Reading the Past as God's Narrative:
History as Salvific Process in the Writings of Hugh of St Victor

by

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B.A., University of Victoria, 1998

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of History

We accept this thesis as conforming
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ABSTRACT

The narrative of its past is an essential element of Christianity, a religion in which history and faith are thoroughly intertwined. At the beginning of the fifth century St Augustine developed a Christian historiography, a theology of history, which shaped the ways in which the past, the present, and the future were understood during the Middle Ages. Seven centuries later, at the height of the twelfth-century renaissance, Hugh of St Victor passionately defended the role of history in the process of salvation as developed by St Augustine, arguing that it was "the foundation and principle of sacred learning."

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Table of Contents

Title page	*i*
Abstract	*ii*
Table of Contents	*iii*
List of Illustrations	*iv*
Acknowledgments	*v*
Dedication and Frontispiece	*vi*
Chapter I: Introduction	1
Chapter II: St Augustine and the Development of a Theology of History	20
Chapter III: The Transition from Monastic to Scholastic Learning	56
Chapter IV: Hugh of St Victor and the Theology of History	71
Appendix I: Figures	105
Appendix II: Latin Text	111
Bibliography	134

List of Illustrations

Frontispiece: *Master Hugh teaching at the School of St Victor. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Laud. Misc. 409, fol 3 v.*
From: Patrice Sicard, *Hugues de Saint-Victor et son École* (Brussels: Brepol, 1991).

Figure 1: *Reconstruction of the ark diagram by D. Lecoq and J.P. Magnier*
From: Danielle Lecoq, "Le 'Mappemonde' du *De Arca Noe Mystica* de Hugues de Saint-Victor (1128-1129)," in Monique Pelletier, ed. *Geographie du monde au Moyen Age et la Renaissance* (Paris: Editions du C.T.H.S., 1993), p. 13.

Figure 2: *Detail from reconstruction of ark drawing by D. Lecoq and J.P. Magnier.* From: Lecoq, "Le 'Mappemonde'," p. 14.

Figure 3: *Explanation of elements in reconstruction of ark drawing by D. Lecoq and J.P. Magnier.* From: Lecoq, "Le 'Mappemonde'," p. 12.

Figure 4: *Partial Reconstruction of ark drawing by Grover Zinn.*
From: Grover Zinn, "Hugh of St Victor, Isaiah's Vision, and *De Arca Noe*," *Studies in Church History* 28 (1992), p. 100.

Figure 5: *Reconstruction of ark drawing by Patrice Sicard.*
From: Patrice Sicard, *Diagrammes Médiévaux et Exégèse Visuelle: Le* Libellus de Formationne Arche *de Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Paris: Brepols, 1993), plate 7.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Dr. Gregory Blue for his guidance and support, and Dr. Catherine Harding for her encouragement and inspiration, and for introducing me to Hugh of St Victor. I would also like to acknowledge the generous and unfailing support that I have received from Dr. Coward and the Staff and Fellows at the Centre for Studies in Religion and Society. It is an honour and a privilege to be a part of the community at the Centre.

For Nicholas:
My favourite student and best teacher.

Master Hugh teaching at the School of St Victor
Oxford University, Bodleian Library, ms. Laud. MIsc. 409, fol. 3 v.

Chapter I

Introduction

Hugh of St Victor (1096-1141) was an Augustinian canon who lived and taught at the Abbey of St Victor in Paris from 1118 until his death. This was a period in western Europe, and particularly in Paris, during which the intellectual landscape was fundamentally changing, and during which thought and learning adapted to an abundance of new texts and new methods. This was also the period during which some of the greatest figures of medieval thought were developing their ideas, including St Anselm, Peter Abelard, and Bernard of Clairvaux. Hugh was recognized by his contemporaries as an important contributor to the intellectual climate; he was said to have been one of the greatest thinkers in an age of the great and was even referred to as "the second Augustine."[1] In the thirteenth century, St Thomas Aquinas considered Hugh's judgments to have the force of authority, *robur auctoritatis.*[2] Such high acclaim for Hugh raises questions that will guide this thesis. What distinguished Hugh from his contemporaries and merited him such lofty praise? What was it about Hugh that provoked the comparison to Augustine? Historians offer as an explanation for the title of *alter Augustinus* Hugh's "great familiarity with the works of St Augustine" or "a personal impressiveness, which contemporaries recognized by calling him

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1 David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought,* eds. D.E. Luscombe and C.N.L. Brooke, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman Group Limited, 1988), p. 130.

2 Ibid.

'a second Augustine'."[3] These explanations lack depth: surely it must be more than a knowledge of Augustine's writings, more, even, than a greatness of mind combined with a greatness of character, for the twelfth century was "the age of the greats", many of whom must also have been thoroughly familiar with the leading Church Father. What set Hugh apart? Finally, was there any particular relevance in the comparison to Augustine, given the intellectual climate of the twelfth century? These are the questions from which I will begin to explore the ties that bind the second Augustine to the first.

Learning and thought, philosophy and theology, underwent significant transformations throughout the medieval period. During the late Roman period, as Christianity gained ascendency in western Europe, philosophy adapted to incorporate the new religion, and theology adapted to incorporate new doctrine. As Roman civilization gave way to a Germanic-Latin-Celtic Christendom, study increasingly became the pursuit of the cloistered; formal education, increasingly a privilege for monks and clerics. In the early Middle Ages, the missionizing efforts exported Christianity to central and northern Europe, and as the religion was adopted it also adapted to the diverse cultural practices of the various peoples of Europe. During the Carolingian period, the developments in Irish monastic practices were introduced to the continent and played significant roles in the systematization of scribal practices and educational reforms. As classical texts on philosophy and logic, law and medicine, science and astronomy began circulating in the eleventh century, thought and

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3 Roy J. Defferrari, Introduction. *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith* by Hugh of St Victor, trans. Roy J. Defferrari (Cambridge, Massachusets: The Medieval Academy of America, 1951), p. ix; Beryl Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), p. 85.

learning were again transformed, incorporating ancient thought into contemporary intellectual pursuits. Education passed out of the hands of the monks into the hands of the scholars, and the systematizing efforts of the twelfth century turned into the scholastic *summae* of the thirteenth century. As the Middle Ages reached a culmination, medieval thinkers endeavored to master their world through logical comprehension, elaborating the seemingly infinite points of finite arguments. It is clear from a brief overview that the notion that Christianity, and the thought and learning that stemmed from it, were static or monolithic entities throughout the Middle Ages is as historically misleading as the view that the medieval period was itself static or monolithic.

The time period that is of particular relevance for this thesis is from the end of the eleventh century to the middle of the twelfth century, a period commonly referred to as the twelfth-century renaissance.[4] It is within this time and context that Hugh of St Victor studied, taught, and wrote in Paris. Historical moments, however, gain relevance in relation to other historical moments; in part, writing history is a process of connecting these moments, and in the pages that follow I will therefore connect Hugh to St Augustine, who was widely recognized as his intellectual and theological predecessor.

St Augustine is one of the most significant and influential Christian thinkers: a

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4 See, for example, Christopher Brooke, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969); M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, eds. and trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, eds. *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Massachussetts: Harvard University Press, 1982).

Church Father, his interpretation of Christianity shaped the medieval world view.[5] Both the abundance of his writings and the breadth of topics he covered contribute to Augustine's significant impact on western thought. Born in North Africa in 354, Augustine converted to Christianity in 387, and became bishop of Hippo in 390. Between his conversion and his death in 430 Augustine wrote prolifically on every topic essential to Christianity. He produced texts on doctrinal matters, including the concepts of free will, grace, and predestination and the nature of the Trinity; he addressed spiritual questions, such as the soul's relationship to God; he discussed the thought and learning of Rome and Greece, unraveling what he considered to be detrimental from what could aid in a Christian's pursuit of truth and wisdom. Augustine also produced volumes of exegetical texts, providing a template for biblical interpretation. It is generally agreed that "the importance of the writings of Augustine to the Middle Ages cannot be overemphasized."[6]

For the purposes of this thesis, it is Augustine's influence on historiography and historical thought, particularly within the context of biblical exegesis, that is most relevant. Two texts are of primary importance: *On Christian Doctrine*, a manual for Christian education that outlines Augustine's approach to Scripture; and *City of God*, which is an historical, and historiographical, treatise. It is in these two texts that Augustine developed a theology of history and explained the relevance of its application in biblical studies. In *City of God*, Augustine provides more than an historical reading of the Bible; as he connects

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5 William Cook and Ronald Herzman, *The Medieval World View: An Introduction* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 81.

6 Ibid.

the temporal events of the human past with the destiny of God's creation, he offers "theology as living in the historical framework of humanity" and he explains "the action of God in the world."[7] Beryl Smalley describes *On Christian Doctrine* as a summary of Augustine's "philosophy of Bible study," a contribution which was integral in determining the medieval scholar's view of, and approach to, Scripture. In *On Christian Doctrine*, the historical sense of Scripture was given a "concrete chronological reality."[8] It was posited as an essential step in understanding, without which the hoped-for end of exegesis - spiritual understanding of the text - could not be achieved. Augustine thus provided sacred history with an exegetical importance it had previously lacked.

Augustine contributed significantly to the intellectual and educational legacy of the patristic age, and the medieval approach to reading and learning incorporated Augustine's philosophy of Bible study, which cannot be divorced from his theology of history. In the monasteries, which were the major centres of learning until the twelfth century, the programme of *lectio divina* was inspired by, and it adhered to, the Augustinian example, at times according the historical sense less or more value, but never discarding it entirely.

This study focuses primarily on a period during which the intellectual climate was changing in Western Europe, and which was marked by significant transformations in approaches to learning and biblical studies. As discussed in chapter three, *lectio divina*, which suited the monastic scholars who followed it, came to be replaced by a more efficient

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7 Eugene Portalie, *Guide to the Thought of Saint Augustine*, trans. Ralph J. Bastian (London: Burns and Oates, 1960), p. 45.

8 Beryl Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), p. 16.

scholastic approach, which was guided not by a methodical and historically bound exegetical approach, but by thematic questions, or *quaestiones*.

This change, from monastic to scholastic learning, is regarded as having deeply influenced the intellectual climate of western Europe. It was during this period that theology, canon law, religious organization, art, architecture, and literature were transformed in significant ways, and when Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, Ptolemaic cosmology, Euclidean geometry, and Roman law were being integrated into the Christian culture that had been developing for over a millennium.[9] Charles Homer Haskins' book *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, with its rejection of the belief that the Middle Ages was an "epoch of ignorance, stagnation, and gloom," initiated a scholarly interest in the period which shows no signs of abating. Most likely in response to difficult-to-shed stereotypes, there is a general tendency among historians to speak in rather lofty terms of the era, a trend initiated by Haskins and maintained by historians for the last 70 years:

> This [the twelfth] century . . . was in many respects an age of fresh and vigorous life. . . . [It] left its signature on higher education, on the scholastic philosophy, on European systems of law, on architecture and sculpture, on the liturgical drama, on Latin and vernacular poetry.[10]

> Illuminated by the burst of genius of Saint Anselm, the dawn of the twelfth century announced a brilliant renewal. Henceforth, progress

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9 Brooke, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance*, p. 13; Max Wildiers, *The Theologian and His Universe: Theology and Cosmology from the Middle Ages to the Present* (New York: the Salisbury Press, 1982), p. 79.

10 Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Massachussets: Harvard University Press, 1933), p. viii.

> asserted itself in all areas of literary activity.[11]
>
> . . . research [subsequent to Haskins' book] has indeed demonstrated the vitality, richness, and variety of medieval culture, particularly in the twelfth century.[12]
>
> Thus the period 1000-1150 was distinguished primarily by a literary renaissance, culminating in the age of the great historians, humanist, preachers and letter-writers . . . .[13]

Historical writing also experienced a significant revival during the twelfth century; the period is considered by many to represent the height of medieval historiography.[14] As the volume of historical writings increased, the types of history proliferated, and the twelfth century produced an abundance of annals, chronicles, histories of wars, of dioceses, of abbeys, national histories, hagiographies, and biographies.[15] In the realm of sacred history, the universal chronicle, which had inherited its philosophy from Augustine and its form from Eusebius, "was a conspicuous feature of historical writing in the twelfth century."[16]

There was, however, a growing distance between history and theology. The Middle Ages had inherited from Augustine the understanding that Christianity was an historical religion, "a history of past things, and announcement of future things, and an explanation of

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11 Joseph de Ghellinck, *L'essor de la litterature latine au XIIe siècle*, 2nd ed. (Paris and Brussels: Desclée de Brouwer, 1954), p. 1.

12 Charles R. Young, ed. *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1969), p. 5.

13 Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, p. 72.

14 Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, p. 224.

15 Ghellinck, *L'essor de la litterature latine*, p. 316.

16 Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 227, 237.

present things."[17] The sacred historical framework of creation, original sin, and restoration found in the Scriptures endured as the starting point and reference for biblical study and theology; it was Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* that informed the educational reforms instituted during the Carolingian revival of the eighth and ninth centuries.[18] With the introduction of *quaestiones* in the eleventh century, and their increasing popularity in the twelfth century, the historical framework of *lectio divina* was increasingly rejected as a starting-point for biblical scholarship. With the scholarly urge for systematization of knowledge, history quickly lost relevance. The Aristotelian-inspired method of learning reached its apex in the *summae* of the thirteenth century, but during the twelfth century it became established as "the only proper method for the elucidation of any subject, not only the seven liberal arts but also law, Roman or canon, philosophy, theology, and science."[19] The systematizing dialectical method became "the mental habit of all scholarship,"[20] while the historically-bound *lectio divina*, relegated to the monasteries, was abandoned as an intellectual model in the new, urban schools.

In Hugh of St Victor, however, we find a merging of the two approaches to learning and theology in the twelfth century; Hugh was a scholastic synthesizer who did not reject the monastic approach and its fundamentally historical character. "Learn everything," wrote

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17 Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, trans. D.W. Robertson, Jr. (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merril Company Ltd, 1958), I.10, p. 13.

18 Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 37.

19 Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "*Statim Invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page," in Benson and Constable eds. *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, p. 206.

20 Ibid.

Hugh, "you will see afterwards that nothing is superfluous [to the student of theology]."[21] But in learning everything, he held that the student must never forget that "the foundation and principle of sacred learning is history. . . ."[22]

Particularly in the face of the new intellectual fashions of twefth-century Paris, Hugh's adherence to an Augustinian approach to learning, and to the role of history therein, is a significant tie that binds him to the Augustine. This tie can be examined by tracing the connection between the role Augustine ascribed to history in his approach to learning and knowledge and the prominence of history in Hugh's didactic, exegetical, and mystical texts. The special importance of this connection, however, lies in the contrast between Hugh's methods and those of his contemporaries. At a time when the importance of history was being rejected in theology, Hugh not only adhered to, but developed, Augustine's theology of history.

This project was initiated by an article written by Grover Zinn called "Mandala Symbolism and the Use in the Mysticism of Hugh of St Victor,"[23] in which Zinn compares the ark described by Hugh in his two treatises on Noah's ark to a Tibetan mandala, and argues that the two serve a similar function: to introduce, through a detailed symbolic form, of the essential elements of a mystical tradition.[24] Zinn focuses on the mystical education

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21 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York and London: Columbian University Press, 1961),VI.3, p. 137.

22 Ibid.

23 Grover Zinn, "Mandala Symbolism and the Use in the Mysticism of Hugh of St Victor," *Church History* 40 (Sept 1971), pp. 317-341.

24 This is discussed at length in Chapter 4.

opened to the students of St Victor by the ark treatises, but he also raises two points which are consistently addressed in his numerous articles on Hugh of St Victor: Hugh's Augustinian underpinnings and his emphasis on history in the ark diagram.[25] Zinn has written a great deal on the ark texts; in "Hugh of St Victor, Isaiah's Vision, and *De Arca Noe*," he explores closely the symbolic meanings of the drawing, focusing on an element of the diagram that diverges from the literal reading of the biblical text, which is out of character for Hugh.[26] In "Hugh of St Victor and the Ark of Noah: A New Look," Zinn examines Hugh's exegesis of the actual ark as described in Genesis, and he argues that Hugh developed a new iconography of the ark, based on a literal interpretation of the text combined with an incorporation of the physics of shipbuilding.[27] It is in "*Historia Fundamentum Est*: The Role of History in the Contemplative Life According to Hugh of St Victor" that Zinn addresses what he calls "the

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25 Zinn, "Mandala Symbolism," p. 332. Zinn does not, however, overtly connect these two points. He argues that Hugh's focus on *amor mundi* and *amor Dei* connects the canon to Augustine, but his analysis of the historical elements in the ark texts remains rooted in Hugh's own development of that theology.

26 Grover Zinn, "Hugh of St Victor, Isaiah's Vision, and *De Arca Noe*," *Studies in Church History* 28 (1992), pp. 99-116. Zinn explains that this uncharacteristic divergence from the literal interpretation of the Scriptures can be understood as a manifestation of Hugh's belief that the mystical path provides access to the Divine, which is different from the access granted in a vision. Thus rather than seeing Christ in majesty, but with his face covered by the wings of seraphim, as in Isaiah's vision, the mystic's journey of discipline and deepening understanding has the potential to culminate in the contemplative experience of the Divine presence in this life, which gives witness to the full and eternal manifestation of Christ (no wings covering the face).

27 Grover Zinn, "Hugh of St Victor and the Ark of Noah: A New Look," *Church History* 40 (Sept 1971), pp. 261-272.

Hugonian sense of the importance of history to the Christian and his religion."[28] Zinn writes of Hugh's advocacy for the importance of history in the context of the twelfth century, raising the important point that the tradition Hugh was espousing was then being rejected in the schools of Paris, where the curriculum ignored history, reducing it to little more than an appendage to grammar.[29] However, as mentioned above, while Zinn "explores the correlation of history and contemplation" in Hugh's thought, he does not examine thoroughly the Augustinian roots of Hugh's historical thought.

Zinn has been writing about Hugh of St Victor for a number of decades; in addition to the articles mentioned above, which directly address Hugh and history, he has also written "Hugh of Saint Victor and the Art of Memory,"[30] and "*De gradibus ascensionum*: The Stages of the Contemplative Ascent in Two Treatises on Noah's Ark by Hugh of St Victor."[31] Hugh of St Victor was also the subject of Zinn's Ph.D. dissertation, *History and Contemplation: The Dimensions of the Restoration of Man in Two Treatises on the Ark of Noah by Hugh of St Victor.*[32] Zinn provides detailed analysis of the role of history advocated by Hugh in the

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28 Grover Zinn, "*Historia fundamentum est*: the role of history in the contemplative life according to Hugh of St Victor," in *Contemporary Reflections on the Medieval Christian Tradition: Essays in Honour of Ray C. Petry*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1974), pp. 135-158.

29 Ibid., p. 143. This is discussed below, in Chapters 3 and 4.

30 Grover Zinn, "Hugh of Saint Victor and the Art of Memory," *Viator* 5 (1974), pp. 213-34.

31 Grover Zinn, "*De gradibus ascensionum*: The Stages of the Contemplative Ascent in Two Treatises on Noah's Ark by Hugh of St Victor," *Studies in Medieval Culture* 5 (1975), pp. 61-79.

32 Grover Zinn, *History and contemplation. The dimensions of the restoration of man in two treatises on the Ark of Noah.* Ph.D. Thesis (Ann Arbor: Duke University Press, 1969). It is clear that many of Zinn's articles stemmed directly

Ark treatises, and he traces the influences that guided Hugh's approach, but he does not devote any significant analysis to Augustine, as he would later. In some sections of the text, Zinn relies heavily on Beryl Smalley's *The Bible in the Middle Ages*. Smalley devotes a chapter of her book to the Victorines, and two subsections to Hugh and one to Richard of St Victor. The book offers a more general assessment of the exegetical approach at St Victor, and Smalley's emphasis is more particularly focused on Hugh's literal interpretation of scriptural texts than on his theology of history generally. She does, however, provide very useful details about the abbey of St Victor and its foundation, and the life of the canons regular who lived there.[33]

Ivan Illich's *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon* focuses on Hugh and the educational programme at St Victor against the background of the development of scholastic reading.[34] Illich presents Hugh and the Victorines as occupying the "watershed between monastic and scholastic reading,"[35] incorporating the new techniques

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from this work.

33 Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, pp. 83-86. Smalley evokes images that permanently ingrain themselves: "We must set these activities against the orderly background of Victorine customs, which prescibe a routine, austere but temperate, in a well-regulated household, where dishes must be wiped before being laid upon the table-cloth."

34 Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993). In some ways, Illich seems to be lamenting the transition that occurred during the twelfth century, while at the same time he despairs for the end of what he calls the "epoch of bookishness" that was introduced with scholasticism and is, according to him, drawing to a close today. It is partly because of this tone, perhaps, that Illich's text seems more personal than academic.

35 Ibid., p. 79.

of the urban schools while maintaining the traditions of monastic study. Many of the essays in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* also address this transition from monastic to scholastic learning.[36] Richard and Mary Rouse discuss the technical changes in the layout of a page that occurred as a result of the twelfth-century effort "to gather, organize, and harmonize [Christian] jurisprudence, theological doctrine, and Scripture."[37] Like Illich, the Rouses focus on the changes in reading habits, and the increasing emphasis that was placed on efficiency in scholarship, which is evident in the ways in which information came to be organized in manuscripts.

More generally, there has been a significant amount of literature on the transformation of learning and theology. In *The Renewal of Theology*, Jean Leclerq outlines the "theological diversity" that characterized the twelfth century. Leclerq rejects the simple juxtaposition of monastic and scholastic theologies and provides instead an overview of the range between the two poles, arguing that there was a "plurality of monastic theologies" that ranged from the radical monasticism of the Carthusians to the scholarly monasticism of the Victorines.[38] Like Illich, Leclerq sees the programme at St Victor as a *media via* between the traditional monastic and the developing scholastic theology. Stephen Ferruolo discusses the curriculum at St Victor, as laid out in Hugh's *Didascalicon*, at length in his book *The*

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36 Benson and Constable, eds, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century.*

37 Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim Invenire*," p. 201.

38 Jean Leclerq, "The Renewal of Theology," in Benson and Constable, eds. *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, p. 69.

Origins of the University.[39] Ferruolo's emphasis in this section is to explain why St Victor's programme was not incorporated into the universities; he suggests that the adherence to the monastic *lectio divina* and Hugh's insistence that students be generalists rather than specialists made the curriculum of St Victor outdated and impractical "in the face of growing specialization and professionalism."[40]

The more specific topic of Hugh and the importance of history in his approach to theology is addressed not only by Grover Zinn, but also by Richard Southern and Marie-Dominique Chenu. In an address to the Royal Historical Society, Southern makes an argument for why Hugh would have been "a suitable candidate for election to the fellowship of the society."[41] Southern surveys Hugh's writings against the backdrop of the twelfth century, and suggests that while Hugh engaged in the trend of systematization that characterized scholastic thought, and which was "not favourable" to historical thought, he had "the instincts of a historian," and therefore systematized knowledge within a historical context and along historical lines.[42] As an example of this, Southern cites Hugh's *On the Sacraments*, which will be examined in Chapter 4. In his chapter "Theology and the New

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39 Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100-1215* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1985), pp. 28-40.

40 Ibid., pp. 39-40.

41 Richard Southern, "Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 2. Hugh of St Victor and the Idea of Historical Development," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, vol. 21 (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1970), p. 164. Hereafter, Southern, "Hugh of St Victor and the Idea of Historical Development."

42 Ibid., pp. 163-4.

Awareness of History," Chenu presents Hugh as an example of the scholars who, during the twelfth century, were "working out a theology that was firmly tied to the teaching of scripture."[43] Chenu outlines the main points of Hugh's theology of history, pointing out some of the Augustinian and other patristic influences. He argues that it was during the twelfth century that "an awareness of history was born," but that this awakening did not take place in the schools, which were notable, according to Chenu, for their lack of historical curriculum, but rather in the monasteries and abbeys, where the Augustinian model of thought and study was still maintained.[44]

In *Reading and Wisdom*, a volume edited by Edward D. English, the impact on the Middle Ages of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* is assessed in a number of essays.[45] Four of the essays focus on Augustine's influence on St Victor, two of which specifically address Augustine's influence on Hugh. Grover Zinn revisits Hugh and literal exegesis in "The Influence of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* upon the writings of Hugh of St Victor," looking in particular at two specific instances in Hugh's writings that exhibit a clear connection to *De doctrina christiana*, both of which are related to Augustine's statements on the importance of the literal or historical interpretation of scripture.[46] In "Hugh of St Victor:

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43 M.-D. Chenu, "Theology and the New Awareness of History," in Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, p. 163.

44 Ibid, pp. 162-5, 200-1.

45 Edward D. English, ed. *Reading and Wisdom: The De doctrina christiana of Augustine in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995).

46 Grover Zinn, "The Influence of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* upon the writings of Hugh of St Victor," in English, ed. *Reading and Wisdom*, pp. 48-60.

The Augustinian Tradition of Sacred and Secular Reading Revisited," Eileen Sweeney looks more broadly at the connections between the educational literature of Hugh and Augustine, focusing on the models for Scriptural interpretation that each had constructed, and the emphasis that both had placed on the role of reading in a Christian life.[47] Published in 1995, *Reading and Wisdom* is an example of the growing scholarly interest in Hugh and the School of St Victor.

In his book, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, David Knowles devotes a short chapter to the School of St Victor. While Knowles provides only a brief but informative overview of Hugh's thought and the Victorine school, he expresses perhaps most clearly a sentiment that suffuses the secondary literature: that Hugh has been too long overlooked by modern intellectual historians.

> Till recently it was the fashion to regard mysticism and scholasticism as mutually incompatible, indeed as contrary the one to the other, and the Victorines were tacitly ignored as being a compound of two elements that could be studied only in isolation. The contemporaries and successors of the Victorines, however, had no such illusions, and saluted Hugh, as indeed he deserves to be saluted, as one of the greatest in an age of the great.[48]

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47 Eileen C. Sweeney, "Hugh of St Victor: The Augustinian Tradition of Sacred and Secular Reading Revisited," in English, ed. *Reading and Wisdom*, pp. 61-83.

48 Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, pp. 129-130. Rarely does an historian fail to mention that Hugh is unfairly absent from the historical literature. Zinn writes, "Bonaventure recognized Hugh as the greatest master and contemplative of the twelfth century. [For a proper understanding of the significance of Hugh's contribution to western mysticism], one needs now to follow out these hints." (Zinn, "Mandala Symbolism," p. 340). Joseph de Ghellinck tells us, "Hugh's style is deliciously refined, but of a modesty that contrasts with the proud diction of Abelard. He is one of the most touchingly attractive writers of that century." (de Ghellinck, *L'essor de la litterature latine*,

The significance of Hugh's contributions to the intellectual landscape of the Middle Ages is coming to be increasingly discussed by scholars today, who recognize that Hugh was indeed an important and influential twelfth-century thinker. Hugh's reputation has not, however, always been in need of recuperation.

During the 1950s, Roger Baron edited a number of Hugh's texts, and wrote numerous volumes and articles about Hugh and the School of St Victor. Baron closely studies the manuscripts of Hugh's texts, addressing issues of authenticity and origins. In his article, "L'influence de Hugues de Saint-Victor," Baron traces the impact that Hugh's thought had on a wide range of scholarly and religious topics.[49] According to Baron, Roger Bacon, Robert Grosseteste, and Nicholas d'Oresme incorporated material from Hugh's *Practica geometricae* into their own scientific treatises, while evidence of Hugh's exegetical and theological approaches can be found in the writings of, among others, Nicholas de Lyre, Hugh of Amiens, Robert of Melun, and Otto of Freising.[50] Baron reports that during the thirteenth century St Thomas Aquinas referred directly to Hugh a number of times, Albert the Great was "marked by Hugh's influence," and Saint Bonaventure was "filled with

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pp. 50-51). Finally, Ivan Illich writes, "For forty years I have periodically delighted in reading the authors of [the early twelfth century], and searching for their sources. For decades a very special affection has tied me to Hugh of St Victor, to whom I feel as grateful as I am to the very best of my still living teachers...". (Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*, p. 5).

49 Roger Baron, "L'influence de Hugues de Saint-Victor," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 22 (1955), pp. 56-71.

50 Ibid., pp. 62-3.

admiration for his thought."[51] Baron traces instances of Hugonian thought and influence through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, suggesting, for instance, that one finds Hugh "on the line that begins with St Augustine...and arrives at St Ignatius of Loyola."[52] Fortunately, a great deal of research and writing on St Victor and its scholarly monks has been produced, and the interest in Hugh and the Victorines appears to be steadily increasing.

While the Augustinian roots of Hugh's theology are addressed in many of the secondary sources, there is lacking in the literature a thorough treatment of the central place that history occupies in the writings of the two men. This study proposes to identify the connection between St Augustine and Hugh of St Victor that is found in their view that sacred history is an integral part of the salvific process, and although initially guided by the secondary literature, my analysis of Augustine's and Hugh's texts has been largely drawn from my own close reading of the texts themselves.

In order to understand this connection between Augustine and Hugh, the development of a Christian theology of history and Augustine's contribution to that theology in particular will be examined in Chapter Two. In Chapter Three, Augustine's influence on the world of medieval thought and learning, which was made manifest in the monastic *lectio divina*, will be explored, and the transition from monastic to scholastic learning will be outlined. Finally, Chapter Four will provide an analysis of Hugh of St Victor's contributions

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51 Ibid., p. 64.

52 Ibid., p. 69. It almost seems that Baron was determined to rehabilitate Hugh's reputation single-handedly, and his enthusiastic if sometimes stretched efforts to prove that Hugh was an influential and important thinker are best understood in the context of the 1950s, which was a decade or two before Hugh started to receive the scholarly attention that he deserves.

to the theology of history, which will demonstrate how this Augustinian Canon maintained the Augustinian tradition of establishing history as the foundation of sacred learning.

Chapter II
St Augustine and the Development of a Theology of History

As noted above, there are a great number of events that comprise Christian history, but there are three that supersede the others in their significance and implications for humankind. The Christian historical narrative begins with the creation *ex nihilo* of the universe and all of its elements, including its two first human inhabitants. The created world reflected the order and beauty of its Creator, and people originally existed in harmony with the world and with God, of whom they had perfect knowledge and to whom their thoughts and love were directed. The second significant event in Christian history was the transgression of this love through an act of disobedience: the fall. This disobedience - the original human sin - was a result of pride, and its consequences - ignorance, concupiscence, and mortality - became permanently fixed in the human condition. The fall also introduced disorder into the perfectly ordered world. Thousands of years later the most significant event in Christian history occurred: the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ, whose sacrifice provided the means by which order in humans could be restored. The Incarnation is a remedy for the fall; it is the event that renews the possibility for humans to return to be reconciled with their Creator.

These three events, as well as the string of events between the fall and the Incarnation, which are narrated in the biblical texts, are familiar to any Christian. They are the moments upon which Christian faith rests, and they encompass not only certain points

that are to be believed in, but also establish the reason (original sin) why redemption was necessary. According to Arnoldo Momigliano, conversion to Christianity in its early centuries was "literally the discovery of a new history from Adam and Eve to contemporary events."[1] To this day Christian faith rests on the framework of its sacred historical narrative.

This intertwining of faith and history, of belief and narrative, required that, during its formative centuries, Christianity develop a theology of history. According to St Augustine, the roles of history and historiography within the faith needed to be established, elaborated, and refined. While the faith developed within Greek and Roman cultures, the historical imperatives of the Roman empire were incompatible with Christianity; for Augustine a litany of political and militaristic achievements did not convey the fundamental goal of Christian history: the demonstration of the temporal dispensation of God's salvific providence in this world.[2]

In his book *The Idea of History*, R.G. Collingwood summarizes the character of Greco-Roman historiography before the introduction of Christianity.[3] Firstly, it was humanistic; it described the history of human events, human purposes, human successes and human failures. While it admitted divine agency, the function and powers of that agency

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1 Arnoldo Momigliano, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977), p. 110.

2 Augustine, *Of True Religion* in John H.S. Burleigh, ed. and trans. *Augustine: Earlier Works* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1963), X.19, pp. 234-5. This was the understanding of Augustine, but not of Eusebius, who believed that the fate of Christianity was tied to the Roman empire.

3 R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946). The list of characteristics is found on pages 40-44. The description of Roman historiography throughout this section follow those provided by Collingwood.

were severely limited. The causes of historical events were looked for in human will, and individuals or groups of people were seen as directly responsible for what happened in history, and were praised or blamed accordingly.[4] The second dominant character of Greco-Roman historiography, according to Collingwood, was substantialism. Briefly described, this was the application of a metaphysical system to historical thought that applied distinctions between substance and event, between agent and act. Collingwood suggests that Greco-Roman historiography viewed substance and ultimate historical agents as eternal and unchanging, and thus outside of history, while the actors and events that flowed from the substances were the subjects of historical enterprise. Thus Livy's history of Rome did not, as we would expect, describe "the process which brought into existence the characteristic Roman institutions and moulded the typical Roman character,"[5] but expounded on the events and actions that have flowed from Rome, which was considered to be an unchanging, eternal substance that sprang into being as a complete city and had undergone no change since its miraculous inception. Collingwood bemoans the substantialist character of Greco-Roman historiography, arguing that since it could not investigate the origins and developments of historical agents, and was instead limited only to describing what people and things do, it

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4 Collingwood suggests that Greco-Roman historiography's humanism was weakened by its focus on individual and corporate agency. He explains, "[the ethical thought of the Greco-Roman world attributed far too much to the deliberate plan or policy of the agent, far too little to the force of a blind activity embarking on a course of action without foreseeing its end and being led to that end only through the necessary development of that course itself." Collingwood, *Idea of History*, p. 42.

5 Ibid., p. 43.

had little or no use.[6] Pragmatism, Collingwood argues, was insufficient:

> For Platonism history could have a pragmatic value, and the idea of this as the sole value of history intensifies from Isocrates to Tacitus. And as this process goes on it produces a kind of defeatism about historical accuracy and an unconscientiousness in the historical mind as such.[7]

More briefly, Arnoldo Momigliano describes pagan historiography in the third and fourth centuries as a neutral enumeration of facts; the main concern of history was to keep alive a patriotic knowledge of the Roman past, not to convey religious values.[8] The pagan forms of chronological history were incapable of conveying the complex and revolutionary implications of the role that history plays in Christianity.[9]

As with many elements of culture and civilization, the introduction of Christianity into the Greek and Roman world resulted in fundamental changes in historiography.[10] Collingwood argues that Christianity had a three-fold effect on the way in which history was conceived in the Roman world.[11] Firstly, the historical process was seen not as a working out of humankind's purposes, but a working out of God's purposes *for* humankind. Thus

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6 It is neither possible, nor the intention of this paper, to investigate here the debates concerning the historiographical character of the Greco-Roman age. Collingwood argues clearly that history ought to be written in a specific way, but it is possible to accept his descriptions of historical approaches without taking on his own position.

7 Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, p. 45.

8 Momigliano, *Essays in Ancient and Medieval Historiography*, p.112.

9 Ibid., p. 196.

10 The impact of the embracing of Christianity by the Roman Empire in the fourth century is a subject which has received enormous amounts of scholarly attention. It is impossible, within the constraints of this paper, to grant but a superficial account of one aspect of that impact: the changes in historiographical practices.

11 Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, p. 48.

while humans were understood as actors within history, the notion that God was the overarching agent, that providence was the organizing principle, was firmly established. Secondly, the people and events in the historical process came to be seen as vehicles of God's purposes, as having specific and particular functions within the overall plan that God had for humankind. Thus an empire came to be understood not as an entity unto itself, but as "a transient thing that has come into existence at the appropriate time in history to fulfil a certain definite function and to pass away when that function has been fulfilled."[12] Finally, Collingwood argues, Christianity introduced universalism to historical thinking; in Christian history all peoples are involved in the working out of God's purpose, all events are a part of the same whole. The historical process is contained within a specified pattern of beginning (creation), middle (incarnation), and end (judgment). Thus for a Christian, history became "a history of the world, a universal history whose theme shall be the general development of God's purposes for human life."[13] The theological framework for this Christian view of history developed out of the doctrines of creation, original sin, and redemption.[14]

The interdependence of Christian faith and Christian history lies at the heart of the religion; history forms an integral part of the faith.[15] The Christian view of history is one that believes that history is directed by divine providence, believes that God intervenes in human

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12 Ibid., p. 48. This position was reached by Augustine, but not Eusebius.

13 Ibid., p. 49.

14 Ibid. These connections, as they relate to Augustine and the Christian view of history will receive elaboration below.

15 Christopher Dawson, "The Christian View of History" in C.T. McIntire, ed. *God, History, and Historians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 31.

affairs by direct action at specific points in time and place, and believes that the Incarnation lies at the very centre point of human history.[16] In Christianity there is a unity to history, related to the divine unity, reflected in the belief that,

> there is one Father the creator of Man and one Son who fulfils the Father's will and one human race to which the mysteries of God are worked out so that the creature conformed and incorporated with his son is brought to perfection.[17]

A Christian view of history does not see it as simply a record of events past, but as a guide to or an expression of the Creator's purpose, which is to bring the creature back to perfection.

The early Christian historiographical tradition began to incorporate the views of history outlined above and thus developed what Momigliano describes as "a providential economy of history."[18] The first writers of Christian chronologies (Clemens Alexandrius, Julius Africanus, Hippolytus of Rome) presented history as a framework for the divine administration of the world, with the scheme of redemption as the dominant and clearest theme, and with universalism and eschatology assuming the place of prominence they would retain throughout the Middle Ages.[19] Christian history was therefore much more than a chronology of events; the inclusion of the elements that reflected on humankind's relationship with God as well as its ultimate destiny meant that a Christian chronology also implied a theology - or a philosophy - of history.

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16 Ibid.

17 St Irenaeus, quoted in Dawson, *The Christian View of History*, p. 32.

18 Momigliano, *Essays in Ancient and Medieval Historiography*, p. 109.

19 Ibid., pp. 110-1.

There is a general tendency for historians to agree that it was with Eusebius of Ceasarea that the new Christian historiography became firmly established. Momigliano states that Eusebius "was writing a new kind of history," which was characterized by the theme of the universal and ancient struggle of Christians against the devil.[20] In his book *Eusebius as Church Historian*, Robert Grant identifies Eusebius' historiographical predecessors, but concedes that Eusebius "was indeed the first person to collect just these materials and put them together in just this way."[21] R.L.P. Milburn describes Eusebius as "the first systematic and purposeful narrator of the events which marked the expansion of the Christian Church," with the intention of attesting to "the antiquity and divine nature of Christianity."[22] Eusebius' history divided the world into Christians and non-Christians, and it focused on the struggle between these two groups, incorporating into the struggle the themes of the longevity, the purity, and the continuity of the orthodox doctrinal tradition.[23] Collingwood cites Eusebius as his example of an early Christian historian who "consciously imported" into his writings the four elements that came to characterize medieval Christian historiography; Eusebius' history was universal, providential, apocalyptic, and periodized.[24]

Augustine's theology of history[25] was one that was determined by its Christian

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20 Ibid., p. 116.

21 Robert Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 39.

22 R.L.P. Milburn, *Early Christian Interpretations of History* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishing, 1954), pp. 61-2.

23 Momigliano, *Essays in Ancient and Medieval Historiography*, p. 117.

24 Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, pp. 49-50.

25 The phrase "theology of history" is used fairly widely by historians discussing Augustine and history. Etienne Gilson writes, "Augustine's point of departure is

revelation; it was only within the framework of creation, original sin, and redemption that history, for Augustine, had any meaning. History's purpose, and the way in which that purpose was served, are questions that led a Christian's thoughts to the beginning of time, to the creative acts of God and the destructive acts of the first humans.[26] Augustine's explanation for history, and his development of a theology of history, were thus inextricably connected to his beliefs about creation, original sin, and the possibility for redemption.

In Book XI of *Confessions*, Augustine meditated at length on the opening lines of Genesis I: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. . . .". For the purposes of this discussion, it is Augustine's thoughts on time which are of most interest. Addressing God, Augustine distinguished between the 'time' experienced by humans and the eternal state in which He exists: "You made all time; you are before all time; and the 'time', if such we may call it, when there was no time was not time at all."[27] Time, according to Augustine, was introduced with creation, and did not exist before it:

> Let them see, then, that there cannot possibly be time without creation. . . . Let them instead *be intent on what lies before them*. Let them understand that before all time began you are the eternal Creator of all time, and that no time and no created thing is co-eternal with you, even if any created

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revelation, and by conferring on history a universality which our fragmentary empiricism cannot attain and, above all, by unveiling its origin and end to him, it makes the theology of history possible and confers on the universe intelligibility in the order of time." Etienne Gilson, *The Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine*, trans. L.E.M. Lynch (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1961), p. 183.

26 There is a distinction between creation and time which will be discussed below.

27 Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. R.S. Pine-Coffin (London: Penguin Books, 1961), XI.13, p. 263.

> thing is outside time.[28]

The themes of creation, eternity, and time were also addressed in *The City of God*:

> For, though Himself eternal and without beginning, yet He caused time to have a beginning; and man, whom He had not previously made He made in time, not from a new and sudden resolution, but by His unchangeable and eternal design.[29]

In addition to temporality, Augustine ascribed other characteristics to human nature and existence as they were created, and existed, before the first sin. "Neither death nor ill-health was feared," he wrote, "and nothing was wanting which a good will could desire."[30] There was no hunger, no thirst, no mortality; the body suffered no corruption, no accident. The inhabitants of Paradise experienced neither sadness nor foolish joy, only true gladness, which "ceaselessly flowed from the presence of God, who was loved "out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned."[31]

Before the first sin, humans existed in a temporal state, but not an historical one; Augustine's distinctions between memory, attention, and expectation - which characterize time for humans after the fall - were judged irrelevant in a state where the human condition was an unceasing love of God. The past, the present, and the future, while they existed because time existed, would neither provoke nor require distinction.[32] It was sin, according

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28 Ibid., XI.30, p. 279. The italicized portion is a quotation from Philipp. 3:13.

29 Augustine, *City of God,* trans. Marcus Dodds (Chicago, London, and Toronto: William Benton, 1952). Vol. 18 of *Great Books of the Western World*, ed. Robert Maynard Hutchins. XII.14, p. 351.

30 Ibid., XIV.10, p. 385.

31 Ibid.

32 Augustine, *Confessions*, XI.28, pp. 277-8.

to Augustine, and the resulting fallen state of humankind, that necessitated history.

The first sin, according to Augustine, was not one of lust (a desire for the fruit), but one of disobedience. "God commanded obedience," he wrote, "the mother and guardian of all the virtues in the reasonable creature."[33] The sin was essentially a transgression of an order that ought to have been easy to respect; the abundance of food in the garden coupled with the lack of desire of its inhabitants, made the precept "of the tree of knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat"[34] "so easy to keep - so light a burden to the memory."[35] The origin of the sin lay not, therefore, in the difficulty of the precept, nor in lust, but, according to Augustine, in pride.[36] The act was a result of an evil will, the evil will a consequence of pride, and the pride a result of man's turning away from God and towards himself.[37] The perfect order instituted by God in the creation of the universe and all its inhabitants was subverted, in Augustine's view, when the first humans turned away from Him, when they began to prefer the creation over the Creator.[38] This distinction, between *amor mundi* and *amor Dei* is integral to Augustine's thought, and it informs his whole philosophy of history.

The consequences of original sin were catastrophic for human nature. Original sin altered the created nature of humankind:

> . . . so that on account of [the transgression] this nature is

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33 Augustine, *City of God*, XIV.12, p. 387.

34 Genesis 2:16.

35 Augustine, *City of God*, XIV.12, p. 387.

36 Ibid., XIV.13, p. 388.

37 Ibid.

38 Etienne Gilson, *Introduction a l'étude de Saint Augustin*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Librarie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1949), p. 196.

> subject to the great corruption we feel and see, and to death, and is distracted and tossed with so many furious and contending emotions, and is certainly far different from what it was before sin . . . .[39]

The soul, explained Augustine, became a "dehydrated traveler in a waterless desert, a lover longing to see the distant beloved."[40] In *On Christian Doctrine*, Augustine used the metaphor of exile to describe the human condition after the fall, comparing the restless soul to a miserable wanderer, longing to return to its native country.[41] Exile was the consequence of original sin; restless wandering the consequence of exile. At the beginning of *Confessions*, Augustine wrote, "Thou [God] has formed us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless until they find rest in Thee."[42] According to Augustine, exile and restless wandering had one cause and one remedy; the cause is *amor mundi* and the cure is *amor Dei.*[43]

After original sin, humankind was subject to mortality and inherited two conditions: ignorance (exile) and concupiscence (restless wandering). Etienne Gilson explains:

> Instead of the knowledge [of God] Adam enjoyed without having to acquire it, there is our present ignorance from which we are trying laboriously to emerge; instead of mastery exercised over the flesh by the soul, there is the body's revolt against the spirit.[44]

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39 Augustine, *City of God*, XIV.12, p. 387.

40 Henry Chadwick, *Augustine* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 68.

41 Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, I.4, p. 9.

42 Augustine, *Confessions*, I.1, p. 21.

43 Ibid.

44 Gilson, *Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine*, p. 151.

Ignorance, explained Augustine, was the ignorance of God; before sin, Adam's and Eve's "love for God was unclouded,"[45] and in Paradise "true gladness ceaselessly flowed from the presence of God, who was loved out of a pure heart."[46] After the first sin, which Augustine saw as a desertion of God by the soul through willful disobedience, God deserted Adam and Eve, leaving them bereft of His presence and ignorant of His love.[47] When God addressed Adam and Eve, warning them that "in the day that you eat [the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil] you shall die,"[48] one should understand the first death, Augustine explained, as that "by which the soul is deprived of God."[49] Augustine contrasted this to the condition of the angels, who "come to the knowledge of God not by audible words, but by the presence to their souls of immutable truth, that is, of the. . .Word of God."[50] Concupiscence, another consequence of original sin, was "that element of lust

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45 Augustine, *City of God*, XIV.10, p. 385.

46 Ibid., XIV.26, p. 395.

47 Ibid., XII.15, p. 351.

48 Genesis 2:17.

49 Augustine, *City of God*, XIII.12, p. 365. Augustine's explanation in this chapter of what God meant by death is complex: ". . . whether it was the death of the soul, or of the body, or of the whole man, or that which is called the second death - we must answer, It is all. For the first consists of two; the second is the complete death, which consists of all. . . .that threatening [of God to Adam and Eve] included not only the first part of the first death, by which the soul is deprived of God; nor only the subsequent part of the first death, by which the body is deprived of the soul; nor only the whole first death itself, by which the soul is punished in separation from God and from the body; but it includes whatever of death there is, even to that final death which is called second, and to which none is subsequent."

50 Ibid., XI.29, p. 339.

which is inseparable from fallen sexuality,"[51] in which the soul is "deprived of the command it had formerly maintained over the body."[52] According to Augustine, these punishments were justified.

The nature of man was significantly altered by original sin, but not wholly destroyed. God, according to Augustine, did not completely desert humankind.

> I mean now to speak of the blessings which God has conferred or still confers upon our nature, vitiated and condemned as it is. For in condemning it He did not withdraw all that He had given it, else it had been annihilated; neither did He, in penally subjecting it to the devil, remove it beyond His own power. . . .[53]

Having not abandoned humankind completely, God allowed for the possibility of the restoration of the soul to its original, unvitiated, state. This restoration Augustine considered to be a life-long process of conversion during which the soul turns away from the world and towards God, and regains the properties that it enjoyed before the fall.[54] The means by which God allowed for this possibility of restoration was grace, which Gilson describes as "the sum-total of God's free gifts, the purpose of which is to make man's salvation possible in the state of fallen nature."[55] The object of God's grace, then, was the restoration of his founding work, of creation, "through the correction of a disorder for which

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51 Gerald Bonner, *St Augustine of Hippo: Life and Controversies* (London: SCM Press, 1963), p. 377.

52 Augustine, *City of God*, XIII.13, p. 366.

53 Augustine, *City of God*, XXII.24, p. 609.

54 Karl F. Morrison, *Understanding Conversion* (Charlottesville, Virginia and London: University Press of Virginia, 1992), p. 3.

55 Gilson, *Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine*, p. 152.

man was wholly responsible."[56]

The primary vehicle of this restoration, explained Augustine, was God's intervention in history.

> In following [Christianity] our chief concern is with the prophetic history of the dispensation of divine providence in time - what God has done for the salvation of the human race, renewing and restoring it unto eternal life. When once this is believed, a way of life agreeable to the divine commandments will purge the mind and make it fit to perceive spiritual things. . . .[57]

Sacred history was the "history of the dispensation of divine providence in time," and the record of history, as found in Scripture, recounted God's continued work in the world. Knowledge of history was the means by which the restoration of the individual soul may be begun; it was the recorded events of history that provided first the understanding of humanity's fallen state and second the evidence of God's continued action in the world, the purpose of which was the salvation of humankind. Since history was the record of God's saving work, of the restoration, it did not exist, according to Augustine, before original sin; had there been no act of disobedience, there would have no necessity for restoration, and thus no history.[58] With creation, God introduced time; with restoration, He introduced history.

The role of the literal or historical interpretation of the Scriptures within the

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56 Ibid.

57 Augustine, *Of True Religion*, VII.13, p. 332.

58 R.A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 10.

framework of salvation became increasingly important in Augustine's successive thoughts and writings. Gerald Bonner writes,

> The characteristic feature of the development in Augustine's attitude to the Bible is this deepened sense of Scripture as the history of God's saving work for man in the past, the present, and the future. . . .[59]

Augustine distinguished between sacred and secular history, describing the latter as "the details of the calamities that had afflicted Rome," while the former he described as "the record of God's plan of salvation."[60] This redemptive history, according to Augustine, provided a framework upon which Christian faith was founded; it was the beginning of the knowledge necessary if one was to pursue the path to knowledge and wisdom; it was the means by which humankind might begin to perceive the workings of the divine in the temporal existence of humankind and thereby turn its attentions away from this world and towards God.[61] "It is a great and very rare thing for a man," wrote Augustine, "after he has contemplated the whole creation . . . to pass beyond it . . . to God."[62]

Throughout Augustine's writings, the importance of the role of history is restated; as R.A. Markus explains, Augustine would "assert unambiguously that the head and substance of the Christian religion was contained in history."[63] In his treatise *Of True*

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59 Gerald Bonner, "Augustine as Biblical Scholar," in P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans, eds. *The Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginnings to Jerome*, vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 553.

60 Ibid., p. 552.

61 Markus, *Saeculum*, pp. 3-4.

62 Augustine, *City of God*, XI.2, p. 323.

63 Markus, *Saeculum*, p. 8.

Religion, Augustine repeatedly returned to history's place in Christianity. He wrote,

> In following [Christianity] our chief concern is with the prophetic history of the dispensation of divine providence in time - what God has done for the salvation of the human race. . . .[64]

History, for Augustine, was an ongoing act of God, and had to be seen as such in order to be properly understood and for its purpose to be properly served.

> God in his ineffable mercy by a temporal dispensation has used the mutable creation, obedient however to his eternal laws, to remind the soul of its original and perfect nature.[65]

God's ongoing actions in history culminated when He submitted himself to temporality and became an integral part of sacred history:

> God . . . for our salvation designed, in the temporal dispensation, to take upon himself our nature in order to teach us that man must worship what every rational intellectual creature must also worship.[66]

Finally, Augustine related the role of history to the level of the personal. He wrote,

> In the first stage [of a man's spiritual advance towards God] he is taught by the rich stories of history which nourish by examples.[67]

The significance of history in Augustine's writings is clear: as a Christian one had to first believe and internalize the historical narrative found in the sacred writings of the faith.

Augustine's distinction between sacred and secular history was central to his

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64 Augustine, *Of True Religion*, VII.13, p. 232.

65 Ibid., X.19, p. 235.

66 Ibid., LV.110, p. 280.

67 Ibid., XXVI.49, p. 249.

philosophy. It was the history found in the Scriptures which was most important to Augustine; this is, the history that told of God's two works, creation and redemption. The Scriptures did not, however, tell the whole history of humankind; the universality of sacred history did not mean that it encompassed all of human history, but that it revealed the redemptive process of God's work within the affairs of humans. All types of history were records of events which had been not only recounted, but also interpreted, by the writers.[68] Sacred history was distinguished from secular history, according to Augustine, by the fact that its writers were divinely inspired; the writing of sacred history was guided by God, and its writers were not only recounting, but also partaking in, the process of restoration, of God's saving work.[69] Augustine wrote,

> Although human institutions of the past are described in historical narration, history itself is not to be classed as a human institution; for those things which are past and cannot be revoked belong to the order of time, whose creator and administrator is God.[70]

Secular history was a recounting of past events according to human interpretation, and it could therefore tell us about the past in human terms only. Sacred history, on the other hand, was the recounting of the past guided by divine inspiration and endowed with divine authority.[71] As an interpretation of the past that described the redemptive work of God, sacred history revealed not only the past, but the divine pattern inherent in the past, which

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68 Markus, *Saeculum*, p. 14.

69 Ibid., pp. 15-16; Augustine, *The City of God*, XV.8, p. 403.

70 Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, II.28, p. 64.

71 Markus, *Saeculum*, p. 16.

disclosed to humankind the manner in which history would unfold into the future.[72] In *City of God*, Augustine wrote,

> [Do not] forget to take into account that the writer of the sacred history does not necessarily mention all the men who might be alive at that time, but those only whom the scope of his work required him to name. The design of that writer (who in this matter was the instrument of the Holy Ghost) was to descend to Abraham through the successions of ascertained generations propagated from one man, and then to pass from Abraham's seed to the people of God, in whom, separated as they were from other nations, was prefigured and predicted all that relates to the city whose reign is eternal, and to its king and founder Christ, which things were foreseen in the Spirit as destined to come . . . .[73]

What was important in sacred history, explained Augustine, was not the inclusion of all events or details of the past, but the events and individuals relevant to God's work of restoration. The unfolding of future events that were foreshadowed in the past was an integral element of sacred history; the end of restoration was inherent in its beginning, thus the end of history was implicit in its unfolding.

The pattern of sacred history was the main subject of Augustine's *City of God*. Eugène Portalie writes that Augustine transformed *City of God* from a Christian apologetic into a philosophy of history that related the destinies of the nations of the world to Christianity, spanning the period from the beginning of time to the final goal of history: the salvation of the world.[74] Etienne Gilson explains that *City of God* ordered history in a way

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72 Ibid., pp. 15-16.

73 Augustine, *City of God*, XV.8, p. 408.

74 Eugène Portalie, *Guide to the Thought of Saint Augustine*, p. 44.

that allowed a Christian to understand the direction towards God; it provided the necessary framework for partaking in the use of everything conducive to the enjoyment of God.[75] The *City of God* is "theology as living in the historical framework of humanity and explains the action of God in the world."[76]

City of God is divided into two parts: books I to X are the apologetic portion of the text, critical of paganism and defensive of Christianity, and books XI to XXII are an exposition on history. These latter books examine the history and develop the historiography of Christianity. For Augustine, human history was a history of two cities: the earthly city, or the city of man, and the heavenly city, or the city of God. The purpose of the second part of *City of God* was "to explain the origin and end of the two cities."[77] Books XI-XIV describe the rise of the two cities, addressing creation, the fall of the angels and of Adam, and original sin.[78] Books XV-XVIII describe the progress of the two cities in history, following the narrative of the Bible; Book XVIII concludes with a description of the terrestrial city. Books XIX-XXII explore the purpose of these two cities or their final end: happiness, judgment, hell, and heaven.[79]

The existence of the city of God, explained Augustine, is attested to by the Scriptures, "from which we have learned that there is a city of God, and its Founder has

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75 Gilson, *Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine*, p. 174.

76 Portalie, *Guide to the Thought of Saint Augustine*, p. 45.

77 Augustine, *City of God*, XI.1, p. 322.

78 Portalie, *Guide to the Thought of Saint Augustine,* p. 45.

79 Ibid.

inspired us with a love which makes us covet its citizenship."[80] But there is also an earthly city, and the two cities are "in this present world commingled and implicated with one another."[81] The foundations of the two cities were laid "in the difference that arose among the angels."[82] In Book XI Augustine wrote of the creation of the world, of time, and of the angels.

God's creation, His first work, was wholly good. There was an original order in nature that reflected this goodness, and there was then an absence of evil in created nature;[83] evil was a result of not adhering to one's proper nature. Since it was in the nature of created beings to adhere to God, departure from Him - turning away from God - was therefore an act against nature, against creation.[84] The fall of the angels was not a result of corrupted natures - all angels, fallen or not, were created with equally good natures - their fall was a result of corrupted wills and desires.[85] The will could be corrupted by forsaking the natural order established in creation, an order in which attention was directed to that which is higher than itself: God. "For when the will abandons what is above itself, and turns to what is lower, it becomes evil not because that is evil to which it turns, but because the turning itself is evil."[86] According to Augustine, attention, or more accurately love, is directed by will,

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80 Augustine, *City of God*, XI.1, p. 322. Augustine quoted scriptural passages from the psalms to support his statement.

81 Ibid., XI.1, p. 323

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid., XI.17, p. 321.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid., XII.1, pp. 342-3.

86 Ibid., XII.6, p. 346.

and thus an evil will could direct attention away from God. The potential for will to direct one to act against nature stemmed not from God, or from any of God's creations, but from nothing, out of which all was created; God was immutable and eternally good, and thus no mutability or evil could stem from Him or His creation.[87] Since the created world, all of nature, is good, the potential for evil could only stem from the nothingness out of which everything was made.[88] Nature is good, but it could be corrupted by a will that directed it away from God, and nature "could not have been depraved by vice had it not been made out of nothing," since it was only from nothing that the opposite of good could originate.[89] Depravity could only come from nothing since there was only good in nature. "Consequently," Augustine argued, "that it is nature, this is because it is made by God; but that it falls away from Him, this is because it is made out of nothing."[90]

With creation, God formed a holy city of angels. With sin, a second city was created. The angels who partook in nothingness, whose wills, misdirected by pride, turned away from God, were punished for this sin by God, who "thrust them down to the lowest parts of the world."[91] Thus began the two angelic communities, explains Augustine, which are contrary to each other because of their wills: the angels of light have upright wills and the angels of darkness have depraved wills.[92] The natures of the angels of the two

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87 Ibid.

88 Ibid., XII.1, p. 345.

89 Ibid., XIV.13, p. 387.

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid., XI.33, p. 341.

92 Ibid.

communities were not, however, contrary; both natures were created by God, and both natures were therefore good, although one was vitiated by sin.[93] The distinction between the two communities of angels - between the two cities - was a distinction based on their wills.

> That the contrary propensities in good and bad angels have arisen, not from a difference in their nature and origin, since God, the good Author and Creator of all essences, created them both, but from a difference in their wills and desires, it is impossible to doubt. While some steadfastly continued in that which was the common good of all, namely, in God himself, and in His eternity, truth, and love; others, being enamoured rather of their own power, as if they could be their own good, lapsed to this private good of their own . . . [and] became proud, deceived, envious.[94]

In Book XII of *City of God*, Augustine wrote of the creation of man, who was made "in time, not from a new and sudden resolution, but by [God's] unchangeable design."[95] All of humankind, explained Augustine, stemmed from the first man created by God, a man "whose nature was to be a mean between the angelic and bestial."[96] This human nature could therefore be directed in two ways:

> If he remained in subjection to His Creator as his rightful Lord, and piously kept His Commandments, he should pass into the company of angels, and obtain, without the intervention of death, a blessed immortality; but if he offended the Lord his God by a proud and disobedient use of his free will, he should become subject to death, and live as the beasts do - the slave of appetite and doomed to eternal

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93 Ibid.

94 Ibid., XII.1, p. 342.

95 Ibid., XII.14, p. 351.

96 Ibid., XII.21, p. 357.

punishment after death.[97]

In creating a single man from whom all humankind would originate, God imposed a unity on human society, which would be bound not only by nature, but by familial affection.[98] The consequence, however, of all humans' origination from one man, in whom "there existed the whole human nature," was that when the first man's nature was vitiated by sin, this corruption of nature was to be passed on to all of humankind.[99]

Adam's and Eve's sin,[100] like the sin of the angels, was one which originated not in their nature, but in their will. "For God," wrote Augustine, "the author of natures, not of vices, created man upright."[101] And, like the angels', Adam's sin was one that was contrary to his nature, which was inclined towards God, inclined to "remain steadfast in the love of that higher and changeless good."[102] Just as the angels' wills turned them away from God,

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97 Ibid.

98 Ibid. Augustine comments on the hope that "the unity of society and the bond of concord might be more effectually commended to [humankind], men being bound together not only by similarity of nature, but by family affection." In the next chapter (22), he notes, apparently not without irony, that "even the beasts devoid of rational will . . . live more peaceably with their own kind than men, who had been propagated from one individual; for the very purpose of commending concord. For not even lions or dragons have ever waged with their kind such wars as men have waged with one another."

99 Ibid., XIII.3, p. 361.

100 For simplicity, I will refer, as Augustine customarily does, to Adam's sin, although it is explicit that Eve, also, sinned. It is in Adam's nature that all human nature rests, and the consequences of original sin, although disastrous for both, are more relevant for this discussion in Adam's case since, according to Augustine, all of humankind descends from Adam.

101 Augustine, *City of God*, XIII.14, p. 366.

102 Ibid., XIV.13, p. 387.

so did Adam's will turn him away from the Creator and towards the creation.[103] And in this act, Adam "became like the devil. For the devil too wished to live according to himself when he did not abide in the truth."[104] Finally, Adam's transgression had the same consequence as the angels' transgression. Instead of one community there would be two: the city of God and the city of man.

> . . . in this first man, who was created in the beginning, there was laid the foundation . . . of these two cities or societies . . . . For from that man all men were to be derived - some of them to be associated with the good angels in their reward, others with the wicked in their punishment.[105]

The two cities are defined by direction of attention: the inhabitants of the heavenly city adhere to the order of nature and love God; those of the earthly city prefer the creation over the Creator, and love themselves first, "even to the contempt of God."[106]

Books XV to XVIII of *City of God* are devoted to the "growth and progress" of the two cities through human history, the details of which are found in the sacred history recorded in the Scriptures.[107] Augustine recounted and explained "the chief passages" from the Bible by incorporating into his discussion the significance of events as they related to the past, or origin of the two cities, to the present, or progress of the cities, and to the future, or end of the cities. He applied this exegesis to the elements of sacred history he deemed significant for his discussion.

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103 Ibid. See the discussion of original sin, above, pages 9-12.

104 Ibid., XIV.3, p. 379.

105 Ibid., XII.27, p. 360.

106 Ibid., XIV.28, p. 397.

107 Ibid., XV.1, pp. 397-8.

After the fall, the first significant event in history was the fratricidal murder of Abel by Cain. Expelled from Paradise, Adam and Eve begat two sons, Cain and Abel, who belonged to the city of man and the city of God, respectively.[108] Adam, therefore, was understood to be the progenitor of both lines, the father of both communities; originating from him all humans have the capacity to be a part of one community or the other.[109] Augustine explained the significance of Cain's murderous act, allegorically as well as genealogically linking it to the past and the future.

The two brothers embody the distinction between the two cities: Cain, his love directed towards earthly things, was driven by lust and envy, whereas Abel's love was directed towards God.[110] Again, Augustine insisted that the difference between the brothers, like the difference between the angels, was one of will, not nature, since both were "sprung from the same mass all of which is condemned in its origin."[111] Cain, however, whose attentions and affections were for the creation, did not transcend his vitiated nature, and submitted to the evils of lust and envy. Abel, conversely, was not occupied with earthly things; he was but "a sojourner" on earth, his attention directed towards honouring the Creator.[112]

The distinction between the brothers is first evident in their offerings to God. Abel's

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108 Ibid.

109 Ibid., XV.17, p. 411. It is from Seth, Adam's third son, that the city of God proceeded; Abel was killed before he begat any offspring.

110 Ibid., XV.5, p. 400.

111 Ibid., XV.1, p. 398.

112 Ibid.

sacrifice was both "rightly offered" and "rightly distinguished": the sacrifice not only offered up a material object, but offered up the whole of the person sacrificing it.[113] Cain, on the other hand, "gave to God something of his own but kept himself to himself"; the sacrifice was not in honour of God, but in expectation that God would aid him "not by healing but by gratifying his evil passions."[114] Cain chose to submit to those vitiated characteristics of his nature - lust and ignorance - while Abel chose to overcome them; their choices reflected the cities of which they were a part.

> And this is the characteristic of the earthly city, that it worships God or gods who may aid it in reigning victoriously and peacefully on earth not through love of doing good but through the lust of rule. The good use the world that they may enjoy God; the wicked, on the contrary, that they may enjoy the world would fain use God.[115]

Thus Cain and Abel replay the story of the angels, and of their parents: presented with the choice to love the Creator or the creation, the wills of these brothers guided their actions, condemning the one and saving the other. For Augustine, all of human history was a record and result of this choice between God and earth, Creator and creation, and all of humankind chooses to be either an inhabitant of the city of God or the city of man. But sacred history did more than relate the actions of humans to the earliest events in time down to the establishment of the early Church; it revealed the meaning of events, relating them to the future, uncovering history's prophetic implications.

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113 Ibid., XV.7, pp. 401-2.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid.

Augustine explained the significance of Abel, Cain, Seth, and Enoch. Cain (whose name means "possession") built a city on earth, a debased physical parallel to the spiritual city of man.[116] He named the city for his son, Enoch, which means "dedication," for, explained Augustine, "the earthly city is dedicated to this world in which it was built, for in this world it finds the end towards which it aims and aspires."[117] The city built by Cain was a testament to earthly things and was, like its spiritual counterpart "dedicated to the fleeting course of this mortal world."[118]

While Cain and Enoch represented the earthly city, Abel, Seth, and Enos were associated with the city of God and its development. The murder of Abel and the subsequent birth of Seth, appointed by God instead of Abel,[119] prefigured the sacrifice and resurrection of Christ:

> For in these two men, Abel, signifying grief, and his brother Seth, signifying resurrection, the death of Christ and His life from the dead, are prefigured.[120]

For Augustine, the significance of Seth and his son Enos, however, went beyond the prefiguration of Christ. According to Genesis, when Enos was born to Seth, "the people began to invoke the name of the Lord."[121] Augustine interpreted this as marking the beginning of the city of God on earth, the beginning of the society of men "who live not

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116 Ibid., XV.17, pp. 411-2.

117 Ibid.

118 Ibid., XV.18, p. 412.

119 Genesis 4:25.

120 Augustine, *City of God*, XV.18, p. 412.

121 Genesis 4:26.

according to man in contentment with earthly felicity, but according to God in hope of everlasting felicity."[122]

With his discussion of Cain and Abel, Augustine's approach to human history was established fully. In Books XV to XVIII Augustine addressed historical events from the Scriptures in the manner established in Books XI to XIV: he assessed them first historically; he wrote of what they prefigured in the New Testament, and he distinguished between those who belonged to the city of God, and those who belonged to the city of man. But history, for Augustine, had more than a particular point of origin and more than a discernible pattern; history had an end, and it was this end to which Augustine devoted the final four books of *City of God.*

The end of history, for Augustine, hearkened back to its beginning; it would be the restoration of the order that was lost with original sin. Augustine devoted much of Book XIX to the idea of peace, which was what he expected to be attained eternally by the good at the end of history.[123] Peace is that which our natures seek, explained Augustine, because our natures, although vitiated by sin, were nonetheless created by God, and therefore good and naturally inclined towards goodness.[124] With sin, it was order that was disrupted. Attention was directed away from that which it naturally sought and towards that which was beneath it; sin was the manifestation of *amor mundi* over *amor Dei.* Peace, explained Augustine, "is the perfectly ordered and harmonious enjoyment of God... the peace of all

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122 Augustine, *City of God*, XV.18, p. 412.

123 Ibid., XIX.10, p. 516.

124 Ibid.

things is the tranquility of order."[125] The end of history would be the time when the order instated at creation and lost in sin would be restored, and when:

> we shall enjoy the gifts of nature, that is to say, all that God the Creator of all natures has bestowed upon ours - gifts not only good, but eternal - not only of the spirit, healed now by wisdom, but also of the body renewed by resurrection.[126]

It was this peace which would be the end for the city of God.

> In that final peace . . . our nature shall enjoy a sound immortality and incorruption, and we shall have no more vices, and . . . it will not be necessary that reason should rule vices which no longer exist, but God shall rule the man, and the soul shall rule the body....[127]

This end, the restoration of order, was the future of the city of God. The city of man, however, faced a different fate:

> But, on the other hand, they who do not belong to this city of God shall inherit eternal misery, which is also called the second death, because the soul shall then be separated from God its life, and therefore cannot be said to live, and the body shall be subjected to eternal pains.[128]

As God withdrew from Adam and Eve after they withdrew from Him, so He would withdraw from those who, in this life, chose *amor mundi* over *amor Dei*. Those gifts, which were bestowed on fallen humankind by God, allowed for the possibility of redemption; and they would be, at the end of history, wholly revoked from the people who did not use their wills to direct their vitiated natures towards that which they ought to seek: God.

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125 Ibid., XIX.13, p. 519.

126 Ibid., XIX.10, p. 516.

127 Ibid., XIX.27, p. 529.

128 Ibid., XIX.28, p. 529.

Just as God's act of creation had a beginning and an end, so did His physical creation have a beginning and an end. And just as the act of creation was divided into seven days, Augustine found in sacred history a sevenfold division. In his work there was a parallel relationship between the two:

> God finished his works in six days, and on the sixth day man was made in the image of God. And the Son of God came and was made the Son of man, that He might re-create us after the image of God, in the sixth age of the human race.[129]

It is from Scriptures that Augustine drew his division of human history: the first age was from Adam to Noah, the second to Abraham, the third to David, the fourth to the carrying away to Babylon, the fifth to the labour of the Virgin Mary, and the sixth age was begun with the birth of Christ.[130] And as God rested on the seventh day, so to would humankind rest in the seventh period of history, which would be marked by judgment and the end of time.

With the *City of God* Augustine cemented the character of Christian history, which included the four elements that were central to Eusebius' writings. Augustine's history was universal, for it encompassed not only the entire history of humankind,[131] but included the history of the angels, who directly affected human affairs. His history was also providential in its focus on the relationship between humans and God, and in its overriding theme of

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129 Augustine, *On the Trinity*, trans. A.W. Haddan in Whitney J. Oates, ed. *Basic Writings of Saint Augustine*, vol. 2 (New York: Random House Publishers, 1948), IV.4, p.681.

130 Ibid.

131 Encompassing all of human history does not mean that Augustine addressed every event from the past. See above pages 15-16.

God's restorative work in the world. The apocalyptic nature of Augustine's historiography was evident in his vision of the end of history, and with his sevenfold division of history Augustine's view of the past is also periodized. These elements of Augustine's historiography are thus not disconnected characteristics, but wholly interdependent parts that contribute to a unified whole, bound by the essential belief that the Scriptures were divinely-inspired prophetic texts. Since Augustine's account of history stemmed from the Scriptures, revelation was the starting point of his theology of history; without revelation, there would be no records of essential events of sacred history, such as creation and original sin; without the accounts of these events, history could not be universal, nor could it be a providential account of God's saving works.[132] It was the Scriptures that guided Augustine's beliefs about the end of history; the apocalyptic nature of his historiography stemmed from revelation and was dependant on both the universal and providential natures of sacred history. Finally, the divisions of the past in Augustine's history were in his view drawn from scriptural history, as was the overarching pattern that divided time into seven periods; and the divisions reinforced the universal, apocalyptic, and providential character of Augustine's theology of history.[133]

The interconnectedness of revelation and the universal, providential, apocalyptic, and periodized nature of Augustine's history is significant for understanding his distinction between the end of history and the end of the record of sacred history. According to Augustine, the time after the Incarnation was the sixth, and final, age of humankind, "which

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132 Etienne Gilson, *Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine*, p. 183.

133 R.A. Markus, *Saeculum*, p. 19.

is now going onwards until the hidden end of time."[134] There was for Augustine a distinction, however, between the sixth age and the five ages which preceded it: there was no record of sacred history of the time after the Incarnation. The Old Testament prefigured the New, and the New Testament told of the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, but there were no scriptural texts, no divinely-inspired authors, which provided insight into the sacred history after this point in time. Augustine did not suggest that God's restorative works had ceased; he did, however, insist that because historical events since the Incarnation were not being interpreted by prophetic writers, their roles in God's restorative plan were impossible to determine. History during the sixth age was therefore homogeneous, a pattern from it could not be mapped, and its relevance to God's works was impossible to discover.[135]

St Augustine's influence on the medieval world was significant. Frank Cassidy's opinion that Augustine's writings helped "transform the Roman Empire into the Holy Roman Empire"[136] is one with which few scholars would disagree. In the realm of thought and learning, Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine*, a treatise on Christian education, exerted a wide and sustained influence, as its program was incorporated into the monastic schools of western Europe.[137]

The emphasis of *On Christian Doctrine* is on reading and the central issue is "how

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134 Augustine, *On the Trinity*, IV.4, p. 681.

135 Markus, *Saeculum*, pp. 20-21.

136 Frank P. Cassidy, *Molders of the Medieval Mind: The Influence of the Fathers of the Church on the Medieval Schoolmen* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press Inc., 1944), p. 147.

137 This will be discussed further in the following chapter.

to derive meaning from biblical texts as well as commentaries and how to communicate what has been learned to others."[138] For Augustine, spiritual progress was nourished by proper reading of the Scriptures, and in *On Christian Doctrine* he provided the rules to be followed to ensure that one's interpretation is correct.[139]

There are, according to Augustine, two levels of meaning in the Scriptures: the literal (historical) and the figurative (spiritual).[140] While much of the treatise is devoted to the task of interpreting the figurative meanings to be found in Scripture, Augustine asserted unambiguously the importance of first discovering and internalizing the literal meaning of the texts. In Book 3, chapter 10, Augustine wrote that Scripture

> asserts nothing except the catholic faith as it pertains to things past, future, and present. It is a history of past things, an announcement of future things, and an explanation of present things; but all these things are of value in nourishing and supporting charity and in conquering and extirpating cupidity.[141]

History's essential role in spiritual progress is clearly stated in *On Christian Doctrine*; Augustine explained that "careful attention is to be paid to what is proper to places, times,

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138 Brian Stock, *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 191.

139 Ibid., p. 193.

140 Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, III.22, p. 98. Augustine wrote: "Therefore, although all or almost all of the deeds which are contained in the Old Testament are to be taken figuratively as well as literally, nevertheless the reader may take as literal those performed by people who are praised, even though they would be abhorrent to the custom of the good who follow the divine precepts after the advent of the Lord."

141 Ibid., III.10, p. 88.

and persons," and that the acquisition of historical knowledge is the third of seven stages through which a Christian must proceed in a journey towards God.[142] For Augustine, this knowledge is found in the Scriptures, and teaches a Christian that "God is to be loved for Himself, and his neighbour for the sake of God."[143]

On Christian Doctrine reinforced Augustine's position that sacred history was "the dispensation of divine providence in time," the purpose of which was the restoration of humankind.[144] In book two, Augustine discussed useful and superfluous human institutions, distinguishing between those which helped, and those which hindered, spiritual progress.[145] History, cautioned Augustine, must not be included in this category:

> Although human institutions of the past are described in historical narration, history itself is not to be classed as a human institution; for those things which are past and cannot be revoked belong to the order of time, whose creator and administrator is God...History narrates what has been done faithfully and usefully....[146]

In providing guidance for scriptural interpretation, Augustine cited Tyconius, and explained the seven rules that Tyconius had developed. Two of the rules, "Of Times" and "Recapitulation," seem particularly significant for a literal interpretation of the Bible.

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142 Ibid., III.12, p. 91 and II.7, p. 39 respectively. The first two stages are fear, which turns us toward God, and piety, which prevents misinterpretation of Divine Scripture. This echoed Augustine's assertion in *Of True Religion* XXVI.49, p. 249, that the first of the seven stages of spiritual progress was the reading of Scripture, when one was to be "taught by the rich stories of history which nourish by examples."

143 *On Christian Doctrine*, II.7, p. 39.

144 Augustine, *Of True Religion*, VII.13, p. 232.

145 Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, II.28, p. 64.

146 Ibid., II.28, p. 64.

Augustine used these rules to explain how readers could reconcile temporal discrepancies in the Scriptures, thus adhering to a literal interpretation while avoiding apparent contradictions. In explaining temporal discrepancies, and how they might be properly understood, Augustine explained:

> Thus one Evangelist says that a thing was done after eight days which another says was done after six days....Both things which were said about the number of days could not be true unless he who said 'after eight days' is understood to have counted the last part of the day on which Christ foretold what was to come and the first part of the day on which he showed it fulfilled as two whole days. But he who said 'after six days' should be understood to have counted whole and complete days.[147]

Tyconius' fifth rule, *Of Times*, provided the reader with the capacity to reconcile these types of temporal contradictions, in recognizing that there could be references to "either a part from the whole of the whole from a part."[148]

Tyconius' sixth rule, "Recapitulation", also helped the reader remedy apparent contradictions in the narrative of the Scriptures. Augustine explained,

> Some things are so described as though they follow each other in the order of time, or as if they narrate a continuous sequence of events, when the narrative covertly refers to previous events which had been omitted; and unless this situation is understood in accordance with this rule, the reader will err.[149]

What had to be understood, according to Augustine, was that the authors of Divine Scripture

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147 Ibid., III.35, p. 112.

148 Ibid.

149 Ibid., III.36, p. 113.

sometimes recapitulated an event that had preceded the event being described, and thus the reader might be misled to believe that the order of the narrative was somehow contradictory. As an example, Augustine cited the description of man's creation:

> We read in Genesis: 'And the Lord God had planted a paradise of pleasure wherein he placed man whom he had formed. And the Lord God brought forth of the ground all manner of trees fair to behold, and pleasant to eat of.' This last seems to be said in such a way as to indicate that it was done after God had placed man in Paradise. When both things have been mentioned briefly, that is, that God planted Paradise and placed man whom he had formed in it, the narrative by recapitulation returns and indicates what was passed over, that is, the manner in which Paradise was planted then.[150]

Augustine accepted that this might lead to confusion in the reader, which was why the rule of recapitulation was useful. The writer, explained Augustine, would at times repeat what had already been said, thus providing details of the historical narrative seemingly out of order. The "vigilant reader" who understood the rule of recapitulation would not err in his literal interpretation.[151]

Augustine's statements on the importance of history, and his addressing of the errors that pertained to literal interpretation of Scripture, reinforced his position on the role of history in theology that is found in *City of God* and *On True Religion*. As a standard manual for the development of educational programs in the monasteries, *On Christian Doctrine* shaped the medieval approach to learning in general and to Scripture in particular.

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150 Ibid.

151 Ibid.

Chapter III

The Transition from Monastic to Scholastic Learning

It is generally agreed that during the early Middle Ages formal education in Europe was an activity sustained almost wholly by the monastic communities. Anders Piltz writes that monasticism was "the collective force which provided the sustenance which kept the flickering flame of learning alive,"[1] and C.H. Lawrence suggests that "until the scholastic movement of the twelfth century, most of the leaders in the world of learning were monks."[2] Beryl Smalley explains that from the fifth to the ninth centuries, "the conditions necessary for study could only be found in a monastery."[3] In this chapter, the prominence and character of monastic learning until the eleventh century and the growth of scholastic learning in the twelfth will be examined, providing an historical background against which to understand Hugh of St Victor's adherence to Augustine's approach to theology.

Until the monastic reform movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the vast majority of monasteries in western Europe were regulated by the *Rule of St Benedict*, a

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1 Anders Piltz, *World of Medieval Learning*, trans. David Jones (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), p. 13.

2 C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman, 1989), p. 35.

3 Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 29.

manual for monastic life by Benedict of Nursia written circa 535.[4] In the prologue to his rule, Benedict wrote that the intent was "to establish a school for the Lord's service,"[5] and he allocated a prescribed number of hours to *lectio divina*, or holy reading. "Idleness is an enemy of the soul," wrote Benedict, "and hence at certain seasons the brethren ought to occupy themselves in the labour of their hands, and at others in holy reading."[6] Benedict prescribed two hours of personal reading per day on weekdays (three during Lent), and on Sundays it was to replace manual labour altogether.[7] According to the Rule, the texts that promote virtue and lead to perfection are the "divinely-inspired books of the Old and New Testaments" and the writings of the "holy Catholic Fathers."[8] The goal of reading and study

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4 Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, p. 23.

5 Ibid., 31. There was a military sense to the word *schola* (school), and it seems to be agreed that Benedict was referring to an Roman elite military corps. The training to which the soldiers of Christ would be subject, however, consisted of prayer, work, and *study*.

6 Benedict of Nursia, *Rule of St Benedict*, Chapter 48.

7 Ibid. Benedict's emphasis on the importance of reading is clear in his instructions. He wrote: "We think, therefore, that the times for each may be disposed as follows from Easter to the calends of October, let them, in going from Prime in the morning, labour at whatever is required of them until about the fourth hour. From the fourth hour until near the sixth, let them apply themselves to reading. And when they rise from table, after the sixth hour, let them rest on their beds in perfect silence; or if anyone perchance desire to read, let him do so in such a way as not to disturb anyone else....On the days of Lent, from morning until the end of the third hour, let them apply themselves to their reading....And in these days of Lent they shall receive a book from the library, which they shall read straight through from the beginning....But certainly one or two of the senior brothers should be deputed to go about the monastery at the hours when the brethren are occupied in reading and see that there be no lazy brother who spends his time in idleness or gossip and does not apply himself to the reading, so that he is not only unprofitable to himself but also distracts others."

8 Ibid., Chapter 73.

was "to arrive, under God's protection, at the lofty summits of doctrine and virtue"; what is sought is the proper interpretation of Scriptures as a means of leading one towards spiritual perfection. In the monasteries, *lectio divina* was "the foundation of the contemplative life."[9]

This view of study, with its emphasis on reading of the Scriptures, echoes that of St Augustine, for whom the purpose of all study was the proper interpretation of the Bible, which in turn was the path to wisdom and to God. Augustine's views on education, theology, and spiritual progress were instrumental in shaping the medieval, and especially the monastic, approach to learning. Richard Southern writes,

> The most comprehensive syllabus of Christian studies which was available to scholars at the end of the tenth century was the plan sketched by St Augustine in his treatise on Christian learning, the *De Doctrina Christiana*. This book was the expression of a great and challenging vision...that was inspired by the conviction that all the sciences known to the pagan world had their place in a strictly Christian curriculum. They were all essential ancillary sciences, and played their part...in the task of interpreting the Bible.[10]

In the monasteries, it was thus primarily Augustine's texts that determined the course of study, which was realized "in the practice of *lectio divina* in the monastic routine."[11] Frank Cassidy explains,

> The monastic schools, which, beginning with the sixth century, gradually supplanted the pagan schools of the grammarians and rhetoricians, were regulated in great part by

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9 Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 27.

10 Richard Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), pp. 170-1.

11 Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 29.

the educational principles of [the *De Doctrina Christiana*].[12]

The educational program laid out in the *De Doctrina Christiana*, and followed in monastic schools, proceeded from the study of the seven liberal arts to instruction in theology. For Augustine, the arts and sciences were "servants in the interpretation of Scripture,"[13] and the exegesis of the Scriptures was the core of theological education.[14] The liberal arts were important, according to Augustine, as aids for understanding Scripture; language, grammar, and history helped the student interpret the literal meanings, while dialectic, arithmetic, rhetoric, and natural history were useful for symbolic and spiritual exegesis.[15] As discussed above, literal or historical interpretation was a significant element of Augustine's exegetical approach, and the narrative framework of sacred history was imported into monastic theology with Augustine's program.

A theological education was designed to serve the overall purpose of a monastic life, which was spiritual growth and the search for God,[16] and *lectio divina* was the foundation of the monastic existence.[17] The reliance on scriptural and patristic texts in many ways determined the literary character of *lectio divina* and monastic study; the scholars read and meditated on these texts in their entirety, seeking to discover the layers of meaning in Scripture by proceeding, as Augustine recommended, from the literal to the spiritual sense,

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12 Frank P. Cassidy, *Molders of the Medieval Mind*, p. 155.

13 Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, p. 172.

14 Benny Reece, *Learning in the Tenth Century* (Greenville, S.C.: Furman University, 1968), p. 16.

15 Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 26.

16 Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, p. 142.

17 Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 27.

from reading to meditation to contemplation (*lectio, meditatio, contemplativo*).[18]

Jean Leclerq outlines some of the main characteristics of monastic theology in his essay *The Renewal of Theology*.[19] The purpose of theology in the monasteries was to contribute to the personal spiritual growth of individual monks;[20] St Benedict suggested that the monks be soldiers who "fight for the Lord Christ," a battle for which the weapons were obedience and study, and the goal was love of God.[21] The emphasis on the journey toward God resulted in the subject-matter of monastic theology being oriented largely toward personal experience, particularly in the struggle to become one with God.[22] Monastic theology was thus concerned with the ideas of love, faith, grace, and free will, and with the mysteries of the faith, including incarnation and the Eucharist.[23] The monastic communities adhered to the canonical Scriptural books recommended by Augustine in *On Christian Doctrine*, and they read patristic texts for authoritative interpretations. The reading and meditation on of these texts was the activity of *lectio divina*.[24] Beryl Smalley emphasizes the holistic nature of this monastic reading:

> Bible study includes the study of Catholic tradition which St Augustine does not distinguish from Scripture. It is part of theology, and theology is Bible study; so is philosophy, since their purpose is the same. Scripture is the starting point and

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18 Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, p. 145.

19 Jean Leclerq, "The Renewal of Theology," in Benson and Constable, eds. *Renaissance and Renewal*, pp. 80-83.

20 Ibid., p. 81.

21 Benedict of Nursia, *The Rule of St Benedict*, Prologue.

22 Leclerq, "The Renewal of Theology," p. 81.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., p. 82.

> the way to blessedness, which is the goal of Christian philosophy and is reached through love.[25]

Lectio divina was, explains Smalley, an integral part of the monastic approach to theology. It "drew its inspiration from St Augustine" and "meant something widely different from the pious exercise which is now known as 'spiritual reading'."[26] *Lectio divina* was not a way of reading or a particular selection of texts, it was a way of living that regarded reading and learning to be a lifelong pursuit, whose aim was to lead one closer to God.[27] The overarching goal of monastic theology was to achieve a synthesis, not simply of what the monks learned, but of knowledge and personal experience.[28] The aim of learning was to know God, and the aim of knowing God was to love Him. Jean Leclerq writes,

> The aim of [*lectio divina*] was not so much to acquire ideas, since knowledge of the faith is presupposed, but rather to taste and savour the Word of God; thus the contemplative life of prayer and union with God might be strengthened.[29]

This monastic approach to reading reflected Augustine's overarching approach to spiritual learning, which proceeded from a historical reading of the Scriptures to a spiritual understanding; in its strict adherence to the Scriptures and the unfolding of Christian history therein, the theology of *lectio divina* was imbued with the historical framework that had been established by Augustine.

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25 Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 27.

26 Ibid., p. 29.

27 Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*, pp. 58-59.

28 Leclerq, "The Renewal of Theology," p. 77.

29 Jean Leclerq, "The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture: From Gregory the Great to St Bernard," in G.W.H. Lampe, ed. *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 193.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries a new approach to theology was developing. Smalley argues that it is the introduction of the *quaestio* into eleventh-century commentaries on the Bible that marks the beginnings of change in biblical scholarship.[30] More broadly, perhaps, it was the incorporation of logic and the dialectical method into works of theology that signified the beginnings of a transformation in the approach to theological matters.

In tracing the course of the evolution of medieval thought and philosophy, historians agree that it is the revival of dialectic in the eleventh century that laid the foundation for the development in the twelfth century of a scholastic method, which in turn provided the necessary elements and incentives for the comprehensive *summae* of the thirteenth century.[31] The reintroduction of Aristotelian logic into western thought is attributed to a renewed interest, in the eleventh century, in Boethius' translations of the philosopher's treatises.[32] Two of the six translated treatises on logic, *Categories* and *De interpretationes*, began to be

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30 Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 29.

31 The agreement amongst scholars on this point is striking, although the tone of the discussions ranges from celebratory to highly pessimistic. For some, the reintroduction of logic into Christian thought marks the beginnings of modernity, with all its promises of progress, while for others it marks the descent from a rich and holistic universe into an itemized and efficiency-oriented one. See, for example, Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 341-367; David Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, pp. 85-97; David Luscombe, *Medieval Thought* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 39-60; Martin M. Tweedale, "Logic: from the late eleventh century to the time of Abelard," in Peter Dronke, ed. *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 196-226; Beryl Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, pp. 46-80; and Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*, pp. 74-114.

32 Anders Piltz, *The World of Medieval Learning*, p. 55; Luscombe, *Medieval Thought*, p. 39.

circulated in the eleventh century and are referred to as the Old Logic; the remaining four (*Prior Analytics, Posterior Analytics, Topics,* and *Elench* - the New Logic) were reincoroporated after 1128.[33] In addition to the translations, Boethius wrote two treatises that defended orthodox positions on dogma by applying logical arguments.[34] This application of logic in the defence of doctrine inspired some eleventh-century writers to emulate Boethius' example.[35] The most famous of these was St Anselm of Cantebury.

While Anselm had some predecessors who demonstrated an interest in the application of logic to theological speculations, it was he who is thought to have introduced fully a dialectical organization and exposition into theology.[36] Charles Homer Haskins describes Anselm as "the last of the Fathers and the first of the scholastics", since he remained faithful to an Augustinian approach which posited faith before reason, while incorporating the Aristotelian tools of logic to support his unwavering beliefs.[37] It was Anselm's primary aim to "penetrate with dialectic the truth held by faith."[38] Anselm's famous Augustinian axioms, *credo ut intelligam* and *fides quarens intellectum,* stemmed from his conviction both of the absolute truth of the doctrines of Christian faith, and the capacity to discover that truth through reason, as summarized in his statement: "that which we hold by faith can be proved

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33 Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, p. 345.

34 Tweedale, *Logic*, p. 197.

35 Ibid.

36 Eugene R. Fairweather, *A Scholastic Miscellany: Anselm to Ockham* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956), p. 128.

37 Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 349-50.

38 Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, p. 91.

by formal arguments."[39] Anselm's incorporation of logic into theology is seen as a transition between monastic and scholastic learning; yet while introducing the logical elements of scholasticism, Anselm nonetheless remained faithful to a monastic, and Augustinian, theological framework.

While Aristotelian logic slowly permeated the intellectual activity of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the most noticeable change that resulted was a re-organization of knowledge, which explains Smalley's assertion that it was the *quaestio* that reintroduced logic into bibilical scholarship.[40] In the monasteries, *quaestiones* appeared in the margins of manuscripts used in *lectio divina*, and the responses (also in the margins) would contain authoritative statements from scriptural or patristic texts that supported a particular interpretation of the passage that had raised the question.[41] Since the *quaestio* was to become the principal formal element in scholastic theology, tracing it from manuscript marginalia to collections of *sententiae* to *summae* provides a relatively clear picture of the development of the forms and techniques of logic in theology.

The *quaestio* was the element of logic that facilitated a dialectical presentation of issues; the possible responses to the *quaestio* were posited, and then accepted or refuted based on authoritative statements - scriptural or patristic - that applied to the matter raised.[42] It was Anselm of Laon, during the late-eleventh and early-twelfth century, who furthered the

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39 Anslem, quoted in Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, p. 92.

40 Smalley, *Th e Bible in the Middle Ages*, p.78.

41 Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe* (Oxford and Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 199-200.

42 Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 56.

development of the new approach to biblical studies by beginning to compile selections of commentaries and *quaestiones* concerning a wide range of distinct subjects.[43] As the *quaestiones* became dislocated from their original contexts, a new type of literature, the *sententiae*, developed. The *sententiae* were *quaestiones* collected and compiled independent of the texts from which they had originated; rather than appearing in the margins of scriptural or patristic texts, the *quaestiones* were provided with their own medium, and thus accorded an increasingly important position in the theological literature. The collections of *quaestiones* into *sententiae* provided a reader with these types of statements on a increasingly wide range of topics. An outstanding instance is of course St Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*, a treatise that systematically addressed all of Christian doctrine by providing comprehensive and authoritative responses to *quaestiones* raised on every doctrinal topic.

Thus the transition from monastic to scholastic learning and theology is most clearly marked by the introduction, proliferation, and eventual ascendancy of the dialectical *quaestio*, since it is both an instigator and symptom of a radical transformation in the ways in which knowledge was organized and approached. Eugene Fairweather writes:

> In the scholarly method itself, the great feature of the transition [of intellectual activity] is the advance from the reduced repetitions of earlier commentaries and the *florilegia* of patristic excerpts, which constituted such a large part of the intellectual diet of the early Middle Ages, to the fresh thinking, the dialectical techniques, the *quaestiones* and the *sententiae*, of the twelfth century.[44]

The *quaestiones* and *sententiae* were not, however, the type of literature that lent themselves

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43 Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, pp. 199-200.

44 Eugene Fairweather, *A Scholastic Miscellany*, p. 26.

to *lectio divina*. As opposed to the texts of the Fathers, or the Scriptures, the *quaestiones* could not be subjected to the monastic practice of *lectio, meditatio,* and *contemplativo.*

The transition was marked by a shift not only in intellectual activity, but also in the location of learning. From the late-eleventh to the middle of the twelfth century, cathedral schools gained ascendency in Europe as centres of learning, while the educational role of the monasteries was being curtailed; the new type of learning was more suited to the new type of urban, secularized schools.[45] The monastic schools, which continued to follow the program of *lectio divina*, did not disappear, but their function became increasingly limited to the training of monks, while the long-held role of preserving learning and fostering intellectual pursuits was passed on to the new schools.[46] Rather than a lifelong program of learning focused on the individual's relationship with God, the role of the cathedral schools was to recruit and train priests and scholars, an institutional activity, the emphasis of which was more the accumulation of necessary knowledge than an individual's spiritual pilgrimage to God.[47] The cathedral schools became centres of specialization, where the Scriptures were not texts to be memorized and meditated on, but texts to be consulted in search of answers to speculative questions on increasingly specific topics.[48] Efficiency in study soon became an imperative as the numbers of students increased dramatically during the twelfth century

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45 Sidney R. Packard, *12th Century Europe: An Interpretive Essay* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), p. 155; Piltz, *The World of Medieval Learning*, p. 49.

46 Packard, *12th Century Europe*, p. 155.

47 Piltz, *The World of Medieval Learning*, p. 49.

48 Leclerq, "The Renewal of Theology," p. 82.

and the impetus of learning continued to shift away from an individual's journey towards God to a scholar's journey towards a professional career in society, whether it was to be as a priest or a teacher, a doctor or a lawyer.[49] For this purpose, the *quaestio* and *sententia* were invaluable, as they provided authoritative knowledge organized in a way that made access to that knowledge efficient.

The scholarly work of this period, explains Smalley, was "brilliant but one-sided . . . we find the theological questioning but not the biblical scholarship."[50] Smalley continues,

> This one-sided development was quite natural. The innumerable problems arising from the reception of Aristotelian logic and the study of canon and civil law, the new possibilities of reasoning, the urgent need for speculation and discussion, all these produced an atmosphere of haste and excitement which was unfavourable to biblical scholarship. The masters of the cathedral schools had neither the time nor the training to specialize in a very technical branch of Bible study.[51]

By the mid-twelfth century a clear distinction arose: "biblical studies belonged to the cloister; the intellectuals were flocking to the schools."[52] Reading, mediation, and contemplation were activities to be done in the monasteries; the schools developed curriculum based on questions, disputations, and conclusions, which was conducive for the accumulation of knowledge.

Collections of *quaestiones* served the purposes of this new type of learning and these

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49 Rouse and Rouse, "*Statim Invenire*," pp. 205-6; Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*, p. 81.

50 Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 77.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., p. 81.

new types of students well; instead of having to read the whole of the Scriptures and patristic texts in search of particular topics, one had only to find the question on that topic to have access to the tradition of literature. Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, based on "questions which he had raised and disputed with his students,"[53] were compiled in such a way as to "lighten the burden and speed up reading."[54] Peter Lombard explains that his text is arranged so that: "for him who searches it be not necessary to turn the leaves of many volumes, but that he may encounter quickly *without toil* what he is after."[55] The twelfth century also saw, among other devices, the introduction of alphabetic indexing, tables of chapter headings at the beginnings of books, chapter titles in the text written in red, paragraph marks, and cross-references.[56] The compilations of the twelfth century, not only of questions and sentences, but also of glosses and decrees, were a new kind of literature with a new kind of format; they were not especially designed for reflective reading, but for the seeking out of specific information.[57]

While the method of learning in the new schools, following the model of Aristotelian logic which proceeded from questions, to arguments, to conclusions (*quaestio, disputatio, sententia*) was to be perfected in the *summae* of the thirteenth century,

> it was well established by the end of the twelfth century [as] the only proper method for the elucidation of any subject, not

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53 Packard, *12th Century Europe*, p. 160.

54 Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*, p. 100.

55 From Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, quoted in Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*, p. 100.

56 Rouse and Rouse, *"Statim invenire,"* pp. 206-207.

57 Ibid., p. 206.

> only the seven liberal arts but also law, Roman or canon, philosophy, theology, and science. It became the mental habit of all scholarship.[58]

The term often used to describe the main trend in the new approach to learning and knowledge is "systematizing". Richard Southern, in an address to the Royal Historical Society, explains one of the effects of this trend:

> The intellectual climate of the twelfth century was not generally favourable to historical thought. It was favourable to systematization, and this was achieved by a method which was hostile to historical speculation, being based on the presumption that time and place and historical circumstances could be ignored in the search for the truth about the nature of man and the universe. This made everything easier for the systematizer. It meant that he could exclude from his already difficult task one vexatious complication. He could take texts gathered from all ages and from several different cultural environments, and use them as bricks in the edifice of truth: their historical context was irrelevant. Without this tacit agreement to ignore history, the theological, legal and scientific *summae* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries could never have been created. The centuries of systematic knowledge were, therefore, profoundly unhistorical in their approach to knowledge.[59]

As efficiency in the accumulation of knowledge was being gained, the historical context within which theology had been grounded since the early Middle Ages was being lost. Aristotle's logic was superseding Augustine's historical framework, and the organization of knowledge according to the two works of God, creation and restoration, was being replaced by formally consistent and "pedagogically valid", but utterly unhistorical categories.[60]

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58 Ibid.

59 Richard Southern, "Hugh of St Victor and the Idea of Historical Development," p. 163.

60 Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, p. 173.

While the twelfth-century schools in Paris embraced the old logic and the new learning, one school was suggesting an alternate course. M.-D. Chenu thus describes as follows the methodological divide that developed between Hugh, the master at the School of St Victor, and Paris' most famous scholastic master, Peter Abelard.

> In brief it was in the basic design of their theological efforts that the difference between Abelard the dialectician and Hugh was reflected: whereas the theoretical analysis of the former led him to divide up the matter of sacred doctrine into categories pedagogically valid, to be sure, but established outside the course of history, namely *fides*, *caritas*, *sacramentum*, Hugh molded his plan according to *historia dispensationis temporalis divinae providentiae* (the history of the temporal dispensation of divine providence).[61]

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61 Ibid. Chenu notes that the phraes *historia dispensationis temporalis divinae providentiae* comes from St Augustine's *On True Religion* vii.13. Augustine wrote, "The key to this religion [Christianity] is the history and prophecy of the temporal dispensation of divine providence for the salvation of the human race, which had to be transformed and restored to eternal life."

Chapter IV

Hugh of St Victor

and the Theology of History

The Victorine school of theology at the Abbey of St Victor in Paris was established in 1110 by William of Champeaux, who had been the archdeacon of Notre Dame until 1108.[1] William retired to the small hermitage on the outskirts of Paris dedicated to St Victor, which followed the Rule of St Augustine for canons regular.[2] It was William's intention to lead a life of prayer and solitude, but his students followed him, and persuaded him to continue teaching.[3] He consequently resumed his lectures and attracted a great number of followers to his school, which was unique in the twelfth century for its combination of the scholarly life with the cloistered one; St Victor is described as a "refuge of the harmonious union of intellect and spirit."[4] While the schools of Paris were fostering increasing specialization, St Victor promoted diversity in study combined with a unity in purpose; it was a school of mystical theology, but St Victor's curriculum also in due course came to include history, geography, grammar, philosophy, psychology, education, and literature.[5] This diversity and

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1 Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 83.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 85.

4 Ray C. Petry, ed. *Late Medieval Mysticism* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957), p. 79.

5 Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 84.

breadth of subject-matter at St Victor reflected the approach to learning and to the contemplative life of Hugh, who was Master at the school from 1124 until his death in 1141.[6] According to Hugh, the student of theology should embrace a breadth of learning and a unity of purpose. He thus began his treatise on education by stating, "of all things to be sought, the first is that Wisdom in which the Form of the Perfect Good stands fixed."[7] The means by which to seek Wisdom was study and contemplation: "Learn everything," wrote Hugh, "you will see afterwards that nothing is superfluous [to the student of theology]."[8]

Hugh's theological framework was clearly informed by Augustine. At the beginning of his treatise on Noah's Ark, Hugh wrote:

> When I was one day sitting with the assembled brethren, and replying to the questions which they asked, many matters came up for discussion. Finally the conversation was so directed that we began with one accord to marvel at the instability of the human heart, and to sigh over it. And the brethren earnestly entreated that they might be shown the cause of these unstable movements in man's heart, and further particularly begged to be taught if such a serious evil as this could be countered by any skill or by the practice of some discipline.[9]

Hugh continued,

> ...our heart is always restless till such time as it begins to cleave to Him, in whom it may both rejoice that its desire lacks nothing, and be assured that what it loves will last eternally. [These are] the stages - the disease itself, a

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6 Ibid., p. 85.

7 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, I.1, p. 46.

8 Ibid., VI.3, p. 137.

9 Hugh of St Victor, *Noah's Ark* in *Hugh of Saint Victor: Selected Spiritual Writings*, translated by a Religious of C.S.M.V. (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), I.1, p. 45.

> wavering heart, unstable and restless; the cause of the disease which is clearly love of the world; and the remedy of the disease which is the love of God.[10]

These passages evoke the opening lines of Augustine's *Confessions*: "Thou [God] has formed us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless till they find rest in Thee."[11] The basic beliefs that informed Augustine's theology were integral also to Hugh's, and these were most succinctly contained in the distinction, so important to both, between *amor mundi* and *amor Dei*. For Augustine and Hugh, the restlessness of the human heart - its cause and its cure - was a topic from which their discussions of theology began, and to which they returned often. According to both, it was through conversion, through a reorientation of the heart and soul away from this world and towards God, that the cure for restlessness might be found; and, for both, history played a fundamental role in this process of conversion.

The meaning and purpose of history were to be sought, according to Hugh, within the framework of creation, original sin, and redemption; he embraced and developed the restorative role of history that had been established by Augustine. As other scholars of the twelfth century increasingly adopted the forms and logical methods of scholasticism, Hugh became the champion of sacred history, maintaining steadfastly that without context, abstract knowledge could not serve its proper purpose. To the question, "I find many things in the histories which seem to be of no utility; why should I be kept busy with the sort of thing?" Hugh replied:

> There are indeed many things in [history] which, considered

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10 Ibid., I.2, p. 47.

11 Augustine, *Confessions*, I.1, p. 21.

> in themselves, seem to have nothing worth looking for, but if you look at them in the light of the other things to which they are joined, and if you begin to weigh them in their whole context, you will see that they are as necessary as they are fitting. Some things are to be known for their own sakes, but others, although for their own sakes they do not seem worthy of our labour, nevertheless, because without them the former class of things cannot be known with complete clarity, must by no means be carelessly skipped.[12]

This chapter will examine the place of history generally in Hugh's theological framework, and its role specifically in three of Hugh's treatises: *Noah's Ark*, *The Didascalicon*, and *On the Sacraments*. A study of these texts demonstrates that the connections between Hugh and Augustine were in large part due to Hugh's steadfast adherence to Augustine's notion of the theological significance of the "temporal dispensation of divine providence." While Hugh's conception of the role of history in the process of the restoration of the soul was developed out of Augustine's understanding, Hugh devoted, however, more substantial and specific attention to that role. History, for Hugh as for Augustine, was "the initiative of God within the time of mankind," and it constituted "an organized sequence, a continuity, whose themes made sense."[13] But Hugh articulated the role of history more clearly in the plan of salvation; more than a record of that plan or the necessary platform of knowledge for restoration, history for Hugh was the means by which faith could be achieved, sustained, and by which it could ultimately reach its goal. While the scholars of Paris embraced new models for education, philosophy, and theology, Hugh's incorporation of the new learning into the traditional, Augustinian, historically-bound model

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12 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, VI.3, p. 137.

13 Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, p.168.

earned him the respect of his contemporaries and successors, and the title *alter Augustinus*.

Like Augustine, Hugh made a clear distinction between sacred and secular history. In his treatise on education, *The Didascalicon*, Hugh accepted that secular history was a literary genre, a part of grammar. He wrote,

> Grammar is divided into...the noun, the verb, the participle, the pronoun, the articulate word, the letter, the syllable, metric feet, accents, pointing, punctuating, spelling, analogy, etymology, glosses, differences, the barbarism, the solecism, errors, metaplasm, schemata, tropes, prose, composition, verse composition, fables, histories.[14]

Secular histories, according to Hugh, were "songs of the poets," indistinguishable from "tragedies, comedies, satires, and heroic verses."[15] The value of these histories were found not in what they recounted about the past, but in what they could contribute to the cultivation of the mind; as an element of grammar, it was the form of secular history, not the content, that could be helpful to the student of theology.[16]

It was sacred history for Hugh, as for Augustine, that was of paramount importance. This was the history found in the Scriptures, which Hugh described as "all the things that have been done, or that still must be done, for the restoration of man, from the beginning of the world until the end of the age."[17] According to Hugh, the biblical texts were historical

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14 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, II.29, p.80. The lowly place accorded to secular history in Hugh's schema here is reminiscent of Augustine's dismissal of these types of histories, which he describes in *City of God* as "the details of the calamities that had afflicted Rome." Marcus, *Saeculum*, p. 2. Augustine writes, "Were we to attempt to recount or mention these calamities, we should become writers of history." *City of God*, III.18, p. 181.

15 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, III.4, p. 88.

16 Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, p. 166.

17 Hugh of St Victor, *Noah's Ark*, IV.18, p. 147.

texts that recounted "the initiative of God within the time of mankind,"[18] and the subject matter of the Scriptures was "the works of man's restoration."[19] Sacred history was the history of God's temporal dispensation, and the Bible was the divinely-inspired source of that history. Scripture was not, however, limited to an historical reading - there were also the allegorical and tropological meanings to be sought from the texts - but Hugh insisted that without learning the history and "diligently committing it to memory," one could not proceed to uncover the deeper layers of meaning that are found in the texts.[20] What Augustine had asserted, Hugh vigorously reasserted: "the foundation and principle of sacred learning is history."[21]

As outlined above, Augustine argued that history was precipitated by original sin and the fall. Hugh's understanding of the role of history also stemmed from his understanding of the consequences of the fall; the role of history in the process of restoration was necessary, according to Hugh, because of the senses that humans lost as a result of the fall.

Hugh's understanding of original sin and its consequences generally concurred with that of Augustine. The first man, according to Hugh, lived in a bountiful paradise "watered by fountains and rivers, [with] leafy and wooded with trees of all kinds, [and] filled with fruit beautiful to behold as well as pleasing to eat."[22] Most importantly, the first humans enjoyed

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18 Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, p. 168.

19 Hugh of St Victor, *On the Sacraments*, Prologue, p. 3.

20 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, VI.3, p. 135.

21 Ibid., VI.3, p. 138.

22 Hugh of St Victor, *On the Sacraments*, I.6.xxx, p. 116.

knowledge of the created world, knowledge of themselves, and knowledge of their Creator.[23] This knowledge, according to Hugh, was accessible to the first humans because their souls possessed three eyes. The first was the eye of the flesh, which could "see the world outside of itself and those things which were in the world."[24] The second eye of the soul could see "itself and those things which were in itself," and this was the eye of reason. The third eye "could see God within itself and those things which were in God," and this was the eye of contemplation.[25] Endowed with these three senses, the first humans enjoyed the unity and stability that came from *amor Dei*.

> As long, therefore, as man retained this order in his nature, he still remained within himself unmoved in purpose and in love, although his external activity subjected him to change. For he had one purpose only and did all things to one end. He loved one thing only, and the motive of all his desires and actions had reference to it. The depth of his spirit was always unfailingly turned towards that one object, his Maker.[26]

Like Augustine, Hugh believed that the consequences of original sin were ignorance and concupiscence; humans could no longer know their Creator, and they were distracted and destabilized by their lusts and desires for material things. According to Hugh, these consequences could be understood as stemming from a blindness of the eyes of the soul. The eye of contemplation was "extinguished so that it saw nothing," and the eye of reason was "made bleared so that it saw doubtfully."[27] Humans no longer had knowledge of their

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23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., I.10.ii, p. 167.

25 Ibid.

26 Hugh of St Victor, *Noah's Ark*, IV.10, p. 135.

27 Hugh of St Victor, *On the Sacraments*, I.10.ii, p. 167.

Creator, and their knowledge of themselves was restricted; no longer did they know by whom they had been made, and their understanding of what should be done, of their role on Earth, was corrupted.[28] Only the eye of the flesh was undamaged by the sin, leaving humans with a restricted vision, allowing them to see clearly "the world and what was in the world" only.[29] Eternally distracted by the material world, and ignorant of spiritual truths, the soul's unity and stability were replaced with disorder, restlessness, and endless unfulfillable desire.[30] Hugh explained,

> After he was cast out from before God's face because of his transgression, he became blind and unstable, blind through mental ignorance and unstable through fleshly concupiscence.[31]

The loss of the senses resulted in humans becoming like "wanderers and fugitives upon the earth," seeking relief in the material world, but always becoming more divided as their attention was drawn away from God.[32] "From movement without stability," wrote Hugh, "is born toil without rest, travel without arrival."[33] This state, according to Hugh, contributed to *amor mundi*, since "the more he forgot the sweetness of supernal things, for which he had already lost the taste, the more did he bend his spirit down to earthly desire."[34] Ignorant of the Creator and divided by the lusts of worldly desires, human nature, according to Hugh,

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28 Ibid., I.6.xii, p. 102

29 Ibid., I.10.ii, p. 167.

30 Hugh of St Victor, *Noah's Ark*, I.2, pp. 46-7.

31 Ibid., IV.10, p. 135.

32 Ibid., I.2, p. 45.

33 Ibid., p. 46.

34 Ibid., p. 45.

had only one hope for salvation: grace.[35]

Like Augustine, Hugh believed that it was God's grace that allowed for the possibility of restoration of the soul. Hugh explained that there are two works of God "in which all that has been done is contained": creation of the world *ex nihilo* and restoration of those things in the created world which had been made impaired through sin.[36] The works of restoration provided a remedy for the disease - the instability and restlessness - suffered by humans in the created world.[37] Hugh and Augustine agreed that sacred history was the account of God's saving work, of the restoration; the goal, explained Hugh, was to "mount up from the works of creation by means of the restoration to the Author of creation and restoration."[38] This ascension was the journey of the soul's return to God, its reorientation whereby it forsook *amor mundi* for *amor Dei*. Hugh summarized the connections between creation, the fall, restoration, and conversion in his treatise on Noah's Ark:

> The first man forsook his Maker, although through contemplation he beheld Him present. Man now seeks through faith the maker whose face he does not see. The first man had the power to stand firm without any difficulty, and fell by his own choice. But now, when a man rises of his own free choice, he returns to God only through trials. The divine economy of our restoration is, therefore, supremely well ordered, in that he who fell of his own choice would rise, not as compelled to do so, but of his own choice too, and that he, who through free will was rendered sick, should not recover his health until such time as by his own free will he should desire healing.[39]

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35 Hugh of St Victor, *On the Sacraments*, I.8.i, p. 141.

36 Ibid., Prologue.II, p. 3.

37 Ibid.

38 Hugh of St Victor, *Noah's Ark*, IV.12, p. 138.

39 Ibid., IV.7, p. 129.

In order to achieve unity and stability, what was first necessary was faith, which was the belief, according to Hugh, that there were things that existed that could not be perceived by the physical senses, nor comprehended by thought, but which constituted a far greater reality than the one accessible by those means.[40] Hugh describes faith as "a kind of certainty of the mind in things absent, established beyond opinion and short of knowledge."[41] Faith consisted of, and was increased by, two parts: affection and cognition. Affection was the act of believing while that which is believed in by faith was cognition.[42] Hugh explained,

> [Faith] grows according to cognition, when it is instructed unto knowledge. It increases according to affection, when it is excited unto devotion and is strengthened by constancy.[43]

Finally, according to Hugh, there were two subjects that are relevant to faith: "Creator and Saviour, and the things that pertain to Creator and those that pertain to Saviour similarly."[44]

The things that pertained to the Creator were the works of creation, and the things that pertained to the Saviour were the works of restoration. The first took six days, the second takes six ages; the first involved the creation of the world and all its elements, the second comprised the process "whereby those things which had been impaired [by original sin] were made better."[45] These two works comprised all of history, and since the goal of a

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40 Hugh of St Victor, *On the Sacraments*, I.10.ii, pp. 167-8.

41 Ibid., p. 168.

42 Ibid., I.10.iii., p. 169.

43 Ibid., I.10.iv, p. 170.

44 Ibid., I.10.v, p. 172.

45 Ibid., Prologue.II, p. 3.

Christian was to "mount up from the works of creation by means of the restoration to the Author of creation and restoration," the essential struggle, according to Hugh, was to forsake *amor mundi* for *amor Dei* despite the loss of the senses which had contributed to the dominance of the former.[46] The impediment to success, explained Hugh, was that the capacity to see beyond, and not be distracted by, material things had been restricted greatly after the fall by the limitations of the human soul, which could perceive the world clearly, but itself only partially.[47] Since the eye of contemplation, which had allowed an unmediated knowledge of God before the fall, was extinguished, human beings had to rely on the clouded perceptions of the eye of reason aided by the eye of the flesh, in order to gain a necessarily imperfect knowledge of God. If the problem was how to restore the soul's capacity to see beyond the material world without the help of the third eye (contemplation) and with the limited vision of the second eye (reason), then the solution, for Hugh, was fully to use the undamaged eye of the flesh to find the outward signs of God in the material world. These outward signs were made manifest, explained Hugh, in human history.[48]

"The universe," wrote Hugh, "is like a book written by the finger of God."[49] The visible world consisted of signs and symbols; viewed rightly, it could thus be seen and understood as representative of a higher reality. Deciphered with the proper combination of understanding and faith, it could lead humans to knowledge of the invisible world of spiritual

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46 Hugh of St Victor, *Noah's Ark*, IV.12, p. 138; *On the Sacraments*, I.7.xxxiii-xxxv, pp. 137-8.

47 Hugh of St Victor, *On the Sacraments*, I.10.ii, p. 167.

48 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, 6.3, p. 138.

49 Hugh of St Victor, *De Tribus Diebus*, quoted in Grover Zinn, "*Historia fundamentum est*,"p. 149.

realities and God.[50] As a consequence of the fall, however, humans were impaired in their capacity to read the signs of the universe properly; instead of seeing the created world as a manifestation of the wisdom, order, and unity of the Creator, humans tended only to see the world as mutable, chaotic, divided, and ultimately meaningless.[51] The disorder perceived by humans reflected the disorder not of the created universe, but of themselves. The sense of restlessness and instability stemmed from the division within themselves that is firstly a consequence of the fall, and secondly a result of trying to find fulfillment in this transient experience, in this mutable world.[52] Before they could be capable of properly reading the signs of the universe, humans had first to recognize, and then internalize, the order that was inherent in the world. The way in which to achieve this, according to Hugh, was to commit to memory the narrative of history that is found in the Scriptures. He wrote,

> You have in history the means by which to admire God's deeds, in allegory the means through which to believe his mysteries, in morality the means through which to imitate his perfection. Read, therefore, and learn that "in the beginning God created heaven and earth." Read that in the beginning he planted "a paradise of pleasure wherein he placed man whom he had formed." Him sinning God expelled and thrust out into the trials of this life. Read how the entire offspring of the human race descended from one man; how, subsequently, flood destroyed sinners; how, in the midst of the waters, divine mercy preserved the just man Noah with his sons....[53]

For Hugh, the internalization of sacred history was the internalization of the divine works of creation and restoration, and the order that was inherent in these works could help to order

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50 Zinn, "*Historia fundamentum est*," p.149.

51 Ibid., p. 152.

52 Ibid.

53 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, VI.3, p. 138.

the minds and hearts of those who committed the history to memory. In his mystical treatises on Noah's ark, Hugh discussed at length the role of history in the contemplative journey, and the way in which the order in God's works could contribute to a restoration of order in the human soul.

Generally speaking, Hugh's treatises on Noah's ark served to introduce his mystical theology. Grover Zinn describes Hugh's first treatise, *De Arca Noe Morali* (1125), as a combination of "an analysis of the doctrinal setting of the mystic life, Hugh's theology of creation and restoration, his understanding of the significance of history for the Christian faith, and his teaching on the contemplative life."[54] All of these threads of thought then received visual representation in a complex drawing described and discussed in Hugh's second treatise on the ark, *De Arca Noe Mystica* (1129).[55] As initiatory texts into the

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54 Zinn, "Mandala Symbolism," p. 321. There is some debate over whether this drawing ever existed. Patrice Sicard, who has done a reconstruction of the drawing (see below), and Zinn both believe that there was a drawing, while Mary Carruthers argues that it was a purely mental image, a complex and extraordinary mnemonic device (Patrice Sicard, *Diagrammes médiévaux et exégèse visuelle : le Libellus de formatione arche de Hugues de Saint-Victor* (Paris: Brepols, 1993); Zinn, *History and Restoration*, pp. 136-9; Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.)). Illich suggests that it would take 220 square feet of paper to draw the picture. Conrad Rudolph, a medievalist in California, is currently working on a digital reconstruction of the drawing and a translation of the second ark treatise, and he believes that there is no question that there was a painting of the ark, which was probably executed in the courtyard at St Victor while Hugh presented his lectures to the students. There are no extant manuscript images of Hugh's drawing, although there are many copies of the ark texts. While peripheral to this thesis, the question of the existence of a drawing is a fascinating one. To provide some sense of the diagram, I have included a number of reconstructions that have been done by modern scholars. See Appendix I, figures 1-5.

55 Ibid.

contemplative life at St Victor, the purpose of these books was to identify the cause of the restlessness and instability of the human heart (*amor mundi*), to explain the remedy for the instability (*amor Dei*), and to provide a method for the "application of the remedy."[56] This process, the movement from *amor mundi* to *amor Dei*, Hugh likened to the building of an ark in one's heart which serves as a dwelling-place for God. "You will build a house for the Lord your God in and of yourself," wrote Hugh, "He will be the craftsman, your heart the site, your thoughts the material."[57] The house to be built was in the form of an imaginary structure of the ark, which was meant to provide a place of unity and stability for the person's soul; a place from which the journey to God could be initiated and sustained.

The drawing of the ark described in *De Arca Noe Mystica* was meant to be memorized and internalized by the student while *De Arca Noe Morali* provided a thorough exegesis of the iconographic elements of the design. Hugh wrote:

> Now the figure of this spiritual building which I am going to present to you is Noah's ark. This your eye shall see outwardly, so that your soul may be fashioned to its likeness inwardly. You will see there certain colours, shapes, and figures which will be pleasant to behold. But you must understand that these are put there, that from them you may learn wisdom, instruction, and virtue, to adorn your soul.[58]

The drawing was described by Hugh in great detail, and as with his scriptural exegesis, he provided literal, allegorical, and tropological interpretations of the symbolic elements. He

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56 Hugh of St Victor, *Noah's Ark*, I.2, pp. 45-46.

57 Ibid., IV.1, p. 123.

58 Hugh of St Victor, *Noah's Ark*, 1.7, p. 52. Note that Hugh speaks of using the eye that can see outwardly (the eye of the flesh) in order to help the soul "be fashioned to its likeness inwardly" - using the undamaged sense to help the eye of the reason see itself, and to help the eye of contemplation see its maker (the soul's likeness).

began,

> First I find the centre of a flat surface where I mean to draw the ark. There, having fixed the point, I draw around it a small square to the measure of that cubit, in which the ark was completed. Then I draw another rather larger square around the first, so that the space between may appear to be the border of the cubit. Then I draw a cross inside the inner square, so that the ends meet each of the sides; and I paint it gold. Then I paint in the spaces between the cross and the square, the upper ones flame colour, the lower sapphire....[59]

In explaining the interpretive process, Hugh wrote,

> ...history measures the length of the ark, because the order of time consists in the succession of events. Allegory measures the breadth of the ark, because the fellowship of faithful people consists in their sharing in the mysteries. Tropology measures the height of the ark, because the worth of merits increases with advance in virtue.[60]

And while each of these levels of meaning were important, it is to the historical understanding that Hugh devoted particular attention in *De Arca Noe Morali.*

The purpose of history, according to Hugh, was to provide enough unity and stability for the student of contemplative theology to begin, and proceed with, his journey towards *amor Dei.* History recounted God's works of restoration; stemming from God, the works of restoration must necessarily reflect the unity, order, and stability of God. The internalization of sacred history is therefore the internalization of the order that made available to humans through the works of restoration.

> We have now, I think, shown sufficiently clearly the origin of

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59 Hugh of St Victor, *De Arca Noe Mystica*, quoted in Smalley, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, p. 96.

60 Hugh of St Victor, *Noah's Ark*, IV.18, p. 149.

> the infinite distraction of our thoughts from which we suffer - that is, from the world and from the lust of if, from the works of creation. Again, we have shown by what means our thoughts can be reintegrated - that is, by the works of restoration. And because, as we have said above, there can be no order where there is no limit, it remains for us now, having left the works of creation behind us, to seek out the order of our thoughts where they are bounded - that is, in the works of restoration. For this is the matter that we previously proposed for investigation - namely, what the order of our thoughts should be, if they are to enable us to build in ourselves the spiritual house of wisdom. And because thoughts come from things, it is right that the order of the thoughts should be taken from the order of things.[61]

The order of things emerges in the drawing of the ark.[62] When completed, the ship was seen as if from above. The keel of the ark, from the bow to the stern, was inscribed with the history of Christianity from creation to the last judgment. At the centre, corresponding with the cubit that forms the roof of the ark, was a symbolic representation of Christ. The vertical dimension of the ark was shown by drawing the floors of the three stories; the first story was a large rectangle, the second a smaller one, and the third still smaller. In each corner ladders connected the three floors of the ship, representing the stages of the contemplative quest: awakening, purgation, illumination, and union. On each ladder was a personification of the virtue associated with each stage, and at the ladders' bases were the four iconographic figures that represented the gospel writers.

The ark is located in the centre of a symbolic cosmos that consisted of earth, aer, and

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61 Ibid., IV.17, p.146.

62 The description of the diagram is drawn from two articles by Zinn: "Hugh of St Victor, Isaiah's Vision, and *De Arca Noe*,"pp. 99-101 and "Mandala Symbolism," pp. 323-325.

aether. The earth was displayed as a *mappa mundi* that included mountains, rivers, fortresses, cities, and countries: Egypt in the South, Babylon in the North, and Paradise in the East. In addition to geographic locations, this map indicated significant historical events, the locus of which moved, like the time line along the keel of the ship, from East to West. The map was surrounded by the region of aer, in which there were personifications of the four seasons (with Spring in the East) and the corresponding humours. In the uppermost region of aether there were representations of the twelve winds, the twelve months, and the twelve signs of the zodiac. The entire cosmos was embraced by Christ enthroned, flanked by two six-winged seraphim and choirs of angels. From Christ's mouth extended six linked disks that stretched into the eastern area of the *mappa mundi* and terminated at the bow of the ark; these disks represented the six days of creation. In addition to having been depicted as the Creative Word, Christ was also represented as the Providential Orderer, embracing and ordering all things, and as the Last Judge, distinguishing the saved from the damned at the end of time.

It was the order of God's temporal dispensation that was reflected in Hugh's drawing of the ark, and that was designed to serve the student of contemplative theology. The student thus was expected to learn the history and reflect on its order:

> Order in the works of restoration is to be considered in three ways, place, time, and dignity....The order of place [and] the order of time seem to run parallel in almost everything, following the sequence of events. Thus divine providence seems to have arranged that the things which were done in the beginning of time should be done in the east, as in the beginning of the world; and that then, as time moved on towards the end, the climax of events should reach to the

> west....[63]

The westward-shifting geographical and temporal locus of history was apparent, according to Hugh, in the narrative provided in the Scriptures. Adam and Eve dwelled in Eden, located at the eastern-most point of the world, and the starting-point of creation. Expelled from the garden, they traveled westward, initiating a movement that would be maintained throughout human history. Hugh explained that after the flood,

> the chief of the kingdoms and the head of the world was in the eastern regions, among the Assyrians, the Chaldaeans, and the Medes. Then the supreme power came to the Greeks, and finally towards the end of the age, it passes to the Romans in the west, as to those who dwell at the world's end.[64]

The order that Hugh found in history was, in his eyes, inherent, not imposed by the human observer, and was to be discovered and internalized. According to Hugh, "the reader's order is not imposed on history, but history puts the reader into its order."[65] In this view, Hugh concurred with Augustine's argument that the writers of the Scriptures were guided by God, and thus the history that they recorded was both a recounting of, and a partaking in, God's restorative work in the world, and it revealed not only the relevant events of the past, but also the divine pattern of sacred history.[66]

Since humans were subject to ignorance and concupiscence, and only able to see the material world clearly, it was through history that God conveyed His providential order, unity, and stability, and for Hugh the evidence of that order was clear. What was important

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63 Hugh of St Victor, *Noah's Ark*, IV.18, p. 147.

64 Ibid., p. 148.

65 Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*, pp. 30-1.

66 See above, Chapter 2.

was that the student realized and remembered that the events of history acquired meaning according to when, and where they occurred.[67]

> And just as the sequence of events moved in a straight line from east to west, in the same way the things that happened to right or left - that is, to the north of south - so correspond to what those directions signify that no one giving the matter serious thought could fail to see here the disposition of divine providence.[68]

For Hugh, building the ark in one's heart was a way of internalizing the harmony, order, and stability of God's temporal dispensation, and it was the first and necessary step towards regaining the lost knowledge of the invisible world of spiritual realities and the love of God.[69]

Hugh did, however, in the ark treatises make one significant break from the Augustinian model of history. Augustine argued that while God's temporal dispensation continued after the Incarnation of Christ, the divinely-inspired writing of sacred history reached its end with the New Testament.[70] Thus according to Augustine, an orderly pattern existed in history after the Incarnation, but it could not be deciphered. While Hugh agreed with the belief that the writers of the Scriptures were divinely-inspired, it is clear from his diagram of the ark that he also believed that the order in God's temporal dispensation after the Incarnation could indeed be mapped. The history inscribed by Hugh along the keel of the ark proceeds from Creation to Last Judgment, with the Incarnation occupying the mid-

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67 Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*, p. 32.

68 Hugh of St Victor, *Noah's Ark*, IV.18, p.148.

69 Grover Zinn,"Historia fundamentum est," p. 144.

70 See above, Chapter 2.

point of the time-line.[71] In addition to the westward movement of history mentioned above, Hugh found patterns and order in parallels between the pre- and post-Incarnation periods. To the east of the central cubit the ancestry of Jesus was inscribed, beginning with Adam; to the west, paralleling this physical genealogy were Jesus' spiritual descendants, the bishops of Rome, beginning with St Peter. As there were twelve Patriarchs, so too were there twelve Apostles, and Hugh included matching iconographic representations of these, which intersected the keel of the ark and the two genealogies. The Patriarchs crossed the keel at Judah; the Apostles crossed at St Peter.[72] Hugh also separated the entire history into three sections, which represented the three ages into which he believed human history was divided: the age of natural law, the age of written law, and the age of grace.[73] While these are but a few examples of Hugh finding order in human history after the writings of the Scriptures, they indicate that he did not adhere fully to Augustine's interpretation on this issue.

Hugh's treatises on Noah's ark were texts for initiates into the contemplative life at St Victor; his educational treatise *Didascalicon* was intended for a more general scholarly audience. But while his audience may have been different, the fundamental purpose that informed Hugh's views on education and learning remained the same: "Of all things to be sought, the first is that Wisdom in which the Form of the Perfect Good stands fixed."[74] The

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71 Zinn, "Mandala symbolism," p. 101.

72 Zinn, "Hugh of St Victor, Isaiah's Vision, and *De Arca Noe*," p. 100.

73 See below for a discussion of Hugh's division of history.

74 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, I.1, p. 46. It is to God that Hugh refers when he speaks of "Wisdom." In his introduction to the text, Jerome Taylor writes, "For Hugh, Wisdom is the second person of the trinitarian Godhead, and philosophy is the pursuit of that Wisdom; secondarily, from the standpoint of the intellectual creature, wisdom is a participation in the divine Wisdom." (Jerome Taylor,

framework of creation, fall, and restoration informed all of Hugh's writings, and the goal was always to seek, know, and love God. Thus while the *Didascalicon* was a treatise on education and an outline of the curriculum at St Victor, its fundamental intention was to present education generally and philosophy specifically as "the means of restoring to man an ontological perfection...which by faith he believes he lost in Adam."[75]

In the preface to the *Didascalicon*, Hugh explained that the purpose of the book was to provide a guide to the arts with a view to the restoration of the soul.[76] Since knowledge, according to Hugh, was essential for salvation, in the *Didascalicon* he proposed to explain all that was necessary for the proper advancement of knowledge. "The things by which every man advances in knowledge are principally two," wrote Hugh, "namely, reading and meditation."[77] *Didascalicon* treats the first of these, "setting forth rules" for reading, including establishing what ought to be read, in what order it ought to be read, and in what manner it ought to be read.[78] In the first half of the book, Hugh addressed secular literature, and in the second half he addressed sacred literature. In addition to providing rules for reading, the *Didascalicon* contained Hugh's understanding of philosophy and his argument

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Introduction in *Didascalicon*, by Hugh of St Victor, p. 17.) In his footnotes to Hugh's text, Taylor explains that Hugh derived this phrase from Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*, which stated, "...you have seen what the form of the perfect and imperfect good is....Of all things to be sought, the highest and cause why the others are sought is the Good....in that Good lies the substance of God."

75 Jerome Taylor, Introduction, p. 17.

76 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, Preface, p. 44.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid.

for its central role in restoring within humans the integrity they lost in the fall.[79]

According to Hugh, all of the arts - all the elements of knowledge - existed in order to help "restore within us the divine likeness," and philosophy in particular he considered to be both the highest of the arts and the umbrella within which all other arts and disciplines were contained.[80] This view reflected Hugh's unity of purpose; if all learning was for the purpose of seeking Wisdom, then philosophy, "the love of Wisdom," necessarily encompassed all of the arts. Stemming from his understanding of the fall, its consequences, and humankind's possibility for redemption, Hugh ascribed to philosophy a four-fold division, with each division playing a specific role in the restorative process.[81] Hugh divided philosophy into theoretical, practical, mechanical, and logical. The theoretical contained the disciplines of theology, physics, and mathematics; the practical was divided into solitary, private, and public; the mechanical encompassed fabric making, armaments, commerce, agriculture, hunting, medicine, and theatrics; and logic was divided into grammar and argument. Each branch of philosophy had a particular restorative role, according to Hugh, designed both to provide relief from the ignorance and concupiscence of the human condition, and the means by which the divine could be sought. The mechanical arts served to address the necessities of humankind's mortal condition - the need for shelter and nourishment - and to supervise these occupations.[82] The practical arts were necessary for the regulation of morals and ethics, and for the proper conduct of the individual, whether in

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79 Ibid., II.1, p. 61.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid., I.11, p. 46; II.20, p. 75.

private or public life.[83] The theoretical arts "strove for the contemplation of truth," and the logical arts provided "the knowledge necessary for correct speaking and clear argumentation."[84] While each art had its specific purpose, the philosophical arts taken together had a singular purpose for Hugh: the preparation for the study of sacred Scripture.

In his discussion of Scripture, Hugh reconfirmed his Augustinian stance on history. Just as he advocated order in reading, so too did he advocate an order in the exposition of sacred texts.

> First you learn history and diligently commit to memory the truth of the deeds that have been performed, reviewing from beginning to end what has been done, when it has been done, where it has been done, and by whom it has been done.[85]

In the *Didascalicon*, Hugh addressed what appeared to him to be a dismissive attitude towards history amongst the scholars of the period, who considered "rudimentary" knowledge as insignificant or lacking utility.[86] In book three of the *Didascalicon*, Hugh devoted a chapter to "a thinly veiled criticism" of Abelard.[87] Referring generally to Abelard's

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83 Ibid., II.19, p. 75.

84 Ibid., I.11, p. 60.

85 Ibid., VI.3, pp. 135-6.

86 Ibid. III.13, p. 95. Hugh wrote of students who, "although they still lacked the very rudiments of learning, yet deigned to concern themselves only with the highest problems."

87 Ibid. There seems to be consensus among scholars that Hugh is in fact referring to Abelard in this chapter. In his notes to the *Didascalicon* (p. 215, n. 68), Taylor states that Paré, Brunet, and Tremblay, in *La Renaissance du XIIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1933), "see in [Hugh's] words an unmistakable allusion to Abaelard." According to Taylor, it is not only a few words, but "the entire chapter alludes to Abaelard." Ferruolo (*The Origins of the Universities*, p. 38) describes the chapter as "an ad hominem attack on Peter Abelard," and it is D.E. Luscombe (*The School of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 197) who suggests that "Hugh's remarks can be read...as thinly

prideful behaviour, Hugh warned students against imitating "men of this kind," who

> say that the divine utterances have such a simple way of speaking that no one has to study them under masters, but can sufficiently penetrate to the hidden treasures of Truth by his own mental acumen. They wrinkle their noses and purse their lips at lecturers in divinity and do not understand that they themselves give offense to God....[88]

What Hugh considered to be of particular importance for a student was that he "hold no knowledge and no writing in contempt,"[89] for it was this dismissal of any element of learning that Hugh disdained most in scholars like Abelard. "Many are deceived by the desire to appear wise before their time," lamented Hugh, who referred repeatedly in the chapter to the importance of proceeding in learning through proper stages.[90]

> Consider, rather, what your powers will at present permit: the man who proceeds stage by stage moves along best. Certain fellows, wishing to make a great leap of progress, sprawl headlong. Do not hurry too much, therefore; in this way you will come more quickly to wisdom.[91]

According to Hugh, the essential first stage of learning, without which wisdom could not be attained, was history.[92]

Comparing history to the foundation laid in the construction of a building, Hugh

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veiled criticisms of men like Abelard." The title of the chapter is "Concerning Humility."

88 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, III.13, pp. 96-7.

89 Ibid.

90 It is clear, too, from the passage that Hugh was referring to Abelard's challenging of William of Champeaux, who had been Abelard's teacher at Chartres. Abelard set up as a master while he was still a student, and attempted to out-dispute William. (Taylor, notes to *Didascalicon,* p. 215, n. 68.)

91 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, III.13, pp. 95-6.

92 Ibid., VI.3, p. 136.

emphasized the necessity of firm grounding in the sacred history found in the Scriptures, and warned against those who preferred to proceed to the spiritual interpretations of the texts before having mastered the literal.

> Nor do I think that you will be able to become perfectly sensitive to allegory unless you have first been grounded in history. Do not look down upon these least things. The man who looks down on such smallest things slips little by little. If, in the beginning, you had looked down on learning the alphabet, now you would not even find your names listed with those of the grammar students. I know that there are certain fellows who want to play the philosopher right away....The knowledge of these fellows is like that of an ass. Do not imitate persons of this kind.[93]

As he argued in his treatises on the ark, in the *Didascalicon* Hugh ascribed to history an essential role not only in the study of Scripture, but in the process of restoration.

> The foundation of sacred learning...is history, from which, like honey from the honeycomb, the truth of allegory is extracted. As you are about to build, therefore, lay first the foundation of history; next, by pursuing the typical meaning, build up a structure in your mind to be a fortress of faith.[94]

Hugh's insistence on the importance of history in the *Didascalicon* is clear and it supports his overarching view that it was through the *materia*, the elements of the material world, that humans could begin to seek the spiritual realities from which they were cut off by original sin.[95] Hugh also reconfirmed the importance of order when he stated that the things to be

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93 Ibid.

94 Ibid., VI.3, p. 138.

95 Grover Zinn, "The influence of Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* upon the Writings of Hugh of St Victor," in Edward D. English, ed. *Reading and Wisdom: The De Doctrina Christiana of Augustine in the Middle Ages*, p. 56.

sought in history were the person, the business done, the time, and the place.[96] This echoed Augustine's assertion that the reader of Scripture had to pay careful attention "to what is proper to places, times, and persons."[97]

In his treatises on Noah's ark and in the *Didascalicon* Hugh established the function of sacred history and its essential role as "the foundation of sacred learning." It is in his text *On the Sacraments*, written circa 1134, that Hugh accomplished that which he advocated so passionately: he organized a treatise on systematic theology along historical lines.[98] Regarded as the first complete treatise of systematic theology, *On the Sacraments* investigated the mysteries, both natural and supernatural, of the faith, as well as the sacraments and sacramentals.[99] In his prologue to the text, Hugh explained his intentions in writing the book, addressing the importance of both history and order in the opening lines:

> Since, therefore, I previously composed a compendium on the initial instruction in Holy Scripture, which consists in their historical reading, I have prepared the present work for those who are to be introduced to the second stage of instruction, which is in allegory. By this work they may firmly establish their minds on that foundation, so to speak, of the knowledge of faith, so that such other things as may be added to the structure by reading or hearing may remain unshaken. For I have compressed this brief *summa*, as it were, of all doctrine into one continuous work, that the mind may have something definite to which it may affix and conform its attention, lest it be carried away by various volumes of writings and a

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96 Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, VI.3, p. 138.

97 Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, 3.10. Zinn, "The influence of Augustine," p. 56.

98 Richard Southern, "Hugh of St Victor and the Idea of Historical Development," p. 163. Much of my discussion of *On the Sacraments* is informed by Southern's discussion of Hugh's historical method in the treatise.

99 Roy J. Deferrari, Introduction in *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith*, p. xx.

> diversity of readings without order or direction.[100]

In these first lines, Hugh reaffirmed the importance of history as a foundation for sacred learning, and the necessity of proper order, not only in how one learned, but also what one learned. And the order of Hugh's *summa* was determined by the order of God's temporal dispensation: Hugh proceeded, just as he had advised his students, according to the order of sacred history.

> In this order, accordingly, Sacred Scripture describes first the creation of the world, which was made for the sake of man; then it relates how man when made was disposed in the way of justice and discipline; next how man fell; lastly how he was restored.[101]

Hugh divided *On the Sacraments* into two books; the first addresses the mysteries and sacraments associated with creation, the fall, and restoration; the second treats those mysteries and sacraments associated with the incarnation of Christ and the establishment of the Church.

In Book One, Hugh wrote at length on the creation of the world and its inhabitants, human and non-human. In this book, he treated the fundamental elements of the faith, including the nature of the Trinity, the eternity of God, the creation of the angels, the meaning of free will, original sin, and restoration. At the outset of his discussion of the works of foundation, Hugh reiterated often that "the principal subject matter of Divine Scripture is the works of restoration," and that his own discussion is also "especially

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100 Hugh of St Victor, *On the Sacraments*, Prologue, p. 3.

101 Ibid., Prologue.III, p. 4.

concerned with the works of restoration."[102]

> The works of restoration are of much greater dignity than the works of foundation, because the latter were made for servitude, that they might be subject to man standing; the former, for salvation, that they might raise man fallen. Therefore, the works of foundation, as if of little importance, were accomplished in six days, but the works of restoration can not be completed except in six ages.[103]

Having stated this, Hugh proceeded to devote a full third of his treatise to a discussion of creation as related in Genesis, a book which comprises only a tiny fraction of the Scriptures. In doing so, he abided by his own recommendation that the student of theology proceed in proper order, establishing a firm foundation of knowledge and understanding. Hugh explained his reasoning for devoting such a significant portion of his text to creation, reiterating his unfailing commitment to always beginning with, and returning to, history and its sacred order:

> Now although the principal subject matter of Divine Scripture is the works of restoration, yet, in order to approach the treatment of these more completely, it first, at the very commencement of its narrative, recounts truthfully the beginning and constitution of the works of foundation. For it could not fittingly have shown how man was restored, unless it first explained how he had fallen; nor, indeed, could it fittingly have shown his fall unless it first explained in what condition he was constituted by God. But to show the first condition of man, it was necessary to describe the foundation and creation of the whole world, because the world was made for the sake of man; the soul, indeed, for the sake of God; the body, for the sake of the soul; the world, for the sake of the body of man, that the soul might be subject to

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102 Ibid. A few points at which Hugh states this are: Prologue.II, p. 4; Prologue.III, p. 4; I.1.xxviii, pp. 26-7; I.1.xxix, p. 27.

103 Ibid., Prologue.II, p. 4.

God, the body to the soul, and the world to the body.[104]

Hugh related his understanding of the sacraments to his understanding of the fall. The sacraments were instituted by God, he explained, "from the time when man, having fallen from the state of first incorruption,began to ail in body...and in soul."[105] The sacraments were the remedy provided by God for the consequences that resulted from original sin: mortality, concupiscence, and ignorance.[106] They were, according to Hugh, the means by which humans might be reconciled with their creator,[107] and since they reflected the consequences of original sin, and were for the restoration of humans, a sacrament had three parts: humiliation, instruction, and exercise.

The element of humiliation in a sacrament counteracted the pride that was the source of original sin, and the obedience that came from humility undermined the inclination towards disobedience. Hugh wrote,

> On account of humiliation, indeed, that, since man a rational creature by the precept of his Creator is subject to the insensible elements which were founded by nature below him, he may by this very humiliation of his deserve to be reconciled to his Creator....Therefore, it is just that man, who subjected himself to earthly things through concupiscence, first abandoning God through pride, now seeking God through humility that he may more fully declare the affection of his devotion, should incline himself to the same on account of God's precept through obedience.[108]

For Hugh, the second reason for the institution of the sacraments was for the purpose of

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104 Ibid., Prolugue.III, p. 4.

105 Ibid., I.8.xii, p. 150.

106 Ibid., I.8.xi, p. 149.

107 Ibid., I.9.iii, pp. 156-8.

108 Ibid., p. 156.

instruction. This related to Hugh's discussion of the three eyes of the soul; the sacrament was a visible sign of an invisible truth, and as such it might instruct humans, who were incapable of immediately perceiving spiritual realities, by means of the material world, which they could see clearly. Thus the instructional element of the sacraments acted as a remedy to ignorance. Hugh wrote,

> ...that through that which is seen without in the sacrament in the visible species the human mind may be instructed to recognize the invisible virtue which consists within in the thing of the sacrament. For the man who know visible things and did not know the invisible could by no means have recognized divine things unless stimulated by the human.[109]

Finally, the third reason for sacraments was exercise or discipline, which, according, to Hugh, helped the human mind bend away from the multiple distractions of this world and toward the one, invisible Good. Concupiscence worked to divide the attention of humans, leaving them distracted and wandering, "seeking consolation in many things" but finding only toil and pain.[110] The spiritual exercise involved in the sacraments helped, according to Hugh, to cultivate a singularity in humans, which could lead them away from *amor mundi*. Hugh explained,

> Accordingly works of virtue were proposed to man without for exercising interior edification, so that preoccupied by them he might never be free for works of iniquity nor always so for works of necessity.[111]

The relationships between original sin, restoration, and the sacraments were summarized

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109 Ibid., p. 157.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid., p. 158.

clearly by Hugh near the end of his discussion:

> Finally five things, separate and distinguished from one another, proceed to knowledge: God the physician, man the sick person, the priest the minister or messenger, grace the antidote, the vessel the sacrament. The physician gives, the minister dispenses, the vessel preserves spiritual grace which heals the sick recipient. If, therefore, sacraments are the vases of spiritual grace, they do not heal from their own, since vases do not cure the sick but medicine does. Therefore, sacraments were not instituted for this, that from them should be that which was in them, but that the physician might show his skill he prepared in that a remedy from which the sick man learned the occasion of his sickness. For since man by desiring visible things was corrupted, to be restored fittingly he had to receive an occasion of salvation in these same visible things, so that he might rise again through the same things through which he had fallen.[112]

While God instituted them immediately upon the first sin of Adam and Eve, the sacraments have not remained the same through time - they have developed and adapted according to the spiritual states within which humankind dwelt. A proper understanding of history thus provided the student with the knowledge necessary to understand the sacraments. Hugh divided the history of the sacraments into three ages, which paralleled the history of humankind. In the first age of man, "disoriented from the fall, weak in will, feeble in body, divorced from God," humans "groped around for remedies for their ills by the light of reason and experience," and the primitive sacraments of sacrifices and offerings developed.[113] This was the period, according to Hugh, of natural law. These early sacraments were "tokens of faith" that developed out of humankind's experience of and

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112 Ibid., I.9.iv, p. 160.

113 Southern, "Hugh of St Victor and the Idea of Historical Development," pp. 166-7.

reflection on the moral, mental, and physical ills they suffered.[114] The first sacraments, explained Hugh, were set forth so that humans could exercise some form of devotion and begin their recovery from the effects of the fall.[115]

In the second age, which was instigated by Abraham and cemented by Moses, "God intervened actively in human history," providing a written law and establishing a complex system of sacramental union between himself and his chosen people.[116] This was the age of the written law, which was conveyed to the people by Moses. With Abraham, explained Hugh, the "unity of the people of God began," marked by the sacrament of circumcision, which prepared the faithful to be informed through the law.[117] With the written law, the ten commandments, God "intervened actively in human history...to establish an authoritative and complex system of sacramental union between himself and his chosen people."[118] The written law increased the requirements of faith: devotion had to be coupled with obedience.

Finally, in the third age, the beginning of which was marked by the birth of Christ, grace replaced the written law, and the sacraments became expressions of an inner relationship between an individual and God.[119] While Hugh concurred with Augustine's belief that God's grace had been made available to humans immediately following the fall, Hugh explained that with Christ a type of grace was initiated that could fully "illuminate the

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114 Ibid.

115 Hugh of St Victor, *On the Sacraments*, I.11.iii, p. 9.

116 Southern, "Hugh of St Victor and the Idea of Historical Development," pp. 166-7.

117 Hugh of St Victor, *On the Sacraments*, I.12.i, p. 188.

118 Southern, "Hugh of St Victor and the Idea of Historical Development," pp. 166-7.

119 Ibid.

blind and cure the weak."[120] During the period of natural law humans had recognized their weaknesses; the written law had served to "illuminate ignorance" and help humans recognize the sources of their defects and to grasp some degree of divine truth.[121] An understanding of the effects of ignorance and concupiscence, and the knowledge of God, which the sacraments of the previous periods had illuminated, prepared humankind for the institution of grace with the incarnation of Christ.[122] And it was with this institution of grace that humans had full access to the remedy for the sickness of the soul which had been caused by the fall. Hugh wrote,

> Thus, after this, grace was fittingly given both to illuminate the blind and to cure the weak; to illuminate ignorance, to cool concupiscence; to illuminate unto the knowledge of truth; to inflame unto love of virtue.[123]

The seven sacraments of the age of grace provided the three essential elements outlined by Hugh: humiliation, instruction, and exercise.

Hugh's *On the Sacraments* systematically addressed and explained the sacraments of the Christian faith, but this systematic theology did not abandon the sacred order of the history of humankind's restoration after the fall. Hugh's historical framework thus provided insight into the meanings and functions of sacraments which, without history, would be difficult if not impossible to discover. In *On the Sacraments*, Hugh not only defended Augustine's assertion that "history is the head and substance of Christianity," he

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120 Hugh of St Victor, *On the Sacraments*, II.2.i, p. 28.

121 Ibid.

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid.

demonstrated why this proposition could be considered true.

Of Hugh's treatise, Richard Southern writes,

> So far as I know there is no other important work of scholastic theology in which considerations of historical development have an important influence on the structure of the work. Hugh's work may be looked on as a first, and possibly last, medieval attempt to give [historical] development a central place in theological discussion.[124]

Southern's observations reflect the importance of Hugh's efforts in light of the intellectual and theological historical context. Sacred history, for Hugh, could not be discarded in order to make the content of theology more easily accessible, more efficiently ordered, but utterly unhistorical categories, as was increasingly the fashion in the Paris schools. The schools embraced the new theology and the new methods of organization of knowledge, inclining towards the abstract, purely logical efficiency espoused by Peter Lombard, who promised learning "without toil." But for Hugh, toil was necessary, an essential part of the process of restoration which is made available through the temporal dispensation which is recorded in the Sacred Scriptures. For Hugh, imposing an order on theology ran counter to its purpose, since theology had an intrinsic order that was meant to be discovered and internalized. And that intrinsic order was expressed in sacred history.

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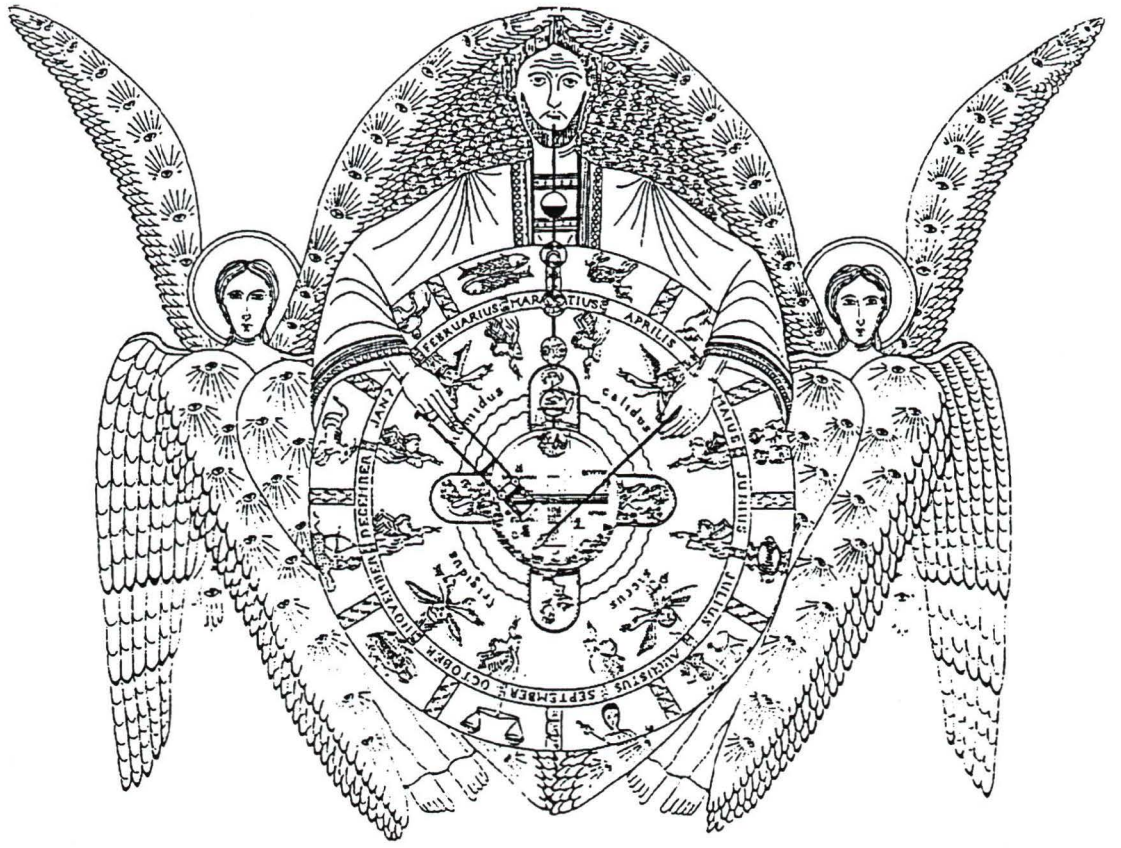
[124] Southern, "Hugh of St Victor and the Idea of Historical Development," p. 166.

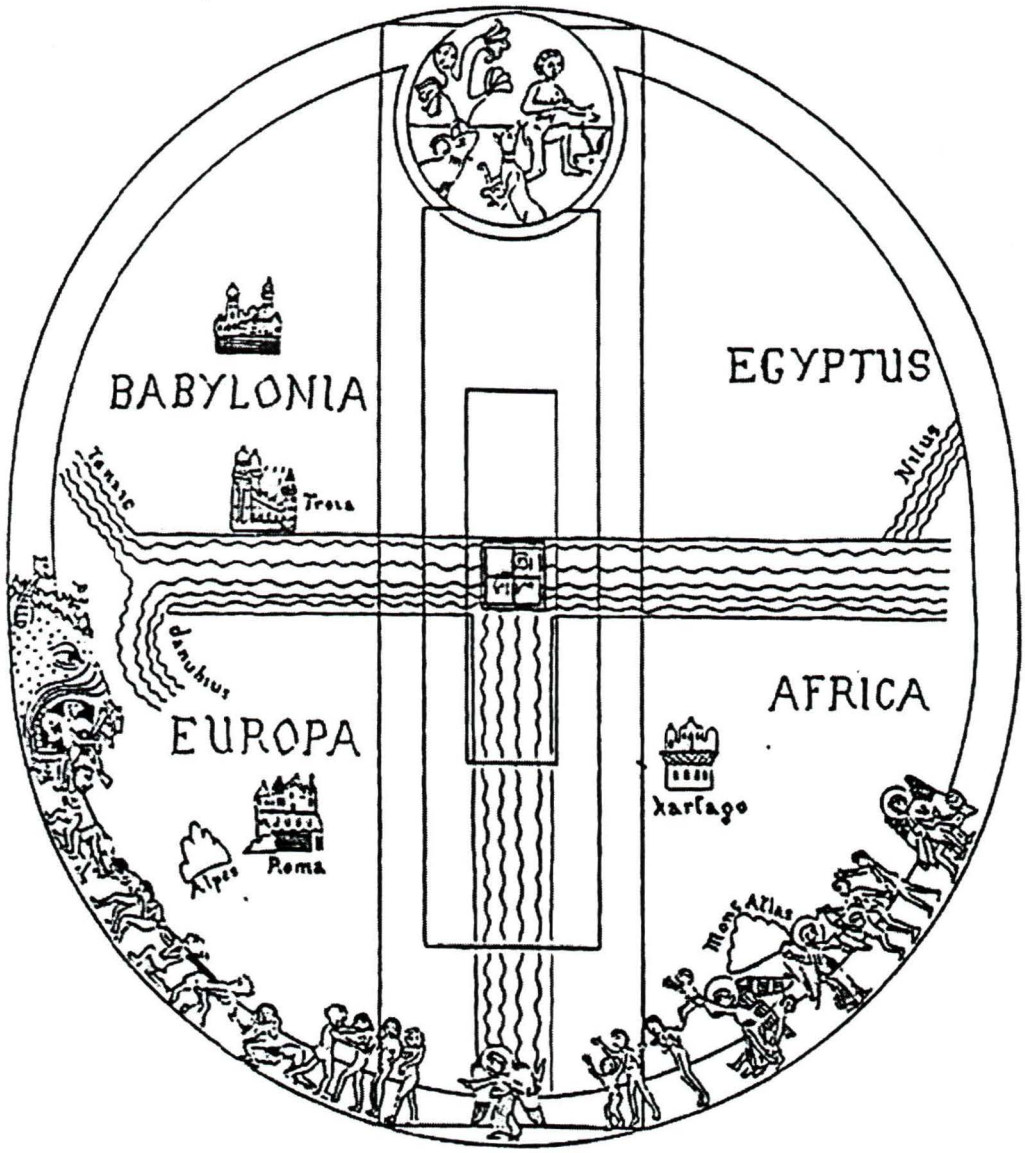
Appendix I: Figures

Figure 1



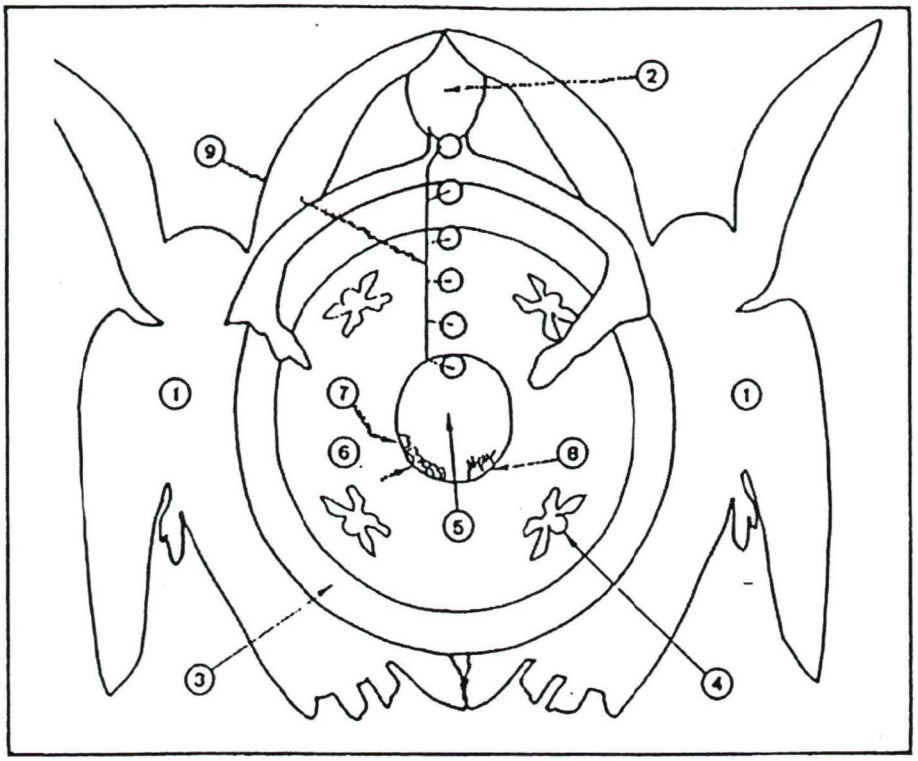
Reconstruction of the ark diagram by D. Lecoq and J.P. Magnier.

Figure 2



Detail from reconstruction of ark drawing by D. Lecoq and J.P. Magnier

Figure 3



Sources utilisées pour l'élaboration du dessin

1. *Séraphins*, Fresque de l'abside de Santa Maria d'Aneu (Catalogne). Fin xii^e^ siècle.
2. *Figure en Majesté*, Fresque de l'abside de la chapelle de Berzé-la-Ville (Saône-et-Loire). Début du xii^e^ siècle.
3. *Signes du Zodiaque*, Tympan septentrional de la façade occidentale de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Chartres (Eure-et-Loire). Milieu xii^e^ siècle.
   Tympan de la cathédrale Saint-Lazare d'Autun (Saône-et-Loire). Premier tiers du xii^e^ siècle, vers 1120-1130.
   Tympan de l'église de La Madeleine, Vézelay (Yonne), vers 1120-1150.
4. *Vents cardinaux*, Broderie de Gérone – Trésor de la cathédrale de Gérone, vers 1100.
5. *Mappemonde*, mappemonde en T.O., figuration des villes empruntées à une mappemonde de « Salluste », dans Yussuf KAMAL, *Monumenta geographica Africae et Aegypti*, t. III, fasc. III, Le Caire, 1933, fol. 696.
6. *Damnés*, Tympan de l'Église Sainte-Foy-de-Conques (Aveyron). Fin xi^e^-début xii^e^ siècle.
7. *Gueule de l'Enfer*, Pontifical de Henry de Blois, évêque de Winchester, milieu xii^e^ siècle. Londres, British Museum, Cotton, ms Nero, C. IV, fol. 39.
8. *Élus*, Tympan de l'Église Saint-Lazare d'Autun.
9. *Création du monde*, Bible de Souvigny – 2^e^ moitié xii^e^ siècle. Moulins, Bibl. mun., ms 1, fol. 4 v°

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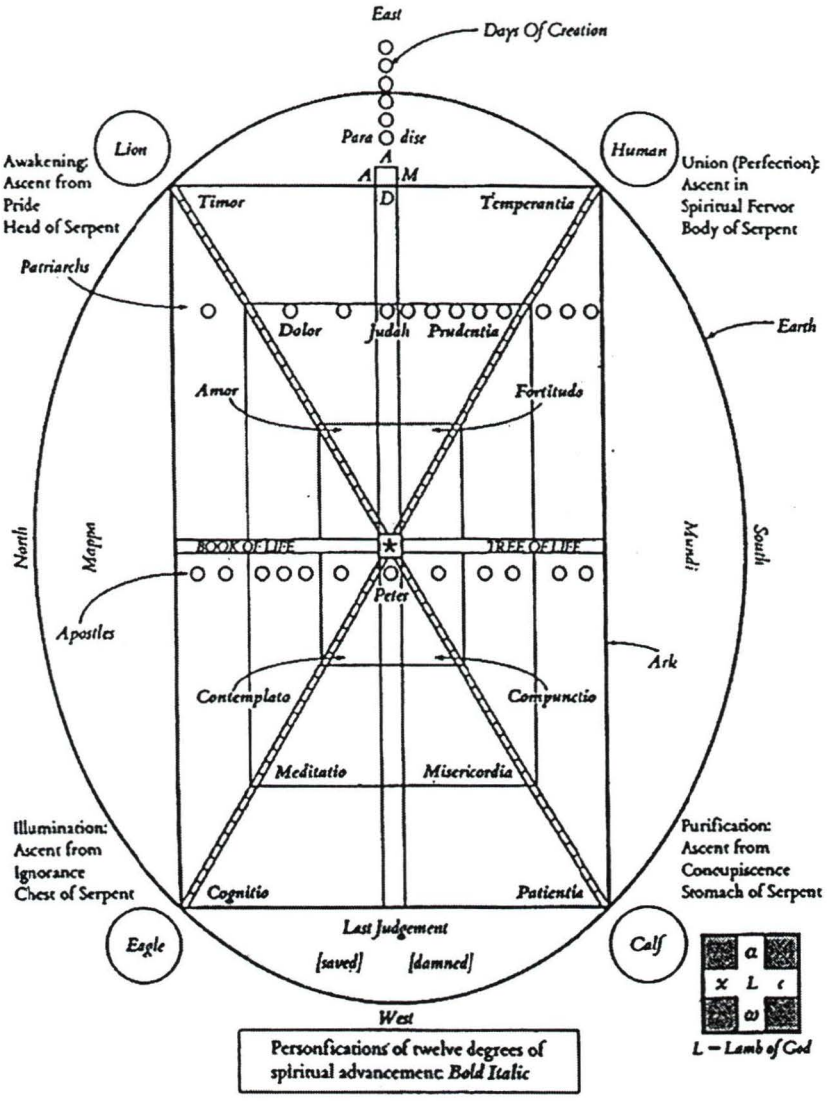
Explanation of elements in reconstruction of ark drawing by D. Lecoq and J.P. Magnier

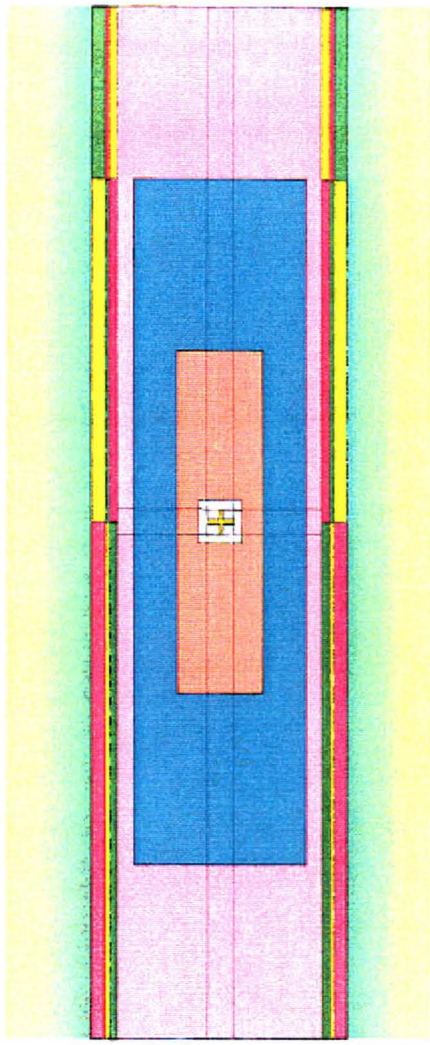
Figure 4



Partial Diagram of Drawing of Ark of Noah and Earth at the Centre of Hugh's Symbolic Cosmos held by Christ. Exact proportions of length/width not reproduced to assist in clarity. (Reconstruction by author; computer graphics by Geoff Duncan, Oberlin College, Ohio.)

Partial reconstruction of ark drawing by Grover Zinn.

Figure 5



Reconstruction of ark drawing by Patrice Sicard.

Appendix II: Latin Text

Texts cited:

Augustine, Saint, Bishop of Hippo. *Confessionum.* Vol. 2 of *Oeuvres Complètes de Saint Augustin.* 32 vols. Mm Péronne et al., eds and trans. Paris: Librarie de Louis Vivès, 1869-1878.

----------. *De Civitate Dei.* Vols. 23-5 of *Oeuvres Complètes de Saint Augustin.*

----------. *De Doctrina Christiana.* Vol. 6 of *Oeuvres Complètes de Saint Augustin.*

----------. *De Vera Religione.* Vol. 3 of *Oeuvres Complètes de Saint Augustin.*

Benedict, Saint. *Rule of St Benedict.*

Hugh of St Victor. *De Arca Noe Morali.* Vol. 176 of J.P. Migne, ed. *Patrologia Latina.* 221 Vols. Paris: Garnier Fratres et J.-P. Migne Successores, 1844-1879.

----------. *De Arca Noe Mystica.* Vol. 176 of *Patrologia Latina.*

----------. *De Sacramentis.* Vol. 176 of *Patrologia Latina.*

----------. *Didascalicon.* Brother Charles Henry Buttimer, ed.. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1939.

Chapter I

note 20
Didascalicon, VI.3, p. 115.
Omnia disce, videbis postea nihil esse superfluum.

note 21
Didascalicon, VI.3, p. 116.
Fundamentum autem et principium doctrinae sacrae historiae est....

Chapter II

note 27
Confessionum, XI.13, vol. 2, p. 325.

> *Omnia tempora tu fecisti, et ante omnia tempora tu es, nec aliquo tempore non erat tempus.*

note 28
Confessionum, XI.30 , vol. 2, p. 339.

> *Videant itaque nullum tempus esse posse sine creatura.... Extendantur etiam in ea quae ante sunt, et intelligant te ante omnia tempora aeternum creatorem omnium temporum, neque ulla tempora tibi esse coaeterna, nec ullam creaturam, etiam si est aliqua supra tempora.*

note 29
De Civitate Dei, XII.14, vol. 24, p. 142.

> *...quia cum ipse sit aeternus et sine initio, ab aliquo tamen initio exorsus est tempora, et hominem quem numquam ante fecerat, fecit in tempore, non tamen novo et repentino, sed immutabili aeternoque consilio.*

note 33
De Civitate Dei, XIV.12, vol. 24, p. 219.

> *Sed obedientia commendata est in praecepto, quae virtus in creatura rationali mater quodam modo est omnium custosque virtutem....*

note 35
De Civitate Dei, XIV.12, vol. 24, p. 219.

> *Hoc itaque de uno cibi genere non edendo, ubi aliorum tanta copia subjacebat, tam leve praeceptum ad observandum, tam breve ad memoria retinendum, ubi praesertim nondum voluntati cupiditas resistebat, quod de poena transgressionis postea subsecutum est, tanto majore injustitia violatum est, quanto faciliore posset obsevantia custordiri.*

note 39
De Civitate Dei, XIV.12, vol. 24, pp. 218-9.

> *...quemadmodum illa duorum primorum hominum praevaricatione mutata est; ut tantae corruptioni, quantam videmus atque sentimus, et per hanc subjaceret morti, ac tot et tantis tamque inter se contrariis perturbaretur et fluctuaret affectibus, qualis in paradiso ante peccatum...utique non fuit.*

note 42
Confessionum, I.1, vol. 2, p. 108.

Tu excitas ut laudere te delectet, quia fecisti nos ad te, et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te.

note 45
De Civitate Dei, XIV.10, vol. 24, p. 215.
Amor erat imperturbatus in Deum....

note 46
De Civitate Dei,XIV.26, vol. 24, p. 237.
....gaudium verum perpetuabatur ex Deo, in quem flagrabat caritas de corde puro....

note 49
De Civitate Dei, XIII.12, vol. 24, p. 173.
Quando ergo dixit Deus primo illi homini, quem in paradiso constituerat, de cibo vetito, 'Quacumque die ederitis ex eo, morte moriemini,': non tantum primae mortis partem priorem, ubi anima privatur Deo...

note 49 (text in footnote)
De Civitate Dei, XIII.12, vol. 24, p. 173.
...ultrum animae, an corporis, an totius hominis, an illam quae appellatur secunda: respondendum est, Omnes. Prima enim ex duabus constat: secunda ex omnibus tota... non tantum primae mortis partem priorem, ubi anima privatur Deo; nec tantum posteriorem, ubi corpus privatur anima; nec solum ipsam totam primam, ubi anima et a Deo et a corpore separata punitur: sed quidquid mortis est usque ad novissiamam quae secunda dicitur, qua est nulla posterior, comminatio illa complexa est.

note 50
De Civitate Dei, XI.29, vol. 24, p. 116.
Illi quippe Angeli sancti non per verba sonantia Deum discunt; sed per ipsam praesentiam immutablilis veritatis, hoc est, Verbum ejus unigenitum....

note 52
De Civitate Dei, XIII.13, vol. 24, p. 174.
Jam quippe anima libertate in perversum propria delectata, et Deo dedignata servire, pristino corporis servitio destituebatur.

note 53
De Civitate Dei, XXII.24, vol. 25, p. 106.
Nunc de bonis Dei, quae ipsi quoque vitiatae damnataeque naturae contulit, sive usque nunc confert, dicere institui. Neque enim damnando aut totum abstulit quod dederat, alioquin nec esset omnino; aut eam removit a sua potestate, etiam

cum diabolo poenaliter subdidit, cum nec ipsum diabolum a suo alienaverit imperio....

note 57
De Vera Religione, VII.13, vol. 3, p. 605.

Hujus religionis sectandae caput est historia et prophetia dispensationis temporalis divinae providentiae, pro salute generis humani in aeternam vitam reformandi atque reparandi. Quae cum credita fuerit, mentem purgabit vitae modus divinis praeceptis conciliatus, et idoneam faciet spiritalibus percipiendis....

note 62
De Civitate Dei, XI.2, vol. 24, p. 82.

Magnum est et admodum rarum universam creaturam corpoream et incorpoream consideratam compertamque mutabilem intentione mentis excedere, atque ad incommutabilem Dei substantiam pervenire....

note 64
De Vera Religione, VII.13, vol. 3, p. 605.

Hujus religionis sectandae caput est historia et prophetia dispensationis temporalis divinae providentiae, pro salute generis humani in aeternam vitam reformandi atque reparandi.

note 65
De Vera Religione, X.19, vol. 3, p. 608.

...ineffabili misericordia Dei temporali dispensatione per creaturam mutabilem, sed tamen aeternis legibus servientem, ad commemorationem primae suae perfectaeque naturae....

note 66
De Vera Religione, LV.110, vol. 3, p. 666.

Nam id ipsum actum est temporali dispensatione ad salutem nostram, ut naturam humanam ipsa Dei Virtus, et Dei Sapientia incommutabilis, et consubstantialis Patri et coaeterna suscipere dignaretur, per quam nos doceret id esse homini colendum, quod ab omni creatura intellectuali et rationali colendum est.

note 67
De Vera Religione. XXVI.49, vol. 3, p. 626.

Primam in uberibus utilis historiae, quae nutrit exemplis.

note 70
De Doctrina Christiana, II.28, vol. 6, p. 498.

Narratione autem historica, cum praeterita etiam hominum instituta narrantur, non inter humana instituta ipsa historia humeranda est; quia jam quae

transierunt, nec infecta fieri possunt, in ordine temporum habenda sunt, quorum est conditor et administrator Deus.

note 73
De Civitate Dei, XV.8, vol. 24, p. 253.

Sed hoc quos movet, parum considerant, non omnes homines, qui tunc esse potuerunt, scriptorem sacrae hujus historiae necesse habuisse nominare; sed eos solos, quos operis suscepti ratio postulabat. Propositum quippe scriptoris illius fuit, per quem Spiritus-Sanctus id agebat, per successiones certarum generationum ex uno homine propagatarum pervenire ad Abraham, ac deinde ex ejus semine ad populum Dei: in quo distincto a ceteris gentibus praefigurarentur et praenuntiarentur omnia quae de Civitate, cujus aeternum erit regnum, et de Rege ejus eodemque conditore Christo in Spiritu praevidebantur esse ventura....

note 77
De Civitate Dei, XI.1, vol. 24, p. 82.

...quas in hoc interim saeculo perplexas quodam modo diximus invicemque permixtas, exortu et excursu et debitis finibus....

note 86
De Civitate Dei, XI.6, vol. 24, p. 131.

Cum enim se voluntas relicto superiore ad inferiora convertit; sed quia perversa est ipsa conversio. Idcirco non res inferior voluntatem malam fecit, sed rem inferiorem prave atque inordinate ipsa quae facta est, appetivit.

note 89
De Civitate Dei, XIV.13, vol. 24, p. 220.

Sed vitio depravari, nisi ex nihilo facta, natura non posset.

note 90
De Civitate Dei, XIV.13, vol. 24, p. 220.

Ac per hoc ut natura sit, ex eo habet quod a Deo facta est; ut autem ab eo quod est deficiat, ex hoc quod de nihilo facta est.

note 91
De Civitate Dei, XI.33, vol. 24, p. 120.

Pecasse autem quosdam angelos, et in hujus mundi ima detrusos, qui eis velut carcer est, usque ad fururam in die judicii ultimam damnationem....

note 94
De Civitate Dei, XII.1, vol. 24, p. 124.

Angelorum bonorum et malorum inter se contrarios appetitus non naturis principiisque diversis, cum Deus omnium substantiarum bonus auctor et conditor

utrosque creaverit, sed voluntatibus et cupiditatibus exstitisse, dubitare fas non est; dum alii constanter in communi omnibus bono, quod ipse illis Deus est, atque in ejus aeternitate, veritate, caritate persistunt; alii sua potestate potius delectati, velut bonum suum sibi ipsi essent... superbi, fallaces, invidi effecti sunt.

note 95
De Civitate Dei, XII,14, vol. 24, p. 142.

...et hominem quem numquam ante fecerat, fecit in tempore, non tamen novo et repentino, sed immutablii aeternoque consilio.

note 96
De Civitate Dei, XII.21, vol. 24, p.155.

Hominem vero, cujus naturam quodammodo mediam inter angelos bestiasque condebat....

note 97
De Civitate Dei, XII.21, vol. 24, p.155.

...ut si Creatori suo tamquam vero Domino subditus praeceptum ejus pia obedientia custodiret, in consortium transiret angelicum, sine morte media beatam immortalitatem absque ullo termino consecutus; si autem Dominum Deum suum libera voluntate superbe atque inobedienter usus offenderet, morti addictus bestialiter viveret, libidinis servus aeternoque post mortem supplicio destinatus....

note 99
De Civitate Dei, XIII.3, vol. 24, p. 163.

In primo igitur homine... universum genus humanum fuit....

note 101
De Civitate Dei, XIII.14, vol. 24, p. 174.

Deus enim creavit hominem rectum, naturarum, auctor, not utique vitiorum.

note 104
De Civitate Dei, XIV.3, vol. 24, p. 200.

...sed vivendo secundum se ipsum, hoc est, secundum hominem, factus est homo similis diabolo: quia et ille secundum se ipsum vivere voluit, quando in veritate non stetit....

note 105
De Civitate Dei, XII.27, vol. 24, pp. 160-1.

Ex illo enim futuri erant homines, alii malis angelis in supplicio, alii bonis in praemio sociandi, quamvis occulto Dei judicio, sed tamen justo.

note 106

De Civitate Dei, XIV.28, vol. 24, p. 240.

Fecerunt itaque Civitates duas amores duo, terrenam scilicet amor sui usque ad contemtum Dei, coelestem er amor Dei usque ad contemtum sui.

note 111

De Civitate Dei, XV.1, vol. 24, p. 242.

...ex eadem massa oritur, quae originaliter est tota domnata....

notes 113-114

De Civitate Dei, XV.7, vol. 24, p. 250.

...datur intelligi propterea Deum non respexisse in munus ejus, quia hoc ipso male dividebat, dans Deo aliquid suum, sibi autem se ipsum. Quod omnes faciunt qui non Dei, sed quam sectantes voluntatem, id est, non recto, sed perverso corde viventes, offerunt tamen Deo munus, quo putant eum redimi, ut eorum non opituletur sanandis pravis cupiditatibus, sed explendis.

note 115

De Civitate Dei, XV.7, vol. 24, p. 250.

Et hoc est proprium terrenae Civitatis, Deum vel deos colere, quibus adjuvantibus regnet in victoriis et pace terrena, non caritate consulendi, sed dominandi cupiditate. Boni quippe ad hoc utuntur mundo, ut fruantur Deo: mali autem contra, ut fruantur mundo, uti volunt Deo....

note 117

De Civitate Dei, XV.18, vol. 24, p. 271.

Enoch vero dedicatio: hic enim dedicatur terrena civitas, ubi conditur; quoniam hic habet eum, quem intendit et appetit finem.

note 118

De Civitate Dei, XV.18, vol. 24, p. 273.

...ac per hoc, nec in se, ut sit civis alterius Civitatis, quae non secundum filium Cain dedicatur hoc tempore, id est, mortalis hujus saeculi labente transcursu, sed in illa immortalitate beatitudinis sempiternae.

note 120

De Civitate Dei, XV.18, vol. 24, p. 272.

Ex duobus namque illis hominibus, Abel, quod interpretatur luctus, et ejus fratre Seth, quod interpretatur resurrectio, mors Christi et vita ejus ex mortuis figuratur.

note 122

De Civitate Dei, XV.18, vol. 24, p. 273.

Cur ergo huic proprie tribuitur, quod piorum omnium intelligitur esse commune, nisi quia oportebat in eo qui de patre generationum in meliorum partem, hoc est,

supernae Civitatis separatarum, primus commemoratur exortus, praefigurari hominem, id est, hominum societatem, quae non secundum hominem in re felicitatis terrenae, sed secundum Deum vivit in spe felicitatis aeternae?

note 125

De Civitate Dei, XIX.13, vol. 24, p. 510.

Pax coelestis Civitatis, ordinatissima et concordissima societas fruendi Deo et invicem in Deo. Pax omnium rerum, tranquillitas ordinis.

note 126

De Civitate Dei, XIX.10, vol. 24, p. 504.

Ibi enim erunt naturae munera, hoc est, quae naturae nostrae ab omnium naturarum Creatore donantur, non solum bona, verum etiam sempiterna; non solum in animo, qui sanatur per sapientiam, verum etiam in corpore, quod resurrectione renovabitur.

note 127

De Civitate Dei, XIX.27, vol. 24, p. 535.

In illa vero pace finali, quo referenda, et cujus adipiscendae caussa habenda est ista justitia, quoniam sanata immortalitate atque incorruptione natura vitia non habebit, nec unicuique nostrum vel ab alio vel a se ipso quidquam repugnabit, non opus erit ut ratio viliis, quae nulla erunt, imperet: sed imperabit Deus homini, animus corpori....

note 128

De Civitate Dei, XIX.28, vol. 24, p. 535.

Eorum autem qui non pertinent ad istam Civitatem Dei, erit e contrario miseria sempiterna, quae etiam secunda mors dicitur: quia nec anima ibi vivere dicenda est; quae a vita Dei alienata erit; nec corpus, quod aeternis doloribus subjacebit.

note 129

On the Trinity, IV.4, vol. 27, p. 261.

Cujus perfectionem nobis sancta Scriptura commendat, in eo maxime quod Deus sex diebus perfecit opea sua, et sexto die factus est homo ad imaginem Dei. Et sexta aetate generis humani, Filius Dei vivit et factus est filius hominis, ut nos reformaret ad imaginem Dei.

note 141

De Doctrina Christiana, III.10, vol. 6, p. 520.

Non autem asserit nisi catholicam fidem, rebus praeteritis et fururis et praesentibus. Praeteritorum narratio est, futurorum praenuntiatio, praesentium demonstratio. Sed omnia haec ad eamdem caritatem nutriendam atque corroborandam, et cupiditatem vincendam atque exstinguendam valent.

note 142
De Doctrina Christiana, III.12, vol. 6, p. 522.
Quid igitur locis et temporibus personisque conveniat....

note 143
De Doctrina Christiana, II.7, vol. 6, pp. 475-6.
Nam in eo se exercet omnis divinarum Scripturarum studiosus, nihil in eis aliud inventurus quam diligendum esse Deum propter Deum, et proximum propter Deum....

note 144
De Vera Religione, VII.13, vol. 3, p. 605.
Hujus religionis sectandae caput est historia et prophetia dispensationis temporalis divinae providentiae....

note 146
De Doctrina Christiana, II.28, vol. 6, p. 498.
Narratione autem historica, cum praeterita etiam hominum instituta narrantur, non inter humana instituta ipsa historia numeranda est; quia jam quae transierunt, nec infecta fieri possunt, in ordine temporum habenda sunt, quorum est conditor et administrator Deus... Historia facta narrat fideliter atque utiliter....

note 147
De Doctrina Christiana, III.35, vol. 6, pp. 541-2.
...sicut unus Evangelista post dies octo factum dicit, quod alius post dies sex... Utrumque enim verum esse non posset, quod de numero dierum dictum est, nisi ille qui dixit, 'post dies octo,' intelligatur partem novissimam diei, ex quo id Christus praedixit futurum et partem primam diei quo id ostendit impletum, pro totis diebus duobus atque integris posuisse; is vero qui dixit, 'post dies sex,' integros omnes et totos, sed solos medios computasse.

note 149
De Doctrina Christiana, III.36, vol. 6, pp. 542-3.
Sic enim dicuntur quaedam quasi sequantur in ordine temporis, vel rerum continuatione narrentur, cum ad priora quae praetermissa fuerant, latenter narratio revocetur, quod nisi ex hac regula intelligatur, erratur.

note 150
De Doctrina Christiana, III.36, vol. 6, p. 543.
Sicut in Genesi: 'Et plantavit, inquit, Dominus Deus paradisum in Eden ad orientem, et posuit ibi hominem quem formavit; et produxit Deus adhuc de terra omne lignum speciosum, et bonum in escam,' ita videtur dictum tamquam id

factum sit posteaquam factum posuit Deus hominem in paradiso; cum breviter utroque commemorato, id est quod polantavit Deus paradisum, et posuit ibi hominem, quem formavit, recapitulando redeat et dicat quod praetermiserat, quomodo scilicet paradisus fuerit plantatus, quia produxit Deus adhuc de terra omne lignum speciosum et bonum in escam.

Chapter III

note 5
Rule of St Benedict, Prologue

Constituenda est ergo nobis dominici scola servitii.

note 6
Rule of St Benedict, chapter 48

Otiositas inimica est animæ, et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione divina.

note 6 (text in footnote)
Rule of St Benedict, chapter 48

Ideoque hac dispositione credimus utraque tempore ordinari: id est: ut a Pascha usque kalendas octobres a mane exeuntes a prima usque hora pene quarta laborent quod necessarium fuerit. Ab hora autem quarta usque hora qua Sextam agent, lectioni vacent. Post Sextam autem surgentes a mensa pausent in lecta sua cum omni silentio, aut forte qui voluerit legere sibi sic legat, ut alium non inquietet....In quadragesimæ vero diebus, a mane usque tertia plena vacent lectionibus suis....In quibus diebus quadragesimæ dandi sunt. Ante omnia saneseputentur unus aut duo seniores qui circumeant monasterium horis quibus vacant fratres lectioni, et videant ne forte inveniatur frater acediosus qui vacat otio aut fabulis et non est intentus lectioni, et non solum sibi inutilis est, sed etiam alios distollit.

note 8
Rule of St Benedict, chapter 73

Quæ enim pagina aut qui sermo divinæ auctoritatis Veteris ac Novi Testamenti non est rectissima norma vitæ humanæ? Aut quis liber sanctorum catholicorum Patrum hoc non resonat ut recto cursu perveniamus ad Creatorem nostrum?

Chapter IV

note 7
Didascalicon, I.1, p. 4

Omnium expetendorum prima est sapientia, in qua perfecti boni forma consistit.

note 8
Didascalicon, VI.3, p. 115

Omnia disce, videbis postea nihil esse superfluum.

note 9
De Arca Noe Morali, I.1, cols. 617-8

Cum sederem aliquando in conventu fratrum, et illis interrogantibus, meque respondente, multa in medium prolata fuissent, ad hoc tandem deducta sunt verba, ut de humani potissimum cordis instablilitate et inquietudine admirari omnes simul, et suspirare inciperemus; cumque magno quidem desiderio exposcerent, demonstrari sibi quae causa in corde hominis tantas cogitationum fluctuationes ageret, ac deinde si qua arte, sive laboris cujuslibet exercitatione huic tanto malo obviam iri posset, summopere doceri flagitarent.

note 10
De Arca Noe Morali, I.2, cols. 619-20.

...ita ut semper sit inquietem cor nostrum, donec illi adhaerere coeperit; ubi et desiderio suo nihil deesse gaudeat, et ea quae diligit semper mansura confidat. Ecce ostendimus morbum cor fluctuans, cor instabile, cor inquietum. Et causam morbi, amorem videlicet mundi, et remedium morbi amorem Dei.

note 11
Confessionum, I.1 vol. 2, p. 108.

Tu excitas ut laudere te delectet, quia fecisti nos ad te, et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te.

note 12
Didascalicon, VI.3, p. 115

...sed dicis: 'multa invenio in historiis, quae nullius videntur esse utilitatis, quare in huiusmodi occupabor?' bene dicis. multa siquidem sunt in scripturis, quae in se considerata nihil expetendum habere videntur, quae tamen si aliis quibus cohaerent comparaveris, et in toto suo trutinare coeperis, necessaria pariter et competentia esse videbis. alia propter se scienda sunt, alia autem, quamvis propter se non videantur nostro labore digna, quia tamen sine ipsis illa enucleate sciri non possunt, nullatenus debent negligenter praeteriri.

note 14
Didascalicon, II.29, pp. 45-6

> *Grammatica dividitur in... nomen, verbum, participium, pronomen, adverbium, praepositionem, coniunctionem, interiectionem, vocem articulatam, litteram, syllabam, pedes, accentus, posituras, notas, orthographiam, analogiam, etymologiam, glossas, differentias, barbarismum, soloecismum, vitia, metaplasma, schemata, tropos, prosas, metra, fabulas, historias.*

note 14 (text in note)
De Civitate Dei, III.18 vol. 23, p. 543.

> *Si enarrare vel commemorare conemur, nihil aliud quam scriptores etiam nos erimus histroiae.*

note 15
Didascalicon, III.4, p. 54

> *huiusmodi sunt omnia poetarum carmina, ut sunt tragoediae, comoediae, satirae, heroica quoque et lyrica....*

note 17
De Arca Noe Morali, IV.18, col. 677.

> *Igitur opera restaurationis sunt omnia quae ab initio mundi usque ad finem saeculi facta sunt, vel facienda pro restauratione hominum....*

note 20
Didascalicon, VI.3, pp. 113-4

> *Sic nimirum in doctrina fieri oportet, ut videlicet prius historiam discas et rerum gestarum veritatem....diligenter memoriae commendes.*

note 21
Didascalicon, VI.3, p. 116

> *fundamentum autem et principium doctrinae sacrae historia est....*

note 22
De Sacramentis, I.6.xxx, col. 283.

> *Patet ergo quantae amoenitatis locus ille fuit in quo natura hominis adhuc a corone aliena foveri ac nutriri debuit, qui fontibus et fluminibus irriguis, arboribus omnis generis frondosus et nemorosus, fructu tam pulchro ad videndum quam suavi ad vescendum refertus praedicatur.*

note 24
De Sacramentis, I.10.ii, col. 329.

> *Et ipsa anima, quasi in medio quodam erat habens extra se mundum, intra se Deum, et acceperat oculum quo extra se mundum videret et ea quae in mundo*

erant: et hic erat oculus carnis.

note 25
De Sacramentis, I.10.ii, col. 329.

Alium oculum acceperat quo seipsam videret et ea quae in ipsa erant, hic est oculus rationalis. Alium rursum oculum acceperat quo intra se Deum videret et ea quae in Deo erant, et hic est oculus comtemplationis.

note 26
De Arca Noe Morali, IV.10, cols. 670-1.

Quandiu ergo hunc ordinaem naturae suae tenuit, quamvis foris per actionem variaretur, intus tamen per intentionem et amorem stabilis permansit, quia unum intedebat, et propter unum omnia faciebat, unum diligebat, et omnium voluntatum, atque actionum suarum finem ad unum referebat, et indeffessa mentis acie ad unum jugiter respiciebat Creatorem suum.

note 27
De Sacramentis, I.10.ii, col. 329.

...postquam autem tenebrae peccati in illam intraverunt, oculus quidem contemplationis exstinctus est, ut nihil videret; oculus autem rationis lippus effectus ut dubie videret.

note 29
De Sacramentis, I.10.ii, col. 329.

Homo ergo quia oculum carnis habet mundum videre potest, et ea quae in mundo sunt.

note 31
De Arca Noe Morali, IV.10, col. 671.

Sed postquam merito praevaricationis suae ejectus est a facie Domini, factus est caecus et instabilis. Caecus per ignorantiam mentis, instabilis per concupiscentiam carnis.

note 32
De Arca Noe Morali, I.2, cols. 619-20.

...eoque profundius ad desideria terrena mentem inclinavit, quo magis supernorum dulcedinem (quorum jam gustum perdiderat) oblivisci coepit...

note 33
De Arca Noe Morali, I.2, cols. 619-20.

...hinc igitur nascitur motus sine stabilitate, labor sine requie, cursus sine perventione...

note 34
De Arca Noe Morali, I.2., cols. 619-20.
...sicque factus est vagus, et profugus super terram.

note 36
De Sacramentis, Prologue, col. 183.
Duo enim sunt opera in quibus universa continentur quae facta sunt.

note 38
De Arca Noe Morali, IV.12, col. 672.
De operibus conditionis per opera restaurationis ad conditionis et restaurationis auctorem ascendunt.

note 39
De Arca Noe Morali, IV.7, cols. 667-8.
Primis autem homo deseruit Creatorem suum, cum eum per contemplationem praesentem aspiceret; nunc autem homo Creatorem, quem non videt per speciem, quaerit per fidem. Primus autem homo sine labore stare potuit, et sponte cecidit; nunc autem sponte surgens homo ad Deum etiam per tormenta redit.
Ordinatissimum igitur est de nostra reparatione divinae dispensationis consilium ut qui sponte cecidit, non coactus, sed sponte surgat; et qui per liberum arbitrium infirmatus est, sanitatem non recuperet, donec per liberum arbitrium sanari velit.

note 41
De Sacramentis, I.10. ii, col. 330.
...si quis plenam ac generalem diffinitionem fidei signare voluerit dicere potest: 'Fidem esse certitudinem quamdam animi de rebus absentibus, supra opinionem et infra scientiam constitutam.'

note 43
De Sacramentis, I.10.ix, col. 332.
Secundum cognitionem fides crescitt, quando eruditur ad scientiam. Secundum affectis crescit, quando ad devotionem excitatur et roburatur ad constantiam.

note 44
De Sacramentis, I.10.v, col. 334.
Haec ergo sunt duo quae fidei proposita sunt credenda, creator et salvator, et quae pertinent ad creatorem et quae pertinent ad salvatorem similiter.

note 45
De Sacramentis, Prologue, col. 183.
Opus restaurationis est quo factum est ut melius essent quae perierant.

note 46
De Arca Noe Morali, IV.12, col. 672.

De operibus conditionis per opera restaurationis ad conditionis et restaurationis auctorem ascendunt.

note 53
Didascalicon, VI.3, pp. 116-7

Habes in historia quo Dei facta mireris, in allegoria quo eius sacramenta credas, in moralitate quo perfectionem ipsius imiteris. lege ergo et disce quia in principio fecit Deus caelum et terram. lege quia in principio plantavit paradisum voluptatis, in quo posuit hominem quem formaverat. peccantem expulit et in aerumnas huius saeculi deiecit. lege qualiter ab uno homine universa humani generis propago descenderit, qualiter deinde peccantes unda obruit, qualiter Noe iustum cum filiis suis in mediis aquis divina clementia servavit....

note 56
De Arca Noe Morali, I.2, cols. 619-20.

...quibus necessario quartum adjungitur, adeptio remedii, scilicet qualiter possimus pertingere ad amorem Dei, sine quo caetera agnovisse aut parum, aut nihil proderit.

note 57
De Arca Noe Morali, IV.1, col. 664.

...et de te fabricabis domum Domino Deo tuo. Ipse artifex eris, cor tuum locus, cogitationes tuae materia.

note 58
De Arca Noe Morali, I.7, col. 622.

Hujus vero spiritualis aedificii exemplar tibi dabo arcam Noe, quam foris videbit oculus tuus, ut ad ejus similitudinem intus fabricetur animus tuus. Videbis ibi colores quosdam, formas et figuras, quae delectent visum. Sed scire debes, ideo haec posita esse, ut in eis discas sapientiam, disciplinam atque virtutem, quae exornent animum tuum.

note 59
De Arca Noe Mystica, I., col. 681.

Primum ad mysticam arcae Noe descriptionem, in planitie ubi arcam depingere volo, medium centrum quaero, et ibi fixo puncto parvam quadraturam aequilateram ad similitudinem illius cubiti, in quo consummata est arca, ei circumduco. Itemque illi quadraturae aliam paulo majorem circumscribo. Ita ut id spatium, quod est inter exteriorem et interiorem quadraturam, quasi limbus cubiti esse videatur. Hoc facto in interiori quadratura crucem pingo, ita ut cornua ejus singula latera quadraturae attingant, eamque auro superduco.

Deinde spatia illa, quae in superficie quadraturae inter quatuor angulos crucis et quadraturae remanent, colore vestio, duo superiora flammeo, et duo inferiora sapphirino.

note 60

De Arca Noe Morali, IV.18, col. 678.

Historia enim longitudinem arcae metitur, quia in serie rerum gestarum ordo temporis invenitur. Allegoria latitudinem arcae metitur, quia in participatione sacramentorum constat collectio populorum fidelium. Tropologia altitudinem arcae metitur,, quia in profectu virtutum crescit dignitas meritorum.

note 61

De Arca Noe Morali, IV.17, cols. 671-2.

Satis, ut reor, aperte jam demonstratum est, unde haec infinita, quam patimur, cogitationum nostrarum distractio oriatur, a mundo videlicet et concupiscentia ejus, hoc est ab operibus conditionis. Rursumque quid sit illud, per quod colligi possunt in unum cogitationes nostrae, hoc est per opera restaurationis. Et quia, sicut supradictum est, ordo esse non potest, ubi finis non est, superest ut relictis operibus conditionis quaeramus ordinem cogitationum nostrarum ibi, ubi finitae sunt, hoc est in operibus restaurationis; hoc est, quod superius investigare proposuimus, quisnam videlicet cogitationum nostrarum ordo esse deberet, quatenus ex eis spiritualis domus sapientiae in nobis aedificari possit. Et quia ex rebus cogitationes veniunt, oportet ut ex ordine rerum sumatur ordo cogitationum.

note 63

De Arca Noe Morali, IV.18, col. 677.

In operibus restaurationis tribus modis ordo consideratur, secundum locum, secundum tempus, secundum dignitatem.... Ordo autem loci, et ordo temporis fere per omnia secundum rerum gestarum seriem concurrere videntur, et ita per divinam providentiam videtur esse dispositum, ut quae in principio temporum gerebantur in Oriente, quasi in principio mundi gererenter, ac deinde ad finem profluente tempore usque ad Occidentem rerum summa descenderet....

note 64

De Arca Noe Morali, IV.18, col. 677.

Item post diluvium principium regnorum et caput mundi in Assyriis, et Chaldaeis, et Medis in partibus Orientis fuit. Deinde ad Graecos venit, postremo circa finem saeculi ad Romanos in Occidente, quasi in fine mundi habitantes, potestas summa descendit.

note 68

De Arca Noe Morali, IV.18, col. 678.

Atque ita serie rerum ab Oriente in Occidentem recta linea decurrente, ea, quae a dextris vel a sinistris, hoc est ad aquilonem vel ad austrum gesta sunt, ita suis significationibus respondent, ut si quis diligentius consideraverit, per divinam Providentiam ita disposita esse ambigere non possit.

note 74
Didascalicon, I.1, p. 4

Omnium expetendorum prima est sapientiae, in qua perfecti boni forma consistit.

note 77
Didascalicon, preface, p. 2

Duae praecipue res sunt quibus quisque ad scientiam instruitur, videlicet lectio et meditatio.

note 78
Didascalicon, preface, p. 2

...e quibus lectio priorem in doctrina obtinet locum, et de hac tractat liber iste dando praecepta legendi.

note 80
Didascalicon, II.1, p. 23

hoc ergo omnes artes agunt, hoc intendunt, ut divina similitudo in nobis reparetur, quae nobis forma est, Deo natura, cui quanto magis conformamur tanto magis sapimus ... Philosophia est ars artium, et disciplina disciplinarum, id est, ad quam omnes artes et disciplinae spectant.

note 84
Didascalicon, I.11, p. 22

quattuor tantum diximus esse scientias, quae reliquas omnes continent, id est, theoricam, quae in speculatione veritatis laborat, et practicam, quae morum disciplinam considerat, et mechanicam, quae huius vitae actiones dispensat, logicam quoque, quae recte loquendi et acute disputandi scientiam praestat.

note 85
Didascalicon, VI.3, pp. 113-4

Sic nimirum in doctrina fieri oportet, ut videlicet prius historiam discas et rerum gestarum veritatem, a principio repetens usque ad finem quid gestum sit, quando gestum sit, ubi gestum sit, et a quibus gestum sit, diligenter memoriae commendes.

note 88
Didascalicon, III.13, pp. 63-4

in divinis eloquiis ita simplicem loquendi modum esse aiunt, ut in eis magistros

audire non oporteat, posse satis quemque proprio ingenio veritatis arcana penetrare. corrugant nasum et valgium torquent in lectores divinatatis, et non intelligunt quod Deo iniuriam faciunt, cuius verba pulchro quidem vocabulo simplicia, sed sensu pravo insipida praedicant.

note 89
Didascalicon, III.13, p. 63
nullam denique scientiam vilem teneas, quia omnis scientia bona est.

note 90
Didascalicon, III.13, p. 62
multos hoc decipit, quod ante tempus, sapientes videri volunt.

note 91
Didascalicon, III.13, pp. 62-3
considera potius quid vires tuae ferre valeant. aptissime incedit, qui incedit ordinate. quidam dum magnum saltum facere volunt, praecipitium incidunt. noli ergo nimis festinare. hoc modo citius ad sapientiam pertinges.

note 93
Didascalicon, VI.3, p. 114
neque ego te perfecte subtilem posse fieri puto in allegoria, nisi prius fundatus fueris in historia. noli contemnere minima haec. paulatim defluit qui minima contemnit. si primo alphabetum discere contempsisses, nunc inter grammaticos tantum nomen non haberes. scio quosdam esse qui statim philosophari volunt....quorum scientia formae asini similis est. noli huiusmodi imitari.

note 94
Didascalicon, VI.3, p. 116
fundamentum autem et principium doctrinae sacrae histoira est, de qua quasi mel de favo, veritas allegoriae exprimitur. aedificaturus ergo primum fundamentum historiae pone, deinde per significationem typicam in arcem fidei fabricam mentis erige.

note 100
De Sacramentis, Prologue.I, cols. 183-4.
Cum igitur de prima eruditione sacri eloquii quae in Historica constat lectione, compendiosum volumen prius dictassem, hoc nunc ad secundam eruditionem (quae in allegoria est) introducendis praeparavi; in quo, si fundamento quodam cognitionis fidei animum stabiliant, ut caetera quae vel legendo vel audiendo superaedificare potuerint, inconcussa permaneant. Hanc enim quasi brevem quamdam summam omnium in unam seriem compegi, ut animus aliquid certum haberet, cui intentionem affigere et conformare valeret, ne per varia Scripturarum volumina et lectionum

divortia sine ordine et directione raperetur.

note 101

De Sacramentis, Prologue.III, col. 184.

Hoc igitur ordine Scriptura sacra primum creationem mundi describit, qui propter hominem factus est; deinde commemorat qualiter homo factus in via justitiae et disciplinae dispositus est; postea, qualiter homo lapsus est; novissime quemadmodum est reparatus.

note 102

De Sacramentis, Prologue.III, col. 184.

Quamvis autem principalis materia divinae Scripturae sint opera restaurationis....

De sacrementis, Prologue.II, col. 183.

In his omnibus opera restaurationis considerantur; in quibus divinarum Scripturaram tota vertatur intention.... Divina Scriptura materiam habet opera restaurationis.

De sacrementis, I.1.xxviii, col. 204.

...quae ut brevi definitione stringamus, opera restaurationis esse dicimus incarnationem Verbi, et quae in carne et per carnem gessit Verbum cum omnibus sacramentis suis; sive iis quae ab initio mundi ad ipsam incarnationem figurandam praecesserunt, sive iis quae usque in finem saeculi ad ipsam annuntiandam et praedicandam subsequuntur. De his loquitur omnis divina Scriptura, et de his et pro his facta est omnis divina Scriptura....

De sacrementis, I.1.xxix, col. 204.

Ergo in operibus restaurationis a principio redemptionis mysterium investigandum est; et si hoc diligenter in his omnibus secundum seriem temporum et successiones generationum ac dispositionem praeceptorum inquirinus, summan totam divinarum Scripturarum fidenter nos attigisse pronuntiamus.

note 103

De Sacramentis, I.1.iii, cols. 183-4.

Nam opera restaurationis multo digniora sunt operibus conditionis; quia illa ad servitutem facta sunt, ut stanti homini subessent' haec ad salutem, ut lapsum erigerent. Propterea illa quasi modicum aliquid sex diebus perfecta sunt; haec vero non nisi aetatibus sex compleri possunt.

note 104

De Sacramentis, I.1.ii, col. 184.

...tamen, ut competentius ad ea tractanda accedat, primum in ipso capite narrationis suae breviter secundum fidem rerum gestarum exordium et constitutionem narrat

operum conditionis. Non enim convenienter ostendere posset qualiter homo reparatus sit, nisi prius demonstraret qualiter sit lapsus; neque vero lapsum ejus convenienter ostendere, nisi prius qualiter a Deo institutus fuerit explicaret. Ad ostendendam autem primam institutionem hominis oportuit, ut totius mundi conditio ac creatio panderetur; quia propter hominem factus est mundus. Spiritus quidem propter Deum, corpus propter spiritum; mundus propter corpus humanum, ut spiritus Deo subjiceretur, spiritui corpus et corpori mundis.

note 105

De Sacramentis, I.8.xii, col. 313.

Ex quo enim homo a statu primae incorruptionis lapsus in corpore per mortalitatem et in anima per iniquitatem aegrotare coepit....

note 108

De Sacramentis, I.9.iii, col. 319.

Propter humiliationem quidem ut dum homo rationalis creatura insensibilibus elementis (quae natura infra ipsum condita fuerunt) ex praecepto Creatoris sui subjicitur, ex hac ipsa sua humiliatione Creatori suo reconciliari mereatur.... Justum ergo est ut homo qui prius Deum superbiendo deserens, se terrenis per concupiscentiam subdidit; nunc per humilitatem Deum requirens (ut plenius affectum suae devotionis insinuet) eisdem se propter praeceptum Dei per obedientiam inclinet.

note 109

De Sacramentis, I.9.iii, col. 320.

Propter eruditionem quoque instituta sunt sacramenta, ut per id quod foris in sacramento in specie visibili cernitur, ad invisibilem virtutem quae intus in re sacramenti constat agnoscendam mens humana erudiatur. Homo enim qui visibilia noverat, invisibilia non noverat; divina agnoscere nullatenus posset nisi humanis excitatus.

note 110

De Sacramentis, I.9.iii, col. 320.

Quidquid enim in his omnibus ad requiem et consolationem appetit, ipsa ei mutabilitatis conditio ad laborem et dolorem convertit.... Vagus in variis quaerens consolationem.

note 111

De Sacramentis, I.9.iii, col. 321.

Proposita sunt ergo homini foris opera virtutum ad aedificationem interiorem exercendam, ut illis praeoccupatus, nec unquam vacaret ad opera iniquitatis, nec semper ad opera necessitatis.

note 112

De Sacramentis, I.9.iv, col. 323.

> *Postremo quinque discreta et distincta ab invicem ad cognitionem procedunt: Deus medicus, homo aegrotus, sacerdos minister vel nuntius, gratia antidotum, vas sacramentum. Medicus donat, minister dispensat, vas servat quae sanat percipientem aegrotum gratiam spiritalem. Si ergo vasa sunt spiritalis gratiae sacramenta, non ex suo sanant, quia vasa aegrotum non curant, sed medicina. Non ergo ad hoc instituta sunt sacramenta ut ex eis esset quod in eis esset; sed ut peritiam suam inedicus ostenderet in illo remedium praeparavit, a quo languidus occasionem morbi accepit. Quia enim homo visibilia concupiscens corruptus fuerat, congrue reparandus in eisdem visibilibus salutis occasionem recipere debebat, ut per eadem resugeret per quae corruerat.*

note 117

De Sacramentis, I.12.i, col. 349.

> *Ex tunc ergo unitas populi Dei incoepit, et unitas conversationis fidelis, quae primum signata est per sacramentum circumcisionis postea signanda per sacramentum baptismatis.*

note 123

De Sacramentis, II.2.i, col. 415.

> *Post haec itaque convenienter gratia data est quae illuminaret caecum, et sanaret infirmum; illuminaret ignorantiam, refrigeraret concupiscentiam; illuminaret ad cognitionem veritatis; inflammaret ad amorem virtutis.*

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Title of Thesis:

Reading the Past as God's Narrative: History as Salvific Process in the Writings of Hugh of St Victor

Author

Sonia Furstenau

July 2001