

TREATISE ON PEACE

by

FRIAR GILBERT OF TOURNAI

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On peace

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

The work entitled *A Treatise on peace* [*Tractatus de pace*] was published by Fr Ephrem Longpré, O.F.M., in the College of St Bonaventure, Quaracchi, Italy in 1925. It was published as the sixth volume in the series entitled *Bibliotheca franciscana ascetica medii aevi*.

The identity of the author, the date of the work, its character and value are discussed by Fr Longpré in the Preface that follows immediately after this Preface.

The Bible used in this translation is the New Revised Standard Bible (NRSV). At times, however, this translation is markedly different from the Latin Bible used by the author. When this occurs the Douay Rheims Bible (DRB) has been used as it follows the Latin text closely; whenever the Douay Rheims Bible is quoted this is noted in the text. In the translation the abbreviations for the names of the books of the Bible are the abbreviations used in the New Revised Standard Bible.

Not all the references in the footnotes of the Introduction could be verified, as not all the books quoted are available to me. The references I have not been able to check are reproduced as they are quoted in the printed edition.

I record my gratitude to Sr Joanne Fitzsimons, O.S.C., Fr Christopher Goulding, O.F.M. and Fr Damian Colbourne, O.F.M.Cap. for their careful work in proofreading these pages and for improving the translation by their many suggestions. The mistakes still remaining are my own responsibility.

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PREFACE

ON THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FRIAR GILBERT OF TOURNAI

1. On his life

The author of the treatise, *On peace*, is Friar Gilbert of Morielporte, O.F.M., a member of the noble family As-Pies¹ of Tournai in modern Belgium. From the Prologue of the *Life of St Eleuterius* that Gilbert wrote, it can be shown that he was a relative of the bishop of the same city, namely John Buchianus (died 1266).² Apart from this no detail of his family is known except that he had a brother Henry who was also a master. In his treatise *On how to learn*, written about the year 1262,³ Gilbert remembers his brother on whose death he composed a grand elegy in imitation of St Bernard.⁴ He also testifies that the bishop of Tournai, Gualterus of Marvy (died 1251), was his 'protector from childhood'.⁵

At the end of his studies he became a master in the University of Paris. In the treatise already mentioned the author refers both to this office and to his method of teaching⁶:

I recall, when I taught theology in Paris, since I was not able to restrain those opposing me or those leading the discussion in a different direction, the flow of arguments would tend towards one conclusion. The more privately they thought something the more uselessly they poured it out. I was accustomed to react to this opposition by giving reasons, by ignoring the confusion, by making up for the damage done to the students, and by forming arguments that led to new problems. In this way I took away the annoyance and truth was served.

Afterwards, however, led by divine light, Gilbert withdrew into the solitude of religious life to find peace, and he embraced the rule of St Francis. This is clear from a letter he sent to master Michael of

Insula and it is found in the beginning of the treatise *On how to learn*. There, the following is written:

I can put together a multiple defence, especially since for almost thirty years I have not been able to be concerned with such, but afterwards, under the influence of divine grace, I left the master's chair and the teaching of theology in Paris, and took myself for a sabbatical for the inner person, like a shipwrecked person reaching port, putting aside the pedantry of the philosophers and the songs of the poets which are so much used there.⁷

On the basis of these words modern authors⁸ place the entry of Gilbert into the Order of St Francis about 1235 or 1240.

His work as a master did not cease when he became a Friar Minor. Often he states how often the number of lectures he had to give disrupted his writing. In his treatise *The instruction of kings and princes*⁹ he states: 'The yoke of my care and the necessary continuation of disputations hardly leave me time for writing this'. He repeats almost the same thing in the work *On how to learn*¹⁰:

Long breaks need a new beginning and since over the past several months there has been no break from the many duties imposed, I am now happy to continue the treatise I had begun. I have been burdened with work and slack in spirit, distracted by study in this period of time, but now writing is to be given its importance, in so far as a break is allowed from the teaching and disputations which I am bound to continue by the law of obedience to which I am subject.

Ordinarily, as is clear, Gilbert of Tournai lived in the general study house of the Friars Minor in Paris. There he had close connections with Louis IX, king of France. He dedicates his most famous treatise *The instruction of kings and princes* 'to his most benign Lord Louis, by the grace of God a most illustrious king of the Franks', in fact he finished the work at the request of the king.¹¹ He praises the holy King and describes his departure for Egypt¹²:

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That later times may know that my lord the King of France was visited by the Lord when he was seriously ill, the Lord sealed him with the sign of the living cross so that he might raise this sign in nations far away. And this sign worked for his good as is shown by his subsequent good health. As they were ready for the journey and the assembled church was bidding them farewell, the clergy of Paris could see another Constantine, not one raised up on a hill of pride, but with the Crucified in his heart, signed on the shoulders, in the habit of the Minors, carrying in his hands the wood of the Lord's cross, and he went reverently by the grace of the Lord.

It is doubtful if Gilbert accompanied Louis IX in the expedition of the Crusaders in 1248-1254. Some most learned authors, Kervyn of Lettenhove, P. Dirks, O.F.M., and also P.H. Golubovich, O.F.M.,¹³ hold this as certain. In fact in the Abbey of St Martin in Tournai there once was, under the name of Gilbert of Tournai, a work lost today, in which the expedition of St Louis was reported.¹⁴ Moreover in the book *On illustrious persons*, which is commonly attributed to Henry of Ghent but of which the author was more probably a certain monk of Afflighemensis, perhaps Henry of Brussels, the following is written¹⁵:

Gilbert of Tournai is said to have written the *Odeporicon*, that is, the itinerary of the first journey of Louis King of the Franks of pious memory to lands across the seas.

All these plus the reference to the Psylli¹⁶ of Egypt and the vivid description of the captivity of the King, as can be read in *The instruction of kings and princes*, strongly support this opinion, nevertheless to some, as for example De Poorter,¹⁷ they do not seem sufficient to solve the question.

It is historically sure that Gilbert of Tournai was dedicated not only to Louis IX, but also to the court of Flanders. He wrote a treatise *On how to learn*¹⁸ for a John, the Provost of Bruges (died 1290), and the son of Guido of Dampetra. Also he dedicated his *Treatise on peace* to Mary of Dampetra.¹⁹ This is not surprising. The relations between the court of Flanders and the Order of Minors in the thirteenth century were close as is clear from other sources,

especially from a letter of St Bonaventure (1259) to Guido of the court of Flanders²⁰ and from various documents concerning the political actions of Cardinal Matthew of Aquasparta.²¹

Little can be added to this information. The name only of Gilbert of Tournai is mentioned in the *Chronicle*²² of Gilles Le Muisit, abbot of St Martin in Tournai, who wrote:

In the year of the Lord one thousand two hundred and sixty seven, the illustrious prince King Louis asked Gilbert of Morielporte, doctor in theology of the Order of Minors, for a letter about a franchised town that whoever killed someone in Tournai was to be exiled from the town in perpetuity.

The time of his death is disputed but it is thought today to have been in 1284.²³ The *Directory of the Province of St Andrew*, fol. 5, extant in the Provincial Archives of the Friars Minor in Brussels, has the following:

In the year 1284, on 4 October the feast day of St Francis, the doctor not unworthy for his piety and writings, Gilbert of Tournai, died and the Bishop²⁴ of Cambrai placed his tomb on the Gospel side and adorned it with many leonine verses among which is the following:

Friar Gilbert, of the Order of Minors, highly praised,
Sought for heavenly things, trod things earthly underfoot;
Served Christ, and learnt all there was to know.

The memory of Gilbert was celebrated in the thirteenth century. This is clear especially from the oldest epitaph that can be seen today in cod. lat. 17511, National Library, Paris:

Vessel of purity, ark of sevenfold wisdom,
Pursuer of justice, professor of theology,
One time preacher of the way of the Lord, like to Elijah,
Fighting with holy poverty the arms of Goliath,
Soberly, justly, piously Father Gilbert, of Mary
By force of prayer distinguished, you are a citizen of the divine
homeland.

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Doctor of our land, Tournai weeps, uttering today
The laments of Jeremiah; to thee, death is that of Josiah.

2. On the writings of Friar Gilbert in general

The works of Gilbert of Tournai are conspicuous for their variety and volume.²⁵ Many writings attributed to him in the ancient catalogues, especially a *Commentary on the Sentences*, *Quodlibeta* and *Commentaries on the Epistles of Paul*,²⁶ if indeed they are his, are not known to us today. However, many other treatises are extant today and these show the significant ability of Gilbert.

The most significant of his treatises of instruction is *The instruction of kings and princes*, written in Paris in 1259 'on the octave day of blessed Francis'. An analysis and edition of this treatise can be found in De Poorter.²⁷ In this work, Gilbert of Tournai treats of the constitution of the Christian religion, as reflected on by an authentic son of St Francis,²⁸ and he deals so wonderfully with the duties of princes that this treatise has to be listed among the primary political writings of the thirteenth century.

Another work, entitled *An introduction to doctrine* is unedited except for a few fragments. It can be found in ms. Paris, National Library, cod. lat. 15451, fol. 85r-227r; in Florence, Bibl. Laurent., Plut. 56, dext., cod. 6, fol. 14v-238v; in Edinburgh, Bibl. Univ., 111 (D.B.1. 12), fol. 1-192,²⁹ in Cracow, Bibl. Jagell., cod. 690 AA. VIII. 25, fol. 1-425. The treatise *On how to learn*, cod. 574 AA. VIII. 24, fol. 1-137, is found only in this library of Cracow. Previously another copy was to be found in the codex Siena in the Library of St Francis.³⁰ This work is a kind of encyclopedia divided into four parts. The third part is nothing other than the treatise *On how to learn*, written about 1262, and which, not without reason, one can compare with the work of Hugh of St Victor entitled *Eruditio didascalica*.³¹ The fourth part is a collection of sermons *On various callings*, that will be referred to later. This writing of Gilbert of Tournai is most important for the history of Augustinian mysticism and for its exposition of Franciscan mysticism. Given the controversies of the time, the chapters in which the author enumerates errors of the Philosophers are worthy of special

mention.³² The author does not think differently from St Bonaventure on the eternal reasons, teaching in accord with the mind of St Augustine ‘that without an influence of uncreated light a mind cannot understand truth’.³³ As regards the treatise *On how to learn*, it is helpful to note, especially in the last chapters which treat of contemplative theology, a profound influence of Richard of St Victor.

Gilbert of Tournai wrote some works on rhetoric of which today there are copies in almost all the libraries of Europe.³⁴ There are three collections: Sermons *For Sundays*, *On Saints*, and *On various callings*.³⁵ The first two were arranged in the form of a compilation at the request of Pope Alexander IV, as Gilbert states in the prologue to the Sermons *On various callings*:

Since completing the sermons for Sundays and the feasts of the Saints for Pope Alexander IV of pious memory, we now add and join to them the sermons on the various kinds of states and offices as given by the Lord.³⁶

The sermons *For Sundays* had been preached in Latin before the clergy of Paris.³⁷ When the volume was published, Alexander IV wrote a letter to Gilbert of Tournai and the letter is found in Sbaralea in the following form³⁸:

Alexander bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the beloved son Friar Gilbert of the Order of Friars Minor, living in Paris, health and apostolic benediction. We have heard with considerable joy of the compilation you have made that is not a little useful; anxious that it serve our own progress and the edification of the souls of the faithful, we wish and diligently request your devotion in accord with this letter to send the complete and fully corrected compilation to our beloved son Friar Mansuetus,³⁹ to whom we are writing about this, and not to delay in sending it to us. Given at Anagni, the seventh of the Ides of August in the first year of our pontificate (7 August 1255).

Later, when Alexander IV was dead, Gilbert of Tournai edited the sermons *On various callings*. The work is like a complement of an

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earlier work, namely, *On how to learn*. In the second treatise of this small work he treats of the efficient cause of doctrine, namely, the doctor teaching, and the author proposed to treat ‘of the doctrine of people as it pertains to all engaged in preparation for preaching’; this work was not finished. He developed this material in the collection of *Sermons*, as is clear from the opening:

With the help of the Lord you can search in the six parts of the second treatise, entitled *On the work of a doctor*, and there remains the seventh part which we are now writing; it is more difficult and diffuse than the others, namely, on the condition of a person engaged in preparation for preaching.⁴⁰

This compilation and the other sermons of Gilbert of Tournai⁴¹ were highly regarded in the Middle Ages; they are found more frequently in the codices than the sermons of more famous preachers of the thirteenth century, such as Alan of Insula, James of Vitry and Humbertus of Romanis, O.P. P. Dirks correctly praises the knowledge of Scripture and the unction found in them.⁴²

Besides the works already described, Gilbert of Tournai, at the request of William of Bussy, bishop of Orléans (1257-1258), wrote a rather long liturgical work, *On the office of a bishop and on the ceremonies of the Church*.⁴³ This treatise was edited in 1571⁴⁴ by Dom. Theodore Coisfeldi, Cologne, Ord. Divi Antonii. It consists of 48 chapters; the exposition of the Mass is found in chapters 15-30. The author used as his main sources the writings of Innocent III, Amalarius, Richard of Wedinghausen, Ord. Praem.⁴⁵ Benedict XV sometimes quotes from this work.⁴⁶

Finally, it is necessary to list the lives of the saints written by Gilbert. At the request of John Buchianus, bishop of Tournai (1261-1266), he wrote⁴⁷ a *Life of St Eleutherius* (died 551) who had been the first pastor of the town; the readings for the feast of this Saint in the Breviary of Tournai were taken partly from this work.⁴⁸ He wrote also some works *On the miracles of St Blase*. Oudin says⁴⁹:

I once saw under the name of this Gilbert of Tournai, a Minor, two works on the miracles of St Blase, bishop and martyr, concerning

his role among the miracle workers in Vicoigne: almost the whole of the fourth part was damaged due to the carelessness and ignorance of our people in Vicoigne, and the rest was damaged here and there throughout the whole work so that, in my presence, it was burnt.

Probably there should be added to all these in the last place another work of which Bonelli,⁵⁰ Oudinus,⁵¹ Sbaralea,⁵² and the editors of the *Opera* of St Bonaventure⁵³ have argued at length. This work is the *Pharetra*,⁵⁴ often edited under the name of the Seraphic Doctor.⁵⁵ Fr Fidelis of Fanna, O.F.M. found 94 codices of this work⁵⁶ and many reasons strongly point to it as a genuine work of Gilbert of Tournai.

This work is attributed to Gilbert in the old catalogue of the library of St Francis in Bologna, under n. 250: *Summa Iohannis Gualensis de laudibus Pauli et pharetra Gilberti*.⁵⁷ Moreover the author states that he began his work in the beginning of his conversion. Gilbert refers to the amending of his own life when in the treatise *On how to learn* he says he took

a sabbatical for the inner person, like a shipwrecked person reaching port, putting aside the pedantry of the philosophers and the songs of the poets that are so much used there.

The author of this anonymous work expressly declares his intention in the Prologue when he says⁵⁸:

In the beginning of my conversion I read the writings of the Saints for the benefit of my mind; as I read I noticed many corruptions in the texts and it pleased me to go back to the source of the originals and for the sake of greater certitude I would take out the things more useful for meditation, preaching and disputation; after I had studied and ordered them, they could be more easily found etc.

This corresponds in a wonderful way not only with the normal method of Gilbert,⁵⁹ but also with the teaching methods he gave in the treatise *On how to learn*. There he expressly states that ability is sharpened and wisdom acquired 'by correcting the texts, by taking

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out what is noteworthy... by correcting first of all the texts'.⁶⁰ He took issue with any who do not want to correct the codices 'because of the beauty of their books'; he shows how St Augustine, Bede and the Master of the *Historiae* were deceived by faulty texts. Later he gives this wise advice⁶¹:

Because time is short, our duties many, memory unreliable, the number of books great, and time spent in writing is long, it is better to collect what is best from all the material and so save time.

So it is not surprising if Gilbert wrote the *Pharetra* in which he corrects the texts of Scripture and carefully gives excerpts from them. Finally, there are many other indications leading to the same conclusion. The saints are quoted frequently in the writings of Gilbert of Tournai, namely, Augustine, Gregory, Bernard and John Chrysostom. In this work, apart from the saints, only Seneca is expressly and most frequently quoted.⁶² This philosopher is made much of in all the other treatises of Gilbert.⁶³ Moreover, the first book of the *Pharetra*, except for six chapters, is almost an outline of the sermons of Gilbert in his sermons *On various callings*: it treats of almost the same material. It is probable then that this compilation can be numbered among the works of the Doctor of Tournai.⁶⁴

3. On his ascetical writings in particular

The ascetical writings of Gilbert of Tournai are to be considered as of equal importance.

Firstly, there is *A letter of exhortation* to Blessed Isabella, sister of St Louis IX, King of France, and foundress of the monastery known as 'The humility of Our Lord' in Longus Campus. In this work the pious author shows how one comes through ten steps to a perfect contempt for earthly things. The work is nothing other than a 'short letter of instruction' that Gilbert offers to her, at the request of Friar Philip, 'as a kind of gift'. Today it is found in a ms. in Bibliotheca Communalis, Bruges, cod. 490, fol. 89v-92v. It begins: *Although I am hardly known to you*, and finishes: *Single spouses, you may call out in ecstasy: may he kiss me*.⁶⁵

Another work entitled *On not fearing death*, is certainly to be attributed to Gilbert of Tournai. In an ancient manuscript of the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Tournai, it was once to be found under his name.⁶⁶ Cardinal Ehrle,⁶⁷ one of the most learned scholars of the writers of the Middle Ages, admits the authenticity of this work. The analysis to which we have subjected the bulk of this by no means minor work, clearly shows us the method, style and also the usual ideas of Gilbert of Tournai.⁶⁸ The treatise can be found today in Municipal Library, Douai, cod. 574, XIII/XIV centuries, fol. 108-137,⁶⁹ and Paris, in the National Library, Nouv. Acq. lat., cod. 480, XIII century, fol. 1r-37v.⁷⁰ It begins: *When one's lack of skill, and finishes: and acting wisely one recovers much of what was lost.*⁷¹

A work *On the seven words of the Lord on the cross* is certainly to be taken as a genuine work of Gilbert of Tournai. Oudin denies its authenticity without any basis.⁷² We know from the notes of Fr Fidelis of Fanna, O.F.M., that it is present in Cologne in the Archdiocesan Seminary, cod. 47, XV century, fol. 30r-67v. It has the following title: *The beginning of the treatise edited by master Gilbert of Tournai, of the Order of Friars Minor, On the seven words of our Lord Jesus Christ spoken on the cross.* It begins: *Dropping tears with blood and with breathing stilled from sorrow, my insensitive heart, a heart much hardened from a growing habit of weakness, cries out.* It finishes: *Praise to you, glory to you, thanks be to you! Father, into your hands I commend my spirit, you who live and reign forever and ever.* The manuscript, damaged and incomplete from fol. 56-67, was examined by Fr Fidelis of Fanna.

Finally, there is the significant work *On the name of Jesus*, printed in 1506⁷³ under the name of St. Bonaventure and later printed by Bonelli.⁷⁴ In fact, this work, written by a Friar Minor,⁷⁵ is not to be included among the works of the Seraphic Doctor. 'Fr. Fidelis of Fanna thought the work to be from Fr Gilbert of Tournai.'⁷⁶ In this he was completely right. Earlier, in a manuscript of the Abbey of St Martin in Tournai this work was attributed to Gilbert.⁷⁷ Also there are indications in the codices that lead to the same conclusion. In the codex of Cologne already quoted, fol. 1r-29r, there is the treatise *On the name of Jesus* immediately before the work *On the seven words*

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of the Lord. In the National Library, Paris, codex lat. 17511, fol. 163r-196v, which comes from the Abbey of St Martin in Tournai,⁷⁸ is written ‘epitaph of master Gilbert’⁷⁹ at the end of the treatise.

Moreover, there is no reason why this work should not be attributed to Gilbert of Tournai. In *The instruction of kings and princes*, speaking of the writings of ancient wise persons, he says⁸⁰:

Philip, King of the Macedonians ... was eminent in war and more eminent in scriptures, except that writings which do not know how to speak the name of Jesus nor show the piety of faith should not be called scriptures.

This statement and the words that occur in his sermons⁸¹ sufficiently indicate that Gilbert was a devotee of the most holy Name: hence, it is in agreement with this to say that he was the author of the work under discussion.

On this point the question is solved if a comparison is made between the work *On the name of Jesus* and the genuine writings of Gilbert of Tournai. For example, he says⁸²: ‘The writings of the Philosophers are deceptive because they do not contain the name Jesus’. In *Sermon 3*,⁸³ there is an exhortation to peace and concord in almost the same words as in the treatise *On peace*.⁸⁴ *Sermon 8*⁸⁵ treats of anger and it is found almost word for word in the work edited in this volume⁸⁶: in both writings the words of Seneca are accommodated without mention of the name of this philosopher. Often there is literal correspondence between what is said on angels in the works *On peace* and *On the name of Jesus*.⁸⁷ Many other points could be drawn from the mystical teaching and from the style, but because, God willing, an edition of this most beautiful work will soon be published, this will be dealt with more fully there.

This treatise had a significant influence in the thirteenth century and in later times. This is especially clear from the notable number of manuscripts in which it exists today. The main manuscripts are: Paris, National Library, lat. 17511, fol. 163-196v; *ibid.*, *Nouv. Acq. Lat.*, 202, fol. 157-177;⁸⁸ Saint-Trond in Belgium, in the Library of the Friars Minor, cod. sine sign., XV century, fol. 126v-229v.⁸⁹ An incomplete English translation was discovered by Fr. Fidelis of

Fanna, in the British Museum, London, addit. Mss. 11748, fol. 147ff.⁹⁰

The historical importance of this work should be carefully noted. From documents it is clear how much reverence for the most holy Name was shown by St Francis,⁹¹ after him St Bonaventure⁹² and Ubertinus of Casale.⁹³ To these can be added Gilbert of Tournai. We owe to his piety one of the most extensive and beautiful treatises written in the thirteenth century on the most holy Name.⁹⁴

4. The treatise *On Peace*

The last work of Gilbert of Tournai must now be spoken of briefly.

There is no doubt about the authenticity of this work as it is clear from the Prologue of the work,⁹⁵ and from the conclusion in cod. 671 of the Municipal Library of Arras,⁹⁶ written by Gilbert of Tournai himself. The catalogues and authors agree with this.⁹⁷

The work is dedicated 'to a religious woman and most dear sister in Christ, Mary of Dampetra, a nun of the Cistercian Order in Flines'. This was the daughter of Margaret II of Constantinople (died 1280), wife of William of Dampetra (died 1251), of the court of Flanders. In 1252 she had already professed the rule of St Bernard as is clear from the document of that year edited in *Gallia christiana*⁹⁸:

Margaret of Flanders and Countess of Hainaut, to all who read this letter, health. It is well known that we first founded in Orchies and later transferred to Flines⁹⁹ a church or monastery of nuns of the Cistercian Order 'for the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary'. We love them in a more special way especially since our most dear daughter Mary dedicated herself as a member of this monastery, and we bestow in perpetuity an alms for a remedy for our soul and the soul of our lord William of Dampetra, formerly my husband, also for the souls of all my ancestors and successors. Given in 1252.

It is commonly held that Mary of Dampetra was abbess of this monastery but her name does not appear in the list of abbesses.

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Perhaps she held this title *honoris causa*.¹⁰⁰ Probably, she died in 1302 'a member of this dwelling in Flines for at least sixty years'.¹⁰¹

Nothing can be said for certain of the time when Gilbert of Tournai wrote the treatise *On peace*. The only thing clear from the letter of dedication is that the work appeared immediately after a strong difference between the Cistercians and the Friars Minor.¹⁰² In the thirteenth century there was spirited and frequent argument between them; Berthold of Ratisbonne often refers to this in his *Sermons*. It is also clear from the General chapter of the Cistercians held in 1275 when it was decreed¹⁰³:

strictly commanding and suspending offenders from service at the altar, that nothing is to be given to the fore-mentioned Friars (namely the Minors) until there be due satisfaction, nor are they to be received into houses of our Order for any reason, unless they come with princes or prelates; nor are they to be allowed to preach in Chapters of the Order; no one is to enter their houses nor communicate with them about temporal matters or show any familiarity to them etc.

In 1276, this decree 'at the request of many prelates and eminent persons' was softened, only remaining in its full force in the kingdom of Spain.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps the treatise *On peace* was written about this time.

The content of his work was often used in the mystical literature of the Order of Minors, especially in the thirteenth century. Gilbert of Tournai teaches how interior peace can be found only in the mystical union of the soul with God. In the treatise *The instruction of kings*¹⁰⁵ and in *A letter of exhortation* to blessed Isabella¹⁰⁶ he treats of the same matter. The doctrine of Gilbert of Tournai is derived mainly from the principles of Augustinianism and is not much different from the mystical theology of St. Bonaventure;¹⁰⁷ in fact, all the basic ideas of the treatise can be found in the Seraphic Doctor.

The work *On peace* has many points of affinity with the other writings of Gilbert of Tournai. Firstly, it is helpful to note what is written in the treatise *The instruction of kings and princes*, third letter, chapter six¹⁰⁸ where the author says:

In the ineffable and high nature of God, nothing is more proper to it than unity, peace and concord. Although we believe faithfully and confess readily three Persons in the Trinity, the Trinity itself is one God both in unity of will and unity of substance. God distributes this unity and peace in proportion to the capacity of each, so that God may be called by name a God of unity and peace. From this unity of the Trinity that angels contemplate above them, they possess peace and concord, keeping themselves constantly in unity. The angels, taking to themselves the splendour of light from that first light, become light, shine with the brightness of perfect light and so become one not in substance, but in consent and in the simple unity contemplated. Among them, that apostate angel who dissented, who took himself above his place, suffered the punishments of restless dissension. For light he was given darkness, and for unity and inner peace disharmony was spread. So he was not only in discord in himself but he also provoked others to quarreling, such was the abundance of his disharmony and fury. Nevertheless, the elements remain bound together by the laws of peace; no senseless creature dissolves the bonds of the established peace to which the Word of God joined them by the laws of their first state. The sky gives light to the atmosphere, the atmosphere gives rain to the earth, the earth gives food and life to the living; so in one embrace the God of harmony arranges and orders all things, preaching to rational creatures through insensible and dumb elements, and invites us to peace and concord.

All this is shown in the first six chapters of the treatise *On peace*. Moreover, what is taught in the book *The instruction of kings and princes* about Thrones, to whom judges should be conformed, is found almost literally in the work *On peace*.¹⁰⁹ The same material is found in two other works where the topic is the Seraphim.¹¹⁰ There is also much in common between *On peace* and the sermons of Gilbert *To hermits*, which occur in his most famous compilation *On various callings*.¹¹¹ In the course of four sermons he considers the following text:

*To sit alone in silence when the Lord has imposed it [Lam 3:28].*¹¹²
 In this text is noted the perfection of contemplation, sitting solitary

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in one's affections, separated from all temporal matters, silent, attentive to meditation, and raising oneself above oneself through contemplation etc.

He ends by saying that he has treated the topic 'in the way it is well expounded in the end of the book *De archa mystica* by Richard of St Victor'; the topic is also treated in the treatise *On peace*.¹¹³

This work of Gilbert of Tournai was formerly in printed form. The first edition is found in *Bibliotheca Patrum*,¹¹⁴ and was reprinted in *Maxima Veterum Patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*.¹¹⁵ The text of this edition is often faulty, in fact in places it is unintelligible. We have used two manuscripts to restore the text¹¹⁶: National Library, Paris, cod. lat. 8566, fol. 128r-158v (= P) and Municipal Library, Arras, cod. 671, fol. 1r-41v (= A).¹¹⁷ As of now we do not know of any other codices. Codex P is from the thirteenth century and has the best text that we have in general followed. Codex A, on the contrary, is from the fourteenth century and is often faulty: however, almost everywhere in the text a later writer has corrected the text on the basis of the Paris codex. To the texts of the codices we have added variant readings found in the last edition (= E).

In bringing the Preface to a conclusion, I thank publicly in the first place H. Omont, Prefect of the National Library, Paris, who with utter kindness sent me information on the codices of Gaul, and I thank also R. P. Andrew Gallebaut, O.F.M., whose documents relating to the life and writings of Gilbert of Tournai have been of great help. I also express my sincere thanks to the Fathers of the College of St Bonaventure who have given me help and advice.

Fr Ephrem Longpré, O.F.M.

Quaracchi, 8 December 1924.

TREATISE ON PEACE

[Letter of dedication]

To the religious woman and most dear sister in Christ, Mary of Dampetra, a nun of Flines, of the Cistercian Order, a most illustrious lady of Flanders and daughter of the Countess of Hainaut, Friar Gilbert, known as of Tournai, of the Order of Friars Minor, peace of heart and of eternity.

Blessed be the providence of God who after cloudy weather brings on clear skies and after darkness brings in the rays of enlightenment! *The voice of rejoicing and health is heard in our land* [Song 2:12] and your sisters have told us of it. Now *the time of reconciliation has come* [Song 2:12], the flowers will bear fruit because a fairer breeze has blown; a moderating temperature from the south has blown so that after the ending of frost due to the north wind the perfumes of thanks pour forth. This is the time I have longed for from the depths of my heart. The Lord will hear the desire of the meek [Ps 10:17], since the children of God, whom the worker of all deceit intended to disperse, shall walk by the grace of God in agreement, coming together in one section of the same building by the work of the Holy Spirit who is one with the Father and the Son. The past time had the role of a training school and the appearance of struggle in some, but the harshness of the yokes has been softened. The Lord is offered to us as to children and the Lord is placed in our minds that we may be filled with heavenly splendour. We choose to live peacefully on earth and to be conformed to the heavenly angels, far removed from the noise of the world, providing silence for the Holy Spirit so that in our hearts an eternal sabbatical may be celebrated. For now one will not be angry towards another nor divide the seamless cloak of Christ of another brother, the cloak that those who crucified Christ were not able to divide [Jn 19:23]; nor, now that we are joined together in peace, will the adversary be given the opportunity of sneaking in to provoke schisms and divisions: for *he has made both groups into one and* has broken down and destroyed

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the dividing wall [Eph 2:14]. Nor will the eye set itself above the hand nor the hand despise the eye, but all will act according to the divine laws so that the members will care for one another, and religious life will be *one body, as we were called to the one hope of our calling* [Eph 4:4] even though we live in different houses; and so through all and in all, Christ the one Lord of all, will be undivided.

So a keenness to write loosens my tongue. Previously, I remained silent in darkness but from the abundance of joy in the heart the mouth speaks, for now the division of dissension is brought together in unity, and religious life which was beaten by stormy waves and winds begins to breathe in peace. Quarrels, arguments and curses are sent far away for peace is the testament and precept of Christ [Jn 14:27]. Agreement among religious is a joy of the soul, a bond of love, a teacher of doctrine, a guardian of morals and a praiseworthy discipline in all things. God did not make the soul to stir up revenge in anger. The occasion of the offence was in no way or only slightly due to our Friars and even less to the Order; for this reason we ought to be joined and united in love more fervently, to the extent that separation belongs to vanity, I do not want to say to anger. For if one were to twist and bend with force a branch of a tree, when the branch is released strongly, immediately it goes back to its proper place where it was before and it shows that even though it was bent by force, it did not return violently. But so that for now we may pass over in silence the injuries inflicted on our Order, for which neither satisfaction nor even an apology has been made, we are bound to make a public and fuller appeal to restore the obedience of peace as it was publicly set up, in accord with the text: *They have beaten us in public, condemned men, and have thrown us into prison; and now are they going to discharge us in secret?* [Acts 16:37]. No matter how things may be we are to pursue peace towards one another and towards all.

On account of our love, I send you the treatise *On peace*, written in an unpolished style, which you will give to the Sisters to read should they so wish. And so that the order and contents can be seen, the following is put first:

A letter on which the whole work depends, namely, the *Re-establishment of peace*
On the origin of peace
On the distinction of peace into divine etc., and first on divine peace in itself
On divine peace in its effects
On angelic peace which [the angels] enjoy in heaven
On the fall of the angels who preserved peace neither in heaven nor on earth
On how the angels who fell attack us and disturb our peace
How the angels live peacefully in heaven and what they do
On the orders of angels and their first hierarchy
On the second and third hierarchy
How we are made like the angels in their duties and in their zeal for peace
That angelic peace is a lesson for our peace
That the activity of angels does not block their peace and quiet
On earthly peace in general
On the same in particular
On human peace and that a rational spirit desires it
That a rational spirit seeks what it desires
That peace is not found because the spirit is subject to vices
How we are able to know that the root of sin lives in us. This is due to incurring a penalty
Peace is not found because we are engaged in battle
That peace is not found in arguments
That true peace is not found in riches
That peace is not found in pleasures
That peace is not in dignities and titles
That peace is not in earthly friendships
That true peace is found in the privacy of the heart
That once found it is cared for
That it increases when cared for
That it is perfected when increased
That it is enjoyed when perfected.

CHAPTER 1

On the origin of peace

Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called children of God [Mt 5:9]. Blessed peace, you change humans into children of God, and a tongue of flesh cannot express your dignity and sweetness because, as venerable Augustine says in the book *The City of God*¹:

So great is the good of peace that among the things of earth and among mortals, one does not hear of anything more pleasing, more keenly desired, or that anything better could be found.

The source of peace is God who, by a wisdom manifold and one, separated every species of creature into grades, differences and orders and decorated them with a wonderful variety. But lest the variety lead to schism and one fight against another by a contrary oppression, God, who is one principle, united together all things by the laws of harmony so that peace and unity might endure in all: *For God is a God not of disorder but of peace* [1 Cor 14:33], as the Apostle teaches in all his Letters.

So it is that among the angels an order can be seen and the three hierarchies are distinguished into nine orders of blessed spirits; there is an order among the stars because the Prophet says: *The sun raised high its hands; the moon stood still in its exalted place* [Hab 3:10-11]; and Jeremiah 31:35 says: *The Lord gives the sun for light by day and the fixed order of the moon and the stars for light by night*; and in the book of Judges 5:20 we read: *The stars fought from heaven, from their courses they fought against Sisera*. In the sheepfold of Jacob some lambs had white and some black fleece [see Gen 30:35]; Zechariah pointed out various horses [Zech 6:1]. The bride is surrounded with the whiteness of lilies [Song 2:1-2] and even though burnt black by the sun did not lose her beauty [Song 1:5]. In a family

home there are silver and golden vessels, also earthen vessels [see 2 Tim 2:20], but all suited to a particular purpose. There is an order in the angels, an order in the stars, an order for vessels, an order for ecclesiastical persons, an order for religious.

Hence, there arose a great diversity in the number of religious orders and of religious in the variety of their habits, since *at your right hand stands the queen in the gold of Ophir* [Ps 45:9], dressed in a habit *surrounded with variety* [Ps 44:10 DRB], and *all glorious is the princess within, gold embroidery is her clothing* [Ps 45:13 footnote]. This variety proclaims the wisdom of the Creator and is a sign and cause of beauty and elegance, just as from the diversity of the strings of a lute there comes a uniform harmonious melody. Are there not many limbs in a physical body, but the limbs are one body? So there are varieties of services, varieties of activities and of religious orders, *but the same Lord* [1 Cor 12:5-6]. The ray of divine brightness, while remaining one in itself, multiplies itself by distributing a variety of gifts.

The sharing in this multiplicity makes evident a wonderful beauty because, unless each thing is beautiful in a different way, everything could not equally be most beautiful. No single creature could receive the whole of divine beauty and so the highest beauty is shared out in diverse ways to each individual. Different orders in the Church show forth marks of beauty and unifying peace so that many people thank God, *many will give thanks on our behalf* [1 Cor 1:11]. What one Order does not have, another does have; therefore, by the bond of mutual love one Order has in another Order what it does not have in itself. I cannot imitate all Orders by adopting their habits, by the diversity of their statutes, but I hold all in a bond of love and in a peaceful unity of spirit. There is no diversity of opposition where the unity of love and faith endures. This represents the arrangement of the infant Church because while Christ gave authority to all the Apostles, he committed the Church to one, Peter, to show that the unity of the Church consists not only in receiving sacraments but also in a peaceful harmony between many children.

Therefore, we have the origin of peace from the one who is the author of peace, the bearer of peace, the giver of peace coming down

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in a wonderful beauty and by a special privilege the Apostle uses the name: *the God of peace and love* [2 Cor 13:11].

CHAPTER 2

On the distinction of peace into divine etc. and first on divine peace in itself

As Christ was about to return to the Father he left his disciples peace according to the terms of his covenant saying: *Peace I leave with you; my peace I give to you. I do not give to you as the world gives* [Jn 14:27]. He left us peace as he was about to go, he will give us his peace when he comes at the end, he left us peace in this world, may he give us peace in the future, provided we are found to be within his covenant; he left us peace that we might *love one another* [Jn 15:12], and he will give us peace in which we will experience no feeling of discord.

Attention must be given to what is added: *I do not give to you as the world gives*. The world gives a false and vain peace shown by people who love the world and in whom there is no unity of hearts. They give peace to one another and take it so as to avoid persecution by others, but there can be no true peace where there is no true harmony, because hearts are divided. Peaceful people whose hearts are joined are said to be in harmony. Therefore, in accord with the origin of peace the Lord showed us the discernment of peace.

For this reason we may now divide peace without harming peace, as if we could see streams flowing out from the source of peace. There is good and bad peace. I will call good peace divine and angelic, bad peace earthly and human.

Divine peace according to the Apostle is *the peace of God which surpasses all understanding* [Phil 4:7]. Of this peace, with my soiled lips, with a heart shadowed by darkness, I fear to speak or more truly stutter. Without ever being able to understand perfectly, we struggle to understand those things which are close to our senses; but the peace of God is raised above and overpowers our understanding when we become too theoretical, as it is written: *All shall come to a deep heart and God shall be exalted* [Ps 63:7-8 DRB]. Indeed, with

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what understanding does one grasp God when one does not grasp his or her own understanding by which he or she wants to understand God? But, as blessed Dionysius¹ says, we praise with peaceful praises the divine and chief synagogue peace that is especially uniting. It unites all and produces agreement and kinship. This peace is called God who is most tranquil within, calls all things to tranquility and protects the peace of the order of things throughout the whole universe. What this peace is, only God, the one who is called peace itself, knows, while we honour it more by silence than by the reverence we may be able to express in speech. Who can fully express how the Trinity of persons finds rest in a unity of substance, how God acts making all things in quiet and silence, even though from all eternity God said that they be made in time? We are able to say prudently that as humans we understand nothing to be so proper to the most excellent nature of God as quiet and peace. There is no dissension in the nature of God, only a distinction of Persons, a unifying display of unity and peace which it is rash to examine, but piety to believe, and eternal life to know, namely, a Trinity in unity and a unity in Trinity. We say three persons but not prejudicing the unity; we say one substance but not prejudicing the Trinity; and although we are not able to understand you, O Lord, it is good to seek you always, because *the Lord is good to those who wait for him, to the soul that seeks him* [Lam 3:25]. You are light and you shine in the darkness; you are present and you are not recognized, for those poor in sight hate the brilliance of light because *the light shines in the darkness and the darkness did not overcome it* [Jn 1:5]. How could the utmost tranquility of peace be absent where the ineffable unity of the divinity is present? Hence, to show that his divinity is consubstantial with the Father, the Son said: *The Father and I are one* [Jn 10:30]. Nor can the Holy Spirit, the bond and union of the Father and the Son, be separated from this unity,² so that we as members of such a head might come together through the same Spirit inspiring most harmonious agreement, enkindled by a certain fire, as it is written:

I ask not only on behalf of these, but also on behalf of those who will believe in me through their word, that they may all be one. As

you, Father, are in me and I am in you, may they also be in us [Jn 17:20-21].

This is a union of love in grace while in the divine persons there is a unity of identity in their nature.

We bring forward an elegant example used by blessed Dionysius.³ Let many lamps be put in one house and their lights joined into one light; it is sure they would become one brightness. A person would not be able to pick out the single lights one from another in the air containing all the lights, even though the various lights retain their own identities in the union. It is clear that if one of these lights were to be taken from the house, it would have with it all its light, and would take nothing from the other lights. What is observed in bodily air and bodily light according to the properties of a bodily creature, must be known and believed much more strongly of the deity which incomparably surpasses not only bodily but even mental unions. Such a distinction remains intact in the essential unity of the divine persons for there is no other distinction between the persons; the single persons have their own identity, a topic not to be pursued here since the matter in hand does not need it.

The blessed Trinity is one God not only in unity of will and action but also of substance and wants to unite all things. Indeed, the Trinity unites all things into one harmony and brings them together in harmony while preserving the properties of each single nature. For this tranquility of peace people receive peace and harmony and God receives the glory since, from the gifts given to us by divine grace, God is to be glorified with innumerable thanks even though the God of majesty always possesses the fulness of glory, for *glory to God in the highest heaven, and on earth peace among those whom he favours* [Lk 2:14]. Isaiah 26:12 says: *Lord, you will ordain peace for us*. In you, O lord, may your glory remain undiminished; for my part I am fortunate if you give me peace, my conscience clear. I must not usurp your glory since you have said: *My glory I will not give to another* [Isa 48:11]. Pardon me, O Lord; I confess the sin that I have usurped your glory every time I delivered a word of preaching to people and have not referred it back to you. The approval of people flattered me externally when I was told that I had spoken a good

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word; I rejoiced interiorly not to manifest your glory but so that by the gossip of people my fame might be increased. I did not remember that I am in your hands as are my words. *Our lips are not our own* [Ps 12:4]; our tongues are *like the pen of a ready scribe* [Ps 45:1]. You have given the mouth and whatever wisdom there may be; you want back with interest the talent given. To you praise and glory, to you be thanks, eternal Peace.

CHAPTER 3

On divine peace in its effects

Just as all things came from this supreme peace, which is the bond between all things, so all things desire peace and are led back into one principle of peace. They hold peace harmoniously in themselves and are united by the laws of peace to their neighbours, the creatures. This is peace with God, with one's neighbour and with oneself.

We are at peace with God if we hold God's commandments in reverence because according to the opinion of Solomon: *those who respect the commandment will be rewarded* [Prov 13:13]. We are at peace with our neighbour if we are *for peace* when others are *for war* [Ps 120:7], so that we do not occasion discord or quarrels. You are at peace with yourself when from a serene conscience you have a foretaste of the jubilee joy and call out with the Prophet: *I will both lie down and sleep in peace* [Ps 4:8].

Therefore, as has been said, God joins all things to the Godhead. Just as a magnet by some hidden power, as they say, draws iron to itself, so God brings a soul to the Godhead. God made every creature in a way proper to each one's nature, and God makes them retain a type of unity by some echo of peace from a certain natural instinct, and while they remain in their own species they are not disturbed by any mixture to the contrary. As God made individuals without confusion, so God guards them in the same peace; all things desire peace from the fact that they are united in some way by a sharing in the supreme peace. As blessed Dionysius says¹:

Nature simple in its unity peacefully unites all things to itself, and it unites individuals to itself and all things mutually to one another and to itself.

I say to itself lest people distrust one another and may all things share in the one most simple nature in one harmony.

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Because of this living nature the blessed angels bring those subject to them, I refer to the lower orders, to their own higher place and bring them together from a zeal for peace. Every giving and procession of lights from God fills us most generously and a unifying power restores us, gathers us together and changes us into the unity and godly simplicity of the supreme Father. Moved only by kindness, the heavenly Father pours out lights of graces on us and what is given to us is made clear by us. But first they are poured out on the angels in a hierarchical order according to their ranks and through them they come to us, not that angels infuse grace. That uniting power collects, brings together and from many makes one what is divided and disparate; we were in many ways turned away and disparate among ourselves, perverse in evil, but now are changed into one and united to the Lord.

CHAPTER 4

On angelic peace which [the angels] enjoy in heaven

God who *makes peace in his high heaven* [Job 25:2] puts peace into the angels in accord with the image and exemplar of the Trinity.

Those who reflect on the unity of the Trinity above them, strive to become one among themselves. The Church Father, Augustine, says: ‘The peace of the heavenly city is a most ordered and harmonious society enjoying God and one another in God’.¹ The Scriptures name the heavenly city Jerusalem [Rev 21:2] *a vision of peace*, where the blessed spirits of the heavenly armies dwell. They live there, as in a religious house, and maintain an order of perfect peace. The life of regular religious is formed according to the pattern of these citizens because the religious live under one peaceful abbot who is called Solomon, a name meaning peaceful.

The angels in their varied ranks and types of offices live in accord with the rule of peace lacking nothing, and so it is not necessary for them to work. They are not hungry because they are satisfied with the heavenly bread; they are not thirsty because *you give them drink from the river of your delights* [Ps 36:8], and *they continually see the face of the Father* [Mt 18:10]. More than other rational creatures they have a perfect knowledge of God, they love and desire God, they are not troubled by want nor do they work with distaste. Their tranquility of peace is not hindered by desires of the mind, by changes in the seasons, by a lack of temporal goods, nor by plots of enemies. However, these four things often disturb our peace.

Taking these one at a time, we must look first at desires of the mind. Fear does not make the angels pale, nor anger ruddy, nor does work cover them with sweat, nor sickness cause them pain. They control all unruly affections. A protector stands among them, just as the Lord Jesus stood among his disciples and said to them: *Why are you frightened? Peace be with you* [Lk 24:38 and 36].

Yet in that homeland nothing is old, nothing transitory, no old age nor weakness of age is there; there is no change of seasons but always the sameness of eternity. But for us, seasons are followed by

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other seasons so that for the present no delight of pleasure endures, just as there is variety in all things. The green of the earth and of plants refreshes our eyes and in its species causes gladness, while it increases in the spring, decreases in the autumn, is dried up by the heat of summer and languishes in the cold of winter. But the delight of peace overflowing in that most blessed city always refreshes the minds of its citizens with newness: *There is a river whose streams make glad the city of God* [Ps 46:4]. Because as the Lord says through Isaiah: *I will bring upon her as it were a river of peace* [Isa 66:12 DRB].

What can we say about the lack of goods? In that place there is peace without disturbance, abundance without decrease, fulness without distaste, rest without tiredness. For eternal peace, coming from the eternal Father, takes away dissension, abundance takes away deficiency, fulness takes away hunger, rest takes away weariness. For this reason a prophet says:

*Look on Zion, the city of our appointed festivals!
Your eyes will see Jerusalem, a quiet habitation, an immovable
tent,
Whose stakes will never be pulled up,
and none of whose ropes will be broken* [Isa 33:20].

Jerusalem is a place of rivers, of streams most wide and clear. Usually there is abundance in cities when there is a solemnity, nor can a city built by a river be easily moved, and goods in abundance are brought to it from afar. In that heavenly city there is a perennial solemnity. There graces are poured out, and to that place the merits of the saints go up. From *the abundance of your house* [Ps 36:8] the citizens drink continually, are satisfied with the drinking, and satisfied give thanks: *Eat, friends, drink, and be drunk with love* [Song 5:1]. Woe to us who now eat our bread in the sweat of our brow! But once free of the body we will be allowed to drink the wine of love provided we earn this by merits in this life. But when we are all taken to God, we will be made conformable and like to God, and will be called to the feast or supper of wisdom where we will drink deeply not from the chalice of sorrow but from the chalice of the

Lord for the *chalice which inebriates me, how goodly it is* [Ps 22:5 DRB; Ps 23:5 NRSV].

This is the intoxication of an excess of love that makes one forgetful of self and normally overturns the mind; this will happen in us perfectly when, with our bodies retaken and clothed with a double garment, our desires will be completely at an end; we will not be drunk with wine, but afire for God. The wood of the life of paradise takes away every need in the angels and in the blessed who are continuously refreshed by its fruit. This fruit is the wisdom of God the Father whose wisdom was the food of angels from the beginning of creation. *But when the fulness of time had come* [Gal 4:4] the redemption of sinners became incarnate. The heavenly hosts, that is the heavenly company, are delighted from looking on this wood, and are satisfied by the sweetness of its fruit as if from *the finest of the wheat* [Ps 86:16]. This is the tree of life peacefully and safely guarding life ceaselessly, as it is written: *He grants peace within your borders; he fills you with the finest of wheat* [Ps 147:14]. The children of Jerusalem, which is our mother above, do not eat chaff, but enjoy *the finest of wheat*, which we call the most pure wheat-flour, the food of angels.

Happy are your dogs, Lord, who *eat the crumbs that fall from their masters' table* [Mt 15:27] lest they remain hungry and faint on the way [Mt 15:32], useless from want and hunger! So you give to your poor a crumb from such delights, a drop of wine, a spark of fire, as if from the remnants of your citizens you would kindle a desire and *in your remnants you shall prepare their face* [Ps 20:13 DRB; Ps 21:12 NRSV]. All who have held or have begun to taste this inner sweetness despise any external and transitory delight which comes; they hasten with total longing to that food by which the mind is illuminated in knowledge and renewed in devotion and so with wheat and fat they replenish their souls.

Fourthly, more frequently our peace is disturbed by the suggestions of demons. When the apostate angels fell, the angels of whom we are speaking conquered these suggestions: they conquered the delights of the flesh for they are immune from the infection of the flesh. They conquered pride of mind because they serve God in

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humility; they conquered the attacks of others because they live peacefully in peace, as it is written:

You shall live securely in your land. And I will grant peace in the land, and you shall lie down, and no one shall make you afraid; I will remove dangerous animals from the land, and no sword shall go through your land [Lev 26:5-6].

Since they do not fear the malice of the devil, disturbance of the flesh, pride of mind or fraternal discord, peace is completely settled among them. As the Apostle says, *the God of peace* [Rom 16:20] has crushed Satan under their feet that they might see him *fall from heaven like a flash of lightning* [Lk 10:18].

CHAPTER 5

On the fall of the angels who preserved peace neither in heaven nor on earth

Therefore, good Lord, those who should have served you did not have a lasting peace because *his angels he charges with error* [Job 4:18]; *there the evildoers lie prostrate; they are thrust down, unable to rise* [Ps 36:12].

The prince of discord, the disturber of peace, the leader of the apostate band was that spiteful Lucifer, and as the master of the house is, so is the household. Falling from the heights and brought to naught, they are now adversaries equally of God and peace. They rejoice in dissensions, are pleased with disturbances since the devil, their prince, from the fruitfulness of malice, is even in discord with himself. From an abundance of hate he urges his followers to weapons of dissension and impels them to wars of fury, because from the beginning he *was a murderer* [Jn 8:44]. However, now *they sit in ambush in hiding places* [Ps 10:8], to wound in the dark with their poisoned darts.

He deceives the simple with shrewd and obscure advice and subtly seeks the art of deceiving souls by small occasions; the simple are overcome through our negligence when, as if the house was already taken, Lucifer acts freely in the patrimony of Christ. This was the custom when besieging walls, for if a back-way or a small part of a corner could be broken the whole enemy army would enter.¹ The bride, speaking in the name of the Church triumphant, laments saying: *My mother's sons were angry with me* [Song 1:6]. Those who were the children of the heavenly Jerusalem, which is our mother, do not cease after their fall to fight against the Church militant; and, certainly, the Church now laments over the disturbers of peace who try to break down the pleasant bond of unity. All of us who are religious are children of the one mother. Why then do we fight one another? We are brothers and sisters to one another. *How very good and pleasant it is when kindred live together in unity!* [Ps 133:1] If we

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are joyful in fraternal peace, scandals will cease, Christ will be glorified; and if one does not wish to rejoice in this peace, a judgment will surely be made against such a one, no matter who the person is. To sin against a brother or sister is to sin against Christ because the Lord says: *just as you did it to one of the least of these* [Mt 25:40] I consider it to be done to myself.

Therefore, as the angels fell they took the quarreling with them; the place was cleansed, the host of angels and the blessed rejoiced; and, according to sacred Scripture, it was to be announced that *the mountains yield prosperity² for the people* [Ps 73:3]. Then as with *clanging cymbals* [Ps 150:5] a continual thanksgiving could be heard from the harmonious dancing, since the mountains and the hills were singing a celebration of praise before God, and there came a most sweet song to the ears of the Lord Sabaoth since from their mouth was heard a sweet sound. In fact, the mountains are angels who on high reach the summit, shine with brightness, resound with praises, are clothed by the Lord with free gifts and adorned with glorious privileges, as it is written: *The Lord shall visit the mountains which surround Jerusalem, as the Lord surrounds his people, from this time on and forevermore* [Ps 125:2]. The Lord visits these blessed mountains for glory whereas the Lord damned the proud and reprobate mountains to punishment. Hence, what follows is noteworthy and terrible: the Lord shall visit all *the mountains surrounding Jerusalem* but on the *mountains of Gelboa there is to be no dew or rain* [Ps 125:2 and 2 Sam 1:21]. The mountains of Gelboa are most barren because they are watered neither by dew nor rain. The demons are barren lacking the fruit of good works; they were excluded at once from the sweetness of glory and grace, and for punishment are placed in a gloomy atmosphere between heaven and earth. There they see, envy and are tormented: they see the glory of the angels, the progress and grace of perfect people, through envy they are consumed with sorrow and are afire with rancour and discord.

Lord, would that the rejection of the angels might be for our betterment, lest we fall through pride with that haughty army! The Lord shall visit *the mountains surrounding Jerusalem*. May the Lord

in kindness give glory and grace to angels and to people. But if the one who grew proud in heaven was thrown out, woe to our pride which most vile dust employs in a dung pit. I, if I may speak a little about myself, foster pride in my heart when I waste away from a weakness of some idleness; my soul becomes barren without the dew of sweetness, my heart dries up, I do not find tears of devotion, and as an attendant of yours said of himself: 'Such is the hardness of my heart that it does not savour a psalm, does not want to read, does not delight in prayer'. Where is that inebriation of the spirit, the serenity of mind, the *peace and joy in the Holy Spirit?* [Rom 14:17]. Hence, I am found to be lazy in work, sleepy at vigils, hasty to anger, stubborn in hate, more indulgent in tongue and taste, sluggish and dull in preaching. The Lord shall visit *the mountains* which *surround Jerusalem*, namely, the mountains which are fervent in humility, devout, united, abounding in heavenly gifts; but the Lord does not approach me, he passes me by, because pride is found in me and the tumour repels what would be given.

CHAPTER 6

How the angels who fell attack us and disturb our peace

We read in Revelation 12:7: *And war broke out in heaven*, when at the beginning of time the devil was cast out from the palace of heaven because of pride. Because the peaceful behaviour of the faithful daily annoys the devil more and more, he wages war continuously against spiritual persons who are referred to by the name *heaven*.

It is no wonder to him to swallow a river, but *is confident though Jordan rushes against its mouth* [Job 40:23]. The ancient enemy is not concerned with this since he holds under the control of his tyranny all who seek earthly things, but he wants to ambush and capture all whom he sees advancing daily, through humility, in love for the heavenly homeland. His plots are evident; he is overcome daily by the power of faith with the help of Christ, since *those who trust in him will understand truth, and the faithful will abide with him in love, because grace and mercy are upon his holy ones* [Wis 3:9]. Peace follows victory, the one conquered is disconcerted, the victor is crowned with triumph; hence, the demons conquered by us do not depart without confusion, because the confusion which would remain in us if we were to be destroyed by them turns back onto them.¹ Those conquered by us are weighed down by a double grief. Firstly, because they lost so rashly the inheritance of the earth in which they were created and saw it given to strangers, they weep, lament and say with the Prophet: *Our inheritance has been turned over to strangers, our home to aliens* [Lam 5:2]. But the soldiers and undaunted athletes of Christ rejoice, *as people exult, as with joy at the harvest, when dividing plunder* [Isa 9:3], they set out promptly and say: *I pursued my enemies and overtook them; and did not turn back until they were consumed. I struck them down, so that they were not able to rise* [Ps 18:37-38].

There is not one uniform cruelty in these evil spirits – some seduce by mockery, some annoy the body – but all are as one in being hostile to souls. They are especially successful against us when they take possession of our minds. The atmosphere between heaven and earth is so filled with a density of evil spirits that divine providence usefully for us hides them from our gaze. Otherwise, by the terror of their numbers or the horror of their appearances, which with divine permission they adopt, people would give up out of fear or become more wicked daily from their company and there might develop a certain dangerous familiarity between people and the atmospheric powers.² Although they assail us with their attacks, even though conflict and disharmony continue among them, they are equally united in agreeing to pursue us and for this reason our Cassian says³:

It is evident that each spirit takes hold of the attack on the mind in such a clear way that when conquered it retreats and allows another spirit to attack more vehemently, or, for sure when it has been victorious it allows another to mock.

CHAPTER 7¹

How the angels live peacefully in heaven and what they do

When he shall raise him up, the angels shall fear, and being affrighted shall purify themselves [Job 41:16 DRB; Job 41:25 NRSV]. Job here describes the past while using a future tense. For when Lucifer and his company fell from the ark of happiness, the good angels were greatly afraid at such ruin. The fall terrified and purified them: terrified, lest they too despise their Creator; purified, since only the elect remained when the reprobate fell. Just as the Lord separated light from darkness [Gen 1:4], so the reprobate were those who held stubbornly to pride, while the elect were confirmed in grace because of their humility:

Pour out the overflowings of your anger, and look on all who are proud, and abase them. Look on all who are proud and bring them low; tread down the wicked where they stand [Job 40:10-11].

Pride is the home of the wicked. Therefore, the wicked are destroyed in their home because the pride by which they are puffed up is pressed down. Hence, when Lucifer, carried away in his thoughts, raised himself up, the light of glory which he could have found went into hiding: *you make them fall to ruin* [Ps 73:18]. The proud desire lower things when by pride they desire what is higher, and the more they extol themselves by boasting, the more do they lean lower by falling. Away, away with you most unclean dogs! You have abandoned your home for you have prepared lasting dwellings in the lower regions where you await a most severe judgment.

Your blessed companion angels, now gathered peacefully in the cloister of beatitude, study in quiet, sit, keep silent and carry out their various duties according to the differences of their rank: *But now the Lord God has given me rest on every side; there is neither adversary² nor misfortune* [1 Kings 5:4], and so they always foster

peace. They sit, speaking metaphorically, since they rest from their labours. They study from the book of life, contemplating the wonderful deeds of God; they read and drink what is necessary for them, as they contemplate the face of the Creator; for they always see, Lord, your face. There, they read without being limited to set times as your eternal will desires; they read and love, they read always and do not forget. They read of the unchangeableness of your counsel in choosing and loving. They neither close nor fold their book because you are their book and you are forever. You decreed for this firmament that you arranged for them to be over the lower weakness of people, where they receive and know your mercy proclaiming in time you who made time, as most blessed Augustine says in his *Confessions*.³ The bride desired to come to this wisdom when she said: *There you shall teach me* [Song 8:2 DRB], namely to know *the only true God and Jesus Christ whom you have sent* [Jn 17:3], nor *will I know only in part, for then I will know fully, even as I have been fully known* [1 Cor 13:12]. There my knowledge will not be in error nor will I be dead nor want to offend, but, according to the word of the Prophet: *Let us know, let us press on to know the Lord; his appearing is as sure as the dawn* [Hos 6:3]. Anyone who wants to learn must hasten there. Be anxious to take hold of that doctor who turns all his disciples into students of God.

The angels are silent because they desire nothing else that might disturb their minds. They are silent, because they wonder at what they see. They are silent, because everything they have is a gift, and they have nothing worthy to be given in return for the benefits received. They are silent because they obey God and contradict God in nothing, not like Lucifer who broke the silence saying: *I will ascend to heaven; I will raise my throne above the stars of God* [Isa 14:13].

That angels and humans might be shown the changeableness of their nature it was necessary for both to be tempted, proven in temptation and confirmed when proven. In those who conquer, the mercy of God is to be commended, while those who are conquered are left in their wickedness and show the justice of God.

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The angels carry out the duties given them by the Saviour and by which they are distinguished in their ranks. To this end the design of divine providence sets up various ranks and wanted the orders to be distinct, the higher showing love to the more lowly. God wanted one harmony to result from the union of relationships and the governing of individuals to be done rightly. Nor could the whole subsist in any other way than by preserving the great order of this difference.

The model of the heavenly armies instructs us to conform to peace. The distinct orders among the angels are apparent not because they are equal but because they differ in power and rank. Hence, peace and love are joined in a mutual exchange, and the unanimity of harmony endures with sincerity in the pleasing love of God.

CHAPTER 8

On the orders of angels and their first hierarchy¹

Great peace have those who love your law; nothing can make them stumble [Ps 119:165]. Lord, since you are tranquil in a calm mind, indeed more truly tranquility itself, the joys of your peace are given to those who love the law of your charity. You are peace, you do not know how to quarrel, you are attentive to the conscientious, a refuge to those who quarrel.

For your elect, to be scandalized is to be separated by disharmony. Such scandals happened to the reprobate spirits who by their actions cut themselves off from the company of the blessed. *Peace be upon Israel* [Gal 6:16], as the good angels contemplate the face of God, with minds joined as one and carry out in distinct orders their duties in a wholesome and humble manner!

But what can we poor humans, who see poorly in the darkness, say of the angelic and blessed spirits, whom we know and believe live in heaven? They exceed our minds and thoughts and we are unable to speak worthily of them whom we do not know. They are of the household of God, citizens of heaven, nobles of paradise; they are most precious stones arranged in their orders and are an adornment of the heavenly palace. However, the human mind cannot grasp who they are, of what kind they are or how many they are. The wisdom of God alone understands fully their species and how they are ordered; nor do we know anything about them except what God has taught us through them. They know their ministries and mysteries in so far as is needed for our instruction and is sufficient for our understanding of them.

They themselves teach us, as they reveal themselves to holy theologians, that there are nine orders of angels, which we can call in Latin principalities. In the first principality there are three orders nearer to God, godlike and above the other orders. They are equal in disposition by one singular and distinct grace; and from that in some

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way they exist as equals who all see God immediately. The Seraphs glow there with love, the Cherubim shine with knowledge, and the Thrones are pre-eminent in the discernment of judgment.

The name of each order states what is peculiar and proper to it, something conferred on it by the excellence of the gift making it godlike. What was given to it as a gift can be seen in its name. Our God, a glowing fire, in fact superabundant love, so drew together the holy ranks of the Seraphs and took and absorbed them in a like ardour of love, that they seemed to become *one spirit with the Lord* [1 Cor 6:17], just as iron glows as it absorbs heat and the colour of fire but it is not burnt; it only looks like fire and something burning. Isaiah, raised up in the spirit, represents these spirits as standing, flying, hiding and calling out:

Seraphs were in attendance above him; each had six wings: with two they covered their faces, and with two they covered their feet, and with two they flew. And one called to another [Isa 6:2-3].

Lucifer fell from heaven but the Seraphs were *in attendance above him*. Seraph means burning or setting on fire. The Seraphs burn in themselves and set fire to others with the fire of divine love; they represent love fixed on and not moving from God since they cannot be separated from the One they love. They fly with the unceasing impetus of love because they go to the One they love; they cover by a mutual indwelling affection those things that concern God but are hidden from them. They are the head and feet, namely, the highest and deepest mysteries; in this they are near God but they cannot understand the mysteries. Such mysteries are the beginning and end of the world of which we do not read of their being revealed by God to creatures. The Seraphs call out in continuous and tireless thanksgiving, stirring by grace those who have become dull in the love of God. Good Jesus, you reveal your sweetness to anyone faithful to you: *He brought me to the banqueting house* [Song 2:4], sober yet inebriated with love; you have in the house Seraphs flying, because your sweetness is introduced by knowledge; standing, because your sweetness inebriates and rises above the mind by love;

hiding, because this inebriation is sober by discretion; calling out from devotion.

The second order of spirits we call Cherubim, who, more than others below them, immediately after the Seraphs penetrate the divine mysteries and give to others more copiously the light of divine wisdom they have received. Cherubim means fulness of knowledge, indicating by this name the understanding and wisdom they have received from God. What they have, signifies how they got it; their full knowledge indicates to us its perfection. Had they not accepted it they would have had nothing. They accept the first light of wisdom given them by God and illumined by this gift of light they recognize the giver, they contemplate divine beauty, through which and from which and in which they see how beautifully and rationally all things are ordered. Through these spirits divine lights are given to others in due order. The divine goodness works firstly and principally and of itself to those who are near, and through them to others who follow.

Blessed Ezekiel speaks of these spirits saying that the Cherubim raise their wings, open them, and hide [Ezek 10:1-20]. What do the wings imply other than the quiet of contemplation? Wings carry a bird aloft, wings pointed at the tips suspend the bird in the air and separate it from the earth, and by contemplation we are lifted up and secretly explore secrets, suspended in desire in the heights, until the tip of the mind is separated from all the dregs of material things. Listen to the raising of the wings: *when the Cherubim lifted up their wings to rise up from the earth* [Ezek 10:16]. This is the first kind of contemplation: a raising up of the mind when the soul, wanting to contemplate God, separates itself in love from earthly things that do not blind the eye completely when possessed soberly; however, frequently a certain smoky darkness is released from them by excessive affection, by which the eye of the mind is darkened. I do not think it is possible for a beam of divine misery to be united to a bleary eye.

Listen to the opening of the wings and find an image of meditation. *The wings of the Cherubim were spread out* [1 Kings 6:27] upon the wall. Like birds holding themselves motionless in the air, they are said to spread their wings and look carefully with restless

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eyes to where they should fly next: so the contemplative soul, already raised above earthly things, with fear in meditation carefully pays attention to the place and homeland to which it is going. This is to spread the wings upon the wall, that is, the home of the soul.

Listen to the sound of the wings. Ezekiel 10:5 says: *The sound of the wings of the Cherubim was heard like the voice of God almighty.* This is the contemplation called a lifting up of the mind, when the soul, tired out from deep desires and deluged with frequent sighs, hears within itself by a revelation the voice of God speaking. When the soul has withdrawn from earthly things and is completely recollected in itself, it hears the voice of God speaking and is taught by heavenly disciplines. This is the sound or whispering of secrets when, according to Job 4:13-15, in a vision of the night sleep comes to humans and they sleep in bed; then discipline instructs them and opens their ears.

Listen to the vision. In Exodus 25:20 is read: *The Cherubim shall spread out their wings above, overshadowing the mercy seat,* the very place where the Lord showed mercy. This is the fourth kind called a deficiency of the mind. Whatever is covered is hidden. No matter how much the mind makes progress in contemplation, it can neither understand nor investigate the immensity of divine kindness but necessarily experiences the limits of the mind.

The third is the order of most blessed Thrones who enjoy a stable peace placed as they are around the Most High God in an undisturbed and firm way. The name of their place, which we translate literally as thrones, is outstanding for peace. Judges sit on thrones and benches, so that their proceedings might indicate the serenity of peace, lest they be moved by anger or hate or by any wish of their own will; hence, it is said of those who judge the world: *you will sit judging the twelve tribes of Israel* [Mt 19:28]. People sit when they are at rest in their affections, when they turn to God the serenity of hearts kindled with love, in the firmness of souls concerned with various reflections. We call the benches of kings thrones, for we see that kings are raised higher than others. We read that these spirits are adorned with a beauty pre-eminent over others, in whom by a special gift the admirable divine Majesty chose to reside in peace. The

presence of God shows that in a particular way they are the throne of God.

So God teaches knowledge from a solemn hall to humans and angels. The One who sits on the Throne *giving righteous judgment* [Ps 9:4], from whom *my vindication comes* [Ps 17:2], judges with tranquility setting aside error, disturbance, hate and any feeling of evil. Dionysius² calls these Thrones ‘high seats’ because of the authority of dignity; ‘strongly built’ because of the solidity of truth; ‘familiarily godlike’, that is, holding the One who judges in tranquility; ‘fixed’ because of unchangeableness.

But woe to us who are not like the angels but who deceive and are deceived. Our judgments are not well formed because they have no authority. A person with fever is not able to judge about health or the sweetness of foods, nor can a sinner judge the way of life of the saints. Should we see a licentious, deceitful or disordered religious, we do not attribute the fault to the individual but we blame the whole group with our detractions. We see in hedges the bareness of thorns and in a garden or enclosed area we do not believe there could be a richness of fruits. Our judgments are not serene because at times a judgment of dangerous suspicion arises from a disturbed mind, and when admonitions should be given in charity they become public statements. They are changeable because frequently we are moved by hate or love; and so we fail in our judgments for we do not know the order of heavenly judgments.

And as far as I can understand the words of blessed Dionysius, the order of heavenly judgments is inflexible in truth of judgment, in respect of persons, in forgiving compassion and is free from any interior or exterior pressure that might distort the rightness of judgment. That order raises itself above in an incorporeal and immaterial way, bases itself on the divine judgment in everything and conforms to it in everything. While these spirits are conformed to God in rightness of judgment, they are confirmed in the fulness of truth. Therefore, they do not deviate from right judgment because of any external pressure such as respect of persons, nor because of a deficiency within themselves known as a laxity of personal faint-heartedness. Therefore, filled with the light of judgment, they bring

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to subjects the decision of a divine sentence. Not only do they bring infused rays of the light of a just judgment, but, so that the subjects might accept them, they open and explain them with a strong expression of fervent desire, so that from the gifts received they might serve God in carrying out their ministry. I call their ministry a just and right judgment. Therefore, as in their first conversion, they rejected the lower orders and all creatures. These blessed spirits make simple the eye of the mind, first of all by changing light to strength in themselves; they do this by the justice in which they delight and they praise, in a way that is understandable, the just Judge in his judgments. Hence, they received the ray of just judgment and were confirmed in correctness of judgment. It is necessary for everyone who judges to turn in every judgment to the true Judge, who is always to be kept before one's eyes. Once this rule, by which one is directed simply, is put aside one will err in judgment and will be deceived. Judges who rely on their own prudence are often deceived. Every correct judgment derives from a divine ray when it has been studied and adopted. Just as colour does not change the eye unless there be sunlight, so a creature does not judge correctly without a ray of divine judgment, either immediately as in the Thrones who without the medium of a divine light contemplate the divine essence, or mediately as in us to whom the sentences of divine judgment are brought by divine providence through the ministry of angels.

CHAPTER 9

On the second and third hierarchy

The second hierarchy contains three orders of blessed spirits. According to blessed Bernard¹ the spirits called Dominations are in the higher rank, Principalities are in the middle while Powers are in the lower rank.

Dominations are spirits who reflect on the passing of time, the movement of bodies and the working of minds in the plan of Christ. To be ruled adequately and peacefully, to be rapt in that sea of divinity, they take themselves to a solitude of tranquility where they enjoy such peace and security that, as a token of reverence, another multitude of spirits serves them.

According to blessed Dionysius² this order presides but not from some necessity on its part. Prelates are like this order in the use of due power provided they do not seek their own simple needs in their office but seek the benefit of the subjects, provided they do not have their eye fixed on temporalities but on eternity and provided they are severe in power but liberal in kindness.

Principalities are the second order. These are spirits who reflect on the one principle of all that is above them and they accept being part of this kingdom. According to blessed Bernard³ the concern of this order is to change kingdoms, to bring down the powerful from their positions; according to Gregory⁴ it is to teach subjects reverence for prelates; according to Dionysius⁵ they arrange what is to be done by the lower orders and lead them back to God. Subjects learn from this that sometimes for necessary reasons evil prelates are to be deposed. Nevertheless, while they remain in office they are to be revered and their precepts, provided they are in accord with God, are to be carried out, while what we do for them is to be referred back to God.

The third is the order of Powers, namely, spirits who oppose and limit the attacks of contrary powers. Lord Jesus, thanks be to you who so confine the diabolical tyranny that by your preventing power

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the contrary powers may not conquer us. The Lord set a limit for them beyond which they are not allowed to act against us; secondly, the Lord turns their suggestions into our good; thirdly, the Lord gives us the care of angels to protect and defend us; fourthly, the Lord gives us free will by which it is not necessary for us to consent to them, in fact we can resist in freedom.

The third hierarchy is of three orders that are, according to Gregory,⁶ Virtues, Archangels, and Angles who are all arranged in an order of higher, middle and lower.

Virtues are spirits named for their strength. According to Gregory,⁷ their strength comes from the excellence of their courage; according to Bernard,⁸ they are strong in working miracles; according to Hugh of St Victor,⁹ in penetrating secrets; according to Blessed Dionysius,¹⁰ they are strong in collecting gifts and in distributing the gifts gathered; because of their strength in working miracles it is said that at the end of the world *the powers¹¹ of heaven will be shaken* [Mt 24:29], because by the ministry of these spirits wonders will be worked in the elements. We are like these spirits when we are strong in resisting vice, subtle in our knowledge of divine things, members of God's household in accepting gifts and faithful in the distribution of the gifts we have received.

The second order is Archangels among whom Michael has the first place. It is his office to preserve the Christian people in faith, to strengthen them in difficulties, to pray for them in temptation, to present their souls to God to be glorified. In sacred Scripture, Michael is presented in a fourfold role from which the preceding can be proven. Jude 9-11 writes of a dispute when speaking of the devil and the body of Moses. The devil wanted to know the burial place of Moses so as to pay him reverence; by this he would destroy the divine and Catholic faith. It was the Archangel Michael who prevented this. Daniel testifies:

At that time Michael, the great prince, the protector of your people, shall arise. There shall be a time of anguish, such as has never occurred since nations first came into existence [Dan 12:1].

In the final anguish that will be the worst for the violence of tyrannies, cleverness of heretics, deceits of hypocrites, it is said that Michael will arise for the elect who will not give up in that anguish. Daniel 10:13 says: *So Michael, one of the chief priests, came to help me*. Now Michael is regarded as the principal angel of Christians just as he was formerly for the Jews. In Revelation 12:7 one reads of the battle Michael undertook with the dragon: Michael conquered the dragon with its army and took his place. So it is that the souls of saints are presented to God through him for Michael the leader represents them in the sight of God.

The third is the order of Angels. Angels are spirits frequently sent to us to inform us of what pleases God. In Greek they are known as angels and in Latin messengers. They tell us of divine power in the conversion of sinners, of wisdom in the revelation of secrets, of justice in the condemnation of the wicked. The Scriptures are full of them, so that we have no need to support this testimony. We are to become like angels so as to fear punishment, to correct sins or vices, to venerate mysteries so that we may desire what is of heaven.

CHAPTER 10

How we are made like the angels in their duties and in zeal for peace

O Jerusalem, the holy city, rejoice over the children of the righteous, for they will be gathered together and will praise the Lord of the ages; and happy are those who rejoice in your prosperity [Tob 13: 9. 13. 14].

There is truly peace in the heavenly city of Jerusalem where there is cleanness, harmony and reverence. The citizens of that city are merciful in themselves, harmonious among themselves, reverent to God who presides over them. It is a city in which there is brightness without evening, abundance of food without fail, pleasant company without tears, security without fear of an enemy.

Rejoice over your children. You have children rejoicing in heaven and children travelling on earth who by your kindness will in the end be placed among the orders of angels, since *in my Father's house there are many dwelling places* [Jn 14:2]. When they depart after death from this vale of tears, the souls of the saints go to the company of the blessed angels, that is, the nine orders of angels are different dwelling places like villages or distinct houses: those who have preached lesser things go to the Angels; those who announced more important items go to the Archangels; those who worked miracles and showed a noteworthy strength in their bodies merit to have a place among the Virtues, namely, angelic spirits; those who drove demons out of possessed bodies take their place with the heavenly Powers; those elected to office by others now sit with the Principalities; those who overcame in themselves all vices and unlawful desires and were called gods among us because of the purity of their cleanness are given a dwelling among the Dominations; those who carefully judge themselves, pay careful attention to divine fear and accept as a gift that they can in a correct way help themselves and judge others, are seen to become like the

Thrones; those who are full of divine faith and knowledge, provided they are devoted to love, merit to be called Cherubim among whom they are given a place because their knowledge is not mere curiosity and because *love is the fulfilling of the law* [Rom 13:10]; those who, alight from the torches of heavenly contemplation, long solely with desire for their Creator, reject earthly things, are above all temporal concerns, burn with love, inspire others by their words, and make ardent for the love of God those whom they touch with their words, these we are to place among the Seraphic spirits. For only by the love of God and eternity are Seraphs nourished and are able to love and be ardent; they stay still, resting in their ardour.

These, Lord, are nine chords in your lute and they produce a melody of heavenly harmony. They never produce a sad or mournful note but sing a sweet tune, a harmony from many varied chords, in the ears of the Most High Father. There is a tenth chord deeper than the others, namely, poor human beings, who want to be in harmony with angels. We are not able to be in harmony with them unless we avoid offending and scandalizing them, for which reason we ought to be concerned especially in those matters in which we know these most pure creatures take delight. However, while they want us to be sober, chaste and voluntarily poor, they expect from us above all unity and peace because they are called in Scripture *envoys¹ of peace* [Isa 33:7]. They look for the form of their city to be reproduced in us when they admire the new Jerusalem on earth so that we feel we are at one with them and there are no *divisions* [1 Cor 1:10] among us but we are as the *Jerusalem – built as a city that is bound firmly together* [Ps 122:3]. Where jealousy and quarreling exist among us we are truly carnal and walk in the ways of the flesh not in the spirit [Rom 8:4]; in this way we become like animals, dividing one from another and not having the Spirit. Whenever a person cuts himself or herself off from unity and peace that person has lost the Spirit of life. Spirits of mortal life or of bodily movement have no effect on limbs cut off from the body: *God's love has been poured out into our hearts through the Holy Spirit that has been given to us* [Rom 5:5]. Therefore, it is certain that if love is poured into us, peace and unity will not be

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broken nor will we lack in ourselves evidence and sweet experience of what we have tasted beforehand through the ministry of angels.

These are theophanies called in the Song of Solomon 1:11 *ornaments*. The angels have their own signs and proofs by which they are taught interiorly, in an immaterial and invisible manner, things concerning God, things invisible, deeply concealed, secret and hidden. Hence, theophanies or appearances that surpass even minds so divinely illumined become visible and what is completely hidden in God is shown and ministered to us according to our ability and the divine pleasure. This gives rise to and occasions those most sweet affections experienced and felt in prayer. When prayer is not fervent but comes from a cold heart, it immediately slips away, nor do angels delight in it; but when the mind is more fervent and intense in fervour, it is well directed and carried with full affection. It frees the mind, uses neither voice nor words because frequently words used in the beginning of prayer are blocks to devotion; but divine love, which the angels guard in our hearts, makes them keen and joyful to hear our prayers and to feel the sweetness of devotion. What the angels show us by their ministry is rightly called ornaments: *We will make you ornaments of gold, studded with silver* [Song 1:11]. Ornaments are adornments for the neck, small chains joined with gold, and with added links of a variety of silver. The name ornaments comes from murena,² a fish like an eel, which has in its sides rows like eyes; it does not see with them but twists itself around as if made in a circle.

By the name murena, we understand contemplatives who are like people circling around God because a circle has no beginning or end; the circular twisting of the murena resembles this. It represents two organs of sight, for our two eyes and even the eyes of angels are completely blind to an understanding of divine secrets; I am referring to the eyes of understanding and reason. Devout souls and those clinging to the contemplation of things heavenly do not lack bridesmaids, namely, angels whose duty it is to illuminate, reveal, encourage and serve; this ornament is made by the hands of angels when something is brought into our minds by God. Another translation says: 'Likenesses of gold work we will make for you with

decorations of silver, until the king is in his chamber' [Song 1:11 and 4]. This means that while now we are not able to see the divine glory, likenesses from Scripture are shown to us through the ministry of angels.

CHAPTER 11

That angelic peace is a lesson for our peace

We are to imitate the example of the angels who *maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace* [Eph 4:3]. Therefore, we will consider how their love reaches out so that unity and peace may be preserved.

In these blessed spirits so near to God, ardent and fervent from this closeness, their fire of love is drawn more to higher things through the love of God, and to lower things through a sharing in the good of God. In their thirsting for God's good they are partners wanting to be drawn together with God. As they love they give their subjects a model of loving and they enkindle in others the flame of love which burns in themselves. For this reason, the love of the angels is a lesson to us of love and peace. We learn from them that there is a triple force in love: by desire they move above themselves; by affection below themselves; above themselves in what they desire; in themselves in what they feel; under themselves because they draw subjects with them to what they feel and desire. All this is in one love and is one love, which is given to them from above and through them in due order comes down to their subjects so that all things might be united in harmony.

The souls of the blessed, placed below the divine altar, desire this unity and pray wanting it for us. We read in Revelation:

I saw under the altar the souls of those who had been slaughtered for the word of God and for the testimony they had given; they cried out with a loud voice, 'Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long will it be before you judge and avenge our blood on the inhabitants of the earth?' They were each given a white robe and told to rest a little longer, until the number would be complete both of their fellow servants and of their brothers and sisters [Rev 6:9-11].

Already the souls of the blessed enjoy rest but it is still incomplete. The souls are established in rest; they have escaped bodily death, they have thrown off their burden; *the snare is broken* [Ps 124:7] and they have been freed. While they fought for the Lord in the body of this death, there was no rest. Here there is the tumult of temptations, the effort of struggles, the uncertainty of the outcome, there is no security and on all sides there is danger. Sometimes from an early age the spirits are given a foretaste so that their faint-heartedness and weakness might be more easily borne. Then with the battle over and the robe [of glory] won, they will rejoice in spirit, experiencing joy also in their body. They reflect on the dangers avoided, the efforts made, the battles won, they wait for *the manifestation of the glory of our great God* [Titus 1:13], when their bodies will be remade in the likeness of the brightness of the body of the Lord [Phil 3:21]. And meanwhile they want us to wait since according to the word of David: *The just wait for me* [Ps 141:8 DRB; Ps 142:7 NRSV], and ask with urgency for the resurrection of their bodies.

But they receive a divine reply: *Rest a little longer, until the number would be complete of your brothers and sisters* [Rev 6:1]. Each has received a robe but they will not be clothed with double robes until we are clothed with them in the solemn nuptials, *since God has provided something better so that they would not, apart from us, be made perfect* [Heb 11:40]. There is active in them a natural desire by which their whole affection is not yet directed freely towards God. By their desire for us they are directed towards us and they are concerned with the desire for their own bodies. For as long as they hope and desire to get back their own bodies, they lack something personal which is why they cannot yet direct their whole intention and affection to God; therefore, they naturally reflect on their bodies *until death has been swallowed up in victory* [1 Cor 15:54]. The souls of the blessed are still bound to their bodies, not in movement or understanding, but by a natural affection: *The bodies of the saints are buried in peace* [Sir 44:14], and until that day they remained with us as pilgrims, but the souls clothed in the single robe persevere in rest: *In the eyes of the foolish they seemed to have died, but they are at peace* [Wis 3:2-3]. They conquered in peace, they found

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peace and rest, they will certainly obtain the fulness of peace when they will have drunk from the delight of the divine river [see Ps 36:8]; going most freely to God, they will be wholly changed from themselves. Human affection in them will completely vanish when they have reached the fulness of their beatitude. According to the opinion of Saint Bernard,¹ it will be necessary in some wonderful way for human affection in the saints to vanish and for their will to be totally poured out on God; otherwise how will *God be all in all* [1 Cor 15:28] if in a person something human continues? Substance indeed will remain, but in another form, another glory, another power.

CHAPTER 12

That the activity of angels does not block their peace and quiet

There is an objection against what has been said about the ministry of angels. If peace cannot be without quiet, then movement and quiet are contrary to one another, and peace will never be where quiet is not. But we read that angels move. Blessed Dionysius attributes a triple motion to them. In another place he says that angels are between, around and before the throne;¹ of the seraphs he says²: ‘Spirited, intelligent and most fervent is their movement around the Godhead’ and more in the same passage; therefore, there is no peace or rest in angels because they are in motion.

But note that in angels there are two movements: one is local movement, a matter we leave for discussion; another is movement of the affections to be considered here now. Local movement is marked by the norm of bodily measure while movement of the affections is distinguished by a special privilege and fervent desire of divine love. We distinguish a triple movement in angels in accord with the quality of their spiritual affections, namely, circular, straight and oblique.

Circular movement is when the angels move upwards towards God and are united with transcendent beauty of which there is no beginning or finishing point as in a circle. For just as a magnet or lodestone attracts iron by some hidden power which exists between a lodestone and iron, so infinite beauty attracts to itself the whole mind making it peaceful and at rest.

Straight motion is in the angels in so far as they go as higher beings to care for lower beings, correcting them, moving through middle beings to the lowest, and turning them to God. It is called straight since it goes from one to another.

Oblique movement is when they care for those below them while remaining enclosed within themselves and giving praise to the

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supreme good; by this we are taught to care for others in such a way that we are turned back to our own conscience.

What do we read of the blessed spirits being in front of and around the throne [Rev 5:6, 11; 7:11, 15 etc]? They are around the throne because they penetrate the secrets of the Mediator, around the throne because they ceaselessly are moved and inflamed while never moving within the throne.

What comes from God and what is about God is sometimes clear and sometimes hidden. Some divine matters can be seen and these can be penetrated and understood to some degree; others are so deep and intimate that no mind or wisdom can examine them completely. But it is indeed wonderful when a mind is given the ability to be in touch with these matters even though they cannot be penetrated by wisdom. Therefore, what is exterior is shown to a mind searching for knowledge while what is interior is not open to understanding. The angels circle with desire around what is not open to the mind and the highest angels immediately approach everything knowable in God and surround it in contemplation and love. For the rest, what has been said of their spirited, intelligent, and most fervent movement, so surpasses my mind that I can speak of it only as one who speaks but poorly and as one stammering.

Blessed Dionysius expounds the properties proper to seraphic spirits by using a metaphor of fire. These and other properties of the supernatural Virtues are seen to be inexplicable to mortals and pertain fully to the words heard by the Apostle in his vision [2 Cor 12:2]. It seems that the Apostle taught these things to his disciple Dionysius with a singular love, and so they have come to the Church through Dionysius. These were matters not to be said to a human being but the Apostle told them to Dionysius not as to a man but to a most special disciple bound and joined to him by a union of excellent love as if to a fellow citizen of the heavenly city. Fire never says: *Enough* [Prov 30:15], nor does its movement cease. Heat represents the fervour of mutual love by which the angels love themselves and other spirits in a prudence of mind. Fire is spirited and also intelligent in penetrating mysteries, since fire burns keenly. We understand their most fervent movement to be their extreme

contemplations and ecstatic visions; this is 'movement inaccessible, spirited, intelligent and most fervent, rightly most fervent'. Their minds as it were bubble up before God as water strongly heated by force of fire leaps above itself; fire overcomes all things. The movement of their substance is directed towards God by continuous and vigorous reaching out; it is irrevocable because their fervour does not lessen; it cannot be attracted away because their desire is not attracted to any other object.

Woe to cold and tepid hearts not touched by the fire of love sent by the Lord into the world so that it is strongly kindled [Lk 12:49]. This fire moves around the divine to make grace and life evident in humans! We know that love is life since *whoever does not love abides in death* [1 Jn 3:14]; without the movement of love the soul lies like a dead body, and since *love never ends* [1 Cor 13:8] it shows us eternal life. There is warmth in love by which a torpid and tepid mind is stirred to fiery love and a sluggish and lazy heart to love. You come to the height by penetrating and taking hold of what you desire until you go to what can be loved or rather to the one loved. Otherwise, if you do not go to the one loved, you love from the outside without being at the height of love. Love wants to make you one with the person loved and as far as possible it permeates and draws everything closer together into one. There is a most fervent movement in love unable to remain inactive. The height of love is to despise everything, to leave all; it is exceedingly fervent when it despises and abandons itself. An affection of true love becomes most fervent in a wonderful way when by the fire of love a mind is raised and lifted up to the One above it and by the force of love begins to be driven out and goes out of itself. How one bubbles, how one is fervent in heart when drawn only to the One who is above, when carried in thought and desire, thrown out of oneself and raised above oneself, not thinking of self while loving only God. We see this in material things when the heat of fire enters quietly into a liquid. Once the heat gains entry it powerfully and violently expels the liquid that, boiling internally from the heat of the fire, is thrown outside itself and taken above itself. The strong violence of fire does this in a marvellous and invisible way from within the liquid.

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But treating of the offices of the heavenly city, we have digressed a little. We must stop speaking of heavenly secrets and busy ourselves with sighs and prayers, so that we may come, aided by their prayers, into the company of those about whose peace and duties we began to stammer.³

CHAPTER 13

On earthly peace in general

The Apostle said to the Colossians 3:14-15: *Above all, clothe yourselves with love, which binds everything together in perfect harmony. And let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts.* We have considered angelic and divine peace, now we go on to earthly peace. While earthly peace may not have peace in itself, by a bond of peace it does reflect an image of peace in creatures of the universe. This is the reason why had we been brought to true peace *the peace of Christ would rule in our hearts* [Col 3:15]. By searching the sky above and the earth below we will discover the most unifying laws of all creatures.

The earth, sea and this world with all its elements, by which the wonders of God are proclaimed, would never be destroyed as long as peace and quiet prevailed. But once they abandoned peace and quiet and began to be at odds among themselves it was inevitable that they would come eventually to an end. God decides when to put an end to their struggle.

We may examine, if God so allows, the order of peace among them and we will see how all things serve peace. The sun, moon and stars, the ornaments of the heavens, keep their order and are unmoved from their course. The sun gives light to the atmosphere, warmth to the earth; the atmosphere nourishes the earth with rain and gives life-giving breath to all living creatures. The earth by giving its fruits and food to the living shows a motherly concern for all who live on it. Changes and successions of seasons follow one another and by their changes are useful and pleasant to us. The sea is contained within its boundaries beyond which it cannot pass; joined to the earth by its peaceful movement, it has multiple uses and brings many benefits.

All things among themselves come together into one system and harmony. What else does this indicate other than that peace is proclaimed silently to a rational soul concerned with the peace of the

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universe? At the least, a soul that carries in itself the image and likeness of God is to enjoy the divine likeness, show the nobility of its nature and draw an example for living from the heavenly and lower creatures.

Certainly, were there to be disturbance in the elements of the world and its system and harmony were to suffer some harm, as if the sun were to withdraw the rays of its light, or the sun and stars were to cease their circuit across the sky, were the atmosphere to be heated by rays beyond the natural measure of fire, the earth would be shaken, the sea would boil, and the state of all things changed, overcome by a disturbance among the elements.

Would family bonds, agreements between friends and even the sacrament of marriage, endure were peace absent? If peace is not present they would perish and not endure. Look at the Lord's people whom we call Israel and see what happened when peace and the harmony of unanimity were lost. *Why is it, O Israel, why is it that you are in the land of your enemies, that you are growing old in a foreign country?* [Bar 3:10]. Speak truly and admit: *If you had walked in the way of God, you would be living in peace forever* [Bar 3:13]. You lost your own land, exiled with shame and great ignominy you cultivated foreign land, suffering the slavery of having to pay tribute [Ex 1:8ff.]. While you lived in peace, you escaped the Egyptian tribute; you had your leaders and judges; you offered clear prayers to God. Day and night, a fire and cloud went before the people [Ex 13:22], the sea was firm beneath your feet [Ex 14:15ff.], giving way to those fleeing: the heavens provided for the hungry [Ex 16:1ff], the thirsty drank from a rock [Ex 17:1ff.], triumph over the enemy was gained merely from a stretching out of hands; the sea and the torrent of the Jordan paid homage to you [Josh 3:1ff.]. You saw the walls of the enemy fall merely from the sound of the trumpets [Josh 6:1ff.]. But when discord arose, the people was divided and separated into factions. Against God's will you asked for a king; and shattered by factions you gave rise to the law. Jeroboam and Rehoboam, rulers of the people, argued with one another [1 Kings 12:1], and youth began to move against the elders, the ignoble against the noble. They were handed over to the Babylonian captivity [2 Kings 17:2ff; 25:1ff]. When

the people were finally freed, their malice did not and does not cease. There came Antiochus who was a tyrant over the people; the walls of Jerusalem were destroyed, the people deprived of a temple, the Holy of Holies desecrated by hands [1 Macc 1:21]. Old and young, mothers and virgins were slaughtered without mercy. Jeremiah saw in the spirit that mothers ate the fruit of their womb and cooked their own infants [Lam 2:20-22]. For the rest, who can read what they suffered during the reigns of Titus and Vespasian without being moved to tears or at least feeling a natural pity. Later, they *crucified the Lord of glory* [1 Cor 2:8] and were convicted of the crime of lèse-majesté, received the due penalties which, should anyone wish to see, can be read in our Hegesippus and the author Josephus in *De captivitate Iudaica*.¹

These examples of dissension indicate clearly enough how dissension is to be avoided, and how peace and harmony are to be loved.

CHAPTER 14

On earthly peace in particular

How much the unity of peace should be esteemed when we find signs of it in every creature! Contrary to contrary, cold to heat, damp to dry, and so on for all things that are contrary to one another but are bound together in an harmonious peace, so that nothing is unseemly, nothing disturbs the universe, nothing disfigures its beauty, but all rest together in a most tranquil peace, seek their place, and are uneasy outside their proper place. If a stone is thrown a thousand times upwards, it always comes down and does not rest until it finds its proper place; if we pour oil on to other liquids, impatient with being submerged it slips back to the surface for it cannot rest below.

Do not single elements exist in their parts as if bound by a certain bond of unity? When they come to their right place, they rest together because they want nothing else. In this way there is a harmony or music of the universe. From the lowest dark body, below which is nothing, to God, above whom is nothing, the universe is joined together by like and common elements of many kinds, so that without interruption it seems there is in the whole universe nothing so diverse that it does not fit in with a certain continuity.

Therefore, this is the peace and earthly music or harmony in all creatures. All things are ordered, joined by most firm laws and are good because of the harmony of unity; what are different and lack harmony are not good, but when they begin to be united they become good. And so, *Christ is our peace for he has made both groups into one* [Eph 3:14]. Christ took on the office of mediator, and Solomon's *palanquin made from the wood of Lebanon, with posts of silver, its back of gold, its seat of purple* was so distinctive in style for we read it was *inlaid with love* [Song 3:9-11].

CHAPTER 15

On human peace which a rational soul desires

The Lord says: *In the world you face persecution* [Jn 16:33]. Since something has been said about earthly peace, we move on to human peace.

I refer to the human peace proper not to carnal but to spiritual people. This peace is greatly desired by a rational soul, is acquired when desired, is strongly blocked off when sought, afterwards what was blocked off is found, it nourishes when found, it increases the one nourished, it perfects the one increased, it enjoys what is perfected, and so the soul is at rest. The way ahead is to follow these steps.

Get up, faithful soul. Why are you saddened with grief and why distracted with curiosity? By your nature you desire peace. If animals want a food of which they know the taste, why do you not desire peace since desire is directed only to what is sweet and desirable? Your appetite will never be satisfied until it has found rest in peace; nor will you ever attain the peace your nature wants until you find what satisfies your appetite, and, according to the Prophet, until rest and peace have come in our world. For just as a limb of a body, for example a foot or hand, endures much pain when cut off or taken from its proper place in the order and structure of the limbs, and does not rest until it has been returned or brought back to its proper place, so the appetite of the soul is afflicted in some way until it has found what it most desires and rests peacefully in it.

This side of heaven there will always be something you want, desire and ask for. Be active then until you come to what you desire, since wherever you are before that, you will find something annoying unless you relate it to God. False joy offers you an imitation of peace; but the image or shadow of delight covers a real unhappiness, not unlike the way any sick person strongly desires health, but because of the present illness, abhors the burning of fire and cutting by the doctor. And although distress may be increased by

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the use of medicine, namely, by ointments or poultices, the sick person prefers this, deceived by a false hope of health, because the sick person can have no cure other than by surgery or cauterization. So we, fevered and suffering in our souls, seek a cure in what is sweet and desirable by finding a false remedy, but there continues in us the desire for health. We do not lose the appetite for peace but we do not taste the medicine that produces peace.

When this natural desire is enlivened by the grace of God, it protects us from upsets of mind and body and gives rise to purity of heart with tranquility. By this we leave our parents, passing dignities, earthly riches and all delights of the world and flesh, so that we might obtain purity of heart and peace, which, if they are not kept always before our eyes, our efforts become vain and unstable when varied and contrary thoughts are stirred up. Our mind, when it does not have something to which it may return, something to which it clings by desire, will necessarily be not only without calm, but it will be changed by a variety of distractions into that state which comes from the first distraction in the many that come from outside.

Hence, we see and lament for some religious who are upset over small matters, for example, a small book, a writing tablet or such things, even while they spurn great wealth. Often they hold on to a codex with such intensity that they hardly allow others even to touch it. Their anger over such things is so unruly that the former affection they had for important objects while they were still in the world, they still retain to their own danger. Were they to hold firmly to purity of heart and desire for peace, they would never be subject to the sickness of impatience, especially since vice is not in the things themselves but in affection for these things. That we may know to give up the desire for lesser things, we in fact give up greater things. Would that we were inspired by a desire for peace and purity as strong as the desire of the greediest person for money, or as the vain ambition of a person anxious and strongly set on acquiring honours. Certainly, were this to happen to us, were such a desire to enkindle love in us, we would despise necessary food, abhor drink, refuse sleep, like blessed Francis who preached most fervently in word and action, ate *ashes like bread, and mingled tears with drink* [Ps 102:10],

and said 'it is impossible to satisfy a necessity without responding to a pleasure'.¹

CHAPTER 16

That a rational soul seeks what it desires

The rational soul seeks peace and quiet according to the word of the Prophet: *Seek peace and pursue it* [Ps 34:14], and while these cannot nor will be had in this life, they must be searched for most seriously. Why must one search for them for any reason other than that here they hide, while in heaven they rest with constant stability? In heaven we will not find them unless we have carefully sought them here. But where, Lord, will we be able to find this peace, for wherever my soul turns it finds unhappiness and sorrow except when my whole soul is turned towards its Creator?

‘You, Lord, have made us for you and is it surprising if our heart is restless until it rests in you?’¹ We praise what you have created, because it is beautiful, but turn to the Creator and see how much more beautiful is the One who made all things. If earthly realities please you, provided you grasp them correctly, your love will lead you to their maker. But if you love something with a sincere love, it will vanish and be lost if the love is not made firm in the Lord. In a love of creatures, because they are unstable, you will not find a state of quiet, but they can give this to you when you ascend through them to find the Person who is stable peace. Do not look outside for the Lord because you will be frustrated. The Lord is within your soul, indeed the one you seek is closer to you than your own interior. Ask the sky and the earth, the sea, the abyss and every living creature. They will all answer you in one voice, saying, we are not the one you seek, direct your way above us; *it is he who made us, and we are his* [Ps 100:2]. You will find a trace of peace in us, in so far as we do peacefully the duties given to us, but the peace you seek is not to be found in us because we work as it were continuously in our own stability. Such will happen to you if you go up from the earth to heaven and look as far as you can with the sight of spiritual eyes.

Why are you held back by vanities? If you seek pleasure outside, for light you will meet darkness, and perhaps a certain absurd kind of sweetness; you will draw out the images of things whose lights are

without knowledge, and are devoid of truth. Indeed, because we offend our Creator, were you to question creatures, you would get a reply such as: poor person, you should have served your Creator, and accepted lordship over us that we might serve you. We deny you this service that originally you accepted in full service over us. It is counted for you as punishment since you have withdrawn. You will not find in us the peace and quiet you seek because, as stated in Wisdom 16:24, *creation exerts itself to punish the unrighteous.*² For you the earth from divine justice will bring forth thorns and thistles; however, by the Creator's mercy it will sustain you by producing food. You ask us to show a former service, but it is just, if you reflect on your merit, that you feel torment from every creature. See how the least unpleasant experience disturbs you, not allowing you to sleep. Nothing is quiet. Note what we lost in your fall, how the world appeared in the beginning. The sky and earth were perfect, and each single thing between them was adorned with wonderful beauty. The sky sparkled with the lights of the stars, the air and water danced with birds and fish; the earth, filled with many varieties of plants, diverse species of shrubs, rich in flowers and fruits, echoed to the harmony from the melodious songs of the birds of all the forests. The beasts in herds according to their species rejoiced as they moved through the forests, the surface of the sea announced joy in its tranquility and peace; the quietest movements of the waves vibrated like fields verdant with the finest and most harmless covering, the upper surface moving with a fitting subtlety.

But because of your sin and punishment, the earth has been cursed in your work and every creature is changed to a worse condition. Be ashamed! The earth remains, but you, because of what you have done, cannot remain and are horribly destroyed. Neither your Creator, nor the earth from which you were made caused you to fall; this was done by your own evil. The Creator made you for eternity. You were made from the earth that had and preserves stability; but you were destroyed by your own evil and fell into genuine unhappiness. No creature is more unfortunate than yourself if you but reflect well on your origin and bodily birth. God seemed to have given every other creature more abundance and protection. God

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gave them various coverings, shells, skins, hides, spikes, hair, bristles, tails, down, feathers, scales, fleece, bodies, and even a tree is safe from cold and heat by the covering it grows. A human being, however, on the day of birth is cast out naked, crying and lamenting, on to the bare earth; at birth it comes from the earth, the origin of flesh; living on the earth it spends its life, and dying goes back to the earth by the corruption of its flesh: *cursed is the ground because of you*, [Gen 3:17], and you are cursed on the earth: *By the sweat of your face you shall eat bread* [Gen 3:19]. And now you seek the peace you could have had. See what Job says: *who has resisted him and found peace?* [Job 9:4 DRB].

CHAPTER 17

That peace is not found because the spirit is subject to vices

We look for peace, but find no good; for a time of healing, but there is terror instead [Jer 14:19]. We want peace, we have looked for what we want. What prevents us from finding it? Perhaps because it has not been looked for in the things in which it is to be sought or where it is to be sought or in the way it is to be sought.

A mind corrupted by vices, troubled by the worm of conscience, distracted by vain thoughts, troubled by earthly desires, cannot be thought to be at rest because it is lying among thorns; *'there is no peace'*, says the Lord, *'for the wicked'* [Isa 48:22]. Clear reflections do not appear on dirty water, nor does the serenity of peace appear where there is the dirt of sins that, while they abound in us, are unfortunately understood by few. We remain silent on those who cover the eyes of their heart with a thick covering of sins, who see but yet do not see or understand. Such people scarcely recognize capital sins in their hearts. They are like inflamed and blind eyes hardly able to see anything in the dark other than large benches or such things as can be felt by a touch of the hand. What do such people care about peace of which the sweetness takes away the bitterness of sin?

Moreover, Scripture says that even holy people are not entirely immune from sin because *though they fall seven times, they will rise again* [Prov 24:16]; such falls coming from the condition of human weakness do not obstruct holiness and peace. It is one thing to commit mortal sin, but something quite different to be confronted with some thought, to offend from ignorance, forgetfulness or the ease of an idle word, to be moved by a subtle tickle of vain glory, or from the pressure of human nature to draw back a little from high perfection. It is impossible not to sin from ignorance, vanity and negligence, from being taken by surprise, from some thought, necessity or forgetfulness.

These are the seven kinds of lapses in which, as already noted, a righteous person falls but even though the fall be one or other of

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these, the person does not cease to be righteous. Even though they be light and small, they convince us that we cannot be without sin which is to be corrected by daily penance. These lapses are pardoned most of all by confession and prayer, as the Lord says: *I created the fruit of the lips, peace* [Isa 57:19 DRB].

Depending on whether a heart is pure or impure, the serenity of peace is found or blocked. But I and people like me are not able to look with purified vision at deceitful thoughts or those slippery and hidden yearnings which attack the mind with their subtle suggestions and captivate the soul; but always wandering in shameful thoughts, we do not know how to feel sorrow since we are distracted from that peaceful contemplation, thinking we are not able to incur any fault from these idle words and the invasion of deceitful thoughts. Rather, smitten by a kind of blindness of the eyes and amazed by this dullness, we do not see grave sins in ourselves, even when such are reprovved by the judgment of seculars, and we believe we are living in secure peace. Through negligence we do not see the details of many sins that congregate within us; and as the Scriptures proclaim, ignorant people, living in such a battle, call it peace.

But those who are separated from our number, while wanting to be at leisure in quiet and peace, are stung with a wholesome compunction, when a listlessness of sadness creeps in, a more tepid affection in prayer shows itself and something inflicts itself on the one praying. They begin to say something, act in secret or even think of something of which they would be ashamed before others and then they suffer from the punishment of present penance. The perfect despise all the things with which the world is busy; however, it is impossible not to be affected by them at least to the extent of some brief distraction in thoughts. With the exception of the Lord Jesus Christ, no one is so rapt in contemplation of God that, when returning to earthly concerns, they do not sin in some way through affection for some object. No one among the saints is unchangeable and *the heavens are not clean in his sight* [Job 15:15]. We except the glorious Virgin Mary of whom no mention is to be made when speaking of sin.¹ But what is more unfortunate in us is that, at the very moment of prayer, sin cannot be put aside. For the body of the

death we carry within us draws us back from looking on what is heavenly, leads us to what is of the earth. While we are singing or prostrate in prayer, the body recalls human images, conversations, business or superfluous actions, to which the soul consents, forming a picture of things seen and indulging in imagination. These are the flying pests which came down on the sacrifice of Abraham [Gen 15:11] and which he could hardly drive away due to their persistence.

CHAPTER 18

How we are able to know that the root of sin lives in us. This is due to incurring a penalty

The wisdom from above is first pure, then peaceable [Jas 3:17], because it makes one pure and keeps one in peace. To be wise on earth is to acknowledge one's faults; we must know our vices so as to cure them. If we aim to go higher without curing our vices the effect of the vices is strongly restrained but our affection for them is not extinguished. The root of all vices lurks within us, and if it is not torn out or the cure of a remedy accepted, it grows rapidly.

When we see guests coming and are upset in our mind, the root of impatience lives in us. When blamed for a delay we will find sadness and anger in us. If a brother asks to read one of our books or for something else, and the request saddens us or if our refusal pushes away the one asking, we can recognize in ourselves the seed and root of avarice. If we are disturbed by the images of living persons put before us or even thought about, we can know that the desire for fornication is not yet dead within us. If we feel elated when comparing our state in life with other states, thinking that our perfection is greater, do we not see that we have been corrupted by the curse of pride? And although these vices lie hidden, given the right occasion, as happens when we are involved in ordinary conversation, straightaway from the caves of our senses these pests come out, announcing they were born just before they appeared but they show they have long lain hidden.

There is a remedy against these, namely, for each person to humble him or herself and constantly reflect how he or she carries a multiple vice capable of breaking out in public unless the Highest Doctor provides a remedy. When we take pride in some trace of our merits, we blame ourselves saying, why are you puffed up with pride or presume on yourself? You are aware many punishments are set aside for you, and while you are well able to inflict all injuries, yet you collapse at one word of correction and both immediately and

unexpectedly you lose patience. Where is your patience now lost and confused over the uttering of the slightest rebuke? You thought you built your house on a most solid rock yet a light breeze broke it down and moved it. Where is what you proclaimed with empty confidence, desiring war in peace, and said with the prophet: *I am ready, and am not troubled* [Ps 118:60 DRB; 119:60 NRSV], *search me, O lord, and know my heart* [Ps 139:23]. A mere shadow of the enemy shattered your vast preparations for battle.

Without yielding, we are to hold that not only revenge for injuries but even their memory is forbidden to us by divine law, and those of us who are perfect know this. Should one see such harm done, no matter what injuries are inflicted on the person, even by tyrants, I will say only that it is to be borne by neighbours eagerly and peacefully. Nothing is more dangerous than anger, nothing more precious than peace and nothing sweeter to the heart than purity. Therefore, peace is not found in the disorders mentioned above, even though it be looked for, but it is impeded by the vices which exist there.

CHAPTER 19

Peace is not found because we are engaged in battle

Peace is not found while one is engaged in battle, struggling to gain victory. According to a word of wisdom: *A time for war and a time for peace* [Ecc1 3:8]. War is a time of struggle, peace is found in a display of victory and virtue.

The devil, the world and our flesh fortify camps and stir up hatred against us. The Apostle claims he had to fight against the demons when he wrote of himself fighting against *powers, authorities and the rulers of this present darkness* [Eph 6:12]. He who *fought with wild animals at Ephesus* [1 Cor 15:32] showed that he fought against perverse lovers of the world. As he fought he was not *as one beating the air but I punish my body and enslave it* [1 Cor 9:26] making clear his struggle against the flesh.

There are then three tyrants who bring their armies to battle against us. Each has weapons apt for waging war on the soul and should the soul be incautious or negligent, it will in the end be sad in being overcome, unless the soul has determined and proven in deeds that it has fought strongly. The devil for fighting uses suggestions, the world temptations, and the flesh pleasures.

We conquer the devil when with perseverance we refuse to act upon his suggestions; we conquer the world when we despise its prosperity and bear adversity with patience; we conquer the flesh when we do not consent to its lower desires. But the enemies once conquered do not immediately withdraw lest there be continuous peace; they try again and strive again to be able to disturb. Since they are timid they pretend to be bold and attack the soul trying to test with terror what spirit is in us. They prepare ambushes and probe silently so as to come unexpectedly. There ensues a great battle and daily struggle, until, as we get stronger, they give up in desperation and frustrated abandon their hope completely. And so we will obtain rest after the patience and effort of struggle. Then the world that is

usually fierce is pacified and a vigorous spirit calms the desires of the flesh.

For no one knows, except one who has conquered, how much peace, how much pleasure is found in conquering vices. And the soul finds rest because *when the ways of people please the Lord, he causes even their enemies to be at peace with them* [Prov 16:7]. Is it not pleasant when movements of the flesh and impure desires arise and are curbed by temperance and steeped in the sweetness of purity? And, when the desire of gluttony is overcome, one does not rejoice in speaking or feeling the language of one's belly but in pure affection for the Lord. Were the love of flesh fully put to rest, or absorbed by the fire of divine love, or at least its tyranny lessened by temperance, the mind would not be disturbed by its affliction since it cannot be destroyed by pleasure. So, one who has to contend in so many battles, as the Fathers of antiquity defined, must necessarily be ambidextrous¹: a holy person uses both hands in battle. I refer to the right hand since spiritual victories which are of the right hand are accepted so calmly that a thought of vain glory does not cast down the victorious person, and, in those things that are from the left and pertain to the left, the victorious person does not fall into despair because they are firmly put aside. Triumphant in both states, the palm of victory is won from the right and from the left.

But beware, athlete of Christ, lest, when you fight, sun, dust or wind be in your eyes. Sun in the eyes takes away sight; a contrary wind deflects the force of your arrows or spears, and turns the spears of your enemies against you. Dust accumulated on the face fills and closes the eyes. Pride is in the brightness of the sun, vanity in the fragility of the wind, greed in the dust of the earth, and if you look on these with desire and put them before your face, you lose the victory and succumb when conquered. Be ambidextrous and strong so as to hear the angel's word as written in the book of Judges 6:12: *Peace to you, most strong of warriors.*² Renewed in the spirit of the mind one either moves ahead each day or falls back and slips into what was behind or worse. If one tries to row a boat by the force of oars against the waters of a violent river, it is necessary to conquer the force of the torrent by the force of one's arms or go backwards with

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hands off the oars. According to an opinion of the Fathers we may not doubt that we go backwards on any day when we do not sense that we have moved to higher things. Love either decreases or increases. A boxer, a charioteer and a hunter use their skills for a small reward and for popular acclaim, secular soldiers read the wind and judge disturbance while not ceasing from their work or fighting. How much more should the soldiers of Christ fight strongly for salvation, not for popular glory, but for the glory of everlasting happiness? We read that it is laid down in the law for war that, from the largess shared by soldiers, one part is given to them for their necessities while another part is kept and given them at a suitable time lest it be used senselessly. If you fight lawfully, peace of heart will be given to you and finally the peace of eternity. This is peace added to peace, just as the Prophet writes *from sabbath to sabbath* [Isa 66:23].

CHAPTER 20

That peace is not found in arguments

I state with confidence that peace is not found where it should be found, namely, among some regular religious, even though Paul in the beginning of his epistles greets all with peace and grace [Eph 1:2; Gal 1:3 etc]. While peace among some is not disturbed at all, bitterness is frequently mixed with peace because just as stupid people are hostile to peace for earthly goods, so among spiritual persons arguments and quarrels in words arise over differences of opinions. Sometimes they form their opinions stupidly and defend them with greater rashness; and because we put more faith in our own opinion than in the opinions of others, frequently we err shamefully when deceived by the snares of the demon. *Even Satan disguises himself as an angel of light* [2 Cor 11:14] and puts a fourfold darkness on our senses fraudulently as if it were the light of true knowledge and so we suffer inwardly a serious ruin, receiving in our thoughts the angel of darkness instead of an angel of light.

But it is impossible for one to avoid danger when relying on one's own judgment. For this reason the Apostle warns: *having the same love, being in full accord and of one mind, do nothing from selfish ambition or conceit* [Phil 2:2-3]. I have seen some religious men and women, from a certain silly attitude which they seemed to hold regarding the saints, so quarrel among themselves in such unyielding and obstinate words that they were seen to disdain the glory of one saint so as to heighten the glory of another. But, as has been said before: *God is a God not of disorder, but of peace; the servant of God must not be quarrelsome* [1 Cor 14:33 and 2 Tim 2:24]. Therefore, we are not to be ready for such disputes and lazy in prayer. The merits of the blessed help us, and are sufficient for them as they enjoy eternal peace. But we who remain in darkness, having little light, are not to hold obstinately to our own opinions because holy persons are not to be obstinate. As wax runs and melts near fire so the human heart, imbued with the fervour of the Holy Spirit, yields to a better judgment and, putting aside jealousy, rests in peace and

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grace. Therefore, Lord, *give light to those who sit in darkness, and guide our feet into the way of peace* [Lk 1:79].

CHAPTER 21

That true peace is not found in riches

Peace is not found because it is not where people are searching for it. It is not found in riches, which rather provide occasion for quarrels, restlessness and distress, although those affected by this sickness seem to be unaware of it. They do not reflect on how much eagerness is needed to ask for wealth, what effort to acquire it, what fear in owning it, what sorrow in giving it up. An avaricious person is afraid a powerful person will plunder, a thief will rob and when there is peace the person always fears plots. There is no true tranquility when the person never watches without worry nor gives the body its rightful sweetness of sleep: 'With genuine tears does one weep for lost money'.¹

The Psalmist thought himself deceived, because he regarded such as happy and living in peace; hence he revoked his opinion saying: *I was envious of the arrogant; I saw the prosperity of the wicked* [Ps 73:3].² It is an unsuitable zeal to envy what is to perish and to think those happy who are certain to be cast down into eternal damnation. He said: *I saw the prosperity of the wicked*; well does he say *I saw* because such peace is not understood but seen, deceiving our vision. When rich sinners of this kind are seen by some to rule over people and to have nothing to fear in the world, they are thought to have peace, but this peace is ever at odds with their conscience that is torn within them, and when no enemy is present it turns against itself. But the first sentence is recalled because, Lord, *when they were lifted up you cast them down, they suddenly ceased to be, they have perished by reason of the iniquity* of their crimes [Ps 72:18-19 DRB; 73:18-19 NRSV], so that suddenly those thought to enjoy such happiness are seen to be desolate. Desire fulfilled does not please the soul and when it is not fulfilled it takes away peace, tires and tortures the soul. According to the thought of Solomon *the lover of money will not be satisfied with money* [Eccl 5:10] and so the more one wants the more one is tortured.

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These rich, even if all of them owned the whole world, would still be afire with desires. There abounds in them a fire which *never says: 'Enough'* [Prov 30:15], a fire which has burnt almost the whole forest of this world, so that they have love neither for friends or relatives, nor for children or spouse as long as they retain the fire of desire. They love only what seems sweet to them, namely, to be turned in what is vile and to turn themselves in it, just as a pig delights in mire and a beetle in dung; the more they are turned in such dirt, the more delighted they are, not in the value of the thing, but in a vice of the will.

But would they tell me why riches have such appeal to them? Perhaps they would answer for the pleasure of the body, for a display of honour or to take revenge on their enemies. The first is countered by comparing the tables of the poor and rich. The rich person is pressured from a stretching of the stomach, weighed down by the amount and pressure of food. The soul, existing in such a body, palpitates and, as if immersed in the waves of a shipwreck in which neither eye nor tongue nor foot acts as usual but with all the limbs of the body caught in the bonds of wine, is held down more securely than with chains.³ To bring back to their senses people who are out of their mind and shocked, we sprinkle them with cold water, just as the rich, with their inner organs listless and parched from their vices, are on fire unless they have wine at hand. From feasting they are carried to bed, where frightened by dreams they have no feeling of well-being or quiet, as Solomon says: *The surfeit of the rich will not let them sleep* [Ecc 5:12]. But good health and sweetness abound at the table of the poor, where there is as much drink and food as is needed to overcome hunger and thirst; from this come health, quiet, judgment and integrity. Who would describe the feast of such rich persons as pleasant, except one who has no knowledge of pleasure? As our Chrysostom⁴ continues, pleasure consists in enjoying desires; but when one cannot enjoy desires, undoubtedly their abundance and pleasure perish as much as any delight.

Nor do riches bring honour. Riches cause one to lose heavenly honour, that is true honour, while earthly honour is obscure and false. Wayward, dishonourable women paint their faces with colours

and pigments so as to deceive an incautious youth who does not think of the dishonour lying beneath that covering. In the same way we do not see the dishonour in the rich when they are honoured not in truth but for the sake of adulation from perverse praises. If they would speak the truth from the purity of conscience, they would assert that the rich whom they previously honoured with praises are rather to be censured.

Riches are not to be sought from vengeance since we hear the Lord saying: *Vengeance is mine, I will repay* [Heb 10:30].

But they say poverty is burdensome for it makes a person bear much want and commit many wrong deeds. But if you take notice of truth it is not poverty that does this, but faint-heartedness; otherwise Job and Lazarus who bore heavy burdens would have blasphemed in their poverty; so *those who want to be rich fall into temptation* [1 Tim 6:9].

But note we do not condemn all rich people nor their wealth, provided wealth has been acquired justly, guarded with humility, spent with frugality in a sober manner, and distributed to the poor with piety. So Solomon speaking of riches did not say: 'whoever has riches' but *the lover of money will not be satisfied with money* [Ecc 5:9]. In truth those who love wealth immoderately draw no fruit from it because it incites thirst and leaves one famished. Let the five mad people, spoken of by Bernard,⁵ come to the centre:

I saw five mad people one of whom was chewing sand from the sea; another was standing in a pool where he tried to swallow the sulphureous vapour coming from the pool; a third, lying in a strongly heated furnace, delighted in taking flashing sparks into his open mouth; a fourth, sitting on a weather-vane of a temple, drew in the wind with his mouth, stirred the wind with a fan, as if he hoped to swallow all the air; a fifth, standing apart and laughing at the others, was sucking his own flesh, now with his arm in his mouth, now sucking on other parts.

What do these represent other than the awful hunger of the unfortunate since such food is not natural and increases rather than satisfies hunger? A soul capable of God cannot be satisfied with

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anything less than God; in fact, as blessed Augustine states in his *Confessions*⁶: 'Want is every richness which is not God'.

Pilgrims genuinely seeking the home of peace find wealth a burden and leave it behind so as not to be burdened on the journey. Sufficient for them is what they need for food, they make up any need which has to be met and restrain any harmful or wanton actions, as it is written: *They tilled their land in peace; the ground gave its increase, and the trees of the plains their fruit* [1 Macc 14:8].

CHAPTER 22

That peace is not found in pleasures

Peace is not found in pleasures when those pleasures mislead us into thinking that they lie under thorns. For our Philosopher, indeed Theologian, states that every delight has this: it acts with prods on those enjoying pleasures, hides a sting under honey, stirs up anxiety and satiety brings penance; there is no rest, no joy. Pleasure seekers are wanton like brute animals with distended stomachs, but their dishonourable pleasures end as follows: *Many have died of gluttony* [Sir 37:31], and, *when they say, 'There is peace and security', then suddenly destruction will come upon them* [1 Thess 5:3]. Of necessity a mind in which an evil spirit has settled is agitated by passions; with every bond of goodness broken and so burdened, wandering and drunk, it is driven by fiery promptings of immodesty to every shameful act and depravity. For this reason it is impossible to find rest and peace in pleasures.

What benefit were pleasures to you, Solomon, you who had more of them than others?

I said to myself, 'Come now, I will make a test of pleasure; enjoy yourself'; I kept my heart from no pleasure, for my heart found pleasure in all my toil [Ecc 2:1, 10].

Previously you had peace in your round of duties; but the Lord stirred up against you a servant [1 Kings 11:11], indeed a servant, because you became a most vile servant acting as a slave of your belly. A life of pleasure brings on sorrow, difficulty, poverty and death. The spirit must be strengthened and withdrawn far from the attractions of pleasure; bodily pleasures are to be resisted. Many overcame their powerful enemies and yet were themselves overcome finally by pleasures and wine.

When the body holds less sweat, this is not from the softness of pleasures but from being driven out by work. A certain wise person said that hands taken from the plough to take up arms refuse much

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work. When pleasure takes hold, it is to strangle us. How can there be peace where there is always dread of the plots of death? So Jeremiah 16:8 says: *You shall not go into the house of feasting*, and then adds, *I have taken away my peace from this people, says the Lord* [16:5]. And listen to the Apostle: *The kingdom of God is not food but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit* [Rom 14:17].

We should reflect on weak people burdened with distaste for special foods prepared for them and for whom the foods are a cause of horror not pleasure. Joy has ended for them because desire for such foods has gone; pleasure is not in the food itself but in desiring it. The children of Israel, after considerable exhaustion from their journey, enjoyed cold water flowing from a rock as if it were honey [Ex 17:1ff; Num 20:1ff.]. When it was said: *with honey from the rock I would satisfy you* [Ps 81:16], this is not to be understood literally because nowhere in Sacred Scripture do we read that honey flowed from a rock, but they called the cold water provided by the Lord *honey* because by it the longing of thirst was satisfied. Therefore, there is no doubt that simpler food gives more joy and quiet than a more abundant pleasure.

But what shall I say of the relaxations of our own time and of the frugality evident in the ancient Fathers? For three or four days they abstained from food, and time passed for them without any thought of food; others with two biscuits, that is, with small breads twelve ounces in weight, sustained their life in the desert; others adequately refreshed hardly partook of food until they thought of it as night came on. But *let anyone accept this who can* [Mt 19:12]. All have to give thought to the limits of their strength without making the privileges of a few rules binding on all. But I am aware of a true saying, namely, that all excesses are equal. Excessive fasting and over indulgence in pleasure lead to one end. Both frequently entrap the incautious person, and often we have seen those whom the enemy could not deceive by gluttony fall by immoderate fasting. Therefore, one should stay on the middle way, namely, not allowing oneself to be drawn from the path of temperance and abstinence nor to be undone by an excessive relaxation of the desires of the flesh.

The body has to be taught to serve not to rebel or be wanton; the flesh is to be cared for not by indulging in pleasures but by the exercise of healthy disciplines. The more one takes food in a proper way, the more easily is it digested, the more sweetly does the body sleep, the quality of dreams improves, one gets up less tired and works more strongly and quickly. All things are done with this type of discretion lest from a weakening of the spirit or tiredness in the body, spiritual growth is held back. Otherwise, we take away from the body the benefit of good work, a correct attitude from the spirit, the honour due to God, and the help and example due to a neighbour. I do not say that the head would not sometimes be burdened in the service of Christ when one had to work strongly in the vanity of the world, even to falling sick, but in all things one is to judge the way of discretion and proper action. So, according to the word of Sirach 41:14 *My children, be true to your training and be at peace.*

CHAPTER 23

That peace is not found in dignities and titles

Peace is not found in dignities, honours and titles.

Ambition always *spreads like gangrene* [2 Tim 2:17]. A person finds himself or herself further from peace, the more he or she sets his or her sight on such earthly concerns. One who spurns all these comes more easily to true honour and peace than one who, travelling a torturous path, goes around and begs for votes so as to obtain the desired dignity. Should the dignity be obtained, quiet does not follow while ambition increases more and more. We see this increasing so much in our time that some shameless dogs want to be pastors, they rise up in the Lord's flock like dogs intent on plunder, because they do not know how to pasture the Lord's sheep committed to them by word, example or protection. Absalom was not at peace when, spurred on by desire, he tried to usurp the kingdom of his father [2 Sam 15:1ff.]. Such people have neither peace in themselves nor help it in others: *the way of peace they have not known, but there is destruction and unhappiness in their ways, there is no fear of God before their eyes* [Ps 13:3 DRB; Ps 14:3 NRSV]. If they had fear, many would not so indifferently and in diverse places run after honours. They would fear uncleanness of mind, weakness of bodily strength and the difficulty of the burden. Paul thought of himself as inadequate as he looked at the greatness of such an office; he was afraid that after *proclaiming to others* he himself *should be disqualified* [1 Cor 9:27].

Do you want to live with great honour? Know how to govern your own mind. Truly worthy of honour are all who excel in virtues, who lack the vices others cannot easily resist. Temporal honour is not to be desired by one who does not repel vice, does not develop virtue in the mind nor flees wickedness, but rather makes wickedness evident. As commonly stated, honour reveals one's character and false dignity makes one a shameless scorners. Such a person defiles

dignity. For honour, a virtue of the mind, is bestowed neither by an Emperor, nor nourished by praise nor bought with money; it is not changed by the seasons, does not disappear in the wind, nor is it puffed up like foam, does not pass like a shadow, like a hurrying messenger or like a ship crossing the waves but leaves no trace of its passage [Wis 5:9-11].

We see such dignities or honours coming to most wicked people whose unworthiness would be evident were it not hidden by honours. We are not to think people are worthy of reverence because they have honours when we judge they are unworthy of such honours. Genuine private honours do not come from such dignities which are based on an erroneous viewpoint and do not last. When there is nothing seemly of their own nor natural in them, and the lustre they have is only in the opinion of those using them, such lustre is now accepted, now lost. So if dignities do not make a person worthy of reverence and honourable when the person is stained from contact with evil, if dignities cease to shine when fortune changes, how can one find among those who have dignities people who are peaceful and quiet? In 1 Esdras 8:85 we are warned: *Do not seek ever to have peace with them.*

CHAPTER 24

That peace is not to be looked for in earthly friendships

Peace is not found in common or ordinary friendships, since we are aware of serious differences arising even among the closest friends; the former sweetness can give way to inexpressible bitterness and such human friendships are not able to survive. *Even my bosom friend in whom I trusted, who ate of my bread, has lifted the heel against me* [Ps 41:9]. And Jeremiah 9:8 says of some false friends: *their tongue is a deadly arrow; it speaks deceit through the mouth. They all speak friendly words to their neighbours, but inwardly are planning to lay an ambush.*

But so as not to seem to condemn every friendship it is necessary to distinguish one type of friendship from another. There is an animal friendship as in children; a carnal friendship as in pleasure seekers; a temporal friendship as in those seeking to please; a spiritual friendship as in saints.

Childlike friendship produces a transient and playful affection without thought, constancy or proportion, without thinking of good or harm to another. It is called animal friendship because it is not subject to reason nor does it know to distinguish between lawful and unlawful. This affection can at times attract strongly, bind one tightly, but because reason has not been followed it is broken as easily as it is formed. *There are friends who are such when it suits them, but they will not stand by you in time of trouble* [Sir 6:8].

Such was the friendship of the Church Father, Augustine,¹ for his friend, a friendship occasioned by their zeal in common studies. When this friendship came to an end with death, he said:

Only weeping was sweet to me, and it flowed for my friend in the delights of my soul. Now, Lord, that has passed and my wound with time has been appeased. I was miserable as is every soul bound by friendship for what is passing and distressed when it is lost.

Although affection sometimes precedes friendship, it is never to be followed unless reason leads the way, virtue controls and justice rules it.

This friendship is called childish because such unstable affection is common among the young. It is impure, with poison within it, in so far as its goodness is darkened by concupiscence of the flesh and mutual gazing, as if it breathed out a kind of smoke, and frequently, neglecting the spirit, it draws them to desires of the flesh; it moves and creeps in this way to make them speak, laugh together and regard one another fondly. But if it develops without jesting and lies, with signs of goodwill without any trace of dishonesty, it is to be allowed as a beginning of a holier friendship, so that with time, maturity of years, common study of spiritual matters, greater seriousness and a more purified affection it might come in this way to a spiritual friendship.

Carnal friendship forms an agreement coming from an attraction to vice and it follows the external senses indulging in various ways. Desire darkens, avarice fosters and every evil charms this friendship. It is not true friendship unless love is *poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit* [Rom 5:5]. When pleasure seekers come together in friendship, they suffer and inflict one another with some dishonour yet they are deceived into thinking that nothing is sweeter than this friendship. But if their hearts are affected by such sweetness how much more do true friends delight in a more secure and chaste friendship.

Temporal, or more accurately earthly, friendship comes from a desire for a present temporal object or benefit, and there are many such friends. But in good people friendship always comes before any benefit, just as in evil persons something thought to be lacking always comes first.

Spiritual friendship does not look to personal benefit but arises from dignity of nature and goodness of character. It is an agreement with love and good will. Love excludes every vice; good will expresses all the affection of inner sweetness. They are one in what they want and do not want, the more sincere they are the sweeter the friendship, for all who love in this way are not able to want what is

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unworthy nor not want what is fitting. Prudence directs, justice controls, temperance moderates and strength guards this friendship. In no way can we exclude peace from this friendship. A person who does not experience the sweetness and virtue of spiritual friendship is like a beast. It is a great joy to have a friend with whom one dares to speak as to oneself and to whom, should one sin, one is not afraid to confess nor ashamed to reveal any progress, in short, to whom one commits all one's thoughts and secrets. What is more pleasant than for one soul to be so united with another that the two become one with no fear of boasting, no dread of suspicion, no sorrow when one is corrected by the other nor dispute or argument when the other praises?

Love is the source and origin of friendship. There can be love without friendship but there is no friendship without love. Love can come from nature as when a mother loves her child. It can come from duty as when two are joined by a special affection because of something given and accepted. It can come from reason alone as when enemies are loved not from a spontaneous reaction of the mind but because of the precept. It can come from affection alone when one feels affection for another because of some bodily quality of the other. In this way one person loves another because of his or her fluency, strength or bodily beauty. It can come from both reason and affection as when one influences another by virtue and a pleasant character. In this way reason is joined to affection so that love is chaste because of reason, and sweet in affection. Its foundation is the love of God to whom all things are to be referred whether they are suggested by love, prompted by affection, come in a hidden way from the spirit or are due to a friend's persuasion. Whatever is implied is to be carefully examined to see that it is in accord with the foundation; whatever is seen to exceed this foundation is to be put away, recalled to its shape and fully corrected according to its quality.

But to return to our theme, common friendship exceeds other sweetness, but in it joy and sadness are joined and much bitterness follows as it breaks in on the sweetness of peace. Although the bond of friendship is pleasant, offence is feared, suspicion comes in,

detraction makes it bitter and there is certainly to be a future division. *Curse the gossips and the double-tongued, for they destroy the peace of many* [Sir 28:13].

But you say a friend loves all the time and, therefore, it is not a friendship if it can be broken. I affirm that in some way friendship is and ought to be eternal. If the one you love hurts you, you will still love: you do not withdraw love, you are concerned for the other's well being, you care for his or her good name, you do not betray secrets, but still you do not have closeness and in this you have to care for yourself. One can always return to a friend except when quarreling, taunts, pride, telling of secrets and hurts continue. In all these one loses a friend.

Four things then belong to friendship: love, affection, security and joy. Love is concerned with showing what is good, affection with inner delight, security with the telling of all one's secrets and thoughts without fear or suspicion, joy with a sweet and friendly sharing of what happens, what is thought or taught. If, therefore, it happens that a friend offends in any of the five things mentioned above, then the inner delight that a friend derives from the heart of the other is taken away, security which gave rise to a sharing of thoughts goes, joy which gave such friendly conversation is taken away. The customary familiarity that friendship contains is to be denied to it, not the withdrawing of love; and this is to be done with moderation and reverence, as traces of an old friendship are seen to remain. I do not say in this case that familiarity is to be broken suddenly, but undone little by little as agreed on, according to time and place.

CHAPTER 25

That true peace is found in the privacy of the heart

Faithful soul, you have moved too much on the outside and not found the peace you wanted, longed for and sought. Put an end to your wanderings: *Return, O my soul, to your rest* [Ps 116:7],¹ *they will rest from their labours* [Rev 14:13]. Go back to your heart, close the door of the senses to what is outside, since behind closed doors the Lord said to his disciples: *Peace be with you* [Jn 20:19].

We fought from outside as we began a struggle with vice. In the room of the heart we enter into an agreement with peace and *the effect of righteousness will be peace, and the result of righteousness, quietness and trust forever* [Isa 32:17]. We act justly when we struggle with the enticements that vice holds out to us; we hold on to peace when we retreat within ourselves. I say peace, not the perfection of peace, but a likeness of that perfect peace. As long as one struggles with vice and lives here, peace is not complete; the things one must resist are fought in a dangerous battle, and when conquered it is not a time to glory since the door is not closed securely but the vices continue to attack from their stronghold.

Keep silent once you are within the room of your heart. In this way engage in meditation without being blocked by an obstacle. *He shall sit solitary, and hold his peace: because he has taken it up upon himself* [Lam 3:28 DRB]. *Shall sit*: a serene soul in its affections; *solitary*: separated from all that is temporal and attentive to meditation; *taken it up*: raised up in contemplation of what is heavenly.

A soul is not suitable for meditation unless it be quiet. To gain the joy of peace, holy people have always sought out silence and solitude. So Elijah lived on Mount Carmel or hid in a cave, John stayed in the desert and the Lord spent the night in silence and prayer. For a quiet soul, stealthily and as in rapture, can freely taste beforehand the joys of spiritual meditation. I do not believe that anyone ever, whoever he or she may be, can act more readily, experience more sweetly or desire more avidly.

The mind keeps silence perfectly when the senses cease from taking hold of exterior tangible objects, the imagination from recalling the stains of sin, the mind from assembling arguments. Taking hold of tangible objects occupies the mind and does not allow it to be quiet within. So we read in Lamentations 3:49, *My eyes will flow without ceasing, without respite*. The qualities of objects enter the soul through the senses: sight brings in wantonness, hearing longing, taste sweetness, the tongue boldness, smelling odours, and silence is broken. The more a distracted mind receives pleasures the less peaceful it becomes.

The imagination also must keep silent by not forming images. The imagination fluctuates between the mind and the realm of the senses; it presents to the mind whatever is drawn in through the external senses. It always assists the mind, not drawing away from it, so that we cannot restrain it from obstinately creating an echo in the ears of the heart of whatever exists in darkness. When we sing, when we pray, we want to eliminate the shapes of ideas but cannot, and the heart's quiet is disturbed by an invasion of so many images.

The memory also has to be silent about disturbance from sins. A memory of past sins is useful enough for beginners to do penance as a shower of tears coming from a memory of sin puts out concupiscence. But, as stated in the book *De collationibus Patrum*,² a memory of past sins will come to spiritual persons but from this they have to move back, just as any good and serious person will flee on becoming involved in conversations or embraces with an immodest and bold person. While there may be no guilt of sin, one cannot avoid incurring dishonour among witnesses. When angels see perfect people caught up in such images they do not say: *The blessing of the Lord be upon you* [Ps 129:8]. While there may be no consent in such impure thoughts, however, one is necessarily choked as if from a most horrible stench of the sewer as long as one stays there or wishes to stir up such filth. Such a memory of wrong holds back the soul from a contemplation of purity. Where this situation exists, we should be moved to compunction more by a desire for virtue and a longing for heaven than by dangerous memories of wrong.

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In the fourth place the mind has to maintain silence and not assemble arguments. Reason moves from one conclusion to another and falls into error from a succession of images. The mind should set aside this reasoning and purify its gaze by being silent, raising itself to God, conversing in a simple natural way, and so find truth, peace and quiet. The beloved wants a place without noise, such as described in that most pleasing Song: *Our couch is green* [Song 1:16], a place not soiled with the dirt of sin, but fragrant with the elegance of lilies or, certainly, aglow with the delight of roses. The *radiant and ruddy* beloved [Song 5:10] looks for a room decorated with roses and lilies. The person who has not committed sin is radiant and he who washes us with his own blood is ruddy. He lights up our mind with his light for us to understand truth and warms our affection with a rose coloured redness by the desire for love. May purity in us be radiant and genuine penance ruddy.

Since, as has been said, when a mind retreats in privacy from the din of external noises, it flees the turmoil of surrounding vanities. With the door of the mind closed it examines its spiritual riches without disquiet, disorder, disturbances or distraction. Everything is pleasant, peaceful and tranquil and, as in a well-ordered and peaceful family, every thought, word and action, like a father in a home, will look with favour on the home. Suddenly, there will arise a wonderful security and joy like a song of jubilee so that one says on entering: *Peace to this house!* [Lk 10:5]

But you will be unable to pause pleasantly in the secret chambers of your conscience as long as you cling too strongly to what is transitory and of the earth. Holy people, reflecting on the instability of present reality, always regard as vile what seems beautiful in the world. As if they were going back to the ark [Gen 8:11] they carry an olive leaf in their mouth, because the more they desire the beauty of their Creator, they find nothing pleasing in created objects. The mind is nourished internally in a delightful way because it is not bound to outside delights, and, like the dove on its safe return, it rejoices at the door of the ark that before was shipwrecked in the waves of the sea. Listen to the Lord speaking to you and fulfilling the prophetic word: *Let me hear what God the Lord will speak, for he will speak peace to*

his people, to his faithful, to those who turn to him in their hearts [Ps 85:8].

CHAPTER 26

That once found it is cared for

I was a wall, and my breasts were like towers; then I was in his eyes as one who brings peace [Song 8:10]. After various activities and delays of digressions, a faithful soul tired out returns daily into itself, stands firm in God and peace, as has been said, is found. What then holds us back or what else is to be done other than to nourish the peace found?

Peace is cared for by the sweetness of love just as a child at its mother's breast is nourished by the richness of milk. Let the faithful soul say what this is: I have worked, tired out from the heavy yoke, I went to my own room, I found peace, *I was a wall, and my breasts were like towers* etc. I, a *wall*, have a strong resolve to be holy; a *wall* from sand and limestone, that is, made from humility and strong love; a strong *wall* of living stones held together as a spiritual wall, not from loose material as in the clay and false wall which collapsed in the building of Babylon. *And my breasts were like towers*, as I protect the young and encourage them by salutary words and example: a *tower*, as I protect; offering *my breasts* as I nourish; a *tower* gives protection and milk comes abundantly from my breasts. *Then I was in his eyes as one who brings peace*, that is, looking towards God, trying to please God, looking for and finding my peace in God.

Does not a soul which turns back to its heart recognize a divine image in itself, loves what it recognizes, and is made as strong as a wall by love? It resists like a tower the buffeting of the diabolical attacks, and in the sweetness of love, as in the abundance of milk, protects and nourishes its own peace, always with the eye of its attention on the Lord of majesty. In this way lover is joined to lover and the bridegroom turns to the bride in love and realizes the word of Moses: *The Lord lift up his countenance upon you, and give you peace* [Num 6:26].

From this peaceful union, as from a kiss of peace, already with breasts full and flowing with the milk of love, the bride is enriched

by the bridegroom and the sweetness of her love of God and neighbour immediately pours out. The fruit of peace is fed from such embraces and breasts, spiritual delights come from the bowels of love. Whatever spiritual sweetness is found in us, comes from true love. This is the yoke of the Lord we are commanded to put on and in which we will find rest for our souls [Mt 11:29-30]. This yoke, so named from joining together, is love which joins and anoints, does not divide nor injure; it has feathers but lacks any burden of weight and so is light not burdensome; it is quiet in peace and the spirit is freed of servile work. Whatever burden and hardship we may meet comes from the remnants of human concupiscence according to the word of David: *There is no soundness in my flesh because of our indignation; there is no health in my bones because of my sin* [Ps 38:3]. Concupiscence flourishes in the flesh, evil rises in the mind, because as long as vice lies in the flesh it rules like a tyrant, the strength of virtue is weakened, and the peace of the soul disturbed. So we see in our bodies, as in inner sickness or bodily health, those things happening externally that are regarded by us as troublesome or pleasing. For hunters, fowlers or devotees of such vanities work on the outside most strenuously in their bodies, but from the point of view of an interior affection seem to be intent on pleasure. Food harmful to one person benefits the health of another, and the brightness of the sun that takes the light away from weak eyes, shines more pleasantly for the healthy. And as it is with bodily needs so it is for spiritual. Two can be seated at the same table and served the same food, yet one will murmur while the other will be glad, just as of two burdened with poverty, one will give thanks while the other will blaspheme. We see the same thing in spiritual matters. Once love takes possession of a mind, it does not allow the mind to be swayed by any disturbances, but on the contrary, directs everything to further its progress. But concupiscence lurking within, if stirred by any provocation, immediately rushes out like a savage beast from the recesses of the heart, from the deepest caves, and tears the miserable soul with most painful bites and so bloodies it that it has no time for tranquility and peace.

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So that true peace may be nourished in us by the milk of love, love yourself, love your friend, love your enemy, love God as it is written: *you shall love the Lord your God and your neighbour as yourself* [Mt 22:37.39]. For neighbour we understand both friend and enemy. Peace of heart and tranquility are felt in love of neighbour, are drawn from the sweetness of heavenly love and are shown more fully in love of God. There is no precept to love oneself since it is a natural instinct to love oneself.

It is fitting to distinguish the movements of this love, provided the connection between them is kept clear since each of these acts of love exists in all and all are in each. We begin with the first.

Love yourself and you will find peace provided you walk with a pure conscience before God since, according to blessed Job: *If you are pure and upright, surely then he will rouse himself for you and restore to you your rightful place* [Job 8:6]. But just as one *who loves iniquity hates his or her own soul* [Ps 10:6 DRB; Ps 11:5 NRSV] and is involved in bitterness, so one who pursues cleanness, loves himself or herself, experiences the sweetness of peace and contemplates God in cleanness of heart. This is why the Apostle joins peace and holiness together: *Pursue peace with everyone, and the holiness without which no one will see the Lord* [Heb 12:14].

Likewise, love your neighbour, namely, a friend, if you wish to nourish peace. For, according to the testimony of blessed Job:

For you shall be in league with the stones of the field, and the wild animals shall be at peace with you. You shall know that your tent is safe, you shall inspect your fold and miss nothing [Job 5:23-24].

The *wild animals* become peaceful to the elect when people resist attacks of demons; and a stronger peace with God begins as a more difficult battle begins for us. Whoever loves a neighbour *inspects the fold*; the *fold* of a person is another person, and our *fold* is called our neighbour, because we see ourselves in the other. In fact one *inspects* his or her *fold* in a neighbour when, recognizing in the other someone like oneself in nature, holds out offerings of love. Mindful of the neighbor's weakness, one takes from oneself to help another's weakness. One can retreat into his or her heart and feel united by a

bond of love to the souls of all one's neighbours. One must not be disturbed by feelings of envy, aroused by surges of anger, hardened by suspicions nor restless from the gnawing of devouring sadness. When this happens, then each neighbour is brought within the protection of a most tranquil mind, embraced and cared for with a sweet affection so that they all become one heart and one soul. The shouting of greed and the din of vice quieten, the soul draws back interiorly from all that is harmful and a sabbath of most pleasant peace begins. In this way a neighbour is loved as if from many souls it is set alight by the fire of love as *one heart and soul* [Acts 4:32].

Love your neighbour, that is, your enemy. This is a command of the Lord and whoever respects the precept will live in peace. The Lord said: *Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who abuse you* [Lk 6:27-28]. One will be able to do this when, reaching out to all people in one act of love, unaffected by any injury, one acts like a most indulgent parent towards a most dear son affected by madness. This means that one acts towards one's enemies with a stronger affection of love the more harm they do. If you wish to fulfill this precept against one who injures you, do not be moved to anger when injured. Even more, were someone to steal from you, leaving you with little, not only do you not get angry but you give up that little willingly in accord with the counsel of perfection. And even a boorish thief will be shamed by your goodness and recover from his frenzy. As Chrysostom says¹:

Whenever people plunder what is yours, hurt or harm you, you are to shower them not only with generous gifts but also love and hold them as friends. With all your love hold these persons by praying for them and by pouring out prayers for their souls. This is a sign of the highest and perfect love.

But we are so far from loving our enemies that we do not even show charity and love to our friends but rather hate those who love us. We carry within us an incurable kind of offence. Christ wants us to forgive wrongdoers so as to love and pray for them. For if you do no more than not hurt whoever hurts you, yet you turn away not wanting to see him or her, then without a doubt there remains in your

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breast a wound while sorrow is increased in the heart. Therefore, you have not carried out the commandment of Christ. You do not want Christ to be kind to you by not hurting you, and yet at the same time you want Christ to turn away from you, not remember your sins and not see you.

One moves from this love of oneself and neighbour to divine love. A peaceful mind, purged by this double love, receives the happy embraces of the divinity more devoutly and securely. By a strong enkindled desire it goes past the veil of the flesh where from a wonderful light it becomes totally absorbed by this unaccustomed sweetness. Concern for what is bodily, tangible and changeable is silenced by a preceding grace of divine goodness. Instead of human weakness and the conditions of the way, it touches the clear sight of God and has peace in the pleasant embraces of love; it rests on the sabbath of sabbaths, sings the song of songs, because *justified by faith* [Rom 5:1] *working through love* [Gal 5:6], and has peace in God.

CHAPTER 27

That it increases when cared for

But the meek shall inherit the land, and delight themselves in abundant prosperity [Ps 36:11]. We say of the meek that they are skilled of hand,¹ patient and gentle; they put up with the sins of others and persevere in patience. They possess the earth peacefully because the Lord says *by your endurance you will gain your souls* [Lk 21:19]. True patience leaves behind and strengthens peace just as the root of a tree is made firmer in the earth when buffeted by strong driving winds.

You will obtain peace through patience if you hold on to deep humility, keep silent when provoked, rejoice in silence, and do not fear human judgment.

You hold on to humility by fearing God because *the fear of the Lord is a crown of wisdom, filling up peace and the fruit of salvation* [Sir 1:22 DRB]. Patience and tranquility of heart are not gained and kept without a deep humility of heart; and if you go down into the well of humility you will not need the protection of anything else. We are to hold this with an affection of our heart, not by a false expression of humility in words or by bending the head. Frequently, these are figments of true humility and this kind of humility cannot bear to be blamed. When a person² came to Abbot Piammon displaying such humility in words and manner, the old man advised him to pray. But when he claimed to be unworthy, not meriting to live, and confessed many shameful things about himself, the Father advised him not to talk as one who is idle; he advised him to stay in his cell and since he was a strong young person, to do his work strongly and humbly according to the rule of the seniors and to choose first, as the Apostle says, to work with his hands rather than be fed by the gifts of others [see 1 Cor 4:12]. At these words he became so sad that he could not even pretend to hide from his face the bitterness he felt in his heart. The Father said to him:

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Why is it that I can see you feel such anger at my simple admonition that you cannot hide an expression of impatience? A little while ago you were weighed down by all your faults, and perhaps from my mouth you expected an expression of praise.

Genuine humility of heart does not come from humbling oneself in speech or by a bodily attitude, but from a deep affection of the mind, which then shines forth by most clear signs of patience. It comes not from a person talking of his or her faults that others are not expected to believe. It comes rather when another scorns one for these very faults provided such injuries are tolerated with a meek equanimity of heart. It is false humility when one makes serious and broad accusations against a neighbour, while holding up even more an appearance of holiness before every wind, offering it to those nearby and expecting as a reward for the pretence of piety the price of words, of praise and of human favour, and as is commonly said: The wind blows away whatever seeps out.

Now we can introduce the example of another who is the opposite of the previous example. We read³ that in the monastery of Abbot Paul more than two hundred monks from other monasteries assembled together for a solemnity. While the monks were sitting in their ranks one of them who had arrived late was slow in bringing a dish to Paul. The said Abbot Paul stretched out the palm of his hand, struck the monk before all present so that for a long time the sound echoed in the ears of all sitting there. The young monk bore this with such mildness that no word of impatience came from his mouth, no change was heard in the silence of his mouth nor in the expression on his face. It is believed that the holy Father did not do this without divine prompting, so that the patience of the youth might be evident to all present and that all taking part in the feast might learn and be refreshed from the example of patience.

So that you may preserve peace when provoked or annoyed, remain silent. Reflect on the Lord remaining silent in his passion, not uttering a word of impatience nor giving any sign [see Mt 26:63; Mk 14:61], and so *the chastisement of our peace was upon him* [Isa 53:5 DRB]. So when someone provokes us and invites us to quarrel, we are to remain silent and not be ashamed to be dumb. If you are silent and

pretend not to be offended, the one reviling you usually says: 'Why are you silent? Reply if you dare. If you do not dare I have made you speechless; I have conquered you in your silence'. But if you remain silent, he is provoked all the more and when he sees himself mocked in this way, he no longer thinks of himself as a winner but rather as one overcome. If you answer back he increases and adds to the injuries, because he believes himself to be the better but he has met his match. If you are silent it will be said: 'He has been reviled but he despised the one reviling him'; but if you insult, this is said: 'both are reviled, no one is absolved, both are condemned'. A just person may remain silent and not speak so as to preserve both purity of conscience and peace with a neighbour without taking revenge.

Another cannot injure you unless you have first injured yourself. For in everything there is something that can be corrupted and injured: rust corrodes iron, silver fish wool, a wolf flocks of sheep, wine changes into vinegar, bitterness corrupts honey, blight harms a crop of corn, hail the vines, locusts and caterpillars harm fruit. But within us there is something, namely virtue, not harmed or corrupted without our consent. Things outside it cannot inflict harm on it, since it is kept in the secret places of the mind. This virtue is not found in riches, so do not fear poverty; it is not in health of body, do not fear weakness; it is not in the opinion of others, do not desire vain honour; it is not in being free, do not be afraid of service; it is not in the life of the body, do not fear death. The power of a horse does not consist in silver or golden bridles nor in silken harness, but in speed when running, in strength of foot, in sure steps and in firm courage, so that in battles it seeks out the enemy undaunted or in adverse situations is able to bring its rider quickly to safety. So too in us virtue is not in things outside us but in discipline of mind. External things can be taken away by violence or injury, but the discipline of mind that we call virtue, cannot be taken from us nor harmed without fault on our part, no matter what the devil may devise with his deceits. The plots of the devil could not harm Job but rather made him more glorious. Damage to our senses, calumnies, insults, exile, sickness and not even death itself can harm us; they make us more illustrious: the good of a person consists in virtue of soul. The soul is

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harmed when deprived of its faculties or, when enduring insults, one utters an improper word from one's mouth. One is then damaged by one's own impatience, not by the malice of another. To test a horse we do not look at the harness, as has been said, but we inspect the limbs, feet and hooves to see if they are strong; nor do we think well of a vine for the number of its leaves but for its fruit and clusters of grapes. So to discuss what is true virtue in a person we inspect interior goods, not delaying over things outside. One is harmed when harm has been done to one's virtue: here true patience is seen. I say true⁴ not false as seen in persons who think of themselves as patient but, when they see others disturbed, they mock them by silence, gesture or scoffing action and provoke by signs the persons they ought to comfort with words. The Lord looks not only to the word but also to the will of a person because some are provoked more by a sign than by a word. What is the difference between killing a brother with a sword and driving him to death by some deceit? Are not both guilty, namely, one who ensnares a brother by some action and another who prepares a trap or is unwilling to remove a trap when it is possible to do so? So to remain silent is of no help if we are silent when a correction is called for, or we display in silence some mocking gestures by which a brother, who should be cured, is more strongly provoked to anger; what is worse to see, some wish to be praised for patience because they have done nothing.

To say nothing, even to rejoice when provoked and to hide an insult by an act of virtue, is to experience spiritual joy. In this way *a loyal wife brings joy to her husband* [Sir 26:2]; and the apostles *rejoiced that they were considered worthy to suffer dishonour for the sake of the name of Jesus* [Acts 5:41]. An abundance of devotion lessens the intensity of sorrow; so Paul, lashed and injured when surrounded by the snares of his enemies, rose up to give thanks and everywhere reported triumphs of victory. He desired death for the sake of Christ more than others long for rest after work; he desired to be punished for Christ more than to be crowned without Christ. For one who sincerely loves Christ, suffering is sweet, chains worn for Christ are more pleasing than crowns, and pain is accepted and endured for Christ more gladly than others desire a return from their

work. The leader of the heavenly army, the first martyr Stephen [Acts 7:54-60], kept hold of this virtue when he did not fear the striking of the stones nor the hands of those throwing the stones, and under such great bitterness of persecution did not lose the sweetness of his hope but his whole being overflowed with piety. He was pursued by his enemies, he prayed to the Lord for his enemies and was consoled from heaven; he was afflicted cruelly, he showed compassion from an innate mercy, he is congratulated for an unexpected glory. He saw here how he was to suffer, he sensed interiorly how to show compassion, he saw that his reason for joy was above. From the same heart came piety with joy, from the same vase flowed oil with honey and in his sorrow there grew in a wonderful way sweetness and compassion from his suffering. Kneeling, he was more sorry for his enemies than for his own limbs, and while kneeling in prayer he showed an affection of piety; oil was poured out in such abundance that a young man standing close by was sprinkled with the perfume of the ointment, and the ointment ran down *over the collar of the robes* [Ps 133:2] of him who was holding Stephen's clothes.

But woe to us who are so angered from small annoyances that we seem to onlookers to show a rage of madness or fury! Is not impatience like fury or madness? It forgets proper behaviour, does not remember friendship and is obstinate and intense in what it undertakes. If you take the time to look at the manner of angry people you will see that they are furious like insane persons. Bold and threatening is their face, sad their forehead, hurried their step, their hands restless, their colour changed, their breath short and drawn from deep within them. Eyes flashing, very red in the face, lips agitated from blood stirred up from the depths of the heart, hair standing up, the spirit under pressure and a harsh sound of words spoken in a tortured way, speech broken off with little meaning to the words and frequently striking the hands and stamping the earth with their feet, ugly to see and horrible are the faces of such persons. They get angry and puff themselves up in such a way that one does not know whether this vice is more detestable than a deformity. What more? All dignity deserts the angry. What must be the spirit within when its visible reflection is so sordid? Would that the angry

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could see the spectacle! I believe they would shun their deformity and, since the storm came from within them, they would recognize a further deformity of their mind and would not disturb peace or serenity in themselves or in others.

The fourth is not to fear human judgment. The angel said to Daniel: *Do not fear, greatly beloved, you are safe.*⁵ *Be strong and courageous* [Dan 10:19]. If we follow human opinions we will often be disturbed. We are told at one time something good, at another something evil, at one time we are praised as if we are great, at another we are despised as if we are nothing. If we begin to step onto the slippery path of those who will perish, a tongue lacerates us. If we recall others from error or if we wish to perish with others going astray, a most swift, common and public path deceives us, and we will be told that unless we follow the path of the flock of sheep going before us and live like them our life will not achieve a harmony between reason and virtue. For this reason the arguments of the reprobate are as many as of those who condemn them. This happens in a great massacre when a people turns against itself, people fall without distinction, and no one runs or turns aside so that another is drawn to him or her; those who go first and fall, are a danger to those behind. So we see in human actions how we perish from what others do. We will be healed and separated from such, unafraid of their judgment, when we put aside what is common and public. It is harmful to be joined to the preceding: a people tries to defend the error of its evil; where the majority does this, then frequently it is worse; the better things do not please many; we rely on the judgments of others and what is praised and desired by many we think is best for us.

CHAPTER 28

That it is perfected when increased

Patience in persecution promotes the good of peace and the grace of contemplation perfects it. There is a double perfection, one for now, the other for heaven and for both contemplation is necessary.

Simeon had peace in the present life. He was a holy, God-fearing person who had the Holy Spirit within him, but his longing was for the full peace of heaven. He said: *Master, now you are dismissing your servant in peace, according to your word* [Lk 2:29]. Again, *it had been revealed to him by the Holy Spirit that he would see ... the Lord's Messiah* as a mortal in the flesh, but what he longed for was to see him in a clear vision of glory [Lk 2:26]. Here, the perfection of peace is had most perfectly since his human mind was not blinded by ignorance nor disturbed by attacks of the flesh. In the present life full peace is not had but now, when we submit our spirit to God and so are raised to contemplation of the Creator, we experience the sweetness of perfect peace according to our present state. A contemplative soul rests peacefully in God and God in it because *his abode has been established in Salem* (peace), *his dwelling place in Zion*, which means watch-tower [Ps 76:2].

A mind is not able to watch in divine contemplation unless it is calm from worries and removed from earthly matters. Hence Moses in the desert saw the Lord whom he did not see in Egypt [Ex 3:1ff.]; he heard the voice of God on the mountain [Ex 19:3ff.] where he was taught, not in the valley. This is the grace of contemplation, which frees and purifies a human mind, raises it up when purified, enlightens it when purified, calls the enlightened soul to admiration or rather alienates and frees it from earthly stains, elevates it above, enlightens it with divine matters, provokes and excites it in wonder at visions and unaccustomed visions. Therefore, contemplation frees the mind and, as said above, gives it a spiritual freedom since *his abode has been established in Salem* (peace), *his dwelling place in Zion* [Ps 76:2].

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Peace is proposed as a preparation for contemplation. For a spirit disturbed by anger, worry, concupiscence of the flesh or earthly desires, does not come to the splendour of inaccessible light; it is reached only by devout and serene minds. Hence, in bed at night the bride seeks her beloved, having shut off her spirit from duties, for you have in bed a secret cell and silence in the night [see Song 3:1]. What is more suited for contemplation than the opportunity of a cell and of night? Without a doubt, it is only by a quiet mind that our peaceful spouse can be sought; nor can anything restless or defiled be allowed into the development of love and peace. In bed and in the cell of the inner mind the beloved can be sought, more freely found, more safely and daily held and enjoyed more fully by the mind, because the freer our mind is from duties, so much the more is it suited to the love of the beloved: *On my bed at night* etc., she said.

Narrow is this small bed, in truth not a bed but referred to by the diminutive word for a small bed for the reason that the sleep of contemplation cannot be drawn out. *On my bed at night I sought him* [Song 3:1], because just as the sure revolving of day and night goes on, so a contemplative mind is occupied now in the exercise of pious work, now in the quiet of sacred contemplation. In everything it is busy with the duty of love so that it is neither harmed in rest nor found unfaithful in work, but is attentive to God, works for God, dies for God and lives for God. Love of compassion for another raises us higher to the peak of contemplation; so it is written: *I have taken off the robe of peace and put on sackcloth for my supplication; I will cry to the Everlasting all my days* [Bar 4:20]. *The robe of peace* we take off in some way and put on *sackcloth for our supplication*; we cry out, leaving aside the sweetness of contemplation, feeling compassion for the needs of others, busy also with preaching, and occupied in the sight of God with prayers and bitter groaning. Contemplation is to be interrupted for the duty of preaching and compassion; a purified and free mind rises high, because it is now relieved of earthly concerns as if it were lifted above itself on wings.

This rising up comes from a reflection on the paltry value of earthly goods and from a most fervent desire of the mind. A reflection on the poverty of a creature makes the soul like a noble

creature who retreats from what is earthly as from something most vile:

I, Nabuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, and my reason returned to me. I blessed the Most High, and praised and honoured the one who lives forever... All the inhabitants of the earth are accounted as nothing [Dan 4:34-35].

Reason comes to one who raises the eyes, because correct judgment of reason indicates a person who thinks on what is eternal. While looking intently on what is above, one looks back and despises what is below, regarding as nothing whatever passing and earthly reality was loved. A noble substance is embarrassed by the weight of the body for when raised to heaven the mind bends strongly towards these earthly bodies. *I blessed the Most High:* because the more the mind lifts itself above earthly realities, the more it glorifies God, and moving towards the light is more enlightened so as to know and despise these passing things, hence there is added: *the inhabitants of the earth*, it accounts as nothing. One who raises the eyes to heaven sees the whole earth to be like a small centre and regards as nothing all temporal things that are less than the earth. What is less than the centre other than nothing? We are to be raised up to God as much as we can; and like a bird flying on high, we should stretch out the wings of our body and of our idleness, occupy ourselves strenuously in thanksgiving, mindful of the gifts given to us by God and open wide our spiritual faculty in divine praises from a deep affection, so that divine sweetness may be poured by the grace of God into the vessel of our heart.

Look now at how our spirit is raised up by a most fervent desire of the mind. Jeremiah 10:13 says:

When he utters his voice, there is a tumult of waters in the heavens, and he makes the mist rise from the ends of the earth. He makes lightnings for the rain, and he brings out the wind from his storehouses.

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The Lord speaks to the soul in a hidden inspiration, and the soul because of the word is on fire with the fire of heavenly desire. The soul becomes liquid like water previously frozen, or like wax it dissolves in a devotion of running tears, is raised up with tears, set loose like vapour and a subtle mist that indicates serenity. The flame of love increases beyond human ways, all of which, with rust cleaned off, shows a serenity of mind. As mist rises from the heat of the sun, so is the mind lifted above itself by the fervour of love that shuts out any impurity of earth. But because in being lifted up there are at the same time fervent sighs of the mind, tears flowing and revelations frequently shining through, there is added: *He makes lightnings for the rain*. Lightning lights up and shines through while rain is falling. And there is added: *he brings out the wind from his storehouses*. The wind in the caves of the earth, as though enclosed in treasures, is hurled hither and thither, for the most part striking the earth until it is drawn away, and then as if rejected by the earth strives for the heights. In the same way a devout mind does not allow itself to be closed in until, striving for its freedom, it reaches above itself. Through contempt of what is below it is driven from what is below; through desire for what is above it is drawn to what is higher; and as it were striking the earth, that is, forgetful of itself, it is driven by the prompting of the Spirit to go towards him, towards the One it loves, and so is at rest.

A purified mind, as already said, is raised up and acquires an enlightening of true light. However, because the flesh holds it back, that is, the corruption of concupiscence that here is never completely taken away, there arises a kind of evaporation that tries to bring the soul down. Because the weak skill of the mind is not secure in such excellent light, it is enlightened and held back by a ray of the light shining through. The *unapproachable light* in which God lives [1 Tim 6:16] is too much for a soul, yet whatever it sees with certitude it sees through this light. A weak eye sees by the light of the sun but is not able to look at the light of the sun that so exceeds the power of the soul. The Prophet says: *In your light, Lord, we see light* [Ps 36:9], because light goes from the sun so that the sun can be seen, yet it does not abandon the sun but remains in it and by going from it

shows us the sun. So light remains in God, goes out from God and enlightens the mind so that as soon as the mind sees a ray of light without which it could not see, it sees in this light whatever it sees of truth.

Truth guards all who reflect on it and replies interiorly to the mind. Truth is within our soul but we at times are away and so do not always notice or hear the whisper of its voice nor the ray of its light shining on us. Just as the exterior ear hears a word from outside and the eye sees the light of the sun, so the interior ear hears the eternal word and the eye of the mind sees the ray of eternal light that shines in the depth of the heart and, when asked, they judge correctly about things heard. But when a mind, accustomed to its darkness, tries to contemplate interior light, with trembling and blinking eyes that do not tolerate the force of the unaccustomed light, its view is blocked by these first rays which seem to it like a tremulous light; the light seems to move and the presence of shining light flees. This movement of light is the light of darkness fleeing and, after the movement, the eye is strengthened and the light that could not be seen in the surrounding darkness comes into brightness. A trembling mind receives a trembling ray of light; a serene and peaceful soul receives a serene and peaceful light. If a dish of water is put out in the sun's rays the water reflects the brightness of the light above; if the water in the dish is moving, there will be a moving reflection on the wall, if the water is turbulent, the reflection will be turbulent, if serene, the reflection will be restful. The water is human thinking always flowing down unless prevented by a barrier as in a vase. Water gathered together is the calling back of a wandering heart. When water receives into itself a ray of heavenly light, it reflects the brightness of the light to the heights and the ray that comes from it goes up to where of itself it could not ascend. Water imprints its image on the ray produced, as when rippling water puts out from a vase a rippling ray that forms on the wall. So a soul, when a divine ray is poured into it, receives light on which it imprints in some way its image; the soul raises its heart above to where no insight of understanding nor skill was able to reach. The deeper an infusion of divine light penetrates into a mind, so much the more does it raise

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the mind to higher things; and the more fully a spirit adjusts itself to deep peace and tranquility, so much the firmer will be its hold on the highest light through contemplation. In this way the soul rests in peace: *My people will abide in a peaceful habitation* [Isa 32:18], in splendid rest and in tents of trust. An enlightened soul, in proportion to the measure of its purity, admires greatly what it contemplates. It sees something more than hope and in wonder rises above human values.

Who does not know that the novelty of an unaccustomed vision is reason for wonder? In that state a soul begins to reflect on what otherwise it would hardly be able to believe. There follows a sweetness to be experienced but not talked about. And so it is brought to wonder since from an infusion of divine light its eye glimpses a keen understanding and the ear of its heart listens silently to what cannot be expressed in words. It is not surprising if the spirit wonders at the sudden light and the feeling of unaccustomed sweetness. This is to be wondered at all the more since it disappears before it can be grasped and it slips away before it can be held; it presents to the heart, and this if it be pure, only as much as a moment of transient brightness enlightens human eyes. However, no matter how much can be seen from that light, it provokes and invites us to look. It cannot be fully experienced, desired nor sought. What little of this light or sweetness can be experienced is worthy of admiration. When something is admired it can be more fully desired; when desired it purifies those desiring it and makes those purified like God; when it makes them like God it makes them like God's own children and servants sharing in divine thoughts and divine conversation. There we do not die, our mind does not err, nor is love offended. We always search to hold it more sweetly; and when it is held most sweetly, then we search for its sweetness again..

This contemplation demands a pure heart because it will be reached only by the fervent and humble affection of a pure heart bearing no bodily likeness to a sleeping person, no searching as in the mind of a person arguing. This is all we can know of it because it cannot be fully understood. We read in Song 6:9 of this sense of wonder: *Who is this that looks forth like the dawn?* Dawn is new

light mixed with darkness. From what does this wonder come other than from beginning to see what can hardly be believed? The dawn comes up little by little, as it rises it spreads out, as it spreads out it makes bright, as it makes bright it vanishes not so that there be no brightness but that there be no dawn since dawn departs with full daylight. So a mind enlightened by divine light, while occupied in contemplation of what is heavenly and filled with wonder, is brought to what is even more wonderful as it becomes more fully brightened. And the more remote it is from what is below, so it becomes in itself purer and subtler.

But raised up in this way it always grows more towards what is higher, it goes beyond the limits of human ability by growing daily through desire, it vanishes completely from itself and crosses into a certain unearthly state changed through this process. It is led above itself like light spread out and is caught up in wonder of the highest beauty; it is shaken by such strong astonishment, totally driven from its former condition, that when it returns to itself the more it had seen of divine beauty in that light, the more it despises itself. Here Benjamin rests peacefully in a room, because when the spirit has begun to exceed itself through pure understanding, when it enters the brightness of that incorporeal light, when it draws a taste of intimate sweetness from what it sees in these secret places, when it bases its understanding on this and changes it into wisdom, then in this excess of mind peace, which is neither disturbed nor feared, is found and possessed. Then there is *silence in heaven for about half an hour* [Rev 8:1] so that the spirit of the one contemplating is in no way disturbed by other thoughts, finds nothing else to desire nor to complain of from distaste nor to accuse through annoyance, and so the mind is brought to the highest peace which is acquired and concluded within the tranquility of contemplation. For there, according to the prophet, there will be peace upon peace *from sabbath to sabbath* [Isa 66:23].

CHAPTER 29

That perfect peace is enjoyed

The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace and the others that follow [Gal 5:22]. Peace is rightly listed among the fruits of the Spirit, because when peace is sought, found, nourished, strengthened and perfected, the mind enjoys fully a wonderful sweetness. Nor are we to think this peace is a common peace such as when one is not at odds with another, but this peace exists when a tranquil mind is not disturbed by passions, but is sweetly quiet.

We enjoy what we know, things in which a delicate will is at rest. Taking the word fruit in a broad sense we distinguish between an enjoyment of temporal and eternal fruit. Temporal fruit is what we can enjoy with one another as Paul enjoyed Philemon [Philem 20]; we will enjoy eternal fruit with the angels in heaven in that most blessed city.

This enjoyment is made up of three things. These are a union between one enjoying and one able to enjoy and to that union there is added delight with rest in the added delight. Although this is found in its perfect form in heaven, however, taking the word in a broad sense it is found on earth. As stated, Paul enjoyed Philemon but *in Christ*, that is in joy of spirit, not in bodily pleasure or in a vanity of the world. There is great delight and comfort in having a close friend whom we love with an intimate affection, in whom our spirit rests, to whom our spirit gives of itself, who grieves with us in troubles, rejoices in prosperity, searches when there are doubts, whom we invite into the secret places of our mind, to whom in a sweetness of peace and in embraces of love we apply our spirit so that two become one by a most sweet affection. Would it not be called enjoyment and living in peace were one to be devoted to such a person in accord with the law of love? *For those who will follow this rule – peace be upon them ... and upon the Israel of God* [Gal 6:16]. Any who take delight in vain games, in the pomp of the world, in its show, in a striving after vanity and joy in error, such do not enjoy friends. Any who flatter one another, conspire together, aim to

offend another, incur a mutual ruin. We enjoy another in God and God in another in the following way. Mutual conversation delights us when we speak of character, of Scripture, of the joys of heaven and of (its opposite in) everlasting unhappiness. Or if, when our spirit is too tense, we relax with what is pleasant and lower, our words are still full of honesty, devoid of levity and even though they lack much weight they do not lack edification. We enjoy one another in holiness, *that each of you know how to control your own body*, that is body and soul, *in holiness, not with lustful passion* [1 Thess 4:4-5]. From such enjoyment of another we come to an enjoyment of God.

We thirst to be completely satisfied in the future with the sweetness of God of which we cannot have a fulness on earth. However, it captivates every rational soul and the desire for it is stronger the purer one is, and one is purer the more one dies to the flesh by love and devotion. What is devotion other than a fervent love of the mind for God, a love by which divine sweetness is here captured, tasted beforehand in contemplation, quickly lost, but perfected only in heaven? Here we can get the odour of the goods of heaven but not the goods themselves, as the blessed Evangelist¹ who tasted beforehand this odour says: ‘Your odour, Lord, stirs in me eternal desires’. Any sensible pleasure felt in the soul through the bodily senses in an experience of earthly sweetness is not worth mentioning in comparison with divine sweetness. For the mind is torn apart with thoughts, feelings and vain desires as long as it clings to and enjoys creatures. In no creature will a perfect soul find the delight and enjoyment it seeks. The senses and sensible objects pass; human memory and the images, left in it from experiencing sensible objects which are disturbing enough to the soul, pass; affections of the mind pass until God is found and enjoyed in whom alone is rest because God makes one forget all difficulties and suffering. And when one clings fully to God or more truly in God and love is more perfect, then without a doubt work and sorrow will cease; the level of sorrow in us is increased or lessened in proportion to the degree we now cling to God. When what has been said is done the spirit returns

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to itself and tastes beforehand the sweetness of heaven. Hence, blessed Augustine says in book 10 of his *Confessions*²:

In all these things that I run through in seeking your counsel, I find no safe place for my soul except in you where my scattered parts are gathered together and no portion of me may depart from you. Sometimes, you introduce me to a very unusual inner experience, to an indescribable sweetness, which, if it reaches perfection in me, will be beyond my present knowledge. But it will not happen in this life, for I fall back among these lower things, pulled down by troubling weights, and I am absorbed again in ordinary affairs.

In that state of sweetness, as light above increases but below the eye trembles and is dazzled, the mind begins both to be unhappy with itself and to be pleased with everything done or allowed by God and from these things it rises in praise and worship to the Creator. That every soul has to cope within with sickness and is subject to illness is something displeasing but it is something made by God. Just as bodily light is sweet and pleasant to healthy eyes but hurtful to eyes that are weak, inflamed or blind, so the justice of God pleases the good but displeases the wicked. Therefore, the ability of the mind is not strong enough to obtain more fully the sweetness it wishes to enjoy, yet in some way the sweetness is experienced and this firstly by smell rather than by taste. These are the first fruits of the Spirit, the delights of paradise of which all who rest completely in God and withdraw into the Spirit enjoy a foretaste. Hence blessed Job 22:21: *Agree with God and be at peace; in this way good will come to you.* This is ecstasy or rapture, when one's attention is taken away from the bodily senses and the mind is diverted. From reflecting on the eternal home, the mind is touched by a divine breath, is moved by the touch of this breath and abandoning what is inferior rejoices in what is heavenly. Afterwards, in contemplation, there come suddenly rays of heavenly light, the soul rises in wonder and rests peacefully. For *there is Benjamin a youth, in ecstasy of mind* [Ps 67:28 DRB; 68:27 NRSV], in whom there come together the following: fervour of rejoicing, splendour of revelation, astonishment of wonder, sweetness of joy. The material at hand does not demand that each of

these be treated singly. These can be clearly seen in the book of the venerable and most praiseworthy Richard of Saint Victor, which is entitled *De arca mystica*.³

Nevertheless, in conclusion we propose one example for the sake of those who think that such ecstasy or rapture is ineffectual or impossible. The Abbot of Rievaulx, of pious memory, tells in his treatise, *De oneribus*,⁴ of a holy nun who had put aside all carnal affections, love of the world and worry about her own body. While she was praying she was filled with wonderful light, taken above herself; when she had remained for a long time in ecstasy she was woken by her sisters, and returned to herself after much prodding. Asked by the sisters persistently, she explained the way of the ecstasy to the sisters, and made them, now anxious to do the same, docile to pursue this grace. The sisters withdrew themselves from earthly worries and cares, devoted themselves to tears and continuous prayers, and were granted in time and then frequently to share the same grace of rapture. Among them was a modest virgin who considered all these things to be fanciful illusions. ‘Why’, she said, ‘am I not in rapture like the others?’ They replied, ‘because you do not have virtue, you do not love others nor do you trust us’. She said: ‘Ask God that if it be from God it may happen to me also’. They said: ‘To get this you have to renounce all affections for humans and occupy yourself only with thinking about God’. ‘So’, she answered, ‘am I not to pray for my friends and benefactors?’ They said: ‘Commit them all to God and like one about to leave the world say farewell to all creatures’. She replied: ‘I do not want my soul to be so enraptured from my body that the memory of my friends is driven from my mind, but this only is enough for me to know, namely, whether or not such ecstasies are from God’. However, on Good Friday she was taken to higher things and filled with a sudden light. A weaker eye could not bear the unapproachable light shining in her and she asked to be granted a vision of the passion of the Lord; she saw Jesus hanging on the cross, pierced with the nails and lance, blood flowing from his five wounds as he looked sweetly upon her. She burst into tears and, returning to herself, trusted her sisters and was cured of doubt.

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Finally, there is one thing we have to say about the preceding section and so bring the treatise to an end. There is an evil peace to be shunned rather than embraced and the Lord says of this: *Do you think that I have come to bring peace to the earth? No, I tell you, but rather division* [Lk 12:51]. Sometimes we feign peace but without a doubt we do not have it. Our speech and manner sometimes say: peace, peace; but if it is requested the soul says that it is not peace. The flesh, world and devil want to be united to us but they cleverly deceive any who agree with them. When they kiss us, they draw a sword with which to cut and slaughter us.

Since what has been said is the way things are, we are to embrace the sweetness of peace and turn with complete purity and sincerity of heart, imitating him who made peace with all things by his blood, he who is truly peace and who *reconciled to himself all things* [Col 1:20]. *And the peace of God, which surpasses all understanding, will guard your hearts and your minds in Christ Jesus our Lord* [Phil 4:7; Eph 2:14] to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

THE END OF THE TREATISE OF FRIAR GILBERT *ON PEACE.*

ENDNOTES

PREFACE

- ¹ Servais Dirks, O.F.M., *Histoire littéraire et bibliographique des Frères Mineurs de l'Observance de S. François en Belgique et dans les Pays-Bas*, Antwerp, 1885, x.
- ² *Acta Sanctorum*, Februar. III, Antwerp 1658, 197. Among other things Gilbert says: 'Why do I not call your request an order? Not because a powerful person asks with a naked sword, but because of a long standing familiarity, common citizenship, homeland, relationship, closeness of blood, affinity and other things of this kind that either counsel reverence or demand a continuing unity' etc. This letter can also be seen in PL 65, 59-82.
- ³ A. de Poorter, *Un traité de pédagogie médiévale, le De modo addiscendi de Gilbert of Tournai*, in *Revue néo-scholastique de philosophie*, Louvain 1922, XXIV, 195-228. Almost the whole of this unedited work can be seen in Florence, Bibl. Laurent., Plut. 36, dext., cod. 6, fol. 238v-309r, after the treatise called *An introduction to doctrine* by the same author, fol. 14v-238v. This codex will be quoted frequently.
- ⁴ Codex Florence, fol. 258r-259v.
- ⁵ See de Poorter, loc. cit., 202.
- ⁶ See de Poorter, loc. cit., 271r.
- ⁷ Codex Florence, fol. 238v.
- ⁸ See A. Callebaut, O.F.M., in *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, 1919, XII, 300; Dirks, loc. cit.
- ⁹ See De Poorter, *Le traité Eruditio regum et principum de Guibert de Tournai*, O.F.M., (Etude et texte inédit), in the collection *Les Philosophes Belges*, IX, 42, Louvain 1914. Callebaut treats of this excellent edition in loc. cit., 298-302.
- ¹⁰ See De Poorter, *Un traité de pédagogie médiévale*, loc. cit., 201-202. The same things are stated in the prologue to the *Life of St Eleuterius*, loc. cit., 196: 'With the continual cares in teaching, the inescapable labyrinths of questions, the outlines of sermons, the axioms of counsels, in all of which I am immersed and with which I struggle constantly, it is difficult for me to write' etc.
- ¹¹ *The instruction of kings and princes*, 43: 'You ask, most kind lord, and want the following to be continued, namely, the material I have begun. I comply willingly according to the poor limits of my ability. Promptly, therefore, the second letter which her royal Serenity orders to be made public goes ahead, and the prudence of so worthy a person either directs or excuses what will seem ugly or will appear erroneous. For to this work I am spurred on by the urging of her majesty the Queen' etc.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 14.

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- ¹³ *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Franciscano*, Quaracchi 1913, II, 362-366. The eminent author here reproduces for the main part the dissertation of Kervyn of Lettenhove, *Relation de la première croisade de Saint Louis par Guibert de Tournai*, from the periodical *Bulletin de l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, XXVII an, II^a ser., an. 1858, IV, 250ff.
- ¹⁴ Dirks, loc. cit.
- ¹⁵ Golubovich, loc. cit, 362.
- ¹⁶ A tribe in Africa.
- ¹⁷ *The instruction of kings and prince*, Introduction, VI.
- ¹⁸ Codex Florence, fol. 238v-239r.
- ¹⁹ See below in the Letter of Dedication, 1.
- ²⁰ Callebaut, *Lettres franciscaines concernant la Belgique et la France*, in *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 1914, VII, 250.
- ²¹ Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Recherches sur la part que l'Ordre de Cîteaux et le comte de Flandre prirent à la lutte de Boniface VIII et de Philippe le Bel*, in the appendix to *Opera S. Bernardi* (PL 185, 1871, 1886, 1889, 1901-1902, 1908).
- ²² See H. Lemaitre, *Chronique et annales de Gilles Le Muisit*, Paris 1905, 34.
- ²³ In cod. lat. 14947, n. 56 National Library, Paris, there is a sermon, written on Ash Wednesday 1283, which bears the inscription: 'By a Friar Minor, a former regent in theology, named Friar Gilbert, who wrote a Summa'. Lecoy of Marche, *La chaire française au moyen-âge*², Paris 1886, 508. The reference seems to be to Gilbert of Tournai. He was a master regent in the sacred Scriptures in the first half of the thirteenth century and author of a collection of Sermons, *On various callings*, which could rightly be called a Summa. Sbaralea, however, *Supplementum ad scriptores*, Rome 1806, 314 and Lecoy of Marche, loc. cit., did not suspect this identity.
- ²⁴ Namely, Ingeramus of Crequi, afterwards bishop of Théroutanne, who died in 1330.
- ²⁵ Besides De Poorter, II, and Dirks, loc. cit., the following are to be consulted for the works of Gilbert: Sbaralea, loc. cit., 308-309; Oudinus, *De Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, Lipsiae 1722, III, 499-500; Lajard, in *Hist. Littér. de la France*, Paris 1838, XIX, 138-142; Braunmüller, O.S.B. in *Kirchenlexikon*, Freiburg i. B. 1888, V, 1354; M. de Wulf, *Histoire de la Philosophie médiévale*, Louvain 1924, I, 372-373.
- ²⁶ Dirks, loc. cit., XI.
- ²⁷ De Poorter, *The instruction of kings*, V: 'Gilbert of Tournai, of the Order of Friars Minor, ranks among the most distinguished theologians of the University of Paris in the thirteenth century'.

- ²⁸ De Poorter, loc. cit., XI: 'He treats his subject as a true Friar Minor. One distinctive note dominates all his work: the love of the poor and oppressed, a true thirst for justice. These ideas inspired in Gilbert wonderful developments'.
- ²⁹ On this codex confer C. Borland, *A descriptive catalogue of the Western Mediaeval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library*, Edinburgh 1916, 176-177.
- ³⁰ M. Papini, *L'Etruria Francescana*, Siena 1797, 131, in the appendix: *Indice dei codici manoscritti dell' antica libreria di S.Francesco di Siena*, under number 398: *Tabula Sigisberti de erudimento doctrinae in bona litera*.
- ³¹ PL 176, 759-838.
- ³² Cod. Florence, fol. 15r-26r.
- ³³ Ibid., fol. 34r-35r. See De Poorter, *Un traité de pédagogie médiévale*, 203-205.
- ³⁴ Sbaralea, loc. cit., treats of various editions as do Lecoy de la Marche, loc. cit., 509, and Campbell, *Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au XV^e siècle*, Hague 1874, 247.
- ³⁵ Sbaralea, loc. cit.
- ³⁶ Sbaralea, loc. cit. The text of Gilbert is quoted from the codex Conv. Sopp. C. 9. 1084 National Library, Florence.
- ³⁷ The author states in the Prologue: 'After many requests I preached some sermons to the clergy of Paris in Latin and these are now put together in one volume' etc. See Lecoy de la Marche, loc. cit., 149.
- ³⁸ Loc. cit., 308.
- ³⁹ Mansuetus de Castillione, O.F.M., was a penitentiary and papal chaplain. As a legate of the Pope he dealt with most grave matters in Italy, and in England. About him have written Sbaralea, loc. cit., 507-508, and Thomas of Eccleston, *The coming of the Franciscans*, ch. 15, London: Mowbray, 1964, 74-76.
- ⁴⁰ Sbaralea, loc. cit.
- ⁴¹ Besides the sermons mentioned above, many others are attributed to Gilbert. According to Oudin, loc. cit., 500, and many others, the devout author wrote '*Seven sermons on the Lord's prayer* which begin: "When the holy maker of the world and redeemer of the human race took a flask in which the light of the Godhead was hidden" etc; this is found in an anonymous manuscript in the Library of Saint-Germain, Paris, num. 746; also sermons *On the Angel's Greeting*, ms. Cologne held by the Friars Minor'. The question is not settled from the authority of the codices. The same has to be said of four sermons which the Bollandists judge to be the work of St Eleutherius, bishop of Tournai, *Acta Sanctorum, Febrar. III, de S. Eleuterio commentarius praevius*, # 4, n. 29, 186 and edited by Andrew Schottus, S. I., in vol. XV *Bibliothecae S.S. Patrum*, Cologne 1618. See Migne, PL 65, 83-102. Others

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- think they are genuine works of Gilbert. See Oudin, loc. cit., p. 499. However, the commentary *On Canticles* which is attributed to him by Sbaralea, loc. cit., 308, is not authentic but was written by Gilbert of Hoilandia, Ord. Cist. See Migne, PL 184, 11ff.
- ⁴² Loc. cit.: 'A preacher who had the eloquence proper to the saints of the Middle Ages. A knowledge of the holy Scriptures, gospel freedom, force and unction, are the basis and the character of his discourses'. Gilbert drew much from Jacques of Vitry. See Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibl. Nationale*, Paris 1892, IV, 57 and V, 21.
- ⁴³ Edited in *Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum*, Lyons 1677, XXV, 401-420.
- ⁴⁴ See Lajard, loc. cit., 140.
- ⁴⁵ A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, Freiburg i. B. 1902, 465-466.
- ⁴⁶ *De synodo*, lib. I, c. 2, n. 3, in *Opera omnia*, Prati 1844, XI, 6.
- ⁴⁷ *Acta Sanctorum, Februar.* ibid., III, 196-206.
- ⁴⁸ *De S. Eleutherio commentarius praevius*, # 4, n. 29, ibid., 186-187, and *Vita IV ex Breviario ms. Tornacensi*, ibid., 206-208.
- ⁴⁹ Loc. cit., 500.
- ⁵⁰ *Prodomus ad omnia opera S. Bonaventurae*, Bassani 1767, lib. 8, 1, # 1, 506-514; he attributed the work to the Seraphic Doctor.
- ⁵¹ Loc. cit., 401-402.
- ⁵² Loc. cit., 171.
- ⁵³ St Bonaventure, *Opera omnia*, Quaracchi 1898, VIII, Proleg. c. 3, n. 11, p. cxv.
- ⁵⁴ Pharetra means a quiver.
- ⁵⁵ Sbaralea, loc. cit., 147 treats of this. It was last edited among the *Opera omnia S. Bonaventurae*, ed. Peltier, Paris 1866, VII, 3-231. This is the edition we have used.
- ⁵⁶ St Bonaventure, *Opera omnia*, VIII, cxv.
- ⁵⁷ See L. Frati, *Inventario della Bibliotheca francescana di Bologna*, in *Miscellanea Francescana*, Foligno 1890, V, 116; Sbaralea, loc. cit., 309.
- ⁵⁸ Loc. cit., 3.
- ⁵⁹ See De Poorter, *Un traité de pédagogie médiévale*, loc. cit., 199-201.
- ⁶⁰ Florence, Bibl. Laurent. Plut. 36, dext., cod. 6, fol. 272r-272v.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., fol. 273r.
- ⁶² Loc. cit., 4.
- ⁶³ Cod. Florence, loc. cit.
- ⁶⁴ Salzburg, in the Library of the Monastery of St Peter, cod. A. IV. 34, a copy of the *Pharetra* is found written in the 'year of the Lord 1261'.
- ⁶⁵ See De Poorter, *The instruction of kings and princes*, VII. In the copy Perusina, Bibliotheca Romanorum Pontificum, made in 1311, under n. 197 is written:

‘Also, a letter of Gilbert of Tournai to the lady Isabella, sister of the King of France, written in a fine script on vellum, begins on the second folium: “in the matters of eternity”, and finishes on the second last page: “busy with prayers” and it is in sheets without a cover or locks’. See Ehrle, *Historia Romanorum Pontificum*, Rome 1890, I, 48.

⁶⁶ Sbaralea, loc. cit., 309; Dirks, loc. cit.

⁶⁷ *Historia Bibliothecae*, 103.

⁶⁸ Anyone reading the Prologue of this work would come to the same conclusion: ‘Dearest brothers, you do not allow me to hide my ignorance by remaining silent; you display my lack of skill to the kindness of fraternal piety and demand a carriage and a fare for the word from a poor person whom you know has to draw gold from the earth. You think I am full with the riches of wisdom by which others are feasted on the richness of spiritual sweetness. Experts may show tolerance to the words of an unskilled person, while fraternal love and the authority of the person asking compel me to write. Humility accepted, your holiness excuses and directs the style and may divine piety and majesty inform the word. A human word serves human purposes, but a divine word is in the power of the one giving, not in the faculty of the one speaking’.

⁶⁹ *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements: Arras*, Paris, 1878, VI, 209-210. At the end of this work the following has been added by a second hand: *Edited by Gilbert of Tournai, of the Order of Friars Minor*.

⁷⁰ See L. Delisle, *Bibliothèque Nationale: Manuscrits latins et français ajoutés aux fonds des Nouvelles Acquisitions*, Paris 1891, I, 282. In the manuscript the work is anonymous but immediately after it is the work of Gilbert, *The instruction of kings and princes*.

⁷¹ Fr Fidelis of Fanna discovered an old edition in the University Library of Louvain under the reference V. R. v. 9. The volume holds two distinct works joined together. The first has the title *The purifying of conscience*, fol. 1-109r. Fol. 1r begins: *Prologue of St Bonaventure to sermons on death. – Since, dearest brothers, one’s lack of skill etc.* Later: *Sermon on death by B. Bonaventure. 1. We all die and are poured out like water on the ground not to return. A woman who doubted the event of death, a reason for sorrow etc.* – There are seven sermons in this volume of which the last begins: *We all die etc. Just as one severely tortured by the force of thirst etc.* It finishes on fol. 53r: *And the affection of the elect is transferred to God so that God completely takes them away, to where may God lead us, God who lives and reigns forever. Amen.* On the other side of the same folio: *The end of the sermons of Blessed Bonaventure.* Only the conclusion of the work is different from the text of the codices already known to us.

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- ⁷² Loc. cit., 501.
- ⁷³ See St Bonaventure, *Opera omnia*, Proleg. c. 2, n. 13, Quaracchi 1901, IX, XIV-XV.
- ⁷⁴ *Supplementum ad omnia opera S. Bonaventurae*, Trent 1774, III, 495-609. For his argument concerning the Bonaventurian authorship of this work see *Prodromus ad omnia opera S. Bonaventurae*, lib. 8, c. 2, n. 19, *ibid.*, 748-750.
- ⁷⁵ See *Sermo* 1, n. 11, 506, *Sermo* 3, n. 22, 520-521, *Sermo* 8, n. 75, 576 etc.
- ⁷⁶ St Bonaventure, *Opera omnia*, loc. cit.
- ⁷⁷ Sbaralea, loc. cit.
- ⁷⁸ Lecoy, loc. cit., 150.
- ⁷⁹ See above, page ix.
- ⁸⁰ Loc. cit., 22.
- ⁸¹ *Sermo De Epiphania*, in *Sermones de Sanctis*, Florence, National Library, Conv. Sopp. G. 1. 520, fol. 227r-228r.
- ⁸² *Sermo* 1, n. 8, loc. cit., 502.
- ⁸³ N. 22, loc. cit., 520.
- ⁸⁴ Pages 1-2.
- ⁸⁵ Num. 81, loc. cit., 584.
- ⁸⁶ Pages 91-92.
- ⁸⁷ *Sermo* 9, n. 94, 599, and *On peace*, 22-23; *ibid.*, n. 95-98, 599-600, and *On peace*, 31-32; *Sermo* 7, n. 60, 563 and *On peace*, 38-39.
- ⁸⁸ On this codex see Delisle, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits latins et français*, etc. Paris 1891, II, 480.
- ⁸⁹ Other manuscripts are listed in St Bonaventure, *Opera omnia*, IX, XV, namely, Avignon, Municipal Library, cod. 197; Melk, Monastery Library, cod. O. 19; Paris, Library of the Sorbonne, cod. 458.
- ⁹⁰ This translation comes from the XV century. It only begins from *Sermon* 4.
- ⁹¹ Celano, *First book*, in *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, New York: New City Press, 1999, ch. 30, n. 86, 256; *Second book*, in *Francis of Assisi: The Founder*, New York: New City Press, 2000, ch. 151, n. 199, 374.
- ⁹² *Sermo in Dom. II Adventus*, in *Opera omnia* IX, 49b-50, *In circumcissione sermones* 3 and 4, loc. cit., 140-141; *De quinque festivitibus*, loc. cit., VIII, 92-93.
- ⁹³ *Arbor vitae crucifixae*, Venice 1485, lib. 2, c. 2: *Jesus praeominatus*.
- ⁹⁴ See G. Mariotti. O.F.M., *Il nome di Gesù ed I Francescani*, Rome 1898, 35, 41-44; Franciscus Staidelius, O.M.Conv., in Bonelli, *Supplementum* etc. XIII-XIV, in *Approbatio*. Staidelius, crediting the work to Bonaventure, says among other things: 'I go back to the eloquence of the Seraphic Doctor, an eloquence divine rather than human, of which a wonderful example is found in the sermon he delivered in praise of the sweet name of Jesus Christ our Lord. When I reread attentively this most ample sermon, or rather this song

of a thrush, I see it is possible for me to apply with more truth to Bonaventure what we read was said of Nestor: “speech sweeter than honey flowed from his mouth”. For nothing sweeter, nothing more lovable, nothing more ardent could be desired, so that clearly this most holy person surpassed him in the abundance of his words and the richness of his opinions⁹⁵.

⁹⁵ Page 1.

⁹⁶ Page 104.

⁹⁷ See Sbaralea, loc. cit.

⁹⁸ Paris 1725, III, 453.

⁹⁹ The monastery was founded in 1234 and was transferred in about 1251.

¹⁰⁰ *Gallia christiana*, 454, note b.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Pages 1-2.

¹⁰³ See Martène, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, Paris 1717, IV, 1447-1448.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 1452.

¹⁰⁵ Loc. cit., 23-24.

¹⁰⁶ See De Poorter, *Un traité de pédagogie médiévale*, 197-198.

¹⁰⁷ E. Gilson treats in an admirable way of the mind of St Bonaventure in *La philosophie de S. Bonaventure*, Paris 1924, 74-81.

¹⁰⁸ Loc. cit., 88-89.

¹⁰⁹ *The instruction of kings*, etc., 73; *On peace*, 29-30.

¹¹⁰ *The instruction of kings*, etc., 84; *On peace*, 43.

¹¹¹ Florence, National Library, *Conv. Sopp.* G. 1. 520, fol. 37r-46r. The third sermon particularly, fol. 41r-43v, *Sedebit solitarius et tacebit* etc., is found almost in its entirety in the treatise *On peace*, 78-81.

¹¹² The text used in the sermons reads: *He shall sit solitary, and holds his peace: because he has taken it upon himself.*

¹¹³ Page 103.

¹¹⁴ Cologne 1571-1618, XV, 703

¹¹⁵ Lyons 1677, XXV, 378-401.

¹¹⁶ In a footnote the editor lists the corrections made to the Latin text.

¹¹⁷ See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements: Arras*, Paris 1872, IV, 266-267.

CHAPTERS 1-29

Chapter 1

¹ Book 19, ch. 9, *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 24, New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1954, 209.

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Chapter 2

- ¹ *De divinis nominibus*, c. 11 (PL 122, 1164).
- ² See St Bonaventure, *The Triple Way*, ch. 3, n. 7, *The Works of Bonaventure*, Mystical Opuscula, vol. 1, Paterson: St Anthony Guild Press, 1960, 92.
- ³ *De divinis nominibus*, c. 2 (PL 122, 1121-1122).

Chapter 3

- ¹ *De divinis nominibus*, c. 11 (PL 122, 1164).

Chapter 4

- ¹ *The City of God*, book 13, ch. 13, *The Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 24, New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1954, 217.

Chapter 5

- ¹ See Cassian, *De Coenobiorum Institutis*, l. 5, c. 11 (PL 49, 226-227).
- ² The Latin text has peace.

Chapter 6

- ¹ See Cassian, *Collatio 7, De animae mobilitate et spiritalibus nequitiiis*, c. 21 (PL 49, 696).
- ² See Cassian, *Collatio 8, De principatibus et potestatibus*, c. 12 (PL 49, 740-741).
- ³ *Collatio 7*, c. 19 (ibid. 694).

Chapter 7

- ¹ See St Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, XXXIV, c. 7, n. 12 (PL 76, 724).
- ² In the Latin text adversary is Satan.
- ³ Book 13, ch. 15, n. 18, *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 21, New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1953, 425.

Chapter 8

- ¹ See S. Bonaventure, II *Sententiarum*, d. 9 (II, 237-257); *Collations on the Six Days*, Collation 21, n. 16-33, and Collation 22, n. 5, *The Works of Bonaventure*, vol. 5, Paterson: St Anthony Guild Press, 1970, 328-340 and 343; in these pages a frequent and completely seraphic doctrine is treated.
- ² *De coelesti hierarchia*, c. 7 (PL 122, 1050).

Chapter 9

- ¹ *De consideratione*, l. 5, c. 4, n. 8 (PL 182, 792) and see S. Bonaventure, II *Sententiarum*, d. 9 (II, 240-241).

- ² *De coelesti hierarchia*, c. 8 (PL 122, 1053).
³ *De consideratione*, l. 5, c. 4, n. 8 (PL 182, 792).
⁴ *Homiliae in Evangelia*, hom. 34, n. 10 (PL 76, 1251), but not a literal quotation.
⁵ *De coelesti hierarchia*, c. 8 (PL 122, 1053).
⁶ *Homiliae in Evangelia*, hom. 34, n. 10 (PL 76, 1249).
⁷ *Homiliae in Evangelia*, hom. 34, n. 10 (PL 76, 1251).
⁸ *De consideratione*, l. 5, c. 5, n. 11 (PL 182, 794-795).
⁹ *Expositio in hierarchiam coelestem Dionysii*, l. 8, c. 8 (PL 175, 1076-1077).
¹⁰ *De coelesti herarchia*, c. 8 (PL 122, 1054).
¹¹ In the Latin text the word for powers is virtues.

Chapter 10

- ¹ The Latin text has angels.
² In the Latin the word for ornaments is murenula.

Chapter 11

- ¹ *De diligendo Deo*, c. 9, n. 28 (PL 182, 991).
² *De coelesti hierarchia*, c. 7 (PL 122, 1052).
³ *De coelesti hierarchia*, c. 7 (PL 122, 1050). See Hugo de S. Victore, *Expositio in coelestem hierarchiam*, VII (PL 175, 1037).

Chapter 12

- ¹ See Gregorius the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, l. 2, homilia. 34, n. 15 (PL 76, 1255).

Chapter 13

- ¹ Especially books 5-6, in, Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, vol. 3, London: W. Heinemann, 1961, 201-503.

Chapter 14

- ¹ Celano, *Second Life*, ch. 39, n. 69, in *Francis of Assisi. The Founder*, New York: New City Press, 2000, 293. The text in Celano does not correspond with the quotation above. Celano has: ‘As for “necessity” not based on reason but on pleasure....’

Chapter 16

- ¹ Augustine, *Confessions*, book 1, ch. 1, n. 1, *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 21, New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1953, 4.
² See Augustine, *Confessions*, book 10, ch.6, n. 9, *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 21, New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1953, 270-271.

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Chapter 17

- ¹ See Augustine, *De natura et gratia*, c. 36, n. 42 (PL 44, 267).

Chapter 19

- ¹ See Cassian, *Collatio 6, De nece sanctorum*, c. 10 (PL 49, 657).
² The text in the treatise is not in the Bible where the verse reads: *The Lord is with you, you mighty warrior.*

Chapter 21

- ¹ Juvenal, *Satire 13*, n. 134, in *Juvenal and Persius*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950, 257.
² The Latin text has the word peace, not prosperity.
³ See Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum*, homilia 49, n. 5 (PG 57, 470).
⁴ See *Ad populum Antiochenum*, homilia 2, nn. 7-8 (PG 49, 44-45).
⁵ See *De diligendo Deo*, c. 7, n. 21 (PL 182, 987).
⁶ Book 13, ch. 8, n. 9, *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 21, New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1953, 415.

Chapter 24

- ¹ *Confessions*, book 4, chs. 4-5, n. 9-10, *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 21, New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1953, 80-81.

Chapter 25

- ¹ See Cassian, *Collatio 6, De oratione*, c. 35 (PL 49, 816-817).
² Cassian, *Collatio 20, De poenitentiae fine*, c. 9 (PL 49, 1166).

Chapter 26

- ¹ See *In Matthaeum*, homilia 18, n. 4 (PG 57, 269).

Chapter 27

- ¹ There is a play on words in the Latin text: meek is mansueti while skilled of hand is manu sueti.
² Cassian, *Collatio 18, De tribus generibus Monachorum*, c. 11 (PL 49, 1111). In fact this story, related by Piammon, is attributed to Abbot Seraphion.
³ Cassian, *Collatio 19, De fine coenobitae et eremitae*, c. 1 (PL 49, 1127).
⁴ See Cassian, *Collatio 16, De amicitia*, c. 18 (PL 49, 1032-1034).
⁵ The Latin text here has: *Peace to you.*

Chapter 29

- ¹ Namely St John; see Pseudo-Melito, *De actibus Ioannis Apostoli*, (PG 5, 1250).
- ² Ch. 40, n. 65, *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 21, New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1953, 321.
- ³ Especially lib. IV et V (PL 196, 135, 167).
- ⁴ *Sermo* 3 (PL 195, 370-371).