IN PRINCIPIO

GENESIS AND THEOLOGY IN ST. BONAVENTURE

Genesis is given to the time of nature, where and in which there are great mysteries, and that book is indeed most abundant in mysteries.

Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 14,13.

Abstract

This dissertation is an examination of the hexaëmeron and commentary on Genesis 1 in the thought of St. Bonaventure (1221-1274). The bulk of the thesis consists of an investigation of the reception of the first chapter of Genesis (1:2-4a) in his works. It is argued that Bonaventure had a propensity to express much of his thinking in terms of the opening chapter of the Bible. Not only is this the case regarding his *Collationes in hexaëmeron*, but in even his earlier works, beginning from his *De reductione artium ad theologiam*, which is read in conjunction with the *Omnium artifex*. His interest in 'the literal meaning' of Genesis, which is first outlined in the commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, is traced chronologically in a number of major works. In the course of the investigation, it will become clear how the influence of Genesis grows and develops in Bonaventure's thought. This thesis finds that the engagement with Genesis is a significant contributing factor to understanding the complexity of Bonaventure's rich, symbolic theology. He ought, therefore, to be understood within the Latin 'Genesis tradition.'

Acknowledgments

There are many people whose assistance I gratefully acknowledge, who have supported me throughout the course of this study from the outset. The bishop of Parramatta, at the time, Most Rev. Anthony Fisher, O.P., now archbishop Sydney, requested that I undertake doctoral research in systematic theology. I hope that this thesis in historical theology at the intersection with the study of Scripture in the thirteenth century fulfils that directive and contributes to 'systematics.'

I was encouraged by former academics of the University of Nottingham, Simon Oliver, who now holds the Van Mildert Chair of Divinity at Durham, and Thomas O'Loughlin, Emeritus Professor of Historical Theology, to continue the focus of my Master's research on the Franciscan scholastic theologian, St. Bonaventure of Bagnoregio. Paradoxically, my interest in Bonaventure was also spurred on by Professor John Milbank's denunciations of Franciscan theology. As much as his work in the field of Radical Orthodoxy is worthy of admiration, the problems of secularism in Christian theology will not be solved by rehashing the old arguments between the Franciscan and Thomistic schools of theology.

Professor Thomas O'Loughlin very kindly took me on as a student and has patiently directed my studies, including after his retirement. I can honestly say that all my meetings with Father O'Loughlin gave new impetus and encouragement to my research and writing, which has not been without its challenges. His own contribution to the field of studies on the Latin Genesis tradition is a source of inspiration to my own work. So too, Professor Richard Bell, who assisted as my secondary supervisor, was a kind advocate, and encouraged my efforts with his perspicacious and valuable line of questions.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to Rev. Dr Peter Joseph STD and Dr Anna M. Silvas FAHA for their many critical suggestions. Many thanks also to Sr. Chiara Alba Mastrorilli OSC for her support. Professor Joshua C. Benson offered much helpful guidance and suggestions. I am grateful also to Professor Randal B. Smith for his generous advice on matters relating to the first chapter of the dissertation. The staff of the Veech Library at the Catholic Institute of Sydney proved to be most helpful and generous with their time. A big thank you also to Br. Alexis Bugnolo, Mr Vince Kirly, Mr Walter Bachmann and Mrs Sandra Bachmann. Last, but not least, a thousand thanks to Fr. Christopher FSF, the Guardian of St Joseph's Friary, and to my Franciscan community in bearing patiently with me. I increased their workload as a result of the time spent editing my thesis, especially during the final year of studies. *Deo gratias*.

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Introduction

Outline and Objectives

This dissertation examines the character of the hexaëmeron, or the 'six days' of creation narrated in the first chapter of Genesis (Gen 1:1-2:4a), and its reception in the theological works of Giovanni Fidanza, otherwise known as Saint Bonaventure (1221-1274).[1] While growing interest on the relationship between Scripture and theology in Bonaventure has enriched our understanding of Bonaventure as a theologian, little has been done to investigate the important influence of Genesis in his thought. Even his final and most famous work, the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* ('The Collations on the Six Days'), which adopts the literary form of commentary on the hexaëmeron, is scarcely treated with regard to the tradition of Genesis commentary. Further examination of Bonaventure's *Opera omnia* will illustrate the prominence of the six days in a number of his earlier works too. This investigation is consequently a study of the influence of Genesis as reflected through his theological works. Since we are not seeking to develop a theology of Genesis *per se,* but to understand Bonaventure's line of thinking in accord with the hexaëmeron, it will be necessary to bring to light what appear to be the presuppositions, or underlying influence of the six days in a number of his works. Since the hexaëmeron in the history of Genesis commentary has been identified as the very heart of Genesis at least from the time of Augustine, the reception of the first book of the Bible in this study will for the most part

[1] Some scholars argue that Bonaventure was born in 1217, though the most recent study on this controverted issue places the year of his birth in 1221. See Hammond (2009), 199-200 & 226.

refer to 'Genesis 1' (technically Gen 1:1-2:4a).[2] As that chapter is treated in relation to the second creation narrative and the subsequent account of the Fall (Gen 2:4b-3:24), chapters two and three of Genesis will also be relevant to the discussion of the overall view of Bonaventure's thinking.

The reception of Genesis and the development of this thought will be brought to light in six works (or seven, as two addresses are examined in the first chapter). Following a general introduction to Bonaventure's understanding of creation as expressed particularly in his commentary on the second book of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, we will commence an analysis of his works beginning from his maturity as Regent Master of Theology at the University of Paris (1254-1257). We will continue chronologically on this trajectory from the brief years of his Regency at Paris through the time of his pastoral appointment as Minister General of the Order of Friars Minor (1257-1273). The following works are analysed in this study:

1) Bonaventure's *Principium* or twofold incepting sermon, (delivered over two days): the first begins with the words *Omnium artifex docuit me sapientia* and the second is better known: the *De reductione artium ad theologiam* (1254).

2) The *Breviloquium* (c. 1257).

3) The *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* (1259).

4) The *Collationes in decem praeceptis* (1267).

5) The *Apologia pauperum* (1269).

[2] See O'Loughlin (1999), 132. See also Chapter 2 of O'Loughlin's work.

6) The *Collationes in hexaëmeron* (1273), Bonaventure's final work, delivered in the penultimate year of his life.

Following the examination of those works, I will explore the question of the development of thought from the *De reductione* to the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*. The final chapter will then consider the doctrine of the image of God, which is a prominent feature of his work. Here, the importance of Genesis in contributing to the emphatic and central place of the *imago Dei* in Bonaventure's works will be analysed with regard to his distinctive treatment of the *similitudo* or 'likeness' of Genesis 1:26.

Due to the limits imposed by the nature of this study, it is not possible to analyse all the works in which Genesis is a significant theme. That might occupy more than a lifetime of scholarship. Thus, I have omitted Bonaventure's Scriptural commentaries from this study, the majority of which were produced during Bonaventure's student years as a Biblical Bachelor (1248-1250) at Paris. So too, his sermons and several pastoral works concerned mainly with internal issues affecting the Order are not examined.[3] These could fruitfully be the subject of a future study.

[3] The following works not analysed in this study contain significant hexameral themes. By no means is this list exhaustive. Sermons including *On Holy Saturday* in *Writings on the Spiritual Life* (WSB 10; *Opera omnia* IX:267f.); *The Monday after Palm Sunday* (*Sermones de diversis* I, *Feria Secunda Post Dominicam in Palmis*, 256-59), 386 (*Opera omnia* IX:246f.). Bonaventure's *Commentary on Luke* (Quaracchi VII:3-604) is also another source, in particular his treatment of the parable of the Good Samaritan, the Transfiguration, The Ten

A Profile of Bonaventure

Born in Bagnoregio, a bishopric near Viterbo in 1221, Bonaventure entered the novitiate of the Franciscan Order of Friars Minor in Paris in 1243 after studying in the Faculty of Arts.[4] By this stage he had lectured on the arts, and incepted as *magister artium*, or Master of the Arts. He commenced the Biblical and theological baccalaureate degrees under the tutelage of Alexander of Hales and incepted as Regent Master of theology in 1254. During the Biblical bachelor phase he 'read' the Bible in its entirety over a period of six years, producing a number of commentaries. In contrast, the secular students studied one text of either the Old or New Testament.[5] He also completed his four-volume commentary on the *Sentences*

Drachmas, a Sabbath Healing, the Crucifixion and Resurrection. *Tractatus de plantatio paradisi* (*Opera Omnia* V:574-79) is another example. Ignatius Brady (2006), 199-212, has published an English translation, 'On the Planting of Paradise,' in *Greyfriars Review*. Maranesi (2014), 78-80 includes it among the list of 'Uncertain or spurious texts.' On the other hand, Bonaventurian authorship is considered safe by Horowski (2016), 535.

[4] This biographical sketch is based on Hammond (2009), 226; Bougerol (2014), 170-72; Schlosser (2014), 9-59 and Goff (2015), 98-124.

[5] Bougerol (2014), 171. Bonaventure's exegetical works from his Biblical Bachelor period (1248-52) comprise *postillae* on Ecclesiastes, on Wisdom and on the Gospel of John, though whether the version of the *Postilla* on Wisdom is that found in the *Opera omnia* (VI:107-235) is uncertain. A commentary on the Gospel of Luke was also produced at this time and subsequently revised in his magistral period (1253-54). See Bougerol (2014), 179- 187.

of Peter Lombard. Only three years after incepting, Bonaventure succeeded the former Master, John of Parma, as Minister General of the Friars Minor in 1257, becoming the seventh successor to St Francis of Assisi (1182-1226). In 1273 Pope Gregory X appointed Bonaventure cardinal bishop of Albano (a suburbicarian vicariate of Rome), assigning him the task of running the day-to-day sessions of the Second Council of Lyons, during which he died on July 15, 1274. Bonaventure was canonized in 1482 by Sixtus IV. Sixtus V declared him a doctor of the Church in 1488 with the title of 'Seraphic Doctor.'[6] The theology of St Bonaventure has been variously described as 'Augustinian', 'neo-Platonic', 'exemplaristic,' 'anti-Aristotelian', 'symbolic', 'mystical'. All of those epithets more or less describe only a part of him, but none of them alone do him justice. Bonaventure's theology is a multi-layered, highly organized, and complex synthesis of Scripture, the Christian tradition and both neo-Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy. It was above all animated by his Franciscan vocation and love for Christ.

Rationale and Vantage Point of the Study

The importance of Genesis for Bonaventure in his works has been acknowledged by scholars, but apart from the paucity of attention paid to the literary form of the *Collationes*

Pietro Maranesi also includes in the list of exegetical works an *expositio* on both Lamentations and the Psalter. See Maranesi (2014), 68-9.

[6] See Cousins (1978), 29-43 and Schlosser (2014), 9-59 for more detailed lives of Bonaventure.

in hexaëmeron, it is a topic that has been paid scant consideration.[7] Most of the scholarship surrounding the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* is concerned with treating Bonaventure's polemics with Averroism at the University of Paris and with Joachimist apocalypticism within his order, as Joshua Benson has observed.[8]

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[7] Daniel W. McClain (2021), 113-127 is one of few who have ~~who have~~ published a whole study devoted Bonaventure's reception of hexameral themes. This brief essay, a fruit of an international conference hosted by the Franciscan Institute at St. Bonaventure University in New York state in 2017, focuses on the *Breviloquium*, and argues on p. 115 that its animating structure 'arises, in large part, from his spiritual interpretation of Genesis 1.' It goes without saying that this work was published after I had already carried out most of my research for this thesis. Otherwise, the Genesis theme in other authors is cursory or of a more general character. Alexander Gerken (1990), 99-100, associates the Christian hope expressed in Bonaventure's eschatology with the six days of creation. Dominic Monti, in his introduction to *Bonaventure Revisited: Companion to the Breviloquium*, as well as J. A Wayne Hellmann and T. Alexander Giltner make brief but welcome mention of the significance of the six days in the theology of the *Breviloquium*. See Monti (2017), 9-10 & Hellman & Giltner (2017), 246, 270-71.

[8] See the comments by Benson (2020), 409-12, who laments the overemphasis in the scholarship on the polemical side of the *Collationes in hexaëmeron,* and who astutely reminds us that 'critiquing philosophers has been part of discussing Genesis since at the least the time of Ambrose of Milan's own *Hexaëmeron*.'

The acknowledgment of the reception of Genesis in Bonaventure, which is usually not more than a few scattered lines in the general literature, may be summarized as follows.

Joseph Milne recently referred to the significance of Genesis in Bonaventure and his handling of the Genesis material. Milne reflected that Bonaventure reconciled natural philosophy and Scripture in a mutually illuminating way by treating both the creation narrative and the created world 'as *entirely* the work of God, in its origin, in its unfolding history, and in its end.'[9] The narrative sense of the hexaëmeron thereby became for Bonaventure a key to the seven ages of history, the seven sacraments, the seven deadly sins, and the sevenfold mystical ascent of the soul. In other words, for Bonaventure it was the key to wisdom.[10] The contemporary systematic theologian-turned-exegete of Genesis, R. R. Reno, questions some theologians' (like Karl Bath's) reading of Christology into the 'mythic' and 'cosmic ambience' of Genesis 1.[11] These chapters, he argues, ought rather to be seen as oriented towards Genesis 12 and the 'particularization of election' in Abraham and his descendants. Reno also critiques the use of Near Eastern creation cosmogonies in biblical scholarship, and appears to call into question a theology like Bonaventure's for beginning with the first chapter of Genesis, and thus taking an overly 'universal' approach: 'The forward-looking, future-oriented promises of Genesis 12 reinforces the conclusion that God is not interested in "history" in a generic sense, as if the six days of creation were

[9] Milne (2021), 24.

[10] Milne (2021), 23.

[11] Reno (2012), 27 & 34.

meant to march forward with regal signification.'[12] A journal article by Kent Emery Jr argues that Bonaventure's literal understanding of the creation account is derived in part from the classical Roman rhetorical tradition and that this approach to Genesis underlies the account of the cardinal virtues as described in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*.[13] Joseph Ratzinger's 1957 Habilitation, translated into English as *The Theology of History in St. Bonaventure*, incorporated an unparalleled exposition of the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*.[14] Here he remarked that in that work — where the six days symbolize a unique interpretation of Augustine's six ages of history as applied to Bonaventure's own time with a view to the future of the order and the Church — Bonaventure's eschatology seems to have been marked more by a concern with the seventh day as signifying rest than with the Gospels themselves. He went as far as to say that the Gospel material may have been an obstacle for Bonaventure's eschatological speculations 'especially since it seemed to allow no room for the idea of the great peace of the seventh day.'[15]

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[12] Reno (2012), 32-34, at 32. 'In each instance [each turn of Biblical history, in particular the particularisation of the covenant in Abraham], the way forward involves a further, deeper divine involvement in the particularity of covenant, never a step back to the universal perspective suggested by the first chapters of Genesis.' (p.33)

[13] Emery (1983), 183-218.

[14] Maranesi (2005), 169. Maranesi considered Ratzinger's work still holding an important place in Bonaventurian bibliography and remarked that the study of *Collations on the Six Days* 'had almost never been analyzed so thoroughly.'

[15] Ratzinger (1989), 29. See also p.7.

Whatever we are to make of these varying points of view, Genesis is evidently understood in the literature as a significant theme in Bonaventure. Since these studies have for the most part addressed the theme with regard to the *Collationes in hexaëmeron,* the contribution of this dissertation is therefore to attempt an organized and methodical examination of this matter throughout a number of his major works, including his final piece.

Much of Bonaventure's technique combines Scripture, philosophy and Catholic doctrine in a multi-layered, and structurally complex manner. Lately, there has been a tendency to analyse Bonaventure's rich and symbolic theology in terms of its Christological centre and Trinitarian structures, exemplified for instance by the work of Joshua Benson, who has expanded these fundamental themes by analysing the structure of Bonaventure's theology manual, the *Breviloquium*, by synthesising the Christological *medium* or centre and the organizational triad of *ortus-modus-fructus* ('source-method-fruition').[16] Such study has proved particularly illuminating in understanding the complex nature of Bonaventure's theology. In this dissertation it is argued that these analytical categories are also informed by the deeply engrained Scriptural hexaëmeron in the structure of his thought. The six days therefore helps to uncover another fundamental aspect of Bonaventure's multi-faceted theology. It also has the advantage of understanding Bonaventure in terms of how Scripture informs his theology within the tradition of hexameral commentary.

[16] Benson (2014), 247-287. For a similar theme applied to Bonaventure's *Omnium artifex docuit me sapientia*, see Levri (2018), 67-97.

In examining the influence of the creation narrative in Bonaventure we propose to include him within the Latin 'Genesis tradition,' i.e., the body of work in which commentary and theological reflection on Genesis, along with reception of those readings as passed down from theologian to theologian, beginning from Augustine, unites in a long-standing, theological patrimony. In many of those authors like Augustine, Bede the Venerable, Eriugena, Peter Lombard and Hugh of St. Victor, the hexaëmeron is treated as a universal and conceptual pattern for understanding not only the origins of the world, but also a place to discover the origin of the angels, the illumination of knowledge, a model for the growth of the contemplative soul, or an archetypal pattern that anticipates all of history from Genesis to the Apocalypse. The history of hexameral commentary is foundational to the rapprochement of the Christian Scriptures and natural sciences regarding the origin of the universe. How these authors have shaped, and been shaped by the interaction of exegesis and the natural philosophies of the ages is part and parcel of the history of theology. As such, this legacy of the Genesis tradition has had an enormous impact on Western culture.[17]

Just how the reception of Genesis is relevant to Bonaventure studies begins with Augustine (354-430). While this is not the place to treat his enormous influence in any depth, it is necessary to at least acknowledge the debt that Bonaventure owes Augustine and to his interpretation of the hexaëmeron, so as to situate our scholastic theologian

[17] For a general history of the hexameral literature in Jewish and Christian thought, see the seminal work of Robbins (1912), e.g., p. 25, and '*Paradise Lost*' *and the Genesis Tradition* by J.M. Evans (1968). On the vast influence of Genesis in Western thought even beyond the religious domain, see O'Loughlin (1999), 2-8.

within his own theological tradition. At the risk of over-simplification, I would add that fundamental Christian topics still currently being debated find their origins in the work of Augustine, who arguably has had the greatest influence on the shape of theology in the West for centuries. Examples include the nature and grace controversies and the doctrine of 'Augustinian illumination.' Historians of theology normally associate the origins of the Christian understanding of nature and grace with Augustine's correspondence with Pelagius. Illumination, a metaphor for the formation of human knowledge, often revolves around the arguments arising from the Neoplatonist and Aristotelian philosophical traditions.[18] Far less attention is given to the view that both these doctrines also find their roots in Augustine's commentaries on the creation narrative.[19] According to Matthew Drever, the commentaries on Genesis are, along with his Psalm commentaries, the most important sources for

[18] The grace and nature controversy and Augustinian illumination are fundamentally linked. Bonaventure has been implicated in systematizing a novel concept of the influence of uncreated light *with* the soul as distinct from its activity *in* the soul. See Schmutz (2009), 215-16. Boring (2010), 39-81 provides further clarity on the issue, which boils down to the classic Thomist vs Franciscan slinging matches.

[19] See TeSelle (1968), 95-137. This is a study of Augustine's treatment of Genesis with respect to the development of the doctrine of nature and grace. See also Chidester (1983), 73-90.

Augustine's most sustained theological analyses.[20] Those reflections in his *Literal Commentary on Genesis*, the *Confessions*, and the *City of God*, and in particular, his interpretation of the creation of light in Gen 1:3-5, was highly influential in the Scholastic theology of the thirteenth century, and in Bonaventure. In Augustine, the subsequent evening and mornings following the formation of light in the hexaëmeron were described as a process of illumination, of intellectual and moral conversion of the angels to their Creator; likewise, this was thought to be applicable to human knowledge.[21] Intellectual illumination is fundamentally tied to this interpretation of light's role in bringing the unformed matter of day one to actuality. Augustine's view on human learning is bound to his understanding of the creation account of Genesis. The same divine influence present in the creative act is present in the process of human learning.[22] So too, Bonaventure's general understanding of

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[20] Drever (2012), 117-18. Drever also argues that body/soul dualism should be understood within Augustine's interpretation of the hexaëmeron and his theology of creation: see p.126.

[21] Augustine, *Confessiones* 13,2,3: 'And what had that first inchoation of the spiritual creation deserved of you, that is should have even its wavering lightless existence [doomed to remain] like the abyss and unlike you, if by the same Word it had not been turned toward the Word by which it was made and, illumined by it, become light…But we, who by our souls are a spiritual creation, have turned away from you our light…'

[22] Chidester (1983), 79 & 80-84. See also p. 76 where he remarks: 'There has been an almost universal tendency to understand Augustine's doctrine of illumination solely as an abstract epistemological theory. The temptation is to explain the learning theory conveniently in

knowledge depends on and develops this hexameral theme. It therefore makes sense to ask questions about the theological implications of the hexaëmeron for Bonaventure. He was, after all, engaged in those very debates.

Methodology

How can we understand the mentality of a Christian theologian like Bonaventure who lived in an intellectual universe far removed from our own? A good place to start might be to consider how he thought about his own method. How did Bonaventure begin to do theology? After reflecting on the self-conscious route taken, we might also probe deeper and inquire as to what methods were intuitively or habitually engaged. For he too, like us, had his own sources who were more or less distant to him in time and place. Accordingly, this study will approach Bonaventure in a manner that is empathetic and, at the very least, not incompatible with Bonaventure's procedure. Contemporary theology is, while still a long way from its historical source, afloat on the same stream of tradition as Bonaventure's was. To adapt the metaphor of Henri de Lubac, even in wells once dug and now covered over by

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terms of Platonic conceptual categories, or Aristotelian in the case of the Thomists, as if it were based on such an abstract theory of knowledge. But first and foremost, Augustine's learning theory is a religious statement based on a correspondence between the intrinsic process of human learning and the primordial creative event. The doctrine of learning reflects a dynamic internalization of the same word and light, the same extraordinary verbal and visual components, which operate in the original creation.'

sand, 'the same deep layer of water is still there, which [can be found] again in order to quench the same thirst.'[23]

It is difficult to reduce Bonaventure's complex theological methodology to one particular aspect. What side of a multi-faceted and colourful gemstone should be exposed to the light for the most interesting effect? That remains an open question. But it is necessary to begin somewhere. To illustrate an overarching and pervading aspect of Bonaventure's method following the chronology of his writings, whether in the *De reductione*, the *Breviloquium* or the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*, we find that his procedure is pre-eminently concerned with Christological foundations. The Incarnate Word must be the universal centre. Yet, his Christology influenced his interpretation of the six days, even as the six days shape his theology of the Incarnate Word. The first man was Adam, the 'adornment' (*ornamentum*) of the material creation, who was created on the sixth day to perfect the whole universe. So, the 'second man' is Christ, the fulfilment of the whole universe in its redemption, 'in whom the First Principle was joined with the last, "God with clay,"' and who came in the sixth age.[24] The Incarnation of the Word in the sixth age of the world provides the proper perspective on the meaning of the creation of humankind on the sixth day of creation. For 'the sixth age, in which Christ, the true image of God, was born in human likeness, corresponds to the sixth day, in which the first human was formed.'[25]

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[23] De Lubac (2007), 14.

[24] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,4,4. Here Bonaventure quotes Bernard, *Sermo 3 in vigília Nativitate Domini*, 8.

[25] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,2,2.

In the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*, where Bonaventure discloses a theology of history and revelation through the 'six ages' of the world, a primary consideration is for him to ask — not merely rhetorically — where he should begin his topic. He should commence, he reflects, 'from the centre (*medium*), which is Christ: for if that centre is neglected, nothing is obtained.'[26] He adds that any beginning should also be made from 'Moses, the initiator of God's wisdom, and John, its terminator.'[27] For Moses opened the first book of the Law with the words, 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth' (Gen 1:1). Here Bonaventure, referring to Augustine, clarifies that by the word 'beginning,' the Son is meant.[28] Moreover, John the Evangelist introduced the fourth gospel with the words, 'In the beginning was the Word...' (Jn 1:1). It becomes apparent that Bonaventure does not simply replace the first chapter of Genesis with the New Testament text of John 1. The hexaëmeron is no less significant in the overall discussion. Moses and John, the originators of wisdom are the 'two greatest wise men' (*duo maximi sapientes*). Bonaventure concludes, 'If then it is impossible to arrive at knowledge of a creature except by that through which it was made, it is necessary that the *true Word go before you*.'[29]

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[26] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 1,1.

[27] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 1,10.

[28] The Quaracchi editors reference Augustine's *Confessions* 11,9,11 and *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 2,3 (Bonaventure, *Opera omnia* V:331).

[29] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 1,10, quoting Sir 37:20. The Italics within quotation marks reflect Bonaventure's citation of Scripture in Hammond's translation. For the most part

This reflects an important aspect of Bonaventure's procedure, namely the scholastic conviction that the principle of being and the principle of intelligibility are identical. All truth is known through the light of the Eternal Word, through whom all things were made and have their being (*esse*), and through whom all things are intelligible. To know anything at all is somehow to know First *esse*.[30] Christ, the Eternal Word and basis of all reality, who became incarnate within this world and its human history, becomes, as it were, a 'word of universal intelligibility' in respect of the sciences, which Bonaventure lists in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* as metaphysics, physics, mathematics, logic, ethics, politics, law and theology.[31]

The little work, *De reductione*, Bonaventure's incepting sermon as Regent Master of theology at the University of Paris in 1254,[32] suggests that Bonaventure preferred the traditional hexameral commentary over the dialectic method that was becoming more

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Bonaventure cites the Latin Vulgate. Throughout this thesis, whenever I quote Hammond's translation that includes Bonaventure's quotations of Scripture, the verses cited are italicized. It should be noted that Genesis 1 is read in the particular light of John 1, which as Zacchary Hayes correctly points out is the inspiration for Bonaventure's Christology and metaphysics. See Hayes (1978), 83.

[30] Hayes (1978), 91. See also Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 1,13; Hammond (2018), 81, ft. 50.

[31] Hayes, (1978), 92. Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 1,11.

[32] See Benson (2009), 149-178 and Hammond (2009), 179-226 who both argue for an early date of 1254. Earlier scholars presumed that the treatise was written at about the same time as the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* (1273), e.g., Hinwood (1978), 224.

prevalent due to the growing influence of Aristotle's works at the University of Paris.[33] In this sermon, where the young Bonaventure would normally have expounded his division of the Biblical canon, he instead outlined a division of knowledge and the sciences and showed how all knowledge is ordered to 'eternal illumination' by means the pattern of the hexaëmeron, where sacred Scripture is the first of six illuminations that enlighten the understanding. He compares the philosopher or artist who produces his craft according to the idea in his mind to the eternal generation of the Word from the Father.

It becomes clear to the modern reader that Bonaventure took for granted what we today continually find we need to defend. Bonaventure did not need to justify linking Genesis to Christology; that was the method of his age. 'For Bonaventure it is too obvious to require argument that the "light" being talked about in the opening lines of Genesis is Jesus Christ.'[34] It is also difficult to make hard distinctions between theology and sacred Scripture, which in Bonaventure are often identified: 'Sacred Scripture, which is called theology.'[35] Further, not only theology, but even the 'procedure' (*progressus*) of Scripture is a 'science,' only unlike other sciences 'it is not confined to the laws of reasoning, defining or making

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[33] See Emery (1983), 187, who argues that Bonaventure chose the hexameral and symbolic form of commentary (in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*) over dialectical analysis because it is more suited to understanding created nature and the cardinal virtues. On the introduction of Aristotle's works and the ensuing condemnations by the Bishop of Paris in the 13th century, see the Grant (2010), 49-90 & 225-252.

[34] Fleming (2017), 9.

[35] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,1: '*Sacra scriptura, quae theologia dicitur*'

distinctions, nor is it limited to only one aspect of the universe.'[36] For it proceeds by a supernatural light (*lumen*) to give as much knowledge as is needed for 'human wayfarers' to achieve salvation. Bonaventure saw Christ, the Incarnate, Eternal and Inspired Word, prefigured by the words, 'In the beginning' of Gen 1:1 and echoed by John 1:1. This is key to Bonaventure, among others, to reading the New Testament in relation to Genesis, and the creation narrative as making sense only in its unfolding in the light of a new creation that begins in the Incarnation, death and resurrection of Christ. Reading Christ into Genesis cannot simply be construed as an imposition: when read as a whole, Scripture justifies that approach. Thus in the first of the collations on the *Hexaëmeron* Bonaventure spends a great deal of effort on elaborating how Christ ought to be understood as the centre of metaphysics, but comparatively little time illustrating how he is the centre point of theology. There was no need to argue at length that Christ is the centre of Scripture and theology as it was for metaphysics.

Genesis 1 in the history of theology has sparked a great deal of academic interest, and therefore is subject to a variety of interpretations, owing not least to the appearance of the mysterious account of universal origins at the very beginning of sacred Scripture. R.R. Reno presumes that *the* traditional reading of Genesis, guided by Augustine and the classical doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*, necessitates a reading 'of the ambiguous words and phrases in Genesis' toward 'downplaying the obvious literal sense.'[37] We find, however, that this was not the common approach to reading Genesis for Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory the Great,

[36] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,3.

[37] Reno (2010), 44.

Basil, John Damascene, and not even for the 'Augustinians' of the twelfth century, Peter Lombard and Hugh of St Victor. In fact, the view that Augustine and the traditional approach to reading Genesis underrates the literal sense is clarified by O'Loughlin, who provides a nuanced approach to the literal and figurative meanings of Scriptural narrative in Augustine's treatment of Genesis in *De Genesi ad litteram*.[38] The literal sense is the meaning intended by the author.[39] Bonaventure to an even greater extent, and perhaps more consistently than Augustine, maintained the primacy of reading Genesis according to the plain, literal sense of the words. In the *Sentences* commentary he described the literal sense as that which the text of Scripture commonly suggests or conveys (*insinuat*), which any

[38] O'Loughlin (1999), 171, who describes Augustine's method as 'essentially a two-fold reading proceeding in parallel. The figurative interpretation does not follow the narrative but is employed alongside it: each gives a true and real meaning, but these meanings are distinct. In terms of the knowledge of the universe, its origins and order, one reads narratively, while in terms of the nature of its cause, the Logos, and fullness of revelation, one reads Genesis figuratively.' See also Henri de Lubac (2000), 51-52 & 270, ft. 4, who illustrates how Augustine also defended the 'letter' (or literal, historical sense), as well as the spirit: 'All those things signified something other than they were, but yet they too existed bodily.' (See Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 8,4,8).

[39] Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 1,21,41.

listener would hear.[40] That does not suggest that he would not understand a figurative meaning in the text.

We will see that Bonaventure's approach to exegesis was outstanding both for its sophistication and faithfulness to tradition. His view was marked by an exegetical method that is sensitive to the literary dynamics and very far from what might be construed as a fundamentalist interpretation. (By 'fundamentalist' I mean a simplistic and literalist understanding of the Biblical text that lacks literary sensibility and religious depth).

In this context it should be noted that discussion on whether to interpret Genesis 1 'literally' or 'theologically' therefore long predates the nineteenth century appearances of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* and Julius Welhaussen's documentary hypothesis. All four of the patristic and medieval exegetical senses of Scripture, i.e., the literal, allegorical, tropological and anagogical meanings, are found throughout Bonaventure's writings. Where he stands out in this respect is for the way that the literal meaning is never discarded, and thereby given its rightful place as the firm foundation for the theological

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[40] Bonaventure, *Commentarium in secundum librum Sententiarum* (Commentary on the Second Book of the *Sentences*), d.2, q.13, a.1, q.1, resp., where Bonaventure uses the verb *insinuo* at least three times with reference to what the text of Scripture 'conveys.' All translations of the *Sentences* commentary are my own, unless otherwise indicated. From here on, all references to this four volume commentary will be abbreviated to '1 *Sent*.,' for the first Book, or to the second Book as '2 *Sent*.,' etc., followed by the Distinction (d.), if applicable, the Part (p.), the Article (a.), and the Question (q.), reply or conclusion (resp.), response to objections (ad.), each followed by the respective numbers, etc.

sense. At the University of Paris in this period it was commonplace to debate whether it was theologically more plausible to view the whole universe as created simultaneously in matter and form, as Augustine did, or by stages, firstly as unformed matter and subsequently formed over a period of six days. The contrasting teachings of Augustine and Peter Lombard represent the alternative schools of thought.[41] Bonaventure engaged in these debates in his commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, as will be seen below.

It becomes evident that the critical problems of our own age had already been somewhat reflected in the much earlier debates of Bonaventure's world. More generally, this is reflected in the scholarly work of contemporary exegesis and biblical studies, in dialogue with systematic theology. In this respect, developments in Catholic theology, such as the *Ressourcement* movement, are testament to this interest in returning to the sources, especially to Scripture, patristics and the medieval theologians. The Postmodern theory of *Rezeptionsaesthetik* ('Reception Theory'), also known as 'Reader-Response Criticism', is a form of literary studies and has been applied to the Biblical text by some contemporary exegetes who seek to focus on the act of reading and on the response of the readers. This school of thought seeks understanding of texts through readers as opposed to authors. There is an increasing trend among biblical scholars, as they become more aware of the presuppositions they bring to texts, of the observation that readers *make* sense of texts and are not merely passive spectators but active participants of the authorial process.[42] The theory and practice of Reader-Response Criticism also emerged as a reaction to modern

[41] See Peter Lombard, *Sentences* 2,12,2.

[42] Cahill (1996), 91-2.

biblical criticism and its desire to discover the so-called single 'original' meaning of ancient texts—a useful tool, but one that often ignored the traditional readings that had shaped the lives of countless readers over the centuries.

A Note on the Use of Numbers in Bonaventure

There is no doubt that Bonaventure's interest in the first six days of creation reflects the medieval fascination with number symbolism. As a Master of Arts who was learned in sciences of the trivium and quadrivium in the School of Arts at Paris, Bonaventure understood the philosophical and theological import of numbers. Numbers therefore have a highly significant role to play in his work.

A study of the hexaëmeron and its influence in Bonaventure is therefore difficult to separate from the ubiquitous presence of number symbolism throughout his works. The widespread interest of the medieval world in numbers and arithmetic as key to the pattern of the world had its influence on Bonaventure too. For the medieval mind, arithmetic is the method by which 'the Divine Intellect becomes intelligible *per enigmatem* to human comprehension.'[43] The laws of arithmetic were an important way in which medieval philosophy perceived the relation between God and physical nature. In many ways Bonaventure's use of numbers is continuous with Pythagorean mystical speculation based on numbers, or arithmology, of the Hellenistic and Roman periods as mediated through

[43] Hopper (2000), 99.

Aristobulos and Philo, and to Bonaventure's world through Augustine, Boethius and the Victorines.[44]

In Bonaventure, the first six days of creation leads to speculation and theological conclusions that involve the numerals 6, 7 and 8, which in turn include 3 and 4. Six was the number of days of God's work, seven the day on which He rested, and eight the resurrection and return to the first day. Seven is characteristic of the Old Testament, and eight is proper to the New Testament, expressing faith in the resurrection.[45] Three were the days of distinction, with a further three for adornment. From Hugh of St Victor, Bonaventure derives the symbolism of four as representing the body, and three as signifying the spirit.[46] Bonaventure quoted Boethius as saying that 'number is the principal exemplar in the mind of the Creator', which suited his inference that in created things, number is the primary vestige leading to wisdom.[47] Bonaventure knew that Augustine understood the number six

[44] Cf. Collins (1996), 90-138. See also Hopper (2000), 96, cf.41, who stated that Bonaventure 'retained the Pythagorean tenet that infinity was not consistent, even in Godhead, with "perfection and order."' (Cf. Bonaventure, 1 *Sent*. d.2, q.3, unlike Aquinas, *Summa theologica* I, q.7, a.1, who 'allowed infinity to the First Cause.')

[45] De Lubac (1998), 258.

[46] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 16,7. Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon* 2,4-6.

[47] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 2,10, citing Boethius, *De arithmetica* 1,2 (PL 63, 1083).

to be perfect not because God created the world in six days, but that God created the world that way because six is the perfect number.[48]

In analysing the manner and extent of Genesis' first six days in the theology of Bonaventure, it becomes necessary to distinguish between the reception of the hexaëmeron — typically by the numbers six and seven — and the effect that the general prevalence that number symbolism already had in Bonaventure's thought as a man of his times. Just as Philo of Alexandria and Augustine had taught, Bonaventure too understood the six days of creation expressed the idea of perfection independently of Biblical thought in ancient philosophy.[49] Even though Bonaventure took the creation in six days as literal, in contrast with the more 'allegorical' views of Philo, Augustine and Origen, in the *Breviloquium*, the primary reason for creation over 'a succession of times' is that the hexaëmeron would serve as 'a clear and distinct manifestation of God's power, wisdom and goodness.'[50] Bonaventure's use of numbers was not merely mimetic, or conformist. From what we have seen his use of numbers is far more subtle than we might gather at first glance.

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[48] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron,* 4,16. Cf. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 4,7,14. See Mastrorilli (2017), 74-75.

[49] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*. q.12, a.1, q.2, resp.; Hopper (2000), 47 who quotes Philo, *On the Allegories of the Sacred Law* 2.

[50] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,2,5.

Sacra Scriptura: Bonaventure's Exegetical Method

The Scripture text that Bonaventure read was the *Biblia de littera et apparatu parisiensi*, the Bible with marginal glosses (*Glossa ordinaria*), or text interspersed with paraphrases and commentaries. This *Biblia* had the endorsement of the committee of doctors at the University of Paris in 1226.[51] Bonaventure's Bible, therefore, with its marginal glosses, indicates that his training was guided within a commentarial tradition which upheld the venerable authority of medieval and patristic authors.

The method of interpreting Scripture that Bonaventure taught budding theologians is found in the Prologue of his *Breviloquium*, written in 1257, most probably while he was Regent Master at Paris. (This work as a whole is the focus of Chapter Two, below). The eminent French authority on Bonaventure, J. G. Bougerol, described the Prologue as the 'quintessence of scholastic theology,' and Marie-Dominque Chenu praised it as 'the most beautiful program of sacred hermeneutics the thirteenth century had to offer.'[52] Here, Bonaventure explains how the whole of revealed doctrine is contained in Scripture. It reveals Bonaventure's dependence on a number of influences, namely Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, as well as Pseudo-Dionysius, Hugh of St. Victor and Robert Grosseteste.

Bonaventure outlines a threefold principle of Sacred Scripture: in its source Scripture is of divine and Trinitarian revelation, its *processus* or 'procedure' corresponds to human

[51] Bougerol (1964), 88.

[52] Bougerol (1964), 108 and Chenu (1943), 55. Translation by Monti (2017), 7.

capacity, and its purpose is 'a superabundance of overflowing happiness.'[53] Knowledge of Jesus Christ is the source of authority and understanding of all Sacred Scripture. No one can begin to comprehend this, 'unless that person has first been infused with faith in Christ – the lamp, the door, and the very foundation of all Scripture.'[54]

I take it that by 'procedure' or *progressus* of Scripture, Bonaventure principally has in mind the literal meaning of the sacred text. He emphasizes its correspondence to human capacity, 'for our mind was made to grasp many and great things in a truly magnificent way.' Elaborating, he compares Scripture to a mirror that reflects the whole of created reality, 'not only naturally but also supernaturally.' [55] There is, therefore, a harmony of coexistence uniting the literal, or natural aspect, and the spiritual, or supernatural meanings of the sacred text. The *progressus* concerns the 'breadth, length, height and depth' referred to in Ephesians 3:18, which Bonaventure utilizes to organize the variety of the Bible's parts (breadth), its description of 'times and ages' (length), to account for its 'ordered levels of the hierarchies' (height) and the 'multiplicity of its mystical senses and interpretations' (the depth).[56]

There is no uniform method of exposition for the various parts and traits of Scripture, Bonaventure tells us, since there are some elements that prefigure the mystery of salvation,

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[53] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., i,1.

[54] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., i,2.

[55] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., i,3.

[56] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., i,6.

partly in plain words (*verbis nudis*), and partly in words that are enigmatic and obscure. But, 'one should not look for an allegorical sense everywhere, ...not everything should be given a mystical meaning.'[57] Other passages use plain words to signify our redemption in terms of faith and morals. In the light of Bonaventure's emphasis on the importance of a literal understanding of Genesis 1, we are concerned particularly with the description of Scripture, quoted from Robert Grosseteste, that is 'in accordance with the letter, which deals with the world of nature but through it signifies our redemption, as appears in the account of the world's formation.'[58]

By the literal meaning Bonaventure means the primary signification of the words, which he likened to an 'impenetrable forest' – at least for beginners. It was for that reason that members of his Order requested he write the *Breviloquium*, to provide a guide to reading Scripture and to summarize the 'truth of theology.' It is by no means an easy task, Bonaventure reflects, without practice in reading the text and committing its literal sense to memory. To advance through the forest of Scripture, it is 'first necessary to have acquired a knowledge of the explicitly expressed truth of the actual text of that Holy Scripture.'[59] The literal meaning includes the understanding that Scripture is divided into two Testaments,

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[57] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., 6,2.

[58] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., 6,2. My translation. *Una est, in qua secundum litteram agit de mundanis naturis, et per illas significat reparationem nostram, sicut apparet in descriptione formationis mundi* (*Opera omnia* V:207). See Monti (2005), 20, ft. 51. Bonaventure quotes Robert Grosseteste, *De cessatione legalium* 1,9,4.

[59] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., 6,1-4.

where both Old and New Testaments correspond to each other in their respective divisions into legal, historical, sapiential and prophetic books. Hence, the Gospels correspond to the Torah, the Acts of the Apostles to the historical books (Joshua – Maccabees), the epistles to the sapiential books (Proverbs to Sirach), and the Apocalypse to the prophetic works of the Old Testament.[60]

Scripture proceeds by supernatural inspiration to give as much knowledge as is needed for salvation, 'in part through plain words, in part through mystical meanings (*per mystica*), [and] describes the contents of the whole universe, just like a kind of summa (*quasi in quadam summa*).' It describes 'the breadth and length and height and depth of the entire universe, insofar as it is expedient to have knowledge of it for salvation' (cf. Eph 3:18).[61] Bonaventure's summation of Scripture into these four dimensions is comprehensive: *breadth* concerns the contents of the whole universe and the variety of its parts. *Length* is the description of the Biblical narrative of the course of history, its description of 'times and ages.' The history of the world is captured, microcosmically, within the broad Biblical account of 'the origin of the world and time in the first chapter to Genesis and continues until the end of the world and time in the closing chapters of the Apocalypse.'[62] Scripture's *height* refers to the magnitude of salvation and the ordered levels of hierarchies: the ecclesiastical, the angelic and the divine. Finally, the *depth* of Scripture concerns the

[60] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,1,1. Monti (2005), 5, ft.13 notes that this division may have first been proposed by Bonaventure. See also Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 13,16.

[61] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., i,3.

[62] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,1.

judgements of God and the 'multiplicity of mystical senses and interpretations.'[63] Of these senses the literal comes first, and while the literal meaning is not to be maintained in texts that are figurative or symbolic, we must always pay attention to the letter. 'The one who scorns the letter of Sacred Scripture will never rise to interpreting its spiritual meanings.'[64] The subject matter of Scripture is God, and just as God is three and one, so Scripture 'contains within the unity of the letter a threefold understanding.'[65] A multi-faceted spiritual meaning may be gleaned from a single text. The lowliness of the letter serves to undermine the arrogance of the proud: 'Under the husk of the obvious literal meaning are hidden profound mystical understandings.'[66] It is not always easy to separate the different senses of Scripture, for Bonaventure characteristically sees the broader picture: meaning is gleaned not only from a single verse but from its place within the whole context of Scripture.

The allegorical, tropological and anagogical meanings denote the spiritual senses. Allegory concerns matters of faith and belief. Hence the wanderings of the Israelites in the Exodus allegorically stand for the redemption of the whole human race.[67] The tropological, or moral meaning, concerns how Christians ought to act or what they should do in response to the literal meaning. The anagogical sense, Bonaventure interprets as '"lifting upwards"

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[63] Cf. *Bonaventure, Breviloquium* Prol. i,3-6.

[64] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,6,1.

[65] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,4,2.

[66] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,4,3.

[67] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,6,2

[which] occurs when we are shown what it is we should desire, that is, the eternal happiness of the blessed.'[68]

It is worth keeping in mind Brian Murdoch's insight, which may assist in explaining what to modern sensibilities may seem like a confusion of the literal and spiritual senses: 'the literal sense in medieval biblical exegesis is a mode of *interpretation.* It can supply something that is missing or not immediately apparent in a biblical text, such as what the forbidden fruit was or the explanation of the talking snake, either to make the text more interesting or to make it comprehensible.'[69] This can also mean that the literal meaning is influenced by theological, or allegorical, readings. Envisaging the serpent as the devil where there is no explicit identification of an evil spirit is in fact a literal interpretation that has been derived from the implications of the narrative, related parts of Scripture, and later theological expositions of the passage, but which are essentially related to the allegorical meanings attached to these texts.[70]

The first of three rules of interpretation Bonaventure enumerates is, 'where the primary signification of the words denote created realities or individual acts of human behaviour, in the first instance they refer to the facts signified by the words, but then secondly to the

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[68] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,4,1.

[69] Murdoch (2003), 5. See Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 3,2,2. Cf. Wis 2:24; Rev. 12:9, 20:2.

[70] Murdoch (2003), 21. For more on the chronological priority of the allegorical 'level' over the literal, see Evans (1968), 71 & 81-2.

mysteries of our redemption.'[71] Another stipulates that where both the literal and the spiritual meanings can be elicited without contradiction, both should be maintained. It follows that any spiritual interpretation of Genesis must first take account of the plain meaning of the literal sense and any spiritual sense cannot contradict the plain meaning. Bonaventure makes this point where he argues in the *Sentences* commentary that Augustine's interpretation of Genesis was not done without adapting (*conformat*) both the plain sense of the text as well as his own doctrines.[72]

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[71] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,6,3. A corollary of this first rule is that where the primary signification expresses an aspect of faith or love, there is no need to seek an allegorical meaning. The second rule enumerated by Bonaventure concerns 'created realities or an aspect of the life of the people of Israel' where the exegete must draw on other parts of Scripture to elicit the meaning of the passage to signify a truth of faith or of morality. In the third rule, where a passage has a possible literal and spiritual meaning, both are to be accepted unless it cannot be accepted in both senses. Otherwise, we must understand spiritually that the law of the Sabbath is to be eternally enforced, or that Israel's possession of the land is in perpetuity).

[72] See Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.13, a.1, q.1, arg. 4. Bonaventure here refers to Augustine's view in *De Genesi ad litteram* 11,16,21 that there was a delay in time between the creation and fall of the angels. For Bonaventure, therefore, it cannot be held that the creation of light and separation of light from darkness, which is the separation of the good angels from the wicked, happened simultaneously.

Setting the Scene: Augustine's View

Augustine commented on the Genesis creation narrative in a number of books. For the medieval Latin commentators, he was the chief authority on creation.[73] His work reflects his skill in grappling with the natural sciences as well as Manichean dualism, which denied that God was the author of physical matter and rejected the Old Testament. So too he addressed the problem of astrology and navigated the difficulties posed by neo-platonic emanationism to the Christian doctrine of creation.[74] His *De Genesi ad litteram* (completed in 415) was, as the title indicates, a literal commentary on Genesis. Reflecting on his previous works in the *Rectractiones*, he affirmed that his exegesis of Genesis in that commentary was 'not according to the allegorical meanings but according to the proper historical sense.'[75] While he asked more questions than could be answered, and modestly presented his discussions as open to alternative views, he came to the conviction that the first chapter of Genesis was not to be read as if each of the six days was a twenty-four-hour day measured 'by the

[73] Robbins (1912), 64. Thomas O'Loughlin refers to Augustine as '*the* commentator on Genesis' (emphasis original). See O'Loughlin (1999), 82, who lists in chronological order the works in which Genesis was a significant and influential theme: *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* (388-389), *Contra Faustum* (397-400), *De Genesi ad litteram opus imperfectum* (393-394), *De Genesi ad litteram* (401-415), the final three books of the *Confessiones* (397-401), and Books 11 to 16 of *De civitate Dei* (411-422).

[74] Taylor (1982), 1-7; O'Loughlin (1999), 81-83; 135-36; 169; Teselle (1968), 95-137.

[75] Augustine, *Retractiones* 2.50 or 2.24 translated in Appendix 1 of Taylor (1982), 323.

course of the sun.'[76] Each of the six 'days' characterised in Genesis by the repetition of the words, 'and there was evening and there was morning' recurred not by a material passage of time but as intelligible days that express the order in which created things are represented to the angelic intellect. The six days are 'spiritual knowledge, when the blessed company of angels contemplate from the beginning in the Word of God the divine decree to create.'[77] In this view, each one of the evenings described in the creation account represents the angels' specific knowledge of creation, while the mornings stood for their knowledge of creation in the Word, the Exemplary Cause of all things. The verse, 'He who lives forever created all things together' from the Book of Ecclesiasticus (18:1) provided another reason to argue that the world was not created over a space of days, for God could have 'simultaneously created these six days.'[78] The creation of light on the first day stood for the creation of the angels and the following 'days' consist of angelic vision or knowledge

[76] Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 4,26,43. On his openness to alternative positions, see *De Genesi ad litteram* 1,18,37; 1,19,40.

[77] Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 4,26,43.

[78] Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 4,33,52. *Qui vivit in aeternum creavit omnia simul* (Sir 18:1). It is worth noting that *simul* ('together, at the same time') in the Latin version of Ecclesiasticus that Augustine and Bonaventure is matched in LXX as κοινῇ (*koinê* or 'commonly'): Modern Bibles, such as the NRSV translate the verse: 'He who lives forever created the whole universe.'

'revealed to it as if in six steps called days, and thus was unfolded all that was created; but in reality there was only one day.'[79]

Beginning with Bede the Venerable (c. 672-735), a number of commentators including Peter Lombard and Hugh of St. Victor veered away from the abstraction of Augustine's allegorizing interpretation.[80] In spite of his loyalty to Saint Augustine, the major authority of Latin scholasticism, Bonaventure too baulked at the Augustinian view. He was convinced that on the matter of the distinction of days Augustine in fact overlooked the plain sense and gave the 'anagogical' sense, specifically referring to the attainment of perfect cognition in the beatified angelic nature.[81] What 'others' considered anagogical, Augustine had said was the literal meaning intended by the 'Legislator', i.e., Moses.[82] Bonaventure plainly contradicts the Augustinian view, characterising it as akin a *via philosophica* rather than the *via theologica* taken by other authorities.[83] His divergence from the Augustinian view on this

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[79] Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 5,5,15.

[80] See Robbins (1912), 21; 77-80, who also included Thierry of Chartres and Peter Comestor among those who moved away to some extent from this Augustinian 'allegorical' interpretation.

[81] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.12, a.1, q.2, resp.: *Ratio autem anagogica est, ut in dierum distinctione intelligatur perfectio cognitionis in angelica natura beatificata*.

[82] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.12, a.1, q.2, resp. The distinction between anagogy and allegory varied between commentators and theologians in the period.

[83] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.12, a.1, q.2, resp.

point is in all likelihood due to the influence of Hugh of St. Victor, who insisted on the importance of the historical, or underlying literal sense of Scripture.[84] Moreover, the difference between Bonaventure and Augustine concerns Bonaventure's insistence on the need to understand the literal sense of Scripture to form the correlative basis of any theological meaning.[85] This includes the cumulative retention of the literal meaning even within the spiritual senses. Underlying Bonaventure's arguments seems to be the appeal to consistency: if the inspired Scriptures are true in every sense, there can be no contradiction between the literal and derivative spiritual meanings. Disparity of meaning between the senses will lead to a belittling of the literal text. To support his argument, while at the same time showing his faithfulness to the tradition exemplified in Augustine, Bonaventure refers to Book Twelve of the *Confessions* where Augustine indicates that a single Scriptural passage may be interpreted in many legitimate senses, for none could have been hidden from the Holy Spirit, the ultimate author of Scripture.[86] Augustine himself taught that there could be a variety of true opinions on the meaning of Genesis.[87] Further, in answer to the

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[84] Compare with Henri de Lubac's objection to the idea of Hugh of St. Victor's 'new exegesis,' i.e, that Hugh's emphasis on history and the literal sense as foundational for doctrine was original in its own right as proposed by Beryl Smalley. See the fourth chapter 'Hugh of Saint Victor' in volume 3 of *Medieval Exegesis* (2009), 211-267.

[85] See O'Loughlin (1999), 168-172, for a more nuanced approach to Augustine's literal vs figurative reading of Genesis.

[86] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*. d.12, a.1, q.2, resp.

[87] Augustine, *Confessiones* 12,32.

seemingly 'reasonable' and 'sophisticated' arguments of sceptical opponents to which Augustine found he needed to reply, Bonaventure draws on another passage of Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*, where it is stated unequivocally that the authority of Scripture 'is greater than the perspicacity of all human ingenuity.'[88] Such is the *Augustinian* position that must be upheld more than 'all human persuasion.'[89] Augustine, under pressure from 'men of philosophy' who derided Scripture, and finding the literal sense therefore somewhat embarrassing, gave to the distinction of days a meaning (the perfection of angelic knowledge) Bonaventure understood could only be true of the anagogical sense. It is not that Bonaventure rejected the interpretation — in fact he accepted it — but not as the literal meaning. Augustine's so-called literal interpretation was for Bonaventure a philosophical interpretation, the result of the dangerous attempt to justify himself before the scrutiny of those 'imbued with natural philosophy.' Though the 'way of philosophy' that Augustine chose to follow was 'very reasonable and very subtle,' still, Bonaventure argues, his own reading was not irrational and furthermore, it sought to draw reason under the superior 'light of faith.'

Bonaventure's Responses to Objections

The question in the *Sentences* commentary in which Bonaventure engages with Augustine on the interpretation of the hexaëmeron concerns: 'Was matter produced in

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[88] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*. d.12, a.1, q.2, arg. 1. Cf. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 2,5,9.

[89] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*. d.12, a.1, q.2, arg. 1. *Si igitur* '*maior est huius Scripturae auctoritas quam omnis humani ingenii perspicitas*,' *ut dicit Augustinus*, '*magis standum est huic sententiae quam omni persuasioni humanae*.'

perfect actuality?' In other words, did God create a kind of primary matter with a potency for actualisation into specific forms, or did he create all things at once in perfect actuality? And if Ecclesiasticus 18:1 indicates that the Creator brought all things into existence in perfect actuality simultaneously, as befits divine omnipotence, how can that be reconciled with the fact that Genesis implies a passage of time? Augustine argued that the audience Moses was writing for was unsophisticated, so it became necessary to report the works of creation distinctly as it was not possible for the human author to describe at one and the same time what God could make simultaneously. Hence the six days are a narrative device to help the less sophisticated understand, and the six days are six classes of things, or distinctions.[90] But as Bonaventure makes plain, in such a scenario, Moses would have knowingly deceived his audience on this point, knowing full well that they, being

[90] Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 4,33,52. 'In this narrative of creation Holy Scripture has said of the Creator that He completed His works in six days; and elsewhere, without contradicting this, it has been written of the same Creator that He created all things together. It follows, therefore, that He, who created all things together, simultaneously created these six days, or seven, or rather the one day six or seven times repeated. Why, then, was there any need for six distinct days to be set forth in the narrative one after the other? The reason is that those who cannot understand the meaning of the text, "He created all things together," cannot arrive at the meaning of Scripture unless the narrative proceeds slowly step by step.' According to Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologica* 1, q.67, a.4), John Chrysostom proposed Moses' ignorant audience as the reason for not addressing the creation of angels. See also Peter Lombard, 2 *Sententiae* 15,6,2.

unsophisticated (*rudes*), would have taken his words literally. Further, while Moses could not express simultaneously what God was able to create all at once, he could have said that all things were made together.[91] Furthermore, Bonaventure argued that it is contradictory for Augustine to conceive of God creating all things simultaneously, while also holding that the creation of light on the first day was spiritual and that the separation of darkness from light signified the separation of the angels. For if all things were produced together there would have been no delay between the creation and fall of the angels, which he had already shown to be contrary to the view of Augustine himself.[92]

Bonaventure would not set aside the obvious meaning, for there was reason behind God's 'hand[ing] down the Sacred Scriptures to us as if in an uncultivated and unsuitable manner.'[93] This was the principle that anybody should be able to grasp and understand it. Here, we come to the heart of Bonaventure's answer to the question of whether matter was produced unformed or in perfect actuality. The passage of Scripture that Augustine and

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[91] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*. d.12, a.1, q.2, arg 1 (fundament): *Si dicas, quod rudibus loquebatur legislator, nec potuit simul dicere quod simul potuit Deus facere… Item, quamvis non simul potuerit omnia dicere et opera illa exprimere, tamen potuit exprimere, omnia simul esse*.

[92] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.12, a.1, q.2, arg. 5. On the consistency of Augustine's own view (*De Genesi ad litteram* 11,16,21), see the fourth argument (the fundament) and 2 *Sent*., d.3, p.2, a.1, q.2, especially the second contrary argument and its corresponding reply. Augustine raises the topic again later in the *City of God* 11,15.

[93] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*. d.12, a.1, q.2, ad 4-6 (II,298). *Deus sacram Scripturam nobis tradidit quasi rudi modo et inepto*.

others believed should guide their exegesis of the creation account, 'He who lives for ever created everything together...' (Sir 18:1) is not seen by Bonaventure so much as a description of creation as a tribute to the power of the Creator, as the context indicates: 'God alone shall be justified and he remains as invincible king for ever (Sir 18:1b).'

For Bonaventure, the creation narrative reveals not only the power of God, but also the wisdom and goodness of God. While divine power is manifested in bringing 'being' (*esse*) into existence from 'non-being' (*non-esse*) — the work of the first day — there was also the work of the subsequent days of 'formation' and 'adornment.' These two works declare respectively the wisdom and goodness of the Creator. In answer to the fourth, fifth and sixth objections, Bonaventure replies that the subsequent days of the hexaëmeron express the arrangement of the relatively unformed matter into actual forms and is referred to as the 'the work of formation,' which consists of distinction and adornment into actualised and beautiful forms. The former work is creation (*ex nihilo*), the work of the first day. The subsequent days are the work of formation and distinction of the unformed matter into distinct and fully-formed creatures.[94] It is one thing to create (*creare*) from nothing, another to make (*facere*). Divine Power is not only manifested in *productione formae* (the production of form), but there is an even greater manifestation in the *eductione materiae* (bringing forth of matter). But the greater the capacity of matter, the more God's efficient power is expressed.[95] Thus Bonaventure does not magnify the power of the Creator by

[94] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.12, a.1, q.2, ad 2.

[95] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.12, a.1, q.2, arg.4.

diminishing that of the creature.[96] Instead, the potency of matter demonstrates the greatness of the power of God while also illustrating the divine immanence, the concern God has with the perfective work of formation by virtue of divine wisdom and goodness.

Bonaventure acknowledges as legitimate the perfectly reasonable argument that God could have created all things simultaneously. So, we may say that God can give beatitude apart from merit; nevertheless, Bonaventure argues, God wills the rational creature to merit that grace. He argued that God did not intend so much to make what he was able as to communicate to the creature what it was able to receive. Such are the insights of reason when subjected to the light of faith. After all, it is not irrational to hold that all bodily creatures (*omnia corporalia*) were created at once in a relatively unformed state on the first day, and subsequently distinguished in form and beautified over the period of six days.

Closely related to the discussion of the formation of matter is the question in the *Sentences* commentary on the nature of the light created on the first day.[97] Did the light which pre-existed the sun, the moon, and the stars have the nature of the first intellectual creature, as Augustine pondered, or was it a physical reality, as Peter Lombard envisaged? The Augustinian view, as Bonaventure recounts, is that the light of day one 'literally' (*ad litteram*) refers to the creation of the angels.[98] The separation of light from darkness is also thought to refer to the falling away of the evil angels. Bonaventure argued that the light was corporeal, and sees this as the sense suggested by the text of Genesis. He responds to

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[96] Emery (1983), 190.

[97] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.13, a.1, q.1.

[98] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*. q.13, a.1, q.1, resp.

several common objections. One (the second) is an argument about the purpose of Scripture. If the first chapter of Genesis is an account of the formation of those things that constitute the universe, why does Scripture not describe the creation of the angels? After all, they are an unavoidable and necessary part of any Scriptural and Scholastic world view. In answer to the second objection, Bonaventure replies that since it cannot be denied that angels are part of the universal order (*constitutione universi*) or that Scripture adequately explains the production of things, it must be that the creation of angels is to be understood through representation or association, hence symbolically. Angels were created in the beginning, therefore we should understand that the light created on the first day signifies the creation of the pure spirits. In his reply to this objection, Bonaventure refers to Hugh of St. Victor's explanation of the purpose of Scripture. For Hugh, Scripture describes the works of foundation, but deals primarily with the works of restoration.[99] Since Scripture is not concerned with the reparation of angels, but with fallen human nature, it suffices to describe the foundation and fall of humans, along with their preservation.[100] Bonaventure reinforces the literal meaning of the text by affirming that the creation of light may be understood as angelic spirits, so long as the priority of the plain, immediate sense is not overlooked. The principle is that human beings come to know invisible realities only through visible things. This is consistent with Hugh's well-known tendency to emphasise the order of cognition in his theology of symbols. Therefore, Bonaventure suggests, even the light

[99] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., q.13, a.1, q. 1, ad 2; cf. Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis*, Prologue, 2.

[100] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.13, a.1, q.1, ad 2.

created on the first of the six days was corporeal. What would be the sense of the Divine Teacher instructing an unsophisticated people in celestial mysteries if they can only comprehend sensible matters? God is a wise and good Teacher, who teaches by means of those things humanity is capable of understanding. Once they have grasped material realties, only then can they learn about the truth of spiritual realities. 'Therefore, in the work of the six days [Scripture] first implies the foundation of what is accessible to the senses (*sensibilium*), nevertheless pointing a way through the senses to an understanding of spiritual realities. For the former was done to convey the latter.'[101] The light referred to in Genesis 1:3 may be interpreted as the formation of spiritual nature, so long as that sense is the spiritual understanding derived from the basis of the literal sense. However, the primary meaning of the text for the believer is the creation of corporal works.

In his answer to the third objection, that light (*lux*) is proper to Divine nature and not to corporeal things, he responds by advocating the *common* use of the word. While light is principally appropriated to God in terms of proper usage, commonly it isn't. Unless context suggests otherwise, light refers to the physical reality, but even our understanding of visible light can lead us to a spiritual understanding, for, quoting the Pseudo-Areopagite, he says, 'our knowledge begins from the senses.'[102]

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[101] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.13, a.1, q.1, ad 2: *ideo primo in operibus sex dierum conditionem sensibilium insinuat, nihilominus tamen praebens viam per haec sensibilia ad intelligenda spiritualia; hoc enim fecit ad illa insinuanda*.

[102] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.13, a.1, q.1, ad 3. Cf. Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Divine Names* 4,4.

Bonaventure also replies to the objection that the function of physical light is to cause growth in plants and in animal life, as well as to provide 'comfort' (*solatium*) for people. But if there were no plants, animals or humans on the first and second days, none of these would have benefited from that light. Since God does nothing in vain, it makes more sense that the light of the first day must have been spiritual. His response is illuminating. Apart from the fact that we do not understand all the many benefits of light, many of which still lie hidden to us, we don't understand all the many hidden properties and uses of nature, and still we don't doubt that they exist. Furthermore, the light of the first day, Bonaventure contends, was not created specifically to provide light for the animal world but to cause day and night, thereby making the distinction of divine works known. And if the light of the first few days did not serve to illumine human sense, because Adam did not then exist, it *now* provides light for the human intellect, who can reflect on the distinction of the divine works.[103]

To the objection that a primordial corporal light that caused day and night would have rendered the production of the sun on the fourth day superfluous, Bonaventure responds with Bede's conception of an unformed 'cloud of light' (*nube lucida*). Whatever its nature may have been, it sufficed to cause day and the primary distinction of days. Nevertheless, it pleased God, Bonaventure argues, to bring these things to perfection (from the fourth day onwards) in the *adornment* of creation, making light fuller, and the day clearer. The sun, or

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[103] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.13, a.1, q.1, ad 4: …*unde, etsi tunc non faceret ad illustrationem humani sensus, facit tamen ad nunc ex ipsa distinctione ad illustrationem intellectus, dum ex illa inellectus capit distinctionem divinorum operum*.

greater light, has its development from the original creation of light.[104] It is a 'greater and more perfect distinction' of that first light, not a new light, and it is likely that the light of day one is preserved together in one genus with the light of the sun.[105]

The literal meaning of the creation account itself was a matter of great import to Bonaventure. That sense conveyed the intention of the Ultimate Author, namely that the Artificer did not so much create what was in his power to do as to communicate to the creature what it was able to receive.[106] The close association between creation and communication suggests that the formation of the world presents the rhetorical intent of the Author, who in creating instructs creatures. Therefore, when Bonaventure admits that the text of Genesis was written in 'an uncultivated and unsuitable manner' (*quasi rudi modo et inepti*) this is said with respect to divine power alone.[107] If we consider that Scripture was also written in view of conveying the wisdom and goodness of the God, it becomes clear that it was written appropriately with a concern for all kinds of listeners. 'Although in Christ there are infinite *treasures of wisdom and knowledge* (cf. Col 2:3), likewise in the formation of things, so far as was fitting, he still descended to the limit of nature and even to the

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[104] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.13, a.1, q.1, ad 5.

[105] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.13, doubt 2 (2:331).

[106] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.12, a.1, q.2, resp.

[107] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.12, a.1, q.2, ad 4,5 & 6. See the comments of Henri de Lubac (2000), 59-60 on the 'cruder text of the letter' as the veil or shell hiding a softer core; and the Word of God and the 'literature of Moses' writing as the 'literal or historical mediocrity of the Scriptures.'

knowledge of the rational creature.'[108] As Kent Emery has suggested, Bonaventure drew from the rhetorical tradition and applied to the Creator's work of formation the orator's 'abundance of rhetorical invention.'[109] God is understood not to exercise power in a simultaneous creation, but to form and adorn the world in wisdom and goodness with gifts over a course of time. Like a good teacher, the Creator instructs in a way that suits the capacity of his pupils. From the vantage point of the 'original' hearers of Genesis, the logic of the postponement of the fulness of revelation was that God might guide the fallen rational creature to the erudition of which it could become capable only in a restored world. Re-creation and the gift of grace are the answer to the destructive consequences of original sin for creation. We will see that for Bonaventure this becomes key to his own personal program as *magister*, whether as an 'academic' in a university setting or as minister general in a pastoral context. The hexameral logic of creation became the manner in which he would impart to others the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden in Christ.

[108] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.12, a.1, q.2, ad 4,5 & 6: *…cum tamen in Christo sint infiniti* '*thesauri sapientiae et scientiae*'; *sic etiam in formatione rerum, quantum decebat, condescendit modo naturae et etiam eruditioni rationalis creaturae*.

[109] Emery (1983), 198, ft. 51.

Chapter One

Omnium artifex and *De reductione*

J.G. Bougerol considered the small work, *De reductione artium ad theologiam* ('On the Reduction of the Arts to Theology') a summary of all of Bonaventure's studies, and 'the most advanced attempt made by Bonaventure to draw out and justify the fundamental unity of his whole endeavour.'[1] Such was the esteem in which this brief exposition on the unity of all knowledge was held that for some time he thought it his final word after the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* (1273). Today, however, most scholars view *De reductione* as an early work. Bougerol himself later came to that view in the 1988 French edition of his *Introduction à Saint Bonaventure*.[2] Thanks to the critical work of Joshua Benson, *De reductione* began recently to be read as the companion piece, the *resumptio principii*, i.e., the resumption, or second half of Bonaventure's *Principium magisteriale*, which was his inaugural sermon as an incepting Master of Theology at Paris in 1254.[3] At that time in the thirteenth century, it was not possible to teach as a Regent Master at Paris without the inception, a ceremony of admission administered by the *Collegium* of university doctors

[1] Bougerol (1964), 163.

[2] Bougerol (1964), 163; Benson (2011), 8.

[3] See Benson (2009), 149-178; Benson (2012), 517-562; Hammond (2009), 179-226; Horowski (2016), 477.

over two days.[4] On the first day, the incepting Master delivered the *commendatio*, or commendation of Scripture, and on the following day the *resumptio*, or resumption, which was normally a division of the canon of Scripture. Joshua Benson had outlined that while only a few of the later manuscripts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries classify *De reductione* a *libellus*, or small book, a greater number of far earlier texts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries call it a sermon (*sermo* or *tractatus*).[5] He convincingly identified the *commendatio* as the text beginning with the words of Wisdom 7:21, *Omnium artifex docuit me sapientia* ('Wisdom, the maker of all things, taught me'). The *resumptio principii* is the text we know as *De reductione*. Joshua Benson's ground-breaking study of the manuscript tradition of the two sermons has therefore clarified our understanding of the origins of *De reductione*. This work has also resulted in the contents of the first sermon, *Omnium artifex* being united in a single critical edition with the text of *De reductione*.[6] *Omnium artifex*, which has been critically edited and published in *Collectanea Franciscana*,[7] praises Scripture in terms of the four Aristotelian causes.

We are therefore concerned with a two-day long inaugural ceremony in which the incepting Master presented a discourse on each day. Bonaventure began the task on the first day with the *commendatio*, which we now know as the work beginning with the words

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[4] Roest (2000), 110.

[5] Benson (2009), 156.

[6] Benson (2009), 149-178. For the critical edition, see Benson (2012), 517-62.

[7] Benson (2012), 517-562. Randall Smith has translated the sermon into English, which is forthcoming in a future volume of *Franciscan Studies*. My study is based on this translation.

Omnium artifex. We will first examine the reception of Genesis in this work, with an eye on possible links to the second day's resumption, the *De reductione*, which will be investigated in the second part of this chapter. We will then draw conclusions based on the two sermons taken together as two aspects of a single reality.

The Commendation of Scripture: *Omnium artifex docuit me sapientia*

A number of features of *Omnium artifex* suggest the influence of the hexameral commentarial tradition. I would argue that compared to the explicit reception of the hexaëmeron in *De reductione*, the evidence of Genesis in *Omnium artifex* is understated and needs to be inferred. Even so, the latter cites Augustine's *Literal Commentary on Genesis* five times and twice refers to day one of Ambrose's *Commentary on Genesis* (the *Exameron*).[8] Significantly, the hexameral details of *Omnium artifex* serve to underline the unity of the first and second parts of the inaugural sermon.

The first half of an incepting Master's inaugural sermon was generally a commendation of Sacred Scripture.[9] Accordingly, the opening line of the first paragraph of *Omnium Artifex* sets the theme that Bonaventure will develop, namely that God is the author of all created things through his Word, and consequently also author of the Scriptures and all they contain. This gives the written word of God the highest authority. Bonaventure explains that

[8] See Benson (2012), 528; *Omnium artifex* 7 (twice), 9, 19 & 25. Unless otherwise stated, all English translations of *Omnium artifex* are Randall Smith's.

[9] Benson (2009), 154.

the study of Scripture as a distinct science is superior to all other sciences, for the truth found in those disciplines is also found in theology.

Demonstrating his mastery of the arts and philosophy as well as of theology, in the opening paragraph Bonaventure quotes Aristotle four times from three different works (the *Physics, Posterior Analytics*, and *Metaphysics*), to outline the necessity of seeking the first principles, or causes of Scripture.

He applied Aristotle's fourfold efficient, material, formal and final causes to the theme text of his sermon: *Omnium artifex docuit me sapientia* ('Wisdom, the maker of all things, taught me' [Wis 7:21]). This, he says, is understood as follows: The *artifex* ('maker') as efficient cause leads to the consideration of 'the excellence of the author from the sublimity of the principle,' and therefore the height of Scripture's authority which derives from an artificer who creates from nothing (*ex nulla*).[10] The highest Maker is the eternal Father who expressed Himself in three ways: in the eternally Begotten Word, in the word of the produced creature, and in the word of revealed Scripture.[11] *Omnium* ('of all things') provides the material cause viewed as the content of Scripture's subject matter (*materia*) and its broad generality. Scripture contains 'every truth', including physics, ethics and logic, for Augustine had reduced philosophy to these three.[12] *Sapientia* ('wisdom') indicates 'the evidence of the form from the singularity of the mode' (*formae evidentiam ex singularitate modi*), that is, the certitude of truth. Thus Scripture is not only a science but wisdom 'in the

[10] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 2-3

[11] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 4,5 & 6.

[12] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 13.

form of its treatment and its mode of proceeding.'[13] Quoting Avicenna, Bonaventure presented wisdom as knowledge 'of the cause of causes and principle of principles, which is God Most High.'[14] *Docuit me* ('it taught me') concerns the final cause or end of Scripture, which is instruction in what is good, indicating a 'plenitude of utility.'[15] Bonaventure therefore praised Scripture by drawing attention to the supreme excellence of its Author, and he argued that its subject matter covers everything, that it is not like any other book in its form and that, as Randall Smith puts it, 'it brings humans to their ultimate end and good more readily and effectively than any other book.'[16]

Each of these four causes is further divided into another four considerations. While the 4 x 4 structure may impress as particularly 'Bonaventurian,' as Joshua Benson notes,[17] clearly the incepting Master's aim here is to demonstrate his proficiency in the revived learning and method of Aristotle, which he does by bringing it into the service of Sacred Scripture. After all, the authority of Scripture is preeminent, and excelling 'all classes of human genius, has

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[13] *Omnium artifex* 2 & 18.

[14] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 20. Translation amended: '*Sapientia est "de causa causarum et principio principiorum, quae est Deus excelsus*."' Bonaventure quotes Avicenna, *al-Shifā'* or *Liber de philosophia prima sive scientia divina* 1,1.

[15] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 2 & 28.

[16] See Smith (2019), 1258.

[17] Benson (2012), 530-31.

made subject to itself the writings of all the nations.'[18] Only the *commendatio* preserves the fourfold structures. While the *resumptio* (*De reductione*) is introduced with a quaternity, which links it conceptually to the previous day's address, Bonaventure's reduction of the arts to theology moves to the older hexameral structure that was more familiar to the earlier learning of the monastic schools.[19]

The introductory paragraph of *Omnium artifex*, setting the theme of Wisdom 7:21, associated as it is with the notion of a Creating Artist, alludes to Gen 1:1 with an emphasis on the Latin word '*principium*':

> Since the things which are learned from principles are first known in a certain way in principles; so "the principles of things must be sought, so that knowledge of them might be had more abundantly," as it says at the beginning (*principio*) of the *Gloss on the Epistles*. For it is necessary "to understand and to know about principles and causes," as it says in the first Book of the Physics "because we are judged to know each thing, when we learn the causes of it," as is said there and in the first book of the Posterior Analytics.[20]

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[18] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 7. Here Bonaventure quotes Augustine, *City of God* 11,1.

[19] cf. Hayes (1996), 12.

[20] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 1. *Quoniam quae ex principiis cognoscuntur, in principiis quodammodo praesciuntur; ideo sicut habetur in* Glossa Super Epistolas *in principio: "Principia rerum requirenda sunt, ut earum notitia plenius possit haberi". Oportet namque*

In the first three sentences of the sermon the word *principium* appears five times. Such repetition in the opening paragraph does not realistically evoke the image of a Master at a loss for words; it signals rather a familiar interest of Bonaventure's. While the opening words of Gen 1:1 '*in principio*' are not quoted, the allusion is present in an address on the subject matter of Scripture. It further anticipates the way he would later begin Part one of the *Breviloquium*: 'In the beginning, we should understand that sacred doctrine, namely theology, which deals principally with the First Principle…'[21] The *Itinerarium*'s prologue too commences: 'In the beginning I call upon the very first Beginning.' [22] The opening passage of *Omnium artifex* argues for the necessity of understanding first principles by seeking out the causes, thus praising Scripture as a work of creation by the highest and first principle. Such a beginning of the *Principium magisteriale* provides a foundation for the deliberate turn to hexameral method in the second half of the two-part sermon.

Further corroborating the association of *Omnium artifex* with the hexameral commentarial tradition is Bonaventure's quotation of two passages from Ambrose's commentary on day one of Genesis 1, the *Exameron*, to bolster his explanation of the *Artifex* as Efficient Cause. The first supports the perception that praise for the Artifex is deduced from the condition of the work: 'You wonder at the work, and you seek the

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"intellegere et scire circa principia et causas", primo Physicorum*;* "*quia tunc unumquodque scire arbitramur, cum causas eius cognoscimus*", *ut dicitur ibidem et primo* Posteriorum.

[21] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,1,1: *In principio intelligendum est, quod sacra doctrina, videlicet, quae principaliter agit de primo principio*...

[22] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium*, Prologue: *In principio primum principium*… *invoco*…

maker.'[23] The highest praise belongs to the artist who creates from nothing. All other artists derive their ability from this Artist. Hence the second quote from Ambrose, 'That art, the principle of all art, from which the operation of a succession of diverse artists begins.' The *Exameron* of Ambrose is a free adaptation of Basil's homilies on the *Hexaëmeron* 'in Latin dress,' and both treat the precise meaning of the opening words of the Scriptures, *in principio* (Gen 1:1).[24] Basil, commenting on the Greek text, *en arche* ('in the beginning'), applied the four Aristotelian causes to the term in order to illustrate and deepen a temporal, rather than foundational sense.[25] Ambrose, on the other hand, generally treated 'beginning' as foundational, and often used the term *initium* to convey this meaning.[26] The 'beginning' is not day one, but God.[27] In any case, Bonaventure's mindfulness of Ambrose's commentary illustrates a real link to the hexameral literature. And the fourfold cause clearly has its own tradition in commentary on Genesis, though Ambrose only applied the material cause to Genesis 1:1. It is worth noting that the four Aristotelian causes applied to Genesis was in fact Basil's way of showing that the term *in principio* has a temporal sense, or a beginning in time. On the other hand, Ambrose's foundational sense of *initium* as in, 'the

[23] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 3. The passages cited are from Ambrose, *Exameron* 1,3,9 and 1,4,12.

[24] Van Winden (1963), 106. See also Robbins (1912), 58.

[25] Van Winden (1963), 108-109.

[26] Van Winden (1963), 113.

[27] McClain (2015), 119

fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom' (Sir 1:16), suits a spiritualising or mystical interpretation of Genesis.

For the purpose of identifying the reception of Genesis in *Omnium artifex*, the part that focuses on the material cause of Scripture suggests an ideal focal point. This section foreshadows the second half of the *Principium*, or *De reductione*. For when Bonaventure resumes in the second half (paragraph 30) in order to begin the *resumptio*, it is the material cause to which he will return in order to divide the canon (the general subject matter of a resumption): 'Since "the sciences are divided in the same manner as things are," I now resume the divine material cause of the canon. This division is made according to the notion indicated [above] when it was said "of all things" [*omnium*].'[28] While he would touch briefly upon the division of the canon, what he actually achieved was a division of the arts as differentiations of light in order to 'reduce' them to the light of Scripture or theology. This would not be by means of the fourfold Aristotelian causes, but rather according to the threefold spiritual senses applied to each of the six illuminations of knowledge.

The material cause of Scripture indicated by the theme of *Omnium artifex* (Wis 7:21) is the word '*omnium*' ('of all things'). 'God is fittingly called the maker of all makers (*artifex omnium conditorum*), in their proper natures, appropriate to the places they have been

[28] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 30. My translation. *Quoniam autem 'secantur scientiae quemadmodum et res'* [De Anima] *accedens ad divinam canonis causam materialem resumo, cuius per formam fit divisio quae notabatur cum dicebatur* omnium. Cf. Aristotle, *De anima* 431b 24-25. I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr Anna M. Silvas for her editorial advice.

deposited, handed on in the Sacred Scriptures.'[29] This paragraph (13) as a reflection of the Christian doctrine of creation ought to be understood in light of the language of the hexameral commentaries.[30] Bonaventure continues:

> *The sun in giving light has looked upon all things* (Sir 42:16). And as Dionysius says in the *Divine Names*, just as one is the principle of the numbers, the centre is the principle of circles, and the sun is the principle of its rays, so God is the principle of the whole world. For just as the sun is the father of plants, the lord of the planets, the ornament (*decor*) of the stars, so the sun of justice produced all things, distinguished them, and described them: he *produced* them from the beginning, because *through the Word all things were made* (Jn 1:3); he distinguished them in order, because all things he constituted in number, weight and measure (Wis 11:21); he described them in the divine law because *he poured her* [wisdom] *out upon all his works* (Eccl 1:10).[31]

[29] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 13.

[30] Thomas O'Loughlin provides criteria for identifying a medieval work with the 'Genesis tradition' as one in which 'Genesis supplies the intellectual architecture for how their authors understood the world.' See O'Loughlin (1999), 118. He further clarifies that the hexaëmeron 'was remembered within the tradition as the very core of Genesis.' O'Loughlin (1999), 132. See also Robbins (1912), 79.

[31] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 13. Translation slightly adjusted.

The concepts as well as the language and grammar of the hexameral tradition is present in the illustration of God's work of production, distinction and description (and perhaps in the idea that the sun is the 'ornament' of the stars). Production, distinction and description here should be understood in tandem with the threefold conceptualization of the six days into creation, distinction, and adornment.[32]

The work of description appears to be an innovation to suit the context and content of *Omnium artifex*, which describes the revelation of the highest Maker (*artifex summus*) firstly 'in the eternally begotten Word,' secondly 'in the word of the produced creature,' and finally, 'in the word of revealed Scripture.'[33] The sun, or 'ornament of the stars' (*decor stellarum*) 'described' creation and revelation in 'the divine law.' Hence, Scripture is a part of creation, and it contains all things true and good.[34] Scripture is therefore also the last of God's creatures, in the sense that in the historical order of creation and the Fall, the Book was given following the sin of Adam. The sun who is father of the plants and lord of the

[32] See Robins (1912), 79 where he attributes this ternary in footnote 3 to Peter Comestor (d. 1179) and Vincent of Beauvais, (though Hugh (d. 1141), a contemporary of Comestor also uses it in *De sacramentis* 1,1,24-25). See also Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.12, a.1, q.2, ad 4, 5 & 6. The Quaracchi editors also attribute the ternary to the Genesis section of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, or Medieval Popular Bible, written in the early 1170s. See Bonaventure, *Opera omnia* VIII:246, ft. 9. Recently, Daniel McClain claimed Hugh appropriated the triad from Bede the Venerable, see McClain (2021), 117.

[33] *Omnium artifex* 4, 5 & 6.

[34] *Omnium artifex* 13.

planets, and is analogous with the Word, produced them from the beginning (*produxit ab origine*), distinguished them in order in 'number, weight and measure' (Wis 7:11-12) and described them in the divine law. Having created all things according to number, weight and measure, he poured forth wisdom upon all his works (Sir 1:10), i.e., he adorned his work.

The rationale as sketched above suggests an analogy, albeit unstated, which is compatible with the general thought of Bonaventure. A parallel between the 'description' of Scripture and the adornment of creation with the created image of God (Gen 1:26-31) is implied. For both Scripture and the human soul in the thought of Bonaventure are marked by a capacity to contain all things; a similar notion is found in the teaching of Aristotle.[35] Scripture describes creation and contains the light of divine wisdom that fallen humanity may access in order to read what God has inscribed in the universe. In Bonaventure's understanding, Scripture was written because this light of wisdom was difficult for fallen and blinded humanity to decipher in the Book of creation; however, reading the Book of Scripture helped to remedy this situation.[36] 'For it [Scripture] contains the source of creation, the fall of transgression, the manner of reparation, and the fruit of retribution. The first is treated in the beginning of Genesis; the fourth at the end of the Book of Revelation; the second and third in intermediary books.'[37] Though Scripture as described in the commendation is historically final in the order of revelation, in the resumption, we shall see

[35] Aristotle, *De anima* 3,8 (431b21).

[36] Cf. Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,12,4-5.

[37] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 14.

that it is the primary light leading the theologian to discover the origin of the arts in God the supreme Artisan.

Again Bonaventure describes Scripture:

> Not only does it contain every truth, but every good as well. Wisdom 7:11-12: *She is the mother of all good things*. For *where there is no knowledge of the soul, there is no good* (Prov 19:2); but without this [the Scripture] there is no knowledge of the soul, and without this knowledge [of the soul], there is no knowledge of the good. Therefore either nothing at all is good, or in it [the Scriptures] there is every good.[38]

Since Scripture according to *Omnium artifex* is the symbolic location of all creation, and God created all things according to Genesis 1 as 'good,' then the question arises as to whether the emphasis given to the term here is not also influenced by the seminal chapter of Genesis. It also affirms the association between Scripture and the created divine image, for that Book was given to enlighten the rational creature's pursuit of the good primarily through the soul's knowledge of its own interior nature.[39]

When the two parts of Bonaventure's inception address are read together it becomes apparent that the material cause of Scripture (described in *Omnium artifex*, paragraphs 13-17) must be taken into account in order to understand his reduction of the arts to theology in *De reductione*. Two further items in particular stand out that justify this view: a) the role

[38] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 13.

[39] Cf. Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,12,4; *Itinerarium* 3,1; *De reductione* 4.

of the sun in paragraphs 13 and 30, and b) the substitution of that image in the resumption with the light of day one of the hexaëmeron itself. This light becomes the predominating symbol for the remainder of the second half of the inaugural sermon.

As read in Joshua Benson's critical edition of *Omnium artifex*, the crucial paragraph 30 illuminates our understanding of the two moments of Bonaventure's inception. For a part of section 30 is not found in the Quaracchi edition of *De reductione*. The Quaracchi editors in 1891 did not understand its significance and decided to omit it, thinking it an anonymous introduction to *De reductione*.[40]

In the fuller paragraph 30 of the critical edition, Bonaventure 'resumes' the subject of the material cause of Scripture in order to divide the canon. Having referred to Scripture's two Testaments, he distinguishes three parts in the New Testament, for the truth, he argues, is implied in the words of the risen Lord that everything written in the threefold law, prophets, and psalms concerning Christ must be fulfilled (Lk 24:44).[41]

> For every truth is sought in the light of the First Cause, according to what Augustine says in the first Book of the *Soliloquies*: 'Just as in that sun one may

[40] See Benson (2009), 167. See also Benson (2012), 520. See also the editors remarks in *Opera Omnia* V: Prologomena, xxxiv, n.10.

[41] Is this unusual? In Bonaventure's *Breviloquium* Prol., i and *Hexaëmeron* 13,16 (cf. 13,8) he divides the Old and New Testaments into four sections each: legal, historical, sapiential and prophetic. Monti (2005) also notes in his translation of the *Breviloquium* Prol. i (p.5, ft.13) that there was no standard division of the canon among medieval theologians, and that this fourfold division 'seems to have been first suggested by Bonaventure.'

> perceive three things,' etc. Therefore we may say, that there is a threefold light, that is: an exterior art, namely the light of the mechanical arts, an inferior art, namely sense knowledge, an interior art, namely philosophical knowledge, and a superior art, that is Sacred Scripture. This [light] enlightens us in respect of artifacts, natural forms, intellectual truth and the truth of salvation.[42]

Curiously, in *Omnium artifex* 30 when Bonaventure resumes the subject matter of the material cause of Scripture, he outlines *two* Testaments, *three* divisions of the New Testament, but *four* divisions of knowledge. The reference to Augustine's *Soliloquies* was not a common citation, whether in Bonaventure or any other thirteenth century scholastic; he quotes this only in two other places.[43] Catherine A. Levri asks how Bonaventure arrives at a fourfold knowledge from Augustine's three observations of the mind's activity in its perception of the sun. Bonaventure had seen an analogy of God in Augustine's example of the sun: like God, it exists, it shines, and it makes objects visible (illuminates). We therefore

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[42] My translation. *Quoniam omnis veritas quaeritur in lumine primae causae, secundum quod ait Augustinus primo* Soliliquiorum: "*Sicut – inquit – in isto sole tria quedam licet advertere", et cetera*; *ideo possumus dicere, quod est triplex lumen, scilicet exterius artis scilicet artis mechanicae, inferius scilicet cognitionis sensitivae, interius scilicet cognitionis philosophiae, superius Sacrae Scripturae. Hoc illuminat nos respectu figurae artificialis, formae naturalis, vertitatis intellectualis, veritatis salutaris*. (*Omnium Artifex* 30; Augustine, *Soliloquia* 1,8,15)

[43] See Benson (2012), 528-529, who finds the citation only in *Christus unus omnium magister* 10 and in *Sermones de diversis*, col.1, ed. Bougerol, 408.

perceive that God exists, that he is apprehended, and that he enables this apprehension.[44] Bonaventure expanded on this and proposed in the *resumptio* that God's existence corresponds to the mechanical arts; knowledge of God's existence corresponds to sense knowledge; and that the divine illumination of the existence of all other things corresponds to philosophy.[45] Levri correctly assumes it is the sun itself that is analogous with the light of Scriptural knowledge; hence Bonaventure's four illuminations. The recourse to the number four links the *resumptio* to the subject matter of the *commendatio* (Aristotle's four causes). Mightn't this allusive play on numbers anticipate the sixfold division in the *resumptio* (in paragraphs 41-61)?

As we saw above, in the *commendatio* Bonaventure referred to the radiant sun as an image of God, who is the source of all things including Scripture, which in turn contains all

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[44] Augustine, *Soliloquiorum* 1,8,15. 'God, undoubtedly, is intelligible even as are these obvious intelligibilities of science; with, however, a wide difference. For the earth is visible and light is visible, but the earth cannot be seen unless made visible by light. So is it with those things treated by the science, which he who apprehends concedes to be most true, and yet it is not credible that they can be apprehended, unless made manifest by some illumination, by some other sun, as it were their own. Thus, as of the sensible sun, we may predicate three things: namely, that it is, that it shines, that it makes objects visible; even so may we predicate three things of that most mysterious God whom you long to know: viz., that he is, that he is apprehended, that he causes other things to be apprehended.'

[45] Levri (2018), 79-80; Augustine, *Soliloquia* 1,8,15.

things.[46] Only one other reference to the sun occurs after this point, the symbolism of which is modified so that he would speak of the sun, the moon and the stars, which are associated respectively with Christ, who is the source of gratuitous light, the patronage of Mary, and the saints as examples to be imitated.[47] For the remainder of the *resumptio*, the meaning that the sun held in the *commendatio* gives way to the 'knowledge of sacred Scripture [that] would correspond to the creation of the first day, that is, to the formation of light.'[48] This movement from the sun to original created light already appears to be hinted at in paragraph 30 when Bonaventure began by saying that every truth is sought in 'the light of the first cause' (*in lumine primae causae*).[49] In the *resumptio* it is this original light rather than the sun that symbolizes the knowledge of Sacred Scripture (the fourth illumination), which becomes the governing theme in the actual reduction in retracing the arts back to the original light of theology. The light of the first day of the hexaëmeron was in Bonaventure's view the material origin of the sun, which is the ornamentation or perfection of the original light.[50] This is the light that is going to matter above all. If the wisdom of Scripture was symbolised at first by the light of the sun in *Omnium artifex*, the solar image takes second place in *De reductione*. For in the outlook of Bonaventure the sun is historically second in order, being the first in the divine work of adornment after the work of distinction. Hence,

[46] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 13.

[47] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 21; *Omnium artifex* 56.

[48] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 42 (*De reductione* 7).

[49] Bonaventure, *Omnium artifex* 30.

[50] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.13, a.1, q.1, ad 5; see also doubt 2.

in order to 'reduce' the arts back up to Scripture, it would be necessary in the 'Reduction of the Arts to Theology' to begin again with the light of day one.

The Resumption: *De reductione artium ad theologiam*

Bonaventure's *De reductione artium ad theologiam* ('On the Reduction of the Arts to Theology') is an unparalleled systematization of the arts and theology, and remains one of the finest medieval classifications of the sciences.[51] The typical English translation of the title, 'On the Reduction of the Arts to Theology,' does not directly convey the richness of the concept of *reductio* as inherited by Bonaventure from Dionysius, John Scotus Eriugena and Hugh of St. Victor. Paul Rorem traces the history of the word to the Dionysian language of 'anagogy' in the *Celestial Hierarchy* and to the frequent rendering of the Greek '*anago*' (to lead up) in Eriugena's Latin translation as *reducere*, along with the nominal form of *reductio*. 'Reduction' in no way implies diminishment or regression, but instead conveys the sense of progression, within the Dionysian structure of procession and *upward* return, since all things have their origin and their fulfilment, or consummation, in God. Without awareness of this influence on Bonaventure of Eriugena and Hugh, *re-ducere* would simply translate to lead

[51] This study of *De reductione artium ad theologiam* utilises the edition prepared by Zachary Hayes (1996) *On the Reduction of the Arts to Theology* (Latin text of the Quaracchi edition with translation and commentary) published in the Franciscan Institute's *Works of St. Bonaventure* series, volume 1. I had originally analysed *De reductione* from this publication before discovering Benson's edition of *Omnium artifex* (discussed above), which substantially includes the text of the *De reductione* in the second half of *Omnium artifex* (paragraph 30 onwards), with a few minor variations.

back, repeat or return but without the more pertinent connotation of 'uplifting' that it actually conveys in the *De reductione*.[52] Hugh of St. Victor, who is Bonaventure's immediate source, appropriated Eriugena's translation of the term in his own exposition of the *Celestial Hierarchy*, as for example, where Hugh comments that the divine uplifting of the human spirit to participation in God is revealed in the 'sacred eloquence' of Scripture that illustrates invisible realities by means of 'compositions, shapes and images, so that he might **uplift** us (*nos reduceret*) through the perceptible to the conceptual, that is, through the visible to the invisible.'[53]

Bonaventure opens his sermon with the words quoted from the letter of James, 'Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of lights' (Js 1:17). Light (*lux*), the first of all creatures expressly willed into existence by God (Gen 1:3), is the underlying 'sacrament' of Bonaventure's retracing of the arts to the revelation coming down from 'the Father of lights' above. As well as light in itself, there are the 'lights' or luminaries (*lumines*), pre-eminently in the *De reductione*, 'the light of sacred Scripture, which is called superior, because it leads to superior things by manifesting that which is above (*supra*) reason, and also because it comes down not by (our own) research, but by inspiration from *the Father of lights*.'[54] We see here Bonaventure's dependence on the

[52] Rorem (2012), 183-84.

[53] Hugh of St. Victor, *Commentary on the Celestial Hierarchy* 2,1 (PL 175: 956C); Rorem (2012), 187. I have altered Rorem's translation slightly; emphasis added.

[54] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 5. My translation.

Dionysian metaphysics of light as mediated by Hugh of St Victor.[55] It is also evident that Bonaventure was particularly keen to assimilate this tradition to the Biblical account of creation, thereby emphasizing that it is the light created on the first day of the hexaëmeron which is the guiding principle of his reduction of the six lights of knowledge in a sixfold structure.

It soon becomes evident that Bonaventure's little work is pervaded by themes from Genesis. Several allusions to the text of the opening chapter of the Genesis can be detected, though there are no express quotations. The hexaëmeron figures largely as the pattern of his main division of the sciences. The light of day one informs that structure even more penetratingly. The sun, the moon, and the stars of day four become symbols of Christ, the Blessed Virgin and the saints.[56] The language of image and likeness of Gen 1:26 sprinkle a text that epitomizes Bonaventure's metaphysic of exemplarism. The ideal man, 'whose summit is raised upward, as in the case of a human being with its upright posture' is Jesus Christ, who recapitulates the image of God created on the sixth day.[57]

The small transcript of the *resumptio*, which comprises a mere seven pages in the fifth volume of the Quaracchi edition of the *Opera Omnia*, is organised into 26 paragraphs. A reading of the margins of this publication shows that the editors had distinguished two parts in the work. The first comprises passages 1-7, and the second consists of passages 8-26. In

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[55] See, for example the Commentary on the text of *De reductione* by Zachary Hayes (1999), 13.

[56] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 21.

[57] Bonaventure, *De Reductione* 23 & 25.

the first part Bonaventure identifies the illuminations of knowledge with a fourfold classification, which in the sixth passage Bonaventure himself calls the 'primary division' (*primaria divisio*). He then further expanded this into six differentiations of light; the 'reduction' of the arts itself is the subject of the second part of the work. Passages 1-5 describe the four illuminations of knowledge as 'exterior' (mechanical arts), 'inferior' (sense knowledge), 'interior' (philosophical knowledge) and 'superior' (sacred Scripture). Passages 6 and 7 express the transition from the fourfold to the sixfold division in terms of the correspondence with the six days of creation.

This transition from four to six is a striking feature of Bonaventure's sermon. The fourfold illumination of knowledge links *De reductione* conceptually to the four Aristotelian causes in *Omnium artifex*, as discussed above. Having concluded his explanation of the four illuminations of knowledge, Bonaventure summarizes, 'From what has been said up to now it can be concluded that, according to our primary division, the light coming down from above is *fourfold*; nonetheless there are six differentiations of this light.'[58] This new division into six lights consists of sacred Scripture, sense perception, the mechanical arts, rational philosophy, natural philosophy, and moral philosophy. These six include the four lights already mentioned in the primary division, but with the third, philosophical knowledge, now subdivided into rational, natural and moral philosophy. Thus, the sixfold division is already implicit in the primary division. Bonaventure explains, 'These six illuminations may very fittingly be traced back to the six days of formation or illumination in which the world was made, so that the knowledge of sacred Scripture would correspond to the creation of the

[58] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 6.

first day, that is, to the formation of light, and so on with the rest, one after the other in proper order.'[59] The creation of light on the first day of the hexaëmeron corresponds to the illumination of sacred Scripture or theology, which is also the light to which and by which all other forms of knowledge are ordered. Whereas in the first division, the superior light of Scripture was the 'fourth and last' of the four lights coming 'down from the *God of Lights* by inspiration,' now Scripture is first, forming a chiastic twist.[60] Still, it retains that original finality even in the second division because all knowledge will come to rest 'in the knowledge of sacred Scripture, and particularly in the anagogical understanding of Scripture through which any illumination is traced back to God from whom it took its origin.'[61] Using both a the poetic literary structure and the image of a circle, by which he illustrates his conception of the origin and end of all things from God and back to God, Bonaventure summarizes, 'And there the circle is completed; the pattern of six is complete, and consequently there is rest.'

Though indicating each form of knowledge corresponds 'very fittingly' to the days of the hexaëmeron, 'one after the other in proper order,' Bonaventure did not expressly identify each of the arts with their respective days. Their correlations are implied, and left to the imagination of the listener/reader. The aim is to indicate how knowledge is 'hidden' or illegible in the Book of Nature — to borrow the book-reading metaphor Bonaventure employs elsewhere — until made discernible by the light of the Book of Scripture, which

[59] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 7.

[60] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 1 & 5.

[61] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 7.

uses 'illustrations and terms pertaining to every branch of knowledge.'[62] While the wisdom of God is present in 'all knowledge and in all nature', it is clearly (*lucide*) revealed in sacred Scripture. Apart from the constraints imposed by the occasion of its delivery, it seems clear that it was not Bonaventure's aim in the *De reductione* to contemplate specifically on the individual days but to relate each of the arts back to the illumination of day one, i.e., the light of sacred Scripture, as he says: 'Let us see, therefore, how the other illuminations of knowledge are to be traced back to the light of Sacred Scripture.'[63] In fact, not only does Bonaventure not draw the parallels between the levels of illumination and the days of the hexaëmeron, it would appear that he mixes one pair up: In the fifth light of natural knowledge, he speaks of the sun, the moon and the stars.[64] The general structural principle of the six days for Bonaventure is a flexible tool that he would adjust in order to suit his purposes, depending on context.[65] Each of the arts in the document is shown to be related to Scripture (theology) when considered according to the threefold spiritual level of exegesis, that is, the allegorical, moral or anagogical senses: Allegory speaks of the eternal

[62] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 26.

[63] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 8.

[64] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 21.

[65] Thus the malleable pattern of the six days can be seen to be moulded differently for example in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*; see below in chapter five.

generation and Incarnation of Christ, the moral sense describes the norms of human life and the anagogical meaning leads upward to the union of the soul with God.[66]

If we were to specify how the arts correspond to each day of the hexaëmeron as implied in Bonaventure's *reductio*, this is what we would envisage, as each science appears in the sermon, with the corresponding paragraph numbers:

Day 1. (§7)	The formation of Light	The knowledge of Sacred Scripture
Day 2. (§8-10)	The firmament and separation of the waters	The illumination of Sense Knowledge
Day 3. (§11-14)	The formation of dry land and seed-bearing plants	The illumination of Mechanical Arts

[66] Each art is examined from three perspectives, which are then related to each of the three spiritual senses. For example, sense knowledge is examined according to its 'medium', its 'exercise' and its 'delight,' which are then illuminated respectively according to the allegorical, moral and anagogical senses. Hence, the *medium* of sense knowledge, or the species of the object apprehended by the intellect through the senses is likened to the generation of a child. Generation, 'whether in reality or in terms of exemplarity' bears a relationship to the Christological (allegorical) Image that emanates from the Supreme Mind, and which assumed human nature: 'the Word begotten from all eternity and incarnate in time' (*De reductione* 8). The *exercise* of sense knowledge can be related to the moral order of living given in the tropological sense of Scripture in that sensory appetites are governed by what is proper to its nature, and refrains from what is harmful (*De reductione* 9). The *delight* in which sense knowledge rests is an image of the union of the soul with God (*De reductione* 10).

Day 4. (§15-18)	The heavenly lights	The illumination of Rational Philosophy (trivium)
Day 5. (§19-22)	Water animals and winged creatures	The illumination of Natural Philosophy (3 causes, physics, mathematics, metaphysics, ideal causes)
Day 6. (§23-25)	Terrestrial animals and human beings	The illumination of Moral Philosophy
Day 7. (§6)	The day of rest.	Knowledge surpassed: the illumination of Glory

Light (whether in the material sense or as metaphor for knowledge and its subdivisions) in Bonaventure's broader theological vision clearly takes on an important role with respect to the subsequent days of the hexaëmeron. It is the predominant symbol in the *De Reductione*; the work's description as 'an intellectual fugue in which the defining theme is light' is apt.[67] Each of the six days is a day of 'formation or illumination.'[68] Every day of the hexaëmeron is an effect of the role that its particular light has on the formation and ornamentation of creation. Each of the corresponding arts or sciences is a light of knowledge, and they all have their origin in a single light. The first day as the origin of light for the hexaëmeron is the central configuring logic for the formation of creation, in a way permeating all other days. It is fundamental to Bonaventure's conception of knowledge and of the argument of the *De reductione*.

For Bonaventure light (*lux*) is 'the most noble form of all material realities.'[69] It is the principle that not only makes things visible to the sense of sight but which informs all five

[67] Fleming (2017), 7.

[68] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 7.

[69] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent.* d.13, a.2, q.2, resp. (*Opera omnia* II:321); Hayes (1996), 21.

human senses. Regarding sensitive knowledge in the primary division, we are told, 'the sensitive spirit partakes of the nature of light, [and] thrives in the nerves.'[70] The four elements of air, fire, water and earth, as well as essence, are all considered to partake of the one nature of light through the five senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. The differentiation of senses largely consists largely in the kind of participation, clarity or transparency that obtains between the elements and the senses. Light it was that brought the potency of the matter created on the first day to act, giving rise to distinction among creatures. A similar logic is to be found in Bonaventure's teaching on the seminal principles, or the inherent, inbuilt potency of creatures to propagate according to their own kind. He remarks, 'Generation by means of seminal principles cannot take place in generative and corruptible matter except by the beneficial action of the light of those heavenly bodies that are most remote from generation and corruption; namely, the sun, the moon, and the stars.'[71] Bonaventure applies a spiritual understanding to the cosmology of his age and by way of analogy concludes that the soul too can perform no living works unless it receives the light of grace from Christ, who is the sun, protection from the Mother of Christ, who is the moon, or the shining example of the saints, which are the stars.

The emphasis given to the theme of light (and lights) in *De reductione* would also account for Bonaventure's insistence that all knowledge will come to an end in the illumination of glory. Each day of the hexaëmeron, and therefore the six illuminations of knowledge 'have their evening, for all *knowledge will be destroyed* (1 Cor 13:8)'; all forms of secular wisdom

[70] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 3.

[71] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 21.

will be surpassed in the saving knowledge of Scripture which leads to union with God, on 'the day which knows no evening.'[72] For it is charity, the greatest form of knowledge, to which all arts and sciences are ordered.

Joshua Benson has noted that the primary position of revealed knowledge in Bonaventure's sixfold configuration is not the first in historical order, but 'it at least comes first here because of Scripture's function within the *reductio*.'[73] It was in the commendation, i.e., *Omnium artifex*, that Bonaventure assessed this form of divine revelation as the last of God's creatures. In *De reductione* Bonaventure draws a comparison between the effect of light over the six days and the function of Scripture as the analogical medium of eternal illumination over the branches of knowledge, which are contained within Scripture and perfected in it. Hence there is a sense in which the final causality of Scripture as described in *Omnium artifex* is preserved too in *De reductione*. It is final in the sense that all other forms of knowledge are ordered towards it. And as Benson notes in this context, the proper ordering of the knowledge is hexameral.[74] All knowledge has its fulfilment in the purpose of Scripture: the eternal illumination in which *knowledge will be destroyed* (1 Cor 13:8) and the unifying function of charity: 'a charity in which the whole purpose of sacred Scripture, and thus of every illumination descending from above, comes to rest.'[75] There is a certain circularity to Bonaventure's argument, but it is purposeful. The Dionysian structure of *exitus*

[72] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 6.

[73] Benson (2011), 18.

[74] Benson (2011), 18.

[75] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 26.

and *reditus* is thus exemplified in both the commendation and the resumption: Scripture is last in its being given by God, first in its illuminative function as wisdom and final again in its anagogical restoration of all things back to God.

The final passage and conclusion of *De reductione*, as a summary of all that precedes it, evokes the hexameral undercurrents of Bonaventure's thinking. Even from a literary and artistic point of view, as Fleming has remarked, 'there are few short passages in all of thirteenth theology that are more fecund than this brief epilogue.'[76] While true wisdom lies hidden in everything that is perceived or known, the only knowledge that really counts is charity. The whole purpose of theology, and of all 'the servants of theology', that is, every illumination that descends from above, is that it might come to rest in charity. Hence, there is no true wisdom without love, otherwise 'all knowledge is vain.' Fleming notes a particular reference to Scripture in the final passage that speaks volumes because it is an echo of one of the most oft-quoted 'Christological' verses: 'No one comes to the Father except through me' (Jn 14:6).[77] Here Bonaventure adapts the verse: 'No one comes to the Son except through the Holy Spirit who teaches us all the truth, who is blessed forever. Amen.' We can assume that Bonaventure's audience understood the appropriation of charity to the Third Person. By introducing the Holy Spirit in this adaptation of a fundamentally Christological text in the final passage of his *De reductione*, Bonaventure concludes his work by closing the 'circle,' a metaphor for the *senarius*, or six-fold structure and classical symbol of perfection.

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[76] Fleming (2017), 19.

[77] This verse was directly quoted earlier in the description of the mechanical arts (*De reductione* 12). On Bonaventure's 'imitation' of the Scriptural verse, see Fleming (2017), 21.

Thus what began on day one with the Christological theme of light is brought to a close in the full circle and 'reduction' back to Christ through the Spirit, the seal of the Bonaventure's division of the arts and sciences. The hexameral ordering of knowledge is completed with the allusion to the Spirit who in the beginning orders the primordial matter of 'heaven and earth' to the repose of the seventh day.

Concluding Remarks

When the discourses of day one and two of Bonaventure's inception ceremony are read synoptically, and we take into account the different objectives of each, it becomes evident that they complete each other. An analysis of the reception of Genesis 1 in the contents of both days helps us comprehend the unity of the two halves. The purpose of one address was to praise Scripture; the other to divide the canon, but instead divided the arts and sciences. The first, the *commendatio*, praised Scripture as summing up all things by framing it with the four Aristotelian causes. The second, the *resumptio,* illustrated Bonaventure's conviction that the arts and sciences are themselves lights which lead back in an hexameral order to God through the higher light of Scripture, effectively ordering them back to the anagogical sense of Scripture, or theology. The Aristotelian causes cannot do justice to the whole of Bonaventurian outlook, or to the Christian understanding that all things come from God and find their repose in returning to God. The fourfold schema might however illustrate the origin or cause of all things in God, and the fourth or final cause merely prepares for what was coming in the Dionysian anagogical concept of *reductio*. The Dionysian pattern of *exitus* and *reditus* is in fact accentuated by the hexameral structure, completing the symbolic circle in which all knowledge and all creatures find their rest in the God. Bonaventure did not directly quote Genesis once in either *Omnium artifex* or *De reductione*,

and yet his reading of the first Book of the Old Testament underlies the argument that the manifold wisdom of God (Eph 3:10) is hidden in all knowledge and all nature but is clearly revealed in sacred Scripture, and particularly by finding this revealed in the six days. Bonaventure's commendation of Scripture in the first sermon is implicitly hexameral and anticipates the Genesis tradition that is explicit in *De reductione*. In *Omnium artifex* Scripture is associated with creation itself, and signified by the description of the sun, coming last in the Highest Artificer's expression of wisdom and the word. In the *De reductione*, the image of the solar light is exchanged for the original light of the creation narrative and becomes the primary defining matter for the reduction of the arts to theology.

Chapter Two

The *Breviloquium*

St. Bonaventure wrote the *Breviloquium*, or 'brief discourse' on theology during his magistral term at Paris, and shortly before his election as Minister General in 1257.[1] The work is a 'concise summary of the truth of theology' in response to the request of the masters of theology for the young students at the Franciscan *studium* in Paris. Bonaventure tells us in the Prologue that he wrote the work to assist beginning theologians (*novi theologi*) who 'often dread Sacred Scripture itself, feeling it to be confusing, disordered, and unchartered as some impenetrable forest.'[2] Following his principles for exegesis in the Prologue, he outlines seven topics of Christian faith for treatment in the *Breviloquium*: the Trinity, the Creation, the Fall, the Incarnation, Grace, the Sacraments, and lastly, the repose and reward of the Final Judgement. These doctrines roughly correspond to the order of Peter Lombard's topics in the *Sentences*, of which the *Breviloquium* is often treated as a summary. But unlike the *Sentences*, it provides a salvation history and systematically exposes the doctrines of the faith ('what we should believe') deductively, giving necessary

[1] This date reflects the consensus view. Jay Hammond departs from that view and argues for the year 1260 (after the *Itinerarium*). See Hammond (2017), 29-72.

[2] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,6,5.

reasons or arguments from first principles. This gives the work its own unique genre, which is 'matched by nothing comparable in the whole of the Middle Ages.'[3]

The *Breviloquium* bears the imprint of the seminal text of Genesis in its structure as well as in its parts. In addition to the seven-part structure, the Prologue actually provides eight parts. Eight, the number associated with the eighth age of the general resurrection, is introduced in the Prologue but is only discussed in Part seven.[4] It is argued here that this arrangement is in fact hexameral, and unites Bonaventure's doctrine in its parts, for theology, as he urges us, 'should resolve everything in God as its first and supreme principle' and it demonstrate that 'the truth of Sacred Scripture is from God, that it treats of God, is according to God, and has God as its end.'[5] We will outline how the hexaëmeron has been received in each Part and analyse the allusions to Genesis 1 that are found throughout its parts. In what is a complex, multi-layered work, Bonaventure seamlessly ties together a hexameral metanarrative with the triple Christological foundation, centre, and finality that he sees as the basis of all things, and is shaped by the Trinitarian attributes of power, wisdom, and goodness, which visibly manifest the invisible nature of God in creation.[6]

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[3] Gerken (1990), 95. See also Coyle (2018), 112.

[4] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,2,1: '…the seventh [age], which runs concurrently with the sixth, commences with the repose of Jesus in the tomb, and lasts until the general resurrection, which marks the beginning of the eighth.'

[5] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,6,6.

[6] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., i,2; Prol., 3,2; 4,4,5; 7,7,2

The Prologue

The *Breviloquium* consists of an unusually long Prologue, which is Bonaventure's answer to the theologians' request for a guide to Scripture. The prologue itself contains seven sections.[7] It was once described by Marie-Dominique Chenu as 'the most beautiful program of sacred hermeneutics the thirteenth century had to offer' and may be an object of study on its own right.[8] It is a treatise on Scripture in its own right, while the body of the *Breviloquium* demonstrates Bonaventure's systematic treatment of the fundamental doctrines of Catholic faith. Hence, some scholars were led to consider that the prologue was written for a different purpose or even occasion. Recent studies, however, confirm the

[7] The Prologue takes up pp. 201-209 of the fifth volume of the Quaracchi edition of the *Opera Omnia*. It consists of a general introductory section followed by six specifically numbered sections: 1. The Breadth of Holy Scripture. 2. The Length of Holy Scripture. 3. The Height of Holy Scripture. 4. The Depth of Holy Scripture. 5. The Mode of Procedure of Holy Scripture. 6. The Mode of Expounding Holy Scripture.

[8] Chenu (1943), 55. Translation by Monti (2017), 7 (in his Introduction to *Bonaventure Revisited*). Bougerol (1964) treated the Prologue separately from the rest of the seven chapters of the *Breviloquium*: the Prologue on pp.88-90 and the remainder on pp.108-112.

preferable view that the Prologue was in fact written specifically as Bonaventure's introduction to the *Breviloquium*.[9]

J. G. Bougerol claimed that the Prologue was 'the most complete treatise on hermeneutics produced in the Middle Ages,' and he divided it into three distinct sections: short introduction on the importance of Scripture, body of the Prologue, and exposition of the author's purpose.[10] Its literary and stylistic differences in contrast with the main body of the work should not be construed as conclusive evidence that the Prologue was written in a different historical context. As C. Levri explains, the Prologue describes how Scripture ought to be read, and the body in its seven parts provides the prerequisites for understanding Scripture.[11] Therefore, the two sections should not be separated in any treatment of the *Breviloquium*. We may distinguish but not separate the two aspects. Furthermore, the presupposition of a dichotomy in the *Breviloquium* does not reflect the unity that Bonaventure himself sees between what for him are the two interchangeable terms of *theologia* and *sacrae Scripturae*.[12] While *sacra doctrina* is a distinct science even in Bonaventure's mind, it always remained inseparable from the exegesis of Scripture, 'which

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[9] See Levri (2017), in her chapter entitled 'The Prologue to the Breviloquium,' 73-95. See also Monti (2005), XXXVIII-XL for a summary of views on the two distinct parts of the *Breviloquium*.

[10] Bougerol (1964), 89.

[11] Levri (2017), 91.

[12] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., i,1. On the interchangeability of the terms *sacrae Scripturae* and *theologia*, see Bougerol (1964), 90 & 112.

is called theology.'[13] In fact the significance of Genesis in both the Prologue and the body of the *Breviloquium* serves to unite the two sections into a harmonious whole, particularly when we view the Prologue and Part Seven as conceptually and symbolically linked by the idea of the eighth day and the doctrine of resurrection of the body.

In his summary of the seven topics expounded in the body of the work, Bonaventure notes that they show how Scripture describes 'the entire world machine' in the form of an intelligible cross, for it 'deals with the whole universe, the highest and the lowest, the first and the last, and everything that comes between.'[14] This cross, he explains, can be understood by learning: 1) 'of God, the first principle of all things, 2) about the creation of those things, 3) about their fall, 4) about their redemption through the blood of Jesus Christ, 5) about their reformation through grace, 6) about their healing through the sacraments, and 7) about their remuneration through punishment or everlasting glory.'[15] This follows the order of Scripture's unfolding of salvation history, 'from the origin of the world and time in the first chapter of Genesis...until the end of the world and time in the closing chapters of

[13] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., i,1.

[14] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., 6,4.

[15] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., 6,4, edited: I have numbered each point forming the subject matter of the seven divisions.

the Apocalypse.'[16] The number of subjects covered in the work, seven, reflects the significance of the archetypal seven days of Genesis 1-2 for history and theology.[17]

Like Augustine before him, he divides the world into seven ages to correspond with the days of the world's formation.[18] While Scripture considers the world's course through three

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[16] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., 2,1.

[17] For example, there are seven planetary spheres, seven constituents of the microcosm (the human being: three faculties and four elements), seven deadly sins, seven sacraments, seven virtues (three theological and four cardinal), seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven beatitudes. See *Breviloquium* 2,2,5, & ft. 18 in Monti (2005), p.65.

[18] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., 2,1. On the seven ages of history, see Ratzinger (1989) 10 & 16 (admittedly in a study of the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*) who says that for Augustine, the traditional schema only played a secondary role; in fact Bonaventure excludes Augustine's traditional 'simple-seven-schema' in favour of a 'double-seven-schema' of the Old and New Testaments. It has been generally accepted that it is the first, simple schema that figures in the *Breviloquium*, though Coyle (2018), 133 is correct in pointing out that a version of the triple seven schema of the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* already exist in section 2 of the *Breviloquium*'s Prologue. Augustine was not the first to divide history into six or seven ages, but his influence made it popular and it became a classical motif of Christian theology. See Joseph P. Christopher's annotated endnotes in his translation of Augustine, *De catechizandibus rudibus* 2,17,26; n. 175 on p.123. According to Christopher, the division of history into six epochs corresponding to the six days of creation

times (*tempora*), within these it also differentiates seven ages (*aetates*) that 'fittingly' parallel the first seven days of the world's creation.[19] 'For in this way the course of the macrocosm corresponds with that of the microcosm – namely, of the human being, for whose sake the larger world was created.'[20] In three parallel paragraphs, Bonaventure describes the ages, outlines how each day of the hexaëmeron corresponds to one of the Biblical ages in the overall macrocosm, then relates how each of the ages may be observed in the growth of the microcosm, or human person, from infancy to natural death. This is summarised as follows:

The first age was from Adam to Noah, when the world was formed, light was distinguished from darkness, the demons fell, and the angels were confirmed. This is the age of infancy. The memory of this stage is said to pass away in the flood.

The second age was from Noah to Abraham, when the ark and the deluge saved the good and extinguished the wicked. This parallels the second day when the firmament was established to separate the waters. This is the age of childhood, learning to speak and the separation of tongues.

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was known to the authors of the Septuagint and is also found in the Talmud. He lists the Epistle of Barnabas as the first to mention the system, and includes Irenaeus (*Adversus haereses* 5,28,3), and Hippolytus (*Commentarius in Danielem* 4,23,6), and refers to Cyprian as the first Latin author to speak of the six ages in *Ad Fortunatum*.

[19] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,2. See the table below on p.140.

[20] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,2,2.

The third age was from Abraham to David, the time of Abraham's call, the birth of the synagogue for the generation of a people to worship God, corresponding to the third day on which the land appeared and produced vegetation. This is the age of adolescence, when the generative powers begin to be activated, so in this age was Abraham called, circumcised, and promised descendants.

The fourth age was from David to the Babylonian captivity, when the kingdom and the priesthood flourished and David enhanced the worship of God, which parallels the fourth day when the luminaries and stars were formed. This is the age of youth and of blooming, hence the synagogue flourished in this time.

The fifth age was from the Babylonian captivity to Christ, the time when the exiles were dispersed and oppressed among the nations, corresponding to the fifth day when fish were formed out of the waters. This is old age, which was reflected in the diminishment of the strength and beauty of Israel's priesthood during captivity.

The sixth age is from Christ until end of the world, while the seventh concurs with the sixth, and begins from the repose of Christ in the tomb until the universal resurrection, which is the eighth day. The seventh day signifies rest without end for the souls of the departed. The birth of Christ, the true image of God in human form (*effigies*), in the sixth age corresponds to the sixth day on which the first man was formed. This is the time of old age, which is associated with both death but also an advancement of the light of wisdom. The sixth age terminates with the general day of judgment; wisdom flourishes through Christian teaching.

The correspondence between the first seven days, the seven ages of history and development of the human person over a lifespan includes the traditional hexameral

allocation of the first three days to distinction or separation of created matter, while days four to six follow as parallel days of adornment. Though it must be said that the pattern falls over towards the end of the hexaëmeron, reflecting perhaps the negative effect of original sin on events in history and the decline of the human body as it ages. Nevertheless, Bonaventure points to the fulfilment of human nature with the birth of Christ in human form and the accompanying progress of wisdom with the advancement of Christian doctrine.

In addition to his undeniable appeal to Genesis, in Bonaventure we also find verbal resonances and allusions to the hexaëmeron in the opening statements of the Prologue. This is suggested even by Bonaventure's choice of New Testament quotations:, 'Scripture does not take its starting point in human inquiry; rather it flows from divine revelation, "coming down from the Father of Lights [Jas 1:17], from whom every fatherhood in heaven and earth receives its name [Eph 3:14]."'[21] Here Bonaventure harmonises one of his oft-quoted verses on the Father of lights (Jas 1:17) with a verse from the Pauline passage (Eph 3:14-19), the theme with which he opens the Prologue. The unity of the two passages derives from the allusion to God, the Creator of heaven and earth in Genesis 1:1.

Beginning with the Ephesians passage quoted above, Bonaventure explains immediately that the Apostle Paul himself discloses the 'the source, procedure, and purpose (*statum*) of Holy Scripture, which is called theology.'[22] The three-fold source, procedure and purpose of Scripture is an expression of Bonaventure's summing up of the whole of his metaphysics

[21] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., i,2.

[22] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,i,1.

into ‘emanation, exemplarity and consummation.’[23] In addition to the threefold framework we find an inseparable fourfold procedure which Bonaventure gleans from the Ephesians passage quoted at the beginning of the Prologue. That procedure concerned the comprehension of ‘the breadth and length and height and depth (Eph 3:18).’ Bonaventure sees this quaternity as applying to the scope of the entire universe as it is inscribed in Scripture.[24] In the triad he understands an intimation of the Trinity, while the Pauline fourfold ‘manner of proceeding corresponds *to the demands of our human capacities*…’[25] Together, a seven-fold scheme underlies the whole of theology he sets out to explain in the *Breviloquium*, which we may also consider a ‘summa’:

> And so in language that is sometimes literal, sometimes symbolic, as in a kind of summa, [Scripture] describes the contents of the whole universe, and so covers *the breadth*; it narrates the course of history, thus comprehending *the length*; it portrays the excellence of those who will ultimately be saved, thus manifesting *the height*; and it depicts the misery of those will be damned, thus plumbing *the depth*, not only of the universe, but of the very judgments of God.[26]

Familiarity with Bonaventure’s other works, such as the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*, can assist in understanding how the symbolism of numbers expressed in the *Breviloquium* relate

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[23] Cf. Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 1,17.

[24] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,i,3.

[25] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,i,1. Emphasis is added.

[26] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,i,3; emphases original.

to Genesis 1-2:4. The *Collationes in hexaëmeron* contain a similar harmonization of the triad and the tetrad: 'For God has the relation (*rationem*) of a triple cause, original, exemplar, and end... And the relation of causing (*ratio causandi*) is according to four: namely, the height of power, the depth of wisdom, the width of benevolence, the length of eternity.'[27] He tells us that 'a septenary has a great mystery. For every proportion and proportionality is according to the relation of a set of three and a set of four.'[28] His three-fold reading of the divine origin of Scripture in the Prologue of the *Breviloquium* is tied to a fourfold created or contingent procedure, per the Ephesians pericope. This provides Bonaventure with a seven-fold framework in which to unravel Sacred Scripture and explain theology.[29] The Pauline categories corresponding to human capacity are fourfold, while the divine source is threefold. Hence, the threefold source, procedure, and purpose, and the fourfold breadth, length, height and depth unfold from the Book of Scripture and provide a sevenfold theology. According to this outlook, we may understand the Prologue as providing a seven-fold basis and a 'creation narrative' through which to understand the universe of the *Breviloquium*.

[27] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 16,9.

[28] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 16,8.

[29] For more of Bonaventure's explanation of the number seven, see also his *Hexaëmeron* 16,7-10 and. Citing Hugh of St. Victor, he tells us that the number three corresponds to the spirit, while four relates to the body (*Hexaëmeron* 16,7). See also Hugh, *Didascalicon* 2,4 and Hellmann & Giltner (2017), 245-47.

Part One: On the Trinity of God

Part One treats of the First Principle and Triune God. Bonaventure opens this systematic exposition of 'the truth of theology'[30] with the words,

> In the beginning, we should understand that sacred doctrine, namely theology, which deals primarily with the first Principle – God, three and one – comprises seven topics in all, first, the Trinity of God; second, the creation of the world; third, the corruption of sin; fourth, the Incarnation of the Word; fifth, the grace of the Holy Spirit; sixth, the healing of the sacraments; and seventh, the repose of final judgement.[31]

Here in the first chapter entitled 'A Summary of the Seven Topics of Theology' Bonaventure outlines the general scope of what will be covered in all Parts of the *Breviloquium*. As a kind of second introduction following the Prologue, he provides the perspective through which he will teach theology. Already, the themes of the opening chapter of Genesis correspond to this outlook and are recognizable in this introductory paragraph, albeit in language not found in the Vulgate, like *status iudicii*, indicating the repose of final judgement. The first words of Genesis 1:1, 'In the beginning,' are recalled in the opening sentence. The six days of work and seventh day of rest are alluded to when Bonaventure speaks of the subject matter as comprising seven topics in all, of which the final is the repose of final judgement. The first chapter of Part One lays the groundwork for

[30] Bonaventure, Breviloquium Prol.,6,5.

[31] *Breviloquium* 1,1,1. ***In principio*** *intelligendum est,..., et septimo, de* ***statu*** *finalis iudicii*.

all that follows in the *Breviloquium* before treating the main subject of Part One on the Holy Trinity. The reason for this is that 'theology does not deal simply with God the Creator, but also with the process of creation and creatures themselves.'[32] What's more, the noblest of creatures 'did not stand firm but fell.'[33] Therefore theology involves restoration as well, which, like creation, is also the work of the highest principle.[34] The Trinitarian doctrine is treated in chapters 2-6. The divine attributes of power, wisdom and goodness, which lead to an understanding of three divine persons,[35] are then presented in the three final chapters of Part 1 in three expositions: 'God's Omnipotence' (chapter 7), 'God's Wisdom, Predestination and Foreknowledge' (chapter 8), and 'God's Will and Providence' (chapter 9).

Theology is first and foremost concerned with knowledge that is revealed by God, the first principle. This is expressed in terms of three, reflecting the Trinitarian origin of all creation. The invisible God, who is Three and One, is intimated in the creation of the visible universe of creation in the six days; this, we will see, is the mode or procedure that will therefore be followed by Bonaventure throughout the *Breviloquium*. 'Thus theology is the only perfect science, for it begins at the very beginning, which is the First Principle, and continues to the very end, which is the everlasting reward.' Bonaventure explained the

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[32] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,1,2.

[33] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,1,2.

[34] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,1,3.

[35] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,6,1: The three attributes are said to be appropriated, 'not because they are proper, since they are always common, but because they lead to a better understanding and knowledge of what is proper, that is the three persons themselves.'

doctrine of the Trinitarian God within this perspective of the historically oriented Scriptural account of salvation.[36]

Bonaventure's describes theology as 'the only perfect wisdom, for it begins with the supreme cause as the principle of things that are caused – the very point at which philosophical knowledge ends.'[37] The reason he covers theology in seven topics is:

> Sacred Scripture or theology is a science that imparts to us wayfarers as much knowledge of the First Principle as we need to be saved. Now God is not only the principle and effective exemplar of all things in creation, but also their restorative principle in redemption, and their perfecting principle in

[36] A comparison of Bonaventure's method with that of his contemporary, St. Thomas Aquinas, shows just how unique this approach to the science of theology was. It is the theme of *exitus* and *reditus* that characterises the *Summa theologica*. The Christian neo-Platonic scheme of procession and return is certainly present in Bonaventure too. The difference is to be found in the synthesis he makes between the Scriptural account of salvation expressed in terms of an hexameral metanarrative and the neo-Platonic metaphysical framework. Hence, the hexaëmeron plays a more important role in Bonaventure than it does in Aquinas. On the contrast between Bonaventure's and other scholastic use of Scripture in systematic theological science, see the comments by Chenu (1958) 34-8 & Zinn (1974), 164.

[37] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,1,3.

> remuneration. Therefore, theology does not deal simply with God the Creator, but also with the process of creation and creatures themselves.[38]

The fall from grace of the rational creature, for whom the irrational creatures were made and for whose sake all creatures are named, necessitates restoration. Theology, Bonaventure adds, must therefore also deal with 'the corruption of sin, with the physician, with [spiritual] health and its medicine, and finally with that perfect recovery which will be in [the repose of] glory.' He hereby sets his doctrine in the context not only of the first chapter of Genesis, but of the first three chapters. The account of the temptation, the fall, and banishment deriving from Genesis 3 are assumed knowledge. Theology, or 'the understanding of the Scriptures,' along with faith and grace, is a fundamental aspect of the restoration of humanity whose fall was characterised by the taste for death-dealing knowledge (cf. Gen 2:17 & 3:5). But, in the knowledge of Scripture, or theology and 'perfect wisdom,' 'one finds perfect taste, life, and the salvation of souls.'[39] That 'perfect taste' (*sapor perfectus*) is found in theology, the knowledge of salvation, suggests that the taste of the forbidden fruit and along with the allusions to the Genesis tradition form in Bonaventure's mind a handy tool by which to introduce the flavour of theology to the students of the Franciscan college or *studium* in Paris.

In Chapter 8 'On God's Wisdom, Predestination and Foreknowledge,' Bonaventure explains that the principal name of divine wisdom is light. Wisdom, 'the very principle of knowing' may be considered as 'light', 'mirror', 'exemplar', or 'book of life,' depending on

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[38] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,1,2.

[39] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,1,3.

the perspective taken in conceiving of God's knowledge.[40] For example, Wisdom is 'mirror, as being the principle of knowing all that is seen and approved,' or it may be considered 'exemplar, as being the principle of knowing all that is foreseen and disposed.' Since Wisdom can be thought of as 'light,' which is the principle of knowing all that is known, in this sense it is considered 'from all perspectives simultaneously.' Light is the first form created by God (Gen 1:3), and the form of all knowable things according to the general thought of Bonaventure.

How then can uncreated and infallible wisdom co-exist with the freedom of created and contingent knowledge? In an elaborate and skilful elucidation, it appears that the seminal chapter of Genesis informs his thinking here too.[41] The First Principle, Bonaventure explains, being utterly perfect, knows all things in their actual and possible states, e.g., God knows future things as future, present things as present. But since the First Principle also coexists with utter simplicity, it knows contingent things infallibly, future things as present and present things eternally. To be more specific, Bonaventure enumerates seven ways to describe the perfect wisdom of God:

> But because the perfection of wisdom coexists with utter simplicity, this is why the First Principle knows all things other than itself in itself and through itself. From this it follows, second, that it knows created things in an uncreated way; third, dependent things independently; fourth, temporal things eternally; fifth, future things in the present; sixth, changeable things immutably; and seventh,

[40] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,8,2.

[41] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,8,3.

> contingent things infallibly. And so, contingent things, while remaining contingent, are already known infallibly by divine Wisdom, whether these be contingencies subject to the workings of nature or those that are dependent on human free will. Thus, those who truly wish to understand how the freedom of the created will is compatible with the infallibility of divine predestination should begin their reasoning with the last statement. Then they should work backwards through the seven above-mentioned steps back to the first, which is that the First Principle knows all things perfectly in itself because it is most certain truth. From this premise the other conclusions made above are necessarily deduced.[42]

Bonaventure's method reminds us of the dynamic structure of the *Reduction of the Arts to Theology*, in which all forms of knowledge are 'reduced' or led back up to Scripture, or theology. In this 'reduction' in the *Breviloquium*, students of theology are led to contemplate the mystery of the concurrence of Divine and human freedom by returning above to the light of Truth itself, the 'First Principle,' through a series of seven steps or stages. 'Hence, just as God produces in time through one single power all things in their complete fullness, even so God expresses them all in eternity through a single truth.'[43] There is a multiplicity of created things, as well as many conceptions and ideas, and a plurality of present, future or possible contingencies, but because divine wisdom is utterly

[42] *Breviloquium* 1,8,5-6. Emphasis added.

[43] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,8,7.

simple, 'all the likenesses of these beings are one in this same knowledge.'[44] And yet, Bonaventure maintains, 'these principles or ideas, even though they be one truth, one light, and one essence, are not called a single principle or idea.' These principles or ideas really exist in God. To this wisdom and truth, all things are led back up: 'Hence it is that the exemplar, even though it is really one, can still be a likeness representing many.'[45] The one God created a plurality of things. It is therefore useful for creatures to reflect on the many created things as they signify the Triune God.

Concluding Remarks

This study has so far indicated that Bonaventure conceives of theology as 'the only perfect wisdom,' which begins with the supreme cause and principle of all things to make known the Creator's remedy for the fall, and the reward of meritorious deeds. It has also been argued that Bonaventure's 'brief discourse' on theology makes a number of allusions to Genesis 1, suggesting that the hexaëmeron was an underlying reference point in Bonaventure's thinking from the outset in his handbook of theology. This was illustrated by his division of the *Breviloquium* into seven topics, completed by the repose of the seventh age. So too, the first three chapters of Genesis influence the structure and subject matter of the work. For the scope of theology consists to a large extent in the key concept of re-creation, or the restoration of the fallen rational creature. Since Scripture or theology studies the Creator, created things, and the restoration of fallen Adam, the *Breviloquium*

[44] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,8,7.

[45] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,8,8.

will be guided by that pattern that was already inscribed in the Biblical creation narrative and subsequent chapters of Genesis.

Part Two: On the Creation of the World

Given that for Bonaventure theology does not deal only with God the Creator, but also with the process of creation and creatures themselves, in Part Two of the *Breviloquium* he provides a summary of the Christian doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*. The first chapters are concerned with the general creation of the universe and physical nature in a way that harmonises the Scriptural account of the beginnings with the scientific principles of Bonaventure's era (chapters 1-5), which apart from Plato's *Timaeus*, was influenced largely by the newly translated natural books of Aristotle.[46] The consideration of creation in the *Breviloquium* stands within the theological tradition of Augustine as filtered through Bede, Hugh of St Victor and Robert Grosseteste, among others. He therefore inherited a tradition in which commentary on the six days of creation was a way of doing science, a metaphorical 'laboratory procedure' in a time before the rise of laboratory experimentation.[47]

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[46] Grant (2010), 32 & 45. On p.32, Grant lists the natural books of Aristotle: the *Physics,* the *De caelo (On the Heavens), On Generation and Corruption, On the Soul, Meteorology, Parva Naturalia (The Small Works on Natural Things*). The biological works included *The History of Animals, The Parts of Animals,* and the *Generation of Animals*, which were foundational reading for natural philosophy and science at the Medieval Universities like Paris and Oxford (see also p. 19).

[47] See Steneck (1976), 55.

Bonaventure relies specifically on the texts of the hexaëmeron and Genesis 2. Three chapters (6-8) are devoted to the creation of the angels, the fall of the demons and the confirmation of the good angels. On the angels, Bonaventure draws from the teaching of Pseudo-Dionysius, Gregory the Great and the spiritual or theological meaning of Genesis because 'Scripture says nothing in its literal sense about the creation and fall of the angels.'[48] He finally describes the creation of humanity, with chapters (9-11) devoted respectively to the soul, to the body, and to the whole human composite. Chapter 12 brings Part 2 to a close, summarizing the completion and ordering of the universe as it reflects and represents the Trinity in the terms of Bonaventure's signature triad of vestige, image and likeness.

In this chapter we propose to investigate the Genesis tradition in two sections, in the following order: 1) Bonaventure's account of the creation, nature and operation of the physical universe as harmonised with the hexaëmeron, and 2) the description of human nature as a theological portrayal of pre-lapsarian Adam. This is based on the second chapter of Genesis, yet ought to be understood in conjunction with Gen 1:26 – the creation of human nature in the 'image and likeness' of God. Accordingly, it will be become evident that the *Breviloquium*'s following section, Part 3, 'On the Corruption of Sin,' is, to all intents and purposes, based on Genesis 3.

[48] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,5,8. Bonaventure must have overlooked 2 Pt 2:4: 'God did not spare the angels when they sinned, but cast them into hell...' I am indebted to my friend, Fr Peter Joseph, for this insight.

Physical Creation

While Bonaventure's physics and cosmological world view are relevant to the reception of Genesis, they are not the focus of this study. As Boyd Taylor Coolman put it, it is not the material aspects and scientific theories of the scholastic world that are of interest so much as the formal structures of the work.[49] But we do need to grasp the natural philosophy of the time insofar as it is relevant to an analysis of Bonaventure's harmonization of the account of origins in Genesis with the scientific views of the time. For Bonaventure, as Coolman notes, Scripture provides a 'minimally sufficient account of creation at the outset, an account the theologian is allowed to fill out with philosophical and scientific insights drawn from the "book of Creation."'[50] According to Bonaventure, the Book of Creation reveals God as the effective principle, while the Book of Scripture reveals the him as the restorative principle.[51] Hence, 'Scripture does not speak of the work of creation except with reference to the work of redemption.'[52] But so too does an understanding of the restorative principle entail a knowledge of the effective principle. Bonaventure, therefore, allows the Book of Scripture to colour his view of natural philosophy. In fact, it is difficult to dissociate the two aspects from his treatment of creation in Part 2. Both, in his view, lead to a knowledge of the one effective and recreating principle.

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[49] Coolman (2017), 164.

[50] Coolman (2017), 152.

[51] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,5,2.

[52] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,5,8.

Part 2 begins as a refutation of the mistakes Bonaventure had perceived in the academic context of thirteenth century Paris: the concepts of an eternal world and of an eternal material principle. The First Principle, Bonaventure says, brought created being into existence in time and from nothing and has arranged all things 'in measure, number and weight' (Wis. 11:21 [Vg.]) as an effect of the creating Trinity. For all creatures 'whether corporal, spiritual or composites of both' are an effect of the creating Trinity by virtue of efficient, exemplary and final causality.[53] All creature are, in other words, united in their finite status as produced by the immeasurably supreme Being, they possess form that gives them a nature made to reflect divine art and truth, and they are made by virtue of divine goodness with an inclination to their respective purpose and perfection, or as Bonaventure puts it, repose ('*status*').[54]

In juxtaposing his doctrine with the Aristotelian idea of an eternal world, Bonaventure also ensured that the teachings of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) on creation were maintained, i.e., that the world was created from nothing and not from pre-existing chaotic elementary materials, that the Creator is one Principle of all things, and that all things were created directly and without the need for intermediary intelligences.[55] Furthermore, all

[53] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,1,2.

[54] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,1,3.

[55] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,1,2. See also Monti (2005), 59-60 footnotes 1-5. See Denzinger (2012), 266 (n. 800): The Fourth Lateran Council (Twelfth Ecumenical) in 1215 declared that the Divine Trinity is 'the one principle of the universe, the creator of all things,

things are created for repose. 'In order that there be perfect order and repose (*status*) in things, all of them must be led back to one principle, which has to be first so that it might grant rest (*statum*) to other things, and which must be most perfect so that it might perfect all others. Now there can be only one First Principle possessing such rest (*status*).'[56] By *status*, Bonaventure expresses not only the end or goal of created existence, but also suggests the sabbath rest. Every creature is given being by its efficient cause, is patterned after its Creator and is ordained to a final cause. It especially applies to the creature for whom the material world finds its perfect expression: 'All this applies to every creature in general, whether corporeal, spiritual, or a composite of both, as is the case with human nature.'[57]

To the question of chapter 2, 'How did physical nature come into existence?' Bonaventure replies unequivocally: '…we must hold specifically that physical nature came into existence over the course of six days…'[58] He summarises the hexaëmeron, concluding that the Creator made all things either according to their prototypes and able to reproduce, or according to the seminal reasons. The seminal reasons for Bonaventure were inchoate,

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visible and invisible, spiritual and corporeal, who by his almighty power from the beginning of time made at once out of nothing both orders of creatures, the spiritual and the corporeal, that is, the angelic and the earthly, and then the human creature…'

[56] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,1,3.

[57] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,1,4.

[58] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,2,1.

active potentialities of forms that come into existence after the initial creation. The reason for this is, Bonaventure explains:

> Because all things flow from the first and most perfect Principle, who is omnipotent, all wise, and all-benevolent, it was most fitting that they should come into being in such a way that their very production might reflect these same three attributes or perfections. Therefore, the divine operation that fashioned the world machine was three-fold: creation, particularly reflecting omnipotence; distinction, reflecting wisdom; and embellishment (*ornatio*), reflecting unbounded goodness.[59]

Hence, creation, the divine act of bringing matter into being from non-being, reflects the power of God, and took place before any day 'in the beginning' (Gen 1:1).[60] The nature of that which was created 'in the beginning, before the passing of time' was triple: 'the

[59] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,2,2.

[60] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,2,2. Daniel McClain suggests that in this passage Bonaventure has adapted Hugh of St. Victor's account of creation narrative, in which he had seen the threefold operation of creation, distinction and adornment. Bonaventure, makes a unique contribution in bringing Augustine's seminal reasons, which Hugh hadn't, into this picture. For McClain, the contribution consists of the idea of creation and re-creation, and forms the pattern of the *Breviloquium* itself: McClain (2021), 121.

threefold nature was brought from non-being into being.'[61] With this Bonaventure refers to the luminous, transparent and opaque modes of material existence, as found in the qualities of the heavens, the waters and the earth (Gen 1:1-2).

The work of 'distinction', especially reflecting divine wisdom, consists of the three days of differentiation of the elements (light and darkness, water and air, land and water). The work of 'embellishment,' or adornment, reflecting divine goodness, refers to the final three days, which correspond directly to the first three. Luminous nature was adorned on the fourth day through the formation of the sun, the stars, and the moon. Translucent nature was embellished on the fifth day with the making of the fish and birds to ornament the waters and air. And the opaque nature was adorned on the sixth day when the earth was furnished with beasts and reptiles, and finally 'as the consummation of all things, human beings.'[62]

The reason for the formation of the created world over a period of six days, Bonaventure insists, is for the distinct manifestation of the divine appropriations of power, wisdom, and goodness (*potentia–sapientia–benignitas*).[63] Bonaventure, like Hugh from whom he borrowed the triad, was careful to predicate these of the Divine Persons only so long as all three were primarily attributed to the one Divine Nature, and weren't confused with the

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[61] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,2,3; 2,5,4. N.B., Bonaventure's 'order of nature in existence, order of wisdom in disposing and order of goodness in influencing': *ordinem naturae in existendo, ordinem sapientaie in disponendo, ordinem bonitas in influendo* (2,5,4).

[62] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,2,4.

[63] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,2,5.

respective properties of relation, which alone distinguish the Persons.[64] This triad becomes particularly important, for as Bonaventure thinks, power, wisdom and goodness are the terms by which Scripture most commonly praises the Trinity.[65] Throughout the *Breviloquium* Bonaventure gives his reasons for almost every article of faith according to this triad of power, wisdom, and goodness.

The threefold natural complexion of luminosity, translucency, and opacity is a significant perspective through which Bonaventure specifies the distinction and formation of physical creation in Part Two.[66] Creation from nothing entails that 'the threefold nature was brought

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[64] Poirel (2011), 176; Coyle (2018), 102-3. Scholars debate whether this important triad was first utilized systematically by Hugh of St. Victor or Peter Abelard. For Abelard it could be used to substitute the three names of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and may in fact have been first developed by Hugh of St. Victor, at least in the authorized manner, and is a guiding principle of the *Breviloquium*.

[65] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,6,5. Cf. Justin Coyle's judgment that the power-wisdom-goodness is also 'the full actuation of the transcendental triad' of unity-truth-goodness in *FS* (2018), 108. According to Alexander Schaefer, for Bonaventure the three attributes are 'the predominant factors in the entire work of creation.' He spells out that for Bonaventure divine power is ordered according to divine wisdom and goodness and that the optimal manifestation of these Trinitarian attributes consists in a harmonious gradation of order in creation, rather than in infinite number, size or power. See Schaefer (1961), 286 and 291.

[66] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,2,3: *Distinctio corporum mundi attenditur secundum triplicem modum*. See also 2,2,3-4; the whole of chapter 3 and 5,3-7

from non-being into being.'[67] It was the operating principle for the formation of each day of the hexaëmeron. In other words, whatever came into being, whether from nothing, or was distinguished, or was adorned, occurred according to the motion of light, the principal form of all things. Robert Grosseteste's philosophic-scientific theory that the first corporeal form is light may be identified as the conceptual origin of Bonaventure's threefold nature here.[68] Nonetheless, for Bonaventure the triad is implied in Gen 1:1-2:

> Thus, in the beginning, before any passing of time, the threefold nature was brought from non-being into being. This is implied in the words: In the beginning God created heaven and earth and the Spirit of God moved over the waters. Here, the word 'heaven' implies the luminous nature; the word 'earth,' opaque nature; and the word 'waters', the transparent or translucent nature, either subject to opposition or elevated above it.[69]

[67] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,5,4.

[68] Robert Grosseteste, *De luce* p.10. For Grosseteste, the form of all bodies is light. In higher bodies it is more spiritual and simple, whereas in lower bodies is it more corporeal and multiplied. For a summary study of light in Grosseteste and Bonaventure see Miccoli (2001), 69-84. Lindberg (1986), 17-19 and Gaspar (2020), 309 highlight some of the important differences between the two scholastics, particularly Grosseteste's notion idea of an instantaneous creation and the non-literal character of Genesis 1.

[69] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,5,4.

We gather that Bonaventure understands the above as the literal sense of Genesis. The discussion of the spiritual meanings of Genesis will take place at the end of the chapter (5). Furthermore, in his explanation of what is and what is not literally taught about creation in the Scriptures he emphasizes that Genesis does not 'explicitly' describe the cosmological and elemental spheres, 'says little or nothing' about observable phenomena in the universe, and 'nothing explicitly' about the creation of the angels.[70] Rather, Genesis speaks 'on a more general level, in which specific beings are only implied, describing the world in relation to the overall disposition and effect of the luminous, translucent and opaque natures.'[71]

Bonaventure and Robert Grosseteste share similar views on the nature of light, though Grosseteste preferred the notion of a simultaneous creation in terms of light instantaneously radiating from a luminous point and extending in all directions to form the cosmic sphere.[72] Light is the most active of all corporeal forms, disposes the material elements of the human composite for union with the spiritual soul, and thus acts as a unifying element of the universe. It also functions to iron out Aristotle's idea of the quasi-spiritual matter of the celestial bodies compared to that of the contingent, sublunary world. Despite Bonaventure's different view of creation over a number of days, he drew on Grosseteste's theory of light, perhaps in consideration of that unifying element which he purged of its pagan significance by transforming Aristotle's fifth element (ether) to light, the

[70] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,5,1.

[71] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,5,3.

[72] See Miccoli, (2001), 74, Lindberg (1986), 17-19 and Gaspar (2020), 309.

form of all corporeal being.[73] Only God can be pure form and actuality. Accordingly, Bonaventurre would maintain that creation definitely did not take place 'in utter chaos as the poets have fantasized.'[74] There is a 'fitting correspondence' between the divine operation involved in creation, distinction and adornment and the various 'days,' or times. Thus, his concept of creation over time becomes a basis upon which to build a theology of history. Indeed, the original production of the universe 'ought to contain the seeds of all things that would later be accomplished, as a prefiguration of future ages; thus these seven days would contain seminally, as it were, the division of all times to come.'[75]

We now come to the thorny issue of the creation of the angels. Any discussion of the spiritual intelligences, and the confirmation or fall of the angels, can only take place according to the spiritual meaning of Scripture. 'In the three natures which were first produced, we see the angelic hierarchy under the term *heaven*, the ecclesiastical hierarchy under the term *earth*, and grace, by which the other two are refreshed, under the term *waters*.'[76] The perspective of light is operative too in the spiritual interpretation of the text regarding the creation of the angels, and now Bonaventure admits that the seven days

[73] Miccoli (2001), 76 and 79-81; Emery (1983), 202; Lindberg (1986), 18. Cf. Bonaventure, *De reductione 3.*

[74] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,5,4.

[75] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,2,5.

[76] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,5,9.

signifies 'the seven illuminations though which the angels rise from the creature to God.'[77] That Augustinian understanding of the hexaëmeron is retained when understood as the spiritual meaning of Genesis. Bonaventure also speaks of the confirmation of the good angels in similar terms as intellects fully enlightened through the knowledge of dawn and dusk, and who even possess 'a knowledge of full sunlight, through the fullness and absolute purity of that light in comparison to which every created thing may properly be called darkness.'[78]

Returning to light in its literal sense, we see that for Bonaventure the heavens influence the earth and the elements, not only 'by dividing time into days, months and years' (cf. Gen 1:14), but also by the effective production of created things over time.[79] Without question Bonaventure insists that the 'influence' of the heavens on the earth occurs 'in such a way that they can never be taken as certain indicators of future contingencies, nor do they exert influence on human free will...', ruling out what some 'philosophers call fate.'[80] The cosmological view was that the three heavens, the empyrean, the crystalline and the firmament influence the lower bodies of the earth.[81] The harmonizing influence of the higher and more active agents upon lower and contrary qualities of matter is ordered

[77] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,5,10. See also 2,8,1-2.

[78] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,8,2. Cf. 2,8,1 & Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 11,29.

[79] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,4,1.

[80] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,4,1.

[81] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,3,5.

according to the pattern of the hexaëmeron: the effect of these operations that begins with light first produces minerals, then vegetative life, then sentient beings and finally, 'through a conciliation that truly achieves equal balance, they produce the human body.'[82] The body, in turn, is disposed to receive the noblest form, the rational soul, through which 'every nature may be led back (*reducatur*), as if in an intelligible circle, to its beginning, in which it is perfected and beatified.'[83]

Rational Creation: The Human Person

Having considered the creation of physical universe, its description in Scripture, and the origin, fall and/or confirmation of the angels,[84] Bonaventure completes Part Two with an exposition on the human person. First, he treats the human soul (chapter 9), the human body (chapter 10), and the whole human composite (chapter 11). Then in the final and twelfth chapter he sums up all of creation by demonstrating how the human being represents physical and spiritual creation at the three levels of expression: as a vestige, as an image, and when God-conformed, as a likeness of the supreme Principle. Bonaventure echoes Hugh of St. Victor in his treatment of human nature in connection with Genesis 2

[82] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,4,3.

[83] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,4,3.

[84] Of Bonaventure's discussion of the angels, the only reference to the hexaëmeron is at 2,8,1 and 2,8,2 where he depicts the angels' enlightenment through the knowledge of 'dawn and dusk' and 'even a knowledge of full sunlight', recalling Augustine's *De civitate Dei* 11,29 and *De Genesi ad litteram* 4,24-25,29-30.

and by identifying a distinction between the 'image' and the 'likeness' expressed in Genesis 1:26. We will return to this subject below.

Bonaventure's general theology is marked by an emphasis on humanity's fallen state. Unless we attend to the ruin of human nature, he says, the human soul cannot be 'cleansed, enlightened, and perfected for the contemplation of heavenly things.'[85] That said, his anthropology also contemplates human nature in its pre-lapsarian state, particularly in light of Genesis 2. The body of the first man was created from the slime of the earth (Gen 2:7), given an earthly paradise in which to dwell (Gen 2:8). A woman was formed from his side as helpmate for 'sinless propagation' (cf. Gen 2:20-25), and for food and perpetual immortality they were given the Tree of Life (Gen 2:8-9).[86] The reason for this, Bonaventure teaches, is that it was fitting for the Supreme Principle to manifest its power, wisdom and goodness 'most impressively in its final and most noble effect.'[87] Divine Power brings together the two distinct aspects of human nature: the physical body and the spiritual soul, in which Bonaventure locates the image of the Trinity according to memory, understanding and will.[88] Divine Wisdom was manifested in the body's proportioned physical constitution and in the soul's relation to the body as its perfecting principle. Out of divine Goodness, God could not but make the human person other than good (*nisi bonum*) and free from sin, punishment, and misery; the body was made obedient to the rational soul, free from

[85] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,12,5.

[86] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,10,1.

[87] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,10,2.

[88] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,9,1.

rebellion, lust, weakness and the corruption of death, yet 'able not to die, and able to die.'[89] In his pre-lapsarian state, Adam was sustained by the trees of the garden. The Tree of Life was his nourishing and sustaining principle, serving 'not only as food, but as sacrament.'[90]

With Hugh of St. Victor, Bonaventure understands the first commands in Genesis, 'Increase and multiply,' (Gen 1:28) and 'Of the tree of knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat,' (Gen 2:17) to represent respectively the laws of nature and of grace. In Bonaventure's words: The first man and woman 'were given a double command, namely of nature and the other of discipline.'[91] The command of nature was given for the preservation of the good they had received in creation; the other was given as a test that if obeyed, would merit for them the reward God promised.[92] Having sinned through their own fault, they would need to recover what was lost 'through grace and faith and the understanding of the Scriptures.'[93] Though he does not say it explicitly in the *Breviloquium*, it is implied that it was the divine 'likeness' to which the created image was made that was lost. For 'likeness' is said to relate to conformity to God, the possession of the Holy Spirit as an infused gift,

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[89] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,10,5. Peter Lombard, *Liber 2 sententiarum* 19,2.

[90] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,10,6. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 8,4,8.

[91] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,11,1. Cf. Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis* 1,6,28-29. On the command to avoid the tree of knowledge and the merit of obedience, see Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*. d.17, doubt 5. See also d.20, doubt 7.

[92] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,11,4-5.

[93] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,12,5.

and the possession of 'the eye of contemplation,' all of which Bonaventure explains are lacking in the fallen human person. All these correspond to the 'likeness' in the final chapter (12) of Part 2 of the *Breviloquium*. Bonaventure seems to have understood the distinction between 'nature' and 'merit' mentioned above according to their correspondence with the terminology of 'image and likeness.'

For Bonaventure, the language of vestige, image and likeness became a way of 'reading' and understanding the created world:

> ...we may gather that the created world is a kind of book reflecting, representing, and describing its Maker, the Trinity, at three different levels of expression: as a vestige, as an image, and as a likeness. The aspect of vestige ('footprint') is found in every creature; the aspect of image, only in intelligent creatures or rational spirits; the aspect of likeness, only in those spirits that are God-conformed.[94]

The 'diastema' or space between the image and likeness in Bonaventure may be thought of as the difference between a description of created reality (the image) and the prescription for its fulfilment (the likeness), or in other words, its prescriptive telos.[95] Vestige and image both describe created reality as it is, while likeness prescribes what must be done with the assistance of grace for the human creature to be God-conformed.

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[94] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,12,1.

[95] Coolman (2017), 162.

'Likeness' pertains to the contemplative aspect of the human creature's finality, and has been lost due to the lapse of sin. The 'eye of contemplation' once saw 'God and those things that are within God.'[96] Now grace, faith, attention to 'the ruin of human nature', along with the 'understanding the Scriptures' become the sure means of regaining that likeness lost in the Fall. 'The eye of contemplation does not function perfectly except through glory, which human beings have lost through sin, although they may recover this through grace and faith and the understanding of the Scriptures.'[97] The human creature can therefore begin again to read and understand the book of Creation, by means of the Book of Scripture. Coolman makes the insightful observation, 'But the creature itself is part of this "book" and does not stand apart from it as some neutral observer-reader. Rather, coming full circle, the rational creature's dei-formity is itself constitutive of the trinitarian book of creation.'[98]

The symbol of the circle is an important motif of Bonaventure,[99] which here coincides with what we observed of the heavenly bodies' influence on the elements, matter, minerals, vegetative life, sentient beings, and on the human body, as an hexameral ordering. The noblest of all forms, the rational soul, is created and brings to fulfilment the natures of other created beings. 'Thus, through the soul – which is a form having existence, life,

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[96] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,12,5.

[97] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,12,5.

[98] Coolman (2017), 162-63

[99] For a significance of the circle in Bonaventure, see Schaefer (1961), 263-264; Ratzinger (1989), 143-48.

feeling, and intelligence – every nature may be led back (*reducatur*), as if in an intelligible circle, to its beginning, in which it is perfected and beatified.'[100]

The connection of the hexaëmeron and the image of the circle may also be found elsewhere in Bonaventure's works, as in the final words of the *Disputed Questions on the Mystery of the Most Holy Trinity*: 'Therefore it follows that eternal life consists in this alone, that the rational spirit, which emanates from the most blessed Trinity and is a likeness of the Trinity, should return after the manner of a certain intelligible circle – through memory, intelligence and will – to the most blessed Trinity by God-conforming glory.'[101] While the six days of Genesis convey an historical or linear concept of time for Bonaventure, the idea may also be expressed in terms of the circle, for all things return to their source. This is not the circle of unordered infinity, which he perceived in Aristotle, but the circle that contains the all-important ordering centre, which is Christ.[102] God, as Bonaventure recalled in the *Itinerarium*, may be compared to 'the intelligible sphere whose centre is everywhere and whose circumference is nowhere.'[103]

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[100] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,4,3.

[101] Bonaventure, *Quaestiones disputatae de mysterio Ss. Trinitatis* q.8, ad 7. The work is usually dated to the magistral period, between 1253-1257 according to Bougerol, 116 at 113. The title of the English translation by Zachary Hayes (2000) is 'Disputed Questions on the Mystery of the Trinity.'

[102] See Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 1,22-24. Ratzinger (1989), 143-148.

[103] Cf. Alan of Lille, *Regulae theologiae* 7 in Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 5,8.

In Bonaventure the symbol of the circle occurs in implicit association with the hexaëmeron because, as Ratzinger explained, 'the number six has the meaning of a circle that is perfectly closed.'[104] It conveys the idea of the double movement of the Pseudo-Dionysian *egressus* and *regressus*.[105] The hexaëmeron expresses the analogical line of emanation from God, and the completion of the universe with the creation of humanity expresses the image of a cycle because through the person, all creation is led back and the circle is closed. In other words, what we see in the doctrine of creation in the *Breviloquium* is the use of symbols and formal structures that are comparable to the first six days of Genesis.

Concluding Remarks

In the second part of the *Breviloquium*, Bonaventure's doctrine of creation took up the theme of the hexaëmeron and presented it as an authentic and suitable revelation of the origins of this world. God reveals himself through both the book of Scripture and the book of Creation. Having lost the 'eye of contemplation' and therefore the ability to read the

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[104] Ratzinger (1989), 148.

[105] Ratzinger (1989), 143-44. But there is the possibility of the perfect number six being perverted, that is, when time is viewed according to the Aristotelian unordered-cyclical nature of time and infinite recurrence of events. That is why Bonaventure interprets the Apocalyptic number 666 as the triply intensive heretical circle of the eternity of the world. See Ratzinger (1989), 235 (n.39) & Bonaventure, *De septem donis* 8,16-17. On Ps-Dionysius and the cycle, see *The Divine Names* 4,14; quoted in Bonaventure, 1 *Sent*. q.45, a.2, q.1, concl. See also Schaefer (1961), 263-64.

latter, Adam was deprived of the light of divine wisdom, that is, the ability to understand all things within the created intellect, and with reference to the Eternal creating Art. But this was to be restored again by faith, grace and the Book of Scripture. How this restoration is unravelled remains to be seen in the following parts of the *Breviloquium*. Bonaventure's triad of divine power, wisdom, and goodness, by which Scripture most commonly praises the Trinity, is the interpretive lens for the reading of the threefold creation, distinction and adornment in Genesis 1. Since Scripture is primarily ordered to the salvation of the fallen human person, it does not describe in detail what is otherwise discoverable in the physical sciences. Instead, Scripture intimates these themes. The luminous, transparent and opaque modes of natural existence, the perspective through which Bonaventure harmonizes the natural sciences and scriptural account of creation, order material reality to subsist in the human composite. Thus the highest expression of the divine attributes is manifested in the material world of the rational creation of the sixth day.

Part Three: On the Corruption of Sin

Part Three of the *Breviloquium*, 'On the Corruption of Sin', flows on thematically from the previous exposition on Creation. Bonaventure's doctrine of sin is built on the teachings of Augustine, Anselm, Hugh of St. Victor and his own Parisian master, Alexander of Hales. We are now in the world of Genesis 3: the narrative of the serpent's temptation of Eve, and the subsequent fall of the original couple. The third part reads as a short moral treatise on free will, temptation, the various kinds of sin and their effect on human nature. For Bonaventure, it is imperative that to regain the divine likeness, the contemplation of heavenly things, and to see God and those things that are within God, we do not ignore our fallen status. 'For fallen human beings cannot attain these things unless they first recognize

their own insufficiency and blindness, and this they cannot do unless they consider and attend to the ruin of human nature.'[106] My investigation of Part Three of the *Breviloquium* finds that the literal, moral and allegorical implications of the Biblical account of the Fall are illustrated in relation to the first chapter of Genesis. Bonaventure draws the connections in two fundamental aspects of his treatment of 'The Corruption of Sin': in his rationale for the transmission of original sin from Adam (Chapter 6) and in the explanation of the capital sins (Chapter 9).

Original Sin

Bonaventure's rationale for understanding how original sin is passed from Adam to his descendants hinges on the doctrine of the direct and special creation of the soul: the First Principle is all-powerful, and is also capable of bringing something good into being from non-being, that is, without pre-existent matter. 'This is precisely what it did when it fashioned the creature to which it granted existence, life, intelligence and choice.'[107] Thus Bonaventure understands the original words of Genesis, which described God making humanity 'in our image' and formed from the 'dust from the ground' and granting it 'the breath of life.' (cf. Gen 1:26; 2:7). However, the link between Adam and his progeny is not through the soul, which is directly created, but through the body. Bonaventure therefore explains how the soul still inherits the punishment of original sin:

> Because the First Principle made the human person in its own image as its own self-expression, God created its physical dimension is such a way that all human

[106] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,12,5.

[107] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 3,1,2.

> beings were to be propagated from the first man as from one radical principle. But since the human person in its spiritual dimension is an express likeness to God in essence and duration, in intelligence and love, God created that dimension in such a way that all rational spirits would emanate from God as their first and immediate principle. And because the soul, being superior, is thus closer to the first Principle, God so made humankind that the spirit would be pre-eminent over the body, and that the body would be subject to the created spirit as long as it were subject to the uncreated Spirit. But should the soul, on the other hand, disobey God, by God's just judgement the body would begin to rebel against it. This is precisely what happened when Adam sinned.[108]

Underlying this argument is the Augustinian notion that original sin is passed on to Adam's progeny through the concupiscence associated with procreation. So too is the rabbinic understanding witnessed to in St. Paul, that in Adam all men sinned (cf. Rom 5:12). His reasoning for the passing on of original guilt to Adam's descendants despite the direct creation of the soul is connected to the principle of the divine image. This is arguably the more fundamental aspect of Bonaventure's theological anthropology. The human person possesses a spiritual character as the expressive image of God; 'all rational spirits emanate from God as their first and immediate principle.'[109] Likewise, in his physical or material aspect, Adam is the radical principle of all humanity. The material body was formed to be subject to the rational soul to reflect the order of divine Fatherhood of God over all

[108] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 3,6,2.

[109] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 3,6,2.

creatures, but the disorder brought about by original rebellion resulted in the soul's subjection to the body instead. Original sin is thus expressed in terms of disorder.

For Bonaventure the idea of order is first signified by the hexaëmeron – the authentic and original revelation of divine order revealed in the Book of Scripture. The creation account, therefore, provides the foundation which cannot be ignored in order to understand the nature of the fall. The undoing of the original order expressed in Genesis 1 is the underlying reason or 'formal cause' of original sin. The narrative of the encounter of the woman, the serpent and the man in the Garden (Gen 3:1-6), on the other hand, may be considered the 'material cause' of original sin.[110]

We should note that the two Genesis narratives in the background of Bonaventure's explanation of original sin are an elaboration of the twofold command borrowed from Hugh of Saint Victor's *De sacramentis*.[111] While Hugh's double precepts of nature and discipline are tied to the preservation of the good of nature that Adam possessed gratis and the spiritual reward to be sought through merit, Bonaventure goes further than Hugh in explicitly tying these two precepts to the text of Genesis: 'They were given a double good,

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[110] Monti (2005), 114 at n.38 observes that Bonaventure was attempting to harmonize the opinions of Augustine and Anselm. Augustine associated original sin with concupiscence in particular, Anselm with the deprivation of original justice. Bonaventure had seen concupiscence, or the immoderate appetite for the created good, as the 'material cause' and the will's turning away from the right order revealed by God as the 'formal cause' of the first sin.

[111] Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis* 1,6,28-29.

one visible and the other invisible. They were given a double command, namely the one of nature and the other of discipline: The command of nature was, "Increase and multiply"; the command of discipline, "Of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat."[112] The twofold command straddles both the hexaëmeron and the fall narrative respectively. Thus Bonaventure explains original sin as a failure to merit through obedience.[113] God has ordained that everything created be made in such a way that it 'perform and exercise its own proper movements.'[114] Associating this fundamental nature of the rational creature with the repose of the seventh day of creation Bonaventure explains, 'Humanity was so fashioned that is should achieve the prize of eternal rest through victory in combat.'[115] We see, therefore, how actual and personal sins are an attack on the created image of God and an imitation of the original sin.[116]

The Capital Sins

Chapter 9, 'The Origin and Division of the Capital Sins,' also involves subtle allusions to the hexaëmeron. Here is the only place in Bonaventure that we find a discussion of the seven 'capital' or deadly sins, apart from a brief single mention in his commentary on the

[112] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,11,1. Cf. Hugh, *De sacramentis* 1,6,6-7.

[113] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 3,2,4.

[114] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 3,2,3.

[115] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 3,2,3.

[116] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 3,8,6.

Sentences.[117] His consideration of the capital sins begins with an ironic play on words: 'Consequently we must descend to the rise of particular sins.'[118] He continues, 'There are some sins that are capital, others that are penal, and others which are final or unforgiveable; as such, they are first, intermediate, and last.' He continues to explain that there is a sevenfold head or 'capital' sin, which has one source, pride, 'of which it is written: *pride is the beginning of all sin* (Eccl. 10:15 [Vg]).' Beginning with one source, actual sins also have 'two roots, and three incentives, and a seven-fold head or "capital" sin.' Whether or not there is an allusion here to the hexaëmeron in the rhetorical flourish is debatable. Nevertheless, it would seem there is in the reference to pride as a 'beginning;' albeit an *initio* rather than a *principio*, for there is no coequality of good and evil. While Bonaventure is quoting a Vulgate edition of Ecclesiasticus, and not Genesis, the penchant for 'beginnings' has been a theme throughout Bonaventure's work, and further bolsters his anti-Manichean argument. The combination of concepts and literary artistry suggest the antithesis of creation's original nature as coming from God and returning to God, while capital sin expresses a condition 'from which we must withdraw.'[119]

The beginning of the capital sins, pride, which is contempt for and withdrawal from the First Principle, should be seen in contrast with the original light of day one, which for

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[117] 2 *Sentences* 42, dub. 3-4. See Monti (2005) in his ft. 57 in the English translation of the *Breviloquium*.

[118] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 3,9,1. My translation: *Consequenter descendendum est ad ortum peccatorum in speciali*.

[119] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,10,5.

Bonaventure is the form of all creatures and is, further, according to Genesis 1:4, the first of those things that God created 'good.' [120] The two roots of sin are fear that '*badly* restrains,' and love that '*badly* desires.'[121] And there are seven such manifestations of the principle disorders of the soul: 'pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice, gluttony, and lust.' The subtext here may be considered as an inversion of the hexameral narrative, for sin is a withdrawal from the First Principle. And Bonaventure will only 'descend' to examine the nature of capital sin in its attempt to raise its ugly 'head.'

Commenting on Part Three of the *Breviloquium*, Timothy Johnson indicates that 'capital' sin, deriving from the Latin word *caput*, or 'head,' is an application of the metaphor of the body at different levels. The head is the most prominent part of the body and represents the superior reason of the mind (in contrast with the inferior aspect of the mind).[122] Bonaventure adopted Philo's and Augustine's allegorical interpretation that the man, the woman and the serpent in the fall narrative respectively stand for the superior reason, the inferior reason and the sensible powers.[123] Original and all actual sin in some way consist in the act of the human will choosing a lesser good, and this occurs when the lower reason is not brought into order by higher reason. The superior aspect of the mind, the man, is said to yield to the suggestion of the woman, or lower reason. The woman who obeys the serpent and takes the fruit is succumbing to sensual enjoyment, which also belongs to the inferior

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[120] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,10,5; 3,9,2.

[121] Emphasis added.

[122] Johnson (2017), 185

[123] See Monti (2005), 118, ft. 47.

aspect of the mind.[124] Still sin is 'imputed not only to *the woman*, but also to *the man*, by whom the woman should have been restrained and held in check, lest she obey *the serpent*.'[125] As Johnson notes, rebellion in the body (towards the soul) ensued, with the lower members being adversely affected by the action of the head. It was an action initiated by Eve, but consummated by Adam.[126]

Concluding Remarks

In summary, Part Three of the *Breviloquium* provides the foundations of a Christian moral theology that synthesizes the various senses of Genesis 1-3 within the tradition of the Catholic doctrine of sin. Though the allusions to the hexaëmeron are in fact fewer in this section of the *Breviloquium*, it has been demonstrated here that there is evidence of a subtext of hexameral order and an emphasis on the ordering principle of the divine image in Bonaventure's anthropology. He has thereby maintained this central and consistent theme throughout this manual of theology.

Part Four: On the Incarnation of the Word

The notion of restoration (*reparatio*) is the underlying theme of the Incarnation of the Word in Part Four of the *Breviloquium*. Here Bonaventure explains that it was fitting that the restorative principle should be no less than the God who created all things. God the Father created all things through the uncreated Word, and he restored all things through

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[124] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 3,8,5-6.

[125] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 3,8,6.

[126] Johnson (2017), 185.

the Incarnate Word. In this sense, therefore, is Christ the perfection of creation, who unites in himself the first and the last, the Creator and the creature. If sin is a corruption of the created will and affects creation in general, then restoration involves the *reductio* of all things to their Creator through the Word's becoming flesh. 'Just as God had created all things through the Uncreated Word, so he would restore all things through the Incarnate Word.'[127] Bonaventure understands the Incarnation of the Word in terms of restoration because 'it is surely no less important to restore created things as to give them existence, for the well-being of things is no less significant than for them simply to be.'[128] In fact, he relates the motive of the Incarnation to the fittingness that the highest principle should be the restorative principle of all things.[129] God could have chosen to save creatures in another way, but Bonaventure argues that no other way was so appropriate to 'the Redeemer, those redeemed, and the nature of redemption.'[130]

Bonaventure, as we saw in the Prologue, drew on Augustine's schema that described the Incarnation as occurring in the sixth age of the world. Here Bonaventure maintains the idea, including the parallel of the historical event with day six of the hexaëmeron. He also expresses the union of the First Principle with the last as 'God with clay.'[131] The Creator

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[127] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,1,2.

[128] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,1,2.

[129] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,1,2.

[130] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,1,1.

[131] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,4,4. Cf. Bernard, *Sermo 3 in vigilia nativitatis Domini* 8.

assumes the condition of a creature; the divine and created natures are united in the Divine Person of the Word, and the created order receives an altogether new status.

Between a systematic articulation of the union of natures in chapters 2 to 4, and the fullness of Christ's spiritual charisms in chapters 5 to 7, Bonaventure explains the Incarnation in the 'fullness of time' (Gal 4:4) by drawing on the hexameral account of the history of the world. In the Prologue Bonaventure had already introduced the hermeneutical principle: 'The sixth age, in which Christ, the true image of God, was born in human likeness, corresponds to the sixth day, in which the first human being was formed.'[132] Bonaventure's organizing principle of 'The Length of Holy Scripture' given in section 2 of the Prologue, divides history into seven ages, in which the sixth 'from Christ until the end of the world' and the seventh, 'which runs concurrently with the sixth,' fulfil Scripture which 'begins with the origin of the world and time in the first chapter of Genesis and continues until the end of the world and time in the closing chapters of the Apocalypse.' Here in Part Four, he coordinates the historical schema and his Christology. The world's 'course' had also been described in the Prologue according to three times: 'the time of the law of nature, that of the written law, and that of grace.'[133] In Part Four he synthesises the two historical divisions and links the time of grace, which follows the inefficacy of the time of natural law, to the sixth age in which Christ had been born. 'The coming of Christ

[132] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium*, Prologue 2,2.

[133] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,2,1.

occurred in the time of the law of grace, as a fulfilment of the promised mercy, and at the beginning of the sixth age.'[134]

The Incarnation took place at the end of the ages because it is the most perfect of all God's works, for 'development ought to proceed from the imperfect to the perfect, and not the other way round.'[135] Bonaventure draws a parallel between the sixth day, on which the first man, who is the adornment (*ornamentum*) of the material universe, and 'the second man,' who is

> the fulfilment of the whole universe in its redemption, in whom the First Principle was joined with the last, 'God with clay,' [who] came at the end of time, that is the sixth age – the age proper to the exercise of wisdom, the curbing of concupiscence, and the passage from turmoil to peace. All these things pertain to the sixth age of the world's course because of the Incarnation of the Son of God.[136]

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[134] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,4,5. Cf. 4,4,2.

[135] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,4,4.

[136] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,4,4. Translation adjusted. In context the passage reads: *Hinc est, quod opus illud debuit fieri in fine temporum, ut, sicut primus homo, qui erat totius mundi sensibilis ornamentum, ultimo fuerat conditus, scilicet sexto die, ad totius mundi completionem: sic secundus homo, totius mundi reparati complementum, in quo primum principium coniungitur cum ultimo, scilicet 'Deus cum limo', fieret in fine temporum, hoc est in sexta aetate, quae est aetas apta ad exercitium sapientiae et ad enervationem*

The implication is that the Incarnation was already inscribed in the hexaëmeron, and must itself therefore be the reason for the creation of human beings on the sixth day. Bonaventure draws the parallel between the first and second Adams with reference to 1 Cor 15:47: 'The first man was from the earth, a man of dust; the second man is from heaven.' It was also 'most appropriate', following Anselm's argument in *Cur Deus Homo* 'that humanity should be restored by a God-man, born of Adam's stock.'[137]

Given the importance for Bonaventure of the sixth day and age in the context of the creation of the first and second Adams, why did he not place this study of the Incarnation in the sixth part as might be expected of his deliberately crafted seven-part *Breviloquium*? Instead, it comes fourth, making the Incarnation of the Word the centre of the work. Furthermore, how is its placement as central in the work relevant to the sense of finality that comes with the Incarnation 'in the fulness of time'?

As we have seen in Part Two, the triad of power, wisdom, and goodness is a fundamental aspect of Bonaventure's understanding of the world's formation, which he sees in the triple work of creation, distinction and adornment. It provides a rationale for Bonaventure's understanding of the six days of creation.[138] Christ is the uncreated Image of God, the best expression of divine goodness as well as the perfect adornment of creation. According to this approach, therefore, the Incarnation corresponds structurally to the fourth day of the

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concupiscentiae et ad transitum a statu turbinis ad quietem; quae omnia competunt sextae aetati decursus mundi propter incarnationem Filii Dei.

[137] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,1,4.

[138] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,2,2.

hexaëmeron. Hence an hexameral methodology does not require that the Christological element of his theology necessarily form the sixth part in the work when we recall that the first Adam who is created on the sixth day is also, as Bonaventure calls him, the *ornamentum* of the universe. For the first Adam adorns and completes creation, and the second Adam is the fulfilment (*complementum*) of the whole universe 'in its redemption.'

It appears, therefore, that Bonaventure employs the hexameral language of creation, distinction and adornment to enhance the centrality of Christology in the overall theological vision of the *Breviloquium*. Adam is the adornment of creation, which is fulfilled in the coming of the second Adam, Christ. *Reparatio*, or restoration is the other face of creation; it is parallel to the *opus ornatus*, or work of adornment. To the extent that the coming of Christ is the 'beginning of the sixth age,' indicating 'fullness' rather than the end of time, and that 'it was fitting for the Saviour to provide a time of healing between the time of sickness and time of judgment...,' this mediating Centre of creation is still also the perfecting Adornment of God's creative purpose for the world.

The placement of the *Breviloquium*'s Christological section as fourth and central is actually consistent with the general philosophical and theological outlook of Bonaventure, and makes sense when we consider that he upheld Christ as the emblematic centre of all things, both created and uncreated.[139] Bonaventure's hexameral arrangement of the

[139] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,2,6; cf. *Hexaëmeron* 1,10-39. The Uncreated Word is the central Person of the Holy Trinity. See also Benson (2014), 247-87, who argues that Bonaventure chose seven parts to emphasize the Christological centre and *medium*, and

Breviloquium should therefore be seen fundamental to maintaining the centrality of Christ: 'It was fitting for the mediator that some of his members should precede him, and that others should follow.'[140] Further, the Incarnation must be seen as both the fulfilment of the ages, and the beginning of the sixth age, for as he explains, 'the number six symbolizes perfection' and 'is in itself a sign of fullness.'[141]

In addition, Christ occupies more than the central position in Bonaventure's thinking. In chapter 5 he considers the fullness of grace in the work of the Incarnation. Christ is the one head that influences the mystical Body, through the fontal, radical and original fullness of all grace.[142] Christ possessed the fullness of grace from his very conception: 'the grace of a particular person, the grace of headship, and the grace of union.'[143] But he is not only the original principle in his divinity, he is the restorative principle in his humanity, and further, he is also the means and the end.[144] Hence the Incarnate Word manifests a surpassing and universal fullness: he is at the same time foundation, centre and fulfilment. Creation, distinction and adornment find their perfection in Him.

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that its treatment in Part Four is intentional in order to demonstrate the Incarnate Word as the completion of creation as well as the foundation of its re-creation.

[140] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,4,5.

[141] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,4,5.

[142] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,5,6.

[143] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,5,1.

[144] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,5,3.

Corey Barnes rightly suggests that 'Part IV determines the overall order and progression of topics rather than following as a consequence from other ordering principles. The *Breviloquium* grows from the centre outward.'[145] The topics that follow in Parts Five (on grace) and Six (on the sacraments) express the means for perfection and/or adornment that will culminate in the final Part Seven, on the repose of the final judgement. Barnes' insight implicitly supports the argument of this thesis that the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Word comes fourth to recall the day of adornment, when the true Light came into the world, not to decorate the firmament but to illuminate and perfect rational creatures. This forms the transition in Bonaventure's thinking between distinction and adornment. The logic seems to be consistent: creation in the beginning, with a new beginning that consists of recreation and adornment. Christ is thus found to be the true centre, but also the new beginning of the sixth age.

To further support this reading of Part Four in terms of a Christological *opus ornatus*, Bonaventure teaches that the Incarnation is a 'work' (or *opus*/*operatio*) of the creating Trinity.[146] The implication is that like the works of creation, distinction and adornment, the Incarnation too is a divine operation, as an expression of divine benevolence and goodness, that is continuous with the previous divine works. Neither creation nor restoration are understood to emerge with any divine necessity. Instead, like the creation in the beginning that was made to manifest complete power, wisdom and goodness, so 'it was fitting that

[145] Barnes (2017), 211-12.

[146] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,2,2-3.

God should so restore all things as to display that same power, wisdom and benevolence.'[147] This historical event is not the Hegelian realization of the Spirit in history, nor is it due to some necessity of nature. Rather, it was the divine plan from all eternity to manifest divine power, wisdom and goodness in the creation, the distinction and the adornment of the world. The Incarnation is the work of the First Principle, 'not only insofar as it is an effective principle in producing,' that is, in terms of the divine *power* to create, 'but also insofar as it is a restorative principle in healing, atoning, and reconciling.'[148] Bonaventure's Christology is also marked by the *wisdom* of God which unites the nature of the first Adam with the divinity of the second: After all, 'What is wiser and more fitting than to bring the entire

[147] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,1,2.

[148] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,2,3. As an example of reconciliation, Bonaventure explains that the reconciling aspect of the work of the Incarnation pertains to the act of mediation and is therefore proper to the Son of God 'who both produces and is produced, the intermediate one of the three [divine] persons' (4,2,6). The role of reconciliation is to be the medium between humanity and God 'in order to lead humankind back to the knowledge of God, to the likeness of God, and to be children of God.' For 'no one is more suitable to lead humankind back to divine conformity than the one who is the image of the Father.' (4,2,6) This explains why it was the Second Person who was sent to become Incarnate. And no one is more fittingly suited to restore humanity's status as children of God than the one who is Son of God by nature.

universe to full perfection by uniting the first and the last, that is, the Word of God, which is the origin of all things, and human nature, which was the last of all creatures?'[149]

Concluding Remarks

In Bonaventure's perspective on the Incarnation, the grammar of creation and restoration is interweaved with the hexameral pattern of the six days, and the triad of creation, distinction and adornment. The central position of Part Four coordinates the doctrine of the Incarnation with the hexameral motif of adornment. From this central position the Incarnation may be understood as gathering the scattered history of the past, beginning the New Testament (the sixth age) and looking towards the eschatological end and fulfilment of creation. By placing the Christological section in the centre of the *Breviloquium* Bonaventure accentuates the significance of the six days as a valuable Scriptural tool for explaining and unifying theology. For Christ is the beginning, the middle and the end. Accordingly, with the new Adam as the formal reason for the creation of humanity on the sixth day, it appears that the Incarnate Word was already envisioned in the first chapter of Genesis.

Part Five: On the Grace of the Holy Spirit

The Fifth Part of the *Breviloquium* is a beautifully unified treatise on the gift of recreating grace, and its relation to human freedom, to the habits of the virtues and to meritorious actions. In summarising his own teaching, Bonaventure compared this section on grace to Holy Scripture proposing 'a sevenfold series of sevens': for grace in the *Breviloquium* is

[149] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 4,1,2.

treated in relation to the capital sins, the sacraments, the virtues, the gifts, the beatitudes, the petitions of the Our Father, and 'as they will be appear later [in Part Seven], the endowments of glory – three of the soul and four of the body.'[150] Clearly significant attention is paid throughout Part Five to the symbolic value of the number seven, and while we could attribute this to the medievals' penchant for cataloguing things into neat groups of seven, that should not cause us to rule out a continuation of the themes of the hexaëmeron in Part Five.[151] A significant matter relating to the reception of Genesis in Part Five is Bonaventure's concern with the rational image's conformity to God through regaining the lost 'likeness' to God. In this chapter it will be argued that the hexaëmeron informs Bonaventure's theology of grace in two fundamental areas:

1) The structure of Part Five within the overall *Breviloquium*, including conceptual and verbal similarities, points to grace as the *adornment* of nature and creation, and is therefore parallel to Part Two of the *Breviloquium*.

2) The treatment of grace and charity manifestly reflects the concern Bonaventure had with the overriding nature of light in the hexaëmeron.

Grace as the Adornment of Creation

In the first area, when we look at the general arrangement of the *Breviloquium*, it appears that Part Five is conceptually linked to Part Two, the section on Creation. Part Two

[150] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,10,5.

[151] On the significance of heptads for the Church Fathers, see Hopper (2000), 84-5.

had treated the *datum* and 'aid' of nature and introduced the 'perfection' of grace;[152] Part Five treats of grace and completes the Bonaventurian theology of the gift or *donum* within the *Breviloquium*. He appears to have arranged Part Five to correspond to Part Two, which reflects the hexameral idea that day five is parallel to day two. Hence the section on grace in Part Five is the *adornment* of creation and perfection of nature, and follows the Christological Part Four that begins the renewal and adornment of creation.

Katie Wrisley Shelby has engaged Joshua Benson's insightful elucidation of the Christology of the *Breviloquium*, which she appropriately relates to the theology of grace in Part 5.[153] Benson had argued for a tripartite arrangement of Bonaventure's theology in the *Breviloquium*, according to the pattern outlined in the Prologue: that of *ortus*, *progressus*/*modus* and *status*/*fructus* (simply put: source, procedure and purpose). Benson demonstrated how this tripartite structure highlights the Incarnate Word's role as *medium*, who in his two natures powerfully unites all of theology in the *Breviloquium*: Christ is both the *fructus* of creation and the *ortus* of re-creation. The *ortus* or source of Scripture consists of its coming from an inflowing of the Trinity, rather than human reasoning. Its *progressus* or *modus* together conceptualize the manner of Scripture's growth or advancement, and concern *what* God communicates and *how* it is communicated. The 'status' or 'fructus' indicates completion; Scripture's fruit culminates in humanity coming to rest in the

[152] In particular 2,11 & 2,12.

[153] Shelby (2017), 215-243; Benson (2014), 247-287.

enjoyment of eternal life with the Trinity, and thus the *status* is returned to the *ortus*.[154] However, this structure can also be readily understood in terms of the similar triads: power-wisdom-goodness and creation-distinction-adornment, both of which Bonaventure associated so closely with the hexaëmeron. His intricate structural patterns in the *Breviloquium* complement and enhance each other, as Benson too affirms: 'The marvel and difficulty of the *Breviloquium* remains that its textual structure is so interlaced with its content that the one seems to constantly inform the other.'[155] We could apply the same insight to the pattern that Genesis 1 has contributed to the rich texture of Bonaventure's theology in Part Five of the *Breviloquium*. The following table outlines the hexameral structure of the work, the three days of distinction and adornment as they correlate with the respective Parts of the *Breviloquium*, Benson's *ortus-modus-fructus*/*status* classification, and the historical parallels (as described in the Prologue):

[154] Benson (2014), 253-58. Benson outlined the parts of the *Breviloquium* as follows: Part 1 on the Trinity as the *ortus* of all things; Part 2 on Creation as the *ortus* of movement from God; Part 3 on Sin as the *modus* of fallen creation; Part 4 on Christ the one *Medium* who is both the *Fructus* of Creation and the *Ortus* of Re-creation. The Incarnate Word completes creation and is the source of re-creation; Part 5 on Grace as the *modus* of re-creation; Part 6 on the Sacraments as the *fructus* of re-creation; Part 7 on the Final Judgement as the *status* of all things. See the helpful table of Benson (2014), 257.

[155] Benson (2014), 250. See also McClain (2021), 114, who argues that Benson's *ortus-progressus-status* structure does not exclude other, similar patterns within the text.

Day	The marks of Distinction	*Breviloquium* Part & topic	Historical parallel	Day	The marks of Adornment	*Breviloquium* Part & topic	Historical parallel
	(Creation)	**Prologue**		**(8)**		(General Resurrection)	
1	Division of light & darkness	**One: the Trinity** (Benson: *ortus*)	Adam to Noah	**4**	Adornment of luminous nature	**Four: the Incarnation** (Benson: *fructus* & *ortus*)	David to Babylonian exile
2	Division of water & air	**Two: Creation** (Benson: *ortus*)	Noah to Abraham	**5**	Adornment of trans-lucent nature	**Five: Grace** (Benson: *modus*)	Exile to Christ
3	Division of water & land	**Three: Sin** (Benson: *modus*)	Abraham to David	**6**	Adornment of opaque nature	**Six: the Sacraments** (Benson: *fructus*)	Christ until end of world
				7		**Seven: Final Judgment** (Benson: *status*)	Repose of Christ (until the General Resurrection)

Both Benson and Shelby submit that Part Five describes the *modus* of re-creation. Benson points out that grace 'functions as the *modus* of our re-creation, which heals the *modus* of sin introduced into creation in Part Three.'[156] If we consider that even apart from healing the wounds of sin, grace in fact renews creation itself through the medium of the Incarnation, we can see how grace parallels creation, and hence Part Two of the *Breviloquium*. In the first chapter of Part Five, grace is described as a gift 'by which the soul is perfected.' With grace, 'we receive the Holy Spirit, the uncreated gift.'[157] Further, grace is

[156] Benson (2014), 256; Shelby (2017), 222-223.

[157] Both quotes are from Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,1,2.

an influence that 'renders the soul dei-form.'[158] Here Bonaventure explains that the 'image of our mind' is restored to likeness with the blessed Trinity and adds: 'Just as the image of God emanates immediately from God, so too does the likeness of God, which is the same image but in its God-conformed perfection. It is called, therefore, the image of the new creation.'[159]

The parallel between Part Two and what we have described of Part Five above is also evident in the following passage. In the final and twelfth chapter of part two he explains that all creatures are related to and dependent on their Creator in three ways: as vestiges, images and/or likenesses. This excerpt clearly anticipates the beginning chapter of Part Five:

> [All creatures] may be referred to their Creator in three ways: namely as the principle who creates them, the end who motivates them, or the gift who dwells within them. All creatures are related to the Creator in the first way, all intelligences in the second, and all spirits that are just and acceptable to God in the third. For every effect, however little it may partake in being, has God as its principle; every intelligence, how little it may partake in light, has been made to attain God through knowledge and love; and every just and holy spirit possesses the Holy Spirit as an infused gift (*donum*).[160]

[158] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,1,3.

[159] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,1,3.

[160] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,12,1.

Bonaventure's emphatically pneumatological teaching on grace, encapsulated in the title of Part Five: 'On the Grace of the Holy Spirit,' which avoids Peter Lombard's position that identifies grace with the Uncreated Gift,[161] also highlights the fundamental point that grace is the created gift which comes to us with the uncreated Holy Spirit. 'Truly,' Bonaventure declares, 'together with grace and in it, we receive the Holy Spirit, the uncreated gift.'[162] Thus, by thinking of grace in tandem with nature and creation we are also led to understand the importance of the distinction between nature and grace that first arose in Part Two in order to contemplate the surpassing gift of what it is for the creature to participate in the divine life of the Creator.

Light and Grace

We turn now to the comparison Bonaventure draws between light and grace. This may be clarified by considering the discussion of the question in his commentary on the second book of the *Sentences* (d.26, a.1, q.2) regarding whether the effect of grace in the sanctified person is created or uncreated.[163] In this discussion Bonaventure draws a parallel between the nature of grace as an 'influence' on the rational creature and the informing role of light in creation, and provides a basis for understanding the similar teaching of the *Breviloquium*.

[161] Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum quatuor libri* Bk 1, d.17, p.1, ch.1.

[162] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,1,2.

[163] See Shelby (2017), 220.

'Among all corporeal things, the influence of light is best likened to the grace of God.'[164] In the *Breviloquium* too Bonaventure describes grace as a 'God-conforming influence.'[165] He does not come 'down in the terms of the immutable divine essence, but rather through an influence that emanates from God.'[166] And still, grace is primarily 'bestowed and infused directly by God.'[167] God is the immediate source of this 'inflowing': *immediate donatur a Deo tamquam a principio influxivo*. The 'grace which makes pleasing' (*gratia gratum faciens*) is by no means a naturally implanted habit but 'only a free gift divinely infused.'[168]

Bonaventure makes the point that grace restores the image of the rational mind to likeness with the Blessed Trinity, 'not only in terms of its order of origin, but also in terms of its rectitude of choice and of its rest (*quietudinem fruitionis*) in enjoying [God].'[169]

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[164] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.26, a.1, q.2, concl. (*Unde inter omnia corporalia maxime assimilatur gratiae Dei luminis influentia*).

[165] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,1,3.

[166] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,1,3.

[167] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,1,2. See also Schmutz (2009), 215-218 on the link he draws between the noetic *influentia* of uncreated truth on the rational soul and the *influentia* of grace on the human soul. The idea, systematized by Bonaventure (according to Schmutz) treats *influentia* as 'no longer an influence of intelligences *in* the soul, but as an influence of supernatural light *with* the soul.' (p. 215)

[168] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,1,5.

[169] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,1,3.

Incidentally, Shelby proposes that these words of Bonaventure 'might very well hold the key to the interpretation of Part V.'[170] This is an accurate observation, though it should also be noted that not only does Bonaventure's saying incorporate all three categories of *ortus*, *modus*, and *fructus*, as Shelby explains her assessment; it also contains the signs that those structural elements are based on an underlying influence of Genesis 1. Bonaventure elaborates the passage, on grace enabling the image (the mind) to make choices in accordance with the its true end, that of resting in the enjoyment of God. We have already observed the importance that rest (*status* or *quies*) holds throughout the *Breviloquium*. In this passage he also maintains the distinction between the image and the likeness. The likeness or *similitudo* is the image but in its God-conforming perfection, which he terms 'the image of the new creation'. Bonaventure summarises and concludes chapter one: 'For not only is it [grace] given freely by God, it also conforms to God and leads to God as an end, so that the work [*opus*] that came from God might return to God. In this way, it achieves, in the manner of an intelligible circle, the fulfilment of all rational spirits.'[171] Thus the work of creation is complete and brought to rest. Originating from God, the rational creature returns to God, completing the conceptual circle that for Bonaventure is a symbol of the six days.

It would also be worthwhile making some remarks about a section of chapter 4 which stands out for the reception of the hexameral themes at least in the formal and rhetorical aspect. It is brief but bursts with theological insight into the distinct activities of grace and

[170] Shelby (2017), 228.

[171] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,1,6.

charity, which is brilliantly illuminated by the analogy drawn on the one hand between grace and the virtues, and on the other between light and colour. The habits of the virtues, Bonaventure comments, can be either unformed without charity, or formed through grace and charity.[172] There is a rectitude of virtues that derives from grace 'radically and originally' and there is a rectitude that derives from charity, 'which is their source, their form, and their end.'[173] A person may possess the first four (cardinal) virtues of prudence, temperance, fortitude and justice, but there is a greater and more abiding rectitude that consists of the final three (theological) virtues of faith, hope and charity. And charity, being the greatest, is the form of them all. Charity alone is the form of the virtues. 'When we possess these other virtues without grace and charity, which is their life, they are formless; but when grace is poured upon them, they gain form: they are adorned and become acceptable to God.' In other words, the cardinal virtues must be brought to fulfilment, attain

[172] See Emery (1983), 209-211. Emery well summarizes Bonaventure on this theme: 'As unformed matter acquires its perfection by a gradual eduction of the potent forms implanted in it by the Father of lights, as the sun's illumination exposes the diverse colors of bodies, as the divine illumination of the mind reveals the significance of the multiform wisdom expressed in the created world, so the infused light of grace draws the cardinal virtues to their formal perfection.' (210-11)

[173] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,4,6: *Postremo, quoniam omnis rectitudo virtutum secundum esse gratuitum manat a gratia tanquam ab origine et radice; et secundum esse meritorium comparatur ad caritatem sicut ad originem, formam et finem* (*Opera omnia* V:256b).

their final perfection by the illumination of the three theological virtues of faith, hope and charity.[174] The language of hexameral formation and adornment appears to inform his doctrine of the virtues. Kent Emery summarises Bonaventure on this point: 'As created light, the image of God's diffusive goodness, binds together and energizes being in every degree, and is the common form of all bodies, so the virtue of charity binds together and energizes the diverse virtues of the moral life, and is the common form of them all.'[175] What is at one time mere being becomes beautiful being, or what is freely given existence (*esse gratuitum*) becomes meritorious being (*esse meritorium*). Bonaventure makes the comparison with the sun and the colour of things:

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[174] Emery (1983), 209. As Kent Emery puts it: 'Unless illumined by the three virtues of faith, hope and charity, the cardinal virtues are unable to attain to their final perfection, incapable of actualizing their inherent potential. In both the orders of knowing and right living, nature is frustrated without grace.'

[175] Emery (1983), 211. Emery also notes (p. 210) that like light, the virtue of justice has both a specific and a generic role to play. Just as justice is directed to oneself and to a neighbour, it can be directed to God Himself in the forms of adoration, piety and obedience (5,4,5). When directed to the self or other, it is a specific, cardinal virtue. Directed to God, it has the character of rectifying the whole soul and therefore of the will leading to moral perfection. 'At once a particular and general virtue, justice is analogous to physical light, which is both a particular accident of bodies, and the common form embracing them all.' (Cf. 2 *Sent*., d.13, a.2, q.2 [II:319-20]

> In the same way, colours are invisible without light (*luce*); but when the light (*lumine*) falls upon them, they become luminous (*lucidi*), beautiful, and pleasing to the eye. Thus, in terms of their cause, light (*lux*) and the various colours are but one, and one light is sufficient to make many colours visible. Likewise, in terms of grace and unformed habits, when the latter are formed, they are one with grace in terms of their being gratuitous and meritorious; and the one grace suffices to convey form and acceptability to the various virtuous habits.[176]

In Chapter 8 too, we detect the hexameral significance of charity in Bonaventure's thinking and its fundamental relation to grace's role in bringing the rational soul back to its divine source. The two commandments that direct our love toward God and neighbour are after all 'the sum of all the precepts and fullness of all Scripture.'[177] The chapter commences with what it is we should love. He begins the chapter: 'While all the divine works are *very good*, there are only four things we should love in a proper sense out of charity: the eternal God, that which we are, our neighbour and our body.'[178] Charity, after all 'is the root, form, and end of the virtues, relating them all to the final end and binding them all to one another simultaneously and in orderly fashion.'[179] I cannot but remark at the ordering principle of charity and its comparison to light, or wonder if the allusion to the critical question of whether the formation of the world was simultaneous or in stages, is not also an effect of

[176] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,4,6.

[177] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,8,5.

[178] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,8,1.

[179] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,8,5.

the hexaëmeron on Bonaventure' thinking. 'A right and ordered love, called charity, bears us principally to that good in whom it finds its enjoyment and repose. This good is itself our reason for loving.'[180]

Concluding Remarks

The question that needs to be asked is: is Bonaventure's concerted interest in summing up almost everything in sevens, and sevens of sevens, merely rhetorical, or is there a deeper, and underlying reason that ought to be connected to the importance of the hexaëmeron throughout his work? The treatment he gives to the subject of charity seems to indicate the latter. This includes both the conceptual and informing role of light in the hexaëmeron and its parallel to the function of charity vis-à-vis the virtues. It also involves the structural parallel between nature in Part Two and grace in Part Five, which underscores the adornment and perfection of the hexameral concept of creation and distinction in the first half of the *Breviloquium*.

Part Six: On the Sacramental Remedy

The sixth and penultimate division of the *Breviloquium* summarizes the theology of the seven sacraments. Just as Part Two corresponded thematically to Part Five, so Part Three is counter-balanced by Part Six, whereby the corruption of sin is remedied by the healing sacraments. This reflects the hexameral arrangement of the *Breviloquium*. In analysing the content of this section, it is argued here that the enumeration of seven sacraments is indeed associated in Bonaventure's mind with the hexaëmeron. Finally, two of the seven

[180] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,8,2.

sacraments manifest the distinctive character of Genesis: Holy Orders and Matrimony, which are located in the final two chapters of Part Three (chapters 12 and 13).

It is important to recognise the hexameral thread in Bonaventure's thought particularly when, on significant matters, such as the question of the number of the Church's sacraments, he makes the following statement as a matter of principle: 'Concerning the number and division of the sacraments of the new law, the following points must be held: that they are seven in number corresponding to the sevenfold grace which, through the seven ages of time, leads us back to our origin, to repose, and to the circle of eternity, as to an eighth age, that of universal resurrection.'[181] The original seven days are not referred to. Nonetheless they are implied as the origin of the seven ages, in the sabbath notion of repose, which is the end to which these ages lead, and in the image of the circle. This broad statement of Bonaventure continues a recurring theme throughout the *Breviloquium*. As Dominic Monti explains insightfully of the *Breviloquium* in general,

> Certainly the number seven immediately calls to mind the Genesis creation account, a divinely orchestrated six-stage process culminating in a seventh state of sabbath rest, but Bonaventure believes this also sets the pattern for God's other interactions with humanity. As he says, he is convinced this same pattern is reflected in Scripture, and it is logical that the body of the text of the

[181] Bonaventure, Breviloquium 6,3,1.

> *Breviloquium*, which "hands down and explains" the way God relates with humanity, would also follow it.[182]

J.A. Wayne Hellman and T. Alexander Giltner too in their analysis of Part Six of the *Breviloquium* hone in on the issue: 'The seven-fold pattern in which God created the world in seven days is recaptured in the healing of the created world through the remedy of the seven sacraments.'[183]

While Hugh of St. Victor and the scholastics settled on seven sacraments, in the *Breviloquium* there is also mention of other subordinate 'sacraments' that existed in the times of the Old Testament: under the 'natural law,' such as oblations, sacrifices, and tithes; and under the 'written law': circumcision, rites of expiation, and other augmented kinds of offerings.[184] The seven new sacraments 'under the law of grace' fulfil and abolish the former

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[182] Monti (2017), 9-10 refers to Bonaventure's statement in *Hexaëmeron* 16,10: 'It is according to it [the number seven] that God organizes the course of this world, and Scripture which describes its progress: and it is according to this same number that it must be handed down and explained.'

[183] Hellman & Giltner (2017), 246.

[184] Bonaventure, Breviloquium 6,2,1. Bonaventure quotes Augustine at 2,10,6 who said that the Tree of Life was not only food, but also sacrament. This is not mentioned in Part Six. W. Hellmann in *A Companion to Bonaventure* states that the list of "seven sacraments" 'first appeared in 1147 in the anonymous *Sententiae divinitatis*, a text formed in the school of Gilbert of Poitiers': Hellmann (2014), 333. However, the treatise, *De sacramentis,* by 'Master

signs and 'now clearly demonstrate the presence of grace' and each 'commemorates the passion of the Lord, the origin and font of healing grace, both for those who lived before Christ as well as for us.'[185] Like Peter Lombard, he describes them as kinds of 'medicine'.[186] The sacraments are a remedy given by God to heal the wounds of original and actual sin. A sacrament is a divinely instituted sensible sign and remedy that confers grace, remedies vice, and sanctifies souls. Under cover of sensible signs through which divine power operates they are also, as subordinate ends, means of humiliation, instruction and exercise.[187] Hence, they 'would also instruct through their signification, humble when received, and prompt to action by their diversity.' In this way they target sloth in the positive appetite, ignorance in the rational power and pride in the negative appetite. 'Thus the whole soul would become open to healing by the grace of the Holy Spirit, which reforms us with respect to these three powers into the image of the Trinity and Christ.'[188]

The sacraments essentially involve both the material elements and the words instituted by Christ in order to 'convey insight into what they signify and to make them effective

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Simon,' also contains the list of seven sacraments, and is usually dated to 1245. See Piolanti (1990), 222.

[185] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,2,4.

[186] Peter Lombard, *4 Sent*., 2,1.

[187] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,1,2.

[188] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,1,4, for both quotes.

means of sanctification.'[189] In the first chapter, Bonaventure makes reference to original sin as taking its occasion from the bodily senses, arguing for the necessity of sacramental signs, the primary purpose of which is to remedy the sin committed by the embodied spirit: the principle of restoration is Christ crucified, the Incarnate Word, 'the invisible God in a visible nature.' The patient, humankind is 'neither pure spirit nor flesh alone, but spirit in mortal flesh.' Since original sin took its occasion from the bodily senses, affecting the mind and spiritual faculties, it was necessary that the spiritual cure be indicated by a sensible sign. 'In this way, as sensible objects had been the occasion of the fall of the soul, they might also become the occasion of its rising.'[190]

It is on account of Bonaventure's emphatic treatment of the sacraments as remedies that supports reading Part Six as the fulfilment of Part Three, which explains the 'corruption of sin.' Understanding the sacraments as medicinal and restorative of fallen and corrupted humanity manifests the goodness and mercy of God and matches the general hexameral idea of creation-distinction-adornment/completion. It also leads us to an alternative view, to that of Joshua Benson, who described the sacramental system as the '*fructus* of the movement of re-creation,' in his argument that the *Breviloquium*'s Parts are structured according to *ortus-modus-fructus*.[191] If the sacraments are seen as the divine healing

[189] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,4,1. See Hellmann (2014), 333-357 on what it means for Bonaventure that Christ instituted the sacraments.

[190] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,1,3.

[191] Benson (2014), 256.

response to sin and the reformation of the soul in 'our pilgrim state',[192] they ought not be understood as ends but as means, and therefore be subsumed under the Bonaventure's category of *modus*/*progressus*. This category, rather than that of *status* or *fructus* expresses Bonaventure's contention that the manner of Scripture's proceeding corresponds to the demands of human capacity.[193] The sacraments are for this age only. For they are part of the Christian journey and not the goal; they are ordered to the finality of the sabbath in which there will no longer be sacraments. Could that not also be a reason for their placement in the sixth Part of the seven-part *Breviloquium*? Certainly, the cure from the weakness of the soul's vices is the final end of the sacraments.[194] But these sacred signs are not themselves humanity's final end. As Bonaventure indicates earlier in Part One, while theology is concerned with the supreme cause as the remedy for sins, it is also concerned with God as 'the reward of meritorious deeds and the goal of human desires.'[195]

The seven sacraments of this age of grace fulfil those of the natural and written laws of the Old Testament. This is in keeping with the perspective that the sixth day finds its culmination in Holy Spirit's transformation of the image of God into the image of the Trinity and of Christ.[196] Furthermore, it fits with Bonaventure's argument that God instituted and

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[192] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,9,3.

[193] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol. i, 1.

[194] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,1,2.

[195] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,1,3.

[196] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,1,4.

formed the world in such a way that suited the divine rhetorical purpose of communicating with the creature according to the capacity of the recipient. As Bonaventure put it in his chapter on the sacrament of the Eucharist: 'As so he gave us a sacrifice, a sacrament, and a food in a form that would be appropriate for the age in which grace is revealed, with our pilgrim state, and with our own capacity.'[197]

Bonaventure began his treatment of the sacraments: 'So now, in the sixth place, we must consider the sacramental remedy. There are seven points that should be treated in this regard; that is, we must examine their source, variation, distinction, institution, administration, repetition, and finally, the integrity of each sacrament in particular.'[198] While there are three things that must concur for the perfect cure of the sacraments: expulsion of sickness, restoration of health, and the maintenance of health once restored,[199] there are seven aspects that correspond to each of these three ends. The perfect expulsion of sickness must target the sevenfold disease that is comprised of three forms of sin: original, mortal and venial, and four forms of penalty: ignorance, malice, weakness and concupiscence. There are therefore seven remedies against a sevenfold disease: Baptism against original sin, Penance against mortal sin, Extreme Unction against venial sin, Holy Orders against ignorance, Eucharist against malice, Confirmation against weakness, Matrimony against concupiscence.[200] The restoration of health consists of the seven virtues

[197] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,9,3.

[198] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,1,1.

[199] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,3,2.

[200] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,3,2.

– three theological and four cardinal. Finally, Bonaventure describes the maintenance of health once restored in the language of spiritual warfare, and this too requires a sevenfold grace.

> And so Baptism is designed for those just entering the flight, Confirmation for those engaged in combat, the Eucharist for those refreshing their strength, Penance for those rising from their sickbeds, Extreme Unction for those who are departing, Orders for those who break in the new recruits, and Matrimony for those who provide these recruits. And so it is evident that the sacramental remedies and armaments are both sufficient and orderly.[201]

The ordering of the seven sacraments to the cure of the sevenfold disease of sin as well as the language of spiritual combat underscore the parallels between Parts Six and Three. This correspondence recalls the hexameral arrangement of the *Breviloquium* in which the corresponding second pair of three days express the adornment or perfection of the first three days of formation or distinction. Restoration and re-creation fall within the first category and therefore ready the soul, pointing to the goal to which the sacraments as sacred signs are ordered, that is, the adornment of glory and the perfection of humanity's repose in God.

We now turn to the content of Part Six by analysing the two sacraments that manifest a marked reception of hexameral themes in the *Breviloquium*.

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[201] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,3,4.

Holy Orders

In chapter 12, Bonaventure observes that 'although [Holy] Orders is but one of the seven sacraments, it contains within itself seven grades.'[202] Priesthood forms the seventh grade preceded by those of porter, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, and deacon. There are clearly observable signs of the influence of Pseudo-Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* on Bonaventure's reasoning that God has established the integrity of Orders as a sacred sign that imparts 'order, distinction and power for the purpose of dispensing the other sacraments in a distinctive, effective, and orderly manner.'[203] Holy Orders is firstly a sign that distinguishes an individual as 'one totally dedicated to the worship of God' and secondly a sign that 'both confers order and is ordered within itself' consisting in 'a distinction and separation and differentiation of grades, conforming to the demands of the sevenfold grace for the dispensation of which the sacrament of Orders is principally intended.'[204] But the treatment of the sacrament of holy orders also differs notably from that of Pseudo-Dionysius in that Bonaventure places the emphasis on the Priesthood as the culmination (*status*) of all the six grades of orders, marked out as principally ordered to consecrate the 'sacrament of the body of Christ, in which resides the fullness of all

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[202] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,12,1.

[203] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,12,2. Ps-Dionysius, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 5,1,1 (500D): '...this hierarchy in its purity has rejected and abandoned everything of disorder, of disharmony, and of confusion. Rather, it has manifested the order, the harmony and the distinction proportionate to the sacred orders within it.'

[204] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,12,4.

graces.'[205] For Dionysius, the sacred orders are triply divided into a cohesive and harmonious communion of first, middle and ultimate hierarchical grades: The purification of the uninitiated belongs to the diaconate , the illumination and initiation of the purified to the priests, and finally the enlightenment to perfect understanding of the initiates belongs to the rank of the hierarch, or bishop.[206] When Bonaventure speaks of the episcopacy, he gives a perfunctory nod to the ranks of bishop, patriarch, and Pope 'as a perfection (*complementum*)' just as he treats the degrees of clerical tonsure and psalmist 'as a preparation' below the grades of orders.[207] Nor do we see in Bonaventure the Dionysian emphasis on the priesthood as the medium of illumination. The imagery is cultic and ordered to the sacrifice of the Eucharist. 'For it is the role of the priest to consecrate the

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[205] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,12,4.

[206] Ps-Dionysius, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 5,1,2-3 (501D-504C). My assessment of Bonaventure's treatment of the sacrament of orders vis-à-vis the Dionysian *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* should not be taken as undermining the episcopal rank, but for the hexameral emphasis Bonaventure places on the ministry of the priesthood *per se* and its fundamental link to the celebration of the Eucharist as the highest of the sacraments. The way Bonaventure builds his argument both conforms to and departs from Dionysius. Nothing could be more expressive of the pyramidical-hierarchical image of the Church than the praise for the papacy that is Bonaventure's treatment of these episcopal ranks reaching their pinnacle in 'the unique, first, supreme father of all spiritual fathers and of all the faithful as well.' (*Breviloquium* 6,12,5).

[207] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,12,1.

sacrament of the body of Christ, in which resides the fullness of all graces.'[208] He speaks of the six grades of orders as attendants to the Sacrament of the Altar, 'resembling the steps leading up to the throne of Solomon.'[209] Bonaventure refers to the number six as the 'first perfect number' and to seven as the 'most perfect of all' for in the Sacrament of the Altar all the other ranks leading to the seventh, the priesthood, 'are consummated in one order, as an ultimate and perfect end.'[210]

In this context Bonaventure's reference to the throne of Solomon along with the orientation of the minor orders to the Eucharist suggests not so much a royal throne as Solomon himself, the man of peace and of rest (1 Chron 22:9). If the hexaëmeron was informing his thinking on the sacrament of orders, Bonaventure was ahead of his time in pre-empting the Documentary hypothesis of Genesis 1 as 'Priestly doctrine.'[211] In any case, there is a considerable case to be made in current Biblical scholarship for the parallels between the creation account and the construction of both the tabernacle (Ex 39-40) and Solomon's Temple (I Kgs 6-8 and I Chron 22), which was seen as a new creation and a microcosm of the world.[212]

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[208] Bonaventure, *Brevilquium* 6,12,4.

[209] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,12,4.

[210] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,12,4. My translation.

[211] See Von Rad (1972), 47.

[212] Morrow (2009), 6.

Matrimony

Bonaventure introduces the sacrament of marriage in line with Peter Lombard's definition: 'a legitimate union of male and female, maintaining a single sharing of life,' ordered to the three benefits of 'fidelity, offspring and the sacrament itself.'[213] Having treated six of the sacraments, finally, in seventh place, Bonaventure considers matrimony, here also following Lombard's ordering. Drawing attention to this final placement, Bonaventure comments that matrimony was in fact instituted first. While in his view it is the least sanctifying of all sacraments, it receives special attention because it was the first 'natural' sacrament and was introduced into creation in the beginning. He appeals to the primeval origins of its dignity as a sacrament in Genesis, lest anyone should disparage its value: 'Although Matrimony is placed last because of the disease of concupiscence linked to it, nonetheless it was established before all the others – in paradise, and even before sin.'[214]

Contrasting Holy Orders as a sacrament that replenishes on the level of spiritual existence with matrimony as the sacrament of natural existence, he says that priesthood 'has the function of administering the sacraments' and that marriage 'replenishes the multitude of humanity in their natural existence, the foundation of everything else.'[215] In a sense, the two sacraments hint at the twofold good of humanity divinely bestowed in the beginning, which Bonaventure had described in Part Two as 'one corporeal, the other

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[213] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,13,1. Peter Lombard, *4 Sent*. 27,2. Augustine, *De genesi ad litteram* 9,7,12.

[214] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,3,1.

[215] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,3,4.

spiritual,'[216] or according to the double commands of nature and of discipline: '*Increase and multiply*, and *Of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat*.'[217] The first precept concerned the preservation of the good bestowed by God, the other pertained to the call to merit the good that was promised, broadly indicating the two kinds of grace today we call 'gratuitous' and 'sanctifying' (*gratia gratis data* and *gratia gratum faciens* in scholastic terms). This is not to imply that marriage is not sanctifying; rather, what informs Bonaventure's thinking here is, on the one hand, the preservation of the human race, and on the other, the spiritual power conferred on the ordained for the sake of divine worship, the consecration of the Eucharist, and the administration of all other sacraments.[218]

Not only did the marital union exist before sin, even in the beginning it was a symbol of the union between God and the soul. Now, in the age of grace, it signifies the union of Christ with the Church and even the hypostatic union.[219] The emphasis that Bonaventure places on marriage as a sacrament that begins with creation itself balances the perception that it is the 'the sacrament with the least sanctifying power.'[220] In a sense a sacrament both before

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[216] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,11,4. Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis* 1,6,6.

[217] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,11,1.

[218] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,12,1; 6,12,3-5.

[219] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,13,1.

[220] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,3,4. Like Augustine, he considers the marital act to be always accompanied by concupiscence.

and after the fall, matrimony receives from the Incarnate Christ its fulfilment in the Age of Grace, hence in the sixth age.[221]

The connection Bonaventure draws between matrimony and the priesthood as ordered respectively to natural and spiritual progeny, both of which share a subtext in the biblical account of origins, is given further support in the analysis of Part Six by Giltner and Hellmann:

> The history of sacraments begins in creation itself. Sacraments then develop through the period of the Written Law and achieve fulfilment within the New Law of Grace, as the sixth day, but even within this fulfilment, sacraments point beyond the completion of salvation history on the seventh day, even into the eighth day. Sacraments cannot be considered independently of each other nor independent of their specific time and place in the history of salvation.[222]

The foundation of the sacrament of matrimony in the hexameral tradition is also suggested in Bonaventure's reasoning that the uncreated Word is the formative cause (*formativum*) of humankind by virtue of wisdom and its restorative cause (*reformativum*) by virtue of the Incarnate Word's mercy, 'precisely because, in his wisdom, he had originally made it restorable.'[223] Christ is the source of wisdom for the formation of human natural

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[221] Cf. Hellmann & Giltner (2017), 270; *Breviloquium* 6,13,2: 'Matrimony was a sacrament both before and after the fall, but it differed as to its meaning and purpose.'

[222] Hellmann & Giltner (2017), 270-71.

[223] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,13,2.

existence and source of goodness for its spiritual reformation by virtue of his mercy. The Christological richness of the text which holds to the Bonaventurian emphasis on Christ as *medium* also implies the hexameral concept of the world's formation in wisdom and its reformation and adornment in goodness.

Not only did God make the human race 'able to stand upright' and 'able to fall' but he also made it 'able to be restored.' At one time the means of propagation before the fall made them 'stand upright in God's sight;' now in the age of grace matrimony is a remedy to the concupiscence associated with procreation, which passes on original sin (*morbum*). [224]

Bonaventure's positive outlook of marriage before the Fall raises some interesting theological insights. In the beginning, marriage was a symbol of the union (*coniunctio*) of God and the soul. After the fall, it was to signify the union of God with human nature, and of Christ with the Church. Why did God decree that the pre-lapsarian union of God and humanity be signified by the one flesh union of *male and female*? The reason, Bonaventure tells us, is that in view of humanity's restorability, the remedy to the fall came about in the union of the divine and human natures in the one Person, 'a unity, I say, introduced by

[224] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,13,2. In the *Breviloquium* at 2,10,5 mention is made of Peter Lombard's description of the ability not to die and the ability to die (2 *Sentences* 19,2). Is the ability to be restored a novel concept, and if so, did Bonaventure introduce it? 'For God made the human race able to stand upright, able to fall, and able to be restored, as we have shown in the preceding chapters.' (*Breviloquium* 6,13,2).

divine grace as singular and individual.'[225] In other words, God introduced matrimony as the one-flesh union (Gen 2:24) between male and female in view of the future union that would exist between the divine and human natures in the Person of Jesus Christ. 'Only then do the parties become one flesh and one body, and it is in this that the union between Christ and ourselves is fully signified.'[226] Genesis 1:27 and 2:24 are certainly important in Bonaventure's chapter on marriage, and its reception must be understood in terms of the ecclesiological union of Christ and the Church, but also the Christological doctrine of the hypostatic union. Bonaventure's doctrine suggests how the Genesis narrative, in both the hexameral opening chapter and the second account of the creation in chapter 2, provides an emphatically positive understanding of the dignity of the sacrament of marriage.

Concluding Remarks

Bonaventure's treatment of the seven sacraments reflects the reception of Genesis 1, whereby Parts three and six are parallel respectively as the third of the days of distinction and adornment. Thus the sacraments are remedies to the corruption of sin that were described in Part Three, and are ordered to the soul's sanctification through grace in Christ. Just as sin had corrupted nature and creation, so the grace of the sacraments is expressed in the terms of re-creation and restoration of the rational creature, as mediated by the

[225] My translation: *unitatem, inquam, divina gratia introductam ut singularem et individuam* (*Breviloquium* 6,13,2).

[226] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 6,13,3: N.B. that the human being is a union of two natures (body and soul) of maximum distance from each other within the genus substance united in a single person or nature. See *Breviloquium* 2,10,3.

Incarnate Word. The numbering of the seven sacraments, while conforming to the standard scholastic treatment, should also be understood to be recapturing the original seven days of Genesis 1. In particular, the final two sacraments treated shed light on the underlying potential of Genesis to draw attention to the organic unity between holy orders and matrimony in terms of the mystery of the unions of Christ and the Church, and of the humanity and divinity in the Incarnate Word.

The treatment of matrimony in the *Breviloquium* suggests that Bonaventure does not understand restoration as the fulfilment of creation merely as a Divine afterthought to deal with the mess brought about in the drama of the fall. The idea of restoration pre-exists in the mind of the Creator, as the first chapter of the First Part, 'On the Trinity of God' tells us: theology does not merely go beyond where philosophy cannot enter, rather, 'it considers that [Divine] cause as the *remedy* for sins' because theology is 'the only perfect wisdom, for it begins with the supreme cause as the principle of all things that are caused.'[227]

Part Seven: On the Repose of the Final Judgment

In the 'seventh and final' division, Bonaventure draws his 'summa' of theology to a close. The sabbath section of the *Breviloquium*, *De statu finalis iudicii*, 'On the Repose of the Final Judgment,' consists of seven chapters summarizing Bonaventure's eschatological teaching: he begins with the subject of judgment in general, then proceeds to the punishment of purgatory (Chapter 2), and to the suffrages of the Church (Chapter 3). The latter two chapters form what Bonaventure terms the 'antecedents of the judgment.' Chapter 4, on the conflagration of fire, and chapter 5, on the resurrection of bodies, form the

[227] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 1,1,3; emphasis added.

'concomitants of the judgment.' The sixth chapter concerns 'the consequents to the judgment: the infernal punishment.' The seventh chapter is the longest and stands apart simply as 'the glory of paradise.' Part Seven is, in its arrangement, the *Breviloquium* in microcosm. In fact, this final section bears a structure that is not found in any other of the *Breviloquium*'s Parts, but reflects the structure of the whole seven-part macrocosm with a central, fourth chapter that governs the meaning of the whole. This becomes particularly evident when read according to Bonaventure's expansive, hexameral vision.

He introduces Part Seven, saying that he wants to 'somehow briefly touch upon the *status* of the final judgment.'[228] Monti's translation of *status* as 'repose' — correctly noting that '*status*' connotes more than a neutral 'state,' — is apt.[229] Hughes and Winters' caution

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[228] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,1,1. Translation mine: *aliqua breviter tangere de statu finalis iudicii.*

[229] Monti (2005), 265, ft. 1. On the word '*status,*' Bonaventure speaks of 'the seven *status* of the Church through a succession of the seven ages' (*Breviloquium* 2,5,10). He also uses it to indicate the present age: Christ merited for us the good things of this present 'life' (*Breviloquium* 4,7,4; and see also 5,2,5 for the *status viae, status patriae, status merendi* etc.). It also indicates rank or dignity, per the eminence (*status*) of human beings that derived from their familiarity with God in the pre-lapsarian state (*Breviloquium* 6,13,2). It is used in contrast with *habitus*, in the context of the diversity of rewards given at judgement, 'not only in regard to the inner graces but also to their outward activities; not only in regard to *habitus*, but also to *status*' (*Breviloquium* 7,7,5). Monti's translation of the latter phrase: 'not only in regard to interior disposition (*habitus*), but also in eternal powers (*status*).' This

that the translation not lead to ignorance of Joachim of Fiore's division of Church history into three 'statuses' corresponding to each Trinitarian Person may be relevant; so too their attribution of the word to Bonaventure's purported attempts to bring the word into mainstream orthodox usage.[230] None of this precludes an understanding of *status* according to the hexameral structure that characterizes the *Breviloquium*.

Rather than associate the terminology of *status* with the age of the Holy Spirit, as envisaged by the Spiritual Franciscans, Bonaventure adopts the word as a narrative device to outline the structure of this work, and of theology in general. *Status* in this sense is the

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is a difficult passage, though I wonder whether *habitus* here should be translated as 'appearance'/ 'condition', and *status* as 'rank'?

[230] Hughes & Winter (2017), 274. For a contrasting view, one that detects an apocalyptic subtext in the *Breviloquium*, see Coyle (2018), 99-135. In their overview of the final Part of Bonaventure's *Breviloquium*, Hughes and Winter draw attention to the historical context in which Bonaventure composed the work and argue that the choice of the word *status* recalls the idea of the three epochs or *status* attributed to the Calabrian Abbot, Joachim of Fiore, whose prophecies inspired a number Bonaventure's contemporary Franciscans to view their world as the third of Joachim's divisions of history, i.e., that of the final status of the Holy Spirit. This was supposed to have begun in 1260. Bonaventure does not refer nor allude in the *Breviloquium* to Apocalyptic themes common to the eschatology of the Franciscans, such as the Antichrist, Gog and Magog and the beasts of the Apocalypse. It should be noted that there is not even an allusion to the so-called third status of the Holy Spirit in Part Seven.

purpose, or end of 'Holy Scripture, which is called theology.'[231] As we have seen in the Prologue, Bonaventure had already outlined the structural principle of 'the source, procedure and purpose (*statum*) of Holy Scripture.' He was therefore inclined to use the word to indicate the concept of a finality culminating in sabbath repose. As such, it is also used interchangeably with *quies* ('rest'). 'The integrity of perfection necessarily requires a complete withdrawal from evil, a perfect progress in good, and a total repose in what is best (*perfectus status in optimo*).[232] The use of the word in Part Seven signals Bonaventure's purpose in bringing the final sabbath section to a fitting conclusion. In fact, the work ends in an unusually long and uninterrupted quotation of Anselm's ecstatic prayer for perfect beatitude. It culminates, therefore, in the words of Hughes and Winter, 'not with doctrine but with doxology.'[233]

The division of Part Seven of Bonaventure's eschatological discourse into seven chapters contains, if not in detail, at least in its broader structure, a metanarrative of the hexaëmeron. In the first chapter, on the judgment in general, Bonaventure considers his reasons for the universal judgement in which the consciences of the living and the dead will be revealed:

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[231] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., i.1.

[232] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,6,3.

[233] Hughes & Winter (2017), 275. Bonaventure, Breviloquium 7,7,6-9. The quotation of chapters 24-26 of Anselm's *Proslogion* takes up one and a half pages of the Quaracchi Latin edition (V:290-291) and over four in Monti's translation: (2005), 296-301.

> The first principle, by the fact of being first, exists of itself, by itself, and for itself. It is thus the efficient, formal, and final cause: creating, governing, and perfecting all things. It creates in accord with the loftiness of power, governs in accord with the rectitude of truth, and perfects in accord with the plenitude of its goodness. Now, the loftiness of the highest power requires that some creatures be produced that are not only vestiges, but also images; creatures that are not only irrational, but also rational; creatures that are moved not only by natural instinct, but also by free will.[234]

As Bonaventure continues to explain, such a rational creature is capable of being instructed; and a creature with free will is capable of ordered and disordered actions. 'Therefore the rectitude of truth necessarily imposes on human beings a law inviting them to blessedness, and instructing them in truth.'[235] Since the divine goodness, which perfects creatures, also works according to the rectitude of truth and the loftiness of power, and does so by directing creatures to exercise their own proper movements, which are not contrary to their free will, blessedness is granted only to those 'who have observed the justice which was imposed by the rectitude of truth and who have accepted instruction and have loved that highest and eternal blessedness more than transitory goods.'[236] The universal judgment follows therefore in order to manifest the same power, truth and goodness of God. Bonaventure's reasoning explains the end in terms of the beginning; he

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[234] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,1,2

[235] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,1,2.

[236] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,1,2.

describes the final judgment in terms of the nature of the rational creature made in the image of God. This is again consistent with the association we have so often observed in Bonaventure's thought: creation in six days *and* the Divine attributes of power, wisdom and goodness. But it is the creation of the 'image' that occasions the necessity of judgment because only the image is rational and can freely choose to merit or to sin, hence the need for a judgment to determine rewards for the just and punishments for the impenitent wicked.

The fourth chapter forms the centre of Part Seven. This is surely not accidental. Recall that the subject of the fourth and central Part of the *Breviloquium* concerns the Incarnation of the Word, which is the pivotal section of the work, and begins the renewal or re-creation of all things in Christ. Chapter Four of Part Seven, on 'The Conflagration of Fire,' concerns the consummation of the world by fire for re-creation and not for destruction.[237] It is tied thematically to the fifth chapter, the resurrection of bodies; together the two chapters form the 'concomitants of judgement.'

Just as Christology for Bonaventure in Part Four of the *Breviloquium* signals the renewal and adornment of creation, and as the original created light of day one was adorned and perfected on day four, so the arrangement of the fourth chapter of Bonaventure's eschatological discourse functions similarly within Part Seven. The character of the fire Bonaventure describes in 7,4 is that it both initiates and completes God's final judgment of creation.[238] As we come toward the end of history, 'the present form of this world shall

[237] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,4,1.

[238] Hughes & Winter (2017), 283.

perish in a conflagration of fire, just as it was destroyed by water in the flood,' not to annihilate the material universe, but to renew the 'the elements, particularly the air and the earth.' In the conflagration, by a 'veritable concourse of fires' that consists of elemental, purgatorial and even infernal fires, the just shall be purified, the elements refined, and the damned tormented.[239] This 'true renovation leads to a newness that is no longer liable to aging.'[240] 'When all this has been accomplished, the motion of the heavens shall cease, and thus, when the number of the elect is completed, the bodies of the universe also shall, in some sense, be made new and renewed.'[241] The heavenly bodies will 'finally attain repose and the fullness of luminosity.'[242] As Bonaventure explains, when humanity fell and became disordered, the world too was damaged and disordered. So, when humanity is purified, the material world too will be purified, re-created, so 'when humanity achieves rest, it too should find repose.'[243] For all material nature is ordained toward the more noble, rational creature, when human nature will be consummated and achieve the final state of rest.[244]

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[239] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,4,4.

[240] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,4,6.

[241] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,4,4.

[242] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,4,7: *Et ideo corpora caelestia, habita quiete et luminis plenitudine, dicuntur remunerari*.

[243] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,4,3.

[244] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,4,7.

Moreover, this renewal is accompanied by the resurrection of bodies, described in Chapter 5, when 'all shall come forth, *whole and perfect, into a perfect man, into the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ* (Eph 4:13).'[245] The renewal of all creation is still not the perfection of the sabbath day, for in this consists the glorification of the resurrected bodies. That remains to be described, in the seventh chapter. Not only will the body be renewed in the resurrection, it will be glorified. The soul will enjoy a threefold 'substantial' reward of 'the vision, enjoyment and possession of the one highest good.'[246] And the resurrected body will enjoy a fourfold perfection of luminosity, subtlety, agility and impassibility whereby the material body is assimilated to the 'heavenly bodies' to be made heavenly and drawn away from the four earthly elements.[247]

There is a definite order in Bonaventure and the manner in which he sees the unfolding of God's purposes: 'the beginning will be in harmony with the intermediate stage, and the intermediate stage with the end; thus, in the perfectly fitting order of all things, the ordering wisdom, the goodness, and the loftiness of that first supreme Principle will be clearly seen.'[248] The fulfilment of the divine purposes in the eternal reward, moreover, must be understood to respect 'the rectitude of justice, the restoration of grace, and the

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[245] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,5,4.

[246] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,7,1.

[247] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,7,1; 7,7,4.

[248] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,4,3

completion of nature.'[249] Indeed, Bonaventure teaches that even according to the natural order of things, and particularly the mutual need matter and form have for each other, 'all creation proclaims that human beings are to rise from the dead.' For nature 'demands that human beings be constituted of body and soul.'[250] There is an obediential potency, or aptitude, written into the very nature of the human person. [251] Nevertheless, 'though God has imprinted this order upon nature' the longing for resurrection cannot be provided for by natural causes or the seminal reasons. It is not in the 'power of nature, but in its appetite'; everything born of nature is in fact corruptible, but divine providence is not frustrated. The disposition of the human being towards immortality will be fulfilled, but only the divine will and power can accomplish such a wonder.[252]

Bonaventure's final explanation in the *Breviloquium* elucidates the threefold reward that awaits the blessed, that is, the vision of God, the glorification of the body and the conferral of the aureole. He ties the divine trilogy of unity, truth and goodness (the first of the triads in Part One) to the attributes of power, wisdom, mercy and justice. Here, mercy and justice ought to be understood as two aspects of divine goodness. Mercy is associated with

[249] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,5,2.

[250] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,5,2.

[251] On obediential potency, see Bonaventure, *1 Sent.* 42 q.3 ad 1; *1 Sent.* 42 q.4, resp and Augustine *De Genesi ad litteram* 9,17,32.

[252] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,5,5.

restoration and justice with retribution and reward.[253] The invisible attributes of God should, Bonaventure explains, be manifest in visible works. Thus, the visible universe's creation from nothing reveals supreme power, its government supreme wisdom, its restoration supreme mercy, and its reward supreme justice.[254]

The justice that is manifested in the eternal perdition of the reprobate is sevenfold, suggesting 'the perversely sabbatical finality of punishment.'[255] Even just punishment is depicted as part of divine benevolence, as those who are eternally punished through their own fault do not receive the full extent to the penalty they deserve, according to

[253] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,6,2. On the creature's part, justice is both a cardinal virtue and 'a general virtue that comprises the rectitude of the whole soul,' directing all the soul's powers in relationship to each other and to God. See Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,7,2; 5,4,2 & 5,4,5. That punishment as well as rewards reveals the goodness of God, see *Itinerarium* 1,14.

[254] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,7,2.

[255] Hughes & Winter (2017), 289; Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,6,2. 'To this pain by fire shall be added suffering in every one of the senses, and the punishment of a worm, and the deprivation of the vision of God.' The authors also note that the heavenly reward is also part of justice: 'the just meting out of punishment to the wicked – and glory to the righteous – is required by (here they quote Bonaventure) "equitable retribution, restoration by grace, well-ordered governance, and dynamic creation (*productio virtuosa*)."' Hughes & Winter (2017), 292. Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,7,2.

Bonaventure,[256] and he paraphrases Augustine's maxim that the ugliness of sin is not without the beauty of justice.[257]

The reward of Paradise will consist of the threefold gift 'of the soul' and 'fourfold dowry,' or four perfections of the body: luminosity, subtlety, agility, and impassibility. The soul will enjoy the light of the vision of God in the intellect, eternal peace and charity in the will, and the abundance of the possession of God forever in its memory.[258] In this resurrected and glorified state the body will be subject to the spirit and the rewards given to the soul will pass over into the body reunited now as one. The body will shine with the enlightened soul's vision of eternal light; the soul's love for God will make it supremely spiritual and will be manifested in the body's 'subtlety and spirituality'; the soul's eternal life will be shared by the body's impassibility; and the soul's supreme readiness to ascend to God will give the glorified body supreme agility (through the body's being drawn away from the four earthly elements).[259] Bonaventure concludes the *Breviloquium* with the extensive quotation of Anslem's prayer for beatitude; but before introducing Anslem, he sums up: 'And so, the merit and reward of charity consists in a sevenfold endowment – triple to the soul and

[256] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 3,5,6: '…divine justice is always tempered by superabundant mercy and punishes us not more but less than we deserve.'

[257] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,6,2; Augustine, *De libero arbítrio* 3,15,44.

[258] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,7,1; 7,7,3; cf. 7,7,5.

[259] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,7,4.

fourfold to the body – containing the consummation, the integrity, and the fullness of all good related to the completion of glory.'[260]

Conclusion

Part Seven is the only section of the *Breviloquium* that contains seven chapters – apart from the Prologue. This enables it to contain, like the *Breviloquium* as a whole, a central and pivotal section (Part Four) to reflect the mediating and re-creating role of the Incarnate Word in theology. Part Seven does so by utilizing the adorning nature of the lights created on day four in association with the cleansing and renewing power of fire to bring about a new creation, thus calling attention to the hexameral pattern in the eschatology of the *Breviloquium*. The human person, created in the divine image as a rational-material unity, will in this way be purged and restored to receive fullness of light for the mind, and luminosity for the body. Part Seven in fact culminates in doctrine that surpasses the limits envisaged by the seventh day, which is beyond even the attainment of sabbath repose, for it arrives at the eighth day perfection of bodily resurrection. While the eighth day is not spoken of in this Part, its very meaning forms the most important section of Part Seven, and

[260] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,7,5. An excerpt of Anslem's prayer in the *Breviloquium* 7,7,9: 'May I receive what you promise through your Truth, so that my *joy may be complete*. O God of truth, I ask that I might receive, so that my *joy may be complete*. Until then, let my mind meditate on it, let my tongue speak of it, let my heart love it, let my mouth express it. Let my soul hunger for it; let *my flesh thirst for it*; my whole being desire it, until I *enter into the joy of* my *Lord*, who is God three and one, *blessed forever*! Amen.' Anslem, *Proslogion* (PL 158:239C-242C).

echoes what had been introduced in the Prologue.[261] There Bonaventure had pointed to the general resurrection that 'marks the beginning of the eighth age' but not developed it.[262] The final Part Seven of the *Breviloquium* therefore ought to be read in the light of the Prologue and in light of the resurrection. Thus, the Christianized hexameral structure of the work enables the sabbath section to be truly fulfilled only through a return to the beginning according to the doctrine of the eighth day.

In the final division of the *Breviloquium* Bonaventure has brought his seven-part work to *status*, or repose, in seven chapters. This concludes the work of theology we have argued possesses an hexameral structure as a whole and in a significant number of its parts. A fundamental principle of Bonaventure's summary of theology is that the creating Trinity's power, wisdom, and goodness is made visible in the hexameral pattern of creation, distinction and adornment. Hence, a universe originally made good but subsequently disordered in the fall had, in the wise foreknowledge of God, also been made restorable. Accordingly, the divine benevolence brought it about that the Creator and the rational creature should be united in one Divine Person who would restore and even glorify fallen human nature. The meaning of Scripture first treated in the Prologue is thus given expression in a systematic theological science unravelled according to the pattern set by the first seven days of Genesis.

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[261] The eighth day and the theme of the resurrection of the body are found in the *Breviloquium* at Prol.,2,1 and 6,3,1.

[262] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol.,2,1.

Chapter Three

Itinerarium mentis in Deum

Bonaventure composed his mystical opusculum, the *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* or 'Journey of the Mind to God' at Mount La Verna in 1259, two years after his appointment as Minister General and seventh successor to St Francis of Assisi.[1] The relatively short theological treatise on the soul's intellectual and mystical ascent is simultaneously metaphysical, mystical, and symbolic in content. This contributes to the work's complexity and theological richness. Bonaventure tells us in the Prologue that he was moved to write down his thoughts on 'various ascents of the mind to God' (*aliquas mentales ascensiones*) as he contemplated the significance of St. Francis's vision at La Verna of the Crucified Christ who appeared in the form of a six-winged seraph and imprinted the stigmata on the poor man of Assisi.[2] In the seraphic wings, Bonaventure contemplated a six-fold progression consisting of three pairs of steps by which the soul might ascend by a consideration of range of analogies of God beginning from His vestiges and ending with the proper divine

[1] The translation of *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* is that of Philotheus Boehner, published with notes and introduction by Stephen F Brown (1993). Any other translations will be noted. The work comprises pp. 295-313 of the fifth volume of the Quaracchi edition of the *Opera Omnia*.

[2] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* Prol., 2. The translation is taken from a study article of the *Itinerarium* by Adams (2020), 254.

attributes. The concluding, seventh stage of the work describes the soul in ecstasy, now no longer exercising the power of the mental faculties, but passing rather with the crucified Christ into peace and Sabbath rest. It should be noted that the *Itinerarium* is not the only instance of the association of the six-winged seraph and the hexaëmeron: We will see in a later chapter that Bonaventure again draws on the elevated symbol of the seraph to crown an explicitly hexameral argument.[3]

In this investigation, I argue that Bonaventure's reception of the hexaëmeron in the Journey is no less significant than the six wings of the seraph themselves, and that such a reading sheds light on critical questions regarding the structure of the work as a whole. I examine the reception of Genesis in three sections: the first section treats of the Prologue, and Chapters one and two. Here the focus will be on the first chapter in which the symbols from Genesis and the hexaëmeron are concentrated. Chapters three and four are then examined in the second section, and chapters five, six and seven in the third section.

An Ascending Hexaëmeron: Prologue and Chapters One and Two

This first part is divided into three parts: i) an examination of the convergence of the Exodus and Genesis motifs, ii) a proposal for understanding the ladder metaphor in the *Itinerarium* as 'spiral' and therefore hexameral, and iii) a discussion of a final section of the first chapter (1,14) in connection with the significance of the number seven for Bonaventure.

[3] Cf. See Chapter Four below, cf. Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum* 3,10.

i) The Motifs of Genesis and Exodus

The *Itinerarium* is the best known, and probably the most studied, work of Bonaventure.[4] It offers his synthesis of the Dionysian tradition and Augustine, the Victorines (Hugh, Richard and Thomas Gallus) and Anselm of Canterbury. Additionally, we cannot but note the influence of the first chapter of Genesis in the work, as evident firstly in the opening words of the Prologue, which begins, '*In principio* (Gen 1:1).' While inspired by Francis' vision of the six-winged seraph, the hexameral themes and key related concepts that arise from the first chapters of Genesis are important both to the structure of the seven-part opusculum as well as to several important components that make up the work.

'In the beginning, I call upon the very first Beginning from whom all enlightenment flows, the *Father of Lights*, from whom is *every best and perfect gift*…that *He may enlighten the eyes of our mind to guide our feet into the way of* that *peace which surpasses all understanding*…'[5] Bonaventure will put forward six illuminations by which the soul might 'pass over into peace through the ecstatic transports of Christian wisdom.' These 'grades or steps' are covered progressively in six chapters concerning the 'spiritual man's' active

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[4] Gregory LaNave attributes this to the characteristic integration of theology and mysticism of the *Itinerarium*, and credits to Bonaventure's genius 'the philosophical principles and arguments that form the bulk of the work,' see LaNave (2005), 86.

[5] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium*, Prol. '*In principio primum principium*, *a quo cunctae illuminationes descendunt tanquam a Patre luminum, a quo est omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum*…' It might be easier on the eyes to include all the allusions to Biblical passages here: Js 1,17, Eph 1,17, Lk 1,79, Phil 4,7 and John 14,27.

consideration of the world through and in vestiges outside the soul (chapters 1 & 2), through and in the image, or the intellectual faculties within the soul (chapters 3 & 4), and finally through and in the attributes of God above the soul (chapters 5 & 6). To see God *through* a creature is to know Him as the Principle of all things. To consider the First Principle *in* something is to know God as the final end of all things.[6] The seventh chapter describes the completion or 'passing over' of that journey which had been characterised as the search for peace and 'Sabbath of rest.'[7] This final stage does not involve any work on the part of the mind, but rather the transcendence of the visible world and even itself, the acuteness of the human intellect, to rest with Christ in the tomb 'as one dead to the outer world,' when 'all intellectual activities ought to be relinquished.'[8] For the six contemplations are 'like the first six days during which the mind must be at work,' and in the seventh stage the soul reaches the Sabbath rest.[9]

A number of important motifs from the Book of Exodus feature in the *Itinerarium*. Fascinatingly, Bonaventure harmoniously interweaves them with those of Genesis. I argue

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[6] Quinn (1973), 820-21. For a more recent study, see LaNave (2005), 97-116 who explains that to see God *through* things is also known as 'universal analogy' whereby all created things are related to and manifest the existence and qualities of God as cause. To see God *in* those things is a consideration of the influence and presence of God in things as they are sensed by the person. See also LaNave (2009), 267-299.

[7] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 7,1.

[8] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 7,1,2 and 4.

[9] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 7,1.

that he does so while keeping the hexameral structure in the forefront of this 'Journey.' In fact, the themes of Exodus complement the hexameral perspective. From Genesis, the six days, the image and likeness of God (*imago* and *similitudo*), the Tree of Life, Paradise-Eden, and Jacob's ladder that reaches between heaven and earth (Gen 1:1-2:4, 2:8-9 and 28:12) are synthesized with the motif of the three days' journey into the wilderness, the Passover, the Mercy-seat, the cherubim on the ark of the covenant, and the revelation of God's Name, 'He Who Is' (Ex 3:18, 12:1-51, 25:17-22, and 3:14).

Bonaventure prefaced the first chapter with the inscription, 'Here begins the reflection of the poor man in the desert.' As a subtitle, this is no less significant than the more commonly known 'The Journey of the Mind to God.'[10] The poor man is St Francis of Assisi.[11] It stands to reason that in this reflection which depicts Francis in the imagery of Exodus and of Moses on Mount Sinai, the stigmatized *Poverello* and *alter Christus* of the wilderness of La Verna is understood as a type of Adam expelled from the Garden, but reformed through grace and union with the crucified Christ.[12]

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[10] *Incipit speculatio pauperis in deserto.*

[11] Brown (1993), xi-xii; LaNave (2005), 86-7.

[12] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,7-9. See Fleming (1982), 47-49, who comments on the medieval Franciscan identification between Francis and Moses. There are links between Sinai, Horeb and Mount La Verna. There is the Law of Moses inscribed on tablets of stone and the law of Christ inscribed on Francis' stigmatized flesh. Francis too as founder is a lawgiver. Bonaventure thinks metaphorically of Francis in terms of two mountain episodes:

It is in the first chapter that we find most of the hexameral themes and number symbolism. This step introduces the importance of the soul's consideration of matters outside, within and above, as the three visions, or progressive modes of 'seeing' and knowing God. Chapter One particularly emphasizes the soul's perception of the power, the wisdom and the goodness of God through the body's sensory powers. Through these the interior senses are informed for the sake of rational investigation, the assent of faith and intellectual contemplation. It is therefore already apparent that even in the first stage of the itinerary, Bonaventure does not remain at the level of the vestiges and mere sensory knowledge. It is a preview of what follows in the subsequent chapters, and shows the way.

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the burning bush at Horeb and the reception of the Ten Commandments at Sinai. Bonaventure's inspiration for writing the Reflection, that is the stigmatization and the seraph provides a narrative situation. Fleming qualifies the latter: 'I cannot believe, however, that anyone would think he could make an adequate description of the subject of the *Itinerarium Mentis* in "narrative" terms. The subject of the *Itinerarium Mentis*, that is, is emphatically not "Bonaventure's ascent of Alverna" or "Bonaventure sees a seraph." The actual subject of Bonaventure's great book is much better suggested by the title that he himself gives it — *Speculatio pauperis in deserto*, or "the Meditation of the Poor Man in the Desert"' (p.30-31). Regarding the desert motif, the contrasting type of Eden, Bonaventure refers to man's fall from the quiet of contemplation 'in the paradise of pleasure' (Gen 2:15) and uses the words *paradisum deliciarum* reflecting the LXX tradition rather than the Vulgate's *paradisum voluptatis*). Elsewhere, e.g., in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* 11,15 and 17,3 he refers to the *locus* and *paradisum voluptatis*. See *Itinerarium* 1,7 and the notes of the Quaracchi editors in *Opera Omnia* (V:297b), ft 10.

There is no merely natural way that at a certain stage turns theological. The soul that desires to ascend even the first step cannot do so without faith in Christ nor the exercise of prayer. 'Prayer,' Bonaventure reminds us, 'is the mother and origin of every upward striving of the soul.'[13] Moreover, the call to rise above oneself is not achieved 'by a bodily ascent, but by an ascent of the heart.'[14]

The triple way of seeing outside, within and above is closely related to the principle of the consideration of God in vestiges, in the image, and in the similitude, which Bonaventure, following Hugh of St. Victor, had consistently also maintained in the commentary on the *Sentences*, and the *Breviloquium*. Likewise, there are three kinds of theology: symbolic, proper, and mystical, i.e., through the senses, through intelligible things, and through ecstatic transports.[15] In the *Itinerarium*, however, he expresses this capacity to see somewhat equivocally, certainly with less precision than in previous discussions of the language of resemblance. Here, Bonaventure presses the need to pass through vestiges, and 'enter into our mind, which is the image of God, an image which is everlasting, spiritual, and within us.'[16] Then he speaks of going beyond to what is 'eternal, most spiritual and above us.' In this context there is no mention of the 'similitude.'

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[13] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,1.

[14] 1,1. *non ascensu corporali, sed cordiali*. (V: 296b).

[15] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,7.

[16] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,2.

What does emerge, however, is the suggestion that the threefold vision 'must rise to six in number.'[17] What rationale is there for his doubling of the triple perspective? Critics generally understand it as a doubling or subdivision of the original triad. Nevertheless, the complex and supple sense of Bonaventure's rich symbolic language induces further scrutiny.

Bonaventure paves the way to the new sixfold vision in a short but highly significant paragraph which conflates hexameral themes, the Exodus' three days journey, and the motif of Jacob's ladder (Gen 28:12):

> This triple way of seeing, then, is equivalent to the three days' journey in the wilderness. It is like the threefold enlightenment of each day: the first is like evening; the second like morning; and the third like noon day. It reflects the threefold existence of things: in matter, in the understanding, and in the Eternal Art, according to which it was said: *Let it be, He made it,* and *it was made.* Finally, it reflects the threefold substance in Christ, who is our ladder: his corporeal substance, his spiritual substance, and his divine substance.[18]

In this passage, Bonaventure weaves together the Biblical symbolism of Exodus and Genesis, his doctrine of illumination and Augustine's exegesis of the hexaëmeron.[19] It is a

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[17] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,5, edited. I have altered Boehner's translation to convey the motional and upward sense of the verb *ascendere*.

[18] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,3.

[19] See Adams (2020), 64-5 who sees Bonaventure's Augustinian source in *De civitate Dei* 11,2.

skilful arrangement, in which the symbolism of the number three in the context of Exodus 3:18 is made to coincide with the creation account of Genesis 1:1-2:3. In the Exodus passage, Moses had been instructed to request of Pharaoh a three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to God. Here in the *Itinerarium*, they represent three enlightenments, and are juxtaposed with Augustine's cognitional interpretation of a single day of the hexaëmeron. For Augustine, evening, morning and noonday expressed three ascending levels of the angels' knowledge of God's creative activity. The threefold aspect Bonaventure captures in this passage is finally applied to Christ Himself, who is depicted as the ladder linking Heaven and Earth in his three 'substances': his body, soul and divinity.[20] Within the space of a few lines (at 1,5) we will see that this triple enlightenment is assimilated by the ascending sixfold pattern: those three principal ways of seeing, or steps of ascent, Bonaventure says, 'must rise to six in number.'[21]

While the general shape of Bonaventure's illumination theory in the *Itinerarium* is marked by a triple aspect, the Journey proposes an augmented sixfold understanding. But to describe this rise as a mere doubling or a subdivision of the threefold model does not do full

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[20] N.B. that for Bonaventure the rational soul is a substantial form, and a composite of form and matter, though this 'matter' is non-corporeal. It is the sheer potency for form. See Cullen (2006), 52-53.

[21] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,5. (*necesse est, hos tres gradus principales ascendere ad senarium*). The verb 'ascendere' does not only indicate an increase, as in Boehner's translation ('must be increased to six in number'), but also the sense of rising or even climbing, as his translation reflects in many other places in the first chapter.

justice to Bonaventure's elaboration. I propose that it be read in continuity with a pattern that we have already encountered in another of Bonaventure's earlier works, the *De reductione*. There, the incepting Master had augmented a fourfold illumination of knowledge to an emphatic hexameral ordering of the branches of knowledge.[22] That arrival at a sixfold methodology can hardly be explained mathematically. While his reasoning in the Journey refers to 'doubling' (*geminatur*) the threefold exterior, interior, and superior perceptions, he also elaborates by thinking of them in relation to God as either *Alpha* or *Omega*, or as they are considered *through* the image of God in his vestiges and *in* his image reformed through grace. [23] But that does not provide a strong reason for why this *must* be so: 'It is necessary that these three principal steps rise to six.'[24] Therefore, he explains: 'Just as God created the whole world in six days and on the seventh day rested, so, man, the microcosm, is led in a most ordered way, through six progressive steps of enlightenment, to the quiet of contemplation.'[25] Augustine's threefold knowledge is utilized, but it is employed it in the interests of his own hexameral pattern of enlightenment.

He then cites additional examples from Scripture, continuing to unfold the symbolism of the number six: the steps leading up to Solomon's throne were six, Isaiah saw the vision of the six-winged seraphim, God called Moses out of the midst of the cloud after six days, and

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[22] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 6 and 7.

[23] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,5.

[24] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,5. Translation mine. *Necesse est, hos tres gradus principales ascendere ad senarium*.

[25] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,5.

in the Gospel of Matthew it was after six days that Christ led the disciples up the mountain of Transfiguration.[26] Likewise, corresponding to the six steps in the ascent to God, there are six gradated powers of the soul: from the senses, the imagination, reason (ratio), understanding (*intellectus*), intelligence (*intelligentia*), to the summit of the mind (*apex mentis*) or spark of synderesis.[27] Jacob's ladder too, must, in Bonaventure's mind, contain six rungs.[28] It would appear that all those examples of sixes found in Scripture must, in Bonaventure's estimation, derive their *raison d'être* from the first six days of Genesis.

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[26] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,5.

[27] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,6. Here, 'mind' indicates the highest aspect of the human soul. See Adams (2020), 260-67. In 1,4, Bonaventure speaks of the human mind's threefold progression beginning with the mind's ability to perceive corporeal things outside itself as 'animality' or sensible knowledge. Then comes the mind's perception of itself and the ability to enter within, which Bonaventure describes as 'spirit.' Finally, knowledge of what is above itself is referred to as 'mind.' 'Spirit' indicates the higher portion of the rational soul to which God grants perpetuity and incorruption. 'Soul' represents the lower part that governs the body. See Quinn (1973), 138. The human soul is an image of God by reason of its superior part, the 'spirit,' formed and perfected immediately by God. This supreme part of the soul is also considered, following Augustine, to be mind, from the point of view of the spirit's potencies. 'The mind is not the soul's substance, but its supreme potency. Hence, the apex of the mind is the superior part of human reason.' Quinn (1973), 205.

[28] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,5. (cf. *hos tres gradus principales ascendere ad senarium*...).

ii) Jacob's 'Spiral' Ladder

One of the symbols linked to the hexaëmeron in Bonaventure's thought is the circle. This symbol is also an important symbol of the *Itinerarium.*[29] It is literally present in Chapter Five where Bonaventure describes the soul's consideration of 'Being' *per se*. As being is 'the beginning and the fulfilment, the *Alpha* and the *Omega*,'[30] so the First Principle encompasses and enters all durations, and exists, 'as it were, at one and the same time as their centre and their circumference.' It is 'at once wholly within all things and wholly outside them; hence it is—here he quotes Alan of Lille—"the intelligible sphere, whose centre is everywhere and whose circumference is nowhere."'[31] In Christ, who is the perfection of the image created on the sixth day, the soul sees the beginning and the end, and among other things, 'the circumference and the centre.'[32] Ewert Cousins had referred to these themes in Bonaventure under the rubric of 'the coincidence of opposites' and even identified it with the mandala in the history of religions (usually a circle with a cross or four-sided geometrical shape formed around the centre), asking whether Bonaventure's seraph with six wings contains a circle. He advanced the idea that it contained the mandala as a

[29] See Cousins (1978), 172-78. Ewert Cousins links the six-winged seraph to the mandala, which he describes as 'a symbol of total integration, usually in the geometric form of a circle with a center, along with a square or cross' at p.173.

[30] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 5,7.

[31] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 5,8.

[32] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 6,7.

symbol of organized totality.[33] While this is not the place to enter that discussion, I would argue that there is another kind of circle motif in the *Itinerarium* that is linked rather to the symbolism of Genesis and the hexaëmeron. The circle is implicit in the soul's requirement to ascend the scale by descending. This is inferred where the ascending and descending motion upon the ladder metaphor of the itinerary recalls the angels in Jacob's dream: 'Now since it is necessary to ascend Jacob's ladder before we can descend it, let us place our first step in the ascent at the bottom, setting the whole visible world before us as a mirror through which we may pass over to God, the Supreme Creator.'[34] Bonaventure's point is that Christ himself, who is our Passover, has first descended in order that the human soul may pass over and rise to the Father. The ladder on which the rational soul ascends is Christ in his human nature, for he is the way and the ladder of restoration.[35] The Hebrews passed over from Egypt to the promised land, so 'Christians ought to pass over with Christ from this world to the Father.'[36] Those who, like Francis, pass over into ecstatic cruciformity with

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[33] Cousins (1978), 181-82.

[34] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,9.

[35] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,3.

[36] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,9. The ascent and descent motion is implicit in the structure of contemplating God *through* and *in* the vestiges, the image, etc. See Turner (1995a), 112. and Van Si (1995), 322. Van Si, quoting Henry Duméry, expresses the ascent by the contemplation of God 'through' and descent 'in' vestiges, etc. However, this seems to contradict *Itinerarium* 2,1 which tells us that the second step, which considers God in vestiges, is a higher way than the previous.

Christ, may achieve such an 'ascent by descent.'[37]

For, Bonaventure tells us, the material universe itself is seen as a ladder 'by which we may ascend to God,' Adam too was a kind of broken ladder, and Christ is the ladder that restores the one ruptured in Adam.[38] The ladder motif as applied in the Journey therefore takes on a universal significance; all creatures represented in the human mind have the capacity to lead it to the knowledge of the Creator.

Three features of the *Itinerarium* indicate the sense of the unified upward and downward aspect of the ladder motif, and which may be likened to a circular pattern: 1) the requirement of the soul to descend with Christ crucified in order to ascend; 2) the pattern of discovering the knowledge of God through and in vestiges, the image and the transcendental divine attributes of being and goodness; and 3) the unity of the each of the ways of contemplating the signs of God in creatures at each ascent is characterized by a pattern in which the lower level is repeated at the higher level, such that it resembles more a nexus of concatenated motions than a merely linear and successive motion.[39] Each step of

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[37] Schumacher (2012), 221.

[38] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,2 and 4,2.

[39] On the third point, I am indebted to Ratzinger (1989), 146-47 and Turner (1995a), 112-13. The former sees Bonaventure's theology of history as a harmony of images: of a progressive line and of an ascending movement, in which 'the ascent of this movement is realized in such a way that the basic structural law of the earlier level is repeated on the higher level.' I have applied this historically derived conception to the mind's Journey. Turner compares

the scale is not individuated or unrelated to the other. Rather, one is always the counterpart of the other, the latter being at a higher level of divine likeness or conformity, but always, like a mirror, reflecting the aspect of the former stages.

To recap, we saw the connection between the circle and the six days in the sections on the *De Reductione* and the *Breviloquium* above, and observed that the Dionysian pattern of procession and return (*exitus* and *reditus*) shapes Bonaventure's theological anthropology of the human person whose origin and end is to be found in a single, First Principle. That basis has been associated in Bonaventure with the first words of Genesis, 'In the Beginning.'[40] The Dionysian pattern has been likened to the image of a completely closed circle.[41] This broad picture is captured microcosmically in the six days of creation. As Bonaventure summarized in *De reductione*: in God, the origin of all things, 'the circle is completed, the pattern of six is completed, and consequently there is rest.'[42] Bonaventure's circle is not the cycle of infinity or endless repetition, but suggests rather creation's return to its origin, while also preserving the radical ontological difference between the Creator and the creature.

If the return of the rational creature to its origin in God contains the impression of a

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the steps within the Journey to being on a ladder where 'not only is to be on a lower step not to be on a higher, to be on a higher is not to be on a lower which has been left behind (p. 113).'

[40] See above, in particular the chapters on *De reductione* and *Breviloquium* 2,12 & 5,1,6.

[41] Ratzinger (1989), 148. See above in the *Breviloquium* Section, subsection 'Rational Creation.'

[42] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 7.

circle in the general outlook of Bonaventure, in the *Itinerarium* it is presented above all as an *upward* movement. Nonetheless, this ascent even in the Journey contains an underlying sense of an all-encompassing circling motion, which can be seen through the confluence in the *Itinerarium* of the circle, the hexaëmeron and the motif of Jacob's ladder upon which angels ascended and descended. That angelic motion has been portrayed by commentators as conveying a circular, or even 'spiral' significance.[43] The circle is never enclosed in on itself in Bonaventure, thanks to this fusing of the Dionysian image and the hexaëmeron among his

[43] I would suggest that it is terms of this background that we should approach the function of the ladder in the ascent of the mind to God. Jacob's ladder in other works of Bonaventure has been the focus of a recent study in which K. Wrisley Shelby focuses on the theme in the commentary on the *Sentences*, the *Breviloquium*, the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*, the *Legenda maior*, and the Sermons, such as his *De sanctis angelis* (Sermon 54). Shelby builds on the work of Boyd T. Coolman's study of the Victorine, Thomas Gallus (d. 1246), whose conception of the relation between love and knowledge within the soul was that of an unceasing ascending and descending 'circling around God.' See Coolman (2008), 629. In the above-mentioned works of Bonaventure, the motion of the angels in their ascent and descent on the ladder, as described in Genesis 28:12, provides an example of the soul's task to ascend to God as well as to descend in charity towards fellow creatures. The unified upward and downward motion is described as a kind of 'spiral' valance. See Shelby (2017), 207-228. Cf. Coolman (2008), 615-632. While Jacob's ladder is an important literary feature of the above-mentioned works, it plays no less a role in the *Itinerarium*. See Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,2; 1,3; 1,9; 4,2.

'various ascents of the mind to God.'

The concept of a spiral progression in the *Itinerarium* may provide a tool for understanding Bonaventure's flexibility in his use of the numbers, such as those of three and six we encountered in chapter one. The point is not to argue that Bonaventure imagined a spiral staircase, but to illustrate the ease with which he would move from one symbol to another, or one number to the other while retaining a consistent theme. Rather than think of the threefold knowledge as subdivided or doubled in order to gain six, we may contemplate it according to the potency or 'elasticity' of a coil or spiral.[44] This view of

[44] Joseph Ratzinger speaks of the image of a spiral to describe the connection between the circle and the idea of a progressive line in describing Bonaventure's theology of history. See Ratzinger (1989), 146-47. 'The typological interpretation of the creation-account which leads to a division of history into two parallel parts apparently rests on the notion that the pattern typified in the creation-account is to be repeated twice, each time at a higher level. Furthermore, several times the idea emerges that the end involves a certain return to the beginning. As a result, we could be tempted to speak of three circles. But this manner of expression would not be true to the facts if it were to evoke the notion of a two-fold circular return of the same. Actually, it is not a question of a returning movement, but of a unified, progressive, ascending movement. But the ascent of this movement is realized in such a way that the basic structural law of the earlier level is repeated on the higher level. So we might be justified of speaking of a spiral, and here we would find an indication of the connection between the idea of a circle with the idea of a progressive line. Bonaventure always remains conscious of the unique and unrepeatable character of that which takes place in history.'

Bonaventure's *Itinerarium* is made possible in connection with the six days as symbolized recurringly under this aspect of the ascending return or *reductio* of the soul to its divine origin.

iii) The Hexameral Connection of Chapters One & Two

Having outlined how the mind might consider God *through* and *in* created things, Bonaventure describes how the power, wisdom and goodness of God shine forth in created things through the souls' rising from visible things by reason, faith and intellect to a knowledge of the Creator.[45] Bonaventure then recommends we 'extend' this to a consideration of what is Hugh of St. Victor's sevenfold witness to the power, wisdom and goodness of God: 'We may extend this consideration to the sevenfold general properties of creatures, which bear a sevenfold witness to the power, wisdom and goodness of God, if we consider the origin, greatness, multitude, beauty, plenitude, activity, and order of all things.'[46] The order Bonaventure describes at this point is hexameral. He draws parallels between the seven general properties of creatures and the first seven days of the world, as John Quinn and Jay Hammond have both noted.[47] The first of this series, 'the origin of

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[45] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,10.

[46] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,14. Cf. 1,10. See Grover Zinn (1974), 155, who attributes 'Bonaventure's search for the Power, Wisdom, and goodness of God as reflected in the seven-fold properties of creatures' to Hugh of St. Victor's *De tribus diebus*, otherwise also known as the seventh chapter of Hugh's *Didascalicon* 7,1-12, as noted by Brown (1993), 52, n.57.

[47] Jay Hammond (2001), 231, ft. 136; Quinn (1973), 822.

things,' he explains, 'according to their creation, distinction and adornment, as the work of the six days, proclaims the power of God that produced all things out of nothing, the wisdom of God that clearly differentiated all things, the goodness of God that lavishly adorned all things.'

John Quinn likens Bonaventure's ordering of the reflections of God's power, wisdom and goodness in creatures to an orderly accrual of knowledge. Bonaventure's listing of the first property of origin is attributable to his 'belief in the creation of the universe as recorded in Scripture.' The next five considerations, dealing with corporeal creatures in themselves, 'are taken from his philosophical knowledge of the natures, properties and operations of corporeal things.' The seventh consideration of order in both natural and revealed matters, corresponding to the day on which God took his rest, is a 'combination of [Bonaventure's] knowledge of God's effects according to philosophy, Scripture and faith.'[48]

[48] Quinn (1973), 822: 'Using both natural and revealed knowledge, Bonaventure begins his journey to God from a natural knowledge of corporeal things, and then moves on to God from them as they are known by faith; thereafter, subordinating natural knowledge to faith, he arrives at a theological knowledge of God as the Creator or first principle of the corporeal universe, which reflects in numerous ways His power, wisdom and goodness. Manifesting the influence of the Holy Spirit, Bonaventure's sevenfold consideration of the reflexions of the divine attributes in corporeal things corresponds to the first seven days of the world. His first consideration, dealing with the Scriptural account of creation, corresponds to the first day; his five following considerations, dealing with corporeal creatures in themselves,

Building on Quinn's observation of an hexameral ordering here, we note that the second property of 'greatness' concerns 'lengthy extension, breadth and depth' of things in all directions, and is exemplified, Bonaventure says, in the diffusion of light and especially in the action of fire. That would seem to follow the pattern of the six days in which after the creation of heaven and earth the first sign of distinction is the production of light. The third, 'multitude', also recalls distinction in the terms of 'generic, specific and individual diversity of substance, form or figure.' The fourth, 'beauty', is exemplified by the diversity of lights, forms and colours in the heavenly bodies, and all matter. The latter clearly follows the pattern in which the fourth day of the hexaëmeron (i.e., the first of adornment) parallels the first day (of distinction) in the adornment of luminous nature, or the formation of the luminaries from original light (*lux*).[49] 'Plenitude', the fifth property, bespeaks the active potentialities in creatures, due to the productive power of seminal principles in matter. (Bonaventure follows a consistent pattern in his *Sentences* commentary and *De reductione* in associating the seminal principles with day five).[50] The sixth general property of creatures, 'manifold activity' (*operatio multiplex*), is 'natural, cultural (*artificialis*), or moral.' That therefore corresponds to the sixth day and to the adornment of the natural world by the only terrestrial creature that lives a moral and cultural existence. For the property of manifold activity 'shows forth the immensity of that power, art and goodness, which is for

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correspond to the next five days, and his seventh consideration, having to do with the order of things both natural and revealed, corresponds to the day on which God took His rest.'

[49] See Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,2,4.

[50] See Bonaventure, *2 Sent*., d.15 and *De reductione* 7 & 19-21. More on this in Chapter Six.

all things "the cause of being, the basis of understanding, and the norm of orderly conduct."'[51]

The final, seventh property, is 'order.' Order summarises all: power in the book of creation, wisdom in the book of Scriptures, and goodness in the Church's sacraments, along with rewards and punishments. 'So it is that order itself leads us to that which is first and highest, most powerful, most wise, and best.'[52] In this context it should be noted that Bonaventure defines right order as the means to peace – the object of the soul's six step journey in the *Itinerarium*. Similitude, or conformity with God, is an ordered soul.[53]

In the second chapter, 'The Consideration of God in his Vestiges in This Visible World,' Bonaventure reflects on our souls' cognitional abstraction derived from the body's five senses and how we may in this way be led to the knowledge of 'spiritual movers, as from an effect to the knowledge of causes.'[54] Every creature is a 'figure and likeness of eternal Wisdom' and this includes angels and the sacraments' capacity to signify the invisible things of God.[55] In this higher, second step we gather how God may be contemplated not only

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[51] Quoting Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 8,4 (PL 41, 228-29) in *Itinerarium* 1,14.

[52] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,14.

[53] Hammond (2001), 202-203. See the same volume for Hellmann's description of the similitude as an ordered soul, p.152 ff. The *anima*, graced with the similitude of deiformity, is an ordered soul (*anima ordinata*).

[54] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 2,3.

[55] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 2,12.

through vestiges as in the previous step, but in 'every creature that enters our mind through the bodily senses.'[56]

In a passage that corresponds to the first chapter's extension of the threefold knowledge to the consideration of the sevenfold properties of creatures in 1,14, Bonaventure similarly 'extends' (*dilatatur*) his reflection again, now with a consideration of 'the seven differences of numbers by which, as by seven steps, we ascend to God.'[57] The previous elaboration had been based on Hugh's 'sevenfold witness to the power, wisdom and goodness of God.' Chapter Two's is drawn from 'seven differences of numbers' described by Augustine in *On True Religion* and *On Music*. This chapter therefore provides a theoretical basis for his use of numbers, expressed in terms of the number seven, while supplementing and reinforcing both the hexameral arrangement of 1,14 and the seven-part structure of the whole work.

He recalls Augustine's seven ways number is found in creation: 'sounding' numbers (*sonantes*) or rhythms such as those produced by creatures but are not be perceptible to humans; 'reacting' numbers (*occursores*) that are abstracted through the senses; 'forthcoming' numbers (*progressores*), proceeding from the soul to the body as in gesturing and dancing; 'sensuous' numbers (*sensuales*) in the pleasures of the senses, that result from attending to the abstracted species; 'memorial' numbers (*memoriales*) or those in our memories, 'judicial' numbers (*iudicales*) which exist above our mind and are infallible and indubitable; and 'artistic' numbers (*artificiales*) which are derived from the judicial numbers and cause forthcoming numbers. Number, Bonaventure explains, is the principal exemplar

[56] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 2,1.

[57] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 2,10.

in the mind of the Creator, and as its sevenfold distinction becomes apparent to the discerning mind, it leads it very close to God. Beauty does not exist without proportion, and 'since proportion exists primarily in numbers, all things are subject to number.'[58]

While the second chapter does not draw on Genesis as such, it does support an hexameral reading of the *Itinerarium*, highlighting perhaps the underlying and universal reason for creation in six days. For, from visible creatures, we ascend to the 'Artificer of all numbered things.'[59] Bonaventure likens the first two steps of the Journey to the two wings at the seraph's feet, thus conveying that all creatures, especially visible ones, are illustrations and signs offered to untrained souls who are immersed in the senses. 'They are the vestiges, images, and displays presented to us for the contuition of God, and the divinely given signs wherein we can see God.'[60]

Having considered the vestiges in the first two chapters, Bonaventure ascends to the next two rungs of the seraphic ladder, turning to the reflection of the image of God through the rational soul's natural powers (chapter three) and to a consideration of God in the reformed and hierarchized image (chapter four).

Image and Likeness: Chapters Three and Four

Chapter three, 'The Consideration of God through his Image Imprinted on our Natural Powers' progresses in the description of the soul's ascent, now entering *within* the soul to

[58] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 2,10. See Brown, (1993), 57, ft.82.

[59] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 2,10.

[60] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 2,11. For an explanation of 'contuition,' see below. p.206, ft.88.

the faculties of memory, intellect and will and their respective imaging of the Trinitarian relations. The three faculties lead respectively to Eternity, Truth and the highest Good, and 'by considering the order, the origin and the relationship of these faculties to one another, he is led up to the most blessed Trinity Itself.'[61] Through the eye of reason, or the mind, we may reflect upon memory as the power of retaining and representing the past, the present and the future. Perceiving successive, simple and everlasting things, it becomes clear that the soul itself 'is an image of God and a similitude so present to itself and having Him so present to it that it actually grasps Him and potentially "is capable of possessing Him and becoming a partaker in Him."'[62] The relation of the chapters three and four has been treated as corresponding to the distinctions between the 'image' and 'likeness' in Bonaventure's theological anthropology.[63] This is the view that the pair as first expressed in Genesis 1:26 are not merely synonymous, as generally treated by Augustine and Pseudo-Dionysius, but that the image reflects the divine order in the human being at the natural level, i.e., in the intellect and will.[64] The likeness, on the other hand must be attained by grace and conformity of the image to the Creator.[65] In the *Itinerarium*, Bonaventure does

[61] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 3,5.

[62] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 3,2; quoting Augustine, *De Trinitate* 14,8,11.

[63] Turner (1995a), 110; Davis (2015), 440.

[64] On Augustine's understanding of the *imago* and *similitudo*, see Markus (1964), 125-43; for Ps-Dionysius, see Turner (1995b), 141-42.

[65] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,12,1-5. For more on this distinction, see Chapter Seven below.

not express these two distinct understandings in terms of the *imago* and *similitudo Dei* (cf. Gen 1:26) as he does elsewhere, leading some critics to question his precise intentions in this respect.[66] Nevertheless, that is what seems to be the content matter of the two chapters, in substance at least.[67]

The image of the third chapter, while it 'appears in splendour,' only allows us to see God 'through a mirror in an obscure manner.'[68] Bonaventure outlines the activities of the memory, which, in contrast with apprehension, does not merely depend on phantasms that enter through the senses, but on forms that enter from above and enable it to receive a 'changeless light' and recall 'changeless truths.' This, Bonaventure explains, makes the soul an image of God.[69] Furthermore, the consideration of the order, origin, and relationship of the soul's faculties to one another leads us to the Most Blessed Trinity itself.[70] The soul's three faculties of memory, intelligence and will are an image of the Trinitarian God, for the memory gives rise to intelligence, and together the memory and intelligence 'breathe out love, as the bond of both.'[71]

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[66] See Davis (2015), 445 & 447.

[67] Hammond remarks, 'Chapter 4 treats Christ as the mind's true object in whom the reformed image subsists as an expressed similitude of God.' Hammond (2002), 243.

[68] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 3,1.

[69] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 3,2.

[70] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 3,4.

[71] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 3,5.

The underlying difference between chapters three and four lies in the conversion of the natural image deformed by sin to the deiformity of grace. The fourth step considers God in his image reformed through the gifts of grace. 'It seems strange indeed that after what has been shown of God's closeness to our souls there are so few concerned about perceiving the First Principle within themselves. …Drawn away by the concupiscences, [the mind] does not return to itself through the desire for interior sweetness and spiritual joy.'[72] The 'reformation of the image' through the gifts of grace in the fourth stage corresponds to what Bonaventure understands by *similitudo* elsewhere. 'No one reaches this except him who receives it, for it consists more in the experience of the affections than in the considerations of the mind.'[73] Bonaventure expresses it in the language of Dionysius, as the spirit becoming 'hierarchical, that is, purified, enlightened, and perfected' through conformity with 'the Heavenly Jerusalem.'[74] While the study of philosophy suited the previous stage of the natural image, 'on this level of contemplation the study of the divinely revealed Sacred Scriptures is most especially helpful.'[75] This, Bonaventure explains, is because Scripture is concerned not only with the works of nature but with the works of reparation too.

The opening chapters of Genesis, at any rate, provide the background to Bonaventure's conflation of the motif of the ladder of ascent with Gen 1-3: 'And just as, when one has

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[72] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 4,1.

[73] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 4,3.

[74] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 4,4.

[75] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 4,5.

fallen, he must lie where he is unless someone join him and lend a hand to raise him up, so our soul could not be perfectly lifted up out of these things of sense to see itself and the eternal Truth in itself had not Truth, taking on human form in Christ, become a ladder restoring the first ladder that had been broken in Adam.'[76] In this reference to Adam, Robert Glenn Davis sees an allusion to Bonaventure's spiritual understanding of the parable of the Good Samaritan in his *Commentary on Luke*.[77] Bonaventure comments that the man beaten and lying half dead by the road between Jerusalem and Jericho is Adam fallen from grace. Adam, representing the human race in general, is the one who

> went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, that is, from the paradise into the world, and fell in with robbers, that is, into the power of the demons, who stripped him of God's gifts and wounded him in his natural faculties. And they left him half-dead, for having taken away the likeness, the image alone remained, so that what the Psalm has could be said, 'The human person, when he was in an

[76] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 4,2.

[77] On the dating of the *Commentary on Luke*, see Robert Karris's remarks that the work was written during Bonaventure's *baccalaureus biblicus* at Paris during his student days (1248-50). He would only have been required to comment on the literal sense of the text. Hence, other authors like Thomas Reist have surmised that Bonaventure revised the text with the addition of the spiritual senses when he was Regent Master between 1255-57. See Karris (2003), viii.

> honourable position, did not understand. He has been compared to the senseless beasts,' etc.[78]

Since fallen humanity retains the image but has been reduced nonetheless to the world of nature, it needs the assistance of grace. 'No matter how enlightened one may be by the light coming from nature and from acquired knowledge, he cannot enter into himself to delight in the Lord, except through the mediation of Christ.'[79] Even in this context the imagery of Genesis is maintained when he goes on to explain that 'if we wish to enter again into the enjoyment of Truth as into Paradise, we must enter through faith, hope and love of the Mediator between God and men, Jesus Christ, Who is like the *tree of Life in the midst of Paradise*.'[80]

While the marked contrast that occurs in the ascent from chapter three to four is widely seen as a classic example of the formal difference between the concepts of image and similitude in Bonaventure, it should be noted that Bonaventure does not use the language of *similitudo* to characterise this transition in chapter 4.[81] In the commentary on the *Sentences* and in the *Breviloquium*, the vestige, the image, and the likeness are clearly demarcated as distinctive modes of divine resemblance, respectively from afar, from within

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[78] See *Commentarius in evangelium Lucae* 10,62; the insight to the allusion to the parable of the Good Samaritan in the *Itinerarium* is that of Davis (2015), 443.

[79] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 4,2.

[80] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 4,2.

[81] Davis (2015), 445; See also Turner (1995a),111; LaNave (2005), 100, 106, 113.

(or 'mimetic'), and from above by participation in God through grace.[82] In the *Itinerarium*, of these three categories, the words 'vestige' and 'image' are the mostly frequently used, and the latter (*imago*) is employed more generally to designate both the soul in its natural and reformed state.

Moses, Jesus and the Sixth Day: Chapters Five and Six

In chapter five, Bonaventure turns to the symbolism of the cherubim on the ark of the covenant (Ex 25:20). At this stage of the itinerary, the soul considers the first divine attribute of unity through the primary name of 'Being' (*esse*). After the soul considers God outside itself through and in vestiges, within itself through and in the image, in the fifth step it must transcend itself to contemplate 'through the light that shines upon our mind.'[83] The consideration of being itself, that is, the whole of created reality outside of God — from dust to angels — leads the soul to understand that the light of Eternal Truth immediately informs the human mind.[84] Just as we see colour but rarely consider the light through which our eyes perceive colour, so the soul that observes anything at all seldom realizes that it is in fact Being itself that first comes to the mind, for Being is that through which it sees all things.[85] Being, like light, hides in plain sight. Bonaventure presents the soul practised in considering God above itself as now entering with the high priest into the Holy of Holies,

[82] Cf. Turner (1995a), 111.

[83] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 5,1.

[84] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 5,1.

[85] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 5,4.

'where the two Cherubim of Glory stand over the Ark, overshadowing the Mercy Seat.'[86] One cherub represents the consideration of the essential attributes of God, the other considers the proper attributes of the three Persons.[87] The first, following Moses in the Old Testament sees Being itself, 'He who is' (Ex 3:14), as the name of God in his essential attributes.

The second cherub in the Holy of Holies assists us in the 'contuition' of the proper attributes of God, which is the subject of the sixth step. By contuition Bonaventure means knowledge of the presence of infinite being in and through finite being.[88] Here the soul considers the attributes of God under the name of Goodness as the principal foundation of the divine personal emanations. Following Christ who commands his apostles to baptize 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit' (Mt 28:19), this cherub contemplates the proper divine attribute of Goodness itself as the first name of God in the New Testament. 'The Good itself is the principal foundation of the contemplation of the personal emanations.'[89] Following Pseudo-Dionysius, good is thought to be supremely self-

[86] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 5,1.

[87] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 5,1.

[88] Bougerol (1969), 42. Wayne Hellmann describes Bonaventure's *contuitio* as 'co-recognition, a co-knowledge of one object together with another, so that one cannot recognise one without also recognising the other. Contuition is a realization of order. The realization of order is a simultaneous realization of both the created and the uncreated, since the one order cannot be seen without the other.' See Hellmann (2001), 15.

[89] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 6,1.

diffusive. And like Anselm of Canterbury, Bonaventure argues, 'the highest good is unqualifiedly that than which no greater can be thought.' God must exist because it is far better to exist than not to exist, and God could not be considered supremely good if He were not also said to be self-diffusive.[90] The cherubim who face each other on the ark of the covenant are taken to symbolise a 'comparative approach,' Bonaventure explains, for they face each other and the mercy seat, and we must contemplate not only the characteristics of the divine essence and Persons, but to do so 'also in comparison with the most marvellous union of God and man in the unity of the Person of Christ.'[91] And it is a cause of amazement, Bonaventure urges, that were we to take the place of the cherubs gazing at the Mercy Seat, we would observe in Christ the coexistence of three mysteries: a unity of person, a duality of natures, and a trinity of substances.[92] It does not seem to be an accident that Bonaventure ascribed to the Incarnate Word the aliquot parts of the number six (one, two and three) when referring to the Mercy Seat in which 'the First Principle is joined with the last. God is joined with man, who was formed on the sixth day.'[93] Again, now in the sixth chapter, the symbolism of Exodus is merged with that of the hexaëmeron. Even in the context of the fullness of the New Testament's revelation of the Incarnation and the Trinity,

[90] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 6,2.

[91] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 6,4. *Nam et Cherubim hoc designat, quae se mutuo aspiciebant. Nec hoc vacat a mysterio, quod respiciebant se versis vultibus in propitiatorium*. Cf. Ex 25:20

[92] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 6,6; cf. 6,5.

[93] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 6,5.

Bonaventure preserves the motif of the sixth day. Its relevance to Bonaventure at this stage of the ascent is a credit to the dignity it bears in his estimation.

In the final paragraph of chapter six, Bonaventure concludes this step in which the mind contemplates the ungraspable mystery of the Trinity by saying that here the soul reaches or arrives at the perfect illumination of the mind. For it sees 'as it were, on the sixth day, man made to the image of God.'[94] The true image, or 'expressed similitude' of God is in fact the man Jesus Christ.[95] When the human mind contemplates in Christ the Son of God, seeing that He is by nature the image of God, humanity is 'wonderfully exalted' by means of the union of the first and the last, the Alpha and Omega, the Creator and the creature, etc. Again, Bonaventure reiterates: The soul has reached some kind of perfection, just as God arrived at the sixth day, so the soul arrives in the sixth step at the perfection of God-given illuminations.[96] And with reference to Genesis 2:2 which describes God's repose from all the work he had done, so too must the created image rest: 'And now nothing further remains but the day of rest on which through transports of mind the penetrating power of the human mind rests from all the work that it has done.'[97]

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[94] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 6,7.

[95] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 6,5.

[96] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 6,7. '*…iam pervenit ad quandam rem perfectam, ut cum Deo ad perfectionem suarum illuminationum in sexto gradu quasi in sexta die perveniat*.'

[97] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 6,7.

In addition to the image-likeness pattern of chapters three and four, scholars also view the relation between the first four chapters and the final two as corresponding to that of image and similitude as a structuring principle, albeit not nearly as clearly as in other works of Bonaventure.[98] Denys Turner, however cautions against the assumption as a 'tempting proposition.' He sees the difficulty in Bonaventure not providing a formal account of the difference between the two concepts in the *Itinerarium*. 'And where he does, as again in the *Commentary on the Sentences*, the distinction is worse than useless in helping to explain the distinction between the last two steps and the preceding four.'[99] A contention could be made that such a difficulty does not explain away the proposition. The fact that Bonaventure provides no explanation in the *Itinerarium* may simply indicate that the author assumes knowledge of the distinction. Furthermore, his summary of the whole work in the final seventh chapter indicates that Bonaventure quite clearly intended the concepts, if not the terminology, to inform the interpretation of the work, as these words from the seventh chapter imply:

> After our mind has beheld God outside itself through and in vestiges of Him, and within itself through and in an image of Him, and above itself through the *similitude* of the divine Light (*divinae lucis similitudinem*) shining above us and in the divine light itself in so far as it is possible in our state as wayfarer and by the effort of our own mind, and when at last the mind has reached the sixth step, where it can behold in the first and highest Principle and in the Mediator of God

[98] Davis (2015), 444-445. See also Hammond (2001), 205.

[99] Turner (1995), 110.

> and men, Jesus Christ, things the like of which cannot possibly be found among creatures, and which transcend all acuteness of human intellect – when the mind has done all this, it must still, in beholding these things, transcend and pass over, not only this visible world, but even itself.[100]

Bonaventure uses both the terminology of image and similitude in their distinctive senses as well as the characteristic distinction between each pair of chapters, that of considering God *through* and *in* the object of each pair. But in the final pair of chapters, we should note the imbalance that occurs when in the fifth step only Bonaventure (retrospectively) describes the vision of God *through the similitude of the divine Light*. But the sixth step consists of the contemplation of God in the divine light itself. [101] Whereas the chapter titles lead us to approach a consideration of God *through* His Name as Being and *in* His Name as Goodness, Bonaventure actually summarises these two chapters as beholding God, 'through the similitude of the divine Light shining above us and in the divine Light itself.'[102] The similitude is not the object of the sixth stage. It is surpassed when the soul can contemplate the Light in the divine Light itself. The language of likeness is surpassed, and we enter the

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[100] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 7,1.

[101] Hammond (2001), 207. Hammond comments that the reflection of God's light is retraced within the light itself, after discovering it in vestiges and in the image. 'The Itinerarium retraces the reflection of God's light in the mirror of creation, the mirror of the mind, and within the light itself which is the eternal Truth…In short, the primum principium is the univocal "light" that orders everything.'

[102] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 7,1.

domain of the God-given participation in divinity itself, something which transcends human effort. This is the light that is only given in 'the Mediator between God and men, Jesus Christ,' who also contains that which is utterly *dissimilar* to anything found among creatures. Only He is the image of the invisible God *by nature*, and yet is united visibly to the creature that was formed on the sixth day.[103] 'God is joined to man who was formed on the sixth day.'[104]

Conclusion

I have illustrated how Bonaventure's mystical work that draws its inspiration from the vision of the six-winged cruciform seraph likewise also contains a structure and foundation in the six days of creation. There are in fact more allusions to the hexaëmeron than to seraph's wings. Even the motif of Jacob's ladder in the *Itinerarium* is shaped by the hexaëmeron in its function as the vehicle of ascent to God in Christ. The hexameral relevance of the *Itinerarium* is particularly concentrated in the first chapter. Here, the three days' journey of the Israelites into the wilderness is transposed to a sixfold ascent of the ladder from the desert to the mind's passing over with Christ crucified in order to arrive at true peace and the quiet of sabbath rest. The Exodus motifs in the *Itinerarium* are given Christological 'shape' by means of the images that derive from Genesis and the hexaëmeron. The mere fact that Bonaventure makes use not only of the six days of the creation account but even works the three days of the Exodus narrative back into it

[103] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 6,5.

[104] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 6,7.

indicates at the very least that he had more than a passing interest in the Biblical enumeration of days.

Chapter Four

The Reception of Genesis from 1259 - 1273

In the literature produced during the period of Bonaventure's governance of the Friars Minor (1257-1273) and following the completion of the *Itinerarium* in 1259 we face a marked decline of about 14 years in the reception of the hexaëmeron.[1] The fragments which prove to be the exception to that decline are the subject matter of this chapter. The gap in the literature draws to a close when the theme of the six days is taken up anew with the commencement of the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* in 1273. Unfortunately, Bonaventure was not able to complete this series of university sermons: his new appointment as Cardinal-bishop of Albano in May of 1273 prevented it. This time was spent working on behalf of Pope Gregory X for the unity of the Latin and Greek Churches and the proceedings of the Second Council of Lyons. Then in 1274, during the Council, he died.

A close examination of indices and notes of the Quaracchi *Opera Omnia* and digital searches for references to the opening chapter of Genesis and other such related themes for works written in the period 1259-1273 have resulted in only two works that are of

[1] While the *Itinerarum* was written during this period – just over two years after his election as minister general on February 2, 1257 – its relative proximity to the magistral period compared to the appearance in 1267 of the next work to come under analysis in this thesis, I have thought it best to leave the *Itinerarium* where it is.

hexameral relevance before the delivery of his *Collationes in hexaëmeron*.[2] These are the *Collationes in decem praeceptis* ('The Collations on the Ten Commandments,' c. 1267) and the *Apologia pauperum* ('The Defence of the Mendicants,' c. 1269). We will go through these works and highlight the unmistakable reception of Genesis to show that this was still part of his thinking and agenda. This should show there was no real hiatus in his thought between 1259 and 1273.

During this time in full-time ministry at a remove from the University, he was concerned above all with the growing pains of the young 30,000-member Order as well as for 400 convents of Poor Clares.[3] He made the friary in Mantes-sur-Seine between Rouen and Paris his principle residence.[4] In the same year in which the *Itinerarium* was written (1259), the following spiritual works were produced: *De triplici via*, *Soliloquium*, *De perfectione vitae ad*

[2] The following works by Bonaventure have been eliminated from this study as not relevant to the reception of the first chapter of Genesis. There is scholarly consensus regarding the dates of their composition. (References in parentheses refer to the volume and page numbers of the *Opera omnia*), followed by date: *Epistula* 7: Letter to the Sisters of San Damiano (VIII:473-74), 1259; *De quinque festivitatibus pueri Jesu* (VIII:88-98) 1259; *De triplicia via* (VIII:3-27) 1259; *Soliloquium* (VIII:28-67) 1259; *Lignum vitae* (VIII:68-87) 1259; *De perfectione vitae ad sorores* (VIII:107-127ff) 1259; Constitutions of Narbonne (VIII:449-67) 1260; *Legenda major S. Francisci* (VIII:504-564) 1261; *Legenda minor S. Francisci* (VIII:565-79) 1261; *Collationes de septem donis Spiritus sancti* (V:455-503) 1268.

[3] Schlosser (2014), 39.

[4] See Monti (2014), 565. Monti provides a very helpful timeline on p. 566-567.

sorores, and *De quinque festivitatibus pueri Jesu*. He steered the Franciscan barque through the stormy waters of the Spiritual/Joachimist controversy, presiding over the trial of his predecessor and Joachite sympathiser, John of Parma, in the summer of 1261. He travelled on foot regularly and extensively, through Italy, France, Germany, England, and Spain. Bonaventure also wrote the official biography of St Francis, the *Legenda major* and then the *Legenda minor* in 1261.[5] In November of 1265 Bonaventure had refused nomination as Archbishop of York. Several sermons that have come down to us arise from various feasts during this decade.[6] During the Lent of 1267 Bonaventure delivered his *Collationes in decem praeceptis*. Then in the Lent of the following year, the *Collationes de septem donis Spiritus sancti* ('Collations on the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit'). Returning from Italy by the Autumn of 1269 he wrote his famous Defence of the Mendicants, *Apologia pauperum* in Paris. The final work we know of, and probably his most important, the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*, which were delivered in 1273, remain incomplete.

Collationes in decem praeceptis

Bonaventure delivered seven Saturday evening collations, or university sermons on the Ten Commandments during the Lent of 1267 between March 6 and April 17. These sermons were addressed to student friars at the University of Paris.[7] The addresses were based on the passage on the Decalogue as found in Exodus 20:1-17, which makes a more explicit

[5] These dates are based on Bougerol (1964), 171-177.

[6] See Schlosser (2014), 23, for more information.

[7] Johnson (2014), 424-25. See also Spaeth (1995), 1.

reference to the hexaëmeron than does the Deuteronomy version regarding the third commandment: 'Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy … for in six days the Lord made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that is in them, and rested on the seventh day' (Ex 20:8-11 RSV; cf. Deut 5:12-15).[8] For each of the ten precepts, Bonaventure first considers the literal meaning, then, at least for the first five commands, draws out the spiritual (tropological or allegorical) senses.

It is the third commandment that forms the centre of discussion in this section. To summarise the content and context, the first collation begins with Christ's answer to the rich young man's question of what good deed he must do to have eternal life: 'If you wish to enter into life, keep the commandments' (Mt 19:17).[9] Here Bonaventure gives motives for why the Christian ought to keep the commandments. The second collation begins the treatment of the commandments themselves with the first precept of the Decalogue. The two greatest foundations of faith are 1) knowledge of the Creator and 2) knowledge of the redeemer. The first commandment functions as the basis for all other commandments similarly to the way God's work of creation is the foundation and standard of all other works.[10] Likewise, in the third collation, as Bonaventure summarizes the previous day's collation before treating the second commandment, referring to the creation account, he says, 'Just as God, in first creating things, produced all things in a certain way, so also in the

[8] Bonaventure, *Collationes in decem praeceptis* 4,2. (Quaracchi *Opera Omnia* V:520). Cf. Ex. 20:1-17; Dt. 5:6-22. Hereafter the Collations are referred to as '*Decem praeceptis.*'

[9] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 1,1.

[10] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 2,6.

first commandment God prohibits all evils, although he gave more commandments to explain these prohibitions in a fuller way.'[11] There is therefore a correlation between the hexaëmeron and the commandments that is assumed. This further raises the prospect of a relationship in Bonaventure's thinking between the natural law and the six days on the one hand, and the decalogue and other revealed moral norms on the other.

The fifth collation concerns the fourth commandment to honour one's parents. Collation six is a discussion of the fifth, sixth and seventh commandments. The seventh Collation covers the eighth, ninth and tenth precepts of the Decalogue. This collation ends with an ingenious application of each of the ten plagues of Egypt to violations of the ten commandments. Finally, he exhorts the friars: Christians keep the commandments by conformity with the risen Christ who leads us into the Promised Land, they eat the pascal meal, and do not 'return to Egypt.'[12] Bonaventure's sermons on the Ten Commandments stand out among his works, reflecting the heart of a pastor. While the structured arguments and content is familiar in relation to his other works, such as his criticism of Averroist philosophy and his rebuttal of Jewish objections, he does so with examples, anecdotes, references to his own life, and clear explanations, all the while upholding the sense and attraction that the moral law should engender in Christian souls.

It is the third commandment that stands out for its reflection of hexameral themes: 'Remember to keep holy the sabbath day.' This commandment forms the central point of the seven sermons. We have already observed a similar, prominent fourth/central

[11] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis*, 3,7.

[12] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 7,18.

positioning, such as the treatment of Christology in the *Breviloquium*. A number of Bonaventure's works were comprised of seven sections, including the *Quaestiones disputatae de scientia Christi*, the *Itinerarium* and the *Breviloquium*. In the latter, we also noted that the central chapter of the eschatological doctrine in the seventh part, 'On the Repose of the Final Judgment' had as its subject matter the general conflagration of this world, but also the repose of souls as well as all material things.[13] Because the meaning of Christian observance of the third precept is charity, Bonaventure declares that 'whatever is revealed or concealed in the other commandments is brought to completion in this commandment.'[14] The third commandment is thus a suitable point of entry into Bonaventure's sermons on the Decalogue, and well illustrates the influence of the hexaëmeron in his thinking even in the midst of his full-time duties as Minister General.

To a large extent in this collation, Bonaventure puts the argument in terms of a response to the Jewish objection to the Christian observance of the sabbath command: Christians claim to keep the Decalogue, a code that contains only moral precepts, which are binding for all times. But they disregard the sabbath precept by observing the first day of the week as a day of rest, and what's more, engage in work even on Sunday, thereby missing the entire point of the commandment.[15] It is true to say that Bonaventure's reply on this point is 'a most complicated response,' and that his replies to objections raised by Jews in these

[13] See the section on the *Breviloquium* above; Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,4.

[14] *Bonaventure, Decem praeceptis* 4,11.

[15] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,5.

collations in general are 'the longest and most involved.'[16] For that reason they are worth examining in some detail.

Bonaventure argues firstly that the command should not only be understood as a moral precept, instead proposing a tripartite reason for the commandment: this law contains something that is purely moral, something that is purely ceremonial, and a combination of the moral and ceremonial.[17] The object of the command is the sanctification of the believer and the love of God; this is the purely moral part of the precept. The ceremonial aspect consists of the meaning of the law, which is figurative. It signifies 'the rest of the spirits, and the rest of the Lord in the tomb, and an abstention from all servile work together with rest and with the contemplation of God. For God created everything in six days, but not because it would have been impossible to have done it all in one.'[18] This figurative explanation of the ceremonial aspect of the law recalls the seventh day when Christ, after his death, 'led the spirits existing in limbo into the rest of paradise.'[19]

Bonaventure explains that the abstention from labours is partly moral and partly ceremonial. And here he makes a further distinction between a general sense and a particular sense of the command. The general sense of the precept is that of total abstention from servile work, which he identifies as the Jewish perspective of the

[16] Spaeth (1995), 9-10.

[17] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,6.

[18] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,7.

[19] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,7.

commandment. In the Christian view, he makes the point that this general aspect of the commandment takes on the meaning of total abstention from sin. The particular sense of the law involves the question of what specific works may be performed, and what should be avoided. The servile works are seven in number, the so-called 'Mechanical works' that Bonaventure derived from the *Didascalicon* of Hugh of St. Victor: agriculture, weaving, fabricating, hunting, medicine, navigation, and theatrics.[20] Only those works prohibited by the Church on Sunday are the completely servile ones. Works which are always needed, i.e., for the preservation of life or health, 'are allowed inasmuch as they are necessary and are prohibited as they are servile,' while the pleasurable are not prohibited, but permitted 'because of our weaknesses.'[21]

It is remarkable that the resurrection of Christ is not mentioned here as a reason for the Christian observance of Sunday as the Lord's Day. That being said, if, as Bonaventure says, Christ rested in the tomb on the sabbath, then he assumes the Resurrection as a given. He also used this opportunity to preach on the third commandment to mobilise his views on creation against the idea of an eternal world. God created the world in six days according to Genesis, but not, he clarifies, because He could not have made it in one. The world exists in three ways: as an idea in the Eternal Art (or we might paraphrase, in the Eternal Exemplar), in created intellects, and in material creation. The argument turns to the metaphysics of

[20] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,9. Cf. *De reductione*, 2 and Hugh, *Didascalicon* 2,20.

[21] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,10.

time, and the degrees to which created things can possess eternity.[22] The world exists in the eternal art, that is, as the perfect forms in the mind of God. However, duration does not have any existence in God, for there is neither 'before or after' in divine being. It does however exist in one sense in angelic intellects, in that the angels possess knowledge of created beings, though this knowledge is simultaneous with their own creation. The material world exists in matter and as such is subject to time. Time is the fundamental concomitant of the creation of material nature; creation began from nothing and with that time had its beginning.[23] Instantaneous creation was possible in view of divine power, but the formation of the world in six days provides a far better rationale for the sabbath. All that exists in the mind of God outside of time was willed into existence in time and over a period of six days not because of 'a defect in the maker, but rather because of God's condescension.'[24] The seminal principles, or 'roots of all operations'[25] in the first of God's works provide reasons for human activity as well as rest. 'Therefore, on the seventh day the

[22] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,7; see also ft. 6 on p.63. Unfortunately there are problems with the codices and the Quaracchi editors have amended the text for a coherent reading.

[23] See Gilson (1965), 169-79.

[24] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,7.

[25] '*radices omnium operationum*.'

Lord rested and recalled rational creatures to himself. And on the seventh day the Lord led the spirits existing in limbo to the rest of paradise.'[26]

After treating the literal meaning, Bonaventure then provides the troplogical, or moral, sense of the commandment. He illustrates this by reminding his listeners that the Sabbath precept is ordered to charity. This is so under three aspects: 1) the divine rest that directs the soul to God, 2) the imitation of Christ in good works, and 3) abstinence from servile work in order to render the heart pure and clean.[27]

Bonaventure also provides an hexameral flourish to the spiritual sense in the latter part of the sermon, thus continuing to advance the hexameral pattern beyond the literal sense and into the theological and spiritual meaning of the commandment. It focuses on the second aspect of the imitation of Christ in good works. Before examining this, we will briefly summarise the first and third aspects of the spiritual meaning. Paradoxically, Bonaventure's teaching on the repose of the Lord's Day depends upon accomplishing certain works, namely the good ones. We achieve divine rest by doing good, and this is accomplished in seven works, of which three are interior and four exterior: meditation, prayer and praise, which are ordered to contemplation; then reading, singing psalms, offering sacrifice and fulfilling the divine law. These latter exterior works are achieved 'by hearing, or by teaching, or by conferring with others.' Without these works the soul cannot be 'turned towards perfect rest in God.'[28]. And we abstain from servile work above all by refraining from evil

[26] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,7.

[27] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis*, 4,12.

[28] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,12.

works, and guarding against sin. He enumerates five ways in which we sin: 1) sinning against a commandment, 2) inciting another to sin, 3) defending the sinner, 4) accepting the sinner, and 5) ignoring and failing to correct the sinner (in which consists the greatest danger).[29]

The imitation of Christ and His works is understood as conformity to God by the command, 'Six days will you labour.' This must be achieved through conformity to Christ and the six works of mercy: 'to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to care for the stranger, to visit the sick and ransom the captive.'[30] Note that the law, 'six days you shall labour' is operative even in Bonaventure's interpretation of the commandment in the New Testament context, with particular expression in the imitation of Christ.[31] Bonaventure then relates to the six days of creation six things that are required to do a work of virtue — comprehensive preparation (*circumspectio provida*), right intention, pure affection (*affectio pura*), just or correct choice, a tenacious commitment (*prosecutio vigorosa*), and a putting on of love (*informatio caritativa*). Firstly, comprehensive preparation is understood in the work of the first day when God said, 'Let there be light' (Gen 1:3). The second requirement is right intention: 'It is necessary secondly, that the human person place himself in his proper end in God, and this is denoted when God said, 'Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters. And God called the firmament heaven. For this reason, it is necessary that the human person be lifted up on high, that he might have a right intention towards God.' The creation of the firmament in the heavens (Gen 1:6)

[29] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,15-16.

[30] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,13.

[31] My gratitude for this insight is owed to a conversation with Prof. Thomas O'Loughlin.

corresponds to right intention with respect to God because the soul is directed heavenward. Thirdly, pure affection in understood in the separation of land from water (Gen 1:9) on the third day, thereby signifying the separation of worldly from divine affections. Right choice correctly orders all our works, which is denoted in the work of the fourth day, in the ordering of light into the luminaries of the firmament (Gen 1:14). Tenacious commitment is denoted in the production of living beings that swim in the water, and birds that fly in the air (Gen 1:20).

By the sixth work, 'the putting on of love' (*informatio caritativa*), which Bonaventure links to the words of Gen 1:27, 'God made man in the image and likeness of himself,' he rounds off his hexameral account of the works of virtue with the perfecting role of charity. Unfortunately, the textual reception at this point is problematic. The editors of the Quaracchi publication of the *Opera Omnia* have amended the text to make sense of what is a tangle of variant readings. The proposal here is to depart from the Quaracchi edition and be guided by the reading of several other codices.[32] Taking all variants into consideration, my translation is as follows:

> In sixth place *the putting on of love* is required, to complete the works, [and to be] fully vested for all circumstances, as the law of divine love demands. For charity is the perfecting form of all; and he who has charity, has all those six works. The sixth work of virtue is therefore *the putting on of love*, which was indicated when it says, 'God made man according to his image and likeness.'

[32] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,14

> When the work of man is integrated from those six [works], then it is said that man lives uprightly.[33]

The choice of the Quaracchi editors to disregard the more common textual variant '*circumvestita omnibus circumstantiis*,' which modifies the complete works ('*integra*[-*ta*] *opera*') of God, overlooks a play on words involving the prefix *circum*- and misses a possible link which is consistent with the Bonaventurian association of the number six with the circle. It seems to me that there could be no such work assigned to the first virtue, *circumspectio provida*, 'comprehensive preparation' unless there was a created image of God formed on the sixth day, who perfects all the works of God by completing the circle through the highest love of God. Comprehensive preparation must anticipate the all-encompassing divine work that sums up all of creation, both material and spiritual. By completing the work of the sixth day, the works of the previous days have finally been 'fully clothed for all circumstances' (*circumvestita omnibus circumstantiis*). Without this sixth work, creation remains unclothed and unadorned, and thereby not encircled with love. Such is 'the demand of the law of

[33] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,14. (*Opera Omnia* V:522). Translation mine. Emphasis original. The amended Quaracchi version reads, '*Sexto requiritur informatio caritativa, ut sint integra opera, supervestita omnibus circumstantiis, secundum quod exigit lex divinae caritatis*.' Other MSS reflect: '*Sexto fecit Deus integra opera, circumvestita omnibus* etc. Another codex (Bodleian Library, Oxford 181 n.2) reads: '*Sexto requiritur informatio caritativa; unde sexto die fecit Deus integra opera, circumvestita omnibus circumstantiis, secundum quod exigit lex divinae caritatis*.'

divine love'.[34] This sixth 'work of virtue' of being clothed with charity that Bonaventure sees signified in the sixth day of creation contains the all-encompassing, perfective signification of the number six.

Bonaventure placed great weight on the importance of the third commandment, allotting a whole collation to this precept, and allocating it the centre-position among seven collations on the ten commandments. We saw this when he suggested that the moral law depends on the first commandment just as the works of God depend on the first divine works of creation in the beginning. Bonaventure further argued that all the commands may be summed up in the third precept. The collation addresses the commandment in terms of the hexaëmeron in both the literal and spiritual senses of the discourse. There is no mention of why it is Sunday that is observed as the Christian day of rest: the resurrection does not find a place in this particular sermon. It revolves around the issue of rest, both the rest of the soul and the repose of Christ in the tomb and the development of the theme of charity as the end of the command. A further question concerns the difficulty of the textual transmission of Bonaventure's sermons. We witness a good number of variant readings on matters pertaining to the hexaëmeron at 4,7 and 4,14. In any case, it appears that Bonaventure had lost no interest in shaping his thought in terms of the Six Days.

[34] Bonaventure, *Decem praeceptis* 4,14.

Apologia pauperum

The second work of the period to consider is Bonaventure's famous vindication of voluntary poverty, *Apologia pauperum*, or 'The Defence of the Mendicants' (1269).[35] The original Franciscans had worked manually and begged for their subsistence, professing to own no property either personally or in common. Nor were they to handle money. The pope legally exercised ownership of property, which the friars were allowed to utilize as they needed, like children who used their father's possessions.[36] Along with St Thomas Aquinas' *De perfectione vitae spiritualis* (1270),[37] the *Apologia* is a response to the *Contra adversarium perfectionis Christianae* ('Against an Adversary of Christian Perfection') of Gerard of Abbeville during the Second Mendicant Controversy at Paris in 1269.[38] Gerard, a

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[35] For an introduction to the subject of this work, see Karris (2010), 1-22 and Hughes (2014), 526-539. Decima Douie (1973), 585-612 provides a detailed study of the controversies.

[36] Douie (1973), 608.

[37] Full title: *De perfectione vitae spiritualis contra doctrinam retrahentium a religione* ('On the Perfection of the Spiritual Life: Against the Doctrine of those who would Dissuade from Entry to the Religious Life').

[38] Douie (1973),587-600. The first controversy was precipitated by the University's limiting the number of chairs or professorships held by each religious order to one in 1252, which lasted until 1257. Bonaventure had then responded to the attacks of William of St. Amour in his *Quaestiones disputatae de paupertate evangelica*, or 'Disputed Questions on Evangelical Poverty' between 1255 and 1256). Douie notes that Aquinas and Bonaventure were

secular priest and theologian at the University of Paris, had attacked the friars as imposters whose mendicancy he claimed was contrary to the Gospel and established ecclesiastical tradition. The polemic had utilised an earlier attack by William of Saint-Amour whose *De periculis novissorum temporum* (About the Dangers of the Last Times) was condemned by Pope Alexander IV in 1256. In the *Apologia*, Bonaventure defends the legitimacy of the friars' 'voluntary and penurious poverty,' their right to beg for their subsistence and the commendation of the way of life as exemplifying the Gospel call to radical, evangelical perfection. Against Gerard's seeming misconception that the friars' profession of poverty was an affront to the Church's possession of wealth, Bonaventure defends the Church's right to ownership.

In the Prologue, Bonaventure introduces his theme, presenting the need to defend faith and morals against falsehood. What follows is a vociferous treatise aimed at eradicating the seedlings of 'perverse teaching,' which he likened to 'a loathsome and horrible exhalation from the bottomless pit.' He understood Gerard's attack to be aimed first at 'toppling the pinnacle of evangelical perfection, second at demolishing its defences, third at subverting its very foundations, fourth at defaming with false accusations the sincerity of those who are poor for Christ.' This was his response to a 'pestiferous teaching,' corresponding to the order of the adversary's attack. It is therefore a fourfold reply in four lines of defence having

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accepted as Regent Masters on October 23, 1257, after which a truce lasted for ten years (p.600). But see Hammond (2009), 225, who clears away a lot of confusion surrounding disputed dates of Bonaventure's chronology.

three sides, or 'triangular fortifications.'[39] There are twelve chapters in all. While there are no signs of hexameral ordering in this pattern, there are some significant themes in this work regarding the six days that are worth noting.

The largest and most relevant section on the reception of the hexaëmeron in the *Apologia* is found in chapter three. But before we examine this in detail, some minor fragments in which the six days play an important role should be noted. There is a reference to the hexaëmeron in chapter six, on the subject of fasting and the question of why Christ did not always fast when expected to. This involves the question of what it means to follow Christ's example, taking into account that he ate at times when he was expected to abstain; he commanded, 'take no purse or bag or sandals' (Lk 10:4), yet possessed a money bag in common with the Apostles. One of the arguments of Bonaventure was that such examples of the Lord are concessions or consolations to the weak or imperfect.[40] Gerard of Abbeville had opposed this view, believing that imperfection was necessarily sinful and an expression of conformity with this world: 'How is imperfection imputed to him since all imperfection is not God's work, but pertains to the world? For we are imperfect in those matters in which we are not in conformity with the works of God, but with the works of the world. Imperfection in his work does not please the artisan, and what the Lord does or commands is pleasing to him.'[41] Bonaventure contradicts the argument, saying that on such a basis the absurd notion follows: since all things were first created imperfect before being perfected

[39] Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum*, Prol., 2-3.

[40] Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum* 8,35 and 5,6.

[41] See Gerard's *Contra adversarium* in Karris (2010), 156, ft.14; *Apologia pauperum* 6,6.

(over the work of the six days), all things at the beginning of God's creation would have displeased the Creator; therefore the world was not wisely made. On the basis of the hexaëmeron, Bonaventure argues that Gerard had an erroneous understanding of perfection.[42] Bonaventure also suggests that on this conception of imperfection, virtue, love, justice and even marriage, all of which are necessarily imperfect in this world, would therefore be displeasing to God.

In Chapter Three, Bonaventure introduces his most important hexameral argument, at the heart of the *Apologia*: the life of evangelical perfection as expressed through mendicancy, which he locates in the Lord's teaching on the Sermon on the Mount. As a 'conscientious author' of a theological discourse on the nature of evangelical perfection, he is not content merely to refute error (that of Gerard) but also to ensure that the radiance of true light shines 'upon the inner eyes of his readers.'[43] Here in the third chapter, Bonaventure reconciles the Pseudo-Dionysian notion of the prelate's role to purify, illuminate and perfect with that of the monks (who by and large were not ordained), who are purified, illuminated and perfected. It was Bonaventure's task to apply this tradition to the novel situation of his mendicant Order, which was no longer only a lay movement but had developed into a clerical order.[44] He must base his arguments firmly in the tradition of

[42] Another brief reference to the hexaëmeron (Gen 1:16) occurs at 11,10 where Bonaventure compares the two luminaries in the firmament to papal and imperial power, which forms a quote from the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX.

[43] *Apologia pauperum* 3,1. See also 3, 8-9.

[44] Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum* 3,21.

the Church, the Fathers of the Church, the Scriptures and in particular, the Gospels. Here he explains the nature of the three evangelical counsels of voluntary poverty, obedience and chastity in relation to the Beatitudes. Significantly, he reads the Beatitudes through the lens of the six days of creation, the ideal pattern for their consideration. In this way, he reasons, there is a direct correspondence between the sixfold perfection of the microcosm in the order of restoration and grace, and the sixfold creation of the universe in the order of nature.[45] He presents an intricate description of the Beatitudes, which he reduces to six. It is worth comparing this to his treatment of the beatitudes in the *Breviloquium* where, along with most other medieval authors, he finds seven.[46] In the *Breviloquium*, Bonaventure leaves out persecution for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, while in the *Apologia* he combines four of the beatitudes into two, while emphasising the final one (the persecuted)

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[45] Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum* 3,8: *ac per hoc senaria perfectio minoris mundi in esse reparationis et gratiae directe correspondet senariae productioni mundialis machinae in esse naturae*. (*Opera Omnia* 8:246)

[46] See Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 5,6. In the *Breviloquium*, Bonaventure like many other medieval commentators including Augustine, counts seven beatitudes as described in Mt 5:1-9. They are called beatitudes in view of the branching of out of the habits of grace from the First Principle because they 'are so closely related to their final end' (*Breviloquium* 5,6,2). Many medieval commentators including Augustine in *De sermone Domini in monte secundum Matthaeum* 1,3,10 enumerate seven rather than eight beatitudes, though not Aquinas (see the scholion of Bonaventure's commentary on the third book of the *Sentences* (*Opera omnia* III:793-94).

as the culminating point and the sum of them all, drawing the link between the final and the first, or poverty, both of which are 'for the sake of the Kingdom of heaven.' No doubt the different polemical circumstances of the secular versus mendicant controversy are a contributing factor here.

In the fray, an assortment of significant biblical and non-biblical images helps Bonaventure focus his argument back on the hexaëmeron. These include the 'ark of spiritual perfection,' the mountain of beatitudes, the circle, and the six wings of the seraphim. Bonaventure summarises Matthew 5:3-10 by combining 'Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness' (Mt 5:6) and 'Blessed are the merciful' (Mt 5:7) together as one and by uniting the 'pure in heart' (Mt 5:8) and 'the peacemakers' (Mt 5:9). The image of the ark envisaged is that of a tiered boat with three vaults (*camerae*) on the bottom deck, two in the middle and one at the top, conveying the sense of ascent to the summit.[47] By means of a playful use of words, Bonaventure associates the ark of spiritual perfection (*arca spiritualis perfectionis*) with Christ himself who taught the 'the secret of perfection' (*perfectionis*

[47] Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum* 3,8: *Secundum hoc igitur arca spiritualis perfectionis, cum sit inferius tricamerata et bicamerata in medio, in cubito consummatur* (cf. Gen 6:16). Six is the sum of its aliquot parts, i.e., 1+2+3. Later, in chapter seven, he would provide six reasons Jesus Christ possessed a money bag, using the same pattern of 1-2-3, amounting to six: 'Jesus Christ, the splendor and mirror of all perfection, possessed in a wonderful way a money bag: once to console the weak, twice to confound the wicked, and thrice to teach the perfect. Now once the sum of these is added together, the result is six, which is the number of perfection (*Apologia pauperum* 7,40).

arcanum) and signified this by ascending the 'lofty mountain' of Beatitudes, where he taught what Bonaventure has interpreted as the three evangelical counsels (poverty, obedience and chastity), two aspects of the religious life, namely the active and the contemplative lives, and the single 'supererogatory endurance of adversity.' The 'poor in spirit', the 'meek' and the 'mourners' are those who take the voluntary vows of poverty, obedience and chastity, respectively. Those who hunger and thirst for righteousness and the merciful are those who condescend to the love of neighbour in the active life. The pure in heart and the peacemakers lift up their affections in contemplative ascent to the Heavenly Jerusalem. Finally, those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake and endure adversity for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven conclude 'the circle that opened up at the beginning, for it is in this single beatitude that the sum of all things is accomplished.'[48] The idea may originate in Augustine, but Bonaventure has adapted the same idea of return to the origin as expressed in the number eight (Augustine) in favour of his own preferred sixfold arrangement.[49] It should also be noted that Bonaventure's 'ark of spiritual perfection' with

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[48] Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum* 3,8.

[49] Augustine in *De sermone Domini in monte secundum Matthaeum* 1,3,10 commented, 'Lastly is the seventh [beatitude], wisdom itself – i.e*.,* the contemplation of the truth, tranquilising the whole man, and assuming the likeness of God, which is thus summed up: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." The eighth, as it were, returns to the starting-point, because it shows and commends what is complete and perfect: therefore in the first and in the eighth the kingdom of heaven is named...Seven in number, therefore, are the things which bring perfection: for the eighth brings into light and

its three vaults on the lower deck, two in the middle, and the 'single cubit at its top' (cf. Gen 6:16) heightens the importance of the number six as it the result of the sum of its divisors (3+2+1).

As is typical of Bonaventure, the circle is tied to the six days. It is implicit in the argument that the final beatitude is linked back by means of the circle to poverty, for 'the kingdom of heaven' according to the Dominical teaching in the Sermon on the Mount, belongs to both the persecuted and the poor in spirit. Furthermore, poverty is the high ideal of the Franciscan way of life. It was also the point on which Gerard attacked the friars, who thereby suffered persecution for professing the evangelical counsels as presented in the Beatitudes. For Bonaventure it forms the clincher and summit to which all other beatitudes are ordered in a sixfold pattern.

The hexameral argument does not stop there. He goes on to describe the vows, which he had explained as the threefold avoidance of the lust of the eyes, the pride of life and the lust of the flesh (cf. 1 Jn 2:16), as comparable to the division that occurred in the first three days of Genesis 1. 'In the first three beatitudes there is, in a sense, a division when the powers of the soul are separated from every evil in order that their existence may be pure and distinct.'[50] The next three are then depicted as a kind of adornment; what is negated becomes a positive reality, by being 'returned to God in order that their existence may

shows what is perfect, so that starting, as it were, from the beginning again, the others also are perfected by means of these stages.'

[50] Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum* 3,9. Cf. 3,5.

become beautiful and perfect.'[51] Bonaventure sees such an admirable degree of similarity and symbolism between each beatitude and the six days that the words of Genesis 2:1, 'so the heavens and the earth were completed, and all their work (*ornatus* in Vulgate),' may be seen to be achieved 'in the soul of the perfect man.'[52] Just as the work of adornment parallels the work of distinction, so too for Bonaventure, the first three beatitudes (the vows), the foundation of the perfect life are complemented by the next three which are a matter of free choice (*desiderio*). Quoting St. Francis in the Later Rule of 1223, Bonaventure supports this interpretation:

> But he recommended the other three later as desirable complements and said: 'Let the brothers pay attention to what they must desire above all else: to have the Spirit of the Lord and its holy activity, to pray always to Him with a pure heart, to have humility and patience in persecution and infirmity and to love those who persecute, rebuke and find fault with us.'[53]

St. Francis is the perfect man who is crucified to the world through the vows, and who recommended the three beatitudes as 'desirable complements' and as expressive of

[51] *Tria sequentia quasi adornando easdem reducunt in Deum, ut habeant esse decorum atque perfectum*.

[52] Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum* 3.9.

[53] Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum* 3,10.

conformity to God. 'Like a six-winged seraph, he is elevated above the things of the world and carried aloft to the divine.'[54]

Conclusion

To summarize the evident hexameral imprints in the theological works during Bonaventure's period in office as Minister General: even if in the intervening years as Minister General references and allusions to the first chapter of Genesis fade from view, the notable exceptions illustrate that Bonaventure's hexameral interest was far from diminished. In fact, the fragmentary nature of these examples manifests a 'concentration' of hexameral themes that could be the subject of a study in its own right.

The *Apologia pauperum* was found to bear no structural or thematic patterns as a whole, as did a number of works in the period prior to the composition of the *Itinerarium*. But it does contain a number of significant allusions and references to Genesis 1 that support the overall argument of the mendicant side in response to the seculars in Paris during the thirteenth century.

In the *Collationes in decem praeceptis*, Bonaventure presupposes that the precepts of the decalogue derive their 'foundation and standard' from the first commandment, just as in the hexaëmeron is the 'foundation and standard' of all other works. The third commandment is given an extended treatment in terms of the six days, and given central place in the structure of the *Collationes*. In Bonaventure's mind the Christian understanding of the third commandment fulfills the meaning of the seventh day of creation by expressing

[54] Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum* 3,10.

the most important theological virtue of charity. It therefore draws out the meaning of all the precepts. What we find in the hexameral fragments of both these works are condensed arguments and descriptions that demonstrate Bonaventure still considered the Six Days to be of theological import, whether in arguing against Averroistic philosophical principles that posited the possibility of an eternal world, or in the theology of evangelical perfection and thus of the interpretation of the Gospels themselves.

Chapter Five

Collationes in hexaëmeron

Introduction

Bonaventure's final work, the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* (1273), was never completed; nevertheless, it may be regarded as the theological pinnacle of his entire corpus.[1] Judging by the title of the work, it might well be considered the place to turn for a Bonaventurian commentary on the opening chapter of the Bible. Instead, we discover twenty-three university sermons or conferences that contain the Minister General's program of intellectual and spiritual formation addressed to student friars and masters at the University of Paris.[2] The conferences confront the main theological and philosophical problems confronting the friars in the mid-to-late thirteenth century, such as the secular-mendicant

[1] Throughout this chapter, we will often refer to the work simply as the '*Collationes*,' except for the footnotes, where references will made to '*Hexaëmeron*.' The Quaracchi editors (*Opera omnia* 5:329) note that the Vatican edition of the work is entitled *Illuminationes ecclesiae in hexaëmeron*, but outline their preference for the former.

[2] See Bougerol (1964), 131, who tells us, 'All the intelligentsia of Paris came running to hear him.'

controversy, Christian Averroism in the Faculty of Arts and the Joachite eschatology within the Order.[3]

The *Collationes* form a unified treatise structured around six 'visions,' the interpretive lens of Bonaventure's engagement with the hexaëmeron, which shapes this work. Each vision consists of several collations, which were delivered in conference style proceedings over a number of mornings and evenings between Easter (April 9) and Pentecost (May 28) of 1273.[4] The 'exuberant richness' and intricate structure of the *Collationes* do not permit a detailed analysis of Bonaventure's reception of Genesis in this chapter.[5] That might fill a book. Instead, we will examine the general pattern of Genesis in each 'vision' rather than in the individual collations, some of which appear to have been interrupted and then taken up anew in the subsequent conferences. Before we engage with the visions *per se*, the following themes will first be considered in order to put the *Collationes* into perspective:

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[3] For more on the ideas attributed to Joachim of Fiore and their influence within the Franciscan Order, see the Excursus at the end of this chapter.

[4] See Hammond (2018), 5.

[5] McGinn (1998), 96. In full, McGinn states, 'The exuberant richness of the spiritual exegesis of the *Collations* makes them difficult reading for students of medieval theology more used to logical distinction and syllogistic demonstration. But if the scholastic mentality was primarily directed toward theological synthesis based on systematic organizing principles, Bonaventure's *Collations* should be considered one of its high points – a masterpiece of symbolic and mystical theology.'

a) a summary and outline of the work.

b) an introduction to the nature of the work, and a consideration of the grouping of the sermons into 'visions' (*visiones*).

c) a discussion of Bonaventure' reception of Pseudo-Dionysius as seen in this example of hexameral literature.

a) The Division of the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*

The text of the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* as it has reached us in the Quaracchi publication of 1891 is a redaction that is 'an intermediate state between the *reportatio* [by the collator] and the commercial copy,' and as such exhibits in several respects the oral, perfunctory character of the sermons delivered by the former Master.[6]

The first three collations may be read as an extended quasi-prologue to the 'body' of the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*.[7] They are based on a protheme from Sirach, 'In the midst of the

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[6] Hammond (2018), 70, ft. 417. For the text of the *Collationes in hexaëmeron,* see Bonaventure, *Opera omnia* V:329-449. Unfortunately, I have failed to obtain a copy of the shorter *reportatio* edited by M. Ferdinand Delorme, though Hammond's translation helpfully includes the many variant points of the text in his footnotes, some of which are noted in this study. The Quaracchi *redactio* remains the critical edition of the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*. See Hammond (2018), 70-72.

[7] See Hughes (2005), 112, who refers to the first three collations as unprecedented and 'a prolonged *prothematic* discussion of speaker and audience that prepares both for the work that lies ahead of them.'

Church the Lord will open his mouth and will fill him with the spirit of wisdom and understanding, and will clothe him with a robe of glory (Sir 15:5).'[8]

The first collation establishes that Christ is the divine and universal centre – of the Trinitarian God in his divinity and of all created things in his Incarnation. Bonaventure describes Christ as the universal centre by describing him as the central term of seven conditions: of essence, nature, distance, teaching, moderation, justice and concord, corresponding respectively to the academic disciplines of metaphysics, physics, mathematics, logic, ethics, politics/law, and theology.

The second collation discusses the importance of the four forms of wisdom's beauty: uniform in the divine laws, multiform in the mysteries of the divine Scriptures, omniform in the vestiges of the divine works, and without-form (*nulliformis*) in the elevations of divine excess.[9]

The third collation introduces the 'key to contemplation' which consists of the threefold understanding (*intellectus*) of the Uncreated Word, the Incarnate Word and the Inspired Word. Through the first all things are made, through the second all things are restored, and through the third all things are revealed. 'For unless a person can consider how things are

[8] The version of the Scripture text is Hammond's translation, who for the most part cites the Latin Vulgate in his edition of the *Collations on the Hexaëmeron*. Modern translations do not always convey the meaning as understood by Bonaventure. See Hammond (2018) in his Introduction to *Collations on the Hexaëmeron*, p.69.

[9] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 2,8.

originated, how they are led back to the end, and how God shines forth in them, one cannot have understanding (*intelligentiam*).'[10]

Bonaventure provides a brief introduction to the proposed six visions in the context of his discussion of the Inspired Word.[11] Each of the days of the hexaëmeron was to symbolise a stage of wisdom, or 'vision of understanding' proposed for the intellectual and spiritual growth of *viri spirituales*, or 'spiritual men,' i.e., the ideal Friar Minor, as opposed to the 'Spiritual' or Joachite factions that were splitting the Order. (See the Excursus for more information on this topic). Apart from the common Augustinian classification of 'corporal, imaginary and intellectual' perception, Bonaventure proposed a sevenfold vision based partly on the six days of work, and perfected by the seventh day of rest – and he even proposed an eighth, the age of resurrection.[12] The creation of light on day one of the hexaëmeron stands for knowledge naturally acquired, or understanding reached on its own (*de se*) and implanted by nature (*per naturam inditae*). On this light depends *all* higher forms of knowledge that come through faith, grace and the light of wisdom.[13] The theological, or anagogical meaning taken on by the metaphor of light is left to the fourth vision. The natural light of reason stands as the fundamental basis for the higher gifts of wisdom, and provides the students with an approach to learning by enhancing the study of

[10] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,2.

[11] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,24-31; cf. 3,32.

[12] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,23; 3,31.

[13] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,24-5

the sciences with the spirit of humility and piety. To summarise the approach Bonaventure will take in commenting on the six days as forms of wisdom:

> Besides these [threefold Augustinian corporal, imaginary and intellectual visions], there is a sixfold vision, which corresponds to the works of the six days; through these, the lesser world is completed, just as the greater world was in six days. This is the vision of understanding (*intelligentiae*) implanted by nature and [then] the vision of understanding lifted up by faith, taught by Scripture, suspended by contemplation, enlightened by prophecy, absorbed into God by rapture. To these follow the seventh vision of the glorified soul, all of which Paul had. The first two are many, the next two of a few, the last two of a very few.[14]

Following the introductory three collations, the remaining twenty collations are divided as follows:

- **The first vision**: four collations (nos. 4-7) on understanding implanted by nature, corresponding to the creation of light and the separation of light from darkness on the first day.
- **The second vision**: five collations (nos. 8-12) on understanding lifted up by faith, corresponding to the second day in which the firmament was separated from the waters.

[14] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,24; cf. 2,28-34. On the threefold understanding see Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 12,6,15-21.

- **The third vision**: seven collations (nos. 13-19) on understanding taught by Scripture, corresponding to the appearance of dry land and the production of vegetation on the third day.
- **The fourth vision**: four collations (nos. 20-23) as understanding suspended by contemplation, corresponding to the adornment of the sun, the moon and the stars on day four.

We are therefore missing the three final proposed visions that correspond to the fifth, sixth and seventh days: understanding enlightened by prophecy, understanding absorbed into God by rapture, and understanding of the glorified soul. This caused the collator to lament, 'But alas, alas, as a higher state and an excess of life overcame the lord and master, they did not permit him to continue this work.'[15] Bonaventure's elevation as cardinal bishop of Albano on May 28, 1273, and subsequent episcopal ordination in November of that year prevented it. However much is missing of the *Collationes*, it is worth bearing in mind that what we do in fact possess is 'a masterpiece of symbolic and mystical theology.'[16] We still possess twenty-three thematically unified and constructive addresses. Furthermore, knowing Bonaventure's past works and his propensity to skilfully emphasise the fourth part of a seven-part series as centre, in possessing the fourth vision of the *Collationes*, we may speculate on what might have been the heart of that hypothetically completed work. It is likely, as Anderson assumes, that by the time he preached the sermons on the fourth vision,

[15] The Reporter, *Hexaëmeron*, Epilogue; see Hammond (2018), 418.

[16] McGinn (1998), 97.

he suddenly became aware that he would be unable to complete the whole work.[17] As a result, a number of themes that appear in the final *Collationes* may have been telescoped, or originally intended for the seventh vision.[18]

The *Collationes* evince the classic medieval sensitivity to symbolism, which is some ways seems to stretch the imagination. The arguments are interwoven with symbols and Scriptural allusions that would have been familiar to his educated audience. The structure of the overall themes are expansive and intricate. A good example of this is Bonaventure's seven 'illuminations' or 'centres' in which he illustrates his favourite theme of how Christ is the centre of all knowledge and of all the scholastic disciplines. Here he condenses his broad theological outlook and harmonizes the first and last Books of the Scriptures:

> These centres are the *seven golden lamp-stands*, or Christ *in the midst of the lamp-stands*, which are the seven wise illuminations mentioned, namely: metaphysics, etc. [i.e., physics, mathematics, logic, ethics, politics and theology]. These illuminations are the *seven eyes of the Lamb* and the *seven facets upon*

[17] Anderson (2002), 155.

[18] The fourth and middle chapter of the *Itinerarium* reveals similarities in content matter with the fourth vision of the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*. Further investigation shows that the themes unique to the seventh chapter of the *Itinerarium* are also manifest in the final collation of the fourth vision, e.g., St Francis as the perfect example of excessive ecstasy of contemplation and of rapture and the entering the mystical darkness, etc. (see *Hexaëmeron* 22,22 and 23,30).

one stone as mentioned by Zechariah, and the *seven days* that the first light made.[19]

The first sense, essence, corresponds to the metaphysical order of being, to which Bonaventure attends over and above all other orders. Metaphysics was, after all, one of the controversial issues faced by Bonaventure the theologian in his dispute with the Averroist philosophers of the Faculty of Arts in Paris. Not only is the Word the centre, in Jesus Christ he is the beginning and the end of Scripture, theology and of all reality. But one is only a true metaphysician when, as Bonaventure himself puts it, Christ is the centre of metaphysics in his eternal origin, as the Person who is both produced and producing, the exemplating centre (*exemplantis medii*), and representative of all Trinitarian Persons.[20] As centre in the theological sense he is the source of peace 'by universal union

[19] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 1,39; cf. 1,11.

[20] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 1,12: The Father has the reckoning (*ratio*) of originating principle; the Son, the reckoning of the exemplating centre (*exemplantis medii*); and the Spirit the reckoning of final completion. Further, at 1,13: 'Although the metaphysician may rise from a consideration of the principles of created and particular substances to the universal and uncreated and to that "to Be" (*esse*), so that one has the relation (*ratione*) of beginning, middle (*medii*), and ultimate end, yet [one does] not [have that "to Be"] in the relation of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit...But when one considers that "to Be" in the relation of the exemplar of all things, one communicates [with no other science] and is a true metaphysician.'

(*conciliatione*).'[21] For the task of the theologian is to consider how the world made by God can be returned to him, and although they consider the works of creation, they still principally deal with the works of reconciliation.[22]

The style of discourse of the *Collationes* has been specified as 'protreptic'; a form of persuasive art in which the rhetorical style is disposed to move the audience to a particular form of life, and less to winning an argument on the demonstration of facts. Its persuasive character provides exemplary instances of the ideal life and shows the way to achieve it.[23] Wisdom is given to according to the measure of faith; thus, the more a person works on understanding, the wiser they become, and that faith is gained through humility. Paul and Moses are exemplars of this kind of faithful and wise person.[24] The Franciscans ought to look to their Founder, St. Francis, who observed a life of the 'highest poverty'. Only in this way would they become true contemplatives, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel.[25] Bonaventure's method is moreover concerned with moving his audience to see that the Scriptures reveal Christ to be the perfect exemplar of holy living, and the metaphysical centre of all reality.

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[21] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 1,11.

[22] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 1,37.

[23] Hughes (2005), 107-129.

[24] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 2,19.

[25] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 20,30.

b) Six days: 'Six Visions'

In adapting the hexaëmeron to a series of 'visions', Bonaventure recalled the Prophet Daniel to whom '*God gave the understanding of all visions and dreams* (Dan 1:17).' Daniel understood the message written on the wall.[26] The connection is not explained, but assumed, but we can attempt to probe the relationship. So too, Joseph, the other interpreter of dreams, is emblematic of those who are gifted with true wisdom. Their understanding went beyond the corporeal and imaginary, for Joseph understood the mysterious dream of Pharoah and Daniel the vision of Belshazzar (Gen 41:14-36 and Dan 5:17-28). They were led by the 'Inspired Word' to the meaning hidden behind the veil of images and revealed only to 'a few'.[27] Daniel is linked with Paul in the New Testament, who possessed all seven visions that Bonaventure set out to unravel in the *Collationes*, including that of the glorified soul.[28] The Inspired Word 'penetrates into angelic and human minds…mak[ing] them understand these visions, because the inspired word is understanding and pure spirit.'[29] The Inspired Word, at work in the sacred Scriptures, nourishes not only human minds, but even angelic intellects.[30]

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[26] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,22; cf. also 20,1 and Dan 1:17.

[27] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,24.

[28] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,23-24.

[29] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,32.

[30] There is some discrepancy on this point at *Hexaëmeron* 2,11 where Bonaventure explains Eph 3:8-10 ('*…that through the Church, the multiform wisdom of God may become known*

Undoubtedly, Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram* has influenced Bonaventure's *Collationes in hexaëmeron*. In particular, Book Twelve of Augustine's commentary, which discusses 'the third heaven' and the nature of intellectual (meaning ecstatic) vision presumably stands behind the third collation's introduction of the sixth vision as 'understanding absorbed by rapture into God,' where Bonaventure cites Paul's vision of '*a man, who fourteen years ago was raptured in this manner – whether in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows* (2 Cor 12:2).'[31] Augustine discusses this very passage in his Book Twelve, where we find his division of knowledge into sensible, spiritual/imaginary, and intellectual 'vision' in connection with the visions of Pharoah, Belshazzar, and the ministries of Joseph and Daniel.[32] So too Bonaventure introduced his 'visions,' in continuity with this hexameral tradition. These visions, it will be seen, are further influenced by Pseudo-Dionysius in the hope of imparting a fully-fledged program of the soul's ascent from the light of natural reason to the secret and mystical knowledge that transcends all understanding. Bonaventure's *Collationes* therefore reflect the long tradition of hexameral

through the Principalities and Powers in the heavens') as the wisdom that was made known to the angels through the apostolic ministry, and not as though Paul were teaching angels. Augustine explained that the angels were also made to know through the ministry of the Church in time, as distinct from knowing in God at the beginning. See Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 5,19,39.

[31] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,30. See Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 12,28-9 on the parallels between the third heaven and intellectual/ecstatic vision.

[32] Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 12,9,20 and 12,11,23.

literature that derives an expansive program of education, ascesis and wisdom from the six days.[33]

The description of wisdom and contemplation through 'visions' possibly also reflects Augustine's noetic interpretation of the 'evenings' and 'mornings' of the creation account as angelic cognition rather than literal days. For Augustine, 'the Heavens' described in Genesis 1:1, and the light that illuminated the darkness and formed the unformed matter of 'earth' represents the first of the intellectual creatures, the angels.[34] Evening brings knowledge of creatures and morning produces the knowledge of creatures in God. 'When the created light so acts in coming to the knowledge of itself, there is one day.'[35] The days of creation were not literally twenty-four-hour periods, but rather seven stages of angelic knowledge of the material creation which had been created simultaneously.[36] As he put it in his *City of God*:

> If the angels are among the works of God of those days, they are that light which received the name of 'day.' Thus the second day, and the third, and the rest are not different days; the same 'one day' was repeated to complete the number of six or seven, to represent the seven stages of knowledge, the six stages

[33] See McClain (2015), 101-125.

[34] See Augustine, *Confessiones*, 12,9; 12,13

[35] Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 4,22,39. See also *De civitate Dei*, 11,7.

[36] For another comparison of Bonaventure and Augustine on this theme, but relating to the *Itinerarium*, see Reynolds (1982), 190-215.

> comprehending the created works, and the seventh stage embracing God's rest.[37]

Bonaventure accepts the implications of Augustine's account, but the six days are employed in the *Collationes* to serve as a pattern for human intellectual illumination. In Bonaventure, the meaning of the six days is arranged so that Augustine's angelic knowledge gives way to *human* cognition from the very beginning of the pattern, while preserving the integrity of the days as plainly indicating the passing of material time. Augustine himself had seen his account of the angels' knowledge as applicable to human cognition, though it appears that Bonaventure had applied it as a matter of course, as though what was of secondary importance to Augustine became foundational to Bonaventure.[38] Knowledge was given instantly to the angels in their very creation, and they were fully enlightened 'through the knowledge of dusk and dawn' – but not so the human intellect, which from early childhood to late maturity, changes and develops with time.[39] Scripture, after all, was written primarily to serve the restoration of the world to the knowledge, praise, and love of God.[40] In Bonaventure, the spiritual, and specifically anagogic, meaning of the six days that renders an account of angelic knowledge is indeed applied to the illumination of the human

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[37] Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 11,9.

[38] Augustine's final Book 12 of the *De Genesi ad litteram* in its discussion of human corporal, spiritual-imaginary, and intellectual vision manifests this point. See also Teselle (1968), 97.

[39] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,8,1; *Hexaëmeron* 22,3.

[40] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 13,12.

mind.[41] How the angels are involved in this enlightenment will be the subject of the fourth vision.

c) Bonaventure's Dionysian View of Genesis in the *Collationes*

Beside Paul, who attained the state of 'rapture' associated with the sixth vision, stands Dionysius, who for Bonaventure was Paul's contemporary, convert, and the presumed author of *The Celestial Hierarchy*, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* and *The Mystical Theology*.[42] Bonaventure remarked — perhaps alluding to Moses, who ordered the tabernacle according to the pattern revealed to him (Ex 25:40) — that Dionysius 'ordered the Church according to the exemplar, which was shown to him.'[43] The point is, our three protagonists operate according to a divinely revealed paradigm. Bonaventure links the mystical ascent of Dionysius' threefold purification, illumination and perfection to the understanding of the inner depths of Sacred Scripture. The seven proposed visions of the *Collationes*, Bonaventure suggests, are '*the key of David*', which teaches the Inspired Word, and which 'comes about by way of a divine ray of light (*radium*).'[44] The hexaëmeron, along with this Dionysian interpretive lens, is thus crucial to unlocking the meaning of Scripture as a whole.

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[41] The anagogical sense of Scripture concerns the Trinity, exemplary wisdom, the angels, and the Church Triumphant. See *Hexaëmeron* 13,19.

[42] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,30-32.

[43] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,30; cf. 2,29.

[44] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,32; cf. 3,21. See also Ps-Dionysius, *The Celestial Hierarchy* 1,2.

Bonaventure harmonizes the rich Dionysian description of light to the biblical hexaëmeron. In this Neo-Platonist view, light is responsible for the origins of living things, it nourishes, preserves, purifies and perfects them. Dionysius remarked that the light that now shines in the sun was originally the light 'that according to the divine Moses, marked the first three days at the beginning of time'; it is therefore the measure and enumerator of the hours and days.[45] That outlook closely correlates with Bonaventure's, suggesting a reason for his attention to Dionysius.

By drawing on this imagery, Bonaventure proffers a theological-anagogical expression of the creation account. He refers to the illuminating ray, which for Dionysius is furthermore 'Jesus, the Light of the Father.'[46] Quoting Dionysius's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Bonaventure explains that 'it is the Divine Law to lead back the lowest to the highest through the intermediate.'[47] This divine order which is surely in the background of Bonaventure's thinking on the six days is envisaged as a ray of light, which not only applies to human souls but even descends 'upon the celestial hierarchy…and through it, the ecclesiastical or sub-celestial [hierarchy].'[48] The significance of the first chapter of Genesis for Bonaventure is thereby enhanced with these examples from Dionysius. Bonaventure's invocation of

[45] Ps-Dionysius, *Divine Names* 4,4 (700A).

[46] Ps-Dionysius, *Celestial Hierarchy* 1,2.

[47] Ps-Dionysius, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 5; See Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,32.

[48] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,32.

Dionysius's prayer from the *Celestial Hierarchy* serves to underscore or illuminate the hexameral background to the *Collationes*:

> Let us, then, call upon Jesus, the Light of the Father, the "true light enlightening every man coming into the world," [Jn 1:9] "through whom we have obtained access" [Rom 5:2] to the Father, the light which is the source of all light. To the best of our abilities, we should raise our eyes to the paternally transmitted enlightenment coming from sacred scripture and, as far as we can, we should behold the intelligent hierarchies of heaven and we should do so in accordance with what scripture has revealed in symbolic and uplifting fashion. We must lift up the immaterial and steady eyes of our minds to that outpouring of Light which is so primal, indeed much more so, and which comes from that source of divinity, I mean the Father. This is the Light which, by way of representative symbols, makes known to us the most blessed hierarchies among the angels. But we need to rise from this outpouring of illumination so as to come to the simple ray of Light itself.[49]

The appeal to Dionysius's invocation provides Bonaventure with a means of developing his anagogic reading of the hexaëmeron, founded as it is on the structure proposed in

[49] Ps-Dionysius, *Celestial Hierarchy* 1,2. The text of the *Hexaëmeron* includes only the opening lines of the prayer at 3,32.

Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*.[50] Augustine's interpretation places the emphasis on the angels who 'could know the creature through the Creator, not the Creator through the creature.'[51] Thus not only are the pure spirits created prior to all other creatures (which is not in dispute), but their genesis becomes the principle meaning of the six days for Augustine. Meanwhile the Dionysian emphasis on human nature to come to recognize invisible realities principally through physical signs, and by this to rise to God, lends support to Bonaventure's view of the symbolic capacity of the creation narrative as a means of instruction and 'uplifting' for the human creature. It was for the author of the *Collationes* to prioritize humanity as the chief recipient of divine revelation even if that first came through the ministry of angels. (Cf. Gal 3:19).[52] Bonaventure did not merely uphold a Christian philosophy of creation by targeting the Averroists of the Paris Arts School and attacking the doctrine that angels created the material world, but by adopting Dionysius's anagogic understanding of light's production along with his own view of the hexameral illumination of Scripture, maintained that the ray of light produces everything, and descends upon and illuminates both the angels, and through them, the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Finally, 'in a

[50] It could be argued that this is an allegorical understanding, if we stood by Bonaventure's categorizing of the assumed humanity of Christ under that sense as in *Hexaëmeron* 13,20. But the context of Dionysius' *Celestial Hierarchy* 1,2 which speaks of the 'intelligent hierarchies of heaven' and Scripture's revelation in 'symbolic and uplifting fashion' suggests the anagogical meaning.

[51] Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 5,5,14.

[52] See Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 4,7.

resolving order (*ordine resolutorio*), that ray of light leads us back to heavenly contemplation and then to the super-heavenly.'[53]

Since the Book of Scripture provides light for fallen humanity's partial blindness with respect to the Book of creation, the first chapter of Genesis also provides a code for understanding the macrocosm, or 'greater world,' which is summed up in the microcosm, or 'lesser world' of the human soul created on the sixth day. For the rational creature sums up within itself all that is created, both material and spiritual.[54] 'There is a sixfold vision, which corresponds to the works of the six days; through these, the lesser world is completed, just as the greater world was in six days.'[55]

Two important sources are therefore harmonized in Bonaventure's *Collationes.* Dionysius appears to have been appropriated in order to modify Augustine to preserve the successive view of the six days, and to provide what Bonaventure considers the authentic path to the anagogical meaning of the hexaëmeron. The Minister General offers his fellow Franciscan scholars a 'masterclass' in reading of Scripture, that is relevant to the issues of his own Order and the circumstances they find themselves in at the University of Paris. And by drawing on the old fashioned hexameral literary form to teach theology he upholds the

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[53] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,32

[54] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 20,8. 'Consider that within the contemplative soul the whole world is described, and any heavenly Spirit whatsoever, which has in it the description of the entire world.'

[55] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,24.

importance of the six days as the origin of theology. We can therefore now move to outline this reception of Genesis in the *Collationes* in the first, second, third and fourth visions.

The First Vision (Collations 4-7) 'Understanding Implanted by Nature'

The creation of light and the separation of light from darkness on the first day (Gen 1:1-5) is the predominant symbol of the first vision, by which Bonaventure introduces understanding (*intelligentia*) acquired by natural reason. This light, Bonaventure reminds his listeners, was good (Gen 1:4). He drew a connection between light and knowledge leading to the refrain in Genesis, 'God saw that it was good,' for, Bonaventure explains, 'God is said to look because he makes us to look.'[56] Here he draws attention to the difficulty faced by the 'philosophers,' – no doubt including in that group the Averroists of the Paris Arts Faculty – who possessed the naturally given knowledge of the nine sciences and promised a tenth, namely contemplation, but failed to do so. Many prided themselves in knowledge and while seeking to overcome error actually immersed themselves further into the darkness of greater errors, thereby becoming 'lucifers.'[57] Lucifer, and Adam in his turn, had investigated more than was their concern, thus falling from contemplation. Nor were they 'led back (*reductus fuisset*) from the knowledge of creatures to the unity of the Father,' failing thereby to turn 'dusk to dawn' and enjoy the daylight.[58]

[56] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 4,1.

[57] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 4,1.

[58] Cf. Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 1,17.

'The vision of understanding implanted by nature, as it turns to things, is truth.'[59] By turning towards the light the soul comes to see that the light is truth, a truth that has no setting.[60] This involves the soul's turning towards itself, toward spiritual intelligences and finally toward the Eternal Reasons.[61] Even Plotinus and Cicero, who held to the divine Ideas and worshipped one God 'were still in the dark because they did not have the light of faith, we, however do have the light of faith.'[62] The light which shines upon the soul is truth, and truth cannot be thought not to be, at least not without contradiction. That light shines as the truth of things (or nature), the truth of words (or signs), and as the truth of morals – expressing the division of the sciences into natural, rational and moral philosophy.[63] As the truth of things or nature, it consists of the correspondence of being (*entis*) and existence (*esse*). As the truth of words it consists of the correspondence of the word and understanding. As the truth of morals it consists of good living. 'Insofar as this light is the cause of being, it is the great light (*lux magna*); insofar as it is the reason of understanding, it is the clear light, and insofar as it is an order of living, it is the good light; *God*, it says, *saw*

[59] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 4,6.

[60] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 4,1.

[61] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 5,23.

[62] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 7,3.

[63] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 4,2. Hence the division of the 'nine' sciences. Natural philosophy produces metaphysics, mathematics and physics. Rational philosophy provides grammar, logic and rhetoric. Moral philosophy is divided into ethics, economics, and politics. See the note by Hammond (2018), 129, ft.6 in his translation of the *Hexaëmeron*.

that the light was good.'[64] From these natural and rational aspects of the light of knowledge, Bonaventure would emphasise the moral aspect as necessary for the pursuit of sapiential contemplation, that science which the philosophers proposed but never brought forth. It was a light which the philosophers could and did receive; however, it was incomplete because without the aid of divine revelation they were not able to understand that the human soul was infected to the core and needed to be healed.

By the words '*God saw the light, that it was good*' (Gen 1:4), Bonaventure further suggests that the natural gift of vision or 'scientific consideration' must be elevated by the light shining as wisdom, or the truth of contemplation.[65] The best of the philosophers, like Plato, Plotinus, and Cicero could enjoy some light – not its fullness, but nevertheless more so than Aristotle. The reason was that the better philosophers recognised in the Eternal Light (*lux*) the exemplar of all things, i.e., that the ideas of truth and goodness are originally and primarily within God, including the exemplary virtues.[66] The arrangement of the world itself corresponds to the virtues, as Bonaventure puts it: '…the virtues are configured as the

[64] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 5,1. (cf. Gen 1:16 the two 'great' lights).

[65] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 7,1 and 6,24.

[66] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 6,5-6; cf. 6,2.

four influences of light (*lucis influentis*) …: light cleanses, enlightens, perfects and stabilizes (*stabilit*)…'[67]

The highly symbolic nature of light for Bonaventure elicits a multifaceted treatment in the *Collationes*. Light is the substantial form of all material realities, not merely enabling the eye to see, but as activating all senses to perceive. We have seen that this was related to Bonaventure's literal interpretation of the text. While he understands the verse, 'God said, "Let there be light"' (Gen 1:3) as ultimately the revelation that all created things are made in the uncreated Light, a primary consideration for Bonaventure is its significance with regard to natural reason or philosophy; the former meaning can only truly be known in light of the Ideas in the mind of God. After all, it is revealed in Scripture that 'God said' (Gen 1:3), i.e., everything created is an expression of the Creator with a beginning in time. Therefore, all wisdom, whether partially deciphered in creation or revealed more fully in Scripture was already present in the uncreated Word. Accordingly, in the *Collationes* we also encounter the important spiritual meaning of light as applied to the triple Dionysian function of cleansing, enlightening and perfecting, as well as Bonaventure's expression of the soul's need to be stabilized, or confirmed. By this term, he expresses the concept of *reductio* or leading the soul back to rest in the unity and immutability of its divine source.[68]

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[67] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 6,20. For a development of this theme, and the correspondence between the cardinal virtues, the four elements, and light, see Emery (1983), 200-14.

[68] On light as effecting 'stabilization' see Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 6,13; cf. 7,19. See also Hinwood (1978), 227 and Gilson (1965), 259.

The first vision sets the scene for much of what will follow in the next three visions. It begins with a discussion of the knowledge reached by the philosophers through the natural light of reason and comes to an end by arguing that they fell short of true wisdom and into the darkness of the threefold error attributed to Aristotle, who according to Bonaventure denied 'the truth of eternal art, the truth of divine providence, and the truth of the fall of the angels.'[69] This could lead to a threefold error: the eternal world, the unity of the intellect and ignorance of future punishment or glory. But even aside from the rejection of the Ideas in the mind of God, ignorance of 'the illness and the cause, the physician and the medicine' kept the philosophers in darkness, deprived of the light.[70] They did not know the cause, because they did not have faith, and only faith can lead the soul to know that Adam ate of the forbidden tree.[71] Nor did they know the Word Incarnate and Christ crucified as the physician, or recognize the medicine, that is the grace of the Holy Spirit.[72] Like ostriches, they possessed wings but could not fly.[73] God divided the light from the darkness to show that it is necessary for those who desire true wisdom to separate themselves from darkness:

[69] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 7,1.

[70] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 7,8.

[71] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 7,9.

[72] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 7,10-11.

[73] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 7,12.

'Faith alone *divided the light from the darkness*. Hence the Apostle: *For you were heretofore darkness, but now light in the Lord* (Eph 5:8).'[74]

The philosophers' teachings on the cardinal virtues (of justice, prudence, fortitude and temperance) were assessed by Bonaventure as 'deformed and naked,' for they were not clothed with the 'gold of love,' or faith or with hope. They 'were not divided,' that is, not separated from darkness.[75] They did not know that true happiness consisted in God, but proposed a cycle of happiness; they thought rewards in this life were sufficient, not recognizing the soul's interior corruption.[76]

In further references to the opening chapters of Genesis apart from the hexaëmeron, Bonaventure associates the four cardinal virtues, which flow from faith, with the four rivers of Paradise (Gen 2:10-14): 'The river is the grace of the Holy Spirit diffused in these four virtues': Pishon to temperance, Gihon to prudence, Tigris to fortitude, and the Euphrates to justice.[77] As charity they are linked to the four ornaments of the tabernacle (Ex 26:1-37). As hope they are associated with the four sides of the city (Apoc 21:16). While the

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[74] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 7,13.

[75] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 7,4; 7,13-15.

[76] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 7,14. Human love must be purified by divine love (*amor*) a 'love that is pure, provident, pious and everlasting: pure in respect to temperance, provident in respect to prudence, pious in respect to justice, and everlasting in respect to fortitude.' (7,14)

[77] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 7,16.

philosophers recognised the four cardinal virtues, for them they were 'were stones,' while for the Christian believer they are the 'seven loaves of life' (cf. Mt 15:34) because revelation points to the need for the three theological virtues as well.[78] A further array of scriptural symbols culminates in a multiplication of the four cardinal by the three theological virtues, giving twelve virtues, 'doubled in prosperity and in adversity' thus matching the twenty-four hours of a natural day.[79]

In adapting the light (*lux*) of Genesis 1:4 to the first vision of the *Collationes*, Bonaventure liberally applies a multi-faceted and complex understanding of light, according to both its physical, metaphorical and theological significations. The first vision of the *Collationes* make a fundamental distinction between the illumination of the sciences and the illumination of the true Light of the world, that 'ray' that is identified by Dionysius as Jesus, the light which is the source of all light. It is clear that the reception of this illumination in the first vision really depends on the mode of the recipient: on whether or not they possess faith in Christ to distinguish between the light and the darkness. And while the illumination which the ancient philosophers received was great, they lacked the capacity to receive its full benefits because they did not possess either faith or the divine Scriptures – the subject of the following two visions. Like light radiating and illuminating all in its way, so the first illumination of day one has its effect on the manner in which all Scripture is interpreted.

[78] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 7,20.

[79] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 7,22 (reflecting the edition of Delorme, 1,4,22 [p. 108]. See Hammond (2018), 180, ft.96).

Accordingly, the Biblical images and symbols are augmented and even multiplied to reflect the intrinsic capacity of the hexaëmeron to interpret all of created reality.

The Second Vision (Collations 8-12) 'Understanding Elevated by Faith'

Bonaventure links the creation of the heavens and division of the waters above and below the firmament (Gen 1:6-8) to the vision of 'understanding elevated by faith' (collations 8-12). Faith is bracketed with the height of heaven, for belief in God is so far above human reason or investigation. This faith is twofold: high in sublimity and high in profundity.[80] The height of faith consists in the knowledge of the eternal God, and its depth consists in the knowledge of God made man.[81] Much of the imagery of the second vision involves the application of Trinitarian and Christological concepts to scriptural images of height and depth that Bonaventure first envisaged in the second day of the hexaëmeron. For example, Genesis 1:8 is linked to other passages in Genesis that allude to the heavens, such as the divine instruction to Abraham to 'look up to heaven and count the stars if you can' (Gen 15:5), or Joseph's dream of the sun, moon and stars bowing down to him (cf. Gen 37:9).[82] It was important to Bonaventure that the promise made to Abraham that he would be a father to many nations be interpreted spiritually, for Abraham 'generated spiritually [through] a fecund mind.' For from faith arises 'a sprouting of speculations (*speculationum*),'

[80] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 8,3-4.

[81] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 8,5.

[82] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 11,1; 11, 21 & 25.

transcending the brightness of the stars.[83] The sprouting of speculations and its 'multiform' nature already anticipates the major theme of the *Hexaëmeron* that will be developed in the third vision (collations 13-19). Here they are already applied to other major themes, beginning with the theme of the six days permeating the interpretation of the major events of Genesis.

These passages are further developed along with themes from the Apocalypse (Apoc 21:10- 21), in which an association is made between the twelve gates of the Holy City and the twelve stars or astrological signs of the Zodiac.[84] Just as there were twelve aspects of the virtues in the first vision, so in the second vision there are twelve 'speculations' that arise from faith.[85] A *speculatio* is not an act of theorising, nor does it refer to the act of looking. It refers rather to their results, the ideas.[86] Bonaventure contrasts *speculatio* with *investigatio*. There are twelve speculations of faith that he describes, the first two being that God is First 'and that divine 'to Be' (esse) is the first that comes to mind.' It is furthermore

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[83] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 10,1.

[84] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 10,1-3.

[85] See Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 10,3. Cf. 6,15-19. The twelve speculations that arise from faith: 1) 'to believe God is first; 2) is three and one; 3) is the exemplar of all things; 4) is creating the world; 5) forming the soul; 6) is the giver of the Spirit; 7) God united to flesh; 8) God crucified; 9) is the healer of minds; 10) is the vital sustenance; 11) is the avenger of crimes; 12) is the eternal reward.'

[86] See De Vinck (1970), p.156 for his editorial remarks in the footnotes of *Collations on the Six Days*, an English translation of the *Collationes in Hexaëmeron* that is no longer in print.

the reflection of the Creator in our own hearts. For God's first and proper name, 'I am who am', is written within the soul and 'enlightens the soul towards speculating': 'The Saints and Doctors both dedicate themselves to these; but the Saints by way of speculation, the doctors by way of investigation.'[87] With these speculations, the soul advances towards contemplation. 'The worldly person cannot approach towards the visions of Revelation [i.e., the Apocalypse] unless one understands this.'[88] Just as the sun passes through the twelve signs of the zodiac, giving life, so it is that the 'sun of wisdom' must shine in the 'hemisphere of our minds.' Furthermore, 'unless you have the twelve signs [of the Zodiac], you have no day.'[89] Vincent Hopper points out that Augustine is a source of the medieval fascination with the number twelve, the product of the archetypal numbers three and four, and that the number is 'merely another form of 7, since both are composed of 3 and 4 and both image forth the universe in 7 planets or 7 days of the week, and 12 signs of the zodiac or 12 hours of the day.'[90]

The literal meaning of the verse, 'God called the firmament Heaven; and there was evening and there was morning, a second day,' (Gen 1:8) concerns the natural properties of the heavens, and provides the basis for Bonaventure's symbolic theology on the height, the firmness and the beauty of faith: 'This heaven is sublime, stable, and spectacular: sublime

[87] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 11,1.

[88] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 10,3.

[89] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 6,19; cf. 10,2.

[90] Hopper (2000), 86.

with respect to position, stable with respect to form, spectacular with respect to clarity.'[91] Faith renders the soul sublime because faith transcends reason; it renders it stable because faith excludes doubt and vacillation; it renders it spectacular because it demonstrates multiform clarity.[92] He also links the separation of the waters below and above the firmament with the concepts of height and depth invoked by Paul: 'O the height of the riches of wisdom and the knowledge (*scientiae*) of God! How incomprehensible are his judgments and unsearchable his ways!' (Rom 11:33). That the firmament was made in the midst of the waters, Bonaventure remarks, is a symbol of faith, 'so that the soul may know things that are above the firmament, and what are beneath the firmament. And this wisdom is of divine things, and knowledge (*scientia*) of human things.'[93]

Bonaventure notes that on every day of the hexaëmeron except for the second it is stated that 'God saw that it was good.' Following the divine work of separation, the text simply discloses that God *called* the firmament Heaven. He sees this detail as suited to 'understanding lifted up by faith' because faith comes from hearing, and it is God's word that is heard when the firmament is called heaven. 'Hence it does not say: God saw the firmament, but *called*, because the firmness of faith is more in trustfulness (*credulitate*) than in contemplation; and trustfulness is through hearing, because *faith is from hearing* (Rom 10:17)…'[94] Furthermore, he continues, as if to contrast the first and second days, 'faith

[91] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 8,1.

[92] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 8,2.

[93] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 8,5.

[94] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 8,2.

is more in the confession of truth than in the communication of light.'[95] Understanding lifted up by faith is, in this view, the gift of knowledge of God above and God below: the Eternal God and the Incarnate God; the mystery of the Triune God and the mystery of the Word made flesh.

Bonaventure draws a link between Genesis 1:8 and Isaiah 6:1-3, 'the root of all Isaiah's visions', in which the prophet describes the theophany in the Temple and the apparition of the pair of six-winged seraphim.[96] Bonaventure interprets the passage Christologically – again, with reference also to Rom 11:33. The passage beginning, 'I saw the Lord seated on a high and lofty throne…' recapitulates the 'twofold height of the firmament,' symbolising the height of faith in the eternal God and the depth of knowledge of God made man.'[97] The evangelist John linked this prophecy to the Christ, noting that Isaiah had spoken of the blinding and hardening of unbelievers 'because he saw his glory and spoke of him' (Jn 12:41). In other words, Isaiah is said to have foreseen and prophesied Christ. We have already noted that God's *calling* the firmament 'heaven' was key to the concept of faith that comes by hearing; we are not told that 'God saw' on the second day. But faith in Christ enables vision. This would explain why Bonaventure claims that Isaiah *saw* 'the vision of understanding elevated by faith.'[98] This vision is further stabilized according to a twofold

[95] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 8,3.

[96] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 8,7.

[97] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 8,5.

[98] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 8,8.

light, the illuminating and the seraphic (or 'inflaming', according to the Delorme edition).[99] Faith is in God eternal and is 'humanified' (*humanatum*), and so there is a double 'seraphication,' (*seraphicatione*), rendering the soul seraphic and minds 'winged with six wings.'[100] Now Bonaventure has a basis on which to develop the seraphim who cry out the triple 'holy, holy, holy' and the one 'Lord God' within the human soul: the first seraph represents knowledge of God as Three Persons with unity of essence; the other replies as God made man, the Person of the Word in a unity of three natures: body, soul and divinity.[101]

The Third Vision (Collations 13-19) 'Understanding Instructed by Scripture'

The Third Vision is based on day three (Gen 1:9-13), which consists of the separation of the waters under heaven, the appearance of dry land, and the sprouting of vegetation. The wisdom that arises from the third day is understanding instructed by Scripture. Bonaventure's most elaborate thinking on the relationship between the hexaëmeron,

[99] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 8,8. See Monti (2018), 187, ft.49.

[100] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 8,8. For *humanatum* see 8,12. A harmonization of Genesis 1:8, Vulgate Isaiah 40:12 and the hexameral signs of creation, distinction, and adornment occurs at 9,3. The 'hand' of the Word created, formed and adorned the universe, and 'with three fingers' lifts and suspends the earth, namely, the Ecclesiastical hierarchy, which he creates, distinguishes and adorns.'

[101] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 8,9.

Scripture in general and his theology of history is specially articulated in these seven collations (numbers 13-19).

Despite the connotations of the dust of the earth, the vision of the third day 'is more noble and greater than the preceding two days.' Bonaventure excuses the crudity of the symbol, which does not seem comparable to Scripture's exalted status, saying that 'whatever heaven contains in some measure of excellence, the earth holds or receives or has in some measure of liveliness. Hence, it receives the influences of heaven and produces the most beautiful sprouts.'[102] This sprouting of shoots will be of great significance in the development of Bonaventure's theology of Scripture.

He divided Scriptural wisdom broadly into three sections: **a)** the spiritual senses of Scripture, symbolised by the gathering of the waters, **b)** the sacramental symbols (*sacramentales figurae*) seen in the sprouting of the earth with green vegetation, and **c)** the 'multiform theories' (*multiformes theoriae*) understood by the seed-bearing fruit. The latter is the most significant aspect of the third vision as it concerns Bonaventure's discovery of senses beyond the traditional four exegetical meanings of scripture. The theories are also fundamentally associated in Bonaventure's thinking with the first chapter of Genesis.

a) The Spiritual Senses.

Bonaventure discusses the spiritual senses of Scripture in Collation 13. Comparing Scripture and the sciences, he says that the former stands out from the sciences because in Scripture both words (*voces*) and things (*res*) contain a plenitude of meaning, reflecting the sublime voice of the Author. On the other hand, the meaning of words in the sciences is

[102] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 13,1.

unequivocal.[103] The three spiritual senses are linked to the Trinitarian nature and the way human creature approaches God through faith, hope and charity. 'Therefore every creature suggests what is to be believed, what is to be expected, and what is to be done…allegory concerning what is to be believed, anagogy concerning what is to be expected, and tropology concerning what is to be done, because charity produces works.'[104] The spiritual senses are compared to the gathering of waters for they have a primal origin, profound depth and overflowing multiformity of spiritual understandings.[105] Further, Bonaventure likened the *quadriga*, or literal plus three spiritual senses to the four rivers of Paradise (Gen 2:10-14), which flow back to their source. The allegorical, tropological and anagogical senses that are based on knowing the literal meaning of the sacred texts are said to 'lead all things back into God, just as creation was at the beginning.'[106] Scripture recapitulates creation. The Book of Scripture was given as an aid to fallen humanity who could no longer correctly read the Book of Creation. The former contains 'similitudes, properties and metaphors of things written in the book of the world,' and restores creation to the knowledge, praise and love of God.[107]

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[103] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 13,10.

[104] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 13,11.

[105] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 13,3.

[106] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 13,13.

[107] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 13,12.

b) The Sacramental Symbols.

The sacramental symbols of Scripture, Bonaventure argues, have been arranged and purposely ordered, comparable to 'the order of nature in the way the earth produces vegetation. For there is first the fixing of the roots; second the production of green leaves; third, the budding of flowers; fourth the fullness of restoring fruits.'[108] On the outside they seem dry, but on the inside, they are full of life. It is Bonaventure's way of thinking about how the people, events, places and things in Scripture represent the mysteries of faith.[109] The sacramental symbols signify ways in which the words and things of Scripture impart eternal life, e.g., how dew can represent the influence of grace. Even the spiritual senses are signified by the sacramental symbols: A friar, or 'spiritual man' (*vir spiritualis*), should be 'learned (*doctus*) in sacred Scripture' and like Jacob-Israel should give off the 'scent' of a *beautiful field that the Lord has blessed* (Gen 27:27-28) with an abundance of spiritual senses, that is, the *grain* of allegory, the *wine* of tropology, and the *oil* of anagogy.[110] Most significantly, the tree of life and the tree of knowledge stand for Christ and the Anti-Christ. The growth of the plants in Eden represents the growth of Scripture: 'Salvation was promised to the Patriarchs, prefigured in the Law, preannounced by the Prophets, and purchased by Christ. Hence it was necessary that first should come the securing of the

[108] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 14,5.

[109] Cf. Anderson (2002), 133.

[110] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 14,3. Cf. Ps 4:9.

Patriarchs, then the production of the legalities, third the budding of the Prophets, and finally the fruit of the Gospel or the fullness of salvation by Christ.'[111]

c) The Theories

Bonaventure built his hermeneutic of 'theories' on the formation of the seed-bearing fruit (Gen 1:9-10), symbolizing 'a certain infinity of heavenly theories.' While the spiritual senses and the sacramental figures of Scripture have a determinate number, the multiform theories are quasi-infinite, which he likened to the rays of light that form an image in a mirror.[112] Only God can comprehend the infinite theories that can be drawn from Scripture. After all, he asks rhetorically, 'who is able to know the infinity of seeds, when even within one seed there may be forests of forests and thereafter infinite seeds?'[113]

Joseph Ratzinger suggested that the concept of the theories 'amounts to nothing less than a transfer of the theory of *rationes seminales* to Scripture.'[114] The Stoic idea of *logoi spermatikoi*, or seminal reasons, that illustrates how matter is disposed to receive form, similarly underlies the theories. They have been aptly described as 'embedded meanings in

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[111] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 14,11; translation amended: 'paid' to 'purchased' *persoluta*.

[112] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,10.

[113] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 13,2.

[114] Ratzinger (1989), 9, who remarked that the idea may not be original to Bonaventure, nor Joachim of Fiore, but might be found in an anonymous work of 1204 from Bamberg entitled *De semine scriptuarum*. Ratzinger had not been able to find the work at the time. See endnote 9 of Notes to Chapter 1, #2 on p.171.

scripture which, present from the beginning in scripture, can only be understood at a certain later moment of history.'[115] By means of the theories, Bonaventure broadens the interpretation of Scripture beyond the literal and threefold spiritual meanings. The *Collationes in hexaëmeron* are unique for this addition of the 'sacramental figures' and 'manifold theories' as an attempt to probe this historical situation while remaining within the bounds of orthodoxy.[116] The theories are thus 'seeds of meaning' that also show how the meaning of the future already embedded in Scripture is to be interpreted according to a providentially arranged concordance of the historical events described in the Bible, the history of the Church and the contemporaneous events of Bonaventure's own time. He was able to outline this scheme without contradicting the Catholic doctrine that revelation ceased with the death of the last apostle.[117] By analogy with the seminal principles and the formation of matter in creation, Bonaventure's theories illustrate the development of doctrine and most significantly, the belief that the future 'opening of the Scriptures, …and the seven seals, which are not yet open, will be broken,' that is, an unveiling of the spiritual understanding of Scripture to a 'multitude' in the sixth age.[118] How the events of

[115] White (2011), 187-88.

[116] Ratzinger (1989), 7.

[117] Ratzinger (1989), 9. Cf. Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 16,2: 'After the New Testament there will be no other, nor can any sacrament of the new law be subtracted, because this is an *eternal testament*.'

[118] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 20,15; 16,29.

Bonaventure's time influenced this unique theology of history are described in Excursus immediately following this Chapter.

The theories are best understood in terms of Bonaventure's illustrations of the relation between the two Testaments. The New Testament duration includes the time up to and beyond Bonaventure's present, otherwise termed the 'sixth age of history that runs concurrently with the seventh.'[119] The theories stand for precise literal correspondences between events described in the Testaments. They resemble the *concordiae*, or letter to letter comparisons of the two Testaments that the Cistercian abbot, Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135-1202) believed corresponded to historical events of the past, present and future.[120] The vision of the third day and the germination of sprouts and seeds allowed Bonaventure to compare the two Testaments: '…Just as a tree is from a tree, and a seed from a seed, and a letter from a letter, so too is a Testament from a Testament.'[121] Each correspondence has its symbolic origin in the creation narrative of Genesis 1-2:4, giving a triple correlation of times. For Bonaventure, the seminal reasons of the first six days are key to understanding Scripture in general. 'It should be noted that just as God made the world in six days and rested on the seventh, so the mystical body of Christ has six ages, and a seventh, which runs

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[119] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,12; 15,18. The seventh age means the souls at rest in the Church Triumphant. The eighth will include the latter, but after the resurrection of the body.

[120] See McGinn (1979), 127 & 197; Anderson (2002), 137-140. Anderson summarises the disputed aspects of the influence of Joachim on Bonaventure vis-à-vis Ratzinger, McGinn and De Lubac.

[121] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,22.

concurrent with the sixth, and the eighth. These are the seminal reasons to knowing the Scriptures.'[122] God made the world's course, and Scripture, 'which explains the running of the world' according to the number seven. Likewise, 'according to this number [Scripture] must be handed down and explained.'[123] Bonaventure describes this understanding of Scripture:

> This consideration of theories is between the two mirrors of the two Cherubim, namely, of the two Testaments, which reflect upon each other so that the human person *might be transformed from clarity to clarity*. And this sprouting of seeds provides understanding according to the diverse theories adapted to the diverse times; and whoever is ignorant of the times is not able to know them. For one who ignores the past cannot know the future. For if I do not know from what tree a seed is, I am not able to know what tree it should be. Hence knowledge of the future derives from the knowledge of the past. For Moses, prophesying about the future, narrated past things through revelation.[124]

The Quarracchi editors note that the 'past things' (*praeterita*) refer to what was recounted in Genesis ('*In Genesi allata*').[125] The imagery of seeds is applied to each day of

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[122] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,12. I have amended Hammond's translation of seminal 'relations' to 'reasons' (*rationes seminales*).

[123] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 16,10.

[124] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,11

[125] Commenting on 15,11, see the *Opera omnia* V of the Quaracchi editors (1891), 400.

the hexaëmeron for what it tells of the 'growth' of Scripture throughout the ages. The seeds are like potencies, which later bud 'into a mystical deed or work.'[126] Thus the first age, 'infancy, is from Adam up to Noah' and corresponds to the first day as signifying the first time, 'in which light (*lux*) and knowledge were given to humans; and this is infancy, which is erased unto oblivion, so whatever occurred up to that time when every animal, except those that were with Noah, was destroyed.'[127] Next is the age of childhood, which corresponds to the second day when the 'firmament in the midst of the waters' was made. Bonaventure links this to the rainbow, the sign of the promise that no one would ever again perish in a universal deluge (cf. Gen 9:15). This age endures from Noah up to Abraham, and is associated with childhood and learning to speak after the languages were divided (at Babel). The sprouting of the earth on day three is the age of adolescence, when a person can begin to generate. This age lasts from Abraham up to David, beginning with the rise of the Synagogue in the circumcision of Abraham. The lights that adorned the heavens on day four correspond to the age of youth, 'because this age is capable of wisdom.'[128] This is the age that lasted from David until the Babylonian exile when the kingdom and priesthood flourished like the sun and the moon, and the stars were represented by the prophets. The formation of fish on day five is associated with middle age 'when zeal is already beginning to diminish, and this age lasts from the Babylonian exile up to Christ, when 'the Synagogue

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[126] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,12. '*facto mystico vel opera*' I have adjusted Hammond's translation of *factum* to 'deed' rather than 'creation'.

[127] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,12.

[128] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,15.

began to decline and grow old and to lose authority.'[129] The creation of the human person on day six corresponds to old age, the time when the person is 'mature and ready for wisdom.'[130] This is the sixth age in which Wisdom became incarnate and endures from Christ up until the end of the world. The seventh age is concurrent with the sixth, that is, with the repose of souls after Christ's passion. The eighth age is the age of resurrection, and a return to the first age.[131]

The division into ages 'are the seeds scattered towards the understanding of the Scriptures.' Bonaventure sees it as the common one deriving from Augustine's seven ages in *Civitas Dei*, but also acknowledges Gregory's five ages (based on the parable of the labourers in the vineyard of Mt 20:1-16) as that of the saints, 'ancient and modern,' and Hugh of St. Victor's three times or laws (natural, written and law of grace). Each is a 'seedbed' (*seminarium*) and to ignore them is to fail to attain to the mystery of the Scriptures.[132]

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[129] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,16.

[130] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,17.

[131] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,18.

[132] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,20. Joining the seven ages, the five calls and three times renders fifteen, a number that Jerome showed 'has mystery', which is seen in the descent of the Holy Spirit on the one hundred and twenty believers (Acts 1:15). See *Hexaëmeron* 15,21 & Hammond (2018), 274, ft. 99. The latter (120) is based on the relation of the numbers 1+2+3+4+5+6+7+8+9+10+11+12+13+14+15 that equal 120. The medieval fascination with

Nevertheless, as Ratzinger has already demonstrated, Bonaventure's particular employment of the common division of history departs significantly from Augustine's outlook.[133] The seraphic doctor differs from Augustine's traditional single seven ages of the world from Adam to the end by maintaining Joachim of Fiore's twofold set of sevens, or *concordiae* – precise literal and historical correspondences between events and times of the Old and New Testaments.[134] Actually in Bonaventure a division of history according to three sets of sevens (3 x 7) is introduced. The first septenary is the original week of creation, the seminal principles of which form the growth of the seven periods of the old law, which correspond respectively to seven times of the age of grace.

> This number of universality in the world, in the human, and in God is a mystery. According to this number God made the world itself to run (*currere*), and Scripture, which explains the running (*decursum*) of the world; and according to

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the symbolism of numbers and astronomy leads Bonaventure to use the image of the rising sun to illustrate the dawn of resurrection, 'when we will be in the last age.' See *Hexaëmeron* 15,21; Hammond (2018), 274, ft. 101.

[133] See Ratzinger (1989), 9-19. We should also note that in his development of the image of the seeds and fruit of day three, Bonaventure first makes a distinction between the theories as symbolised by the seed and then by the growth of fruit. 'With respect to the seed, they consist in the correlation of times, according to which the times *succeed* each other; with respect to the fruit of the tree, they consist in correlations according to which the times *correspond* to each other.' (Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 16,1. Emphasis added).

[134] McGinn (1998), 97.

this number Scripture must be handed on (*tradi debuit*) and explained. Therefore Scripture describes the course of the world according to original, figurative, and gracious or salvific times.[135]

The first seven days of creation correspond to the original time, while the figurative time consists of the time from the beginning of the world up to Christ. The gracious time refers to that after Christ, who is 'beyond nature.' This provides the 3 x 7 schema:[136]

Original Time	Figurative Time	Gracious Time
1. Formation of light	Formation of nature	Formation of grace
2. Division of waters	Cleansing of sin	Baptism
3. The fertile earth	The Chosen People	Catholic norms
4. The starry lights	Establishment of the Law	The laws of righteousness
5. Moving life	Regal glory	The high throne
6. The human form	The prophetic voice	Clear doctrine
7. The first rest	The intermediate rest	Final peace

The original time in general brings forth seeds 'just like the earth sprouting, and later the trees of figures, and later the fruit.'[137] Bonaventure urges his hearers to grasp the correspondence between original, figurative and gracious times: 1) the formation of light is the seedbed of the formation of nature (from the time of Adam to Noah), which in turn

[135] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 16,10.

[136] See Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 16,12-19.

[137] Bonaventure, *Hexaemeron* 16,11.

bears fruit in the conferral of grace (from the time of Christ to death of the last Apostle), and so on. Suffice it to summarise the Old and corresponding New Testament times: 2) Noah to Abraham corresponds to the time from Popes Clement to Sylvester. 3) Abraham to Moses and Popes Sylvester to Leo I. 4) Moses to Samuel and Leo to Gregory the Great. 5) David to Hezekiah and Gregory to Hadrian. 6) Uzziah to Zerubbabel and Hadrian until who knows when: at least until the expulsion of the *beast rising from the abyss* (Apoc 17:8). 7) Zerubbabel to Christ and the time of final rest beginning from 'the cry of the Angel' (Apoc 10:6-7).[138]

Bonaventure's doctrine of the full disclosure of the spiritual sense of Scripture at a future time is clearly shaped by a vision of history informed by the hexaëmeron. Moreover, these collations grasp on the significance of a particular aspect of the six days, namely the seeds of day three. In this way the third vision of understanding instructed by Scripture recapitulates or draws the first and second days into its scope, causing these *rationes seminales* to sprout with meaning and to develop an eschatology that is adorned by the prophetic figure of St. Francis, an *alter Christus* (see Excursus below). In the following vision, Bonaventure elaborates on the contemplative human mind in terms of the soul's capacity to rise by assimilation to God in the consideration of itself, the Church Militant and the celestial Monarchy.[139] He does so by anagogic reflections on the symbols of day four: the stars, the moon and the sun. It was first necessary for the human mind to have knowledge of the

[138] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 16,14 – 16,17. Each time has three concordances with three in the NT (16,21 – 16,31 ff. esp 16,31 for summary).

[139] Bonaventure, Hexaëmeron 20,26.

world's course: 'The soul is like the moon by considering the Church militant, considering its beginning, middle and end. Hence it does not have illumination except when the Church is considered according to its times…'[140] Bonaventure's Scriptural vision must now be tied to the height of contemplation of the fourth vision, in which the hierarchical man contemplates the Trinity through the illuminating influence of the angels.

The Fourth Vision (Collations 20-23) 'Understanding Suspended by Contemplation'

The fourth vision of the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* (collations 20-23) develops the themes of the previous sermons and Bonaventure's prediction of a fully disclosed spiritual understanding of Scripture with the arrival of an age of contemplation within history. We come therefore to Bonaventure's final say on the 'understanding suspended by contemplation.' According to Bonaventure this step on the road to wisdom consists of a suspension of understanding and the transformation of the mind into God. Here we are reminded of the final chapter of the *Itinerarium* which speaks of the mind being flooded by the light of divine knowledge, the blinding ray that transcends the intellect's investigative powers, or in the language of Dionysius, the 'superluminous darkness' that brings intellectual labour to rest.[141] Addressing his Franciscan brothers, Bonaventure observes that contemplation is given to those who are marked by their purity, simplicity and the 'highest poverty.'[142] Contemplation is not achieved by much study but is divinely bestowed,

[140] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 20,27 ; cf. 2,17.

[141] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 7,5; *Hexaëmeron* 20,11.

[142] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 20,30.

especially on those who greatly desire it, like Daniel, who was 'a man of desires (Dan 9:23, Vulgate).'[143] Too many members of the Order had abandoned their ideals, Bonaventure warned, and therefore found themselves afflicted in the controversies between the seculars and the mendicants.[144] That affliction should be the means to lead them back to their professed vocation and to imitate the example set by their holy founder, St. Francis.

The final vision is imbued with the imagery of the great lights formed in the firmament on day four of the creation narrative. The contemplative, 'hierarchized soul' speculates on the Sun, and contuits the moon and the stars.[145] The sun is identified with the 'celestial Hierarchy,' at times also referred to as the 'celestial Monarchy,' or divine Hierarchy of the Trinity. (Interestingly, this is a point of contrast not only between Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas, but also with Dionysius, who avoided using the term hierarchy of the Trinity).[146]

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[143] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 20,1. Translation amended.

[144] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 20,30. For good introductions to the conflicts, see Douie (1973), 585-612 and Hammond (2018), 7-13.

[145] See Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 20,3; and see 5,24, along with the corresponding note of Hammond (2018), 153, ft. 108 where he explains contuition as the implicit awareness of God's presence in all things, 'a simultaneous co-recognizing or co-knowing of the divine order of the Trinity within the created order.' On 'speculation,' see above p.265 (The Second Vision).

[146] The Areopagite instead used the term 'thearchy' of God in the *Celestial Hierarchy* in order to differentiate between the principle of divinity and divinization and the principle of

The moon symbolises the Church Militant, and the stars and their light stand for the 'hierarchized' human mind. Above all, the fourth vision establishes this understanding firmly in the context of the Trinitarian doctrine in which 'the Father and Son and Holy Spirit are the origin of all illuminations,' [147] and in which Christ, the centre and 'Hierarch' of the triune God is the mediator and restorer of peace between the Celestial Monarchy, the angelic hierarchies, the Church Militant and the human soul. Bonaventure even finds intimations of the mutual personal relations of the doctrine of circumincession in the words spoken six times: '*let there be*, *and it was made* in the works of the six days.'[148] The connection

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holiness, sanctification, and creaturely participation in divinity ('hierarchy'). 'God as the triune Thearchy is the principle of the universe conceived primarily as hierarchy, that is, a multiplex ordered manifestation of the divine.' See McGinn (1991), 163. See also Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* 1a, q.108, a.1: 'Hence it is clear that those err and speak against the opinion of Dionysius who place a hierarchy in the Divine Persons, and call it the *supercelestial* hierarchy. For in the Divine Persons there exists, indeed, a natural order, but there is no hierarchical order, for as Dionysius says (*Celestial Hierarchy* 3): 'The hierarchical order is so directed that some be cleansed, enlightened, and perfected; and that others cleanse, enlighten and perfect"; which far be it from us to apply to the Divine Persons.'

[147] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 23,1.

[148] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 21,3. Bonaventure explains: 'These illuminations have to be in consideration of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit in themselves, and there are three, and another in themselves as related to one another, and as such there are six…'

Bonaventure perceives here may be analogous to Augustine's theory of 'morning cognizance' of the angels' moving from knowledge of the existence of creatures in the themselves to the knowledge of all things in light of the Word itself.[149] Thus the anagogical reading of the Trinitarian doctrine in the hexaëmeron develops the notion that creatures themselves are vestiges, images and likenesses of God. Furthermore, it provides the conceptual framework of the soul's being 'hierarchized', or led back up to the creating celestial Hierarchy.

Hierarchy, a term appropriated by Dionysius from the Neoplatonists and adopted by Bonaventure, means 'a divine order, a knowledge and an action assimilated, as far as it is possible, to God-conformity, and ascending into the likeness of God in proportion to the divine illuminations inserted into it.'[150] Bonaventure linked the three-part definition of the divinizing hierarchy to the power, wisdom and operation of the Trinity as manifested in created intellects, both angelic and human. The sacred ordering of created intellects leads to their deiformity, 'for the eternal sun forms a hierarchy or a creature partly by nature, partly by grace, and partly by glory: by image, by likeness and by God-conformity. And thus a hierarchy ascends toward the illuminations inserted into it, ascending by the influence of those illuminations.'[151]

Hammond (2018), 360 notes that the six times were: Gen 1:3, 1:9, 1:14, 1:20, 1:24 and 1:26-27.

[149] See Reynolds (1982), 192-94.

[150] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 21,17 quoting Ps-Dionysius, *Celestial Hierarchy* 3,1.

[151] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 21,17.

The concept of hierarchy in medieval thinking has been aptly termed the 'total hypothesis' and as David Keck insightfully reflects, that totality is comparable to the place of evolution in scientific thinking today.[152] Whereas modern anthropologists study apes in search of clues about human nature, scholastics like Bonaventure studied pure minds instead: the angels were the closest related creatures to the human being.[153] Contemporary thinking today is the inverse of the medieval thought pattern. As C.S Lewis described it, 'In modern, that is, in evolutionary, thought man stands at the top of a stair whose foot is lost in obscurity; in this, he stands at the bottom of a stair whose top is invisible with light.'[154] It should be pointed out that it was not only the theologians who sought out the origins of angels and their relation to the cosmos and humanity, but the philosophers too, and indeed medieval popular culture itself. And while Bonaventure seeks to correct the errors he perceives in the Neoplatonists who see the world as created by angels, it is to Genesis that he returns, either in its literal or spiritual senses, for the Christian understanding of creation is fundamental to his totalising hierarchical conception of reality. If the entire world can be

[152] Keck (2014), 319. With the expression 'total hypothesis' Keck was quoting M.-D. Chenu's *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century* (Chicago: 1968), 82.

[153] Keck (2014), 303.

[154] Lewis (1964), 74-75.

described in the human soul, this necessarily includes the angels who were created, among other things, to be involved in the soul's return to its Creator.[155]

Bonaventure's hierarchical vision is marked also by the Apocalyptic sign of 'the Woman clothed with the sun' (Apoc 12:1), which Bonaventure deliberately associates with the heavenly adornment of the sun, the moon and the stars of day four of creation. Each of the twelve stars that adorn the Woman's crown has a theological signification.[156] The Woman represents the contemplative soul, as well as the contemplative Church. 'For the contemplative Church and the contemplative soul do not differ, except that the soul has all within itself, which the Church has in many.'[157] In Bonaventure's reading of the Apocalypse, in keeping with the trajectory of these *Collationes*, he observes that this great portent forms

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[155] See Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 22,24: 'The soul is a great thing: within the soul the entire world can be described. The soul is called *beautiful like Jerusalem* (Song 6:3), because it is made like Jerusalem through the disposition of hierarchical levels. And they are disposed in the soul in a threefold way: according to ascent, according to descent, and according to return into the Divine; and then the soul sees *the Angels of God ascending and descending by a ladder*, like Jacob saw in his mind (Gen 28:12).'

[156] See Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 22,40 & 23,1. They are: the consideration of corporal natures, spiritual substances, intellectual sciences, affective powers, divinely instituted laws, divinely infused graces, irreprehensible judgments, incomprehensible mercies, repayable merits, rewarding rewards, temporal courses and the Eternal Reasons.

[157] On the contemplative soul as the contemplative Church, see Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 23,4 and 20,28. On the Woman as the soul see, *Hexaemeron* 22,2; 22,39; cf. 20,6.

the *fourth* vision of John's Book of Revelation.[158] Indeed, the Apostle John, he had noted earlier, included the seven times (of the third septenary, i.e., the New Testament gracious time) in the seven visions of the Book of the Apocalypse.[159] However we might divide the visions of Revelation, it is clear that the first week of creation also informs Bonaventure's reading of the Apocalypse.

Bonaventure found his occasion to include the angels with this anagogical exegesis of day four, and in the fourth vision of the Apocalypse, of 'the Woman with a crown of twelve stars' (Apoc 12:1). The soul's consideration of the celestial monarchy leads to its clothing with the sun; the soul's consideration of the Church militant indicates it has the moon under its feet, in the sense that it is grounded and sustained by the Church as its foundation. Moreover, by contemplating the hierarchical illuminations 'it is as if the soul has *twelve stars*,' which are the twelve mysteries to be unsealed.[160] The stars exhibit the symbolism of both angelic and human spirits. These twelve stars that surround the woman's head are also described as twelve considerations that adorn the soul and lead to its hierarchization.[161]

Here it is worth recalling that Bonaventure had already introduced the subject of the angels in the first vision. That was because the philosophers had been able to consider these rational beings by the use of reason even apart from the gift of divine faith. We could say

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[158] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 20,28.

[159] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 16,20.

[160] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 20,28.

[161] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 22,40.

that this conception suits the literal meaning, and the limit to which Bonaventure would treat the subject in that vision. But the deeper implications of angelic theology only came with the fourth vision, the context for discussing contemplation and hierarchization.

The angels therefore perform an indispensable role in revelation and in the 'hierarchization' of the human mind for Bonaventure, a conception that is unfamiliar to most contemporary Christian thinking. In this context, we find that McGinn's helpful explanation of Dionysian hierarchy may certainly be applied to the Bonaventurian outlook: 'The function of the celestial hierarchy in our uplifting is not that we try to become angels or even that we reach God through angelic mediation, but that the proper interpretation and understanding of the angels as multiple manifestations of the divine beauty is anagogic and divinizing.'[162] The angels are described by Bonaventure in terms of their cooperation in the illumination of the Church and of hierarchized minds. They are the first creatures to benefit from the illumination of the Sun, the light of which is then passed on through them to rational souls. For 'the order is that the enlightenment should first occur in those who are most similar and more near. Hence, the highest place was given to them.'[163] Through them the Church is hierarchized. The soul contemplates on the angels, and so is raised up:

a) by considering their influence in the regulation of the world.

[162] McGinn (1991), 165.

[163] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 21,16

b) by their powers of guiding human beings through conveying light and elevating the mind's understanding. This illumination should be understood as a medium of delivery that is both transparent and as a certain tempering of divine light.

c) the consideration of angelic communication of love and praise of God causes the soul to be carried to the angels and enter their world.[164]

Those who neglect the angels and their assistance cannot ascend to God-conformity, since: 'as little as all the stars are of service to a blind person, so the angels and all the wonderful illuminations they send are of service to the person who does not attend to them.'[165] Though the angel is more like God in essence, being pure spirit or mind, the whole world is described within the contemplative soul, 'and any heavenly Spirit whatsoever, which has in it the description of the entire world,' for the rational soul was granted the capacity to contemplate itself, the Church, and even the celestial Monarchy.[166]

'The soul is the dawn when it rises in contemplation of itself, the moon when it considers the Church militant, and the sun when it is absorbed in God.'[167] In this beautiful adaptation of the hexameral tradition Bonaventure clearly plays on Augustine's account of angelic conversion from evening knowledge of creatures in their own nature to morning contemplation of all creatures in the Word. He has skilfully harmonised the symbolism of

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[164] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 5,26-27; cf. 7,1.

[165] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 22,19.

[166] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 20,26.

[167] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 20,26; cf. Song 6:10.

Genesis to that of the Apocalypse, reconfiguring the imagery of Genesis and done it full hexameral duty. The beginning is fulfilled in the end, returning again to the true Beginning. If Augustine thought of dawn as an image of angelic knowledge of creatures in the uncreated light, Bonaventure has refocussed that pattern on the human soul entering within to contemplate itself as the image of God. It cannot have been an accident that Bonaventure, in contrast with that Augustinian approach, situated the beginning of the soul's ascent to God in rising from the contemplation of itself on day four. The illumination of reason in the angel's intellect is transposed from Augustine's first to Bonaventure's fourth day. Bonaventure utilized the tradition of hexameral commentary, his final literary contribution, as the classic pattern of his instruction in the correct balance of study and the life of virtue, that is, in wisdom. The *Collationes* are testament to his elaboration of Genesis that is primarily concerned with human formation. It can be said that for Bonaventure, Genesis is 'the giant' to which he could look for answers to all basic questions.[168]

Excursus – The Importance of St. Francis of Assisi in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*

What motivated the development of the new hermeneutic of the 'theories' beyond the threefold spiritual senses of Scripture in a theologian known for his orthodoxy, and who would hardly have considered himself an innovator? As we have already glimpsed, a major influence on this theological and historical outlook in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* is the unique figure of St. Francis of Assisi. For Bonaventure, Francis was more even than an extraordinary saint: he emerges as part of the unfolding of salvation history. He saw Francis as embodying the fulfilment of the sixth age, a symbol of the 'prophetic life,' and the 'angel

[168] O'Loughlin (1999), 83.

ascending from the rising sun (Apoc 7:2).'[169] He was a man who, through conformity in body and soul to Christ crucified, had been marked by the ecstatic vision of Christ appearing in the form of a crucified seraph. The wounds of the stigmata imprinted on Francis' body — a phenomenon until then unheard of in any person save Christ alone — were the physical manifestation of his conformity to Christ, and a sign of Christ's confirmation of Francis. They were, therefore, a seal of approval and the publication of the holiness of Francis by the crucified Christ himself.[170] The reports of Francis' stigmatization of 1224 had made him renowned in both the popular and ecclesiastical milieu of thirteenth century Europe.[171] The ideas of the arrival of the Antichrist and an imminent second coming dominated the apocalyptic thinking and mood of thirteenth century Europe.[172] Just as John the Baptist heralded the first coming of the Christ, so Francis, who was baptised *Giovanni*, was sent as a prophet to usher in the final stage of history before the second coming of Christ.

Bonaventure also assumed the identification of St. Francis with the angel ascending from the rising sun and bearing the seal of the living God (Apoc 7:2), as the former Master of Theology and Minister General, John of Parma (Bonaventure's predecessor), had already

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[169] Bonaventure, *Collationes in hexaëmeron* 16,16.

[170] Bonaventure, *Legenda Maior* 4,11; Cook (1991), 107-108; McGinn (1998), 98.

[171] Ratzinger (1989), 7. See Bonaventure, *Legenda Maior*, Prologue; Cook (1991), 94-114. For Bonaventure, it was as if the stigmata of St Francis had been revealed in nature and in Scripture (p.111).

[172] Cf. McGinn (1979), 196-211; Reeves (1969), 46-48.

done, and for which reason he lost his position.[173] The Franciscans had been influenced by the writings of the reforming Abbot and prophetic figure of the twelfth century, Joachim of Fiore, who predicted that in the final age two groups of religious would arise, one a preaching order, and the other a contemplative order of hermits, the so-called *viri spirituales*, or 'spiritual men.' They would 'imitate the life of the Son of Man perfectly…and nevertheless have a tongue learned in preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom and in collecting the final harvest of the Lord's granary.'[174] Since a few members of the Friars had taken Joachim's predictions to an extreme, thinking the time had come and that the institutional Church would imminently be replaced by the an order of charismatic contemplatives, Bonaventure in the *Collationes* takes up the theme, and while preserving elements of Joachim's thought, presents them in an orthodox light. The reporter, who assembled the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*, commenting on Bonaventure's words, made an aside: 'Bonaventure said that the order had already come.'[175] This is the 'Seraphic order,' in which the Church would be consummated.[176] A number of the mendicant Orders, both Dominican and Franciscan, were only too pleased to see Joachim's predictions fulfilled in their own respective religious communities. Bonaventure, however, trod carefully on this point. The implication is that neither the Friars Minor nor the Order of Preachers (of this age) may be identified with an order of contemplative men living in perfect evangelical

[173] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 16,16. See McGinn (1979), 158-61.

[174] Joachim of Fiore, *Exposition on the Apocalypse* in McGinn (1979), 136. See also p. 129.

[175] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 16,16.

[176] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 22,22.

poverty and possessing the true spiritual meaning of Scripture: 'But which order this will be, or if it already may be, is not easy to know.'[177] Rather, it was Francis himself whose life embodied the 'seraphic order.' And the mendicants of this age were identified with the cherubic order. The contemplative state existed in the person of St Francis, and while in Bonaventure's time it was not yet realized — the unholy conduct of many in the order proved this — it would be fully observed by true contemplatives at a later age.[178] It is in this context that Bonaventure's 3x7 schema had led to his prediction of a time of peace, an era of the contemplative Church and the unveiling of the spiritual meaning of Scripture in the sixth age.[179]

[177] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 22,22.

[178] See Keck (2014), 331.

[179] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 16,19; 23,4. Cf. Apoc 10:6-7.

Chapter Six

The Growth of Genesis in Bonaventure's Works

A principle that arises from Augustine's view of a simultaneous and noetic account of creation, and still featured in Bonaventure, was the theory of the seminal reasons (or principles; *rationes seminales*). The Stoic notion of the *logoi spermatikoi* as transmitted by the neo-Platonists was adopted by Augustine as a way of clarifying how new forms of life can continue to emerge if God created all things simultaneously. Like seeds that grow into plants, they are the force in nature that accounts for the development of the different material forms in creation.[1] Ironically for Bonaventure, it was Augustine's rejection of the six days' account of creation that caused his composition of the theory, 'aside from which interpretation the days of creation have no meaning to him.'[2] Bonaventure employs the *rationes seminales* in his *De reductione* and in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*, in a way that would not have been envisaged by Augustine. Those two works of Bonaventure had been brought into the spotlight as the subject of some debate ever since Dieter Hattrup proposed that apparent differences between the two works suggested a later date of composition of *De reductione* and even another author, either Roger Bacon (d. 1292), or somebody in

[1] See Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 3,14,23; Robbins (1912), 16-17; White (2011), 188; Bonaventure, *Hexaemeron* 15,12. Compare to the earlier use of the terminology in *De reductione* 20; also 4 & 21.

[2] Robbins (1912), 68.

Bacon's circle.[3] One of the differences observed by Hattrup was Bonaventure's negative outlook towards the sciences in the *Collationes*, compared to the more favourable approach taken in *De reductione*. He also noted a missing Christological centre in the latter. While here is not the place to engage in a debate which has already been widely conducted, it should be noted that Hattrup's views predate Benson's discovery of *Omnium artifex*, which functions as a 'prologue' to *De reductione* and responds to the German scholar's main contentions.[4] However, what I would like to focus on are the marked differences in Bonaventure's treatment of the seminal reasons in *De reductione* compared to the *Collationes*. This suggests a development in Bonaventure's thought over a matter of importance in the hexameral tradition. The differences between the two works at opposing ends of the author's maturity suggest not so much a break as an important growth in Bonaventure's thought concerning the six days over a period of almost twenty years (1254-1273), the time beginning with Bonaventure's inception as Regent Master up to the year when, as Minister General, he delivered the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*. We will observe this development even while considering the different objects of Bonaventure's two tasks.

The first part of this investigation will outline the nature of the seminal reasons in the *De reductione* and then compare this to the growth in the *Collationes* of the seminal reasons into seeds of meaning, or 'heavenly theories.' The former text describes the importance of Scripture and theology as scientific disciplines, and where it engages with the seminal

[3] Hattrup (1997), 546. For the rebuttals of Hattrup's argument, see Johnson (2009), 133-147; Hammond (2009), 179-226; Hughes (2009), 227-242; Levri (2018), 67-97.

[4] Cf. Levri (2018), 67-97.

reasons it does so in the context of natural philosophy. However, Bonaventure's final work emphasizes the seminal principles in relation to Scripture itself. Accordingly, this discussion will also require coverage of the nature and function of Scripture in both works.

The Seminal Reasons in *De reductione*

In the earlier work, *De reductione artium ad theolgiam* (1254), which classifies the sciences and shows the importance of their relationship to theology, Bonaventure subsumed the seminal reasons under the 'formal reasons' (*rationes formales*) in the context of the discipline of physics and natural philosophy:

> Formal principles…can be viewed from three perspectives: in relation to matter, they are called formal; in relation to the mind, they are called intellectual; and in relation to divine wisdom, they are called ideal. Therefore natural philosophy is subdivided into physics in the proper sense, mathematics, and metaphysics. So it is that physics treats of the generation and corruption of things according to natural powers and seminal principles.[5]

Thus far did Bonaventure in the first part of *De reductione* attend to the seminal principles. This section of the text deals with the four illuminations of knowledge, which he described as: exterior (the mechanical arts), inferior (sense perception), interior (philosophy) and superior (Scripture). The principal section of *De reductione* (which follows this from paragraph six onwards) 'reduces' the arts to theology and draws on the hexaëmeron to rearrange these four illuminations into the six lights of knowledge. The

[5] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 4.

'interior light' of philosophical knowledge in the first part of the work included rational, natural and moral philosophy. In the actual reduction, natural philosophy is treated as the fifth light of knowledge and is associated with the fifth day.[6] This pattern reflecting the number five corresponds to the order of the formation of creatures from seminal principles in the *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard* (Book 2) and in the *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*.[7] In both the first and second parts of *De reductione*, the seminal reasons are subsumed under the light of natural philosophy and both treat them as natural powers involved in the physical generation and corruption of matter.[8] They are the least of the

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[6] 'Therefore, these six illuminations may very fittingly be traced back to the six days of formation or illumination in which the world was made, so that the knowledge of sacred Scripture would correspond to the creation of the first day, that is, to the formation of light, and so on with the rest, one after the other in proper order.' (Bonaventure, *De reductione* 7).

[7] For discussion of the seminal reasons in the *Sentences* commentary, see 2 *Sent*., d.15, a.1, q.1, resp., where Bonaventure comments that the souls of brutes arise as forms from seminal principles, or the active potency of matter, as if from a seedbed (*seminarium*) that pre-exists the fifth day; d.15, a.2, q.3, ad 5&6, & dub. 4. See also d.7, p.2, a.2, q.1 and d.18, a.1, q.2, concl. See *Itinerarium* 1,14: 'In so far as matter is full of forms because of the seminal principles, and form is full of power because of its active potentialities, while power is capable of many effects because of its efficiency, the plenitude of things clearly proclaims the same three attributes' [i.e., 'the power, wisdom and goodness of God'].

[8] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 4.

formal principles of natural philosophy for they exist only in matter, standing beneath the intellectual principles that form a word in the human mind, and infinitely below the ideal principles 'that cannot exist in God without the generation of the Word from the Father in due proportion.'[9] Bonaventure also drew an analogy between the heavenly bodies (the sun, the moon and the stars) which are 'most remote from generation and corruption' as causing the generation of seminal principles in matter and the soul's production of 'living works' through the gift of gratuitous light.[10] There is also a natural tendency for matter, Bonaventure argued, to be 'so ordered to the intellectual principles that generation would not be perfect without the union of the rational soul with the material body.'[11] And he draws the further conclusion that the incarnation of the Son of God — the highest and most noble perfection — existed in this world when the seminal principles, the intellectual principles and the ideal principles were simultaneously brought together in the unity of the Incarnate Word.[12] We could therefore say that the seminal principles in the outlook of *De reductione* are 'grounded' firmly in the material universe, and as such aptly symbolise higher order and supernatural realities, into which they are sanctified in the mysteries of the incarnation and grace at work in the human soul.

[9] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 20.

[10] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 21.

[11] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 20.

[12] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 20.

The Seminal Reasons in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*

In the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*, the seminal reasons *per se* do not play a major role apart from the third vision of the *Collationes*, where they are in fact given a new identity and the new role as 'heavenly theories' (*caelestes theoriae*).[13] The third day of formation functions as the basis for the third vision, and here Bonaventure develops the motifs of Genesis 1:9-12 as a fertile source of meaning for the interpretation of Scripture. In the 'gathering of the waters' (Gen 1:10) the traditional exegetical spiritual senses of Scripture were envisaged. The 'sprouting of the earth' was his basis for the 'multiplicity of sacramental figures', and in the 'seeds' a 'certain infinity of heavenly theories', which captures the new identity of the seminal reasons and basis of his multiform interpretation of Scripture.[14] In allocating the third vision of the *Collationes* to the 'understanding instructed by Scripture,' Bonaventure altered the seminal reasons' correspondence with the fifth day as he was accustomed to do in the Sentence Commentary, the *De reductione* and the *Itinerarium*.

In the third vision, the multiform theories signify hidden meanings of Scripture, that are infinite in number, and understood to be unveiled as the history of the Church militant unfolds through the ages. Bonaventure's fluid notion of the Book of Scripture gave rise to the comparison of Scripture's *progress* to the growth of a tree. The 'seeds' of day three of

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[13] Specifically, the *rationes seminales* are mentioned by name in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* at 4,10 and 15,12.

[14] 15,10. Ratzinger (1989), 10 clearly differentiates the *figurae sacramentales* from the spiritual meanings, as the distinction that arises between typology in contrast with allegory.

creation intimate that Scripture has an 'infinity of heavenly theories, which are signified by the seeds.'[15] The meaning unveiled throught the theories goes beyond those of the traditional threefold theological senses of allegory, tropology and even anagogy – the ultimate sense of *De reductione*. While the principle of the seminal reasons and the heavenly theories remains the same, there is a real development in the concept of active potencies of physical matter (*De reductione*) being raised to another level in the *Collationes* and deployed to convey the hidden meanings embedded in the Scriptures. It should be noted that the idea was already in development in the *Breviloquium* and *Collationes in decem praeceptis* but not expressed with full vigour until the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*.[16]

Bonaventure noted that the correspondence of the formation of dry land, plants and seed-bearing fruit with 'the understanding instructed by Scripture' would appear to be unfitting, considering 'the earth is the lowest of the elements, and Scripture is the

[15] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,10.

[16] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,2,5. In the chapter entitled 'How Physical Nature Came into Existence' Bonaventure reasons that creation took six days: 'Finally, the primal production of the world ought to contain the seeds of all things that would later be accomplished, as a prefiguration of future ages; thus these seven days would contain seminally, as it were, the division of all times to come, as we have already explained above through the succession of the seven ages of history.' In the *Collationes in decem praeceptis* 4,7 Bonaventure says, 'He chose all things and specified them in his first works. And just as he produced the roots of all operations in those first works, so also he produced fully the seeds of all works and of rest.'

highest.'[17] But the assignation is correct, he argued, because the earth receives the lively influence of the heavens and 'produces the most beautiful sprouts.'[18] While in *De reductione*, the seminal principles bear that 'unfitting,' earthly sense (they are the least of the formal principles), they do, however, require the

> beneficial action of the light of those heavenly bodies that are most remote from generation and corruption; namely the *sun*, the *moon*, and the *stars*. So too the soul can perform no living works unless it receive from the sun, that is, from Christ, the gift of gratuitous light; unless it seek the protection of the moon, that is, of the Virgin Mary, Mother of Christ; and unless it imitate the example of the other saints.[19]

The *De reductione*, therefore, already suggests that such an allegorical understanding might be anticipated by the seminal reasons, an effect of the one light of Sacred Scripture differentiated in the illumination of philosophy and natural sciences, which in turn are ordered to and perfected by that original light.[20] It makes sense, therefore that Bonaventure could use such logic to apply the seminal reasons to the growth of meaning within Scripture itself in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*. The conceptual alignment of seminal reasons with

[17] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 13,1.

[18] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 13,1.

[19] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 21.

[20] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 7.

heavenly theories suggests continuity with *De reductione*, but nevertheless a significant reworking and development of thought.

Scripture in *De reductione* and *Collationes in hexaëmeron*

a) De reductione

The transference of the seminal principles from the light of natural philosophy to the vision of understanding instructed by Scripture – from the fifth to the third days – ought now be evaluated in light of the role that Bonaventure assigns Scripture in both the *De reductione* and the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*. In both texts it takes on similarly important roles, albeit with significant differences. Thanks to the ground-breaking work of Joshua Benson, there is now a consensus view that *De reductione* is the second half (the resumption) of Bonaventure's two-part inaugural sermon, in which the first part (the *principium*) was a *commendatio* of Scripture. The *principium*, *Omnium Artifex docuit me sapientia*, commends Scripture according to the four Aristotelian causes.[21] Scripture, or theology, is a complete science that has God as its subject and considers everything as a vestige of God according to their various levels of participation in God. Here, Bonaventure

[21] Benson (2012), 517-562 provides the critical edition of the text *Omnium artifex*. Catherine Levri outlines the importance of the reading the two parts together in order to properly understand the nature of *De reductione*, the resumption. See Levri (2018), 67-97. As far as I am aware, only Thomas Prügl departs from the consensus view that *De reductione* is in essence the second part or *resumptio* to Bonaventure's two-part inception as Master of Theology at Paris in the 1250s. See Prügl (2019), 75-116. For a compilation of the authentic works of St Bonaventure, see Horowski (2016), 461-544.

argues that while Scripture does not comprise all the sciences, it does contain all created things.[22]

Having commended Scripture, the incepting master in the second part of his sermon, or resumption, which is substantially the text we know as *De reductione*, would traditionally divide the canon. Instead, Bonaventure outlined the sciences, allocating them their own proper place in the academy, but also showing how they relate to Scripture, for they cannot be closed off to theology.[23] Instead the sciences as the lights or illuminations of natural reason are 'reduced' to the knowledge of God through the medium of Scripture. By way of a link with the fourfold structural patterns of the *commendatio*, the resumption begins by speaking of four exterior, inferior, interior and superior lights. The fourth or superior one is the light of grace and of Scripture, which illumines with respect to saving truth.[24] Scripture is not the fruit of human research, but comes to us from 'the God of lights' (Js 1) and 'while

[22] Levri (2018), 78 & 84-85. For a similar notion see *Hexaëmeron* 13, 12-13; 17, 20. Pietro Maranesi (2005), 173-85 discusses how Scripture in Bonaventure's estimation contains everything knowable, and how he approaches the sciences vis-à-vis the position of Roger Bacon.

[23] See Levri's excellent article (2018), 96. 'While the sciences have a proper place of existence, it is not one protected from or closed off to theology. Instead, the sciences exist on two levels. On a natural and proper level, they study things like medicine, sense cognition, or moral philosophy. On a supernatural or exegetical level proper to Scripture alone, but shared by the sciences, they reveal theological truths.'

[24] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 1.

one in its literal sense, still in its spiritual and mystical sense, it is threefold.'[25] The allegorical, moral and anagogical meanings respectively teach the 'eternal generation and incarnation of Christ, the pattern of human life, and the union of the soul with God.' It is after this fourfold division of knowledge that Bonaventure moves the fourth light of Scripture in a chiastic restructure to first place in which the new ordering of the sciences is hexameral.[26]

> 'From what has been said up to now it can be concluded that, according to our primary division, the light coming down from above is fourfold; nonetheless there are six differentiations of this light: namely, the light of sacred Scripture, the light of sense perception, the light of the mechanical arts, the light of rational philosophy, the light of natural philosophy, and the light of moral philosophy. Therefore, in the present life there are six illuminations; and they have their evening, for all knowledge will be destroyed. And therefore they will be followed by a seventh day of rest, a day which knows no evening, namely the illumination of glory.'[27]

Both Scripture and the sciences will have their end when brought to rest on the seventh 'day' in the theological virtue of charity, which is their ultimate purpose. Without charity 'all

[25] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 5.

[26] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 6.

[27] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 6.

knowledge is vain.'[28] Further, all lights of knowledge 'should come to rest in the knowledge of sacred Scripture, and particularly in the anagogical understanding.' The latter is concerned with the finality of both the allegorical and moral meanings, for anagogy pertains to mystical contemplation and union with God.[29] Anagogy in *De reductione* is the highest exegetical sense and is identified as theology proper.

We see therefore that Scripture is given first importance in *De reductione* by the assignation of light as its analogue. Created on the first day, light has a dynamic and formative influence on the following days, and a correspondingly significant influence on the further 'lights' of knowledge enumerated in *De reductione*. Scripture, and especially the anagogical sense, is the governing discipline from which and into which the other five academic disciplines or 'lights' of sense perception, mechanical arts, rational philosophical and natural philosophy flow.[30] 'Therefore all our knowledge should come to rest in the knowledge of sacred Scripture, and particularly in the anagogical understanding of Scripture through which any illumination is traced back to God from whom it took its origin. And there the circle is completed; the pattern of six is complete, and consequently there is rest.'[31]

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[28] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 26.

[29] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 7.

[30] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 6.

[31] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 7.

b) *Collationes in hexaëmeron*

We now draw a comparison of Scripture's importance in *De reductione* with that of the *Collationes in hexaemeron*. It should first be noted that the first part or 'vision' of the *Collationes*, which is paired to the formation of light on day one, does not correspond to the illumination of Scriptural understanding, as was the case in *De reductione*. Rather it refers to the 'understanding implanted by nature' and contains Bonaventure's critique of a separated philosophy, or one cut off from theology. This reflects the historical situation in which Bonaventure is addressing Minorites at their own *studium* in Paris, who are urged to avoid what Bonaventure considers the pitfalls of the incursion of the School of Arts into theology, like a revolt of the handmaids of theology against the Queen of the Sciences.[32] That infiltration would cast a long shadow over the Minorites' growth in true wisdom. He associated an independent philosophy with the tree of knowledge, whose fruit produced an apparent but in fact deadly knowledge. The danger involved there meant exclusion of the soul from 'the delights of paradise' and from savouring of the Tree of Life.[33] It was therefore necessary for the friars to divide night from day and emphasise divine faith's illumination of natural reason.

The coverage of the sciences in the *Collationes* do reflect a less optimistic view than was given in *De reductione*, when the younger Bonaventure as incepting Master of theology had illustrated the importance of theology by casting the sciences in the light of their share of the original illumination of Scripture. But the *Collationes* go beyond *De reductione* in the

[32] On the arts/sciences as the handmaids of theology, see Grant (2010), 226.

[33] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 18,3.

consideration of Scripture, not least in the manifest expectation of finding meaning beyond the three theological or spiritual senses. Here Bonaventure spoke of the emergence of an eschatological hope that the hidden meanings of Scripture would be revealed openly even in this sixth age. This is the point of the heavenly theories, which were represented as symbolically arising from the sprouting of seeds of Gen 1:11. According to this conceptualisation, knowledge of the future was being revealed. This knowledge of the future depends on knowledge of the past, which for Bonaventure is suggested by the hexaëmeron, and narrated by Moses in order to prophesy the future.[34] The first six or seven days therefore become the key to the treatment of significant concepts of the Book of the Apocalypse, particularly in relation to its use of the symbolism of numbers. This universalising of the hexaëmeron expands into a grand vision of the history of salvation, a delve into the past for the sake of the full disclosure of the Scripture's hidden meanings at a future time.

Bonaventure reasoned that much even of the New Testament has been handed on in 'figures and enigmas,' but that meaning must and will be unsealed.[35] At a time in the sixth age of the Church, both a 'time of clear doctrine,' and of tribulation for the Church, he reflects with a personal conjecture, 'the understanding of Scripture would now be given, either as revelation, or as the key of David, to a person or to a great many; and I believe

[34] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,11-12.

[35] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 20,13

more that it will be a multitude.'[36] Bonaventure continues this theme in the fourth vision by his comparison of the Church militant with the waxing and waning of the moon:

> Indeed, we understand in some manner the teaching of figures, of which the Old Testament and New Testament are full, as is clear from the apostle, that the passion of Christ was both a truth and a figure, and similarly the resurrection. And thus the figures have not yet been explained; but when the moon will be full, then there will be an opening of the Scriptures, and the book will be opened, and the seven seals, which are not yet open, will be broken.[37]

Scripture is not an open book, a point the *Collationes* evidently drive home. Here Bonaventure goes further than ever before by emphasising Scripture's hidden meanings, but which are to be made manifest by means of the heavenly theories. And this only makes sense to Bonaventure when seen in the light of their origin in the six days. For the understanding of Scripture arises from the theories which in turn are symbolized by the original 'sprouting of seeds': 'One who ignores the past cannot know the future…hence knowledge of future derives from the knowledge of the past.'[38] Furthermore, Bonaventure remarks in the third vision of *Collationes* that the six days themselves 'are the seminal

[36] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 16,29.

[37] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 20, 15. See also 20,13; 20,16.

[38] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,11.

relations (*rationes seminales*) to knowing the Scriptures…for God in the beginning placed, as if in a seed, what later budded into a mystical creation or work.'[39]

The knowledge of Scripture is not only a matter of exegesis and of understanding the times, it is also concerned with intellectual nourishment by truth and the sustainment of the affect, or will, by piety. Knowledge (*scientia*) for its own sake, and particularly the desire to parade it, is how Bonaventure characterises 'vanity' and 'curiosity.'[40] The heavenly theories lead also to devotional and wise understanding and to the soul's passing over (*transitus*) from knowledge to wisdom through growth in holiness.[41]

He develops this theme in relation to the Garden of paradise (Gen 2:8-9). 'The nourishment [*refectionem*] of the trees' is described as saving nutrition provided by Scripture for both the intellect and the affect.[42] The 'delighting and refreshing multiform theories' therefore concern the formation of the human person in wisdom. The second creation narrative in the Garden (Gen 2:4b-9) where God placed Adam is considered to be a 'recapitulation' of the work of the third day.[43] Playing on the imagery of the tree of

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[39] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 15,12.

[40] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 18,3.

[41] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 19,3

[42] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 17,1.

[43] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 17,3: 'This was said by recapitulation after the seventh day, because that planting was done on the third day.' *Hoc dictum est post septimam diem, quia ista plantatio facta fuit tertia die*.

knowledge, the tree of life and their respective fruits, he described the beauty and pleasantness of the trees and their fruit as forming the basis of the nourishment of the intellect and the affect. Beauty or elegance appeals to the intellect; pleasantness, or sweetness engages the affect. Quoting Gen 2:15 '*the Lord God took the man and placed him in paradise to work and guard it*,' Bonaventure reflects, 'It is necessary to work within sacred Scripture and to exercise the intellect.'[44] In this rich symbolism, Scripture is likened to the Garden and so too the soul 'in which Scripture has been planted.'[45] Bonaventure illustrates the importance of the Book of Scripture as the primary source of knowledge in the pursuit of wisdom.[46] When Scripture sustains the understanding, there is no exiting from Paradise.[47] (The expulsion from the garden occurred because knowledge was sought from the Tree of Knowledge, thus independently of its true source). True sustainment enlightens the intellect from twelve 'directions': the eleventh, 'from afar' illustrates the relation between the sciences and theology.[48] As Scripture 'makes figures from everything'

[44] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 19,5. I have adjusted the inclusive translation 'human' (*hominem*) in Genesis 2:15 to 'man' simply because in the second creation narrative, the woman had not yet been formed.

[45] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 17,5; cf. 17,4, where Scripture is likened to the Garden.

[46] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 19,6-7.

[47] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 17,8.

[48] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 17,8. The twelves directions are: within and without, above and below, front and back, right and left, from the opposite and around (*gyro*), from afar

— from the cosmological to the mineral — it further enlightens the intellect by twelve symbols that the book of Scripture receives from the book of nature.[49] The world of nature is therefore contained in the garden of Scripture, which emerges in this symbolic world view from the six days. The hexaëmeron is thus the book of Scripture in microcosm. Even the earth itself is Scripture, in the sense that it produces every kind of tree, 'beautiful to see' for the sake of the intellect, and 'pleasant to eat' for the sake of human affection.[50] As per the *De reductione*, Scripture contains all things, so in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* Scripture is

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and from nearby. The eleventh, 'from afar' is described at 17,20. Maranesi (2005), 177 explains that the twelve directions are 'twelve fundamental enlightenings that encompass all the different aspects of reality, making them a direct object of knowledge.' Hence, the theologian can use the various scientific understandings of the natures of things to reinterpret them spiritually and produce nourishment of the affect.

[49] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 17,20; cf. 13,12: Since the book of nature had become as though dead and deleted to fallen Adam, 'so another book was necessary, through which the first book could be illuminated to receive the metaphors of things. And this book is the Scriptures, which posits the similitudes, properties and metaphors of things written in the book of the world.' The twelve figures are: heavenly forms, elemental natures, meteorological natures, mineral natures, generative, aquatic, flying and mobile natures, human organs, human powers, human works, and human arts.

[50] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 17,4.

said to make use of the whole universe of created matter: 'it makes figures (*figuras*) from everything.'[51]

Summarizing therefore, an important theory that finds its origin in Augustine's principle of the seminal reasons has been reworked creatively by Bonaventure into a highly symbolic elaboration of the third day of creation. His exegesis expands on that day, since the hexaëmeron is recapitulated and drawn into the ambit of the second chapter of Genesis and the earthly paradise. Together, they harmonize into a speculative theology on the intellectual and affective dispositions required of the reader of Scripture to grow in true wisdom.

Concluding Remarks

While in the *De reductione* Bonaventure associates theology with the anagogical understanding of Scripture and concludes that 'the multiform wisdom of God, which is clearly revealed in sacred Scripture lies hidden in all knowledge and in all nature,'[52] the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* manifest a more creative and yet more nuanced approach to the understanding of sacred Scripture. It appears that new growth has been achieved in the *Collationes*. The *De reductione* did not even hint at what the *Collationes* predict. Moreover, there is clearly a difference in perspective in respect of the meaning of Scripture in the later work. What for Bonaventure appeared to be clear in Scripture in the 1250s remained to be unsealed by the time he delivered his *Collationes* in 1273. If the heavenly theories are key to unravelling the meaning of Scripture in the *Collationes* they are not so in the earlier works.

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[51] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 17,20.

[52] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 26

The principle of the theories, that is, the six days, manifests itself throughout the earlier works of Bonaventure in far more subtle ways. But what is even more evident by this stage is that the perspective of the six days — the original law of nature — had always been the key to unravelling the mysteries of Scripture throughout Bonaventure's writings. The application of heavenly theories to seminal principles and all that was signified regarding the history of salvation did not emerge with this level of clarity in the works of Bonaventure until the last years of his life. This deep interpenetration of meaning and the symbolism of the six days and the unfolding of the theories goes well beyond the anagogical meaning envisaged by the *De reductione*.

Chapter Seven

The *similitudo Dei* and Angelic Exegesis

Introduction

In the Introduction to this dissertation, it was proposed that the reception of the hexaëmeron contributed to the emphatic and central place of the 'image of God' in Bonaventure's works. It has been said that Bonaventure was the last person in the 13th century to maintain the theme of *imago Dei* at the centre of theology.[1] We have already seen that Christ, the true Image of God, forms the central place in Bonaventure's theological outlook, and that the centrality of the Incarnation therefore leads him to draw attention to the created image appointed on day six (Gen 1:26-27).

Bonaventure's interpretation of the creation of the first man and woman, according to Genesis 1:26, 'in the *image* and *likeness* of God,'[2] had been the original focal point of my research that led to the broader question in this study of the reception of the hexaëmeron throughout his works. I had been interested in the emphasis given to the concept of 'image' in relation to the 'likeness,' or 'similitude' (*similitudo*). In Bonaventure, 'likeness' has the sense of being a closer resemblance to God than does the image *per se*. It is a higher, more perfect form of the image. This terminology is utilized frequently, and needs to be

[1] Carpenter (1999), 67, ft.41, who was summarizing the eminent Franciscan scholar, Jacques Bougerol.

[2] Emphasis added.

distinguished from the general sense of resemblance, whereby vestiges and images both represent God but in varying degrees of likeness; one is a distant representation, the other a closer representation. According to the sense of likeness as a perfection of the image, the soul becomes like God through deifying gifts, and becomes a dwelling for God. Not all images are therefore likenesses, though all likenesses are necessarily images.[3] Yet what is the relationship between the doctrine of the image and the reception of Genesis? In attempting to answer this question, it is necessary to emphasize the concept of 'likeness,' as Bonaventure himself does. In this chapter, some of my original research is briefly presented in order to bring this investigation to a close.[4] This chapter will therefore explore Bonaventure's interpretation of Genesis 1:26, and consider the significance of the *similitudo* in relation to the reception of the hexaëmeron, and its importance with regard to fundamental principles of Bonaventure's theology.

The 'Image and Likeness' of God (Genesis 1:26)

Bonaventure's teaching may have influenced Thomas Aquinas' understanding of the 'aptitudinal' or potential image, that is, the natural aptitude the human person has for understanding and loving God.[5] Bonaventure maintained, 'the image consists in a unity of

[3] For an excellent study of 'Bonaventure's Theory of Resemblance' see Reynolds (2003), 219-255.

[4] See my essay (2021), 99-111.

[5] See Sullivan (1963), 215-16; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica* 1, q.93, a.4; Bonaventure in 1 *Sent.*, d.3, p.2, a.1, q.2, ad 4 distinguishes actual from aptitudinal conversion. See also

essence and a trinity of powers, according to which the soul was born to be sealed by the Most High Trinity with the image of likeness (*imagine similitudinis*), which consists in grace and the theological virtues.'[6] Bonaventure stresses that the power by which the image represents and imitates God through the faculties of memory, intellect and will characterizes the degree of its assimilation to God. In this sense, the image is more than a reflection, it is a dynamic interrelation, and is attained according to an 'express conformity' (*secundam expressam conformitatem*) to that which it reflects. This is a conformity to its Exemplar by knowledge and love. Unless the powers of the soul have God as their object, that is, are 'converted' to God, the image's resemblance to God is diminished. No creature can have God as its object 'if it does not grasp (*capiat*) God through memory, understanding and will.'[7] If the soul turns away from God to inferior creatures, i.e., vestiges, in which the resemblance to God is from afar, the powers of the soul no longer have the reckoning (*ratio*)

Summa theologica 1, q.93, a.9 for Aquinas's treatment of the distinction between image and likeness. Saccenti (2010), 309-13 provides a summary of St Thomas's position within the context of the *imago Dei* in the 12th-13th centuries. Aquinas describes three ways in which the divine image is found in man: 1) The natural aptitude for understanding and loving God, common to all humanity. 2) The actual or habitual knowledge and love of God, albeit imperfect. 3) The perfect knowledge and love of God, consisting of the 'likeness of glory.' For the Greek notion of likeness as *homoiosis* and deification, see Saccenti (2010), 307-9.

[6] Bonaventure, 1 *Sent*., d.3, p.2, a.2, q.1, resp.

[7] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium*, 2,12,3

of the image that is fit for God (*capax Dei)*, 'for they turn aside from express conformity.'[8] In such a case, the soul's capacity for God is stifled and is practically no more a resemblance of the Trinity than a vestige is in its sensitive powers.

Bonaventure's treatment of Genesis 1:26 may be compared to many of the Greek patristic writers beginning from St. Irenaeus of Lyon — the first of the Fathers to notice the separation of the terms — and who treated the terms 'image' and 'likeness' as distinct modes of representation.[9] Augustine was the first of the Latin Fathers to systematically articulate a view on Genesis 1:26 that departed from the Greek tradition. That view became the most authoritative and widespread view of the Western Church. In this he departed from his predecessor Marius Victorinus, and from Jerome.[10] The *similitudo* and *imago* were more or less parallel and synonymous for Augustine. In Bonaventure the *imago* refers to the

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[8] Bonaventure, 1 *Sent*., d.3, p.2, a.1, q.2, resp.

[9] Meconi (2015), 200.

[10] See Sullivan (1963), 11-1 & 30, ft. 41; Drever (2012), 122; see Markus (1964), 126-29, who includes Ambrose as treating *imago* and *similitudo* as equivalent, but without Augustine's logical rigour. Marius Victorinus (c. 290-364), in his anti-Arian treatises, argued that God made man not as his *imago*, 'but *ad* (or *iuxta*) *imaginem et similitudinem suam*, arguing that only Christ is the perfect image of the Father, and that man is made to his image, or is the image of an image.' (Markus (1964), 128-29). Victorinus remained within the tradition that saw the *similitudo* as distinct from the *imago* and needing to be regained. According to Thunberg (1985), 298, the Cappadocians, particularly Sts. Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzen and Cyril of Alexandria, did not favour the distinct senses of the terms.

natural endowments of memory, intelligence and will (*memoria*, *intelligentia*, *voluntas*) in the embodied soul.[11] The *imago* was not lost in the Fall, but the *similitudo* was. It therefore must be regained through grace, faith and the understanding of Scripture.[12] In his *Sentences* commentary, Bonaventure compares the image and likeness to nature and grace, or to natural (*naturalibus*) and gratuitous gifts (*gratuitis*). Influenced by his former teacher, Jean de la Rochelle (1190-1245), Bonaventure stated that the image implies a certain 'configuration and quantity' and is attained in the natural powers of the soul. Likeness is a quality, and the quality in which the soul is likened to God is grace. Therefore, likeness is said to be in gratuitous gifts.[13] To the objection that the human being, created according to

[11] That the body as well as the soul stand for the image in Bonaventure, see Delio (1999), 256. On what was lost in the Fall, and how Bonaventure differs from Augustine, see Schumacher (2012), 216-219, at 218. See also Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 3,5.

[12] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,12,5.

[13] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.16, a.2, q.3, resp. See also Reynolds (2003), 249-51 & 254. Bonaventure cites Aristotle, for whom likeness 'is said to be the same quality of different things.' The Quaracchi editors cite *Metaphysics* 4,9 and 4,15. To illustrate, Jean had explained that a depiction of Hercules is an imitation and image of the Greek divinity, but the addition of colours to the image attains a greater likeness of the god. 'Hence the natural powers of the soul express an image and a configuration in relation to God, while grace expresses the likeness as colours that have been added to the image.' Jean de la Rochelle, *Summa de anima* 5,32. At this point it is worth noting that Bonaventure sets the record straight by attributing the figure/nature epithet to Hugh. Jean had mistakenly attributed it

the image *and* likeness of God, must therefore have been created with both natural and gratuitous gifts, Bonaventure argued that likeness was to be given later, even if that lapse of time was minimal. The image was made capable (*habilem*) of the further gifts associated with grace.[14] The separation and ordered bestowal of the two kinds of grace was meant to alert us to the gratuitous nature of the second gift, which was infused on the already complete and constituted human nature.[15] Bonaventure interprets Genesis 1:26, 'let us make man according to our image and likeness' (*faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram*) to mean that the first man and woman were created to the image, and ordered to likeness, or 'born to be sealed with the image of likeness,' over time. The concept is consistent with Bonaventure's understanding that after matter was first created, it was then distinguished and subsequently adorned.

Hugh of St. Victor (1096-1141) was to have the greatest influence on Bonaventure's interpretation of Genesis 1:26.[16] Bonaventure develops this anthropology in terms of Hugh's emphasis on creation and re-creation, or the image of creation and the image of restoration.[17] The image-likeness differentiation is probably best exemplified in Bonaventure's description of the created world as a kind of book in which the creating

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to Augustine's *De quantitate animae*, perhaps through a misreading of Peter Lombard, 2 *Sentences*, d.16, chap.3.

[14] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.29, a.2, q.2, ad 1.

[15] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.29, a.2, q.2, resp.

[16] Reynolds (2003), 224.

[17] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.16, a.2, q.3, resp. Cf. Hugh, *De sacramentis* 1,6,2.

Trinity is reflected, represented and described at three different levels of expression: as a vestige, as an image, and as a likeness: 'Every creature that proceeds from God is a vestige. Every creature that knows God is an image. And every creature in whom God dwells, and only such a creature, is a likeness.'[18]

In the *Breviloquium*, Bonaventure names Hugh as the source of a triple formulation of 'eye of flesh, eye of reason, and eye of contemplation' that by association enables the human being to 'see' God in vestiges, images and likenesses in creation.[19] The clear parallel that Bonaventure draws between the triad of vestige, image, and likeness with the triple eye formulation should not be seen as an isolated example of Bonaventure's penchant for triads, but as underlying the general impetus of his thought. With the eye of flesh, the human soul sees *externally* that the vestiges (or 'footprints') have their origin in God through the unity, truth and goodness that are perceived in created things. With the eye of reason, the soul sees *within* itself the image of God in the powers of memory, understanding and will, and with the eye of contemplation is conformed to God *above* through faith, hope and charity, and possesses the Holy Spirit as an infused gift. Such

[18] Bonaventure, *Quaestiones disputatae de scientia Christi* q.4, resp. Cf. *Breviloquium* 2,12,1.

[19] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,12,5. Hugh described the triple eye in terms of its perception outside itself, within itself, and both within itself and in God. See *De sacramentis* 1,10,2

symbolic organs of sight enabled humankind, at least in the state of innocence, to perceive divine Wisdom respectively in matter, in the created intellect, and in the Eternal Art.[20]

Bonaventure also described the image as specified by the soul's faculty of knowing (*potentia cognoscendi*), and the likeness as the faculty of loving. Configuration of the soul's natural powers of memory, understanding and will is attained in the origin, relationship (*habitudine*) and distinction of those powers. Since memory and knowledge are the faculties corresponding to origin and relation (*habitudo*), the image of God primarily relates to the cognitive part of the soul. But as the quality by which the soul is assimilated to God resides in the will, it is the likeness that pertains to the affective power.[21]

'As a consequence, in the image of *creation* there are two faculties on the cognitive side, that is, memory and understanding, and one on the affective side, that is, the will. On the other hand, in the image of *re-creation*, which consists of grace, there are two virtues on the affective side, that is hope and charity, and one on the cognitive side, namely faith.'[22] Bonaventure distinguishes between the image of creation that consists of the natural,

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[20] To see in 'Eternal Art' is based on Augustine's explication of creation in *De Genesi ad litteram* 4,22,39 ff. It means understanding the idea of everything in the Word who expresses all that God is. As this is impossible without grace, so Bonaventure's practical sense leads him to refine Augustine's explanation by drawing on Hugh's triple eye to correspond to the way we see creatures exist, with the eye of flesh, the eye of reason, and the eye of contemplation.

[21] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.16, a.2, q.3, resp.

[22] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.16, a.2, q.3, resp.

cognitive faculties, and the image of re-creation that relates to grace and the virtues, which reform the cognitive powers. The virtues of the reformed soul are three: faith, hope and charity. One virtue, namely faith, corresponds to the cognitive aspect of the image of re-creation, while two, namely hope and charity correspond to the affective part. Hope and charity reform the two powers (*vires*) of the irascible and concupiscible appetites. Furthermore, with grace, the union of the soul with God also restores the rational power. For hope, which reforms the irascible appetite, consequently reforms the memory also.[23] Bonaventure emphasizes the restoration of the cognitive powers by the reform of the affective powers, transformed though the virtue of charity above all. He would have agreed with Hugh: 'Wisdom was a pasture within; the work of wisdom was a pasture without. And the sense of man was permitted to go to both, and find refreshment in both, to go by cognition, to be refreshed by love.'[24]

Contemporary discussion of the doctrine of the image and the question of how Christian authors understood the role of the body with respect to the divine image may find a helpful guide in Bonaventure. On this, he may be viewed in contrast with Augustine. For Augustine, the image in Adam is primarily intellectual: he is created according to knowledge, intelligence and mind; the body does not image God, and just as the light created on the first day of creation was intellectual, so too was the divine image of the sixth day. This consists in the rational creature being 'identified with its knowing the Divine Word through

[23] *Per consequens reformet memoriam, cum convenient in actu, qui est tenere* (2 Sent d.16, a.2, q.3, resp.) cf. I *Sent*., d.3, p.2, a.1, q.1, ad 4 & Scholion.

[24] Hugh, *De sacramentis* 1,6,5: ....*iret per cognitionem, reficeretur per dilectionem*.

whom it was made.'[25] While for Bonaventure, the divine image is principally in the powers of the soul that reflect the distinction and order of the Trinitarian relations, hence in the natural powers of the soul's memory, intelligence and will,[26] he does not exclude the body in his understanding of the *imago Dei*. This is due to the important influence of St. Francis, whose devotion to the incarnate and crucified Christ was to renew attention to the humanity of Christ. Francis' admonition, 'Consider, O human being, in what great excellence the Lord God has placed you, for He created and formed you *to the image* of His beloved Son according to the body and according *to His likeness* according to the Spirit'[27] no doubt had its influence on Bonaventure's meditation on the stigmatization of Francis, as described in the *Itinerarium*. When reflecting on the vision of the six-winged seraph that appeared to Francis in the form of the Crucified, Bonaventure suggested that the rising of the saint into contemplation may be reached

> through nothing else than a most ardent love of the Crucified, which transformed Paul into Christ when he *was rapt to the third heaven* that he declared: *With Christ I am nailed to the Cross; it is now no longer I that live, but*

[25] Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 3,20,31. Cf. 2,8,16 for the creation of light on the first day as corresponding to the creation of the angels for Augustine. However, we must not conceive of Augustine's anthropology too narrowly in terms of oppositional categories between body and spirit, for he uses the language of *similitudinem* to describe both: see Drever (2012), 128.

[26] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent.*, d.16, a.1, q.1, arg.4 (fundament). Cf. 1 *Sent*., d.3, p.2, a.1, q.2, resp.

[27] Francis of Assisi, *Admonitions* 5.

> *Christ lives in me*. This love so absorbed the soul of Francis too that his spirit shone through his flesh the last two years of his life, when he bore the most holy marks of the Passion in his body.[28]

Francis bore the seal, or imprint, of the marks of Christ's passion in his body. Accordingly, the soul is to be conformed not only to the Trinity but also to Christ crucified. The human person, body and soul, must be conformed to the whole Christ.[29]

The Restoration of Divine Likeness Through Exegesis

One final consideration of Bonaventure's treatment of the image of re-creation requires attention. The emphasis given to the *similitudo* as a perfection of the image ought also be considered alongside another notion already touched on: the lost resemblance and eye of contemplation may be regained 'through grace and faith and the understanding of the Scriptures.'[30] That understanding includes the labour of exegesis as well as the spiritual application of that work through the three spiritual senses to the life of the reader of Scripture.[31] Exegesis is therefore seen as necessary for restoring the likeness that was lost by Adam's sin. Bonaventure also connects the understanding of Scripture with the

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[28] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* Prol., 3.

[29] Delio (1999), 256-57.

[30] cf. Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,12,5.

[31] For a discussion of Bonaventure's 'quadriga' in contrast with Hugh's literal plus two spiritual meanings of Scripture, and the process of reading and contemplating Scripture as restorative see Rorem (2012b), 385-397.

knowledge of the 'the order and origin of restoration,' for without it the Scriptures cannot be understood: 'For unless you understand the order and origin of restoration, you cannot understand Scripture.'[32] We may observe here that the 'order and restoration,' without which Scripture cannot be understood, presupposes the traditional reception of the successive view of the formation and adornment of creatures over the six days. This becomes evident when we consider that Bonaventure understood Scripture as restorative via Hugh's famous dictum that 'the subject matter of all the divine Scriptures is the works of man's restoration.'[33] Likewise, Hugh had himself proposed that the study of the arts and exegesis were 'to restore within us the divine likeness.'[34] Bonaventure's book of creation and book of Scripture find their source in Hugh's description of the two 'works' in which God has been revealed in nature and in Scripture: 1) the work of foundation, whereby all that is came to be, and 2) the work of restoration, whereby all that had been impaired was restored. 'Therefore, the work of foundation is the creation of the world in all its elements. The work of restoration is the Incarnation of the Word with all its sacraments…'[35] For Hugh, Scripture is a 'sacrament,' and the works of restoration are the material of Scripture.[36] It is

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[32] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 3,11. Compare with an earlier statement at 2,17: 'Neither can the Scriptures, nor the mysteries, be understood unless the course of the world and the hierarchical arrangement (*dispositio hierarchica*) may be known.'

[33] Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis* Prol., 2. See Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 2,11,2.

[34] Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon* 2,1. See also Rorem (2009), 50 and Coolman (2010), 27.

[35] Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis* Prol., 2.

[36] Coolman (2003), 180-81.

therefore possible to see here a correspondence with Bonaventure's 'threefold help' in the soul's rising toward the contemplation of God in the following 'books': the sensible creature, the spiritual creature, and 'the sacramental scriptures.' The first is a book written on the outside, the second on the inside, and the third on both the inside and the outside. The Scriptures are considered 'sacramental' for they contain hidden within them mysteries, and diverse understandings. They also teach the 'properties of things' and are therefore also a book written on the outside.[37] At one stage, before Adam lost the image of likeness, he could read the Book of Creation and understand all things as signs pointing to God: Adam was an exegete of creation. But in order to restore what was lost and regain the likeness, he would have to become an exegete of the Scriptures, for they deal with restoration and with creation. The study of Scripture, along with grace and faith, therefore reveals the true meaning of nature to those blinded to its true significance as leading to the glory and praise of God.

That sacramentality of the Scriptures, which employs visible signs to point out the invisible mysteries of God, provides the means to convert the person back to the divine gifts. It finds its Scriptural and theological point of origin in the hexaëmeron, and in the soul's reception of the symbolism of the six days to be transformed through conversion, adornment and assimilation to God. The likeness of glory that is lost is hereby restored through Scripture, which is symbolically summed up and encapsulated in the hexaëmeron, which contains the seeds of re-creation.

[37] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 12,14 & 17

In another place in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* Bonaventure had stated that neither Scripture, nor the mysteries, can be understood without knowing 'the course of the world and the hierarchical arrangement.'[38] This expresses the order and origin of restoration in another sense — at the anagogical level, expressed in the *Breviloquium* as the 'height' of Scripture in the description of the three hierarchies: the ecclesiastical, the angelic and the divine (or the sub-celestial, the celestial and the supercelestial).[39] In the context of the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*, both senses — the order and origin of restoration, and the hierarchical arrangement — seem to draw on the fecundity of meaning contained in the six days, including the material symbols through which we can arrive at a knowledge of the invisible things of God. With reference to the hierarchical arrangement, we see the necessity of the celestial hierarchy's assistance in moving the reader of Scripture to divine likeness, for the angels both assist in understanding the sacred text, and that very process of reading assimilates the soul to God, thereby opening the eye of contemplation. There is a circularity here, and we should understand this in terms of Bonaventure's doctrine that both angels and humans come from God in the manner of an image and a likeness. They are images in their *exitus* from God and likenesses in their *reditus*, or ascent back up to God. 'For the act of an assimilating similitude or grace is to lead upwards, just as its origin is a

[38] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 2,17. The 'hierarchical arrangement' (*dispositio hierarchica*) Bonaventure speaks of is borrowed directly from Hugh's *Commentary on the Celestial Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysius, see Hugh of St. Victor, *In hierarchiam coelestem*, 1,2 & 5.

[39] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., 3,1.

descending downwards.'[40] It is possible that Hugh's *De arca Noe morali* ('The Moral Meaning of Noah's Ark') was in the background of Bonaventure's thinking on the association of exegesis and restoration. Commenting on Isaiah's vision (Is 6:1-3) of the two six-winged seraphim, Hugh had compared the effects of exegesis to the action of the two seraphim, whose presence in the temple stands for the two testaments:

> The two seraphim are the two testaments. And the seraphim (which means 'burning'), so beautifully represented in divine Scripture, symbolize those men and women who are first illuminated by understanding and afterward are made to burn brightly with love. For surely, God reveals what our mind ought to desire. First God illuminates the mind as to its desires, then God restores the mind by setting it aflame.

The passage continues with reference to the morning star shining in hearts that are attentive to the 'prophetical word' (2 Peter 1:19), in order to illustrate the meaning of the Isaian vision: 'Perhaps it is said, *The seraphim stand upon it* (Is 6:2), according to the similitude Peter here utilizes allegorically to symbolize an effect that in turn produces obedience in the heart. Thus the seraphim themselves rise when they set us upright, they walk when they help us to make progress, and they stand when they transfix us in a holy

[40] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.9, Prenotations to q.1. *Similitudinis enim sive gratiae assimilantis actus est sursum ducere, sicut eius origo est desursum descendere.*

undertaking.'[41] The passage may well reinforce the distinctive mystical significance of Bonaventure's image of creation, in the reference to the illumination of the understanding as to what the soul ought to desire. The image of re-creation, or likeness, is also alluded to in the restoration of the mind by setting it aflame with love. And it presupposes the involvement of the celestial assistance of the highest angelic hierarchy in restoring fallen humanity through exegesis. The seraphim do what should be accomplished by Scripture in the hearts of listeners: enlighten the understanding and set hearts alight with the active fire of charity.

Concluding Remarks

This summary of the interpretation and implications of Genesis 1:26 provides a glimpse of how richly consequential is the nature of Bonaventure's Hugonian and Dionysian reception of the *imago* and *similitudo*. It not only expresses how important this text is for Bonaventure's theological anthropology, but speaks to the task of Biblical exegesis itself. Insofar as the image is central to Bonaventure's overall teaching, the hexaëmeron cannot but be considered as foundational to the nature of human thought and to the wisdom of the contemplative ascent to which the six days point. It forms an implicit framework around

[41] Hugh of St. Victor, *De Arca Noe Morali* 1,2 in Chase (2002), 127-28; PL 176:622C-623D. This passage had a history of attribution to Bonaventure, then to Alan of Lille (c. 1128-1202), e.g., in PL 210:265-80, where it forms the first part of the text entitled *De sex alis cherubim*, ('On the Six Wings of the Cherubim'). However, it is now understood to have been written by Hugh of St. Victor, and the remainder to an anonymous redactor/writer. See Chase (2002), 121-145.

which Bonaventure constructed his reflection on the nature of God and the manner of that revelation.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

Summary

In this study I have sought to enter into the mentality of Bonaventure in order to understand the logic and nature of the presence of the six days in a number of his major theological works. This concern of Bonaventure's is observable from the time he wrote his commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard to his final say in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*. The works produced in the intervening years all consistently manifest a similar reception of the six days, though the extent of this influence varies. The hexaëmeron was found to be a subtext present in a number of the major works throughout the course of his literary life. The six days significantly resolves his particular approach to Christian doctrine in a variety of ways. Its influence was found to be formal, or structural, e.g., in the overall shape of works, such as the seven-part *Breviloquium* and *Itinerarium*, or in some of the finer details and in subsections of his works where arguments or illustrations take on a formal hexameral logic.

Hopefully, this thesis will draw attention to what the investigation has found was one of the most important tasks that occupied Bonaventure, whether consciously or unconsciously: to unravel the mysteries hidden in nature and in Scripture by discovering them in Genesis. We saw the implicit reception of Genesis in his commendation of Scripture in *Omnium artifex*, where he did not cite Genesis once. Nevertheless, that university sermon is elucidated when the links to the hexameral tradition are brought into focus. If I am

correct in my argument that the commendation sets the scene for the more explicit hexameral themes of the second address, the *De reductione*, then it does so for all subsequent works that have been analysed in this study.

The Limitations and Strengths of Bonaventure's Approach

In forming an impression of the man and his world, we gather from his legacy both the limitations and strengths of the thirteenth century academic world of Paris. It is without question that he was limited by the circumstances of time, place and the lack of means that are available only today. He could not take advantage of modern historical critical studies, and there is no evidence that he read Hebrew or Greek, which puts him at a disadvantage. He appears to have been satisfied with the Vulgate text of the Bible. He was not an Origen or a Jerome in the effort to come to terms with variant readings of Biblical texts. Nonetheless, he shows no hesitation in his approach to Scripture, the love of which is evident in his retentive memory and in applying those passages and allusions everywhere. He had a great confidence in his sources and in his own methodology. He saw Christ, the eternal, inspired and incarnate Word at the centre of all things, including Scripture, even in places not deemed Christological by the historical critical method.[1] Like Augustine, Bonaventure accepted that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch. Moses was, furthermore, in Bonaventure's thinking, not the kind of person who would have wanted the readers of Genesis to take his words in a sense that departs from the plain meaning of the text.

[1] Rorem (2012), 396

Bonaventure was first trained in the arts and sciences at the University of Paris, became a Master of Arts, then completed the required course of Biblical studies required of a Master of Theology. Bonaventure's education and formation was exceptional; his knowledge of the Old and New Testaments was greater than many of his secular counterparts.[2] Though he was certainly not on the same page as many of his Christian Aristotelian contemporaries at Paris, this investigation has illustrated he was adept in his knowledge of Aristotle and was able to utilize his books with ease, including in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*.

In attempting to portray Bonaventure's literal approach to the creation account, his interpretation that creation occurred over six material days took into account the perceived absurdity of that view. Accordingly, he developed the reasons taken from the hexameral tradition to uphold what he considered to be the inerrancy of the literal account of creation. Mere observation of nature and the rational point of view is insufficient to account for why Moses should have written that light and plant life preceded the formation of the sun and the beasts, and that the most noble of God's material creation appeared last of all. His view had little to do with a rejection of science, for he worked according to the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic cosmology of his time. Furthermore, he deemed science necessary as an aid in

[2] Bougerol (1964), 87: 'The secular bachelors, called *Cursores*, were expected to "read" one of the books of the Old or New Testament. The Mendicants, on the contrary, "read" the whole Bible. For that purpose, they made use of the notes they had taken during their six student years and the commentaries they could find in the libraries of their master or their monastery.'

the interpretation of the literal meaning of Scripture.[3] The secular sciences, and the arts, were required knowledge in order to know the literal meaning of Scripture; the treatment of creation in the *Breviloquium* assumes the world view of the Aristotelian and neo-Platonic natural philosophies in his interpretation of the Biblical account. He did reject, however, what he perceived to be incursion of the sciences into the theologian's domain, particularly expressed even in the rejection of the idea of the philosophical possibility of an eternal world. He saw a certain wisdom in the Creator's teaching humanity through the six days that not all depends on what God has the power to do, but on how Scripture reveals divine wisdom and goodness through the creation account.

In 'debating' the literal meaning of Genesis 1 with an authority like Augustine, Bonaventure manifested a degree of critical self-awareness of his obligations as a pastor in that he thought about the audience, or 'readers' for whom Moses had written Genesis. His interpretation of the hexaëmeron is guided by an overriding consideration both for the obvious sense of the text as it would be perceived by the hearers of Genesis, and that they not be deceived in their simplicity. By hearing the account of the world's creation, could they be justified in understanding the words of the narrative to mean that God created the

[3] Bonaventure, *Collationes in hexaëmeron* 17,24: 'The theologian makes use of [the arts] sometimes as a mathematician, sometimes as an astrologer, sometimes as a geometrician; sometimes you will see them as a rhetorician, and sometimes as a physician.' See also Bonaventure, *De reductione* 26 : 'All divisions of knowledge are servants of theology, and it is for this reason that theology makes use of illustrations and terms pertaining to every branch of knowledge.'

world over a period of days? As a trained reader and theologian, Bonaventure, in providing a commentary (in whatever form), provides a reading of the sacred text. In the insightful words of Michael Cahill, which we may apply to Bonaventure: 'in the first place he is a "reader"; secondarily he is a writer.'[4] Bonaventure was sufficiently self-aware in his exegesis of Genesis as to place himself in the 'shoes' of the untrained readers. Accordingly, he would conclude that the hearers of Scripture 'are not all of one kind, but are all types – for every person who would be saved should know something of it. Therefore, Scripture has a manifold meaning so that it may win over every mind, meeting each at its own level while remaining superior to all, illuminating and setting afire with shafts of love every mind that searches it with care.'[5]

As far as I am aware, only the commentary on the *Sentences* presents Bonaventure's explicit disagreement with Augustine's simultaneous creation, which is characterized as an accommodation to rationalizing philosophers. As consistent with the natural order of things Augustine's explanation was, and as subtle as he acknowledged those arguments to be, it was in Bonaventure's judgment a forced interpretation. Though he maintains the successive view of creation in the *Breviloquium* and elsewhere, he does so without expressing that disagreement with Augustine. Whether he had been fair to Augustine on this matter is debatable. The subsequent lack of issue taken with that view, all the while accepting the consequences of Augustine's doctrine as expressed in angelic knowledge and the seminal

[4] Cahill (1996), 96.

[5] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* Prol., 4,3.

reasons, leaves us with the question of why that dispute was not maintained in the later works?

The works written after the commentary on the *Sentences* illustrate for the most part the spiritual interpretation derived from Bonaventure's successive view of creation. What Bonaventure sought to do was to ensure the integrity of the formal correspondence of the spiritual senses with the literal meaning of the text. In this he preserved the unity of all four senses and emphasized the continuity of the literal with the theological significances of the sacred texts. The light of truth shines more brightly and penetratingly through Scripture in order to reveal what is hidden in nature to the intellect darkened by sin. He was at least consistent in maintaining a theology that finds its basis in the successive view of the days of creation. The fact that the six or seven days of creation are also interpreted as a basis for the subsequent ages of history, a sixfold array of knowledge, or for seven levels of the mind's journey to sabbath rest, suggests that the hexaëmeron is a model with a fecundity of meaning as to be utilized as an adaptable and flexible pattern. No fundamentalist literalism is to be found in that approach.

Thus, in the *Breviloquium*, the primary reason for creation over 'a succession of times' is that the hexaëmeron would serve as a manifestation of God's power, wisdom and goodness understood as creation, distinction and adornment. Here the reception of the hexaëmeron informs the structure of the work as a whole. In terms of its constituent elements, for example, in the section on grace, Bonaventure describes seven beatitudes, with no obvious link to the hexaëmeron. But to illustrate the pliability of the hexameral pattern, in another work, the *Apologia pauperum*, he describes only six, which are grouped according to the three beatitudes of distinction and the three beatitudes of adornment. That pattern is then

applied as an interpretive lens to the Rule of St Francis (1223). We do not find here a correlation of the individual day to a specific beatitude, but rather a correspondence of order and similitude.[6] Genesis 1 does not inform the structure of the *Apologia pauperum*, but is found in concentrated forms in smaller parts of the work to bolster his argument with the adversary of mendicants, Gerard of Abbeville. But even in a work in which only fragments of Genesis 1 are found, the significance of that seminal work plays a fundamental role. We could even say that there it shapes what is dearest to Bonaventure's heart by illustrating the vital role the religious vows play in the *Apologia*. It also conveys a synthesis of the Old Testament and the Gospels in the identification of the work of adornment with evangelical perfection. The hexaëmeron is operative even in the New Testament and in the religious state of life.

In the *De reductione*, the sixfold illumination of knowledge which he traces back to the six days of the formation of the world, 'so that the knowledge of the sacred Scriptures would correspond to the creation of the first day, and so on with the rest, one after the other in proper order' does not actually follow specifically, as if, for example, the mechanical arts had some logical link with the formation of dry land and seed-bearing plants. [7] The rationale is again one of order and needs to be seen as a totality. We do, however, find a day-by-day correspondence to the 'the sevenfold witness to the power, wisdom, and goodness of God' specified in the *Itinerarium*.[8] And in the *Collationes in decem*

[6] Bonaventure, *Apologia pauperum* 3,9.

[7] Bonaventure, *De reductione* 7.

[8] Bonaventure, *Itinerarium* 1,14.

praeceptis the work of each day of the hexaëmeron is illustrated as corresponding to a particular work of virtue. We would have to conclude that the mystical significance of the six days plays a more important role than the literal meaning in Bonaventure's theology, though the latter forms the basis of these theological considerations.

Bonaventure's handling of the six days might be seen, according to a certain mindset, as lacking rigour in the inconsistency of its application across his theological enterprise, and particularly in a work like the *De reductione* where he stated that each day corresponds to an art or a science, but didn't spell out those specific ties. From another angle, this serves to confirm that the symbol of the six days was an underlying mentality rather than a ruler by which to measure the structure of his theological edifice. A perceptive mindset sees the significance of symbols to express and to safeguard mysteries which he understood were being undermined by those who looked for the face of theology in the 'mirror' of the sciences, rather than seeking it in the 'home' of the Scriptures.[9] Mere predication, or logical categorization cannot capture the full weight of the narrative-symbolic power of the Scriptures as much an 'intellectual-metaphorical' process of thought.[10] It is within this framework that theology and Scripture might proceed in harmony. The approach does not reflect a lack of ability or logical rigour in one who mastered Aristotelian dialectical analysis, and who preferred the symbolic modes of discourse that characterize sacred Scripture itself.

A puzzle struck during this study was the difficulty of determining whether Bonaventure's use of numbers reflects the hexaëmeron specifically, or the prevalence that the laws of

[9] Cf. Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 17,25.

[10] Maranesi (2005), 190.

arithmetic had for medieval thinkers generally. It is not easy to tell when the use of six or seven sacraments or beatitudes is in fact linked to the hexaëmeron. Just as Philo of Alexandria and Augustine had taught, Bonaventure too understood that the six days of creation expresses the notion of perfection independently of Biblical thought: it was already the view of ancient philosophy, and in particular that of the Pythagoreans. But the scholastics were so confident of the accuracy and authenticity of Scripture that the views of ancient pagan philosophers that happened to harmonize with Christian exegesis meant that those philosophers had read Moses's Books. That was the view of Philo with regard to Pythagorean number symbolism, which was passed on to churchmen like Bonaventure and accepted as Catholic truth.[11]

A Consideration of Objections

But did Bonaventure's emphasis on the hexaëmeron obscure the light of the New Testament, and especially the Gospels in his treatment of history and eschatology? Was the desire for sabbath finality more important than the words of Jesus himself, who nowhere speaks of 'the great peace of the seventh day'?[12] That critical observation in regard to Bonaventure's preoccupation with the seven days in the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* posed by Joseph Ratzinger so many decades ago is a question still worth pondering. As already noted, the final word of the seraphic doctor was left unfinished. The observation of the late pope might also appear to be relevant in the case of the *Collationes in decem praeceptis*, where Bonaventure defends the Christian observance of Sunday according to the logic of

[11] Hopper (2000), 47 & 93; Collins (1996), 90-138.

[12] Ratzinger (1989), 29.

the seventh day. He does so without any mention of the resurrection of Christ on the first day of the week. But looking beyond individual works, any assessment of the Gospel standard in Bonaventure ought to be gauged through the prism of the totality of his works. In fact, the idea and significance of Sunday as the eighth day, and its connection to the resurrection of the body, are clearly indicated in both the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* and the *Breviloquium*.

Bonaventure as a student and Master learnt to work according to the authority of Scripture and tradition of the authorities that commented on the sacred text; both identify the *Logos* of the John's prologue (Jn 1:1) with the 'beginning' of Genesis 1:1. But it was Bonaventure who took this further and made Christ, the new Adam and true Image of God, simultaneously the beginning, the centre, and the end of the hexameral perspective. The Incarnate Word gives the six days universal significance. It is not as if the creation story, in the words of Reno, 'stands alone as the orienting template for [a] particular vision of reality.'[13] The association of the six days and the completely closed circle moreover contains the all-important ordering centre, who is Christ. Bonaventure worked under the assumption that unless we grasp that manner of creation in six days, we cannot understand the restoration of all things in Christ. Creation is oriented to redemption. God made his creation able to fall, and also made it capable of being restored. It was made in such a way that it 'cries out to God to perfect it.'[14] In the *Breviloquium* we are told that all things will be made

[13] Reno (2012), 34.

[14] Bonaventure, 2 *Sent*., d.12, a1, q.2, resp.: *quasi materia ad Deum clamaret, ut ipsam perficeret*.

new, 'and in a certain sense, rewarded in the renovation and glorification of humanity'[15] when each individual person rises as the '*perfect man*, *into the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ* (Eph 4:13).'[16] We discover that Bonaventure's eschatology surpasses even the hopes of the seventh day, for though creation itself anticipates the resurrection of the body, that surpassing gift is due above all to the resurrection of Christ and the power of God. Bonaventure's preoccupation with the hexaëmeron is in fact oriented to the day of universal resurrection.

Conclusion

In the *Collationes in hexaëmeron*, Bonaventure had affirmed, 'Genesis is given to the time of nature, where and in which there are great mysteries, and that book is indeed most abundant in mysteries.'[17] The hexaëmeron was the life stream of Bonaventure's thinking on the book of nature and the book of Scripture. Genesis was the giant that engendered all things. It has not been claimed in this study that the reception of Genesis is *the* key to understanding Bonaventure. However, I do argue that the consideration of Bonaventure within the tradition of Genesis commentary as a significant theme will elucidate our comprehension of him in the history of theology, furthering insight into his general

[15] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,4,7.

[16] Bonaventure, *Breviloquium* 7,5,1.

[17] Bonaventure, *Hexaëmeron* 14,13. The Delorme edition of the *Collationes in hexaëmeron* specifies that Bonaventure refers in particular to the first chapter of Genesis: *maxime capitulum primum…*. See Hammond (2018), 257, ft.83.

theology. It that sense it should address a gap in Bonaventure studies that has been neglected. It is no longer the case that commentary on Genesis has the same relation to theological discourse today as it did for Bonaventure, although we are once again reminded that fundamental themes of current theological debate are acknowledged to be rooted in commentary on the hexaëmeron. The reception of the Genesis tradition has not been extinguished today. Exegetical commentaries on Genesis abound. Genesis still fascinates. Theologians still ask how it is that humanity could be guilty of a sin that was not a personal act of ours; how was the doctrine of creation out of nothing read into a text that seems to speak of the ordering and taming of pre-existent chaos? Bonaventure's work is a fertile source, but how we might apply his grand hexameral vision to theology in general remains to be considered.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

ACW Ancient Christian Writers

HTR Harvard Theological Review

WSB Works of Saint Bonaventure

NPNF Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers

PDCW Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works

FS Franciscan Studies

JR Journal of Religion

TS Theological Studies

Ancient and Medieval Authors

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