Scripture, in constructing an allegorical interpretation, does not so much invent as discover it. The traditional allegorists are not to be compared with composers writing variations on a theme, but rather to conscientious interpreters, unevenly endowed, of a rather ambiguously set down musical opus.

While the theory of exegesis can be abstracted from various mediaeval writings on allegory, it is obvious from the examples given previously that the application of the theory was sporadic and inconsistent. No mediaeval writer rejects the allegorical method, but none with the exception of Thomas Aquinas makes a very coherent statement about it; and Thomas is not an allegorist. The criterion of rejecting literal meaning is moral repugnance, or irrational absurdity: a strictly subjective way of judging, since the polygamy of Jacob may be repugnant to one, but an event with moral implications to another. I believe that

⁶²Summa Theologica I, 1, 10.

the allegorical method is used sketchily and without consistent application because it was being employed on the level of metaphor and not on that of artistic creation. As an example, if both Jacob and Joseph can represent the contemplative soul, no extended allegorical discussion is possible within the framework of the Genesis story, for the facts of the narrative provide for dramatic tensions and conflicts that only a sustained parallel structure of figurative content can support.

IV. The Benjamin Minor as Allegory

Having established the historical background of the use of allegory in the Middle Ages, let us examine in detail the Benjamin Minor itself, to evaluate its use of systematic figurative interpretation of Scripture, and compare the employment of the particular narrative material with the ends to which other exegetes put it.

For the purposes of this examination I have disengaged the story taken from Genesis and the Gospels from the allegorical interpretation, and present them here in parallel form. My analysis is intended to be exhaustive. Next follows a summary of Richard's running commentary on the principle and application of the allegorical method. My own discussion of his usage, with consideration of his similarity to other mediaeval allegorists and departure from them, closes this section.

Affective Intellect

Rational Intellect

LEAH
(Affection or Will)
directed toward
moral discipline.

JACOB
(the Intellect)

RACHEL
(Reason) directed
toward spiritual
wisdom

ZELPHA
(Sensuality)
When conquered
bears adoptive
sons

BALA
(Imagination)
When conquered
bears adoptive
sons

VII GAD
Temperance

VIII ASHER
Patience

VI DAN
Judgment

II NAPHTHALI
Comparison

Her sons are holy desires or ordered emotions

Defenders
of the
City of
the Soul

Her sons are spiritual perceptions

I REUBEN
Fear of the
Lord

II SIMEON
Sorrow

III LEVI
Hope

IV JUDAH
Praise

IX ISSACHAR
Reward
of self-
discipline

X ZEBULON
Fortitude
or zeal;
most difficult
of virtues

DINAH
Shame
for sin,
even after
acquiring
of virtue

SICHEM, vainglory
EMOR, self-love
seduce DINAH

gathers
thousands
of praise
after birth
of God and
Asher
seduces
BALA
Imagination

II JOSEPH (Discretion)
the control of our
natures, leads to
Self-Knowledge

III BENJAMIN
(Contemplation),
a grace given by
God, leads to
Knowledge of God

Meet and embrace in the land of
Egypt, after the ascent of the Mount
of Transfiguration

LEVELS OF ALLEGORY

LITERAL: Ascent and descent of mount
TYPOLOGICAL: Christ as revealed Truth
TROPOLOGICAL: attainment of self-knowledge
through knowledge of visible world and
self-discipline.
ANAGOGICAL: Benjamin, (Grace of
contemplation) a foretaste of Heaven
(spiritual marriage).

Transfiguration
— CHRIST is approved by MOSES and
ELIAS —

Attainment of Contemplation:
RACHEL dies, BENJAMIN is born

descent into
EGYPT

BENJAMIN
embraces
JOSEPH

CHRIST (Truth)
and 3 disciples (action,
meditation,
prayer)

ascend the
mountain
the attainment of
Self-Knowledge

Knowledge of the
created order

contemplation & meditation
combine in the world of the
present

Knowledge of visible world

Self-Knowledge

Moral grace of contemplation

combination of meditation
and contemplation in the
active life.

THE NOETIC PROCESS:

"Know thyself, and Thou wilt know thy Creator"

1. Abstract of the Benjamin Minor.

Benjamin is the handsomest son of Rachel, fairest of the sons of Jacob.

Leah is prolific but tender-eyed.

Rachel is beautiful but nearly barren.

Jacob served seven years for Rachel.

Marriage with Leah is hated, for she is troublesome.

Rachel is desired, Leah scorned.

The two wives are Oola and Ooliba (Ezekiel XXIII, 4, Douay-Rheims version), Jerusalem and Samaria.

The children of Rachel and Leah.

I. Contemplation is the greatest achievement of the reason, and the noblest power of the mind. The moral activity of the intellect produces many virtues, but is deficient in wisdom. The reasoning activity is utterly desirable, but is late in playing a part in man's spiritual development. These are the two powers of the intellect, one devoted to the search for wisdom and truth, the other to self-discipline and the desire for justice. Men desire to cultivate the former capacity rather than the latter, for wisdom is preferable to any other good, and is difficult to attain.

II. Do men seek justice with the same ardor?

Apparently not, though it is actually obtainable. Why should they find it so undesirable? The exercise of justice is troublesome. It involves giving up worldly reward, and men are reluctant to do so. They long for the pursuit of spiritual wisdom, but despise moral training.

III. Every soul has two God-given qualities, reason, directed toward truth, and affection, toward virtue. From the reason come right counsels, from the affection, holy desires. From the reason, spiritual perceptions, from the affections, ordered emotions. All truth is of the former, all virtue

2. The second part outlines the specific procedures and protocols that must be followed when recording transactions. This includes details on how data should be collected, stored, and reviewed to ensure its integrity and reliability.

3. The third part addresses the role of the management team in overseeing the record-keeping process. It stresses that management must ensure that all staff are properly trained and that the necessary resources are provided to support the system.

4. The fourth part discusses the importance of regular audits and reviews of the records. This helps to identify any discrepancies or errors early on and allows for corrective action to be taken promptly.

5. The fifth part covers the security measures that must be implemented to protect the records from unauthorized access or loss. This includes the use of secure storage methods and the implementation of strict access controls.

6. The sixth part discusses the importance of maintaining the records for a sufficient period of time. This ensures that the organization has a complete and accurate history of its activities, which can be used for various purposes, including legal and financial reporting.

7. The seventh part discusses the importance of ensuring that the records are easily accessible to those who need them. This involves implementing a system that allows for quick and efficient retrieval of information.

8. The eighth part discusses the importance of ensuring that the records are kept up-to-date and accurate. This requires a commitment to ongoing monitoring and maintenance of the system.

9. The ninth part discusses the importance of ensuring that the records are used for their intended purpose. This involves implementing a system that allows for the tracking and reporting of the use of the records.

10. The tenth part discusses the importance of ensuring that the records are protected from unauthorized disclosure. This involves implementing a system that allows for the control of the flow of information and the protection of sensitive data.

Leah is married.

Rachel is married.

Leah is troublesome,
Rachel pleasant.

Rachel a sheep of
the Lord.

Even her handmaiden is
desired by men.

Marriage with Leah is
first. Scripture is
the bed of Rachel, in
which we seek Rachel,

but find Leah instead.

Marriage with Rachel
comes later.

Two handmaidens wait
upon the two wives.

Rachel cannot go out and

of the latter. Affection has to be applied to the practice of justice; reason needs to receive illumination from the highest wisdom. The pursuit of truth is very pleasant, but it is difficult to conform to the rule of justice. Wisdom must be sought with humility. It is no wonder it is loved if even worldly wisdom, a lesser quality, is so must sought after by worldly philosophers.

IV. As faith comes through experience, we often need to have moral discipline before we are ready to devote ourselves to spiritual practices. Scripture contains truth concealed in allegory, but we do not uncover it until we have had contrition for our sins. When this compunction interrupts our studies, we sorrow for our sin and direct the attention Godward. Later we may attain wisdom, through divine illumination.

V. Affection is served by sensuality, reason by imagination. Without these properties the mind's faculties would have no knowledge of the external world; reason would not know, nor affection perceive. Sensuality offers carnal pleasures to affection, while the imagination, giving sense impressions to the reason, enables it to attain knowledge of the invisible by means of the visible,

through analogy. Material sense is external and

talk to servants; her handmaiden is the intermediary.

The handmaidens are always at work.

Short-sighted Leah follows her handmaiden.

Bala, Rachel's handmaiden, is a gossip, uncontrolled by her mistress.

Zelpha, Leah's handmaiden, is a drunkard.

Leah's seven sons are true sons of Jacob when well controlled.

Reuben, son of vision

Simeon, heeding

reason cannot go out and grasp it; hence the imagination acts as mediator between them. Its service is constant, even if sense impression be lacking: in the dark, imagination still operates. Likewise sensuality is always at work tempting the moral judgment or affection into overconcern with carnal pleasures.

VI. The imagination ever clamors, and cannot be controlled by reason, as we know by the daily experience of our own wandering thoughts. Sensuality never has enough of any carnal delight.

VII. The ordered emotions are seven in number, corresponding to the seven virtues, for virtue is controlled emotion. They are hope and fear, joy and sorrow, hate, love and shame. These are bad qualities when uncontrolled, but good when disciplined.

VIII. First is the fear of the Lord, a preliminary to all virtue and wisdom. Attention to our sins engenders this fear. Clearsightedness about our failings makes us fear the Lord, and once we do so, intercourse between God and man becomes possible.

IX. The next son is sorrow, which follows fear, for the more one fears punishment, the more he laments his sin. When he heeds his failings, indulgence will doubtless come to the truly contrite.

Levi, addition

younger than Reuben
and Simeon

Judah, praise,
younger than
Levi.

Leah ceases to bear.

X. Consolation comes through the addition of the hope of forgiveness. Penitence must be genuine to merit this addition, lest there be spiritual pride through over-confidence of forgiveness.

Hope is added only after fear and sorrow; it never comes without them.

XI. Only now can there be friendship between God and man: joyful love incites us, through the hope of forgiveness, and God now rouses us to seek his love rather than to fear him. Love comes after hope, as sorrow came after fear. A man praises that which he loves.

XII. The soul that greatly loves always praises God: not only in secret, but publicly as well, to inflame others with the same love. Such a man acts in God's service to manifest his love, for God has abundantly pardoned him. Hence let us ever praise and acknowledge, for true love does so. Love of God is not distinct from love of God's justice. The lover of God must be concerned with the justice the moral sense has engendered. Now these four moral qualities that have been discussed are fear of punishment, sorrow of repentance, hope of pardon, love of justice. A man is likely to think, after achieving these virtues, that he has truly loved the true good.

Rachel sorrows for
her own barrenness

after the birth of
Judah.

Rachel cannot
bear, and adopts
the offspring
of Bala.

Bala's best function
is bearing sons for
Rachel to adopt.

The offspring are
legitimized.

XIII. The love of wisdom has not yet produced any spiritual qualities. If this zeal is unproductive, it withers. After heavenly love is gained, the reason strives even more, for the greater love becomes, the more the intellect desires to know.

XIV. But the unskilled mind cannot rise to knowledge of heavenly things without knowledge of earthly ones, through the help of the imagination. The mind does not abandon its earthly interests, but understands them as well as it is able, and forms imaginative concepts. To think well about earthly good things raises the mind to a desire for the good. So man takes his first step toward contemplation of the invisible.

XV. Scripture accomodates itself to the infirmity of our reason by representing invisible things in the forms of visible ones. This is the meaning of the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem in terms of earthly treasures. The similitude of heavenly to earthly makes the divine available to us imaginatively, and this is the chief good function of that faculty.

XVI. There are two types of imagination, one bestial and one rational. Only the latter can be virtuous. Bestial imagination is idle roving of the thoughts. Rational imagination enables us to form concepts

Rachel's act of
adoption

Mother and son
are alike

Mother is prior to
son, and independent
of him. Jacob begets
Dan and Naphtali, who
are like their mother.

Dan and Naphtali
are sons of
Bala and Jacob.

out of sense impressions, or to speculate on the life to come. By the process of abstraction, we can imagine the other life's unmixed good and evil on the basis of this life's mingled good and evil. The process is both rational and imaginative.

XVII. Imagination is both instrument and act.

Genus mates with difference and produces species.

If we say reason, or will, or intellect, we mean

either instrument or act. Instrument is prior to act and independent of it. The mind, through imagination, engenders imagination.

XVIII. That which is not of the rational imagination is not taken up by the intellect. But the

rational imagination is itself a double faculty:

one thing when set in order by reason, another when

mixed with the understanding. The former faculty

has to do with association through a familiar

species of visible objects, the latter pertains to

the ascent to concepts of the invisible through

the visible, and involves intelligence. The first

faculty is concerned with future evil and considers

nothing but the corporeal, envisaging the torments

of Hell as literally true; the second faculty

speculates on future good, ascending to contempla-

tion through understanding the visible, and inter-

preting heavenly joys in a mystical sense.

XIX. Consideration is easier to achieve if it pertains to the imagination alone and not to the understanding. Yet making images of present things enables one to make speculations on the future, while hypothetical future images can enable us to achieve true understanding. This spiritual understanding cannot fall into error. But can any living man really contemplate the future life accurately? He fashions his picture of it according to his own judgment.

Dan is older;

Naphtali younger.

Dan, judgment

XX. Judgment is also that by which we condemn ourselves if we fall into temptation of evil thoughts. These should never go unpunished. The teaching of good works belongs to the carnal sense; the governing of desires to the moral sense; the meaning of statements to the rational powers, the guidance of the thoughts to the imaginative. Each thought is judged in its own category. Will emends will, deed is chastened by deed. But thoughts are equally to be judged.

The sons of Zelpha
not yet discussed.
Leah, Rachel and

Bala

Each judges his own
tribe.

Dan shall judge his
people.

XXI. If judgment is properly exercised over thoughts, it seldom has to be extended to acts. This care must be constant, for evil can come through thought even when the will does not consent to it.

XXII. We are incited to good by the thought of reward, by rapture, or by comparison with present

Naphtali, comparison
or conversion

joys. The extent of spiritual joys can be measured by comparison with the joys of the five senses.

Rapture over invisible things comes by likening them to the visible, by comparison or conversion.

XXIII. The subtler this contemplation is, the more excellent, and it is available and profitable even to the unskilled. The grace of contemplation enables us to make swift surveys of our world, yet this rapture is never far from the earth in its leaps into the spiritual, and ever carries with it the shadow of the corporeal.

Naphtali a hind
let loose,

giving goodly words.

XXIV. Giving goodly words applies to this speculation: through the language of physical love the spiritual is depicted, to the refreshment of man who is both flesh and spirit. The words are sweetest when we sometimes have to take refuge in the figurative meaning because the literal is fatuous.

Zelpha's offspring,
Gad and Asher, are
adopted by Leah.

XXV. Conquered sensuality also benefits the moral intellect. It has to acquire temperance and patience. Temperance comes first, then patience. The flesh is afflicted by discipline, but the moral intellect rejoices, and makes these qualities into virtues.

Zelpha sorrows,
but Leah rejoices.

XXVI. Peace of mind comes through temperance and patience. No temporal evil can touch the man who has disciplined his body for the love of God. Hence abstinence is called happiness, and patience blessed.

Gad, happiness,
Asher, blessed

2. The second part of the document addresses the challenges of data management in a rapidly changing environment. It highlights the need for flexible and scalable solutions that can adapt to new technologies and evolving business requirements. The author argues that investing in modern data infrastructure is crucial for staying competitive and making informed decisions based on real-time information.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the role of leadership in driving organizational success. It stresses that effective leaders must possess strong communication skills, strategic vision, and the ability to inspire and motivate their teams. The text provides several practical tips for leaders, such as setting clear goals, fostering a culture of innovation, and encouraging open dialogue and collaboration among team members.

4. The fourth part of the document explores the impact of external factors on organizational performance. It discusses how economic conditions, market trends, and regulatory changes can influence a company's operations and financial health. The author advises organizations to conduct regular risk assessments and develop contingency plans to mitigate potential threats and seize emerging opportunities.

5. The fifth part of the document concludes by emphasizing the importance of continuous improvement and learning. It encourages organizations to regularly evaluate their performance, seek feedback from stakeholders, and implement changes based on lessons learned. The text suggests that a commitment to ongoing growth and development is key to long-term success in a dynamic business landscape.

for the lover of affliction for God's sake is happy and blessed even in adversity, while the lover of the world is ever unsatisfied. These disciplines of our senses are joys and not calamities.

Leah adopts sons after her sister's example.

Rachel's handmaiden Bala bears before Leah's handmaiden Zelpha. Leah would not adopt unless Rachel had done so. First Leah had to bear Reuben and Levi before adopting Gad and Asher.

Reuben goes out after the birth of Gad and Asher.

He gathers mandrakes for his mother Leah. She gives part of them to Rachel. Jacob lies with Leah, who has bought his favor from Rachel. Not all the mandrakes are given up.

XXVII. The moral intellect cultivates these virtues as the spiritual intellect cultivates those of the imagination. The imagination is productive first, for when it is undisciplined it must be put down before sensuality can be tempered. Nor would the affection of the heart accept abstinence and patience unless fear of judgment and hope of reward had been acquired first.

XXVIII. The fear of God can be internal, troubling the conscience, or external, as when we submit to other men for the sake of God. This fear prompts us to undertake works of justice, once abstinence and patience have strengthened us for obedience.

XXIX. Good reputation is thus achieved. Praise touches the affection; yet it surrenders part of its praise to the reason. The Holy Spirit then illumines the reason and inflames the affection. Reason urges affection to be moderate if it wishes to attain virtue, and the appetite for praise is brought under the control of reason. Desire for praise has to be cut off gradually, until the mind is impregnated with spiritual sweetness. The reason

diverts this praise to the glory of God.

XXX. We praise the man who fears God and are amazed when someone who has learned abstinence and patience is still capable of spiritual pride.

Only fear of God merits our praise. True praise comes after right acts, done by means of abstinence and patience. Once these qualities are attained, the God-directed will can earn praise through good works.

Reuben could get the mandrakes only after the birth of Gad and Asher.

Dan defends the city of the soul from within, Gad from without.

Neither can fight well without the other.

Naphtali aids Dan; Asher aids Gad.

Asher, his bread shall be fat,

and he shall yield dainties to princes.

Issachar, Leah's reward for giving up the mandrakes.

XXXI. These virtues fortify the man who has them. Judgment defends him internally through his thoughts; abstinence protects him externally by warding off the temptations of the senses.

XXXII. Discipline of the body is useless without discipline of the mind, nor can the latter be maintained without the former.

XXXIII. Hope of heavenly reward assists the judgment; patience assists abstinence.

XXXIV. Patience aids us to become merciful. It seeks justice, but tempers it with mercy.

XXXV. Patience is endowed with spiritual consolation and glories in adversity. It supports the faint-hearted. Our soul abounds in riches when guarded by judgment, hope, abstinence and patience.

XXXVI. Once we are secure in these qualities, we attain true joy. This is the fifth quality of the

moral intellect, the reward for self discipline.

XXXVII. This joy is great in comparison to worldly joy, but small in comparison to heavenly.

XXXVIII. It intoxicates with true sobriety and is stable amid the flux of worldly cares. This stability is the true home of the soul.

He lies down between the borders, on the firm earth.

He is made an ass and humbles himself.

XXXIX. This joy is achieved through humbling one's self. Self discipline prepares us for the joy of the future life. The contemplative must learn to live as little as possible in this world, as much as possible on the outskirts of the next, laboring to reach the true peace which will be free of labor. Evil desires keep us still within this world, but we glimpse the true peace of that other life, and sometimes by this vision acquire fortitude against present perils, and strength to combat all vices.

XL. Hatred of vice is a virtue when we use it for our brothers' welfare or in God's service. It arises after we have experienced the reward of self discipline. Fortitude bravely avenges the injuries of the Lord, and nothing pleases him so much as this spiritual zeal.

Zebulun, the dwelling place of fortitude

is born late,

XLI. Yet it is a difficult virtue to attain even for men who have attained other virtues. Some are too torpid or timid or choleric to act with proper zeal. A man must love truly before he can punish

justly. He must have some knowledge of spiritual matters. Then punishment can be directed to benefit and not to revenge.

last of the sons of Leah. He protects the seacoast and is host to the shipwrecked.

XLII. Zeal for justice should defend sinners against their persecutors and protect weak men against temptations by teaching and preaching. It must be compassionate toward offenders, and brave and hospitable.

Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea.

XLIII. It must be ready to offer security and protection to the feeble and the guileless who have been injured by the discord and trickery of evil men and spirits.

Zebulun, a good dowry

XLIV. This zeal is a powerful virtue, one of the greatest of God's graces. The church's best gift from God is the ability to save souls. Zeal is a good dowry.

These six sons of Leah are not enough.

XLV. We dare not think a man can be sinless even with these six virtues. We are always prone to sins of ignorance and pride. When we fall into some sin for which we have chastised others, we learn shame. It is an ordered shame when we blush only for sin. This shame only comes after zeal for justice.

Dinah, shame, is born after Zebulun.

XLVI. Hatred of vice must precede proper shame, otherwise we may feel it only for loss of reputation. Be not proud of shame, for even bad men

Zebulun must precede her.

feel it. Be not ashamed of poverty (the Lord himself was poor), nor of dirt, nor of bad grammar. Even spiritual men sometimes still feel such shame, or are proud of their eloquence in preaching against pride.

XLVII. True shame is rare: it has to do with the spiritual and not the physical.

Dinah, that judgment

XLVIII. Shame is that judgment: by it every man is judged and punished in his own conscience. Shame implies awareness of guilt, and offense implies a punishment to be feared. The more a man loves himself, the more harshly he will judge himself.

is a woman, and weaker
than a man.

This is a feminine virtue because shame is less constant than the others, and weakens the heart, interfering with the performance of brave deeds.

She placates Zebulun,

XLIX. This feminine virtue softens the boldness of the masculine ones. Zeal is vehement, and shame moderates its anger. Yet it is not worthy to be ranked with the other virtues, for all its honor and pleasantness. Its function is to allure with pleasing modesty, so that we should admire men of humble heart.

but does not found
a tribe.

She is most alluring.

Sichem, vain glory,
and his father Emor,
self love, seduce
Dinah.

L. Many men practice self discipline for shame rather than for the love of God. Self love and vain glory, the qualities of stupid men, labor to obtain human acclaim.

Dinah is wrong to
leave her chambers.

She is seduced.

Meanwhile her brothers
are feeding the sheep.

Jacob, not the
brothers, is first
to learn of her
betrayal.

The brothers rage.

Emor and Sichem agree
to be circumcised, but
the brothers would
prefer not to give
up Dinah.

They are not pleased
at the match. Yet
their severity is too
great; they should
have been lenient
with the newly cir-
cumcised.

LI. These qualities corrupt proper shame, which should never be concerned with the acclaim of others. It ought to devote itself to a man's inner life. When he becomes over curious about the characters or failings of others, he becomes corrupted, filled with envious desire for vain glory.

LII. The other virtues employ themselves for the benefit of mankind, feeling generous concern over others' fortunes. These disciplined emotions are good. But vain love of self turns this interest into self corruption. The virtues do not tell us we have become corrupted; it is self knowledge that warns us.

LIII. When a man knows he has been thus corrupted, he should be very severe with himself, practicing the sternest self discipline to correct the fault. Pride is only proper if tempered with shame. There cannot be proper shame until pride is brought under discipline. The condition is a hard one, for the virtuous mind prefers to glory only in God, and not in itself.

LIV. The virtuous mind does not approve of self correction for shame's sake and not for God's. Yet virtue can be ruinously harsh to the weak whom it punishes too severely. Habits corrected for the wrong reason should not be destroyed, but our intention should be amended, and good works not abandoned.

Of the three painful days following circumcision, the third is the worst.

Simeon and Levi should be temperate.

They should not have slain the men with swords

for the sake of one girl's chastity. Jacob disapproves.

A man is slain, a wall is undermined.

Dinah should have stayed at home, for her going out caused her ruin.

She was born after Issachar and Zebulun.

These are the seven offspring of Jacob and Leah.

To be true sons of Jacob, they must be obedient. Even Reuben should have obeyed.

LV. Self knowledge is painful: we learn by it to endure external harshness, the shame of our faults and the retribution of God. The last of these is the greatest pain.

LVI. The penitent mind must remain hopeful even in its grief. Yet grief and hope have to be temperate in their correction, each balancing the other.

LVII. Over-eager correction by these virtues, using upbraiding and impossible exactions, causes the mind too great distress, leading to ruinous excesses of abstinence and depression. All this is done for shame.

LVIII. Too much of this affliction unhinges the mind. That virtue is immoderate which does not yield to the dictates of prudence.

LIX. Shame should be felt only for God's sake, not for man's. When too concerned with worldly matters it becomes corrupted, and mental downfall results.

LX. Shame follows sweet spiritual experience and the hatred of vices. The self knowledge they give us causes true modesty. Such are the seven virtues resulting from the moral activity of the mind.

LXI. To be virtues, these emotions have to be both ordered and moderate. This is true even of the fear of God, the first of the virtues.

LXII. Fear can be inadequate, or too great. Even

Reuben is unstable
as water.

When full-grown, he
seduces Bala, his
father's concubine.
Thou shalt not excel,
because thou wentest
up to thy father's
bed.

Reuben, thou art
my firstborn, my
might, and the begin-
ning of my sorrow.

Reuben is excelling
in gifts, greater
in command.

Levi, Judah, Zebulun
obey him; Issachar
goes out, Simeon
comes in.

Judah and Zebulun
are stronger than
the others, but
Reuben is still
stronger.

good men grow too anxious. Fear should be moderate, even when caused by solicitude for others. Prudence can lead to illumination or dissipate itself in anxiety.

LXIII. This over-anxiety is a corruption of the imagination, causing even prayer to be interrupted by wandering thoughts. Immoderate fear is an unstable virtue.

LXIV. It can cause more good or evil than any other virtue, corrupt the mind or restore it. Powerful against the lusts, it is the beginning of all virtue and of profitable sorrow.

LXV. The first gift of God is a good will; without it we cannot do any good. Fear of the Lord enables the will to become good, and man is thereby redeemed. So fear is the best gift we can receive of God. It is more powerful than the other virtues, stronger than hope, love or hatred. It can exclude joy and make room for sorrow. Love and hatred are stronger than the other emotions, but less powerful than fear. All our emotions give us reason for fear. There is great danger in it unless it is tempered by discretion.

LXVI. Discretion should govern all the emotions, setting them in order and moderating them, lest they turn into vices.

Joseph, born late, is the most loved by Jacob. His brothers are uncontrolled before his birth.

After the seduction of Dinah, the brothers learn to be controlled by the son of Rachel.

Only Joseph is clad in the long robe. He controls his brothers, is honored by the Egyptians, is the husband of a virgin. Joseph is enriched by famine, while his brothers are impoverished.

Joseph dreams of being honored by his family.

The brothers hate him for his severity.

Their offence is reported to their father by Joseph.

He disciplines his brothers.

LXVII. It is the late-born and most valuable faculty of the mind, indispensable to the maintenance of the good. Great experience of other virtues teaches discretion, as do hearing, reading and innate judgment to a lesser degree. Though we fail, we must school ourselves in virtue, finally acquiring self discipline. Even if we are virtuous we fail shamefully until we learn discretion. No mental faculty but the reason can produce this quality.

LXVIII. True discretion carries out actions properly, realises dangers in time, cautions other men who are tempted, and is heeded by them. It is a preserver of purity, a comforter in affliction. It increases in adversity, when other virtues fall away.

LXIX. Discretion governs the intention of the mind and all its faculties, and tempers the virtues.

They are difficult to govern, constantly overreaching their capacities, and falling into hypocrisy, the most hateful to God of all offenses. Discretion brings this sin to the attention of the mind.

LXX. It reveals hidden evils, disciplines the virtues and sets them to work. It knows the body as well as the mind, and ministers to it. It discriminates between merit and grace. It makes plain the nature of temptation and spiritual solace. Dis-

He attains complete power.

His younger brother, Benjamin, is born to Rachel, but only long afterward.

Joseph has to be much the older.

Rachel labors in great pain,

and dies in bearing Benjamin.

Only thus can Benjamin be born.

cretion knows the whole man and all his capabilities.

LXXI. So it leads to full self-knowledge, as contemplation leads to knowledge of God. Both are part of the reasoning faculty, but contemplation comes long after the exercise of discretion. Knowledge of self must come before knowledge of God.

LXXII. Man, the image of God, provides the best mirror for the sight of God. The rational faculty in man best reflects God. Discretion studies the self, in order to know God. In such studies, illumination bursts upon a man, inspiring him to see the divine light. With this desire he enters upon contemplation.

LXXIII. Desire oppresses the mind that yearns chiefly for the grace of contemplation, and grief grows with desire, for the mind knows that contemplation is beyond its power to attain. When a man achieves the contemplative state, reason fails.

LXXIV. This failure is unavoidable. Earthly things have to be abandoned to reach heavenly ones. Three levels of the knowledge of God are attainable in this life: knowledge by faith, by reason, and by contemplation. Contemplation takes us beyond reason, and leaves us closest to God.

LXXV. Knowledge of the created order is a lower stage. To attain spiritual knowledge, one should

Self-knowledge is a mountain peak the philosophers cannot climb.

It is difficult to climb the mountain and difficult to stand there, but Peter said, It is good for us to be here.

Christ leads his disciples up the mountain. It cannot be scaled without him. There we witness his Transfiguration, recognise Moses and Elias, and hear God.

Christ takes three disciples with him; one would not be enough.

If you do not see Christ transfigured you have not climbed the mountain. There he is clad in heavenly garments, but in the valley he wore earthly ones.

Do not accept the Transfiguration unless Moses and Elias attest that the vision is true.

chiefly study himself. Self-knowledge looks down on philosophy and the inadequate worldly knowledge of the philosophers.

LXXVI. It is difficult to attain and difficult to retain, but long usage makes self-knowledge a man's chief delight: to have it is perfect felicity.

LXXVII. Truth brings us to this state. Without it we cannot succeed. Follow the truth, if you wish to know yourself.

LXXVIII. The reward for attaining self-knowledge is illumination, understanding of the law and the prophets without a guide, and comprehension of heavenly mysteries.

LXXIX. Truth leads to self-knowledge through concern with action, meditation and prayer. Without prayer and a zeal for good works, no amount of study will avail.

LXXX. Perfect self-knowledge merits the vision of truth transformed into divine wisdom. Before it was couched in human terms, now in heavenly ones, yet it is one truth. While we are concerned with this world we learn only a temporal sort of truth.

LXXXI. The evidence of Scripture has to support the heavenly vision. Earthly truth does not need it, being confirmed by our own experience. Both literal and figurative meanings of Scripture must

The devil can be transfigured as well as Christ.

The disciples have not yet fallen down. At the sound of God's voice, they fall.

God's words are ambiguous.

The sound of his voice comes only upon the mountain; man must climb to hear it.

Joseph assembles the tribes of Israel. A tabernacle is built. First the assembly has to be a synagogue, later a church.

Then Benjamin can fall into ecstasy.

He weds wisdom, and abides in the bride-chamber. The death of Rachel, the falling down of the disciples, the marriage, all describe this ecstasy.

The death of Rachel and the ecstasy of Benjamin are compared.

be applicable. Only such confirmation can assure us we are not deceived by the devil.

LXXXII. So far the divine vision has not been achieved. Now human capacities fail: sense, memory and reason are annihilated. God himself witnesses to his own truth, in a manner only faith can grasp.

LXXXIII. Revelation comes after perfect self-knowledge. God wishes man to establish himself in a state of perfection.

LXXXIV. Let a man govern himself well, and train himself in the interior life as well as delighting in it. Once a discipline of thought and desire is effective, they will center on the interior life in obedience to reason. Then contemplation can be merited.

LXXXV. This ecstasy is all-engrossing; the contemplative wishes never to be absent for its joy. His love grows constantly.

LXXXVI. The first type of contemplation is above reason but not outside it. The second is above and outside it, having to do with matters of faith. When contemplation passes beyond reason it does away with it, but finally contemplation passes even beyond its own powers and depends entirely on revelation.

Benjamin goes down
into Egypt.

The two brothers
delight in one
another.

Benjamin causes
his mother's death.
He goes down into
Egypt.
He embraces Joseph.

LXXXVII. The attention of the mind at last is called back from the eternal to the temporal. The mind ponders what has been revealed to it, and prepares to use its knowledge in everyday life.

Meditation, the process of attaining self-knowledge, impinges upon contemplation; pure intelligence makes itself available to true prudence. Meditation and contemplation are entirely compatible and mutually beneficial, agreeing in a single attestation of the truth.

Scripture has now revealed its meaning: contemplation rises above reason; it goes back down to be of service in the world, and finally is compatible with the process of acquiring self knowledge.

2. Richard of St. Victor's Remarks on Allegory

Before attempting to fit this extraordinary treatise into its place in mediaeval allegory, let us abstract from it the one element which does not appear in the parallel synopses of its literal and figurative meanings. Scattered through the eighty-seven chapters are the author's observations on the nature of Scriptural allegory and on his own use of it. It is possible to rearrange these remarks into an exposition of his view of the valid uses of figurative discourse. Such a digest of his statements follows; as nearly as possible his own language is retained.

Holy Scripture is the bed of Rachel, in which we seek for wisdom concealed in allegory. But moral preparation is necessary before we are fit to understand this spiritual meaning. When Scriptural reading arouses us to compunction rather than contemplation, we know that we are still unprepared to unveil the allegorical meaning.⁶³ The interpretation of Scripture is part of the general contemplative process through which we rise to a knowledge of the invisible through knowledge of the visible.⁶⁴ Thus the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem in terms of earthly treasures is couched in these words to enable us to rise to contemplation through tracing a similitude between the earthly and the heavenly with the aid of the imagination. This is the imagination's most useful function.⁶⁵

⁶³Benjamin Minor, IV.

⁶⁴V, XV.

⁶⁵XV.

We take Scriptural descriptions of future punishment literally, being sure they are so intended, and hence do not seek a figurative meaning for Hell and Gehenna. Yet descriptions of future rewards in terms of a land flowing with milk and honey, or some such figure, are obviously figurative, and a man of good sense will proceed immediately to inquire into the mystical meaning. However, the distinction does not always hold good; a description of physical torment may have a figurative meaning, and one of heaven may warrant a simple interpretation even though it uses physical terms.⁶⁶

As man is made up of flesh and spirit, many passages have a literal meaning that is carnal and a figurative meaning that is spiritual. Such passages refresh and delight both his natures; yet strangely enough a man is often most deeply affected by a passage when it seems that nothing in the literal meaning is at all remarkable. The effectiveness may lie in the fact that the pleasant fatuousness of the literal forces us to take refuge in the spiritual meaning.⁶⁷

Scriptural authority is absolutely necessary to make revelation acceptable. Both figurative and literal authority are requisite in confirming the truth of the contemplative's vision. Yet it is the glory of the spiritual meaning which provides the chief confirmation.⁶⁸

Scripture has various means of extending, restricting or changing the signification of a thing. Sometimes the significance is revealed through a place, sometimes through a person, sometimes through an act.⁶⁹

⁶⁶XVIII.

⁶⁷XXIV.

⁶⁸LXXXI.

⁶⁹LXXXVI.

Through these changing modes of signification a single truth is set forth, complex but clear. In the death of Rachel, the entrance of Benjamin into Egypt, and the embrace of Joseph and Benjamin, an event, a country, and an action are the allegorical means of describing the stages of a single process, the achieving of contemplation.⁷⁰

3. Evaluation of Richard's Use of Allegory.

One thing emerges clearly from these remarks: allegory is not employed by Richard primarily to expound Scripture, as we would understand such exposition. He is following the tendency we found in his predecessors to abstract from the Jacob-Joseph story those elements which can be useful for setting forth a method for fostering the contemplative life. However he has gone far beyond any other Scriptural allegorist in the direction of establishing a systematic, carefully detailed study of the steps involved. With an extremely high degree of artistry, he has developed a point-for-point correspondence between his contemplative theology and the Genesis story, together with the transfiguration narrative from the Gospels. The material is memorable; it lies ready to hand, and Richard builds his treatise upon it.

One is drawn irresistably to asking a question which seems to be almost unanswerable: to what extent does the allegorist really believe that he is expounding Scripture? To us it is self-apparent that such a work, whatever its artistry, however successful it may be as an exposition of the preparation for contemplation, is hardly exegetical, in that it does not "explain the meaning" of the ancient Hebrew narrative. Did it do so for the author, or for his pupils? Does Richard believe that

⁷⁰LXXXVII.

Gad and Asher actually typify abstinence and patience, when nothing in the narrative portrays them as either abstinent or patient, and only the Benedictions of Jacob and the pseudo-etymology of their names give any basis for any figurative interpretation whatsoever? The problem of the intention of a writer is an acute one for us. For the mediaeval allegorist the acute problem was the intention of God himself in shaping history and its records as he did. Confident that God had placed all the figurative meanings in Scripture, and even the figurative aspect of the fact in the fact itself, the exegete's task was to become sensitive to all hints of a hidden meaning. Exegesis, then, is closely connected with self-knowledge, more so than with a knowledge of Hebrew, or of the history and geography of the Holy Land. Nothing makes us feel more remote from the twelfth century than a realization of the difference between its estimate of the equipment necessary for a Biblical scholar and ours. Yet believing as he did that to understand himself thoroughly was to understand God's purpose revealed in nature and in Scripture, the mediaeval allegorical exegete must really have believed that he was expounding Scripture.

The question of intention in this type of interpretation rises especially in the case of Richard, for his methodical allegorism is so conspicuous by its consistency. As typical of the contrasting use of figurative interpretation in other exegetes, let us recall the passages from Abrose cited in Part III of this introduction. It will be remembered that he hypothecates an allegorical correspondence between Jacob and the contemplative life, touching upon the literal story, but never developing the allegory into a structure that parallels the narrative.

At another point he sets up Jacob as both temperance and reason, while Joseph is chastity; yet the father-son relationship plays no express part in the allegory, thus weakening the nexus between literal and figurative discourse.

Augustine's more systematic exposition of the allegory on the Jacob story, while the most developed of any Scriptural allegory before Richard, also falls short, we recall, in failing to take obvious advantage of the entire story line. Only a single episode receives any thorough-going development: the account of the finding of the mandrakes.

The similarity of Richard's work to that of his predecessors, I conclude, is slight as compared with the differences between them. Like commentators perhaps as far back as Hosea, he takes Jacob as a type of the contemplative life; yet there is a significant difference at this very point. Jacob-the-contemplative-man has become a sort of a stage on which the drama of spiritual discipline is played. It is the qualities of mind of such a person that act out the drama, in the characters of Leah, Rachel and their children. The case is precisely the same as with mediaeval plays such as The Castle of Perseverance, where the stage is the human soul. Nowhere is this interiorisation made explicit--there is no reason to assume Richard was aware that he had made a background out of what was formerly a principle figure--but for the literary historian it is obvious that allegorical exegesis is paralleling the drama.

The fact that we can equate this work with drama implies that it sustains a dramatic tension, as is uniquely the case. Previous exegetes had operated perfunctorily in picking out a Christological figure here, a moral or anagogical one there, but Richard takes a whole block of the

story, from the wedding of Leah to Jacob's death, and erects upon it a highly artistic, detailed and totally consistent structure that one appreciates all the more once it has been subjected to close analysis.

If I in turn may expound meaning through figure, I would describe the difference between Richard and his predecessors as the difference between two ranges of mountains: one is overtopped by a level line of cumulus cloud, the straight lower edge of which parallels the solid outline of the range below it, while the cloud heads tower above the mass. Such is Richard's structure, solidly underlaid by a continuous narrative, topped as solidly by a continuous allegorical line, of varying density but without a break. The other range of mountains (representing any other work of Scriptural exegesis of the Middle Ages) is broken in outline, with its discontinuity reflected in the disrupted cloud formation above it. There is no paralleling of literal density by figurative density, but a section of narrative, a sporadic allegory, a break in the narrative, a mass of figurative discourse, arbitrary in size and application.

Of the two ranges in my metaphor, the impressively solid one that is Richard's is the only such to be found in Mediaeval Scriptural exegesis. His larger work, the Benjamin Major, begins with a similar correspondence set up between Scripture and speculative theology: the contemplative life is the ark of the covenant, a state of perfection to which God has called man to pledge himself. The moral discipline antecedent to this state is the atrium or forecourt of the Holy of Holies. Once having established this correspondence, however, the author does not dwell upon it. Indeed it is not capable of the same allegorical

parallelism as the Jacob story, for there is no such narrative line of literal meaning to be exploited.

If the uniqueness of the Benjamin Minor has at length been established, there remains the important task of accounting for this. The work's peculiar quality lies, I believe, in the circumstances of the intellectual milieu in which it was written, and in the purpose it was intended to fulfill. To place the Benjamin Minor in its contemporary setting, as it was earlier placed in its historical one, let us finally consider the Victorine school and the part it played in the life of 12th century Paris.

V. The Victorine School

The history of the famous school connected with the Abbey of St. Victor, situated on the left bank of the Seine at the present site of the Halle aux Vins, begins with the philosopher William of Champeaux, its founder. Students of the 12th century controversy over universals will recall that William was the first antagonist on whom Abelard sharpened his combative powers in this great argument. At the time the young Abelard came to Paris to study under William, the older scholar was the most famous teacher of rhetoric of his day, archdeacon of Notre Dame, and its "scholar": that is, one charged by the bishop with authority over all the schools of the city. Abelard himself, who became his greatest enemy, calls him the first dialectician of his time.⁷¹

William was born in 1070. He had studied under Roscelin, the first

⁷¹ Historia Calamitatum, II; this chapter contains the whole account of their relationship.

mediaeval philosopher to raise the question of the objective reality of universals. While Roscelin held that the word universals was nothing but the puff of air expelled in pronouncing it, that the concept had no reality beyond that, his pupil William became the father of the realist school, dedicated to the defence of the objective validity of universal concepts. Before the end of the century he was teaching dialectic, and later metaphysics, at Paris. As for his bitter controversy with his own pupil, we know from Abelard's account of it that William was forced into an untenable position, and so worsted by the younger man as to withdraw in confusion from his elevated position. He retired to a "hermitage" outside the walls of the city, a secluded Abbey which also provided shelter for the students who followed him there. Abelard goes on to state acidly that his actual motive was "to seem all the holier, so that he might receive advancement."⁷² However this may be, the outcome was that he very shortly became Bishop of Chalons. At this point he ceased to play a part in the history of the Abbey of St. Victor, having established its school and furnished it with certain buildings to accommodate pupils. These were that segment of the ever-fluid student body of Paris that had followed their teacher to his retreat.

Such was the inception of the school of the Abbey of St. Victor, administered by the Canons Regular of the Order of St. Augustine. It was destined to become the most influential center of studies in Paris, and formed one of the three bodies of masters and students that eventually merged into the University of Paris, the other two being the Cathedral School and that of the Abbey of St. Geneviève. It is generally known that in the early part of the 12th century, teaching in the schools was

⁷²Ibid.

still in a very loosely organized stage. The departure from any particular school of a teacher as illustrious as William was likely to mean the concomitant departure of a large part of its student body. We have no way of knowing how many followed him to the Abbey, but we know, even from his enemy Abelard, how great was his prestige. We also know that within twenty years the new school became the most influential in Christendom.⁷³ If even Abelard admits that he continued to study under William after the harassed teacher "warmly invited him to leave,"⁷⁴ the power of attracting students must have been great.

However effective William may have been as an attraction for the Abbey school, his stay at St. Victor was short. It was not until Hugh, a Fleming by birth, became associated with it about a decade later that it attained the eclat that made it a center for studies in philosophy, theology and literature. By the time of Hugh's death in 1140 the Abbey itself had become a large and powerful one. The Canons were involved in the administrative duties of the cathedral, and among other offices they discharged was that of the administration of their own school.

Of the actual curriculum and formal structure of the Victorine school we know nothing, except that it followed the traditional course of liberal studies organized around the trivium and quadrivium. Still it is possible to reconstruct a good deal of the teaching method and even the material from the voluminous writings of Hugh, its greatest figure, and from those of Richard, the formulator of a system of specu-

⁷³Fourier Bonnard, Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint Victor I, 11.

⁷⁴Op. cit.

lative theology, with whose works I have been dealing. It is especially interesting to note, in view of the school's founding by the realist William, that the Victorines never thereafter devoted themselves to pure dialectics. Nowhere in the work of either Hugh or Richard is the name of William or of Abelard mentioned, nor is there any discussion of the violent controversy on the subject. However, the Victorines had a position that can be defined in terms of this discussion, and it can be clearly abstracted from their writings.⁷⁵ Whether or not the omission of mention of the liveliest intellectual issue of the day was deliberate, it is worth comment that Hugh, living under a rule that derived from St. Augustine, and head of a school founded by the leader of the realist faction, departed radically from Platonic realism in his own position. For him, the rational process had for its immediate object not the ideas or universal concepts of which sense data provide but a poor copy, but subjective images of things which the intellect furnishes with an ordered and rational classification. He states, in his teaching manual:

The concern of logic is with things themselves, making inquiry into their meaning, either by the intelligence... or through the reasoning faculty. Logic studies species and genera of things.⁷⁶

Sense data become, then, for both Hugh and Richard, of fundamental importance for the rational process. This is, of course, a non-realist point of view: it is the modified position which Thomas Aquinas was later to uphold in stating that nothing exists in the mind that was not previously in the senses. The body of Hugh's writing, tacitly or

⁷⁵Op. cit., I, 99.

⁷⁶Didascalicon II, XVIII.

explicitly based upon this assumption, merits for him the title given by one of the foremost modern students of the Victorines: "the first scholastic."⁷⁷

His Summa Sententiarum was the classic manual of scholasticism. Peter Lombard, who went to school to the Victorines, later was to write a more famous collection of Sentences, yet this is considered to be an obvious borrowing from the Sentences of Hugh.⁷⁸ His influence upon the course of philosophical development in the 13th century, the great age of scholasticism, is obviously considerable if he merits the name of first of the scholastics. As for his place in his own century, it was very great. He represented, more completely than any other thinker, the condition of philosophical and theological studies of the first half of the century, both as regards the scope of the questions he treated, and as regards his doctrine in itself. Never a public figure in the sense that William of Champeaux, Abelard and Bernard of Clairvaux were, he exercised his great influence by means of teaching, philosophical writing and correspondence. Bonaventure, after a century and a half, considered his writing to have been an encyclopedia of the learning of his time,⁷⁹ and Vincent of Beauvais, himself an encyclopedist, praised his great knowledge of the liberal arts.⁸⁰ Thomas Aquinas, even in taking a position in opposition to Hugh on a particular point

⁷⁷ Bonnard, op. cit., I, 108.

⁷⁸ Mignon, Les Origines de la Scolastique et Hugues de Saint Victor, I, 32-34.

⁷⁹ De reductione artium ad theologiam VII, 501, cited in Mignon, op. cit., I, 3.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

of doctrine, says of his writing: "The words of Hugh of St. Victor are those of a master, and have the force of authority."⁸¹

Self-Knowledge

To devote attention to Hugh when our chief concern is with his successor Richard is not actually a digression, for the Victorines formed a distinct school, with definite fields of concentration and a common point of view. From Hugh, the first and greatest member of the group, to more obscure writers within the next hundred and fifty years, the Victorines produced sufficient writing on philosophical and theological subjects so that some ten of them are represented in the *Patrologia*. Adam of Saint Victor is the only one whose name is likely to be known to the layman, for he was a writer of sequences which are still in use in church music. Richard, our chief concern, drew upon the theological teachings of his master Hugh and became one of the greatest of formal speculative theologians in all the history of Christianity. Yet Hugh's interests were considerably wider. Theologian, philosopher, student of natural science, and psychologist, he was as close to taking all knowledge to be his province as a theologian could consistently be.⁸²

A matter of prime concern to the thinkers of his age was the matter of self-knowledge. Carthusian, Cistercian and Benedictine thinkers, among them St. Bernard of Clairvaux, devoted a great deal of considera-

⁸¹ Summa Theologica II, II, V, art. 1, ad 1.

⁸² See Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, for all of Chapter III, "The Victorines," especially p. 80. She deals particularly with Andrew of St. Victor, who applied his master's systematic thought to literal exegesis.

tion to this question. As none of them started from a basis of scepticism, the questions they asked themselves had to do not with the validity of human knowledge, but the method by which man knows, and the objects of his consideration. The purpose of their study, whatever psychological results there may have been as well, was to forward man's understanding of God. Since Augustine's Confessions, the great romance of the self-aware loving intellect in search of the divine, the quest for knowledge of one's self had been an integral part of the development of Christian philosophy in the West. Man, made in the image of God (whether in respect to his ability to love, to think or to act), learns to know him through knowledge of himself. As Richard of St. Victor, quoting Juvenal, remarks: "That command, Know Thyself, came down from heaven."⁸³ The quotation, usually taken directly from the Greek, is found repeatedly among 12th century writers.

Though the concern with self-knowledge reached these men through Augustine, it assumed a new aspect with them. Augustine had shared Plato's distrust for the objective validity of sense impressions, whereas the Victorines mindful of St. Paul's remark that "The invisible things [of God] from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made,"⁸⁴ viewed the process of knowledge as a continuous one, from sense impressions of the external world, through knowledge of self, up to the point where divine grace would assist the contemplative to knowledge of the invisible. Knowledge of any kind, on

⁸³ Benjamin Minor, LXXVIII.

⁸⁴ Romans I, 20.

any level, could then be considered altogether worthy of the contemplative's attention, in terms of his ultimate concern with the divine.

Yet the physical world, at best, is an inadequate revelation compared to that afforded by the study of man, the noblest work of God. And if man is indeed this worthy of attention, what other man is it possible to know as well as that one with whom we are most familiar, our own self? Both classic and Christian scripture lent support to the primacy of self-knowledge. The Socratic "Know Thyself" already cited was frequently drawn upon, and coupled with the single Biblical text that could be stretched to coincide with it: "If thou know not thyself, O thou fairest among women, go follow after thy kids."⁸⁵ This latter text was interpreted to mean that one should search in his own nature to discover the nature of God.⁸⁶

The search took up the attention of some of the most acute minds of the 12th century, of whom St. Bernard's name is the most familiar to the modern reader.⁸⁷ The quest of self-knowledge had two aspects: through it one trains himself to become capable of loving God, and through it one also recognises in the structure of his own nature the "image and likeness" of God that man was intended to be. This inquiry into the nature of the self was of such supreme importance for St. Bernard that he marks as the first and gravest downward step in the falling away of

⁸⁵ Song of Songs, I, 7, Douay-Rheims version.

⁸⁶ The best discussion of the question of self-knowledge in the Middle Ages is to be found in Gilson, The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy, XI: "Self Knowledge and Christian Socratism."

⁸⁷ See Gilson, The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard, passim, and especially Chapter IV.

the spiritual aspirant from his proper concern, the fault of curiosity about anything else.⁸⁸ Hugh's position about knowledge and self-knowledge is exactly the same: in the Didascalicon he eloquently pleads with the religious student to pray, rather than to study or teach, and above all not to be an intellectual busybody.⁸⁹

Far from being a selfish concern, such self-knowledge is as basic to charitable activity and education as it is to self-discipline. Only with such an approach can man understand his place in the universe. For the Christian, the Socratic precept was interpreted to mean: know thy proper place in the created order. Through self-knowledge we are enabled to establish that inward order that benefits our position.⁹⁰ It will be recalled that Richard of St. Victor makes ordering of the passions into virtues, or sons of Jacob, the principle concern of the greater part of his treatise.

The quest for self-knowledge, as expressed in terms of recognising and setting in order the impulses of our nature, is an appropriate subject for teaching. We know that it was such for the Victorines. On the one hand, we have the evidence of their influence, as dispersed through several literatures in moral and meditative handbooks such as those already discussed. On the other hand, at the fountainhead, the school itself, we have the most explicit evidence of the precise place of moral discipline in the process of the acquisition of self-knowledge.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 155. See also Bernard, The Steps of Humility, ed. Burch, Chapter 10, p. 181.

⁸⁹ V, VIII.

⁹⁰ See Augustine, De Civitate Dei, XIX, 13.

We have the Benjamin Minor, indubitably used in lecturing on this subject. We noted that the first chapter is addressed to young men, who are the hearers. We noted the reiteration and immediacy that mark the oral style, and the rhetoric suitable to this type of delivery. The Jacob-Joseph material certainly served a mnemonic purpose, whatever added value the Scriptural allegory afforded. Internal evidence of the treatise itself, then, indicates that it was intended for school use, but in addition we have considerable evidence in Hugh's teaching work, the Didascalicon.

The Didascalicon.

In order to demonstrate the filiation of the two books, let us recall that Richard was the pupil of Hugh, having spent his entire active life at the Abbey, and being a generation younger. Hugh's intellectual interests ranged very widely,⁹¹ but Richard's were all centered upon the systematic presentation of speculative theology. In the course of his teaching Hugh prepared the work which I will now discuss. The Didascalicon, given a Greek title apparently for the sake of prestige, as were the works of the contemporary humanist, John of Salisbury, occupies one hundred columns of the Patrologia. It sets forth in seven books the elements of a liberal education for one intended for the cloister. I conceive of its having filled a pedagogic place comparable to that of the modern Humanities course in an American university. There follows a short digest of this work, omitting such chapters as concern the philosophical aspects of the practical or mechanic arts such as

⁹¹ See Appendix C for his extended defense of the proper use of allegorical exegesis.

stagecraft or wool spinning, or those that deal in detail with the subject matter of various branches of the trivium and quadrivium.

Digest of the Didascalicon

There are two principle factors in the education of a man: reading and meditation. Reading comes first in the process of training, and this book deals with it in giving instruction in the technique of reading.⁹²

The first thing we must seek is wisdom, for in it consists the form of perfect beauty. Wisdom illumines man so that he can know himself and others. The immortal soul, through wisdom, looks back to its origin, and recognises that it has become unlovely, and searches for something outside itself. Know thyself is said to have been written on the tripod of Apollo. For if a man is sufficiently mindful of his origin, he recognises the hatefulness of mutability. The soul understands invisible things and their causes through the intellect, and apprehends visible forms through the action of the senses. It goes forth to sensible things through either the senses or intellectual understanding, and returns to itself, bearing their likenesses.⁹³

Philosophy is the study and acquisition of this wisdom, and is of great excellence. Only man is capable of it, for he is the only creature with a rational soul.⁹⁴ There are many different aspects of philosophy, considered as the theoretical basis of all knowledge.⁹⁵

⁹²I, I.

⁹³I, II.

⁹⁴I, IV.

⁹⁵I, V.

Two things reestablish the divine likeness in man: speculation over truth and exercise of virtue: in these respects man is like God, who is wise and just, though God is immutable and man is mutable. Man's intelligence works through the investigation of truth and the study of morals. It is divided into two parts: the theoretical or speculative intelligence, and the practical or active, which is called ethical or moral.⁹⁶

There are four branches of knowledge: theoretical, practical, mechanical, and logical.⁹⁷ The theoretical is divided into theology, mathematics, and physics.⁹⁸ There is a coherence among all the arts, so that to study one to the exclusion of the others is not profitable.⁹⁹

Meditation begins in reading, but it is not restrained by any rules or precepts that govern the art of reading. It loves to soar and to wander. The beginning of education is reading, and its consummation is meditation. Once the mind has learned to seek, through created things, the creator of all, and to know him, it has received both learning and joy: this is the great pleasure of meditation. There are three sorts of meditation: consideration of conduct, study of precepts, investigation of the divine. The more one knows how much all things deserve his wonder, the more attentively he is given to meditate on the marvellous works of God.¹⁰⁰ Six things are necessary for learning: a humble mind, zeal for inquiry, a quiet life, meditation, poverty, a

⁹⁶I, IX.

⁹⁷I, XIII.

⁹⁸II, II.

⁹⁹II, V.

¹⁰⁰II, XI.

foreign land.¹⁰¹ Of these, humility is the beginning of education.¹⁰²

Meditative skill has to be applied to the three-fold interpretation of Scripture, for the events themselves have mystical significance which only the philosopher can interpret. The divine wisdom has to be discerned through the creation and in the creation: so it is easy to see how very necessary is intelligence in the reading of Scripture, where one goes from word to concept, from concept to fact, from fact to reason, from reason to truth.¹⁰³

Rules are necessary for the proper reading of Scripture. It is a thick wood in which we need the guidance of the discretion.¹⁰⁴ The fruit of scriptural study is two-fold: it instructs the mind by knowledge and adorns it by moral training. The teaching has to do with the history and typology, the moral training has to do with the tropology. Though it profits a man more to be just than to be wise, yet more men seek wisdom than virtue in their sacred studies. Neither pursuit is blameworthy: both are needful and to be praised.¹⁰⁵ The Christian philosopher should read Scripture for moral instruction in how to acquire the virtues and avoid the vices. This reading should be directed to the end of exhortation, and not be an occupation in itself. Reading must be in moderation, not pursued to excess, as this leads to pride or even mental collapse. Contemplation is the Christian's goal, and he

¹⁰¹II, XIII.

¹⁰²II, XIV.

¹⁰³V, III.

¹⁰⁴V, V.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

cannot hope to read all that is available, nor should he attempt to.¹⁰⁶

Single-mindedness is the philosophical principle of the religious man. His primary function is not to teach but to repent. The example of his way of life is the best instruction to others. Let him not be an intellectual busybody. Reading can be his practice, but not his profession. Instruction, while useful, is for beginners. The religious man has set out on the way of perfection, and must pass beyond this stage.¹⁰⁷

There are four things with which the life of the just man should be concerned. These lift him, as though by a flight of stairs, to future perfection. They are reading (or instruction), meditation, prayer and work. There follows a fifth, contemplation, a foretaste, in this life, of the reward of the future life, and at the same time the fruit of the previous stages of his ascent. Reading is for beginners; the last step, contemplation, is for the adept. If you read and understand and have learned what is necessary for you to do, you have made a good beginning, but you are not yet perfect. You have to apply yourself prayerfully to good works, for the way to life leads through these. What prayer seeks, contemplation finds, though in our ascent to knowledge we frequently have to look back or to retrace our steps.¹⁰⁸

Allegorical interpretation is for the mature genius. First the history has to be known. Scripture is solid food, not able to be swallowed until it has been chewed. Seek the help of teachers in reading

¹⁰⁶v, VII.

¹⁰⁷v, VIII.

¹⁰⁸v, IX.

Scripture; do not do it on your own. Some books are more profitable than others for training in allegory. I believe one of the best is Genesis.¹⁰⁹

Natural justice is to be discovered in the tropological interpretation. From it is derived positive justice, or the control of our own moral life. By contemplation we know what God did and what we ought to do ourselves. All nature tells of God, and instructs man. All nature gives birth to our intelligence: no part of it is sterile.¹¹⁰

A discussion of meditation has to be passed over for now. The matters which pertain to reading have been expounded as well as possible. I omit discussing the rest of teaching, that is, meditation, for the present, since such a special topic requires a separate treatise, and it is better to be completely silent on such a point than to say something inadequate. The matter is very subtle, yet pleasurable: it educates beginners, and exercises the adept. Though the mode is unfamiliar, it is all the more deserving of study. Let us ask wisdom to deign to shed its light upon our hearts, and illuminate our search.¹¹¹

Book VIII, which follows, is a treatise on meditation, but is not a part of the original work, as its heading indicates. The Didascalicon, it is plain, orients all learning toward a single end. Though patently intended for a very preliminary stage of higher education, it surveys the whole field of education inasfar as what is teachable tends to the

¹⁰⁹VI, IV.

¹¹⁰VI, V.

¹¹¹VI, XIII.

religious' final goal of contemplation, and leaves him in a position to profit by a special training in the moral exercises that will lead him to the beginning of contemplation.

The Didascalicon is unique for its time. No other such study of the process of education, its parts and its purposes, existed before the middle of the 12th century, though similar works were to follow it.¹¹² This work, if it stood alone as from the hands of Hugh of St. Victor, would merit for its author a place in the development of scholasticism.¹¹³

In passing, let us observe that such after-the-fact judgments as Coulton's and Rashdall's not only do the Victorines an injustice, but muddy our own thinking. Viewed retrospectively, it is evident that the school's preoccupation with self-knowledge was not to be the predominant concern of the philosophers of the next century; that a noetic based upon training the soul for the acquisition of the knowledge God intended it to have was to yield to an epistemology that questioned the very validity of a man's mental process. But for its time the Victorine school was neither advanced nor retarded. At the very time that scholasticism was developing, the Abbey school was at its most influential.

¹¹²Mignon, op. cit., I, 84.

¹¹³It is difficult to see why any modern historian, after reading this, should deny an important place in intellectual history to Hugh, yet Rashdall in The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, I, 276, says the school was

the headquarters of the old tradition of positive theology, and produced the chief opponents of the rising dialectical or 'scholastic' theology... The school played no part in the development of the University: it had ceased to exist... before the first traces of the University organization began to appear.

Yet, as Rashdall's editors admit in a footnote, he "does some injustice to the place of the Abbey of St. Victor and notably to the work of its greatest son, Hugh of St. Victor, in the history of scholasticism."

It sharpened the thinking process of such men as Peter Lombard, who borrowed unashamedly from Hugh. It provided Thomas Aquinas with texts and material for discussion: his references to Hugh and Richard are not infrequent. It provided men for the administrative and spiritual offices of the young University after it was granted its charter by Philip Augustus in 1200, and almost from its own beginning down to the French Revolution, it possessed the greatest library in Paris.¹¹⁴

Educationally, the school's greatest contribution was to formulate the body of knowledge then available to the Christian scholar. Among the Victorine writings are to be found works on geography, physics, mathematics. In the matter of education with which we are concerned, it is evident, from the close study we have made of the Benjamin Minor, and the more cursory examination of the Didascalicon, that the pupil's work exactly served the purpose suggested in his master's propaedeutic treatise: it was a manual of instruction in the means of attaining the state in which man merits the grace of contemplation. Hugh clearly indicates the place of contemplation in the educative process of the religious mind. Richard as clearly shows that he is drawing up a plan of moral preparation for this state. Considering the historical relationship between the two men, it is impossible not to conclude that the Benjamin Minor was intended to serve as a Victorine guide for this highest level of the educative process, and to lead into the more difficult and detailed treatise, the Benjamin Major, which deals not with these preparatory steps but with the various levels of the contemplative experience itself.

¹¹⁴Bonnard, op. cit., II, 255-256.

Conclusion

Seen in its historical framework, the Benjamin Minor has proved to be a work lying near the end of a tradition of allegorical scriptural exegesis, and crowning that tradition by being the most extensive and artistically developed of all comparable works. Later writings which exhibit its considerable influence do so as regards their schematization and moral counsel, rather than as regards their metaphor. In no later work I have examined, where the allegorical structure is in evidence, does it receive so close a working out. With some exceptions, before the Benjamin Minor there lie works of scriptural exegesis, after it there lie works of pietistic counsel, while it provides, so to speak, a watershed between them. Its unique balance of qualities has its nearest parallel in the Interior Castle of Santa Teresa, though a different allegory forms the framework there. In both instances, a mind highly gifted in metaphorical discourse is making use of an extended allegory as a framework for moral instruction. The parallel is a good one, for in both instances the same purpose is being subsumed. A body of instruction is being presented to a highly dedicated reform group within the church. The Victorines were zealous in the reestablishment of a strict observance of their rule,¹¹⁵ while Santa Teresa was likewise concerned with the purging of the rule of the Carmelite order. In both instances what was needed was material couched in dramatic and immediately effective terms, and both writers found allegory served their purpose. The fact that they used it with aesthetic sensitivity

¹¹⁵Bonnard, op. cit., I, 114.

may be the happy accident of genius. But its uniquely effective use in these parallel instances may provide a sidelight on what allegory is best fitted to do. Its mnemonic and dramatic functions are not among the least of its uses, and the Benjamin Minor is the best example, within its own category of scriptural exegetical allegory, of the effectiveness of figurative discourse.

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ON THE PREPARATION OF THE SOUL FOR CONTEMPLATION

THE BOOK CALLED BENJAMIN MINOR

I. Of the zeal for wisdom, and the commendation of it.

There is Benjamin a youth, in ecstasy of mind (Psalm LXVII, 28).¹

Let the young listen to a sermon about a young man; let them attend to the voice of the prophet: There is Benjamin a youth, in ecstasy of mind. Many know who that Benjamin is, some by knowledge, others by experience. Let those who know by doctrine listen patiently; let those who have been taught by experience listen cheerfully, for I am confident that anyone who has once learned about him by the discipline of experience cannot be glutted by a sermon about him, long-winded though it be. But who is worthy to speak of him? He is the handsomest of all the sons of Jacob, just the sort appropriate for a mother like Rachel to bring forth. Leah, though she had more sons, could not have fairer ones.

Now you have read that Jacob is known to have had two wives. One was called Leah, the other Rachel: Leah was the more prolific, Rachel the more beautiful. Leah was prolific but tender-eyed, Rachel nearly barren, but distinguished for her loveliness. Now let us see who these two wives of Jacob are, so we will understand more clearly who their

1

Douay-Rheims version. Where it is necessary to change the translation of Scripture to accommodate Richard's text, I have indicated my departure from the Authorized Version, hereafter referred to as AV.

sons are. Rachel is the doctrine of truth, Leah the discipline of virtue; Rachel is the zeal for wisdom, Leah the desire for justice. We know that Jacob served seven years for Rachel, and that they seemed just a few days to him because of the greatness of his love. Does this surprise you? The greatness of his affection was in proportion to the greatness of her beauty.

While I intend to attempt something in praise of wisdom, whatever I say will be too little. Now why is wisdom esteemed so ardently, and possessed with so much joy? Its comeliness exceeds all beauty, its sweetness all pleasantness. As someone has said, it is more beautiful than the sun, and its order exceeds that of all the stars: Being compared with the light, she is found before it (Wisdom VII, 29). For night follows upon day, but sinfulness does not overcome wisdom. Wisdom reacheth from one end to another mightily: and sweetly doth she order all things. I loved her, he says, and sought her out, from my youth I desired to make her my spouse, and I was a lover of her beauty. (Wisdom VIII, 1, 2).

Then what wonder is it that Jacob burned with love for such a bride, or if he was not able to moderate the flames of such a fire, of so great affection? O how much he loved, o how he burned with love for her, who said: I loved wisdom above health and beauty (Wisdom VII, 10). For nothing is loved more ardently than this wisdom I speak of; nothing is sweeter to possess. This, then, is the reason that all men wish to be wise; but few are able to be entirely so.

II. Of the desire for justice, and its property.

I wonder whether we speak the same way about justice. Do we all

want to be just also, but are we perhaps not able to be? On the contrary, all of us would certainly be capable of it, if we actually wanted to be just, for being just is simply loving justice completely. While you can love wisdom very much and not have her, it is absolutely beyond question that the more you love justice, the more just you will be. Now let us see what are the ordinances of true justice and we will find out why men so detest marriage with Leah. The real question is, why do almost all hate marriage with Leah so greatly, when they long so much for the embrace of Rachel? Perfect justice orders us to love our enemies as our relations, to give up everything that is our own, to bear with patience the evil inflicted on us, always to refuse honors conferred on us. But how very silly and troublesome it is considered by those who love this world! That is why such people believe Leah to be tender-eyed, and call her troublesome, for Leah is translated troublesome. Indeed the trouble is great, but it seems to them a mistake as well, to rejoice in tribulation and to avoid like the plague the good things of life. But since she does not reject the world's goods that are necessary, though not accepting them for pleasure's sake, they call Leah tender-eyed, not blind, when they think she errs in judgment. If therefore Leah means the desire for justice, and Rachel the zeal for wisdom, it is obvious both why Leah is almost despised by all, and why Rachel is so much loved.

III. Of the double fountain of all good: that is reason and affection.

Now I should like to inquire more diligently about these two wives of Jacob, and to set forth more plainly whatever the spirit supplies.

A certain double faculty is given to every rational soul by that father of lights from whom cometh every good and perfect gift. One is reason, the other is affection: reason, by which we discern, affection, by which we love; reason, directed toward truth, affection, toward virtue. They are those two sisters promised to the Lord in marriage: Oolla and Ooliba, Jerusalem and Samaria. They are the twin wives of the spirit of reason, from which wives a noble progeny is born, and the heirs of the kingdom of heaven. Right counsels are born of reason, holy desires of affection. From the former, spiritual perceptions, from the latter, ordered emotions. Finally, all virtue is born of the latter, and all truth of the former.

You must know that affection truly begins to be Leah when it busies itself with conforming to the standard of justice; and reason is declared to be Rachel beyond all doubt when it is illuminated by the light of the true highest wisdom. But who is there who does not know how troublesome the former is, and how pleasant the latter? Certainly it is not without great difficulty that the affection of the soul is restrained from unlawful things and directed toward lawful ones; and such a wife is rightly called Leah (that is, troublesome). What indeed can be sweeter or more pleasant than to lift up the eye of the mind to the contemplation of the highest wisdom? Accordingly when the reason is extended to this contemplation, it is deservedly honored by the name of Rachel. Rachel is interpreted beholding the beginning or sheep. In order that she may be worthy of such a name, let her fulfill what she finds written: Think of the Lord with a good heart and in simplicity of heart seek him (Wisdom I, 1). Assuredly whoever perceives the Lord

in goodness, the Lord who is the source of all, sees him with the eye of faith. But she is his sheep indeed if she seeks him in simplicity. Do you not see that it is not any casual truth, but precisely the highest truth specially sought out, that makes her Rachel? I think you will not wonder, now, that Rachel is so loved, when even her handmaiden (I speak of the wisdom of the world, which is accounted foolishness in comparison with her mistress) is sought out with such love by worldly philosophers, as we see it is.

IV. How the mind is often secretly led to the practice of justice by the zeal for wisdom.

The reason why Leah is set aside and Rachel is longed for, is plain to those who have learned that faith comes not so much by hearing as by experience. It often happens that the mind is insufficiently cleansed of the stains of its former way of life, and not yet fit for heavenly contemplation. For a while it prepares itself for the bed of Rachel; for a while it makes itself entirely fit for her embrace; for a while it thinks it even holds her fast: then all unexpectedly it realizes it is in the arms of Leah.

What do we mean by Holy Scripture but the bed of Rachel, in which we are confident that we find divine wisdom hidden under the seemly veil of allegory? Rachel is sought out in this bed every time a spiritual meaning is searched for in Holy Scripture. But as long as we are still unfit to cross the threshold, we do not yet find our desired and diligently sought for Rachel. So we begin to groan and sigh; and we not only complain of our blindness but even blush for it. Then while we

are grieving and asking how we have deserved this blindness, the evil we have brought about falls upon us. Is it not, rather, that the very reading of Scripture often breaks in upon our foulness against our own will, even when we try to defend ourselves against it, and pricks our hearts to pay it heed? So as often as we feel this compunction instead of contemplation during scriptural reading, we may be sure that we have found Leah, and not Rachel herself, in Rachel's bed. For just as Rachel's part is to meditate, to contemplate, to discern, to understand, just so it pertains to Leah to weep, to groan, to sorrow, to sigh. For Leah, as has been said, is affection inflamed with divine inspiration; Rachel is reason illuminated by divine revelation. Leah is affection conforming itself to the standard of justice; Rachel, reason lifting itself toward the contemplation of heavenly knowledge. But enough about these. Now let us see about their handmaidens.

V. How imagination is made subject to reason and sensuality to affection.

Now each of the two has her own handmaiden: affection has sensuality; reason has imagination. Sensuality waits upon affection; imagination serves reason. Each of the handmaidens is recognized to be necessary to her mistress to the extent that without them the whole external world seems unable to bestow anything upon the sisters. For without imagination the reason would know nothing; without sensuality, the affection would perceive nothing. Why else does Leah cling so passionately to the love of unstable things, except that she enjoys all sorts of pleasure in them, through the service of her handmaiden sensuality? Just as it is written: For the invisible things of God from the creation

of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made (Romans I, 20). Whence it is plainly evident that the reason would never attain a conception of invisible things unless its handmaiden imagination displayed the form of visible things. It rises through the species of visible things to the idea of invisible things, tracing a certain similarity between them. But it is certain that without imagination it would be ignorant of corporeal things; without perception of them it would not ascend to contemplation of heavenly things.

Only the material sense perceives visible things, while only the eye of the heart sees the invisible. Thus material sense is entirely external, while the sense of the heart is entirely internal. Reason is not able to go outside and physical sense cannot come in to her. Indeed it is not fitting for a refined, tender girl of distinguished beauty to run around in public; neither is it becoming for a common servant to burst in irreverently upon the innermost chambers of his mistress. Hence the imagination, like a handmaiden, runs back and forth between mistress and servant, between reason and sense; and whatever she gathers up outside from the material sense she displays within as a service to reason. So imagination always attends reason, nor does she ever withdraw for a moment from waiting upon her. Even if sense be lacking, she herself does not cease her ministering, for when I am in the dark, I do not see anything, but I can imagine anything to be there that I like.

Hence imagination is forever present, and reason can always make use of its services. Sensuality is always busily at work in just the same way, ever fussing over its task, and ever ready to serve its mistress Leah. It is she who always prepares the carnal pleasure that is

Leah's food, and brings it out, and calls her to enjoy it out of season, and teases her into excess. What else, indeed, is the desire for carnal delights that inflames the soul's affection and intoxicates it with pleasure in them--what is it but sensuality? It is she who goes before that "troublesome" mistress of hers when she walks outside, and takes her hither and thither. For since Leah is "tender-eyed" and sees but little, it is not unseemly for her to follow the lead of her bondwoman. This is the reason why Leah, the affection of the mind, loves things that ought to be despised, and again despises those that ought to be loved: while her eye is too dim to judge things rightly, she is not ashamed to follow the desire of the flesh. Such are the two handmaidens of Jacob's two wives, whom Scripture calls Zelpha and Bala: Bala the handmaiden of Rachel, and Zelpha of Leah.

VI. Of the vice of imagination and sensuality.

We know what their service is, and I think I should not pass over their vice in silence, for Bala is a gossip and Zelpha a drunkard. Not even her mistress Rachel can control the loquacity of Bala, while all the winecups of her mistress cannot begin to quench the thirst of Zelpha. This wine that Zelpha craves is the enjoyment of pleasure, and the more she drinks of it, the more she craves--for all the world is not enough to satisfy the sensual appetite. Since however much she drinks, she always longs for more, she is rightly called Zelpha, that is, a craving mouth, whose thirst is never quenched. The imagination clamors so insistently at the ears of the heart, its uproar is so great, that Rachel herself, as I said, can control it little or not at all.

This is why, when we sing or pray, we often want to dislodge fancies or some sort of images from the mind's eye, but are unable to. Since, then, we suffer inwardly from clamoring thoughts of this kind, we learn by daily experience the nature and extent of Bala's chattering. Everything we have seen or heard, the things we have ourselves done or said: she calls them all to mind, and what she has already set forth herself, she repeats over and over without ceasing. And often, when no permission of the heart gives assent to hearing her, she still unfolds her tale though no one is really listening. Thus it is that decrepit old men or old women set in their ways keep harping on something with no audience at all, and carry on a conversation just as if someone were there. This is why she deserves to be called Bala (set in her ways). But who does not know about the garrulousness of Bala, and the drunkenness of Zelpha, except someone who is ignorant of his own nature?

VII. What are the principal emotions, and by what ordering or method they are redirected toward virtue.

Now I want to speak of their sons, and first of the sons of Leah, for she is said to have had children first. The sons of Jacob and Leah, as I have said, are only the emotions set in order. If they are disorderly, they simply cannot be called his sons. Leah had a family of seven, as there are seven virtues, inasmuch as virtue is simply the ordered and controlled emotions of the mind. Ordered, that is, when it is directed where it should be, and controlled when it is just as much as it should be. So the principle emotions are seven, arising in turns from a single affection of the mind. They are hope. and fear,

joy and sorrow, hate, love and shame. They can all be either ordered or unordered, but it is when they are ordered that they are to be considered as among the sons of Jacob. If fear were not unordered, Holy Scripture certainly would not say: They trembled with fear where no fear was (Psalm XIV, 5).² On the other hand, if fear were not ordered, it would not be written: The fear of the Lord is clean, enduring forever (Psalm XIX, 9). Again, if love were not sometimes ordered, sometimes unordered, sacred Scripture would not advocate the one and prohibit the other, as it says: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might, and thy neighbor as thyself (Deuteronomy VI, 5). And elsewhere: Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world (I John II, 15). We must understand the same of the other emotions: sometimes they are ordered and therefore good; sometimes they are unordered, and therefore bad. As for the good ones, which we also called the sons of Jacob, let us see in what order they were engendered.

VIII. How or whence ordered fear arises.

It is written: The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom (Psalm CXI, 10). Therefore it is the firstborn virtue, without which you could not have the others. Let him who wishes to have such a son pay close and frequent attention to the evil that he does, now weighing the greatness of his sin, and now the power of the judge. From such

² Douay-Rheims version. AV has: Then were they in great fear. Douay-Rheims henceforth referred to as D-R.

consideration there is born fear, that son who is rightly called Reuben, the son of vision. The man who does not fear sinning, who does not foresee evils to come, who does not blush for his depravity, who does not tremble at the divine power, is in a sense blind, scarcely able to see. But if he begins to see these things, he likewise begins to fear, and the more perfect his recognition becomes, the more vehemently does he fear. I think you can see how justly he who is born of such sight is called Reuben. Rightly did his mother cry out when he was born: The Lord has looked upon my affliction (Genesis XXIX, 32). For then might she truly begin to see and to be seen, to know God, and to be known by God: to see God by intuitive knowledge of his fearfulness, and to be seen by God in respect to her piety.

IX. How sorrow arises and is set in order.

After the first son was born and was beginning to grow, the second was born, for there must be great fear if sorrow is to follow. The more vehemently a man fears the punishment he has deserved, the more bitterly he laments the wrong he has done. Still we know that at whatever hour the sinner is converted and mourns, he is saved: a contrite and a humbled heart, O God, thou wilt not despise (Psalm LI, 17).³ Do you not think that this son is rightly called Simeon, or heeding? For he who is truly sorry, who grieves sincerely, will receive indulgence without doubt and without delay. The prayer which is offered from a contrite and humbled heart is swiftly heard. The heart is humbled

³AV: a broken and a contrite heart.

through fear, and made contrite through sorrow. It is humbled by Reuben, bruised by Simeon, and stung to weeping: but Blessed are they who mourn for they shall be comforted (Matthew V, ⁴).

X. How hope arises and is set in order.

But what consolation can there be for the truly penitent, I ask, and for the bitterly mourning, unless there is some hope of forgiveness? This is the third son of Jacob, who is called Levi, that is, added, or an addition, because he is added to those two who were given before. Holy Scripture does not call this son given but added, lest someone take for granted the hope of pardon before fear and sorrow appropriate to repentance. For he who sins without making satisfaction and remains complacent with impunity is not so much raised up by hope as he is cast down by presumption. Thus by this name Holy Scripture wishes to assure us that we cannot have this particular son unless we have the two others first, nor can this third one be lacking after the preceding ones. Truly and beyond all doubt, the more frequently, the more vehemently one is moved with inner sorrow over his guilt, the more surely, the more composedly he will be touched by the grace of forgiveness. According to the multitude of my sorrows within my heart the comforts have delighted my soul (Psalm XCIV, 19).⁴ This is why the holy spirit is called the Paraclete, that is the comforter, because it comforts the soul afflicted with penitential tears, both frequently and freely.

⁴AV: In the multitude of my thoughts within me thy comforts delight my soul.

For it visits the soul frequently, it comforts it freely, and reshapes it wholly, ready to have confidence in its own forgiveness. This the holy spirit does when it considers the soul has condemned its sins by weeping, and has wept for what should be condemned.

XI. When love arises and is set in order.

Then there begins to be a certain familiarity between God and the soul, and a swearing of friendship, because the soul is often aware of being visited by God, and of being not simply consoled, but even at times filled with a certain unspeakable joy. Unless I am mistaken, Leah had a presentiment of this pact of friendship when she cried out with great exultation after the birth of Levi: Now this time will my husband be joined unto me (Genesis XXIX, 34). The true spouse of the soul is God, who is truly joined to us when we cling to him with true love. He truly joins us to himself when he arouses us, through certain profound communications, to seek his love, and urges himself insistently upon us. What heart is there so obdurate or steely that the divine affection does not soften with its presence and allure with its sweetness? Thence it is that in a little while the heart begins to love ardently what it used to fear greatly.

Now I think you can see that just as sorrow has to result from constantly increasing fear, thus love is born after the birth and constant growth of hope. Accordingly, this is the fourth in order of the sons of Jacob, whom Scripture calls Judah or praise. If we ask the reason for this name we can quickly find it: we know that whatever a man approves he loves, and the more he loves it the more he approves it.

What does approving mean except praising? Indeed, indeed, that is truly praise, that is pure confession, arising from chaste love, proceeding from the wonder of praise. Do you want to understand in simpler terms what is the voice of exultation and confession, more excellent than all things, which Judah alone knew?

XII. What is the proper character of love.

Listen now to the soul that greatly loves, that burns with excess of love. Listen to what it feels, to what it says to itself about the one it loves so much, and at whom it marvels greatly. Now what does it say? What silent words does it speak to itself? "Oh," it says, "how good, how kind, oh how gentle, how sweet, oh how loveable, how eagerly to be embraced, how completely admirable, how completely desirable! Blessed is that one whom he loves! Happy is that one who is judged worthy of his love! How fortunate I would be were I permitted to enjoy him; how happy I would be were it my lot to possess him!" If I am not mistaken, this is the voice of exultation and acknowledgement that ever sounds from the mouth of Judah to the ears of divine affection.

What do you say, Leah? What do you cry out over Judah? What thanks do you render to the Lord? What return do you make for such a boy? Now she says, I will greatly praise the Lord with my mouth (Psalm IX, 30). Truly, beyond all doubt, you praise the Lord not merely often, but indeed without ceasing, if you love him with perfect affection. I will bless the Lord at all times; his praise shall continually be in my mouth (Psalm XXXI, 11). Of course you praise him ever if you love him ever and desire him ever, for you would not love him if you

did not approve of him. Now what is meant by approving except praising? And praise itself is the same as acknowledgement. You surely do not think that it would have been enough for Judah to have acknowledged him so much in his heart, unless he had acknowledged him with his mouth as well. For Judah desires to commend him to others also, and to inflame them with a love of him whom he judges worthy of all men's love, and whom he wishes to be loved by all.

All these things have been said of the confession of praise. But what should we say of the confession of judgment? Does Judah not know of this, perhaps, though he is so versed in the other confession? I do not think so, because I know that both of them contribute greatly to the honor of God; and I know that the man who truly loves readily does whatever serves the honor of God. Not only God's liberality greatly commends his goodness; our iniquity does also, for if it is a great thing to lavish favors on those who have deserved nothing, what sort of treatment is it to reward those who have even deserved punishment? O what love, that not even our lack of love is able to overcome! There are some deeds which he mercifully forgives, others which he abundantly rewards. He forgives our evil deeds, he lavishes his own good gifts. He is always waiting to forgive, always ready to be liberal. Now he is loving, and again generous, and in all cases kind, and ever good. Therefore let us confess our evil deeds to him; let us confess our good deeds to him. Let us confess that our evil deeds are our own fault, that he may forgive them with love; let us confess that our good deeds are from him, that he may preserve and strengthen them. Judah is constantly busy in these respects, lest he appear ungrateful either for

pardon granted or for grace bestowed. So I think it right that this son should be called Judah, or acknowledging, because true love always acknowledges.⁵ Finally, since it is written: God is truth (I John V),⁶ whosoever is ashamed to acknowledge the truth is convicted of not loving God: for Scripture says: He that is first in his own cause seemeth just (Proverbs XVIII, 17). Thus the man who believes he loves God, or desires to do so, has work to do, unless he thinks that loving God and loving the justice of God are two different things. See, now we have discussed the four sons of Leah. The first is fear of punishment, the second sorrow of repentance, the third hope of pardon, the fourth love of justice, and then she ceased to bear. For she thinks she can now be sufficient to herself, since she considers that she truly loves the true good.

XIII. How the mind is incited to the study of invisible things by a love of the invisible.

But how do you think the heart of Rachel is stirred, what fires of longing do you think inflame her, when she sees her sister Leah a mother rejoicing in her sons, and herself left sterile? Let us hear what she says, and understand why she grieves. Now what is she saying to her husband Jacob? She says: Give me children, or else I die (Genesis XXX, 1). It is certain that if the zeal for wisdom does not make progress

⁵Confitens can be acknowledging, confessing, or praising.

⁶This does not correspond closely to any verse in this chapter in the AV.

it quickly falls away. But let us diligently inquire what is the reason why Rachel, after the birth of Judah, grows more passionately desirous of offspring than she used to be. I have already said that just as it is the part of Leah, the affection of the soul, to love, so it is the part of Rachel, the reason, to know. From the former is born every ordered desire, from the latter, sense or pure intellect.

What else do we understand by Judah than ordered love, heavenly love, the love of God, the love of the highest good? Once Judah is born, then, once a fervent desire has arisen for invisible good, Rachel begins to burn with love for offspring, because she begins to desire to know. Where love is, there the eye is. We like to look at that which we greatly love. Doubtless he who can love the invisible immediately knows what he wishes, and sees it by means of the intelligence, and the more that Judah (the desire for loving) grows, the more burning is Rachel's longing for offspring--that is, the zeal for knowledge.

XIV. What is the first stage of the journey for one whose goal is contemplation of invisible things: that is, the imaginative stage.

Who does not know how difficult it is, how close to impossible, for the carnal mind, hitherto unskilled in spiritual studies, to rise to understanding of invisible things, and to fix its eye upon contemplation of them? It has simply not known anything but corporeal things so far; nothing else has ever come to its attention except only the visible things it is used to considering. It desires to see invisible things and nothing comes to it except the forms of the visible; it desires to understand incorporeal things, and dreams of nothing except

images of corporeal things. Then what in the world should it do? Is it not better for it to ponder on those very things in some way or other than to consign them to oblivion or neglect? Assuredly, if the mind is truly loving, it does not easily forget them, and then it is much more difficult for it to be lifted up to contemplation of them. Still it does what it can; it understands them as well as it is able. It thinks by the aid of its imagination, because it is not yet capable of seeing by the aid of the purity of the intelligence. I believe this is the reason why Rachel first has children born of her handmaiden before those she herself bears: it is pleasant to the mind to retain, through imagination, at least a memory of those things which the intelligence is still unable to grasp through reason. Just as we interpret Rachel as reason, we interpret her handmaiden as imagination. Therefore the reason is convinced that it is better to think in some manner or other about things that are truly good, and to raise the mind (by some fancied beauty at least) to a desire for those good things, rather than to fix its attention on false deceiving values. And this is the reason why Rachel wanted to give her handmaiden to her husband. Everyone, except some man whom experience may not yet have equipped for this knowledge, knows that this is the first stage of man's journey to contemplation of invisible things.

XV. How sacred Scripture accommodates itself to the speculative thought of weak men,

Now it should not be overlooked in what fashion Scripture accommodates itself to this sort of man and condescends to human infirmity.

For it represents invisible things in the forms of visible ones, and impresses their memories upon our minds through the beauty of some sort of desirable qualities. This is why they set forth a land flowing with milk and honey, or mention flowers, or odors, or describe the harmony of heavenly delights in terms of songs of men or concerts of birds. Read the Apocalypse of John and you will find the Heavenly Jerusalem depicted in many places as adorned with gold and silver, with pearls and all sorts of other precious gems. Of course we know that none of these things is really there, and yet no sort of thing can actually be lacking in that place; since nothing of this type is there in species, but yet everything is there in similitude. In all these matters Bala is well able to serve her mistress, since she brings before her upon request a memory of them all, wherever and whenever Rachel wishes, for we are able to imagine these things instantly when we want to. The imagination cannot be of more use to the reason than when it waits upon it with this sort of service.

XVI. That one sort of imagination is bestial, another rational.

Now let me continue what I was saying before about the sons of Bala. You must know that one kind of imagination is bestial, another rational. The bestial kind should not be counted among the sons of Jacob, nor does Rachel ever wish to make it her adoptive son. The imagination is bestial when we wander lightmindedly over things we have just seen or done--uselessly, remote from all deliberate thought. This is certainly bestial, for even a beast is able to do it. But it is rational when we devise something imaginatively from what we have learned

through our physical senses. For example: we have seen gold, we have seen a house, but we have never seen a gold house. Yet we are able to imagine a golden house if we wish.

Now certainly a beast cannot do this; it is only possible for a rational being. We often use this sort of imagination when we speculate assiduously on the nature of the good and evil of the life to come. Nowhere in this life are found good things alone, nor evil things alone, but good and evil mingled together, and although there are many of each kind, still they are never found alone. In the life to come good things are to be found unmixed with evil, and evil things likewise unmixed with good. In this life we not only do not find them alone, but we do not find them in their highest degree. We do not doubt that in the life to come we shall find good and evil, both unmixed and both in the highest degree. Hence we can often divine from the many good or evil things we experience in this life by means of our senses, the nature and degree of the highest good or evil that can exist in the life to come. From the imaginative recall of such experiences a certain image of future experiences is devised. It is indeed easy to demonstrate that such imagination is rational. Clearly it belongs to Bala and to Rachel. It belongs to Bala inasmuch as it is imagination, and to Rachel inasmuch as it is rational. Hence this offspring belongs to the imagination by birth, and to the reason by adoption. One woman thus bears this offspring, but another rears it: it is born of Bala, to be sure, but brought up by Rachel.

XVII. That when we speak of imagination, reason or will, we understand these in different senses.

Let it not confuse anyone that I call both mother and child imagination. I want there to be the same relationship between mother and son as there is between instrument and act; or the relationship between the mother and her child is that of genus and species. For genus links difference to itself and then brings forth species, just as intercourse with a man impregnates a woman with child. Now we often call by one name the instrument and the act: for we call sight both that which we see and that by which we see. Thus when reason, or will, or intellect is named, sometimes the instrument is intended, and sometimes its act. We know, of course, that the instrument is always prior to its act, and can exist without it. Hence the act has to arise from the instrument, not the instrument from the act; and so it is not unfitting to interpret instrument as the mother and act as her son. Thus when imagination means the instrument, it is also that power of the soul by which it is able to imagine anything it wishes. When the mind uses this instrument for imagining something, a specific act is certainly performed, which is likewise called imagination. I wanted to note this briefly, but it is not necessary to linger over it too long. Now let us return to the course of the argument.

XVIII. Of the twin speculation arising from the imagination.

We have said that only the rational imagination appears to belong to Rachel, and that which is not rational is judged utterly unworthy of being adopted by her. But the rational imagination is one thing

when it is set in order by reason, and another when it is mixed with the understanding. We use the former when we mentally associate anything with a familiar species of visible objects, and we do not think of anything invisible in connection with it. But we use the latter when we strive to ascend to a conception of invisible things through the species of visible ones. In the former, imagination is not apart from reason; in the latter, intelligence is not apart from imagination. These are the two sons of Bala, the elder of whom is called Dan, the younger Naphtali. Consideration of future evils belongs especially to Dan, while to Naphtali belongs speculation of future good things. Dan knows nothing but corporeal things, though he explores even those which are far removed from the physical senses. Naphtali rises by means of the form of visible things to understanding of invisible things.

We know that the torments of hell are far removed from the physical senses, since we cannot see where, nor what sort, they are, yet as often as we wish we can have them before the eyes of the heart, through the ministry of Dan. No believer, reading in Holy Scripture of hell, the fire of Gehenna, or outer darkness, believes these things are said figuratively; he does not doubt that they exist someplace in physical actuality. This is certainly the reason why anyone who places these things before the eye of the heart by means of imagination does not immediately seek their meaning in a spiritual interpretation, because he is sure that they are intended not so much figuratively as historically. So we were correct in speaking of consideration as having particularly to do with Dan, when we are concerned with imagination alone, although we control it, in such matters, with the aid of the reason.

Yet what man of good sense would put a literal interpretation on such things as a land flowing with milk and honey, the walls of the Heavenly Jerusalem with their precious stones, gates of pearl, streets of gold? He immediately passes on to a spiritual understanding of these, he inquires what is the mystical sense contained in them. Is it not apparent how this sort of description of the future has to do with Naphtali, when the imagination alone, without the understanding to help it, is clearly inadequate? Hence it is rightly said that consideration of future good things is the special function of Naphtali. Many things, nevertheless, even those that are written about the torments of wicked men, are to be received in a mystical sense, and likewise many statements about the blessings of the future life are to be understood in the simple sense, although they are described in physical terms.

XIX. Of the first speculation and its property.

One thing should be stressed (indeed it cannot be ignored): that consideration comes more easily to one who is meditating when it remains in the imagination alone, for the more subtle it is, when mingled only with the understanding, the more difficult it is to find out. This is why Dan is born first, and then Naphtali. But in this double sort of consideration it is quite remarkable that Dan, by a true imaging of present things, sets forth a fancied image of future things, while Naphtali often raises the fancied image of the thing described to the level of true understanding. Nor is it permitted to devise any false conception of future and invisible good through the spiritual understanding, though it is not blameworthy to have an imaginative concept

the same time, the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of a relation is not a contradiction. For example, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of friendship. In this case, the person is both the one who is friends with someone and the one who is friended by someone. This is not a contradiction because the relation of friendship is a reciprocal relation. In other words, if A is friends with B, then B is friended by A. This is why it is possible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation of friendship.

Similarly, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of love. For example, a person can love someone and be loved by someone. This is not a contradiction because the relation of love is a reciprocal relation. In other words, if A loves B, then B is loved by A. This is why it is possible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation of love.

On the other hand, a person cannot be both a subject and an object of a relation of hate. For example, a person cannot hate someone and be hated by someone. This is a contradiction because the relation of hate is a non-reciprocal relation. In other words, if A hates B, then B is not hated by A. This is why it is impossible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation of hate.

In conclusion, the fact that a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation is not a contradiction. It is only a contradiction if the relation is a non-reciprocal relation. In other words, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of friendship or love, but not a relation of hate.

of the sufferings of evil men, quite different from actuality. Is there anyone who is really able to contemplate those future things in this life? Every man fashions his own description of them through the judgment of his own mind, not as they are, but as he is able to conceive them. Probably this is the reason why this son is called Dan, that is, judgment, because in such reproduction he does not follow the record of experience, but the judgment of his own power of discernment. For since Dan shapes a representation of future things in a man's mind by the exercise of his own judgment, I think one is right in calling such a master-workman Dan, in respect of his judgment.

XX. Of the function of first speculation.

There is another explanation for this name, and to the extent that it is more subtle it will also be found more useful: for holy men, whenever they feel battered by shameful thoughts and aroused to unlawful pleasure, are accustomed at the very approach of temptation to fix their minds on future torments, and thus to put out the fire of any illicit suggestion of the mind before unlawful pleasure can touch them. Thus they instantly take vengeance on themselves for the temptation, and condemn the soft attractions of sin. Since then, by the services of Dan, we detect, disclose, condemn and punish alluring thoughts, we rightly call him Dan, or judgment. But why do we say so much about shameful thoughts, seeing that excellent men do not easily detect vain and useless ones, according to Scripture: Woe to them that devise iniquity (Micah II, 9), and that other text: For the Holy Spirit of discipline will fly deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without

understanding (Wisdom I, 5).

What, I ask, happens concerning the things we have some illicit affection about, when the Holy Spirit removes himself even from thoughts that are foolish? It often happens when we are occupied with prayer that we tolerate the presence in our minds of certain fantasies that urge themselves insistently upon us. But never should we overlook them and leave them uncondemned. Is it not of great importance to fight back valiantly, and as I say, to suppress the itch of sin by the imagined picture of punishment, and to chasten our thoughts? Hence it is written: Dan shall judge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel. (Genesis XLIX, 16). The teaching of works thus belongs to the sons of Zelpha, and to the sons of Leah the orderly governance of desires: to the sons of Rachel the meaning of statements, to the sons of Bala, the guidance of the thoughts. Any thought is judged, as it were, in its tribe, when every error is corrected by its like, when will is emended by will, when deed is chastened by deed, when statement is corrected by statement. Every time we feel something false, or desire some injustice, or do some disorderly deed, we are aware instantly that we deserve blame. But do all men likewise think themselves blameworthy when they think useless or immoderate thoughts? Many men habitually blame themselves for perverse or vicious deeds; few there are who condemn themselves for unordered thoughts. But because excellent men do this, those who wish to be excellent must do it too. Therefore Scripture predicts and commands when it says: Dan shall judge his people, as one of the tribes of Israel.

XXI. Of the usefulness of first speculation.

Now if Dan watches over his people with close attention, if he exercises judgment diligently, it happens that he is rarely found having to judge other tribes. For the mind that cuts off seductive thoughts at the very first suggestion of them (as if even that were guilt, which is restrained before there is consent to wrongdoing) never proceeds to act upon them. Thus Dan, more than all others, has to be watchful and attentive in judgment, so that the other tribes may be suffered to live for the most part free of quarreling and dispute. Dan always finds something to be examined and justly condemned in his own tribe, while among other tribes there may possibly be some that are sometimes found blameless, for their guilt is in the will while his own disorder is often a matter of necessity.

I never approve of evil, I never consent to evil, I never perform evil, unless I myself wish it; but evil can come about through thinking, even against one's own will. However it is Dan's function to rise up immediately, to lead evil to judgment when he has driven it forth by the power of thought, to suppress it diligently, to condemn it when it is taken into custody, to cut off deceiving thought from the rest of the intellect, and to put out the fire of evil inducement by the reminder of punishment. I think you can now see how accurately this son is called Dan, or judgment, for the purpose of emphasizing that it is his special function to judge his people, since he alone ought to judge as assiduously and strictly as possible, lest others have to do so.

XXII. Of the second speculation, and its property.

But just as it is the function of Dan to put down rebellious vices by depicting their punishment, so it belongs to Naphtali to inflame the heart with longing for the good by the thought of reward. In some marvelous way Naphtali incites our soul to this longing every time he sets before the eyes of the mind the image of eternal good. He habitually does so in two ways: sometimes he uses rapture, sometimes comparison. He uses comparison when he deduces from the multitude and magnitude of the good things of the present life the joys of the life to come, however great or many they may be. For example, by frequent viewing of the brightness of the sun (that is, corporeal light), he considers how great will be that spiritual light of the future, if this corporeal one is so great and wonderful. How great a light do you think it is that we will share with angels, if this one we share with beasts is so great! What sort of light will be that future light of the blessed, if there is now such a light of the miserable!

He also infers the multiplicity of invisible goods from the multitude of visible ones. How great do you think they are? Why, who can number them! How many are the delights of the eyes, the delights of the ears and the other senses? How many colors are there, or odors, or tastes? If the pleasures of bodies are so many, then will the pleasures of spirits be so many. If we possess such a number in time, how many should we expect in eternity? This is the way Naphtali uses comparison.

As I have said, he also uses rapture when he extends the depiction of visible things to the meaning of invisible ones. For example, he

the same time, the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and that the same relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation, is a fact that is not captured by the traditional logic of categories. This is because the traditional logic of categories is based on the assumption that the categories are mutually exclusive and exhaustive. In other words, a category can only be one thing, and it can only be one of the things that are in the category. This is a very restrictive view of categories, and it is one that is not shared by all philosophers. For example, some philosophers believe that categories can be both subjects and objects of a relation, and that they can be both subjects and objects of a relation. This is a more flexible view of categories, and it is one that is more in line with the way that we actually use categories in everyday life. In fact, this is the view that is most commonly held by philosophers today. It is the view that categories are not mutually exclusive and exhaustive, but that they are instead a fluid and dynamic system of relations. This is the view that is most in line with the way that we actually use categories in everyday life, and it is the view that is most commonly held by philosophers today.

hears light mentioned in Scripture, as when it is written of God:

Dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto (I Timothy VI, 16).

So he inquires what is this incorporeal light, in which there dwells the invisible and incorporeal nature of God; he finds that this light is the very wisdom of God, that it is the true light. Just as this external light illumines the eyes of the body, so indubitably does the other illuminate the eyes of the heart. In some such way Naphtali ascends by means of the quality of visible things to knowledge of invisible things. Now it is apparent how rightly he is called Naphtali according to either interpretation, for Naphtali is translated comparison or conversion. It is his habit to convert the known nature of visible things to a spiritual meaning. Since he examines almost everything that is written, and converts it into the spiritual meaning, he deserves the name of conversion; and since he diligently uses comparison, as I have said, he also deserves the name Naphtali, comparison.

XXIII. What is common or special to the second speculation.

Now it should be known that this kind of contemplation, which is directed toward pure intelligence in speculation of the kind that is designated by the name Naphtali, is recognised to be more excellent to the degree that it is more subtle. Indeed, speculation of this kind has a certain unique and very notable quality; for some minds that are still rustic and rather unskilled it is both easier to comprehend and pleasanter to hear, inasmuch as it falls in with a man's own thoughts quite easily, and sweetly lays hold upon the hearer. It is both clear and very timely in meditation, and very courteous in discourse. Hence

Jacob himself said of Naphtali: Naphtali is a hind let loose; he giveth goodly words (Genesis XLIX, 21).

He is called a hind because of his facility in running; let loose because of his avidity for running. The hind is a very swift animal able to run much, and he who is let loose wants to run much. Unless I am mistaken, then, it is correct to call Naphtali a hind let loose, because he is able to run over many things thanks to the grace of contemplation; and he greatly enjoys running because of the sweetness of contemplation. So swiftly does this Naphtali (once he is somewhat practiced in this skill) raise to the heights the contemplative's mind, or bear it down to the depths, or hurry it along through countless ways; and the very mind itself which experiences this, taught by such happy tutelage, often marvels within at the suitability of calling our Naphtali a hind let loose. Let it be noted how just is the comparison: not to a bird flying, but to a hind running. For a bird in flight is hanging far above the earth, but a hind in his leaping takes off from the earth, yet even in the midst of his leaps he is not far separated from the earth. Thus it is that Naphtali, in seeking the nature of the invisible through the form of the visible, ever leaps but is not able to fly freely, because in the very gaining of the heights, he carries with him the shadow of the corporeal, never entirely leaving the depths.

XXIV. How great is the joy of the second speculation.

Such is the meaning of the hind let loose. As for giving goodly words, perhaps I can demonstrate this better by example, and bring it closer home to the reader. You desire to hear the goodly words, words

of gentleness, full of grace, full of sweetness, such as Naphtali devises, or is capable of devising; Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth, he says (Song of Songs I, 1). Stay me with flagons, comfort me with apples, for I am sick of love (ibid., II, 5). Thy lips, O my spouse, drop as the honeycomb: honey and milk are under thy tongue; and the smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon (ibid., IV, 11). I wonder what would seem sweeter than such words, of what would be found pleasanter? What would be heard more eagerly or more gladly than such utterances? The words themselves seem to have a carnal sound, yet the things described are spiritual. Naphtali is so adept at mixing the carnal with the spiritual, and describing the incorporeal by the corporeal, that both natures of man are found in his words. Hence man, made up of corporeal and incorporeal nature, is marvellously refreshed thereby.

Perhaps this is why man finds their taste so sweet, because, as has been said, they somehow refresh both of his natures. However it is wonderful indeed and to be marvelled at, that his words almost always persuade more sweetly when nothing seems intended by the literal sense. As for instance: Thy hair is as a flock of goats, that appear from Mount Gilead. Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep that are even shorn, which came up from the washing (ibid., IV, 2). Thy nose is as the tower of Lebanon which looketh toward Damascus. Thine head upon thee is like Carmel (ibid., VII, 4, 5). When we hear or read these words, or others like them, they seem very pleasant; yet in all such passages we find nothing to be marvelled at if we follow only the literal sense. Yet maybe this is the reason we comprehend so willingly in statements of

this sort: that we are driven to take refuge in a spiritual meaning by what I may call a certain pleasant fatuity of the literal. If we think, then, of this Naphtali of ours with his aptitude for meditation and his agreeable mode of discourse, we can come closer to understanding how rightly Scripture proclaims him Naphtali a hind let loose; he giveth goodly words.

XXV. Of the twin offspring born of conquered sensuality.

I would like this to suffice for the sons of Bala for the time being; now it remains for me to say something about the sons of Zelpha. For when Rachel sees her sister Leah rejoicing in her adoptive offspring, she too is roused to give over her handmaiden to her husband, that she too may exult with her sister in the adoption of sons. If, therefore, we must understand Zelpha to mean sensuality, what other virtuous offspring is she able to bring forth, I wonder, unless virtue learn two things: to live temperately in prosperity, and to have patience in adversity? These two are Gad and Asher, the two sons of Zelpha; the rigor of abstinence and the vigor of patience. Gad is born first and Asher second, for first we have to be temperate about our own good things and then we have to be strong to endure evils from without. Such are the twin offspring of the virtues whom Zelpha bore in sorrow, though to the great happiness of her mistress. Surely by abstinence and patience the flesh is afflicted, but thereby the mind is settled into great peace and tranquillity. That is the reason why when Gad was born Leah cried out, saying "Happily!", and again when Asher was being born she exclaimed, saying, "This is for my happiness (Genesis XXX,

11, 13).⁷ Mine, she said, not hers. For when sensuality is worn away from the flesh from without, then the affection of the heart is restored to the integrity of purity.

XXVI. Of the rigor of abstinence, and the vigor of patience, and their properties.

How great peace of mind is there, do you think, or how great tranquillity, in desiring none of the pleasures of this life and fearing none of its calamities? One of these states is reached by Gad, the other attained by Asher. For what pleasure of this life should a man desire who declines delights through love of abstinence? Or what should he fear from his enemies in this world, when he is fortified by the virtue of patience and triumphs even over the evils that are inflicted upon him? As it is written about the apostles: And they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name (Acts V, 41), and as it is taught by Paul: Rejoicing in tribulation (Romans XII, 12).⁸ Therefore what should impair the joy of one who exults even over the distress inflicted on him or over any threatening evil? He looks toward the felicity of the mind, no matter what harshness his flesh endures for the love of God. While the body is worn away, the conscience is making merry; and the more miserable he seems externally, the more blessed he remains within. For

⁷AV: A troop cometh, and she called his name Gad. And Rachel said, Happy am I.

⁸AV: Rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation.

there are two factors that make up the joy of felicity: to lack the thing you do not wish to have, and to have the thing you wish, inasmuch as we say a man is happy who does not endure anything he does not want to, and we judge a man to be blessed who is furnished with what he wants.

Anyone, accordingly, who despises worldly pleasure because of desire for heavenly things, is certainly able ever to turn away his enemy by abstinence. Hence the rigor of abstinence is rightly called Gad, or happiness, for he always spurns the worldly blandishments which he despises. As for the man who loves the affliction of his body for the sake of the love of God, where, I wonder, will he not be able to find cause for his attachment? So if he is rightly considered blessed who finds what he loves everywhere, rightly is the vigor of patience called Asher, or blessed, for he is confronted in every place by that which he desires.

Behold two lovers, one of God, the other of the world. The former loves worldly affliction for the sake of God, the latter desires worldly abundance of good things. The former can find everywhere that which he loves for the sake of God, the latter cannot lay hold anywhere on that abundance of good things he craves. Which of them is more blessed? Here are two other men, one of whom hates the adversity of this world, while the other despises worldly pleasure. But when, I wonder, will the one be able to overcome his enemy, or the other be unable to spurn his? Which of them, I ask, is happier? Blessed is the man, says Scripture, that hath not gone after gold, nor put his trust in money nor in treasures (Ecclesiasticus XXXI, 8). And again, Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried, he shall receive

the crown of life (James I, 12). These are Gad and Asher, the first of whom spurns worldly glory, the other patiently bears the distresses of the world for the sake of God. Indeed it is to be remarked and profoundly remembered that Holy Scripture desires to call the labor of abstinence a joy and not a calamity; and the rigor of patience a blessing and not a misery. One thing I wish to note briefly is that we should not think Gad is simply the type of abstinence which has to do with food and drink. Rather by Gad and Asher we understand abstinence from every superfluous pleasure, or patience under any sort of bodily affliction, in all those things which delight or torment the flesh through the five senses.

XXVII. That the sensual appetite is not controlled unless the wandering of the imagination is restrained.

But when, I ask, would Leah have handed over the handmaiden to her husband, or have adopted those sons, unless she had been aroused by her sister's example? It always happens that Rachel's handmaiden is made subject to her husband before the handmaiden of Leah. For if the wandering of the imagination due to idle thoughts is not first suppressed, it is certain that the immoderate appetite of sensuality will hardly be tempered. Therefore anyone who wishes to temper his desires for bodily pleasures should first get used to thinking seldom or never about carnal delights. Certainly the more rarely you think of such things, the more rarely and more moderately you will crave them.

I believe this is the reason why Bala is made subject to the husband before Zelpha. Moreover it is evident that Leah would never have adopted

Gad and Asher (abstinence and patience), unless she had closely scrutinized the adoptive progeny of her sister Rachel. Who, indeed, could ever persuade the affection of the heart to despise worldly success, and to dread its misfortunes, unless he were forced by the suggestions of Dan and Naphtali to view the torments of the future life, and its eternal rewards, not only frequently but even without ceasing? But through assiduously thinking of future evils he is readily persuaded to despise present goods. Moreover, through steady contemplation of eternal felicity he is inflamed to a willing patience over worldly distress. I believe this is the reason why Dan and Naphtali are born before Gad and Asher.

XXVIII. How the soul is strengthened for all sorts of obedience through abstinence and patience.

After the birth of Gad and Asher, the time comes for Reuben to find the mandrakes, if he is not reluctant to go outside. Why should we doubt his readiness to go out, when we know he is capable of going out and in? After the birth of so many sons to his mother, and so many children to Balā and to Zelpha, we must believe he is full grown, able and willing to enter his father's kingdom and come out again. But if we understand Reuben to be the fear of God, as has been said above, what should we understand by his going in and coming out? What does it mean for him to be inside or outside? Reuben is inside when, in the secret places of the heart, we tremble for our conscience in the face of God. Reuben is outside when we subject our own selves to men in all obedience for the sake of God. Thus fearing God for his own

sake is Reuben's lingering within doors; and fearing men for God's sake is his staying outside.

So Reuben goes out at the time of wheat harvest when, at the command of obedience, he concerns himself with works of justice. But how, do you think, would Reuben have the power of perfect obedience unless Gad and Asher (love of abstinence and of patience) had roused him to despise pleasure and to endure adversity? For there are two things which usually hinder the exercise of obedience when it is imperfect: the dread of giving up what we love, and the dread of enduring hardships. But if once the mind is entirely kindled with love of abstinence and of patience, then straightway Reuben submits himself entirely to obedience, with no gainsaying.

If a man determines to bear adversity as well as to scorn prosperity, what difficulty can lessen his obedience thereafter? If I seek out all sorts of hard and difficult ways of my own accord, for the sake of the love of God, will I not bear them all the better by the power of added obedience for the glory of greater merit? Thus it is rightly said that Reuben goes out after the birth of Gad and Asher, for the fear of God is strengthened for all sorts of obedience by voluntary abstinence and patience.

XXIX. How human praise arises from abstinence, and with what caution its appetite is to be controlled.

But how much odor of good repute of himself is disseminated by a man who is not hindered by any modesty or any poverty of spirit, from the desire for obedience! These are the mandrakes Reuben found, which his

mother Leah accepted from him. How else should we interpret mandrakes, which always disseminate their odor widely, except as the fame of good repute? Leah accepts them when the proffered praise touches the affection, when the mind is stirred by public acclaim of its praise, and takes pleasure in gusts of perverse popular favor. Rachel asks for part of them, Leah grants them that she may have her husband, because she longs for a child.

The Holy Spirit does not impregnate with virtuous offspring that mind which does not moderate its appetite for vain praise, at the behest of reason. And thus it is a single spirit which enriches each sister with fertility, since the same spirit both illumines the reason for knowledge of truth, and inflames the affection for the love of virtue. Therefore the reason urges the affection to temper its appetite for human favor by a rule of moderation, if it wishes to bear children to the multiplying of virtues, by marriage with the divine spirit. Hence the possession of the mandrakes is handed over to Rachel when the appetite for praise is brought under the control of the reason.

Let us note how very temperately Rachel asks, not for the mandrakes, but for a part of the mandrakes: this shows that it is very difficult for the mind not to be happy over praise that is offered, even though it tries not to be. Thus the love of human praise ought to be moderated at first; afterward, if possible, it ought even to be cut off deep within. Hence Rachel is said to ask for part of the mandrakes; afterwards when Leah is talking to Jacob, she boasts over all of them, not just a part. She says: Thou must come in unto me; for surely I have hired thee with my son's mandrakes (Genesis XXX, 16). "With the man-

drakes," she says, not "with part of my son's mandrakes." Previously, when her husband is absent, Leah scarcely grants a share of them, but when he comes she is more fully aroused with desire for him, and does not want to keep any for herself any longer. Thus while the mind of man is touched by spiritual sweetness, it readily forgets whatever it formerly desired of human praise. In this manner the mandrakes are profitably taken from the possession of Leah and brought under the control of Rachel. For Rachel knows how to use the mandrakes better than Leah: whatever the affection of the heart seizes upon for its own praise, the reason quite properly diverts to the glory of God. But what are we to make of the fact that it is Reuben rather than the other sons of Leah who was able to find the mandrakes of good repute?

XXX. Whence praise usually arises, and how true praise comes from right will.

Now we know that the works of virtue which nourish other virtues almost always destroy humility, for the deeds that men do by means of God and Asher appear remarkable to others: these are the works of abstinence and patience, that render the doer not timid but puffed-up⁹ and make him not so much humble as insolent. What is more remarkable, or more to be signalized by praise than this: that often, when other sorts of fear have been put down, the reverential fear of God is not lessened, but increased? Hence, since we usually praise the ordinary man whom

⁹Non timidum sed tumidum.

1. The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need. This involves conducting market research to understand the preferences and behaviors of potential customers. Once a need is identified, the next step is to develop a concept that addresses this need. This concept should be innovative and differentiated from existing products in the market.

2. After developing a concept, the next step is to create a prototype. This allows the development team to visualize the product and test its functionality. The prototype should be built using the most appropriate materials and manufacturing techniques to accurately represent the final product. This step is crucial for identifying any design flaws or technical challenges early in the process.

3. Once a prototype is created, the next step is to conduct a feasibility study. This involves evaluating the technical, financial, and market viability of the product. The study should consider factors such as the complexity of the technology, the cost of production, and the potential for commercial success. This step helps to determine whether the product is worth pursuing further.

4. If the feasibility study is positive, the next step is to develop a detailed business plan. This plan should outline the marketing strategy, distribution channels, and financial projections for the product. It should also include a timeline for development and launch. The business plan is essential for securing funding and guiding the overall development process.

5. The final step in the process is to launch the product. This involves manufacturing the product at scale and distributing it to the market. The launch should be supported by a comprehensive marketing campaign to create awareness and drive sales. After launch, it is important to monitor the product's performance and gather feedback from customers to inform future improvements.

we see tremble inordinately over small offences toward God or indeed toward man, even when he has done virtuously, Reuben is correctly said to have found the mandrakes after the birth of Gad and Asher. We are amazed when somebody who has wrought distinguished work proceeds to pride rather than to reverence.¹⁰

It should certain be noted that these mandrakes of which we spoke are said to have been found not after the birth of so many sons of Leah, nor after the birth of the twin children of Bala, but right after the birth of the sons of Zelpha. How can we wonder at desires or thoughts, however right, however useful they may be; or when shall we praise what we certainly cannot see? And although true praise comes of right will, we still do not praise it unless it is made evident in right action, for good will is made evident in good works, that Reuben may justly be able to win the praise that depends upon good reputation, like those mandrakes that cast their fragrance abroad. Therefore it is after the birth of Zelpha's offspring that the son of Leah is believed to have found the mandrakes, when good will, made manifest in good works, is widely honored with admiring commendation of praise.

XXXI. How the discipline of the heart, and that of the body as well, are fortified by these virtues.

That is the reason why we must not pass negligently over the sons of these two handmaidens, but be mindful of the pair of them: because it is by their watchfulness and through the protection of their watching

¹⁰Ad tumorem non ad timorem.

that the city of our consciousness is marvellously kept, and greatly benefitted. The firstborn of Bala rules it within; while the firstborn of Zelpha defends it without. Through Dan are fought down the evils that rise up within; through Gad are thrown back the evils that attack from without. We are all aware that every temptation arises either from without or from within: from within, through thought; from without, through sense. Sometimes it batters within, through thought; sometimes it makes ready to burst in from outside, through sense.

Truly the enemy is wont to furnish the counsel of error within, and again to urge the incitements of pleasure without. But since the discipline of the thoughts belongs to Dan, and the discipline of the senses depends on Gad, Dan has to attend to the judgment of discretion and Gad to struggle bravely for the exercise of abstinence. It is for the one to quell civil discord; it is for the other to fight back hostile attack. The former guards against betrayal by the townspeople, the latter against incursion by the enemy. The one guards against perfidy, the other against violence. If Dan is negligent, the mind is easily deceived; if Gad is slothful, it is suddenly captured by shameful delight. But what difference does it make whether the city of our heart is destroyed by force or by fraud; whether civil discord overthrows it, or the hand of the enemy?

XXXII. That discipline of the thoughts cannot be maintained without discipline of the senses.

It is important to realize that discipline of the body is quite useless without discipline of the heart; indeed, discipline of the

thoughts cannot be maintained at all without discipline of the senses. Hence it is clear that without the aid of Gad, whose function it is to watch over exterior defense, Dan labors within the walls in vain, in establishing peace among the citizens. When Dan is judging his people, what good does it do continually to remove the cause of discord, unless Gad is careful not to admit, through the gates of the senses, the provocations of vice, like some hostile army? For although Dan sit ceaselessly upon the throne of judgment, although he unendingly compose the quarrels of conflicting thoughts, it is indeed useless for him to labor over settling discord between the citizens unless Gad, with the same zeal, protects our city by discipline of the senses, and launches the attack of abstinence against the hostile battle-line of the vices. Hence it is written: Gad, being girded, shall fight before him (Genesis XLIX, 19).¹¹

Then it is to some effect that Dan watches out for the perfidy of traitors within the walls, while Gad, outside, keeps away the invading army and drives it back. Gad is first girded that he may then fight bravely. Gad is girded at the time that the laxness of the senses is made taut by discipline. Gad gives battle bravely at the time that he slaughters carnal desires by the mortification of the flesh; for a great massacre of the enemy is accomplished, and that hateful army of the vices is put to flight at once when the physical sense is held back by discipline from overreaching itself, and the lust of the flesh is

¹¹ AV: Gad, a troop shall overcome him; but he shall overcome at the last.

restrained from pleasure by abstinence. In this way, as we can all discover for ourselves, Dan governs our city from within, Gad protects it from without.

XXXIII. How the above virtues work together in guarding the heart.

Also their brothers help them, and are not slow in bringing aid: Naphtali within, maintaining civil peace with Dan, Asher outside with Gad, combatting the violence of the enemy. So Gad and Asher watch out for the enemy; Dan and Naphtali care for the citizens. Here Dan threatens; there Naphtali coaxes. Dan frightens with threats, Naphtali cossets with promises. This one punishes the evil, that one rewards the good. One terrifies the heart with the terror of Gehenna, the other softens the spirits with hope of eternal felicity. How much help do you think that Naphtali, giving goodly words, can bring to his brother in these affairs? Naphtali inclines the spirits of his hearers with the sweetness of his words, bending them almost instantly wherever he wishes. Asher too brings equal aid to his brother on the outside, and both defend the city against hostile attack. This one protects one side, that one defends the other. Gad fights upon the right, Asher contends upon the left. Gad sets an ambush: that is, worldly prosperity; Asher hunts down the enemy: that is, he is worldly adversity. But Asher easily makes game of his enemy; when he has seen part of the fight he surveys the defense from the high rock of patience, and scorns and despises his enemies vainly milling about below his safe point of vantage.

The result is that his enemies do not so much trouble him with their attack as constantly furnish the very material of his triumph.

This is the reason why once his own attackers are scattered (that is, worldly adversities), he turns all his force against the pursuers of his brother (that is, carnal delights), and pursues them with great punishment. So great a terror suddenly overwhelms the attackers of God, when they see Asher join in the fight against them, that they all turn instantly to flight, since they dare not stand out, not even for a while, against those who bring their brothers aid. The true enemies of the soul are carnal delights. But what place is there left for vicious delight among torments, which this brave Asher of ours shows he can not only bear patiently but even seek ardently, for the love of God? O how truly he is called Asher, blessed, in accordance with that saying of the Lord, blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake! (Matthew V, 10).

XXXIV. How mercy always accompanies perfect patience.

Who can fulfill so magnificently that precept of the Lord: Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven? (Luke VI, 37). Who is able so easily, so heartily, to pardon injuries done to him, as the man who has learned rather to revel in his physical anguish than to sorrow for it? Why should he not love his enemies, why should he not freely yield to them, when they bring upon him what he wishes? And so he has more mercy for his persecutors than for his body, that he may be blessed over and over, for blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy (Matthew V, 7).

O glorious man, O thrice and four times blessed! Blessed because of his hunger for righteousness; blessed because of his voluntary suffering; blessed because of his feeling of mercy. Just as those are

blessed who hunger and thirst after righteousness, just as those are blessed who suffer persecution for its own sake, so none the less are the meek blessed, and the merciful. And this Asher of ours, that he may be truly and manywise blessed, thirsts after righteousness, suffers voluntarily for its sake; and knowing no anger, is easily moved to mercy. Although he is very hungry for the bread of righteousness he yet does not deign to eat it unless it is sprinkled with the oil of mercy. For from the great abundance of riches with which he is endowed, from the spoils of the enemies he has conquered in many wars, there is a greatly pleasing result: no bread tastes good to him, however light and fine it be, unless it be sprinkled with oil, so that it may declare clearly the truth of Scripture: Asher, his bread shall be fat (Genesis XLIX, 20). Who do you think is so rich in good things as the man who has reason to sing: I have rejoiced in the way of thy testimonies as much as in all riches? (Psalm CXIX, 14).

XXIV. The commendation of perfect patience.

How rich do you think our Asher is in treasures of spiritual consolations, how abounding in the delights of spiritual joys? Adversity of whatever kind usually increases his treasures rather than decreasing them, nor can any sort of torment alter his delights at all. For the harder he is pressed from without, the more joyously he glories within. I say that not merely the poor and mean, but even kings and princes, crave such delights as these and accept them thankfully. If I am not mistaken, Scripture itself speaks thus of them: Asher, his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield dainties to princes.¹²

How sweetly are they fed, how marvellously are they entertained, do you think? These are not just any kings at all, but those true kings to whom the King of Kings and Lord of Lords delivered up the command of his own body, and among whom he divided the kingdom of his own father. How sweet it tastes to princes like these, I say, how secret is the good savor, when they see a man fearing no torments because of his love of justice, and losing none of his peace of heart and tranquillity of mind in the midst of pursuers! If there is really joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth (Luke XV, 7), how much celebration will there be over any righteous man who gladly dies for righteousness?

O what bread is this bread of his! O what dainties are these dainties of his that have such savor for such princes! Surely these princes have gone in now to the marriage feast of the Lamb, now they have taken their places at that eternal banquet, now they are feasting on that bread of angels, eternal dainties, and now on pleasure freely poured forth are they drunken: and still they hunger insatiably for the dainties of Asher; they hunger to this day, and thirst after righteousness, nor are they able to sate their hunger and thirst among so great an abundance of heavenly joys.

Asher, his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield dainties to princes. How munificent do you think such a one can be in regard to the necessities of the poor, when he has an oversupply for preparing dainties for princes? How much do they marvel or how much rejoice in his faithfulness, those whom their weakness crushes during life in the vale of tears;

¹²AV: Royal dainties.

of those whom that eternal felicity enfolds are so joyful over his achievements? Asher, his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield dainties to princes. And whence such an abundance of riches, such a supply of dainties, unless, as has been said, from the spoils of the enemy in so frequent victories? For it is certain that the more the enemies of righteousness are destroyed, the more abundantly do the joys of conscience accumulate: Glory and wealth shall be in his house, says the Psalmist (Psalm CXII, 3). And the Apostle speaks thus of that glory and wealth, as if expounding the passage: For our glory¹³ is this, the testimony of our conscience (II Corinthians, I, 12). This is the home, or city, that is our conscience, in which abound the riches of spiritual good, when the sons of those aforementioned handmaidens guard it with solicitude: Dan and Naphtali busied with maintaining civil peace, Gad and Asher bravely engaged in fighting off the enemy, for by their prudence the townsmen are pacified, by their constancy the enemies are repelled.

XXVI. How, or in what order, true joy arises.

Once the enemy is put to flight and the citizens are pacified, I think nothing prevents our city from experiencing that peace of God, which passeth all understanding (Philippians IV, 7), or How great is the multitude of thy sweetness...which the Lord has hidden for them that love him! (Psalm XXXI, 20).¹⁴ Has hidden, it says. What wonder

¹³

AV: Rejoicing.

¹⁴

AV: Oh how great is thy goodness, which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee.

is it, then, if the ordinary lover of the world does not know about this sweetness that God has hidden even from those who love him? Men who place their hopes in false and deceiving good are not able to find out what true good is; hence it is that they say, Who will show us any good? (Psalm IV, 6). For it is a manna that is hidden away, altogether unknown except to those who taste it. It is a sweetness of this sort: of the heart, not of the flesh; hence the ordinary carnal man cannot know it. Thou hast put gladness in my heart, says the Psalmist (ibid., 7).

Physical delights, just like the body itself, can be seen by the eye of the body; delights of the heart, like the heart itself, cannot be seen by the eye of the flesh. By what means could a man know spiritual delights, unless he openly enter into his own heart and dwell within it? Hence it is said to him: Enter thou into the joys of thy lord (Matthew XXV, 21).

This internal joy, then, is for the spiritual alone; that sweetness which is felt within is that son of Leah who is fifth in order of birth; for joy, as I have already said, is one of the chief emotions. When this is set in order, it can rightly be numbered among the sons of Jacob and Leah. We have a true ordered joy indeed when we rejoice over true interior good. The Apostle wished to rouse us up to desire for such an offspring when he said: Rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say, Rejoice (Philippians IV, 4). And the Prophet: Rejoice in the Lord and exult, O ye just: and glory, all ye who are upright (Psalm XXXII, 11).¹⁵

¹⁵AV: Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice, ye righteous: and shout for joy, all ye that are upright in heart.

Leah willingly despised the mandrakes for such a child, that she might be able to have such a son. And indeed the mind which is pleased by the praise of men does not deserve to know what interior joy is. It is right that Leah should bear this son after the birth of Gad and Asher, because the human mind does not attain true joy except by abstinence and patience. So it is necessary for the man who wishes to rejoice in the truth to put away both false delight and vain perturbation. He who has been enjoying contemptible things is certainly unworthy of interior enjoyment and he who is perturbed by vain fear cannot relish spiritual sweetness.

Truth condemned false hope when she said: Woe to you who laugh now (Luke VI, 25). She rooted out vain perturbation when she warned her hearers: Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul (Matthew X, 28). We overcome the one by abstinence, we spurn the other by patience. Thus false delight is rooted out by Gad, vain perturbation by Asher. Such are Gad and Asher, who shut out false joy and lead in true joy. Henceforward I think there will be no question why this son is called Issachar, if Issachar is interpreted reward. What other thing do we seek with such great and constant trouble? What but true joy do we await with such enduring patience? We receive a certain first-fruits or a sort of earnest of this reward every time we enter in to that interior joy of our Lord, and taste of it.

XXXVII. Comparison of interior and exterior sweetness.

Holy Scripture sometimes calls the sampling of this interior sweetness taste, sometimes intoxication, accordingly as it is small, or seems large:

small indeed in comparison with future plenitude, but large in comparison with any worldly enjoyment. For the present delectation of spiritual men, compared with the joys of the future life, is seen to be small, however greatly it be growing, yet in comparison with it, any agreeableness of exterior delights is nothing at all. O marvellous sweetness, sweetness so great, sweetness so small! How should you not be great, since you exceed all worldly good? How should you not be small, since you gather scarcely a droplet of that plenitude! You infuse into the mind a tiny droplet of that vast sea of felicity, and the mind wherein you mingle it, you make drunken altogether.

Such a little drop from so great a sea is deservedly called a taste; and no less deservedly is that called intoxication which drives the mind out of itself. Hence it is a taste, and can rightly be called intoxication: O taste, and see that the Lord is good, says the Prophet (Psalm XXXIV, 8). And the Apostle Peter: If so be you have tasted that the Lord is sweet (I Peter II, 3).¹⁶ And the same prophet says of intoxication: Thou visitest the earth, and waterest it (Psalm LXV, 9).¹⁷ Listen to a man wet with this intoxication, entirely oblivious of what is going on around him: Whether in the body, I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth (II Corinthians XII, 2). How was he drunken with this drunkenness, do you think, or oblivious of the world, if he knew not himself?

XXXVIII. What usually hinders that interior joy.

¹⁶ AV: Gracious.

¹⁷ Inebriasti eam.

Those who are used to being tossed on the waves of carnal desires certainly do not deserve to be intoxicated with this sweetness: the Psalmist says: Thou visitest the earth and waterest it. Why do you think the Lord is said to have "watered" only the earth, and not the sea also? But we know that the mind, tossing restlessly with various desires, long agitated by the gale of worldly cares, is not admitted to that interior joy, and does not drink at that gushing stream of pleasure. How much the less, then, is it intoxicated with it! We know that the sea always changes, while the land remains the same forever. Likewise the other elements are always in motion, and though the earth abides, the others are unable to. So what are we to understand by earth except the fixed abiding of the heart? Hence one should restrain the restless tossing of the heart, and fix the motion of his thoughts and affections upon the desire of one true joy, if he desires to be intoxicated with that draught of true sobriety, or believes this to be possible.

This is truly the blessed land: the tranquil stability of the mind, when the mind is quite withdrawn into itself, and immovably fixed on the desire of eternity alone. This is the land that Truth promised when she said: Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth (Matthew V, 4). This is the land of which the Psalmist gave warning even while he was promising it, and promised it even while he was warning about it: Inhabit the land, and feed upon its abundance (Psalm XXXVII, 11).¹⁸ This is the land that Issachar, the strong ass, saw and coveted, and he burned

¹⁸AV: But the meek shall inherit the earth, and shall delight themselves in abundance of peace.

amazingly with desire for it: Issachar, says Scripture, is a strong ass lying down between the borders.¹⁹ And he saw that rest was good,
and the land that it was excellent.²⁰ And he bowed his shoulder to bear,
and became a servant unto tribute (Genesis XLIX, 14, 15). Hence we must travel from land to land: from a foreign land to our own land, from exile to our native country, from one nation to another, from one kingdom to another people, from the land of the dying to the land of the living, if we wish to know by experience true interior joy. May we too aspire after that land that Issachar saw and aspired after, for if he had not seen he would not have known; and if he had not known he would not have aspired.

XXXIX. How interior sweetness is accustomed both to strengthen the mind against accident and to incline it to humble things.

Being made an ass for the sake of this land, and having grown strong, he has willingly bowed his shoulder to bear, and has become a servant unto tribute. All at once he abased himself greatly, in becoming an ass, for an ass is considered contemptible beyond almost any other beast. He longed greatly for the land he saw, and for its sake he became strong enough for any labor, and endured. Indeed, he saw that compared to the beauty of that land all our righteousnesses are as the rag of a menstruous woman (Isaiah LXIV, 6).²¹ He also saw that all the sufferings

¹⁹AV: Two burdens.

²⁰AV: Pleasant.

²¹AV: Filthy rags.

of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us (Romans VIII, 18). In one regard, he made himself base, and in the other strong: humbled as regards the one, strengthened as regards the other; he willingly bowed the shoulder of his strength to all labor, and rendered worthy tribute to the true king by acquiring divine glory and not his own.

If you wish to hear, there was another who humbled himself for a similar reason, and thought himself likewise fit for any labor: I was a beast before thee, says the Psalmist (Psalm LXXIII, 22); and elsewhere: For thy sake we are killed all the day long (Psalm XLIV, 22). See how base, see how strong: base as a beast, strong for offering himself up for death. Issachar is a strong ass lying down between the borders. He saw that rest was good, and the land that it was excellent. He who lay down between the borders had almost, but not entirely, deserted this land of the dying; almost, but not entirely, laid hold on that land of the living. Since he was content with a very few and very mean worldly goods, he held on to the very verges of this land of misery. Since he had a foretaste of the good things of eternal life through frequent ecstasies of mind, he touched the beginning of that happy land. Issachar is a strong ass, lying down between the borders, because he did not scorn the necessity of this life that makes for good; he did not entirely desert this land, because he was able to lay hold only on certain outermost parts of the future life. He did not grasp it entirely, and actually lived "between the borders." He endured the one land for the sake of necessity, he yearned for the other for the sake of joy, and hence lay down between the borders. He struggled to abandon the one, and

could not; he searched for a way to enter the other and was not able. So he did what he could: he lay down between the borders.

Daily he strove to reach the one, daily he fell back upon the other, and in this way he lingered between the borders. Issachar, a strong ass lying down between the borders saw rest that it was good, and the land that it was excellent. What wonder is it that he saw it, since he lay down on its border? I say what wonder is it, that he saw, that he knew the sight, that he desired the knowledge? On that account he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute. It says that he saw rest that it was good: for rest is there, and a good rest. If it were not there, he would hardly have seen it. And if it were not good he would hardly have bowed his should to bear for its sake: But the meek shall inherit the earth and shall delight themselves in the abundance of peace, it says (Psalm XXXVII, 11). See what sort of land it is! Peace is there, rest is there. Entire peace, good rest; quiet peace, peaceful quiet. He saw rest that it was good and the land that it was excellent. There is no labor in that land, but without labor one cannot reach it. One labors for its sake, but one does not labor in it. True peace is not found outside this land; no labor at all is found in this land.

There are two things: the land, and rest. Two against two: two good against two evil. There are two great evils: misery and covetousness, that is, the punishment and the sin. There are two great goods: tranquillity and stability: tranquillity of the mind against misery, stability of the heart against covetousness. To feel no distress is to rest well. To be tossed by no waves of covetousness is, beyond doubt,

to linger in that land already. Such rest is there, in such a land! The mind not yet quite attuned to interior joy hardly feels what true rest is.

O unhappy me! Even now I live a wanderer and a fugitive throughout the land: a wanderer in following after evil desire, a fugitive in evading misery. What I crave is forever absent, but I find in every place that which I am fleeing. Evil desire makes me a wanderer, misery makes me a fugitive. Assuredly it is an evil land, a land of misery, this land in which I live in this manner: a land of misery and shadows, where is the shadow of death, and no order. Doubtless such a land is not stability of heart but hardness and insensitivity of mind: but Thy good spirit shall lead me into the right land (Psalm CXLI, 10).²²

Such, then, is the land that Issachar saw, and craved, because true rest is there, and that land is excellent. How happy he was in being able, even momentarily, to forget all ills, and to achieve that interior peace or rest, even to a slight extent! How happy as well in being granted the power to gather up the fragments of his heart, and to fix his desire upon that fountain of true joy! The one is good indeed, but the other is excellent. Accordingly Issachar saw that rest was good, and the land that it was excellent. For it is good to be far off from all evil, but it is far better, indeed the most excellent of all, to cling to the highest good. Issachar knew this, and on this account he was unwilling to depart far from that land, but couched between the borders and remained in its neighborhood, desiring and striving to touch

²²

AV: Lead me into the land of uprightness.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress.

2. The second part is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury.

3. The third part is a report from the Secretary of the Interior.

4. The fourth part is a report from the Secretary of the Navy.

5. The fifth part is a report from the Secretary of the War.

6. The sixth part is a report from the Secretary of the State.

7. The seventh part is a report from the Secretary of the Army.

8. The eighth part is a report from the Secretary of the Marine Corps.

9. The ninth part is a report from the Secretary of the Air Force.

10. The tenth part is a report from the Secretary of the Coast Guard.

11. The eleventh part is a report from the Secretary of the Customs Service.

12. The twelfth part is a report from the Secretary of the Post Office.

13. The thirteenth part is a report from the Secretary of the Patent Office.

14. The fourteenth part is a report from the Secretary of the Land Office.

15. The fifteenth part is a report from the Secretary of the Mineral Lands Office.

16. The sixteenth part is a report from the Secretary of the Forest Service.

17. The seventeenth part is a report from the Secretary of the National Park Service.

18. The eighteenth part is a report from the Secretary of the Bureau of Reclamation.

19. The nineteenth part is a report from the Secretary of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

20. The twentieth part is a report from the Secretary of the Bureau of Prisons.

21. The twenty-first part is a report from the Secretary of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

22. The twenty-second part is a report from the Secretary of the Federal Reserve Board.

23. The twenty-third part is a report from the Secretary of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

24. The twenty-fourth part is a report from the Secretary of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago.

25. The twenty-fifth part is a report from the Secretary of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis.

26. The twenty-sixth part is a report from the Secretary of the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City.

27. The twenty-seventh part is a report from the Secretary of the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis.

28. The twenty-eighth part is a report from the Secretary of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland.

29. The twenty-ninth part is a report from the Secretary of the Federal Reserve Bank of Detroit.

30. The thirtieth part is a report from the Secretary of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia.

it even in rare ecstasies of mind, hastily and furtively--but still to eat often of the fruit of that land.

For there is, you must know, a sublime fruit of that land, a marvellous fruit, a singular fruit. If only the human mind is satisfied frequently with the fruit of this land, and sometimes fattened upon it, the mind suddenly acquires, in some marvellous way, fortitude against all perils, so much so that it directly grows strong in its hatred of all vices, so that it is no longer able to harbor them voluntarily, without desiring to hunt them down manfully, even when they are present in others, and to smite them with strong chastisement.

XL. How or in what order the hatred of vices arises in us.

So let it directly be as strong against all danger as is a fierce enemy of all vices. Hence it is that after Issachar Zebulun is born, which is interpreted the dwelling-place of fortitude, for what do we understand by Zebulun but the hatred of vices? A good hatred, an ordered hatred, is this hatred of vices. No doubt it was this emotion that the Prophet wished to set in order when he said: Be ye angry, and sin not (Psalm IV, 5).²³ What does it mean to sin not when you are angry, and to be angry without sinning? Does it not mean becoming outraged at men's vices while loving men themselves to their true benefit and not just to their faces? The Prophet meant he had this same hatred when he said elsewhere: Do I not hate them, O Lord, that hate thee? (Psalm CXXXIX, 21)? And elsewhere: I hate every false way (Psalm

²³

AV: Stand in awe, and sin not.

CXIX, 128). This is that extraordinary soldier of God, who does not cease to wage the warfare of the Lord, and whom Holy Scripture customarily calls the zeal of the Lord or the zeal of righteousness: The zeal of thy house, Lord, hath eaten me up, and the reproaches of them that reproached thee are fallen upon me (Psalm LIX, 9). And again: My zeal hath consumed me: because mine enemies have forgotten thy words (Psalm CXIX, 139). And Elijah says: With zeal have I been zealous for the Lord (III Kings XIX, 10).²⁴ And Phinehas contended zealously for his God, and received the covenant of his priesthood forever (Numbers XXV).

But whence, do you think, is this great fortitude, or such wonderful constancy? Elijah arose alone against one hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, Phinehas burst forth alone against the camp of the Midianites and transfixed the adulterers with a sword. See what power they receive, see how strong they become, who eat of the fruits of this land I have described, and are refreshed by interior sweetness. Hence it is correct that after Issachar, which is interpreted reward, there should be born Zebulun, that is the dwelling-place of fortitude, since after the delicious savor of eternal reward has been tasted, the mind is wonderfully strengthened with argument against temptation, and suddenly setting its own danger at small account, bravely avenges the injuries of the Lord. This is the reason why Moses, the meekest man of all who dwelt on earth, suddenly burned with such zeal against the makers or worshippers of the idol (after he had fasted forty days, and been fed with a marvellous sufficiency of spiritual delights), that he

²⁴ AV has no III Kings: II Kings X, 16: See my zeal for the Lord.

instantly took as allies those who were on the Lord's side, passed through the midst of the camps fighting his way from one gate to the other, and laid low three thousand unfaithful men (Exodus XXXII). So it is that Zebulun is born after Issachar: through the taste of interior sweetness, there arises a hatred of vices, and there is acquired the power of true fear. This is Zebulun, who, in becoming angry, usually appeases the wrath of God; in becoming angry and in raging with a godly rage when he cuts away the vices of men, spares them all the better for not sparing them. Doubtless there is nothing so pleasing to God, nothing at all, as spiritual zeal.

XLI. How it is rare to have a zeal for righteousness based on a true hatred of vices.

O how many people, by the grace of God, conceive many mental offspring of other virtues, and bring them to birth, who still are not able to have this particular son! How many do we see today, poor in spirit, rejoicing in hope, fervent in charity, abstaining much, altogether patient, yet too lukewarm of spirit, and extremely torpid! Some, as though under the restraint of humility, do not presume to rebuke offenders; others, lest they seem to disturb brotherly love, fear to denounce sinners. Likewise others, in other fashions, imagine it to be virtuous, or believe it is a virtue, to be unwilling to be zealous for the Lord. On the other hand, many who doubtless act in a spirit of rage think they act in a zeal for righteousness, and think, or pretend to think, that the actions they really perform out of hatred for men are done out of hatred for vices. But let the sort of men who believe they can give

birth to Zebulun themselves, let them, I say, ponder whether they truly love (as it were at the urging of Zebulun) to the same degree that they punish with severity. Perhaps they are still scarcely able to experience those spiritual delights to which they wish to appear to invite, with their lashing and scolding, those whom they denounce or scourge! For those who know by experience the interior joys which they invite others to abandon so many sorrows and seek, should believe that offenders can be reached by piety better than by cruelty.

We read that Leah gave birth to Judah and Issachar before Zebulun; and we have already said that Judah signifies charity, and Issachar the experience of spiritual joys. It is necessary for Judah and Issachar to be born first, since the mind that has already experienced charity and interior sweetness is hardly able, in its zeal, to preserve the pattern of righteousness. For charity teaches how we must manage those whom Zebulun punishes. Knowledge of spiritual things teaches what is that sweetness to which they are incited, or even compelled, when external enjoyment (that is, carnal pleasure) is forbidden to them, and they are harshly denounced for it, at the frequent prompting of Zebulun. Therefore Judah had to teach the proper measure, and Issachar the reason for reproof; so that with Judah's governance there may be leniency in spirit, and with Issachar's prompting there may also be a source of benefit. Let Zebulun seek to profit them and not himself, so that the pursuit of offenders may be directed to benefit and not to revenge.

XLII. What is the office of a true zealot.

So Zebulun should not only apprehend offenders, but should defend them against their persecutors in time of tribulation; otherwise he is not a true zealot, nor can he truly be called Zebulun if he is more ready to lay hold on them than to protect them. For it is not for nothing that this sixth, and also last, of the sons of Leah is called the dwelling-place of fortitude (since Zebulun, as has been said, is interpreted the dwelling-place of fortitude). See, then, how a home provides shelter overhead for all its inhabitants, and encloses them on every side, and indeed if it were not strong and well fortified, it would not be the dwelling-place of fortitude. Thus it is certain that the perfect zealot (as Zebulun can justly be called, and can truly be) ought to protect with doctrine and discourse²⁵ those who are weaker, against powers of the air,²⁶ and to reinforce them at all points against worldly perils, and to persist in both offices, being both indefatigable and insuperable. At one point he must be watchful against the devices of the devil, at another against the misfortunes of the world.

Certainly if you are strong in both you are the dwelling-place of fortitude, and worthy to be called Zebulun. Zebulun has to be swifter, yes readier, to bear evil than to attack evil. And since he has to become angry at those he has humbled because of their sin, he sorrows

²⁵ Or, with teaching and preaching.

²⁶ Aereas potestates: wrongly translated in AV as spiritual wickedness in high places. These are the same devils that Milton places in midair in Paradise Regained I, 39-42. The probable reference is to Ephesians VI, 12.

more when he is forced to overthrow them because of their sin than when he is forced to punish them because of their defense. So he throws himself willingly against the perils that arise, and voluntarily withstands the whirlwinds of violent storms. Otherwise, he dwells in vain at the haven of the sea, in vain makes ready a dwelling-place in the haven of the ships, if he trembles at the seaman's crisis of worldly peril, and does not pleasantly receive those worn out with storms and cast up upon the shore, and cherish them with all kindness.

XLIII. That it is the office of a zealot to be watchful not only against violence but also against fraud.

Scripture says Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and he shall be for a haven of ships, and his borders shall be unto Zidon (Genesis XLIX, 13). Why should he dwell at the haven of the sea, do you think, except to defend the margin of the land, and as a dwelling-place of fortitude to protect the weaker members of the church? Thus he combats the perils of those whom he sees exhausted by the unceasing whirlwinds of persecution. And so that he may always be ready to bring aid to the shipwrecked, he remains in the haven of ships, as it is written concerning him. He is skilled in cherishing with a gentle consolation those oppressed with daily temptations, suffering from what may be termed shipwreck, and almost destroyed by it; he knows how to raise them up to a state of security, and to call them home, as it were, to tranquil harbor. In this way Zebulun dwells upon the seashore in the road of ships, reaching as far as Zidon.

He ranges widely along the seashore, running to this side and to

that; now keeping watch all around for their protection, and now making ready for enemy attack from all sides, he reaches as far as Zidon. Zidon is interpreted hunting, which rightly enough means deception by fraud. Our Zebulun is occupied not only with arousing the feeble against the fury of their persecutors, but also with snatching any of the guileless from the snare of the hunters. Thus he reaches as far as Zidon, whenever he uncovers the tricks of the adroit enemy, or detects the fraudulent counsel of false brothers: and their word will eat as doth a canker, according to the Apostle (II Timothy, II, 17). For this is that snare of the hunters, and it is like a net set by evil spirits hunting for guileless souls: it is the tongue of sycophants, the tongue of detractors, who sow discord among brothers, inciting anger and quarreling.

So Zebulun reaches as far as Zidon every time he forestalls the tricky devices of the deceitful, whether they be evil spirits or perfidious men. For we know that this sort of hunting of souls does go on, sometimes through occult suggestion of demons, sometimes through open persuasion of men. Yet Zebulun knows how to detect both kinds with prudence, and to uncover them with prudent devices. So he establishes his dwelling-place of fortitude in the region of the sea, on the boundary of Zidon, that he may keep watch in one place against the fury of pursuers, in another against the deceitfulness of tricksters, and that there may be fulfilled what is written about him: Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and he shall be for an haven of ships, and his borders shall be unto Zidon.

the same time, the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and that the same relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation, is a fact that is not captured by the traditional logic of categories. This is because the traditional logic of categories is based on the assumption that the categories are mutually exclusive and exhaustive. In other words, a category can only be one thing, and it can only be one of the things that are in the category. This is a very restrictive assumption, and it is one that is not always true in the real world. For example, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and a relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation. This is a fact that is not captured by the traditional logic of categories, and it is a fact that is important to understand in order to understand the world as it is.

One of the main reasons why the traditional logic of categories is so restrictive is because it is based on the assumption that the categories are mutually exclusive and exhaustive. This assumption is based on the idea that the world is made up of a set of discrete, mutually exclusive categories. However, in the real world, the categories are often not mutually exclusive, and they are often not exhaustive. For example, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and a relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation. This is a fact that is not captured by the traditional logic of categories, and it is a fact that is important to understand in order to understand the world as it is.

Another reason why the traditional logic of categories is so restrictive is because it is based on the assumption that the categories are static and unchanging. This assumption is based on the idea that the world is made up of a set of discrete, mutually exclusive categories that are static and unchanging. However, in the real world, the categories are often not static and unchanging. For example, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and a relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation. This is a fact that is not captured by the traditional logic of categories, and it is a fact that is important to understand in order to understand the world as it is.

Finally, one of the main reasons why the traditional logic of categories is so restrictive is because it is based on the assumption that the categories are hierarchical. This assumption is based on the idea that the world is made up of a set of discrete, mutually exclusive categories that are arranged in a hierarchy. However, in the real world, the categories are often not arranged in a hierarchy. For example, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, and a relation can be both a subject and an object of a relation. This is a fact that is not captured by the traditional logic of categories, and it is a fact that is important to understand in order to understand the world as it is.

XLIV. What it means to have perfect zeal of spirit, and how much of it may be had.

Let him who can ponder what sort of man this son is, or how great is his power! By his service any man not only fortifies himself against vices, but even struggles to wrest others from the snares of sin, and when he is not able to divert their evil in action, still he strives to thwart it by resisting. I do not know if a man can receive any greater boon from God in this life: I am not aware whether God, by this grace, can confer upon man anything greater at this time than that the perverse should be changed for the better through his service, and be made sons of God instead of sons of the devil. Or does anyone think it a greater accomplishment to raise the dead? Is it then a greater to raise up flesh that has still to die again, than a soul that is to live forever? Is it a greater to call back the flesh to the joys of the world than to restore to a soul the joys of heaven? Is it a greater thing to restore to the flesh transitory good things that have to perish again, than to render to the soul eternal good things that will endure forever?

O what a dowry, what a distinction, to receive such favor from God! The bride of God was worthy to receive from her bridegroom no other dowry; it did not become the heavenly bridegroom to give any other dowry to his bride, than that she should be able to bear many sons to God by the grace of adoption, and to enroll as heirs of the kingdom of heaven those who had been sons of wrath and sons of hell. It is proper, then, that Leah should cry out at the birth of Zebulun: God hath endued me with a good dowry (Genesis XXX, 20). Do you see what it really means

to possess a zeal for righteousness, and to wage war on vices with all one's heart, and to fight for truth? Whoever bears such a son, confidently sings with the Prophet: I hate every false way (Psalm CXIX, 128).

XLV. How and whence ordered shame arises.

Now is it granted, after the birth of these six sons of the virtues, for a man to live without sin, so that he can be without sin, at least after he has hated vices? Who dares to think so? Or who dares, in this life, to hope so, when the Apostle says: If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us (I John I, 8). Not to mention other aspects of the question, who can, in this life, completely leave behind even his sins of ignorance, and avoid them completely? Do even those who attack the sins of others entirely put away from themselves the taint of every sin? Indeed, God permits even those by whom he arranges that the errors of others should be corrected, to fall grievously (by the dispensation of great love), that they may learn through their own fault how merciful they ought to be in attacking others.

But how ashamed are they, do you think, when they cower in humility, when they see themselves fallen into that state from which they snatched others, or perhaps into one even more grievous? These are they who should have furnished to other men a model for the state of righteousness! Who do you think is capable of estimating worthily the confusion that stabs their hearts when they see in their own lives acts deserving of the censure even of those whom they recall rudely seizing and harshly punishing for their sins?

This is the reason why Dinah is born after Zebulun: very often, indeed, shame follows too great a zeal that has ended in error. We understand Dinah to be simply shame, but an ordered shame: to blush for sin alone is to have a good and ordered shamefastness. But one who does not yet deserve to bring forth Zebulun believes in vain that he can bring forth Dinah.

XLVI. What or of what sort is ordered shame.

Learn first to hate sin, and then you will begin to be really ashamed of it. If you truly hate it, you will be sooner ashamed of it. That shame is recognized to be a true one, which is preceded and accompanied by hatred of vices. Otherwise, if you are taken in sin, and are overwhelmed with shame because you are taken, I think you do not blush for guilt, but for loss of reputation. This sort of shamefacedness does not derive from the sin itself but from the harm to your good repute. Hence it is not a reason for you to vaunt yourself because you have given birth to Dinah. Indeed, perverse men have shamefacedness--but would that it were good, would that it were set in order! For indeed if they had this good sentiment, they might not be perverse, since if they were thoroughly ashamed of sin, they would not commit it so readily.

What sort of shame do you consider it to blush for poverty or lowliness? Such men are not ashamed to blush for that which the heavenly judge was not ashamed to come down from heaven and teach; he said: Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart (Matthew XI, 29). But those men who despise humility rather than follow after it are much more ashamed to have a dirty shirt than a dirty mind. How many there are

today who are more ashamed to commit a barbarism against Priscian, when they are speaking, than to advance some falsehood against the rule of Christ when they preach! But why should we talk about those who often even boast of their crimes, seeing that even men who seem to be spiritual are scarcely able to overcome this sort of shame? Often, while they benefit their neighbors by their office of preaching, while they are disputing, perhaps, against pride, it comes about that they themselves feel pride at how they happen to discourse so subtly against pride! And if they chance to utter a short accent in the course of their talk (as is likely to occur), they probably feel more shame over the fault of speech than over the fault of self-esteem. Believe me, it is not believable that this is the type of shame we should interpret as Dinah.

XLVII. How it is rare to have true shame.

Do you still wish to know how rare it is to spurn human shame completely, and to have this true and ordered shame that means one has given birth to Dinah? See, I forbear to talk of the physical, since I am still dealing with spiritual matters. See, whoever you are who believe you have already given birth to Dinah, if you were forced to go out in public naked, could you refrain from feeling shame? Now consider whether you would be put to such confusion if you became defiled in mind with unclean thoughts. Why boast any longer that you have given birth to Dinah and possess an ordered sense of shame, if you blush less for the shameful places of the heart than you do for those of the body, or feel more fear of the face of men than of the gaze of angels? Is it true that you should be more ashamed of what God has made well than of

what you have done ill? Certain it is that God made those parts of the body that we call the shameful parts; but no one but you yourself has made the shameful places of the heart. If we diligently ponder and correctly discern how rare human shame is, and how few are those in whom it has really made its home, and who have only that shame which is set in order, I do not think there can be further reason to wonder why Leah conceived and brought forth this offspring so late.

XLVIII. What the proper quality of shame is.

But lest we seem to pass over in silence the reason for the name, Dinah is interpreted that judgment. So this is that judgment by which every man is visited through his own conscience, and convicted and condemned, and punished with a punishment worthy of that offence. For if he were not conscious of himself, then there would not be any reason why he should be ashamed. And if the offence had no punishment, there would be no reason for anyone to hate it so, nor feel that he should have avoided it. Thus in some strange way every man's mind is convicted by his own conscience, and humiliated as befits his offense: at one and the same time the mind passes sentence upon itself and accepts punishment from itself. This is a judgment in which the one who judges and the one who is judged are identical; he who condemns and he who is condemned are one and the same. Thus it was with reason that Holy Scripture intended to designate this quality as judgment, together with an example. For it always shows an example, and with what purpose except to arouse the hearer's mind to amazement?

True judgment is a wonderful thing, and worthy of amazement, and

deserves an example when it is pronounced, in that the more a man really loves himself, the more harshly he passes judgment upon himself; and the more ardently he desires to be spared, the less he spares himself. For the more he fears his punishment, the more harshly his punishment is visited upon him.

Does it seem remarkable to anyone that if this virtue is worthy to be included among the others, it should be expressed by a feminine term, rather than by a masculine one? For we all know that although beauty is greater among women than among men, yet there is less constancy in the performance of virtuous deeds. Is it not common knowledge to what extent shame, however honest, weakens the vigor of the heart, and how often it interferes with the performance of brave deeds, because the human mind is reluctant to be disturbed? Hence Dinah is not a man but a woman, not a son but a daughter.

XLIX. Of the usefulness and elegance of modesty.

Perhaps it was not without cause that God decreed the gift of a daughter rather than a son to Leah after the birth of Zebulun, that she might soften the boldness of her brother, and assuage raging spirits with her gentleness. For Zebulun has enormous vehemence, as appears from the foregoing passages, and he gets extremely angry. But it is known, as we all know, that women are more skilled than men in addressing upset minds very gently, in assuaging the angry very sweetly. So it seems to be extremely timely that Dinah should be born after Zebulun, that the brother's ferocity should be moderated by the sister's lenience.

She greatly moderates the vehemence of the zealous mind in every

possible way, when one discovers in one's self something to be ashamed of. If I am not mistaken, this is the reason why Dinah is born after Zebulun, that by her modesty the vehemence of her brother may be moderated. But because Dinah does not undertake anything useful or magnificent, she does not deserve to be made a tribe among the people of Israel. Indeed, as I have said, since she often fears to cause disturbance even for a good reason she often lacks the energy for strong and virile deeds, and is even likely to impede them. But although, being a woman, she is ineffectual in works of fortitude, yet she is seen to be provident and circumspect in guarding honor, and although she does not know how to please by her fortitude, still she knows how to please by her charming beauty.

It is the function of Dinah to be admired for her beauty and her unique charm, and her easy power to draw the beholder's eye to marvel at her, and swiftly to entice the minds of her admirers with her allure. Everyone knows how the modest manners of shamefastness render men praiseworthy to all, and cause them to be lovable. Why is it that we almost always esteem modest men more warmly than others, unless because (while we wonder at the modesty of shamefastness and the grace of modesty in them) we are enticed somehow by the beauty of Dinah, and are enslaved into love for her by the greatness of her beauty? O how unique is this beauty of Dinah's! How celebrated is this loveliness, whose beauty scarcely anyone does not admire, and by whose loveliness scarcely anyone is not delighted! Let that Sicheu, the son of King Hemor, be witness to this, for he clung to her with such ardent love that he preferred to have all his men circumcised against their custom

rather than not to have her.

L. How the shamefast mind exceeds the bounds of modesty, when it is corrupted by pride and vain glory.

O how many are there, to this very day, who often carry out for the love of Dinah what they were unwilling to do for the love of God! When the time for punishment is at hand, they hasten to cut off their superfluity of shameful deeds to avoid the detraction of shamefastness. They prefer to undergo the annoyance of circumcision by amputating the superfluities of their lives, rather than to seem immodest, and to be without shame!

But who is Sicheu, and who is his father? Or why do they wish to have names of this kind: Sicheu, which is interpreted shoulder or labor, and Emor which signifies ass? Now if we deliberate about it, we shall quickly find out who they are. What are they who are usually accustomed to circumcise their shameful parts not so much for God as for Dinah, not so much for conscience as for shamefastness? Who are they, I say, but love of one's own excellence, and love of vain glory! Such a son of such a father--love of vain glory sired by love of one's own excellence! Just hear how foolish this Emor is, and you will learn how justly he is named ass. Let us see why he has grown proud, why he vaunts himself. If it is on account of what he does not really have, but thinks he has, what stupidity, I ask, can be considered more stupid than this? But if he has it, let him hear what the Apostle says to him: What hast thou that thou didst not receive? Now if thou didst receive it why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?

(I Corinthians IV, 7). Indeed, the fact one has received is properly a cause of glory not to the receiver but to the giver.

What has man that is his own property save his sin? And what does it signify to boast of one's own evil, or of the good of someone else? As for this sort of boaster, how truly foolish he is, how such a name as ass becomes him! There seems to be the same intention in the fact that Sicheu is called shoulder, or labor: for we carry burdens on the shoulder, and we do indeed labor when we do so. Therefore Sicheu bowed his shoulder for bearing a burden, and sweated much, all for the sake of making this name for himself. Let us just recall what we have read about Issachar: Issachar is a strong ass... He saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant: and he bowed his shoulder to carry (Genesis XLIX, 14, 15). There Issachar counts himself an ass, and bows his shoulder to carry. Here Emor is called an ass, and Sicheu is shown to have a burden-bearing shoulder. You see that whatever is done for the sake of true delight, the same is followed out for the sake of vain delight. Issachar works for the rest that he sees, Sicheu for the vanity of praise that he covets. He is rightly called labor rather than laborious, because he does not attain true rest through his labor. That which is rightly called labor is shown to be the labor of hypocrites, who labor so much to win the vain favor of men.

LI. How the shamefast mind is cast down from the righteousness of its intention.

This is that Sicheu who met Dinah when she went out, and overcame and debauched her. The integrity which she might have preserved if she

had stayed at home she lost by going out. For while the loveliness of modesty is commended, praised and loved by almost everyone, when Dinah goes out and leaves her own private chambers, quickly forgetting her own weakness (the memory of which had kept her humble), suddenly men's praises lay hold on her, beguile her with blandishments, and debauch her. Delighting in the praise that is offered: what is this but being seduced by Sicheu, or the love of vain glory? It is true that Dinah suffers corruption by a violent injury rather than by consent of will, since she struggles as well as she can against the blandishment of vicious pleasure; for every time Sicheu overbears the reluctant girl, he drags her all unwilling to the shameful pleasure while she blushes inwardly at the disgrace of her own seduction, and fights back as well as she may.

But what do you suppose makes her leave her private chambers? What impels her to wander at large? Is it that often, while we feel great shame for our own weakness, we get to wondering how others feel the same failings in themselves, and we think we have found a kind of consolation, if we discover ourselves in the very depth of our depression, and think we have companions in our suffering? So it comes about that we begin to inquire too curiously into the desires of others, ever eagerly surveying their face, or carriage, or physical characteristics, and becoming acquainted with their most hidden secrets through what others tell us of them. Therefore when Dinah strives to discover the condition of the souls of other people by means of exterior signs, does this not mean that she abandons her own concerns and "goes out to see the women," and wanders at large? So when Dinah gazes about her

curiously at the beauty of the women, she finds some more beautiful, others less so. And when she keeps secretly comparing them with herself, marking how far they exceed her in beauty, is it any wonder that the craving for vain glory suddenly attacks her? When she is not strong enough to repel the onslaught, for all her resistance, does this not mean that she succumbs to the power of Sicheu?

LII. How one virtue can be debauched at a time that the other virtues are being strengthened by the same cause.

It should be noted that at the very moment Dinah is being debauched, her brothers are employed in feeding the cattle. For the mind that thrives upon charity and the other virtues usually rejoices over the good fortune of others as much as it sorrows over its own misfortunes. Thus when it considers its neighbors' lives by surveying their good things,²⁷ and compares its own fortune with theirs, it has to feel joy over their fortunes just as it is constrained to favor its own. While the loving mind feels an earnest concern for the success of others, for their failure, their weakness, their excellence, it is touched deeply by different emotions in turn. So it begins to fear for some, to grieve for others, to hope for good fortune for these men, and for better fortune for those. It sees in some men qualities which it loves and rejoices in, and it also finds in others things which it abhors, and for

²⁷The neuter plural noun bona means both good qualities and good in the abstract, as well as goods or possessions. No word covers all these in English, nor provides for the frequent antithesis between bona and mala in several senses.

which it should rightly grieve.

In this fashion, while good emotions make play with guileless thoughts, which run to and fro under the survey and self-assured discipline of those nearby: what does this signify but the brothers of Dinah, the sons of Leah, who are feeding their cattle? Do you not see how at one and the same time the true love of one's neighbor works one way and vain love of self another? True love of one's neighbor is concerned with pasturage, in feeding one's brother's cattle; vain love of self uses the occasion for the seduction of Dinah. As for the father discovering the affair even before the news reaches the brothers, what does this mean for us except that the idea of corruption reaches the mind by knowledge rather than by emotion? But when it is pondered in the heart long enough, it is frequently revealed by knowledge, when it penetrates to the inmost places of the heart, and strikes upon the heart's emotions. Therefore when the mind is moved with care about some matter, and is affected in turn by different emotions, be sure that the news has reached the sons of Leah, the brothers of Dinah.

LIII. With how much speed or caution the corrupted purpose should be corrected.

Can you imagine how they rave when they can no longer be unaware of the seduction of their sister, nor conceal it further? What else does Scripture say of them than that they were very wroth; and again that they were enraged at the deflowering of their sister? (Genesis XXXIV, 7). Indeed this rage, or rather raving, of the brothers teaches us how much a man should be angry at himself, in what way he should

despise himself, how he should denounce himself, how harshly he should scold, when he recognizes that he has soiled his conscience with empty self-glorification. So whoever he may be, he should keep in view his own infirmities, that he may heal the swelling of his mind, and call back to memory his own faults, without which no man passes through life. Let him occupy himself with diligently pondering how unworthy in speech, how unclean in thought he is, that thence he may clearly deduce how many things he can find in his mode of life that ought by rights to be cut off, if he wishes to have reason for true, not shameless, pride.

When this sort of revision of his condition is being considered, this is Emor and his son agreeing to the pact of circumcision. What is this saying, "cut off the shameful parts of your customs," but "circumcise the foreskins of your males"? And what else is it to say, "otherwise you will not be able to have pride free from shame," than "otherwise you will not be able to lie with Dinah?" If Sicheim is glorying, if he is honorable modesty, what else is shameless glorying, glorying without modesty, but Sicheim without Dinah? For it is correct to designate inveterate habits which are overcome with difficulty as of the male sex. These are the men whom the brothers of Dinah wished to be circumcised, but Scripture witnesses that they brought distress upon Sicheim by this condition of circumcision.

See how easily we can interpret this: they were in no way disposed to give their sister to such a husband, and although he was able to fulfill the agreement of the proposed condition, they still judged him absolutely unworthy of such a match. And even if we are able to cut off entirely all our dishonorable traits from our way of life, and

to be absolutely cleansed of them, still we should glory not in our own merits but in the Lord. Perhaps the brothers of Dinah set these hard terms for him because they completely distrusted him for lying with their sister. But Sichem is readier to endure any hard condition, of whatever sort, rather than to undergo separation from his much-loved Dinah. And what we mentioned above often occurs: those qualities which we are not able to root out of our mind when we are inclined to do so for God's sake, this same task is easy for us when we fear to incur the penalty of shame on account of them.²⁸

LIV. How, and with what caution, an intention should be altered, and a moral custom not deserted.

What should we say to this? Is it not perhaps better to groan in silence than to make any answer, since we are not able to deny these things? I shall say precisely that it is right for the brothers to be displeased with this; it is right that the circumcision does not placate them, because it was not done so much for God as for Dinah, not so much for the divine ordinance as for human shame. It was an evil deed, still, for them to exceed temperance in just severity, and to have done disservice to the measure of equity in avenging their injury. So Jacob did right in denouncing their unadvised audacity, and he justly blamed their severity as much as their indiscretion. O how much fitter it would have been to bring them gradually to the true worship of God, these men who had been circumcised rather for Dinah's sake than for God's, instead

²⁸I reproduce the discontinuity of the Latin structure.

of cutting them down by unexpected and swift death!

So let each man who remembers that it was not for the sake of God that he cut off his own habits, mark from this, and diligently observe how one should be merciful to these circumcised men. Who are these who are circumcised in this way? Are they not habits that have been corrected for an unworthy reason? In such cases we should not destroy our honorable habits, but change our intent. They do wrong, indeed they do wrong, who abandon good works, even though those works are begun for a bad reason. Do not those who take this sort of vengeance upon their own errors rush upon the circumcised, with Simeon and Levi, and violently slay them?

LV. With how very great consideration we should punish corruption of intention.

It is worth while to mark diligently how so few were able to carry out so great a slaughter. Indeed a carefully chosen occasion helped them, when sharpness of pain impeded the circumcised whom they intended to kill. The day chosen for this was the third day after the circumcision, in which, according to Scripture, the pain is usually the greatest. What are these days, or why are they said to be exactly three? If the night means ignorance, then day must mean making known. The first of the days is knowledge of the things outside ourselves; the second day, knowledge of the things inside ourselves; the third day, knowledge of the things that are above us. Outside us are physical things; within us are spiritual things; above us are divine things. The first consideration of those who circumcise themselves (though they do not do so for

2. The second part of the document addresses the challenges of data management in a rapidly changing environment. It highlights the need for flexible and scalable solutions that can adapt to evolving requirements. The author argues that investing in modern data infrastructure is crucial for ensuring that organizations can effectively analyze and utilize their data for strategic decision-making.

5. The fifth part of the document addresses the issue of risk management and compliance. It outlines the various risks that organizations face, from financial instability to legal non-compliance, and provides strategies for identifying, assessing, and mitigating these risks. The text emphasizes that a proactive approach to risk management is essential for ensuring the long-term sustainability and success of the organization.

7. The seventh part of the document focuses on the role of leadership in shaping the organization's future. It discusses the qualities and skills that effective leaders possess and provides guidance on how to develop and nurture leadership talent within the organization. The text emphasizes that strong leadership is essential for inspiring and motivating employees to achieve their full potential.

8. The eighth part of the document addresses the issue of sustainability and corporate social responsibility (CSR). It discusses the various ways in which organizations can contribute to the well-being of society and the environment, beyond their primary business objectives. The author suggests that integrating CSR into the core business strategy can enhance the organization's reputation and long-term viability.

10. The tenth part of the document provides a conclusion and summarizes the key points discussed throughout the document. It reiterates the importance of maintaining accurate records, managing data effectively, embracing technology, fostering collaboration, managing risks, investing in employee development, strong leadership, sustainability, and innovation. The author concludes by expressing optimism about the future of the organization and the potential for continued growth and success.

the sake of God), ought to be, or usually is, to plan to endure external harshness with perseverance. The second consideration ought to be that they inwardly acquire, through so much physical agony, what they actually lost through the fault of wrong intention. The third consideration ought to be that they should await the retribution of God, whom they realize they have not so much pleased as exasperated by the observance of a feigned obedience.

Thus on the first day of the first consideration there comes to mind the amputated license of beloved custom, and doubtless there is pain, even great pain; for what a man has lovingly possessed is not surrendered without pain. On the second day of the second consideration the mind feels itself brought to a state of mental impairment through its physical injury, and the pain is probably greater the more deserved it is. On the third day of the third consideration it apprehends how heavy a burden it bears because of its own condemnation, and how much heavier a burden it should expect because of the condemnation of God. This is that third day in which, according to Scripture, the pain is usually greatest.

How much pain, do you suppose, stabs through the heart when it diligently considers the evil which it has deserved, the evil which it has endured outwardly in bodily torment, the evil which it has brought about inwardly in guilt for offense, the evil which it has deserved on the spiritual level in the sight of God? Indeed whoever has been circumcised to no advantage suffers not only severely, but even with most extreme severity when he reaches this third day.

LVI. That the mind, in the midst of its corruption, ought both to suffer patiently and to remain hopeful of its correction.

However, the mind conscious of its offense and disgraced for its infirmity should both patiently grieve and remain hopeful of its correction. It has to grieve for its corruption and yet be hopeful of correction, so that it may be afflicted by a tempered grief, and sustained by confident hope. Thus it may both make restitution for the past and provide for the future. We have already said that we should interpret Simeon and Levi as grief and hope. These are the two brothers of Dinah, Simeon and Levi, the savage avengers of her injuries, but would that they were as discreet as they are strong! It is the part of Simeon to make satisfaction for what was done amiss, and the part of Levi to arouse the mind to whatever it has to attend to in future. Thus if you grieve over corruption, and despair of correction, you have Simeon, but you have none other. If you neglect to make satisfaction for the past, but put your hope in future security, you have Levi, but you have none other. For a matter as important as this there is need to have both in agreement, and both assisting each other.

LVII. How, and with what caution in upbraiding of sin or exaction of debt, the debauched mind should be punished.

Now we have to consider once again how often just men exceed the bounds of temperate behavior in their brave actions. We can easily demonstrate this to ourselves from their deed that we are considering. For they drew their swords and violently slew those who were allied to them in a social pact, and made this sudden slaughter of so many men

all for the violation of one girl's chastity. The sword of Simeon is upbraiding, the sword of Levi is exaction. Simeon vehemently upbraids the man corrupted in mind for the evil which he has done, while Levi vehemently exacts the good which ought to be done. What else does it mean when they fight with those swords than that they are punishing the mind with the goads of upbraiding and exaction?

When a man's mind is vehemently aroused by these goads, it often sorrows inconsolably even for things which it cannot at all avoid. Overstimulated by these goads, it often even ventures to undertake those things which it is in no way qualified to carry out. This is the source of the intemperate sorrows of some men: it is also the source of those unwise acts of abstinence which sap not only bodily strength but even mental power. When Simeon is raging we observe certain men to be taken up with such irrational depression that they cannot be restored by any kind of consolation. We have known others to be so completely ruined by immoderate abstinence that no abundance of dainties and no diligence of cooks could satisfy them thereafter.

See how these warriors (I mean Simeon and Levi) avenge themselves by the way they fight! When they take their swords and slay the lovers of Dinah, what else does it mean than upbraiding for inevitable mistakes and exaction of impossible demands, to the point that not only bodily strength but even the power of the mind are weakened, so that a man is not able to protect himself from his own excesses, all for the sake of human shamefastness? Hence Jacob is right in saying: Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty, waging war. O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honor, be not thou

united (Genesis XLX, 5, 6).²⁹ O what warriors, who want to appear to act valiantly, while they cruelly and violently slay the allies bound to them in peace! Instruments of cruelty, waging war, but let not my soul come into their secret. O unadvised men, who lost hold on what they could do in venturing to do what they cannot! So let not my soul come into their secret, nor mine honor be in their assembly. It is not a good exultation to walk about among great matters, and marvels that are over one's head, in which a man can vaunt himself as if he were accomplishing something by his own power. I say this is not a good kind of exultation. So may mine honor not be in their assembly; for it is said: because in their fury they slew a man, and in their selfwill they undermined a wall (ibid).

LVIII. How the mind, through overmuch affliction, sometimes becomes unbridled even to the point of shamelessness.

What is meant by this man? Mental power. What is meant by the wall? The discipline of the body. So the man who was the lover of Dinah is truly killed when the mental power is exhausted by too great a measure of affliction, until the mind grows unbridled even to the point of patent shamelessness. Then certainly the lover of Dinah perishes by the sword, when the mental power is so impaired by overwhelming affliction that it cannot moderate its excessive behavior even for the sake of human shamefastness. Then the wall is destroyed, when

²⁹D-R. AV: Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations. O my soul, come thou not into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honor, be thou not united.

the rigor of former discipline is profoundly impaired by immoderate abstinence. But the most amazing, yes, the most detestable thing of all, in warriors like these, is that they never acquiesce in the counsel of even the most prudent man, nor do they even yield to the facts of their own experience, not even when they begin to ail in body and decay at heart. Their stubbornness is thrust through with the dart of condemnation when it is said to them through the mouth of Jacob: Cursed be their fury, because it was stubborn, and their wrath because it was cruel (ibid., 7). Amazing stubbornness, no less than madness, that can be restrained from its headlong course and trackless straying only by the curb of impossibility. See how they fight, these instruments of cruelty, waging war! See how much they do and how much they endure for the sake of Dinah! For Dinah the men are circumcised, for Dinah they are slain. All this is done for Dinah, all for human shamefastness.

LIX. That not even ordered shame is good unless it is also tempered.

When we reproach human shamefastness, above, perhaps you wonder why we teach that it belongs only to Dinah when we ought to understand that Dinah means only ordered shame? But it is one thing for men to blush for God's sake and another for them to blush for themselves: Let your light so shine before men, Scripture says, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven (Matthew V, 16). Thus it is a good thing to blush for infamy, not so much to your glory as to the glory of God. Perhaps this is what it means for Dinah to go out: to be ashamed of man's infamy for God's sake. For certainly Dinah remains at home when our conscience is confounded in the face of God

the same time, the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of a relation is not a contradiction. For example, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of self-love. In the same way, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of self-hatred. This is not a contradiction, because the relation of self-love and the relation of self-hatred are different relations.

Now, let us consider the second part of the argument. It says that if a person is both a subject and an object of a relation, then the relation must be a relation of self-love or self-hatred. But this is not true. A person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of friendship. For example, if a person is friends with themselves, then they are both a subject and an object of a relation of friendship. This is not a contradiction, because the relation of friendship is a different relation from the relation of self-love or self-hatred.

So, the argument is flawed. It is possible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation, and the relation does not have to be a relation of self-love or self-hatred. This is a common fallacy in logic, and it is important to be aware of it when reasoning about relations.

Let us now consider a more complex example. Suppose we have a person who is both a subject and an object of a relation of love. This is not a contradiction, because the relation of love is a different relation from the relation of self-love or self-hatred. In fact, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of love, and the relation can be a relation of love for a different person. For example, if a person is in love with themselves, then they are both a subject and an object of a relation of love. This is not a contradiction, because the relation of love is a different relation from the relation of self-love or self-hatred.

because of our hidden deeds. Therefore for men to blush for God's sake is to have a good kind of shame, one that we are sure belongs to Dinah. Therefore shamefastness is ordered, and can be rightly considered almost the same as human. Indeed shamefastness of this kind is good, if it is not excessive. Certainly if Dinah were still a little girl, or had kept to herself in the privacy of her bower, she would not have incurred the disgrace of corruption, and there would have been no cause for all those calamities.

LX. Of the number of the principal emotions, and a comprehensive summary of the way of ordering them.

This is the reason Dinah is born after Issachar and Zebulun: after tasting the joy of interior sweetness, and after acquiring a true hatred of vices, a man is deeply disturbed over his weakness in proportion to the sincerity of his feelings. Now we know Issachar is joy of conscience, Zebulun is hatred of sin, and Dinah the comeliness of modesty. And these are the three youngest children of Leah. If we include these with the four older ones, we certainly find that they are seven. A good deal earlier I said that there are seven emotions and that when we set them in order within ourselves, we number them among the virtues. The first to be so set in order is fear, then sorrow, and after them hope and love. After these four there are set in order joy and anger, while the last of all is shamefastness. So the meaning of Jacob having had these children by Leah is precisely this: the mind is stimulated by its affection, and creates of itself a virtuous offspring that deserves being set in order. Thus we interpret Reuben, the firstborn of Jacob, as

ordered fear, Simeon as ordered sorrow, Levi and Judah as ordered hope and ordered love, Issachar as ordered joy, Zebulun as ordered anger, Dinah as ordered shamefastness.

LXI. That ordered emotions are truly good, if they are also moderate.

It should be realized, however, that these emotions seem to be truly good when they are not just ordered, but also moderate, for often when they exceed the rule of discretion, they lose the name of virtue. Perhaps we can show this better by example, if we take the examples of that firstborn brother. Certainly if immoderate fear were not perilous, Jacob would hardly have said, speaking to Reuben: Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel; because thou wentest up to thy father's bed; then defiledst thou it (Genesis XLIX, 4). If we are to interpret Reuben as ordered fear, why, I ask, does Jacob order him not to excel, unless it is wrong to exceed the rule of moderation in any ordered fear?

LXII. In what ways fear passes the limit of moderation.

There are two ways that this son, fear, often oversteps the limit of moderation: either it does not adequately cover one particular thing, or it is applied widely to all sorts of things, even unprofitable ones. Who will deny that Judas, after the crime of betrayal, ought to have feared, with good reason? But who does not see that the most execrable of all his traits was that, since he would not or could not observe moderation in his fear, he crowned his deeds with an end more detestable than their beginning by despairing of the evil he might have corrected? But that superfluity of fear that spills out over everything deceives

us too easily: sometimes it seeps into excellent men. For what excellent man of authority, in providing for the necessities of those subject to him, moderates his solicitude to the extent that he never feels excessive dread of disaster?

When this kind of fear arises it is Reuben's office; that is fear caused not by love of the world, but by affection for one's neighbor. But who could enumerate the incessant hazards and misfortunes that keep occurring now and again, which his subjects' weakness, if not his own, compels him to dread? And who does not know how difficult, how well-nigh impossible it is never to exceed the bounds of appropriate fear? Hence it often happens that the more prudent a man is, the more anxious he also seems; and the more sagely someone is able to foresee the hazards of the dangers that encompass him, the more he is forced on many occasions to let go the reins of his timid anxiety.

From this fact we can also correctly interpret what is said to Reuben by Jacob: Unstable as water thou shalt not excel. For sometimes water is interpreted physical prudence, just as wine is interpreted special intelligence. When anyone turns this water into wine, through the Spirit of God, he is raised to intelligence of the invisible by the ladder of external knowledge, and the invisible things of God, from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made (Romans I, 20). Hence the greater the abundance of water that a man has, the more copiously his mind spreads itself abroad in external knowledge. Indeed the more lavishly this water increases, while the mind surveys all things prudently, the likelier it is to breed a tangle of terrible anxiety, and the wider it spreads: hence it is

rightly said: Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel. Thus the utmost diligence must be used, when the water of worldly knowledge abounds, lest the fear that is due to manifold anxieties grow beyond its due measure.

LXIII. To what inconsidered wandering too great fear seduces the mind.

To be sure, while Reuben was still a little boy, passing through his years of childhood, he did not venture to pollute his father's bed, either because he was unable or because he scarcely dared. But when he became an adult, we read, he burst forth into so great impudence that he seduced his father's concubine, Bala, the handmaiden of Rachel. If Bala means imagination, how are we to understand that this handmaiden was seduced? But what is the seduction of Bala except the inordinate and unconsidered wandering of the imagination? This happens, for example, when overmuch fear has so prostituted the imagination (I will not say corrupted it) that even during prayer it is scarcely able to restrain itself from dwelling upon its fornication--or it cannot do so at all. When the mind, in the very act of praying, often takes in images of its worldly concerns, dues to overmuch preoccupation--is not this Bala, whom Reuben takes to his embrace in fornication?

Just consider how unfitting it is, at the very time when you ought to be beseeching God to do away your eternal misfortunes, that you should begin to have all these worldly perils before your eyes, and to ponder on those things alone, because of which you had forgotten the very things which alone you should remember! This is why the mind which once used constantly to keep in its imagination only the good and evil

of the world to come, later becomes cowed by too great fear and cannot keep out even from the secret places of the heart the invading army of worldly cares. So since imagination is often led astray into such unconsidered mental wandering by too great fear, his father rightly speaks to Reuben of the corruption of Bala with the reproach: Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel; because thou wentest up to thy father's bed, then defiledst thou his couch.

LXIV. Of the power or efficacy of fear, without which we can neither foresake evil nor undertake good.

Let us speak more openly about this emotion. It apparently has great efficacy, more than the others, to accomplish either good or evil. Though the mind is frequently cast down from its state of rectitude by this quality, yet when it has somehow been cast down it can never be restored without its help. For who is set free of any sort of sin, however slight, without fear? Without fear we never forsake our evil ways; without fear we cannot even begin to do good. Are not those words of Jacob's obviously spoken of it (if they are rightly understood), when it is said: Reuben, thou art my firstborn, my might, and the beginning of my sorrow; excelling in gifts, greater in command (Genesis LXIX, 3).³⁰

Then there follows that passage of which we have already spoken elsewhere: Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel. I think it is clear enough how this Reuben is the firstborn, or how he is the beginning of sorrow, in accordance with what is said above; but how he is his might,

³⁰AV: The beginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity, the excellency of power.

and the rest that is said about him, can be easily shown: he says thou art my might. For who ever emerged victor in that battle in which the spirit lusts against the flesh and the flesh against the spirit? I say, who ever defeated so numerous an army of his lusts if he fought without fear? Therefore, since all good begins in fear of the Lord, might is rightly called the firstborn, since through the fear of the Lord the heart is strengthened against its own lusts, the beginning of its sorrow, since profitable sorrow accompanies fear of the Lord. For just as the mind's sorrow is peculiar to every man, and becomes beneficial to him, so it has to be preceded by the fear of the Lord.

LXV. Of the priority of fear and of other emotions and what they rule.

It is said: excelling in gifts, the greater in command. Among all the gifts of God that seem to pertain to human welfare, the first and principal gift is recognised to be a good will, through which the image of the divine likeness is reestablished in us. Whatever a man does, it cannot be good unless it proceed from a good will. Whatever is done out of good will cannot be bad. To put it differently, you cannot wholly perish if you have goodwill. O amazing gift! O unique gift! This is the first or principal gift awarded to Reuben, the firstborn, for indubitably an evil will is changed into a good one through the fear of the Lord. Then why should he not be excelling in gifts,³¹ since he received the first and principal gift?

It is the first gift because every good deed begins in good will;

³¹Primus in donis.

it is the principal gift because nothing more useful than good will is granted to men. Excelling in gifts, greater in command. Who would deny that Reuben is greater than the others in power, since he very frequently rules over all his other brothers? Levi gives way before his surveillance, for when fear supervenes, hope drops away. Judah often withdraws at his order, and Zebulun accedes, since charity often cools and hatred arises at the urging of fear. At his nod Issachar goes out and Simeon comes in, because when fear enters, joy is often excluded and sorrow admitted. We see how Reuben even gives orders to his brothers sometimes; we see how his rule extends far beyond that of the others.

It is true that the things we love are one sort, and the things we hate are another, but in both cases we habitually feel fear, for we often dread losing the former, or encountering the latter. Thus Judah and Zebulun divide the authority between them, but Reuben extends his over everything, since true love is lavished on good things alone, true hatred on bad things alone, but fear upon the former and the latter as well. Zebulun admits his brother Simeon into part of his own part, since we sorrow indeed over misfortunes, but not over all of them, for we do not bear all of them. Levi has less power than Judah, but a great deal more than Issachar, for there are more things that we ought to love than that we dare to hope for. Still it remains true that there is more plentiful matter for hoping than for rejoicing, because the things we have to rejoice about are few in comparison with those we hope to have. Thus Judah and Zebulun surpass the other brothers in the extent of their power; nevertheless they are quite unable to attain the scope of Reuben.

Thus Reuben surpasses them all, the first, far exceeding the others. For all the things that men ordinarily love, hope, hate or all that they are accustomed to joy or sorrow for, can give rise to all sorts of reasons for fear. Indeed we often find many causes for being fearful about one particular thing that we love, inasmuch as there are as many occasions for fear as there are ways of losing something. So this Reuben greatly extends his sway, for not only the number of hidden things but also the changeableness of appearances gives him power. For what can I feel sure about since I have nothing I cannot lose? When shall I attain this certitude in my knowledge, since there are far more things that I do not know than that I know?

Fear being thus more widespread than other emotions, Reuben is rightly said to be greater than his brothers in respect to command. And he is forbidden by his father to excel, but at the time that he was unstable as water, when he had already gone up to his father's bed, and had defiled his couch, he said, Reuben, thou art my might, and the beginning of my sorrow; excelling in gifts, greater in command. Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel; because thou wentest up to thy father's bed, and didst defile his couch (Genesis XLIX, 3, 4). See how much evil Reuben ventures upon, when he grows out of bounds. Great danger is soon encountered if our fear is not tempered by discretion.

LXVI. How virtues are changed into vices unless they are tempered by discretion.

We should believe the same about the other emotions, that they are full of danger unless we force them to remain within bounds.

Certainly it is easy to note how bad it is for grief and hope to exceed the limit, from what has been said of Simeon and Levi; of whom Jacob said: Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce: and their wrath, for it was cruel (Genesis XLIX, 7). Therefore one should be careful to watch over all emotions, that they be not only set in order but also tempered. For fear too often falls into desperation, grief into bitterness, immoderate hope into presumption, overmuch love into adulation, idle gaiety into dissolution, intemperate anger into fury. Thus virtues are changed into vices, if they are not at all tempered by discretion. Do you not see how all the others require the virtue of discretion, lest they lose the name of virtue?

LXVII. How, and how late, discretion arises, though it is the eldest child of reason.

This is that Joseph, who was loved by his father beyond the others, though he was born late. Who does not know that the true good of the mind cannot be gained nor preserved without discretion? Hence that virtue without which nothing can be overcome, nothing consummated, nothing preserved, is deservedly considered to be unique. But we hardly deserve to receive this son, even belatedly, since we are taught perfect discretion only through great practice, and great experience. First we have to become expert in the individual virtues, before we can obtain full knowledge of all and judge adequately in regard to each one. We learn much about discretion by reading, much by hearing, much by the innate power of judgment: indeed we never are completely instructed about it without the supervision of experiential knowledge. After all

others there should follow that one who is to be the judge of all others.

The first essential is that we should assiduously devote ourselves to the pursuit of the several virtues, and in doing so we cannot avoid constant failure. So we have to rise again and again, and to learn by our frequent lapses what vigilance and what caution have to be observed in winning and keeping the good qualities of the virtues. Thus it is that the discipline of the virtues is acquired through long practice, whenever the trained mind is brought to complete discretion in its habits, and rightly rejoices as if over the birth of Joseph. Before his birth his brothers acted entirely without discretion. The more they undertook things that were beyond their powers, the more lamentably and hideously they failed. As we have said, this is the reason that Dinah was born afterward, since shameful disgrace often accompanies humiliating failure. But after the birth of Dinah, and as if by the ignominy of disgrace, his brothers discovered and learned by experience that there is nothing better than to be ruled by judgment. He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty (Proverbs XVI, 32). The prudent man shall speak of victories, and he who acts advisedly shall never be regretful (Proverbs XXI (?)).³²

Therefore when the stringent need of advice is recognised through experience, and is attentively sought out by thoughtful consideration, and is found, this means that Joseph is born, who is interpreted the virtue of discretion. But it is obvious why no handmaiden, nor even Leah herself, could bear such a son, but only Rachel: inasmuch as

³²Not XXI as stated. I cannot locate this.

neither sensuality, nor imagination, nor even affection itself, but only reason, can so distinguish and know. So if we interpret Rachel as reason, why should we not immediately see that Joseph can only be born of Rachel? For we can hardly doubt that discretion arises from reason alone. Like mother, like son. Joseph is from Rachel, discretion from reason.

LXVIII. Of the benefit of discretion and its property.

This is the Joseph who, alone among his brothers, was clothed in the long robe, because only such an act as is moderated through the prudence of discretion leads to such consummation and an appropriate conclusion. This is Joseph, who is loved by his father more than all the brothers, since true discretion realizes impending danger in the very instant of temptation and among the very shapes of evil suggestions, recognizing them by their quality. He also reveals to other men who confess their thoughts to him the ambushes of imminent evils, and makes them cautious of future perils. This is Joseph, whom his brothers emulate, whom others revere, whom the Jews sold, the Egyptians bought: for they agreed more quickly to his advice, and having realized the darkness of their own error, acceded more readily to the prudence of another, rather than trusting in their own righteousness of prudence. This is that Joseph who is the husband of a virgin, the lover, not the violator of chastity, since discretion is the keeper, not the corrupter, of interior purity. This is the boy and the messenger who was the only one able to remain with the blessed Job in all his persecution, who desired to renounce straightway the injuries they had done, since without

discretion the mind neither knows nor corrects the injurious acts of the virtues.

That boy cannot die with the dying; discretion cannot cease in adversity nor with the increase of temptation, but it then increases. For the more we are goaded by harsh temptations, the more we are beset by thronging perils, then the more excellently we are educated in discretion; and often the losses of the other virtues are the profits of discretion. So Joseph not only knows how to grow with the growing, and to increase with the increasing, but to turn his brothers' betrayal to his own profit, and to acquire the riches of prudence from the defeats of others. Such a son is rightly called Joseph, for Joseph is interpreted increase. Hence it is correctly said of him by his father: Joseph is a growing son; a growing son and comely to behold (Genesis XLIX, 22).³³ Thus he is correctly called increase who is ever increased, whose increment is not ended up to the end.

LXIX. How useful, and how difficult, it is to conform completely to discretion.

Joseph's very dreams testify how great is the excellence of this virtue, as do his father's words, when it is said: Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren worship thee upon the earth? (Genesis XXXVII, 10).³⁴ His father and his mother and his brothers adored Joseph, either of their own free will, or perforce, being conformed to discretion,

³³ AV: A fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a wall.

³⁴ AV: Come to bow down ourselves to thee to the earth.

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inasmuch as by discretion is governed that interior sun of the intellectual realm, that eye of the heart (I mean the intention of the mind). By discretion the subtle reasoning powers are sharpened at their source; by discretion the whole brotherhood of virtues is tempered, and whichever virtue does not accede in his counsel or submit to discretion, quickly loses the name of virtue. It is he who does not neglect his brothers' negligence; it is he who denounces their excesses. When he is present, they are not permitted to undertake anything beyond their capacities; when he is present, nothing is permitted to be left undone through negligence. In his presence they are not permitted to fall away either to the left or to the right, nor to act sluggishly nor precipitantly, nor to anticipate occasions ahead of time or defer them beyond the right time.

This is the reason for the serious and almost implacable discord between him and his brothers, which Scripture does not conceal, when it frankly states that his brothers hated him and could not speak peaceably to him. For Joseph's warnings seem to them very severe, his regulations hard, his counsels unendurable. What is harsher or more difficult than not to neglect anything that has to be done, and never to exceed the measure, never to upset the proper order of doing anything, never to exceed the bounds? Believe me, the mind exacts nothing from itself with more difficulty than that it should preserve measure in all its feelings. It often happens when Joseph's brothers are constructing some great work, that they are acclaimed from all sides with Good! Good!, for they habitually attempt not only unprofitable things, but even impossible ones. Frequently one of the mind's emotions is stimulated

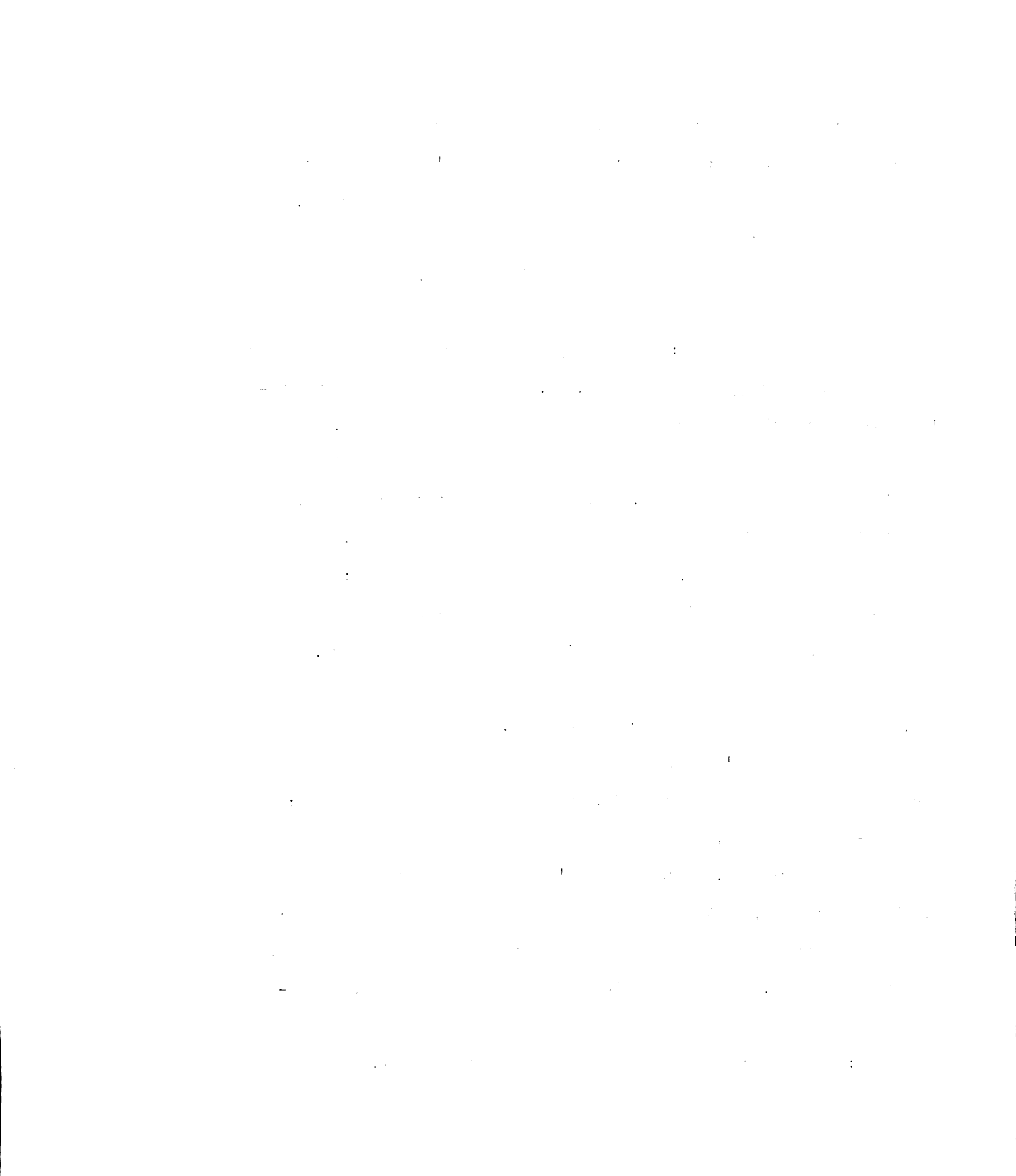
by this sort of acclaim from its admirers to the exercise of immoderate audacity in bold actions: indeed very often the mind's intention is depraved until it is led into the offense of hypocrisy and destroyed.

This is the worst offense, and deserves to be abominated beyond others as being the most hateful to God of all offenses. It is of this that Joseph accuses his brothers to this father, as Scripture itself clearly states, when it says: (Joseph) accused his brethren to his father of a most wicked crime (Genesis XXXVII, 2).³⁵ The vice which God uniquely hates is rightly interpreted as nothing other than hypocrisy. We have it on the authority of Augustine that a feigned equability is not equability but a double iniquity. This vice is discovered by Joseph, when insidious evil is seized upon by discretion and made known. When this vice corrupts the sons, then the father corrects this vice; when it touches the feelings and beats too harshly upon them, and masters them too long, then indeed it does not incline the mind to concord.

LXX. Of the many functions of true discretion.

Thus it is Joseph's office to take heed wisely not only of this vice but of any other insidious evil, even if it were hitherto secret; to foresee with caution, to lay hold with skill, to uncover with speed, to combat with acerbity. Part of Joseph's office is the care and custody of all his brothers, part of it is this discipline of the various ones; part is the arrangement of the things they have to do, and the foresight for future matters. It is his office to attend with diligence, to dis-

³⁵AV: Joseph brought unto his father their evil report.



cuss frequently, how much the mind accomplishes each day, or perhaps how much it is remiss; by what thoughts it is most assaulted; by what feelings it is most frequently touched. Joseph has to know perfectly not only the vices of the heart but the weaknesses of the body, and to seek out the means of amending its health, in accordance with whatever its need may be, and to administer these remedies it has found.

He has to know not only the heart's own vices but also the rewards of grace, and the merits of the virtues, and furthermore to distinguish them attentively, and to discriminate subtly between those which are natural good qualities and those which are the gifts of grace. He ought to make plain to every man with what tricks of temptation the evil spirit attacks him; with what consolations of spiritual joys he is provided; how frequently the holy spirit visits him; and how, though this spirit is one and the same, it does not always affect him the same way, or in the same guise, but he is filled now with the spirit of wisdom, now with the spirit of understanding, now with the spirit of counsel, or with any other of the affects. In short, this Joseph of ours ought to know completely the whole state and character of interior and exterior man, as far as is possible, and to seek out subtly and investigate with diligence not only what he is, but even what he ought to be.

LXXI. Of the twin offspring of reason: the grace of discretion, and the grace of contemplation.

Thus the mind is constantly instructed by Joseph, whenever it is brought to full self knowledge, just as it is instructed by Joseph's own brother, Benjamin, whenever it is raised up to the contemplation

of God. As we understand Joseph to be the grace of discretion, so we understand Benjamin to be the grace of contemplation. They are both born of the same mother, because knowledge of God and of one's self are obtained through reason. Benjamin is born long after Joseph because the mind that has been exercised a long time in self knowledge and is still not entirely instructed is not raised up to a knowledge of God. It is in vain for a man to raise up the eye of his heart to try to see God if he is not yet fit to see himself. First let a man learn to know his own visible things before he ventures to think he is able to grasp the invisible things of God. First you have to know the invisible things of your own spirit before you can be fit to know the invisible things of God. Else, if you cannot know yourself, with what shamelessness do you presume to grasp things that are above you?

LXXII. How the mind is lifted up to the contemplation of God by full self knowledge.

The rational mind assuredly finds that the chief and principal mirror for seeing God is its own self. For if the invisible things of God are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made (Romans I, 20), I wonder where they are to be found if not in the evidences of knowledge distinctly imprinted in his image? We both read (Genesis I) and believe that man is made in the likeness of God as regards his soul; and therefore as long as we walk by faith, and not by sight (II Corinthians V, 7) and still see through a glass in a dark manner (I Corinthians XIII, 12), we cannot find a glass better fitted for vision and imagination, so to speak, than the rational spirit.

Consequently whoever thirsts to behold his God, let him polish his glass, let him cleanse his spirit. So the true Joseph never ceases to hold and to clean his glass, and to gaze into it without ceasing. To hold it, lest it slip down and stick fast in the love of the world; to polish it, lest it get soiled with the dust of foolish conjectures; to gaze into it, lest the eye of his intention turn away to empty pursuits.

For once the mirror has been polished, and once he has gazed at it intently for a while, there begins to be visible a certain clarity of divine light, and a great ray of some unfamiliar vision bursts upon his sight. This light has illuminated the eyes of him who said: Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us: thou hast put gladness in my heart (Psalm IV, 6, 7). From such a vision of light, that it admires within itself, the mind catches fire in some marvellous way, and is inspired to see the light that is above it.

I say that through this vision the mind describes its burning desire for the sight of God, and takes courage. So let the mind, which now blazes with desire for this vision, recognize that it has brought forth Benjamin if it now has hope for what it desires. For it conceives in the act of hoping, and bears in the act of desiring, and the more its desire grows, the closer it comes to the time of birth.

LXXIII. How arduous and difficult it is to gain the grace of contemplation.

Yet we know (for this, too, we have been taught by Scripture): Hope deferred maketh the heart sick (Proverbs XIII, 12). There is nothing that so oppresses the heart as impatient desire. What more healthful thing can it seek than the sweetness of this vision? What is more pleasant

to the sense? What does the heart experience that is more joyful than this? Rachel knows this (for reason cannot conceal it): every other sweet is bitter in comparison with this pleasure. This is why she cannot slacken her zeal, nor temper her desire. This is why she has such huge anxiety and grief over her parturition: for where else do you think so vast a grief could arise, except from constant zeal and impatient desire? They grow daily: both suffering from desire, and grief from suffering. They increase continually: both desire from zeal, and zeal from desire. For Rachel knows this matter is beyond her strength, and yet she cannot moderate her zeal nor her desire.

Nor does the mind ever succeed in attaining this great grace through its own effort. This is God's gift, not man's merit. Yet certainly no one receives such grace without enormous zeal and ardent desire. Rachel knows this, and therefore her zeal multiplies, and her desire burns hotter day by day. It is in such anxiety of daily effort, in such vast sorrow, that Benjamin is born and Rachel dies also; for when the mind of man is transported above itself, it passes beyond all narrow limitations of human thinking. Raised up to that which is above it, and rapt in ecstasy, the whole mind of man succumbs to its vision of divine light. Now what does the death of Rachel mean, if not the failure of the reason?

LXXIV. Of the kind of contemplation that is above reason.

So when Benjamin is born, Rachel dies, since the mind that is rapt in contemplation learns the great inadequacy of human reason. Had not Rachel died and had not all competence of human reason fallen away

for the Apostle when he said: Whether in the body...or out of the body, I cannot tell; God knoweth? (II Corinthians XII, 2). Hence let no man think he can penetrate to the clarity of that divine light by disputation. Let no man believe he can comprehend it by human reason. For if that divine light could have been approached by any disputation, then it would not have been inaccessible! That is why the Apostle boasts that not even he had got to it by himself, but he had certainly been carried thither: I know a man in Christ...(whether in the body...or out of the body, I know not, God knoweth) such an one caught up to the third heaven (ibid.). But what is this third heaven that is between earth and heaven? This is between the body and the spirit. There is one dignity of the human spirit, and another of the angelic spirit, and the excellence of the divine spirit is still another thing, far different. The excellence of the angelic nature far exceeds the dignity of the human spirit, which is subject to punishment and blame, for the angelic nature is free of them; but that spirit which made both man and angel incomparably surpasses both.

A mind is truly raised to any one of the heavens therefore, when it utterly abandons thought about earthly things and directs itself to contemplation of them. Self knowledge has to do with the first heaven, while contemplation of God has to do with the third. Who do you think ascends to this third heaven, save him who likewise descended, the son of man who is in heaven? And if there are those who ascend as far as heaven, and descend as far as the depths, yet they probably only ascend to the first and second, for they cannot ascend as far as the third. Indeed, men can be caught up to this heaven: yet they simply cannot

ascend there by themselves.

Nevertheless we can distinguish three stages in that degree of the knowledge of God that can be attained in this life; and we can divide it into three heavens according to the threefold difference of the stages, inasmuch as God is seen in one way by faith, is known in another way by reason, and is comprehended in still another way by contemplation. The first vision belongs to the first heaven, the second to the second, and the third to the third. The first is below reason, the third above it. Men can indeed ascend to the first and the second heaven of contemplation, but they do not ever get to the one that is above reason unless rapt outside of themselves through ecstasy of mind. Since we should interpret Benjamin as that sort of contemplation which is above the level of reason, we can make quite appropriate conjectures about the meaning of his mother's death.

LXXV. Of the pre-eminence of spiritual speculations.

So the knowledge of any created being is too narrow for the height of this type of contemplation, and lies as far beneath it as the earth is beneath the heavens, and hardly occupies the space of a point. As compared to the knowledge of the creator, what is any sort of knowledge of created beings, more than what earth is in comparison to heaven, or the center in comparison to the whole circumference of the circle? Still this earth, inferior as it is, does have knowledge of inferior things: mountains and hills, fields and valleys. In accordance with the variety of creatures, there will likewise be a variety of knowledges.

To begin at the very lowest level, there is a great distance between

one body and the next. Just as there are celestial bodies, there are also terrestrial bodies. Yet the distance between a body of any sort and the spirit is greater than that between a body of any sort and some other body, however unlike it. As for these spirits, some are irrational, others rational. Those who are still only concerned with physical things seem as if they had their eyes fixed upon the ground, but those who turn their attention to spiritual matters mount upward, as it were.

The mind that strives to ascend to the height of knowledge should have it as its first and principal study to know itself. The great height of knowledge is to have learned to know ones' self completely. It is a great and a high mountain, the full knowledge of the rational spirit. This mountain overtops the peaks of all worldly studies; it looks down from its height on all philosophy, all worldly knowledge.

What like this knowledge was Aristotle able to find out, or Plato, or all that crew of philosophers? Truly, and beyond any doubt, if they had been able to climb this mountain by the exercise of their wit, if their studies had been sufficient for finding out the truth about themselves, if they had known themselves completely, they never would have worshipped idols, they never would have bowed the neck to a creature, they never would have rebelled against the creator. Here the investigators failed in their investigation; here, I say, they failed, and hence they shall not be able to ascend the mountain. Man shall go up to a high heart, and God shall be exalted (Psalm LXIII, 7, 8).³⁶ Learn to consider, O man; learn to consider yourself, and you have gone up to

³⁶ My own translation, as both Douay and AV differ from Richard's version.

a high heart. As much as you grow in daily knowledge of yourself, so much will you climb to higher levels. The man who has come to complete self knowledge has already seen the mountain top.

LXXVI. How rare and pleasant it is to apply spiritual vision to practical uses, and to turn it to delight.

O how rare are those who climb hither! Rare indeed it is to climb this mountain, but it is much rarer to stand upon the top of it and to stay there awhile. And it is rarest of all to live there in quietness of soul: Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in his holy place? (Psalm XXIV, 3). The first task is to climb; the next one to stand. It is toilsome to stand, but much more so to climb. Many there are, indeed, who fail in the ascent, because the toil of climbing is too great; many come down immediately from the hazardous peak, because of the toil of standing. Perhaps it seems intolerable to them, not only that one cannot ascend this mountain without great toil, but also that it is not possible to stay there without great difficulty. But now perhaps you have climbed it, and now you have learned to stand there: do not let even this suffice you. Learn to stay there and to make it your home, and to go back up to it whenever you have been drawn away by some kind of straying of your mind. Surely long usage will turn it into such pleasure for you that you will be able to stay there with no hardship: indeed, it will rather seem a penalty to be elsewhere than to stay there awhile.

It is amazing joy to be able to stay on this mountain without toil. Peter testifies to this when he is charmed by so much unaccustomed delight,

and exclaims: It is good for us to be here! (Matthew XVII, 4). O happy is he who can ascend this mountain and be at rest in his mind! How great, how rare a pleasure! Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill? (Psalm XV, 1). And while it is indeed a great thing to be able to climb up, and to stand there, it is a greater to be able to dwell there, to be able to rest. It is virtue to ascend and to stand; but to dwell and to rest is felicity. Each accomplishment is indeed great and each amazing. The Prophet marvels at each, but for different reasons: the former for the greatness of its difficulty, the latter for the greatness of its pleasure. Amazement over the difficulty is seen in this exclamation: Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in his holy place? (Psalm XXIV, 1). Amazement over the pleasure is seen in this exclamation: Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill? (Psalm XI, 1). To ascend, to stand: O what fortitude! To dwell, to rest: O what blessedness! Who is fit for the work, who is worthy the reward? Lord, who shall ascend? Lord, who shall stand on thy holy hill? Send out thy light and thy truth, and let them lead me; let them bring me unto thy holy hill, and into thy tabernacles (Psalm XLIII, 3).

LXVII. How vainly we strive to climb to the top without preventient grace.

Do you not see that it is truth alone that conducts and brings us to this hill? Itself it leads and itself is that which persuades us. I gladly follow truth; I do not distrust such a guide. Truth is skilled in leading; truth is unable to mislead. But what is truth? What sayest

thou, good teacher, Christ our teacher: what is truth? I am the way, and the truth, and the life, he says (John XIV, 6). So let the man who wishes to ascend into the mountain follow truth. Follow Christ, whoever you may be who wish to ascend into that mountain. From the teaching of the Evangelist we learn that Jesus took his disciples, Peter, James and John, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart (Matthew XVII, 1). So the disciples of Jesus were taken upward and apart³⁷ that they might understand this high mountain. The way is hard, the way is secret, and unknown to many, that leads to the summit of this mountain. Only those, I think, run without error, only those arrive without mishap, who follow Christ and are led by truth. You who hasten upward, you go with safety if truth goes before you, but without it you toil in vain. Just as you desire not to fail in attaining the truth, so the truth cannot fail to be attained. Hence follow Christ, if you wish not to go astray.

LXXVIII. How great is the power of complete self knowledge.

But lest the toil of the journey and the difficulty of the ascent should terrify you, hear and note what is the reward for completing the climb. Jesus is transfigured upon this mountain peak; he is seen there with Moses and Elias, and both are recognized without any witness. The voice of the Father is heard there, speaking to the Son. Are not these things marvellous? Are they not to be desired? Do you wish to see Christ transfigured? Go up into this mountain: learn to know yourself.

³⁷Sursum et seorsum.

Do you wish to see Moses and Elias, and to recognize them without any witness? Do you wish to understand the law and the prophets apart from a teacher, without any exegete? Go up into this mountain, learn to know yourself. Do you wish to know the mysteries of the secrets of the Father? Go up into this mountain, learn to know yourself. For he descended from heaven when he said: *propter seipsum*:³⁸ that is, know thyself. Now do you not see the significance of the ascent of this mountain, and how profitable is complete self knowledge?

LXXIX. In what ways we reach the heights of knowledge.

But what are we to say about the fact that Christ would not go up into this mountain without three disciples, and that he did not try to take more than three? Perhaps this teaches us that one cannot reach the pinnacle of knowledge without a three-fold concern. Little by little we are brought forward through a concern for action, a concern for meditation, a concern for prayer, after which we are led into perfect knowledge. For we find out much by doing; we discover much by searching out; we unravel³⁹ much by praying. Inasmuch as there are innumerable things which we are unable to find out either by experience or by reason, we deserve to learn them by divine inspiration, through the importunity of prayer. Having taken these three companions, truth sets out in our soul, and raises itself up to the heights, and reaching higher in its daily course, at last gains the top of this mountain.

³⁸Juvenal, Satires XI, 27: e caelo descendit *propter seipsum*.

³⁹Extorquemus.

O how many people we see today, studious in reading, indolent in work, lukewarm in prayer, who still dare think they can reach the peak of this mountain! But when, I ask, can they reach it, since they do not have Christ for a leader? For Christ does not lead them, since he will not go up except with these three disciples. Therefore let the man who wishes to have Christ as the leader of his journey, the guide of his ascent, join zeal for work and prayer to his zeal for reading. Certainly the mind which does not follow the footsteps of Christ perfectly, or walk exactly in the way of truth, is not raised to the supreme height of knowledge without an immense amount of training, without constant zeal and ardent desire.

LXXX. How divine revelation goes to meet us when we have made our utmost effort.

It should also be stated that many people believe they have already attained the heights of this mountain when they have scarcely touched its foothills. Let it be a sure sign for you that you have not attained the peak of this mountain, if you have not yet deserved to see Christ glorified. Directly your leader Christ has established you upon the top, he will appear to you in another guise, and will be clothed in light as a garment, and directly (as the Evangelist witnesses) his garments will become white as snow, such as fuller could not make them upon earth. For that splendor of divine wisdom, which is descried from the high peak of speculation, cannot be in any way defined by the prudence of human sense. Note, then, that Christ has one sort of garment in the valley, and another on the mountain: in the valley he has a garment that is

seamless, to be sure, but on such a mountain as this he has a garment full of glory. Utterly simple truth is innocent of the scissors of schismatics: hence Christ never puts on any but seamless garments, whether in the valley or on the mountain. But there is a great difference between a seamless garment and a garment full of glory.

Do you want to know the difference in his garments, and to learn the clear distinction between one garment and another garment? He said, If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not; how shall ye believe, if I tell you of heavenly things? (John II, 12). Distinguish therefore between doctrine and doctrine, and you will find out the difference between the garments. O how great is this difference between the doctrine which teaches earthly things and the doctrine which teaches heavenly ones! And indeed neither the one nor the other can be taught without Christ, for they are not learned without the truth. For what true thing is learned where the truth does not speak? Therefore it is Christ who teaches both; but he teaches the earthly things in the valley, and the heavenly ones upon the mountain. Then as long as you linger in the valley and do not ascend to the height, Christ is only teaching you about earthly and very low things.

LXXXI. How suspect should all revelation be, that is not accompanied by the witness of the Scriptures.

But if you now think that you have gone up to a high heart, and have attained that great high mountain, if you now believe that you see Christ transfigured, do not readily believe him, whatever you see or hear in him, unless Moses and Elias accompany him. We know that all evidence

depends upon the word of two or three people. I suspect any truth that the authority of Scripture does not confirm, nor do I receive Christ in his transfiguration if Moses and Elias do not attend him. Both in the valley and during the ascent of the mountain I often receive Christ without a witness, but never upon the mountain top or in his transfiguration. If Christ teaches me about external things, or about my interior life, I readily receive him, inasmuch as I can judge in these matters by my own experience. But when the mind is led up to the heights (since heavenly things are brought under discussion), and it is a matter of profound⁴⁰ concerns, I do not receive Christ upon such a pinnacle of the sublime without a witness, nor can revelation, however authentic it may seem, be confirmed without the attestation of Moses and Elias: that is, without the authority of Scripture.

So let Christ furnish two witnesses for himself in his transfiguration, if he wants me not to distrust this light of his glorification, great and unusual as it is. Then, in order that this defendant may confirm his written evidence with the spoken testimony of two or three people, let him show forth the authority of Scripture, both figuratively and literally⁴¹ to attest the truth of his revelation. Behold how lovely and pleasant it is for manifest reason to come forward on one side, in the revelation of truth, and for both literal and figurative discourse to come to meet it on the other, to confirm the revelation! Otherwise

⁴⁰The connotation, both of height and of depth, cannot be retained in English.

⁴¹Aperte.

I would be afraid in the height of the day, fearing lest I should be misled by the demon that walks at midday.

Whence come so many heresies and errors, if not from the fact that the spirit of error transforms himself into an angel of light? Surely you see that both are transfigured, Christ and the devil? But Christ confirms the truth of his light by two witnesses. Therefore Moses and Elias appear with the Lord upon this mountain; however, they appear in majesty, not in the darkness of the letter, but in the glory of the spiritual meaning.

LXXXII. How incomprehensible are the things that the ecstatic mind sees through divine revelation.

See how great are the things that are shown forth upon this mountain; but still greater than these are the ones that follow. The disciples see all this standing, for they do not yet fall on their faces. The Father's voice is not yet heard, nor is the hearer yet thrown down. Rachel is not yet dead, nor is Benjamin yet born. For as soon as the Father's voice thunders, it prostrates the disciples. The hearer falls down at the thunder of the divine voice because the capacity of human sense fails before the inspiration of the divine, and unless it abandons the narrow bounds of human reason, the grasp of the intelligence cannot be enlarged far enough for the embrace of the divine inspiration. So the hearer falls down at the point where human reason fails. So Rachel dies that Benjamin may be born. And unless I am mistaken, the death of Rachel is also a symbol of the falling down of the disciples: a three-fold failure is represented in the three disciples--that is, a failure

of sense, memory and reason. For physical sense, and memory of external events, and human reason all are precluded when the mind is rapt out of itself and is raised to the supernal.

Let us hear how intelligible are the words that the Father's voice pronounced, and let us understand how right it is for the hearer to fall down: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased (Matthew XVII, 5). It is one thing to say "I am well pleased (complacui)" and quite another to say "it is pleasing (complacuit)," and yet one gospel writer has one, and another the other.⁴² The result is that if it is correctly said to be "I am well pleased," the meaning which is recorded by the other writer can be truly understood but cannot be translated. Truly, beyond all contradiction, in ipso mihi complacuit, in quo ipse mihi complacui, but not just in quocunque mihi complacuit, in illo ipse mihi complacui. Therefore if the words had not been "I am well pleased," the writer would simply not have dared to say so.

He says: This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased. Certainly if the Son were other than the Father, it would not be possible for the Father to be well pleased in the Son. What does it mean to say, "I am well pleased" except in the sense "I am pleased with myself, as regards myself," hence, "I am well pleased with myself as regards the Son"? Or when he says I am well pleased, is he demonstrating that he has an associate in his feeling of being pleased? That is, in the same sense that the Father is well pleased in the Son, he is also well pleased in the Holy Spirit. Perhaps I am well pleased is said that we may understand that in the sense the Father is well pleased in

⁴²Richard's Bible differed from the Vulgate, where all the pertinent passages have complacui.

the Son, he is also very well pleased indeed with the Holy Spirit.

Which of these interpretations is the right one? Or are they all to be understood, rather than a certain one of them in particular? Yet these words are different and can be discriminated differently, even if they are not quite adequate for communicating the profundity of the mystery. However it is certain that whichever one of them is preferable, it also confers unity of substance upon diversity of persons, if it is rightly understood. For the statement this is my Son shows the diversity of persons: for he cannot be one and the same with himself, both Father and Son at once. But what may be the interpretation of the relation of one to the other: another in respect to person, the same in respect to essence? If you seek an example, you will never find any in the created world that will suffice; if you consult reason, all human reason protests. This statement is so far above human reckoning and outside human reason that the reason will never accede to it unless faith lift it up to certainty in the matter. So it is proper for the hearer to fall down at the revelation of this mystery, and for sense to fail, and for human reason to succumb.

LXXXIII. The mind that is used to standing in the secret place perceives divine revelations.

It is proper for such revelation to be made only on the mountain, nor should so profound sublimity nor so sublime profundity of this mystery be made plain in the valley. Those who are still dwelling in the lowland, in life or in thought, show themselves to be unworthy of this generous favor. Therefore let man go up to a high heart; let him

go up onto that mountain, if he wishes to grasp those things, to know those things, that are above human sense. Let him climb by means of himself above the level of himself: by means of self knowledge to knowledge of God. Let man first learn what he ought to think about God by thinking about the image of God; let him learn it first through the likeness of God.

The ascent of the mountain, as I have said, has to do with self knowledge: those things which go on on the top of the mountain lead to the knowledge of God. There is no doubt that the former have to do with Joseph, the latter with Benjamin. Joseph has to be born before Benjamin. How is the mind which does not rise to consideration of its own self going to fly on the wing of contemplation to the things that are beyond it?

God descends upon this mountain, Moses ascends to it. The Lord teaches about the building of the tabernacle on this mountain, Moses learns of it. What is meant by the tabernacle of the covenant but the state of perfection? Therefore the man who ascends the mountain, who waits attentively, who seeks long, who finds out at length what sort of a man he is, remains there to learn by divine revelation what sort of man he ought to be, what sort of temple of the mind he should be building for God, and with what religious observances he should be pleasing him. Then when do you think the mind, which has hitherto been scattered broadside over a variety of pleasures, which has been pulled hither and thither by a variety of thoughts; when do you think it will deserve to receive this grace? When will such a mind that has never been able to center itself down, has never known how to withdraw into

itself, when will it be able to rise through contemplation to the things that are above it?

LXXXIV. How the mind that yearns for celestial contemplation ought to center itself on its interior life.

So let a man learn to gather together the dispersed children of Israel; let him strive to hold in check his wandering thoughts, let him accustom himself to lingering long within himself, forgetting all external things, if he yearns for celestial contemplation and sighs after an evidence of the divine. Let him make the church his study as well as his delight, that he may learn to love the only good and to think this only without ceasing: Bless ye God in the churches (Psalm LXVII, 26).⁴³ Benjamin is rapt into ecstasy in this double church of thought and of desire, in this double single-mindedness of studies and of wills; breathed upon by the breath of inspiration, the mind is raised up on high: There is Benjamin a youth in ecstasy of mind (ibid., 28). Where else but in the church, do you think? Bless ye God in the churches, even the Lord, from the fountain of Israel (ibid., 27).

There is Benjamin a youth, in ecstasy of mind. One has first to make a synagogue of his thoughts and desires before he can make a church. You well know that synagogue means congregation, and church means convocation. It is one thing to "drive together" into one place without their will, or against their will, and another for them to "come together" voluntarily, in assent to someone's entreaty.⁴⁴ Insensitive and brutish

⁴³AV: Congregations.

beings can be congregated, but they cannot be convoked. But a concourse of even rational beings has to be voluntary in order to be correctly called a convocation. Thus you see how great a difference there is between convocation and congregation, and between church and synagogue.

If then you perceive that your desires are fixed on exterior delights, and your thoughts likewise are occupied with them, compel them urgently to come in, that you can at least make a synagogue of them for the time being. Each time that we gather our wandering thoughts together and fix all the yearnings of our heart upon a single desire for the eternal, do we not make a synagogue of our interior household? But when that throng of our desires and thoughts, enticed by a sampling of interior sweetness, has learned to run together willingly at the beck of reason, and to stay fixed in interior privacy, then indeed it can be called by the more worthy name of church. Then let us learn to love only the interior good, let us learn to ponder on it alone, and when we know we are fit to love Benjamin, doubtless we will form a church.

LXXIV. How pleasant and sweet it is to be familiar with the grace of contemplation.

Since Benjamin loves to linger in such churches, is wonderfully pleased, and cannot even contain himself for joy, he is drawn out above himself, and elevated on high by ecstasy of mind. For unless our Benjamin took such pleasure in rest, Moses could surely not have written of him: The best beloved of the Lord shall dwell confidently in him:

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He is playing, of course, on congregare, to drive together; convocare, to call together.

as in a bride chamber shall he abide all the day long, and between his shoulders shall be rest (Deuteronomy XXX, 2).⁴⁵ Why do you think this Benjamin lingers all the day long in a bride chamber, and also remains there so that he does not want to come out even for a while? We know that the bridegroom and the bride are accustomed to stay in the bride chambers together, to be engrossed with each other in the rites of love, to cherish one another in mutual embraces and reciprocal affection. Hence, if I am not mistaken, a sure omen of marvellous beauty and of unique charm shows who is our Benjamin's beloved, whose companionship can never become tiresome; nor does he wish to be absent from her embraces even for a while. But if we know that it is the voice of our Benjamin, we cannot doubt how beautiful is his beloved: I said to wisdom: Thou art my sister: and I called prudence my friend (Proverbs VII, 4).⁴⁶

Do you want to hear how the beauty of this beloved cannot become boring--this beloved whom he calls sister and friend, through his chaste and most ardent affection? When I go into my house, I shall repose myself with her: for her conversation hath no bitterness, nor her company any tediousness, but joy and gladness. And there is great delight in her friendship (Wisdom VIII, 16, 18). Let each one say what he himself feels: then I will not seek any other reason why she holds him so closely attached that he cannot go free even for a little. Still I know one thing: whoever burns with desire for a friend like this

⁴⁵D-R. AV entirely different.

⁴⁶My version. Neither AV nor D-R has this reading.

loves her all the more the better he knows her, and the oftener he enjoys her embraces the more violently he is inflamed with desire. Indeed, frequent intercourse has a way of increasing his desire rather than decreasing it, and of causing love's conflagration to flare the hotter.

Then it is no wonder why our Benjamin abides all the day long as in a bridechamber, since he enjoys the sweetness of such a spouse, and resting between his shoulders she equally enjoys his love. How do you think he endures such frequent ecstasies of mind, or being rapt so often in transport, and taken out of himself? For he is astounded at her great beauty, and elevated by wonder over her, and the saying about him is surely fulfilled: There is Benjamin a youth in ecstasy of mind.

It should be noted how the testimonies of the Scriptures are in agreement. For what the Prophet designates by the death of Rachel, and the Evangelist by the falling down of the disciples, the Psalmist expresses through Benjamin, in ecstasy of mind.

LXXXVI. Of the two types of contemplation.

We can appropriately interpret the death of Rachel and the ecstasy of Benjamin as two types of contemplation. There are, indeed, two types of contemplation that are above the realm of reason, and they both concern Benjamin. The first is above reason, but not outside it, while the second is both above reason and outside reason. Those things are above reason but not outside it, which cannot be investigated or controlled by any exercise of reason, though they permit the existence of the reason. But we call those things both above and outside reason which seem to run

counter to all human reason. Such are the beliefs we hold about the unity of the Trinity; and many of those that we believe about the body of Christ, on the indubitable authority of faith. No human reason can cope with the idea of a three-fold person in a single simple nature, or of one and the same body being able to be present in different places at the same time. Certainly the entire power of reason seems to cry out against statements of this kind.

These, then, are the two types of contemplation, one concerned with the death of Rachel, the other with the ecstasy of Benjamin. In the first Benjamin kills his mother, when he passes beyond reason; in the second, however, he even passes outside of himself, when he transcends the mode of human intelligence and reaches the plane in which knowledge depends upon divine revelation. But this is to be marked not only in Benjamin but also in all the brothers; indeed it should be diligently noted in innumerable passages in Scripture, how Holy Scripture has a way of sometimes extending the signification of a thing, or again restricting it, or even changing it. It has a way of fixing those modes of alternating meanings in many ways, and of revealing its own sense sometimes through a place, sometimes through an act, or through some other circumstances. Thus it is the place that sets the meaning in the passage where Benjamin is said to have gone down into Egypt, while it is the act that does so when Joseph and Benjamin run to embrace each other, and both kiss.

LXXXVII. How contemplation descends into meditation, and how meditation rises into contemplation.

What does it mean for Benjamin to go down into Egypt? It is simply to call back the attention of the mind from contemplation of the eternal to contemplating the temporal, and to turn the beam of the intelligence down from the light of eternity (as though from the height of heaven) all the way to the darkness of the world of mutability. It is to weigh carefully the way of the divine judgments, and to penetrate into it, to a great extent, in the midst of such a confusion of changing things. And why do Joseph and Benjamin meet and kiss?

This means that meditation and contemplation often join together, with the support of the reason. For generally speaking Joseph is to be interpreted as the grace of meditation, just as Benjamin is to be interpreted as the grace of contemplation. Yet properly speaking, Benjamin more accurately denotes pure intelligence, and Joseph true prudence. Benjamin, that type of contemplation that has to do with invisible things, and Joseph, that type of meditation that has to do with conduct. If the comprehension of invisible things does indeed concern the pure intelligence, circumspect conduct concerns true prudence. By pure intelligence we mean that which is not mixed with imagination; by true prudence we distinguish it from what is called prudence of the flesh. True prudence has to do with acquiring, increasing and preserving the true good; prudence of the flesh has to do with transitory good, according to which the children of this world are said to be wiser than the children of light (Luke XVI, 8).

As often, then, as Joseph falls upon Benjamin's neck, so often does meditation end in contemplation. Benjamin receives his brother who runs to him when the mind rises to contemplation from the practice

of meditation. Benjamin and Joseph kiss each other when divine revelation and the power of human reason agree in a single attestation of the truth.

Do you not see how Holy Scripture alternates the mode of signification of a single thing and how it adds something else, so that the sense is not permitted to be obscure in respect to the whole? In the death of Rachel contemplation rises above reason; in the entrance of Benjamin into Egypt contemplation descends into the imagination; in the embrace of Benjamin and Joseph, human reason is pleasing to divine revelation.

TEXTUAL EMENDATIONS

I have not noted the very frequent lapses of punctuation, nor those that involve misnumbering of Scriptural passages. There are many such errors as dilligere for diligere that it would be otiose to mention. Some mistakes are due to editorial incompetence in reading manuscript contractions: e.g., expanding of a shortened term into reverentia instead of verecundia.

page	line	
3	9	supplying <u>ut</u> after <u>dil(l)igere</u>
6	16	reading <u>accepit</u> for <u>acrepit</u>
7	12	" <u>corporeus</u> for <u>corporens</u>
7	15	" <u>secretaria</u> for <u>secretoria</u>
9	3	" <u>intimi</u> for <u>intivi</u>
10	5	" <u>si</u> for <u>ei</u>
11	17	" <u>plangit</u> for <u>plangis</u>
16	2	" <u>id est</u> for <u>in est</u>
24	20	" <u>illecebrosas</u> for <u>illecebrosae</u>
26	3	" <u>judicium</u> for <u>iudium</u>
34	8-10	" <u>omnis superfluae delectationis abstinentiam, aut cuiuslibet corporalis afflictionis patientiam</u> for <u>omnis superfluae delectationis, aut cuiuslibet corporalis afflictionis abstinentiam vel patientiam</u>
39	15	omitting <u>quasi</u> , which seems to have been picked up from the line above it
42	23	omitting <u>tam...quam</u> , which seem to have been picked up from the line below
57	22	omitting one <u>aliis</u> , which must be dittographic
62	6	reading <u>in mediis</u> for <u>in medius</u>
62	14	reading <u>victuram</u> as a supposititious future participle of <u>vivere</u>
66	2	" <u>pudenda</u> for <u>prudenda</u>
67	17	" <u>fratris</u> for <u>fractis</u>
69	5	supplying <u>non</u> before <u>voluerunt</u>
73	10	reading <u>non</u> for <u>don</u>
78	5	" <u>sane</u> for <u>sanet</u>
79	4	" <u>oportuit</u> for <u>oportui</u>
79	23	" <u>semet</u> for <u>semen</u>
80	15	" <u>vigor</u> for <u>virgo</u>
80	17	" <u>vigor</u> for <u>virgor</u>
82	4	" <u>verecundia</u> for <u>revera</u>
83	13	" <u>crescere</u> for <u>cressere</u>

page	line	
84	3	reading <u>sollicitudinis</u> for <u>sollitudinis</u>
84	7	" <u>ancipites</u> for <u>anticipes</u>
84	18	omitting <u>quando</u> , and assuming an ablative absolute
85	5	reading <u>imprudentem</u> for <u>impudentem</u>
85	13	" <u>imprudens</u> for <u>impudens</u>
85	20	" <u>propter quae veneras oblivisci, illa quae debueras sola reminisci</u> for <u>illorum propter quae veneras oblivisci, illa quorum oblivisci debueras sola reminisci</u>
86	7	reading <u>maculasti</u> for <u>musculati</u> (though it is tempting to render: then muscledst thou in)
87	1	" <u>ostendi</u> for <u>ostende</u>
87	10	" <u>eum</u> for <u>cum</u>
87	17	" <u>sive</u> for <u>sine</u>
88	18	" <u>partis</u> for <u>par is</u>
90	6	" <u>cadit</u> for <u>eadit</u>
90	16	" <u>animi</u> for <u>amici</u>
96	23	omitting <u>et</u>
105	14	reading <u>vis</u> for <u>vul</u>
109	15	" <u>si</u> for <u>ei</u>
110	24	omitting the second <u>nisi</u>
111	24	" the second <u>in Filio</u>
112	6	reading <u>misterium</u> for <u>ministerium</u> (vide infra line 17)
118	17	" <u>alternantium</u> for <u>alternantiam</u>
118	20	" <u>determinatum</u> for <u>determinatur</u>
119	25	" <u>excipiat</u> for <u>excipia</u>
120	9	" <u>divina</u> for <u>divinae</u>

APPENDIX A

Augustine, Contra Faustum Manichaeum, PL XLII, xciv-xcvi, col. 463-464

(This very important passage, part of a defense of the multiplicity of Scriptural meaning against the heretics, shows why it is possible to quote Augustine on both sides of the argument about the primacy of the literal or allegorical interpretation. Note the cithara figure, which Hugh of St. Victor reproduces, to slightly different effect, in APPENDIX C.)

XCIV. So if we carefully study these particular passages in Scripture about which the heretics make their calumnious statements, if we put the passages to the question, as it were, they show us that the more obscure they seem, the more marvellous treasures of mysteries do they conceal. This is all the more reason why the blasphemous mouths of the impious should be mute, since they are stopped with the most obvious truth against which, in their peevishness (praefocato spiritu), they cannot find any complaint.

Do these unhappy men prefer to choke over the manifest truth rather than fill their stomachs with its sweetness? For all these things proclaim Christ,⁴⁷ that Head which now ascends into heaven and this Body which labors to the end upon earth. Every birth-pang of the writers brought forth Scripture. One should not think that anything in the

⁴⁷Typological interpretation.

whole fabric of the prophetic books does not have some portent of future things, except for what is put there for somehow binding together the statements that predict this king and his people either literally or figuratively.⁴⁸

Just as in the cithara and that sort of musical instruments, not all the strings that are struck sound in the melodies, but certain ones only (the others being built into the whole instrument so there can be a means of controlling it, and places to stretch those strings that the artist has to strike upon in creating his sweet music), so these prophetic accounts, rooted fast in the prophetic spirit but concerning the actual deeds of men, resound with portent of future happenings, or, if there is no such meaning. they are placed there so there may be a means of connecting the significant and resounding passages.

XCV. If the heretics are unwilling to accept our exposition of the allegorical narration of these things, or contend that they signify nothing except what they literally state,⁴⁹ there is no arguing with them who say, "It doesn't taste in my mouth the way you say it tastes in yours." While those divinely inspired precepts are believed or thought either to shape moral and pious behavior, or to have a figurative significance, or either of these rather than neither one, at the same time even the things that are believed to have been said or done figuratively

⁴⁸ Note that literally, as here used, would mean typological, not historical. Portent of future things could be applied either anagogically or typologically.

⁴⁹ Proprie sonant.

should bear upon the same good customs and pious behavior.⁵⁰ Thus even if our interpretation or theory or opinion of these symbols of events⁵¹ is displeasing to the Manichees or anyone else, let it suffice them that our forefathers, to whom God asseverated his testimony by his good life and by obedience to their laws, maintained those true precepts. This fact cannot displease any but those with depraved and perverted minds. Let it also suffice them that Scripture, which is hateful to them in the perversity of their error, remains inculpable and worthy of reverence no matter what human deeds it portrays, whether it praise or confute them or present them for our own just appraisal.

XCVI. What could be more useful or beneficial to those who reverently read or hear Scripture, as regards counsel or future outlook⁵² than that it lay before them not only praiseworthy men for emulating and reprehensible ones as a warning, but even certain backslidings of good men, and lapses into sin, whether the men mend their ways again, or remain hopelessly lost? Or what better than certain changes of heart in evil men, and their progress into the good life, whether they persist in it, or relapse into their former state? Thus neither the righteous are exalted to pride by their complacency, nor the wicked hardened against any remedy by their desperation. Is not this beneficial?

As for those deeds which do not bear upon either emulation or

⁵⁰That is, the tropological has an allegorical significance, and the allegorical a tropological.

⁵¹Figuris rerum gestarum.

⁵²Its tropological and anagogical uses.

avoidance, and yet are found in Scripture, they are either there with reference to a possible future use,⁵³ or the very fact that they seem superfluous is sufficient warning that we have to seek in them some pronouncement⁵⁴ of mystical signification. Nor do I speak of those books in which nothing, or only a little, or not too much is clearly proclaimed in a prophetic spirit, for in such portentous⁵⁵ matters, they proclaim the divine authority with the most faithful and candid truth, so that anyone who thinks they are said either superfluously or fatuously is completely mad. In these passages such a man might have seen not only all the deeds of superior men set forth, but also a prophecy concealed from them, and a means of knowing the past.

⁵³Quibus occasionibus ad res necessarias veniatur.

⁵⁴Oraculum.

⁵⁵Impletis.

APPENDIX B

Isidore of Seville, Differentiarum Libri Duo, PL LXXXIII, xxxiv, col.90-91.

(The mediaeval encyclopaedist discusses the active and contemplative lives in allegorical terms derived from Ambrose and Augustine, and later to be used by Richard of St. Victor. Isidore's works were so generally used and widely available that it is safe to assume almost any scholar had access to them. Note the emphasis here upon the necessity of both ways of life; the St. Victorines and St. Bernard will repeat this emphasis.)

There is this distinction between the active and contemplative life: the active life is that which is directed toward works of righteousness and the benefit of one's neighbor; the contemplative, that which, free of all business, is fixed solely upon the love of God. One of them is occupied with the carrying on of a good way of life, the other with contemplation of immutable truth. One lives by faith in this state of pilgrimage, the other leads to the kingdom those who live well.

The rewards of the active life are great, but those of the contemplative are greater. The active life begins in good works; the contemplative arrives where it is going. The works of the active life terminate with the body, while the joys of the contemplative increase at the end. The former, though useful and good, will pass away when rest comes; the latter is the true reward of good works that pass away, and

it is a rest that will endure.

The contemplative life is demonstrated by Rachel, who was beautiful but barren, because not so many children of good works are borne in the repose of contemplation. Leah, eyeless but fertile, represented the active life, because action is indeed troublesome, and less highly regarded. But because it proves more beneficial to one's neighbor in its good works, it grows more fertile in deeds, as if in sons...

Then those who strive to gain the repose of contemplation should first exercise themselves in the race-course of active life, that when the works of justice have destroyed the sinful appetites⁵⁶ they may show a clean heart for the seeing of God. The mind which still seeks for worldly glory, or yields to the temptations of fleshly desire, is surely debarred from contemplation...

There is sometimes a great difference between souls in the very practice of contemplation and action. For to some only contemplation is profitable, and to some only the active life is a comfort. The middle course, made up of both modes of life, is much more beneficial for restoring the exhausted spirit. This is a course which is usually strengthened by simplicity of intention, that the spirit may be better controlled from both sides.

The fact that the Saviour shone forth in the city by day through signs and miracles, recommended the active life to us. The fact that he passed the night on the mountain in watching and prayer, signified the life of contemplation.

⁵⁶Dum opera justitiae faeces peccatorum exhauriunt.

Then the service of God and imitation of Christ does not lose sight of daily life, and carries on the contemplative life. Neglect of either is a fault. As God is to be loved in contemplation, so one's neighbor is to be cherished in daily life. And just as we cannot live without both kinds of life, we cannot live without both kinds of love.

APPENDIX C

Hugh of St. Victor, De Scripturis et Scriptoribus Sacris Praenotatiunculae, PL CLXXV, iii, col. 11.

(This incisive defense of the primacy of the literal meaning is written by Richard's teacher, the philosopher of the St. Victorine school, who was himself a skillful user of allegory. In the Middle Ages one finds such condemnations of the abuse of allegory, but not of its use.)

III. On the three-fold meaning of Holy Scripture.

Sacred writing is set forth in accordance with a three-fold meaning. The first interpretation is historical, in which there is considered the prime signification of the words, as concerns the things they discuss. For sacred writing has a certain property different from other writing, as in it certain things are discussed through the words that are spoken, and these things in turn are presented in the place of words to expound the signification of other things. It is called history from the Greek word ἱστορέω, historeo, which means I see, and I tell, because among the ancients it was not allowed to write about anything a man had not himself seen, lest falsity be mixed with truth by the writer's sin in saying more, or less, or otherwise. Accordingly it is called history properly and in the strict sense; but it is likely to be taken more broadly, inasmuch as history is called the sense which applies first of all to things on the basis of the signification of the words.

The second interpretation is allegorical. It is called allegory when some other fact, either past, present or future, is meant by the signification set forth in the letter. Allegory is said to be a sort of "alien speech"⁵⁷, because one thing is said and another intended, and it is subdivided into simple allegory and anagogy. It is simple allegory when some other visible⁵⁸ fact is signified by a visible fact. Anagogy is a leading upward, when an invisible fact is declared through a visible one.

Let me give an example of this three-fold meaning. There was a man in the land of Hus, by name Job, who had formerly been rich but had come to such misery that he sat on the dunghill and scratched the gore from his body with a potsherd. The literal meaning is evident. Let us go on to the allegory, to consider the things that are signified by means of the things signified in the words, and the fact signified by the fact.

Job, then, which is interpreted suffering, signifies Christ, who, first in the treasures of his father's glory, and coequal with him, condescended to our misery, and sits in humility upon the dunghill of this world, sharing in all our defects except sin.⁵⁹ Let us then inquire

⁵⁷Alienoloquium.

⁵⁸Reading visibile for invisibile.

⁵⁹This is the typological or allegorical in the strict sense, with Old Testament Job equated with New Testament Christ.

1. The first part of the report is a general statement of the purpose of the study.

2. The second part of the report is a description of the methods used in the study.

3. The third part of the report is a description of the results of the study.

4. The fourth part of the report is a discussion of the results of the study.

5. The fifth part of the report is a conclusion of the study.

6. The sixth part of the report is a list of references.

7. The seventh part of the report is a list of appendices.

8. The eighth part of the report is a list of figures.

9. The ninth part of the report is a list of tables.

10. The tenth part of the report is a list of footnotes.

11. The eleventh part of the report is a list of symbols.

12. The twelfth part of the report is a list of abbreviations.

13. The thirteenth part of the report is a list of acronyms.

what is intended there should be done by virtue of this fact: that is, what ought to happen.⁶⁰ Job can signify any just or penitent soul that heaps up in its memory a dunghill of all the sins it has committed, and sitting down upon it and meditating (not just for the moment, but perseveringly), does not cease to weep. And the literal facts which represent this sort of spiritual significances are called examples (sacramenta).⁶¹

IV. Not all the things that are found in sacred scripture are to be forced into this threefold interpretation, but only certain ones.

Indeed not all things that are found in Scripture are to be twisted into this threefold interpretation, where each particular one is believed to contain history, allegory and tropology at once. Even if they can be appropriately assigned in many instances, yet it is either difficult or impossible to observe them everywhere. Just as in the cithara and other musical instruments of that sort, not all of the melodious strings make a sound, but some of the total number are put into the body of the cithara so there may be a means of connecting and stretching those others which the artist is to play upon in his sweet music: so some things are put into Scripture which should be understood spiritually; some serve the purpose of weightiness; and then to be sure there are

⁶⁰This is the tropological or moral meaning. He seems not to have given the three meanings he intended, but to have substituted the typological for the anagogical.

⁶¹See the interesting array of meanings for sacramentum in Souter's Glossary.

some which can be expounded historically, allegorically and tropologically.⁶²

V. How the literal and historical interpretation is necessary.

Then since the spiritual meaning is only gathered from those passages which the literal meaning first propounds, I wonder at the impudence with which certain teachers keep boasting about allegories when they are still ignorant of the first signification of the letter.

"We read Scripture," they say, "but we do not read the letter. We don't care about the letter; we teach the allegory."

How do you read Scripture, then, if you do not read the letter? If the letter is taken away, what is Scripture?

"We read the letter," they say, "but not according to the letter. For we read the allegory, and we expound the letter not according to the letter, but according to the allegory."

What does it mean to expound the letter except to show what the letter means?

"But the letter," they say, "means one thing according to the historical sense, and another according to the allegory. Leo does indeed signify a beast according to the historical sense, and it signifies Christ according to allegory: therefore this word, Leo, signifies Christ."

Now I ask you who affirm this, why Leo should signify Christ?

⁶²The cithara figure is copied almost word for word from Augustine: see Appendix A.

Perhaps you reply, as this sort of reply usually goes, "Because the likeness is appropriate to the signification of the thing proposed, for the lion sleeps with its eyes open," or some such remark. "Therefore the lion signifies Christ, because it sleeps with its eyes open."⁶³

So you have said that this word Leo signifies Christ, because it sleeps with its eyes open. Either retract the statement you have made or change the reason you have appended. For either it is a false statement that this word Leo signifies Christ, or the reason you have appended is false: that Leo signifies Christ because it sleeps with its eyes open. For the word does not sleep with its eyes open, but the animal that the word signifies. You must know, then, that when the lion is said to signify Christ, not the name of the animal but the animal itself is signified. It is this which is said to sleep with its eyes open, and in accordance with a certain similitude represents him who, in the slumber of the death he had undertaken to suffer, slept as regards his humanity, but had his eyes open, waking as regards his divinity.

Then do not boast about the meaning of Scripture as long as you are ignorant of the letter. To be ignorant of the letter is to be ignorant of what the letter signifies, and of what is signified in the

⁶³Hugh is protesting against the sort of worrying of the text that Origen often perpetrates. In In Genesis Homilia XVII he spent some fifty lines in glossing the catulus leonis Judah passage in the "Benedictions of Jacob," Genesis XLIX, 9. Among other authorities for calling Christ a lion's cub of the tribe of Judah, he cites Aristotle to prove that the birth of the lion goes against the normal course of nature just as does the birth of Christ. I spare the reader all but a phrase: Catulus Christus non solum tropice verum etiam physice designatur: Christ is a lion's cub not only figuratively but even physically (or naturally).

the same time, the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of a relation is not a contradiction. For example, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of being a friend. In this case, the person is both the one who is friends with someone and the one who is friends with them. This is not a contradiction because the relation is symmetric. Similarly, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of being a parent. In this case, the person is both the one who is a parent of someone and the one who is a parent of them. This is not a contradiction because the relation is asymmetric. In general, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation if the relation is symmetric or asymmetric. If the relation is symmetric, then the person is both the one who is related to someone and the one who is related to them. If the relation is asymmetric, then the person is both the one who is related to someone and the one who is related to them. In both cases, this is not a contradiction because the relation is either symmetric or asymmetric. Therefore, the fact that a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation is not a contradiction.

literal sense. For what is signified by the first, the third signifies.⁶⁴ Then since the things which the letter signifies are signs of spiritual meaning, how can they be signs for you, when they have not yet signified anything to you?

Do not make a leap, then, lest you fall over a precipice. He proceeds most correctly who proceeds in due order. First take pains, in your reading, to set in order the concept of the things that Scripture propounds to you for their spiritual meaning, that from them you may gather up a type of knowledge for later meditation, which you may use analogously either for edification of the faith, or for instruction in good habits.

"But everything cannot be read literally, or fittingly interpreted that way," they say. "For when the Prophet says that he saw the river of fire coming out from under the throne of God, and claims there were some sort of animals with wings and eyes flying around and clamoring (Daniel VII, Ezechiel I), and a lot more along this line, it is certainly fitting to accept some of these statements that Scripture makes literally, and to understand some of them figuratively."

They say this, as if we thought that everything that is stated literally were to be entirely accepted in that sense, and nothing else were to be understood in the statements, since what is there present is not said literally, but is signified by means of what the letter

⁶⁴ That is, what is actually narrated in the literal, or first, sense, has an additional meaning in the third, or typological-allegorical sense. The passage uses the active significat for the latter, the passive significatur for the former.

says. For in what is received in the figurative sense, the letter is granted to have its own meaning. Since what is said is not said in that way, we claim it has to be understood, and we affirm that it was said in some kind of sense. Then something is being stated and signified apart from the literal meaning,⁶⁵ when the statement is not understood in the same sense in which it was made, but something else is signified than is said by it. Thus there is certainly something stated and signified apart from the literal meaning, and the first meaning to be considered is that which is signified apart from the literal meaning, so that whatever is afterwards signified by means of it may be understood.⁶⁶

We desire the reader to be warned to this extent, lest perchance he may despise these first rudiments of doctrine. Nor should he think of slighting the idea⁶⁷ of these things that Scripture propounds to us through the first signification of the letter, as being something that the Holy Spirit has painted for our carnal senses (that are only capable of grasping invisible things by means of visible ones) like images⁶⁸ of mystical meanings, so to speak; or as if it had allegorized⁶⁹ a clear demonstration of things that are to be spiritually understood, through

⁶⁵ Or apart from the letter: a littera.

⁶⁶ That is, there are occasions when the literal meaning yields the primacy to an allegorical sense. The paragraph is an extremely difficult one.

⁶⁷ Notitiam.

⁶⁸ Simulacra.

⁶⁹ Figuravit.

the likenesses that are set before us.⁷⁰

Now if we ought to pass over immediately from the literal meaning to that which has to be taken spiritually, as these men claim, the figures and likenesses of the things that train the mind to apprehend the spiritual will have been inserted in vain into Holy Scripture by the Holy Spirit. As the Apostle said, that which is of the flesh is first, then that which is of the spirit (I Corinthians XV, 46). As for the very wisdom of God, the power of the purblind intellect could never be illumined for the spiritual contemplation of it, unless this wisdom had first been grasped⁷¹ by bodily means.

Therefore do not despise humility in the word of God, since through humility you are illumined for the divine. All this that the word of God contains in an outward sense seems to you like mud, and perhaps you even spurn it with your feet, as being mud, and contemn the facts that the literal meaning tells you in a bodily and visible sense. But hear this: by means of this mud that is spurned by your feet, the eye of the blind man was illumined so that he might see (John IX).⁷²

Read Scripture, then, and first learn diligently what is told in bodily terms. If you zealously impress upon your mind the form of

⁷⁰He is warning the reader against considering the literal sense to be valid only as a sure approach to spiritual meaning. This would ultimately mean an annihilation of the literal. The Victorine tradition is not altogether Platonic in this respect, having a regard to the dignity of the external world in its own right. Things are things as well as vestigia.

⁷¹Cognita.

⁷²The literal meaning of Scripture receives a tropological defense.

these things in accordance with the context of the story as given, you will then in your meditation suck⁷³ as though from a honeycomb the sweet of the spiritual meaning.

⁷³ Reading suges for fuges.

APPENDIX D

Middle English Synopsis of the Benjamin Minor, Houghton Library
MS Richardson 22, Harvard College (de Ricci p. 961).

(The beginning of this treatise will illustrate the use that was made in English of Richard's work. As far as I read in the MS, being pressed for time, it was practically identical with that in the printed Pepwell edition of 1521. See Introduction for further information on the English Treatise. This MS is entitled: St. Augustinus Meditacions and Confession in Englysshe; Tretise that men callip Richard of Seynt Victor. The Benjamin portion takes up folios 52, v. 1 to 68, v. 1. The volume is 14th century vellum, the dialect East Midland.)

Here bygynnipþ a tretise þat men callip Richard of Seynt Victor

A grete clerke þat men callip Richard of seynt Victor in a boke þat he makyp of þe study of wysdome witnessip and seyp þat two myhtis are in a mannys sowle 3euyn of þe fader of hevyn of whom all gode comyp þat one is reson þat oper is affecioun. þorwe resoun we knowe and þorwe affecioun we loue. Of resoun springip rigt counsayle and gostli wittis. Of affecioun springip holi desiris and ordeynyed felinges and riht as Rachel and Lya were boop wyves unto Jacob. Riht so mannys sowle for liht of knowynge in þe resoun and swetnes of love in þe affecioun is spousyd in to god. By Jacob is understonde god. Bi rachel resoun and by Lia is understonde affectioun. Apper of pese wives rachel

4. The fourth part of the document provides a summary of the overall findings and conclusions. It reiterates the importance of data-driven decision-making and the need for continuous monitoring and evaluation of the organization's performance.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the limitations of the study and the potential for future research. It acknowledges that the data collected may not be representative of the entire population and that further research is needed to validate the findings.

6. The sixth part of the document provides a list of references and sources used in the study. It includes books, articles, and other documents that provide background information and support the findings of the study.

7. The seventh part of the document is a conclusion and a call to action. It encourages the organization to take the findings of the study into account and to implement changes to improve its performance and achieve its goals.

and lya tokyn hym a mayden. Rachel toke bala and lya toke selpha
bala was a grete iangeler. and 3elpha was ever drunkyn and pristi. By
bala is understondin imagnacioun þe whiche is servaunt to resoun as
bala to Rachel. Bi 3elpha is understondyn sensualite þe whiche is
servaunt unto affectioun as 3elpha was to lya. In so moche are þese
maydenys nedefull to þese ladies þat wiþ owtyn hem all þis worlde myht
seruyn hem of nauht. ffor whi wiþ owte (53r) emaginacioun Resoun may
nat knowe and wiþowte sensualite affecioun may nat fele. And 3it
ymaginacioun criep so unconvenabli in þe eris of owre herte. þat far
awht þat resoun here lady may do 3it sche may nat styлле here. and
perfor is it þat ofte tymes whan we preye so many sere fantasies of
yvel þouhtis cryen in owre eris þat on none wyse we may be owre
mi3htis dryven hem away. And þus it is wel pruyvyd þat Bala is a
fowle iangeler. and also sensualite is evermore so pristi þat alle
þat affectioun here ladi may fele may nat 3it slakyn her pryst. þe
drynke þat sche desirip is þe luste of flescheli kyndely and worldly
delitis of þe whiche evermore þe more sche drinkyþ þe more sche pristip.
ffor whi for to fulfill þe appetite of þe sensualite all þis worlde
may nat suffise. And perfore it is þat ofte tyme þat whanne we praye
or þenke on god and gostly þinges. we wolde fayne fele sweteness of
love in owre affectioun and 3it may we nat. so are we besy to fede
þe concupiscence of owre sensualite. ffor evermore it is gredeli askynge
and we have a fleschly compassioun þer of. And þus it wel previp. 3elpha
(53v) is drunkyn and pristi and riht as lya conseyyd of Jacob and browht
forþ vij childryn and (3elpha?) conseyyd of Jacob and browht forþ two
childryn and Rachel conseyyd of Jacob and browht forþ two childrin Bala

conseyvyd of Jacob and browht forþ two childryn. Riht so þe affedioun
 conseyviþ þorw þe grace of god, and bringiþ forþ vii vertues and also
 þe sensualite conseyviþ þorw þe grace of god and bringiþ forþ two
 vertues. And also þe resoun conseyviþ þorw þe grace of god and bringiþ
 forþe two vertues and also þe imaginacioun conseyviþ þorw þe grace of
 god and bringiþ forþ twoo vertues or two biholdynges and þe names of
 þese children and þese vertues schal ben knowen be þis figure. þat
 folwiþ here after. In schewynge.

(There follows a genealogical table).

APPENDIX E

Alanus de Insulis, Omnis Caro Foenum (PL CCX, col. 579)

(To illustrate the intensity and compression of style of Mediaeval Latin, I print this poem of Richard's contemporary, Alan of Lille. Note that Richard's own style, as discussed in the Introduction, approaches the elevation of this. I omit the last verses of the original poem in Migne, as does Raby in his Christian Latin Poetry, p. 302. My translation, which follows the poem, preserves the original rhyme-scheme and meter).

Omnis mundi creatura
quasi liber et pictura
nobis est, et speculum;
nostrae vitae, nostrae mortis,
nostrae status, nostrae sortis,
fidele signaculum.

nostrum statum pingit rosa,
nostri status decens glosa,
nostrae vitae lectio:
quae dum primo mane floret,
defloratus flos effloret,
vespertino senio.

ergo spirans flos expirat,
in pallorem dum delirat,
oriendo moriens.
simul vetus et novella,
simul senex et puella,
rosa marcet oriens.

sic aetatis ver humane
iuventutis primo mane
reflorescit paululum.
mane tamen hoc excludit
vitae vesper, dum concludit
vitale crepusculum.

cuius decor dum perorat
 eius decus mox deflorat
 aetas, in qua defluit.
 fit flos foenum, gemma lutum,
 homo cinis, dum tributum
 huic morti tribuit.

All the universe created
 is with meaning fully freighted:
 mankind's picture, book and glass;
 our condition's truest token,
 symbol of our status broken,
 life and death through which we pass.

Commentary, rose's glory
 mirrors our collective story
 speaking home to everyone:
 early dawn, the blossom quickens;
 ripe and ruined, next it sickens
 aged with the aging sun.

Pallid flower, while breathing, dying,
 youth and eld within it vying,
 rots while barely come to birth.
 Mortal pallor o'er it creeping,
 hag and virgin, it is weeping,
 springs and turns again to earth.

Thus man's vernal generation
 blooms afresh in youth's creation,
 flower of a transient sun;
 while life's evening, all too early,
 kills the blossom surely, surely,
 when its little day is done.

Eloquent enticing graces,
 while they charm, old age defaces,
 age, in which they ebb away.
 Flower is grass, and sapphire slime now,
 man, turned ashes, pays to time now
 tribute every man must pay.

(It goes without saying that this is in the great mediaeval tradition
 of the unity of truth; that the roses are vestigia, evidence of the
 Creator's work, and at the same time a memento mori).

the first of these is the fact that the
the second is the fact that the
the third is the fact that the

the fourth is the fact that the
the fifth is the fact that the
the sixth is the fact that the
the seventh is the fact that the
the eighth is the fact that the
the ninth is the fact that the
the tenth is the fact that the

the eleventh is the fact that the
the twelfth is the fact that the
the thirteenth is the fact that the
the fourteenth is the fact that the
the fifteenth is the fact that the
the sixteenth is the fact that the
the seventeenth is the fact that the

the eighteenth is the fact that the
the nineteenth is the fact that the
the twentieth is the fact that the
the twenty-first is the fact that the
the twenty-second is the fact that the
the twenty-third is the fact that the
the twenty-fourth is the fact that the

the twenty-fifth is the fact that the
the twenty-sixth is the fact that the
the twenty-seventh is the fact that the
the twenty-eighth is the fact that the
the twenty-ninth is the fact that the
the thirtieth is the fact that the
the thirty-first is the fact that the

the thirty-second is the fact that the
the thirty-third is the fact that the
the thirty-fourth is the fact that the
the thirty-fifth is the fact that the
the thirty-sixth is the fact that the
the thirty-seventh is the fact that the
the thirty-eighth is the fact that the

the thirty-ninth is the fact that the
the fortieth is the fact that the
the forty-first is the fact that the
the forty-second is the fact that the
the forty-third is the fact that the
the forty-fourth is the fact that the
the forty-fifth is the fact that the

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