



**THE KINGSHIP
OF
JESUS CHRIST**

**ACCORDING TO SAINT BONAVENTURE
AND BLESSED DUNS SCOTUS**

By

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Translated from the French by

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1944

SAINT ANTHONY GUILD PRESS

PATERSON, NEW JERSEY

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HENRY J. ZOLZER,
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† THOMAS H. McLAUGHLIN,
Bishop of Paterson.

March 30, 1944.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BT
250
-L6
1944

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

This monograph on the Kingship of Christ by the distinguished Franciscan scholar Father Ephrem Longpré, was originally delivered in the form of an address at the National Congress of Milan. Its sublime doctrine, the key to Franciscan philosophy, theology and piety, is here developed in the penetrating light of Saint Bonaventure's and Blessed Duns Scotus' analysis, with the sources clearly indicated for further study and research. For this reason it was thought worthy of reprint in the "Pax et Bonum" Series, which is doing so much to interpret fundamental Franciscan spirituality fairly to the world.

This is an attempt to present the work, in substantially close translation, to those not acquainted with the French language. Some defects of course, will be found in the rendering, but a sincere effort has been made to acquaint readers with the contents of the original opus. Those who are equipped may always refer to the article itself, either in the "Pax et Bonum" Series published by the Librairie Saint-François, 2107, rue Dorchester Ouest, Montreal, 1927, or in the *Acta* of the National Congress of Milan published under the title *La Regalità di Cristo*, Milan, 1926, by Father Agostino Gemelli, O. F. M.

If this modest work may be considered a contribution, it is humbly offered in union with the prayer of Holy Mother Church that Christ the King may be known and "that all peoples scattered and dispersed by sin may be gathered together again under His sweet empire."

DANIEL J. BARRY, O. F. M.

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THE KINGSHIP OF JESUS CHRIST

ACCORDING TO SAINT BONAVENTURE
AND BLESSED DUNS SCOTUS¹

FRANCISCAN biographers tell us that after Francis had so nobly renounced his possessions before the Bishop of Assisi, he set forth clothed in a mantle adorned with a white cross, singing all the while the praises of the Lord. To all who sought to restrain him, Francis declared: "I am the Herald of the Great King!"²

Messenger of Christ, the King of Love, Who revealed that love through His Sacred Heart, His sufferings on the cross, and the supreme gift of the Eucharist — such indeed is Francis of Assisi. And that too is the historical and religious signification of the glowing idealism of those many saints, martyrs and mystics who have followed in the fiery footsteps of Saint Francis. Moreover, this homage of Christ by love and deed has claimed also that of the intellect and of metaphysical intuition. Thus it came about that, in the course of the thirteenth century, the Franciscan masters of Paris and Oxford raised to Christ the King a theological monument of very extensive proportions. We shall review these early doctrinal efforts in this brief synthesis, noting the harmoniously continued

development of the teaching on Christ the King from Francis through Bonaventure to Scotus.

PART I

SAINT BONAVENTURE

Saint Bonaventure and Duns Scotus represent the two pinnacles of Franciscan theology on the Kingship of Christ.

What assures to Saint Bonaventure a pre-eminent doctrinal importance in this matter³ is the fact that he often contemplates the royal dignity of our Lord, thereby determining with certainty its principal theological bases. With this solid beginning, Saint Bonaventure proceeds categorically to place the Incarnate Word in the center of all things, both of the supernatural and the sensible universe, and of the mystical life and Christian metaphysics. He thus raises up an incomparable throne of honor to Christ by constructing a lofty and far-reaching synthesis. And over this synthesis Saint Bonaventure drapes like a mantle of royal purple the marvelous affections of his own soul.

Being profoundly moved by certain Scriptural texts, which texts are recalled to mind from the Encyclical *Quar Primas*, the Seraphic Doctor never grew weary of proclaiming the spiritual and temporal Kingship of our Lord.⁴ The plenitude of sovereign *majesty* resides in Christ, declares Saint Bonaventure,⁵ in addition to the super-eminence of His *judiciary* power and *priestly* authority.⁶ With the set purpose of manifesting Christ's dignity and of honoring Him,⁷ the Trinity has constituted our Lord universal King and has conferred upon Him the pre-eminent power inherent in this dignity.⁸ In virtue of this

supreme dominion, the Word Incarnate will judge the world at the end of time in all the splendor of His glory.⁹ This royal investiture is not merely indirect, but absolute.¹⁰ On Christ alone has it been undividedly conferred.¹¹ It has no limitations whatever,¹² for the angels themselves are subject to the Word made flesh, and they fulfill His commands. Over all those who are placed under God Christ reigns, even in His human nature, which has been exalted above the angels.¹³ In addition to being universal in its domain, this royal investiture perdures likewise for all future ages.¹⁴ Thus Christ is in complete reality the King of Kings,¹⁵ and sits on the summit of all hierarchies.¹⁶

Jesus Christ is primarily the eternal and supreme King in virtue of His hypostatic union with the Word. This follows as a natural right.¹⁷ Christ was not anointed with the sacred oils which in the Old Law consecrated kings and princes. Rather, the Holy Spirit Himself placed the diadem on His brow when, with the co-operation of the Virgin Mary,¹⁸ He united to the Word the human nature and reposed thereon.¹⁹ The very name of The Christ indicates the natural right which He possesses to universal empire.²⁰ "As *man*, the Saviour has been actually exalted above all the kings of heaven and earth. This supreme Kingship follows in virtue of the assumption of Christ's humanity in the unity of one Divine Person, and by reason of the divine charismata which were bestowed upon Him in abundance in addition to the wisdom of His illuminated understanding."²¹ Nevertheless, to this first title there is added a second, in virtue of the bloody oblation

of Calvary.²² The majesty of our Lord had to manifest itself to the world in a kingdom of love.²³

Of this high dignity as well as of His divinity, Christ was always aware. Hence, at His birth He manifested Himself to the magi as the "Prince of Nations" foretold by the prophets.²⁴ Later on He approves of His disciples when they call Him "Master" and "Lord."²⁵ However, during His mortal life our Saviour did not wish to exercise often the privileges and rights inherent in His temporal sovereignty.²⁶ He even refused these honors when they presented themselves. His mission, which was completely spiritual, would have in fact suffered from prestige of this sort.²⁷ He had come to rule hearts by faith in His divinity,²⁸ and He knew that "the salvation of the people rested, not upon His temporal reign, but upon His spiritual Kingship."²⁹ Only once did Christ allow the multitudes to acclaim Him as King,³⁰ namely, on the occasion of His triumphal entry into Jerusalem. But that was shortly before His Passion; and furthermore, as the Seraphic Doctor explains, that condescension had none other than spiritual motives. These motives were: to enlighten those who believed in Him, to confound the enemies of God, and to add further to the ignominy of the Passion which was to follow that royal manifestation.³¹ On the other hand, our Lord openly declared His spiritual Kingship and exercised its sovereign power. Like a true king, Christ promulgated the New Law,³² gave commands to all nature³³ and to the powers of darkness,³⁴ forgave those who repented,³⁵ and snatched mankind from the dominion of evil to lead it back to the kingdom of God.³⁶ One of the greatest manifestations of that King-

ship was the institution of the Eucharist.³⁷ Saint Bonaventure, who had learned from Saint Francis devotion to the Body of Christ, could not fail to observe that the Sacred Host in the tabernacles is precisely the permanent sign of the regal glory of Christ. Moreover, it was not enough for our Lord merely to manifest Himself as King of Love. He wished to prove this Kingship. It was as a King, and with the emblems of His Kingship,³⁸ that Christ wished to die at Jerusalem, the city of priests and kings.³⁹ That death took place only after Christ, in the presence of the authority of Rome,⁴⁰ had solemnly declared Himself to be King.

The foregoing considerations are all contained in tradition, and are inspired by Sacred Scripture. Therefore, if we are to find the original Bonaventurian thought on the theology of Christ the King, we must seek elsewhere. As heir to the exemplarist doctrine of Saint Augustine and Robert Grosseteste, Saint Bonaventure places the Word, the transplendent fountainhead of eternal reasons, at the center of causal relations, revealing acts and ordained ends which re-unite the whole world to the First Cause. But, as a distinguished medievalist, Etienne Gilson, recently observed: "That conception of the relations between the Word and the world was still too abstract and too metaphysical for a disciple of Saint Francis. Above all, it could not be exclusive, for after the drama of the stigmata on Mount Alverno the religious, metaphysical and artistic thought of the thirteenth century, without descending from its heights, was fixed upon the contemplation of the sacred humanity of Christ. It was to be thus for centuries. Furthermore, Saint Bonaventure

had read the following text from the Gospel of Saint John (1, 26) and had been greatly moved by it: 'In the midst of you there has stood One Whom you do not know.' By the light of this Scriptural reference, and under the double influence of Augustinianism and the Franciscan spirit, the Seraphic Doctor was led to consider the Incarnate Word as the Mediator and multiform Center of all the orders of being and thought.⁴¹ Add to these considerations all the logical and mystical implications which convey so lofty a conception of the primacy of Christ. 'Christ,' says Saint Bonaventure,⁴² 'is the central rock; all things revolve around Him and it is in Him that all things must be reunited, just as the lines drawn from a circumference are rejoined in the indivisible unity of a central point.' In his *Conferences upon the Hexameron*⁴³ which were given before the University of Paris, Saint Bonaventure adds: 'It is with the Mediator Who is Christ that one must of necessity begin. Christ, and He alone, stands between God and men. He alone holds the middle place and the center of all things; *tenens medium in omnibus.*'"

Note well the splendid movement of the Bonaventuran thought here as it seeks to centralize all things around the Incarnate Word.

Because He is the eternal Word, the holy Doctor continues, Christ is the center of the Trinity, midway between the Father Who generates Him and the Holy Ghost Whom Christ spirates.⁴⁴ As the consubstantial and necessary Mediator of the Divine Persons, it was fitting that Christ have the same function not only in the mystery of the divine life, but also in the operations of

God, which operations have a terminal point, "medium in officio." By His Word, God had created the world;⁴⁵ by the same Word, God was to confer on it that "new creation" of which Saint Paul speaks.⁴⁶ There you have the *entire economy of Christ*. The unity of His Person embraces the two extremes of being, divinity and humanity.⁴⁷ As man, Christ is part of all creation,⁴⁸ and in consequence He realizes the highest ideal of the synthesis of being and occupies the center of the whole ontological order: the "medium essentiae."⁴⁹ Being thus constituted and illumined with the treasures of divine, angelic and human knowledge, Christ stands between God, the angels and men.⁵⁰ He is the vital center of the entire supernatural order, the "medium vitale,"⁵¹ Who by grace reunites under the scepter of God in mutual love and peace all things that sin had estranged.⁵² Christ's vivifying influence, which is the flower and fruit of the cross, shines upon all mankind.⁵³ This same influence extends even to the angels, at least in an accidental and restricted manner.⁵⁴ As the center of that circle of diffusion, Christ, like the heart which communicates movement to the body, "distributes the life of grace and the Holy Spirit to the members of the Church which is united to Him."⁵⁵ Christ, "in Whom God gives us life,"⁵⁶ is truly the Head and the mystical Center of the supernatural order.

Yet more remains to be said. The Incarnate Word is not only a synthesis of being and divine charismata, and the vital center of the mystical city. He is also the moral center, the "medium morale."⁵⁷ In this moral center we meet all the virtues in a perfect equilibrium, and herein is given us the rule and measure of all true per-

book of the Christian mystic, the *Innerratum Mentis ad Deum*. Never since, with the exception of a second flowering of Franciscan Christology⁶³ in the time of Saint Francis de Sales and Cardinal de Bérulle, has there been such deep learning and love employed as in thus placing Christ at the center of the moral and mystical Christian life.

As a theologian and mystic so concerned about proclaiming the Incarnate Word as the Alpha and Omega of all things, it was evidently necessary that Saint Bonaventure place Christ, the universal Mediator, also at the heart of metaphysics and the speculative sciences. Saint Bonaventure does not hesitate to add this beam of honor and glory to the diadem of our Lord. "If anyone," he says, "wishes to attain Christian wisdom, that individual must begin with Christ: *Incipiendum a medio quod est Christus*."⁶⁴ Truly, in "Him are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and the knowledge of God; He alone is the means of acquiring all the sciences: *Est medium omnium scientiarum*."⁶⁵ The Seraphic Doctor has magnificently developed this theme.⁶⁶ "You have but one Master," he says, to the students of the University of Paris and before the consistory of Orvieto.⁶⁷ "In heaven and upon earth Christ is the sole Teacher. It is He Who instructed the whole Church Triumphant in heaven and the Church Militant here." Christ's magisterial chair is in perpetual readiness.⁶⁸ "He alone is the principal source and origin of all human knowledge. As there is but one sun and yet an infinity of luminous rays, so likewise the multi-form and diverse sciences emanate from only one Master, Christ, Who is the spiritual Sun."⁶⁹ It is not therefore

fection. As the mysterious tree of life,⁵⁸ Christ is the necessary entrance to the interior life; He is the beginning and the end of the journey which leads the soul to the peace of contemplation and the flight of ecstasy. "The first and principal flower of the spiritual paradise is the Incarnate and Crucified Word."⁵⁹ There is but one road leading to mysticism, and that is an ardent love of the Crucified.⁶⁰ There can be no progress unless Christ is the Mediator.⁶¹ A passive union with Christ can be accomplished only by a mystical death in Him.⁶² "Jesus Christ is the way and the gate, the ladder and the conveyance. He is, as it were, the place of atonement resting upon the Ark of God, and the sacrament hidden for centuries. The soul that turns completely toward this place of atonement and looks with faith, hope and charity; with devotion and reverent wonder; with transports of joy; with veneration, praise and jubilation, at Jesus Christ hanging upon the cross — that soul celebrates the Pasch with Christ, that is to say, the Passover. . . . If you were to ask me how this is accomplished, I would answer: Look to grace rather than to knowledge, to God rather than to man, to mysteries rather than to complete understanding. Ask not the light that dazzles, but rather that glowing fire which wholly inflames and transports one in God by a wondrous unction and the most glowing affections. This fire is God! It is Jesus Christ, and He it is Who enkindles it by the fervor of His burning Passion." Thus spoke Saint Bonaventure in that golden

*Translator's note: In this flow of imagery taken from the Old Testament, the "place of atonement" refers to the "Kapporeth," the golden cover of the Ark, which was considered to be God's abode on earth.

from Aristotle or Plato that one must first seek the life of the intellect, but rather from the Word Incarnate.⁷⁰ Christ Himself, continues Saint Bonaventure, is truly the integral object of theology because He is the synthesis of divine and human being, and the mystical center of the supernatural order.⁷¹ In Him are found likewise the moral ideal and the living norm of justice and law, which are the foundations of ethics and the political sciences.⁷² Moreover, logic and metaphysics cannot be perfected outside of Christ.⁷³ The entire universe, indeed, is a vast sacrament of the Divinity. All beings pour out allegories and symbols as an effigy of the Trinity. Consequently, there is a correspondence between God and creation. But it is not the syllogism of Aristotle that reveals these points of analogy. It is Christ taken as the middle term of all our reasoning.⁷⁴ Christ gives to metaphysics its keystone, for, as the eternal Word and also in His sacred humanity, He is the exemplary Cause of all things. The true metaphysician is the one who raises himself over and above the blind attempts of Aristotle. In that way he rises to the contemplation of the exemplary Cause, the uncreated Art, the single Cause of all truth.⁷⁵ Thus, under the pen of Saint Bonaventure, all learning—both revealed knowledge and human science—is logically ordered and forms a circle around Christ.

If the Incarnate Word is the center of all things, it is not surprising that the Incarnation occupies a middle place between the series of the elect who precede it and the series of the predestined who follow it. That place of the Incarnation in the middle of the ages is exceedingly fitting. But it is more than that. It emphasizes also

the universal mediation of Christ. Under this aspect, the Word Incarnate is the "rational center" of history, the One Who gives meaning to both Testaments and authenticates them.⁷⁶ Again, if the cross of the Saviour has been planted in the middle of the world, it is because Christ, in addition to His other prerogatives, is the "natural center of the physical universe."⁷⁷ In the principal circumstances of His mortal life, no less than in the splendors of heaven where the Apocalypse shows Him "in the middle of the seven golden lampstands," Christ invariably occupies the central place.⁷⁸ In view of all these facts, nothing is more logical and more natural, according to the Bonaventorean synthesis. It is precisely the mystery of Christ that He is the Mediator in all things, "tenens medium in omnibus!"⁷⁹

Thus does Saint Bonaventure majestically develop the doctrine of the Kingship of Christ. First he hails the Word Incarnate as the King of Kings, the great masterpiece of God,⁸⁰ the crowning of the universe,⁸¹ the supreme end to which the human race has been ordained,⁸² He Whom the Blessed Trinity loves more than the entire universality of beings.⁸³ Then the Seraphic Doctor raises up to Christ an incomparable throne of honor in the very center of creation.⁸⁴ It is true that Saint Bonaventure — contrary to Alexander of Hales — makes the Incarnation dependent on prevision of the fall of man.⁸⁵ In that respect there is still wanting to Saint Bonaventure's concept one capitalizing affirmation, namely, the statement of the *absolute primacy* of Christ in the divine plan.⁸⁶ But at least after such an effort to centralize all things around the Word made flesh, the theology of Christ the

King was on the road to final intuitions and Duns Scotus could put in an appearance.

PART II

BLESSED JOHN DUNS SCOTUS

With Blessed Duns Scotus, Franciscan thought of the thirteenth century attains its highest expression. The selfsame genius who places the diadem of the Immaculate Conception on the brow of the Blessed Virgin adds the final jewels of glory to the royal crown of Christ. Duns Scotus is truly the leader of that group who have perceived that Christ and the Heart of Mary are foremost in the divine wishes. Because of this group's profound investigations into the mysterious counsels of God, they have been called by the venerable Carmelite, Marie Aimée de Jésus, "les illuminés de l'amour."⁸⁷

Under the pen of the great metaphysician of Oxford, Duns Scotus, the affirmations of tradition concerning the Kingship of Christ emerge with renewed clarity and vigor. The doctrine is expressed, however, without the effusion of symbols and sentiments dear to Saint Bonaventure. Under the supreme dominion of God, Scotus points out, Christ is King⁸⁸ by reason of the supreme excellence which the hypostatic union confers upon Him. Although the principal power resides in His divinity, nevertheless the dominion of the Word Incarnate is of the highest order: "eminentissima quae potest esse sub principali potestate."⁸⁹ The very angels are subjected to Him.⁹⁰ In addition to the hypostatic union, Jesus Christ lays claim to the title of King in virtue of the bloody

oblation of Calvary, whereby He alone is the meritorious cause of redeeming grace.⁹¹ Because Christ has been freely constituted "the true Victim immolated for the human race,"⁹² He has acquired a new right to an empire of love: "Ideo multum tenemur ei."⁹³ Thus the concept of Duns Scotus, exactly as the doctrine of Saint Bonaventure, largely rests the Kingship of our Lord upon the two theological bases recalled in the Encyclical *Quas Primas*.

The inspired words of Saint Paul to the Colossians: "That in all things He may have the first place" (1, 18), together with the doctrinal synthesis built up around Christ by the Seraphic Doctor and brilliantly taken up again after him by Peter Olivi,⁹⁴ served to urge Duns Scotus on to deeper profundities. The doctrine of Robert Grosseteste,⁹⁵ who had taught the Incarnation of the Word independently of the fall of Adam, was also in the *memorabilia* of the Franciscan School of Oxford. Roger Marston recalls with veneration⁹⁶ the doctrine of Grosseteste. Moreover, Scotus' own teacher, William of Ware,⁹⁷ accepts the doctrine in its entirety. Besides, the metaphysics of the Kingship of Christ could not have been definitively worked out if theology had not produced the solution to certain fundamental questions. Is Christ the foremost object of the eternal decrees, the primary and absolute intention of the Trinity, or is He, on the other hand, a simply occasional Being? Is or is not His Kingship dependent upon the absolute and unconditioned primacy of the Word Incarnate in the divine will? Finally, is Christ's Kingship dependent upon the pre-eminence which is conferred upon Him inasmuch as He

is the secondary Final Cause of the universe and the Sanctifier of angels and men?

Up to the time of Duns Scotus, the question of the final motive of the Incarnation had not been framed with all desirable precision. The object of previous research was to know whether the Word would have become incarnate *even if Adam had not fallen*.⁹⁸ This question was posed with the full realization that the problem was difficult to resolve.⁹⁹ Whether we solve the question negatively, or whether we take the affirmative opinion with Cardinal Matthew d'Aquasparta¹⁰⁰ and William of Ware,¹⁰¹ it is under that aspect that the majority of the theologians of the thirteenth century view the difficulty. Blessed Raymond Lull was the exception, for his theology regarding Christ the King is not unlike that of Duns Scotus.¹⁰² Scotus, however, will have no part in the above statement of the question.¹⁰³ He does not move upon that ground, neither he nor his disciples — the most authoritative of the fourteenth century. His sole concern is the order and the actual divine plan. Is Christ, Scotus asks himself, the first predestined One?¹⁰⁴ Was He decreed first and absolutely because of the immense love of His Sacred Heart? This, precisely, is the question that Scotus studies and to which he gives an answer, as did those two other great lights of the Church, Saint Bernardine of Siena¹⁰⁵ and Saint Francis de Sales.¹⁰⁶

Now, if we but recall the spirit of the theology and philosophy of the Franciscan Doctor, the answer can only be in the affirmative. Duns Scotus, in fact, built his synthesis upon the thoroughly Franciscan idea that love is the supreme reason and first intention of the divine will.¹⁰⁷

God is charity.¹⁰⁸ He exhausts its very idea and loves Himself infinitely: "Primo diligit se."¹⁰⁹ But all perfect, generous and disinterested love calls forth other loves,¹¹⁰ according to the excellent psychology of Richard of Saint Victor, which psychology Blessed Duns Scotus adopts here.¹¹⁰ God does not will, therefore, only Himself. He also wills other beings who will love Him, because He will love Himself in them: "Vult alios condiligentes."¹¹¹ In His supremely ordered and rational will, God wills these other beings in the very order in which they may correspond to His first purpose of love: "Deus diligit se propter se, et ideo magis diligit immediatum sibi in illo ordine."¹¹² Any one of His wishes is consequently neither purely occasional nor determined by a circumstance extrinsic to Himself. On the contrary, the divine decrees which concern Christ, and which, like an immense fresco, are unfolded in time and eternity — the predestination of the elect, the elevation to the supernatural order, and creation — all arise from the infinite and perfect love which God owes Himself. They originate primarily in God's supreme charity and it is in this order that they remain: "Non video praedestinationem alicujus esse occasionatum: sed Deus, diligendo se, praedestinavit alios ad se."¹¹³

In other words, the ultimate metaphysical basis¹¹⁴ of Duns Scotus' thesis is this: *the first and adequate object of the divine intelligence and will is always and solely the infinite essence*: "Sola essentia divina potest esse prima ratio agendi tam intellectui divino quam voluntati."¹¹⁵

In the same manner that the divine essence establishes primarily the knowledge by which God knows

Himself and knows all other beings, so likewise is God's essence the primary reason for His intrinsic willing and for His love in Himself and beyond.¹¹⁶

Since this is so — and what theologian of the Middle Ages, from the time of Saint Anselm to that of Duns Scotus, has not subscribed definitively to these principles?¹¹⁷ — it remains only to make the application of this metaphysics of love and the divine will to the question laid down.¹¹⁸ Duns Scotus resolutely takes this task upon himself. He undertakes it even more firmly and logically than Blessed Raymond Lull, whose intuitions notwithstanding are here remarkable.¹¹⁹ Duns Scotus finds in the infinite love of the Heart of Christ the solution of the problem which had thoroughly agitated medieval thought since the *Cur Deus Homo* of Saint Anselm. The end of God is the glorification of the divine essence by love. In the realization of that purpose, the homage of the Incarnate Word outweighs every other adoration possible. It follows, therefore, that the primary object of the divine will "ad extra" is the Sacred Heart of Christ, and that the immensity of the love of our Lord, independently of the love of all others, is the first and adequate reason of the Incarnation. "I hold, therefore," concludes Duns Scotus,¹²⁰ "that God first loves Himself. Following this, God loves Himself in other beings, and that love is without question ordinate. God wishes to be loved by that One Who is able to love Him supremely. I speak of the love of a being extrinsic to God, or a created being. Finally, God foresees the hypostatic union of that human nature which would have had to love Him supremely *even if man had not fallen!*" Thus Christ is the primary intention of the

Trinity and the initial object of all Its decrees by the very fact of the infinite love of His Sacred Heart, "qui potest eum summe diligere."

To this conclusion, so glorious a tribute to Christ, Blessed John Duns Scotus clings with his whole soul, placing at its service the resources of his powerful dialectic. It became a rule to exalt Christ without measure.¹²¹ The Word made Flesh, Whose excellence and the love of Whose Sacred Heart place Him immediately after God, *must* be the primary intention of the Holy Trinity. This primacy is demanded by the perfect order and reasonableness of the divine will.¹²² Being predestined for the glory and the grace of the hypostatic union, Scotus continues, the Word Incarnate cannot come into the system of the supernatural and natural world as it were accidentally. As a general thesis, predestination to glory is in point of fact a gratuitous gift, logically anterior to complete prevision of sin and demerit. Consequently, no being could be called to glory or predestined to replace a creature who has failed in a trial: no one of the elect is able to rejoice over the loss of another. Such is the opinion of Saint Augustine and Saint Anselm. Therefore, concludes Duns Scotus¹²³ following William of Ware,¹²⁴ Christ Himself has not been decreed after the manner of occasional substitution. On the contrary, God has definitely determined all things which concern the Incarnate Word, if not the bloody Sacrifice of Mount Calvary,¹²⁵ independently of the fall of Adam. And God has determined these things for that one essential motive that accounts for all other predestinations or elections: "Deus diligendo se praeordinavit alios ad se."¹²⁶ The conclusion is all the

more unavoidable, then, that Christ is the Masterpiece of God and that His glory and the homage of His Sacred Heart exceed that of all mankind. That the "Summum opus Dei" could be an occasional being, foreseen after the fall of man, and subordinated to the attainment of a secondary end, is something incomprehensible to reason. "Non est verisimile tam summum bonum in entibus esse occasionatum."¹²⁷ Thus argues Duns Scotus following Robert Grosseteste¹²⁸ and William of Ware.¹²⁹ Christ's, therefore, is the absolute primacy of election in the divine decrees and in the plan of creation. His also, by a necessary consequence, is the plenitude of the universal Kingship.

Being the primary intention of the eternal decrees and the eternal love, the Sacred Heart of Christ is also, according to Duns Scotus, the source from which shine forth all the graces of the mystical city. Although, strictly speaking, God could have ordained otherwise,¹³⁰ Christ is "de facto" the mystical Head of the Church.¹³¹ It is, in fact, a divine decree that outside of the Incarnation, which is a grace absolutely gratuitous, all other gifts of the Trinity in the supernatural order must be conditioned by an antecedent merit. In other words, the merits of the Incarnate Word are presupposed in all other gifts of the Trinity.¹³²

Beyond the visible world, the grace of Christ and His light envelop, first, the angels. Up to the time of Duns Scotus, Franciscan doctrine, following Alexander of Hales¹³³ and Saint Bonaventure, had refused to attribute to the Word Incarnate the essential sanctification of the angels. Consequently, it had restricted the universal em-

pire of Christ. Only Vital du Four¹³⁴ and the Catalonian mystic Raymond Lull¹³⁵ had held the opposite opinion in favor of that glorious prerogative. Duns Scotus insists strongly on this point, taking up again the clear assertions of Saint Cyril of Alexandria. Although inferior to the angels in His human nature considered in itself, Christ is nevertheless higher than the angelic hierarchies by reason of His union with the Word: "Concedo quod anima Christi est primum in hierarchia suprema."¹³⁶ Therefore, the illuminations which come from God reach the blessed spirits through Christ: "Illae illuminationes sunt ordinatae: primo, huic animae (Christi) et ab hac illuminantur angeli."¹³⁷ In the same manner there flows upon the angels supernatural grace, a grace specifically the same as that which is communicated to men.¹³⁸ Duns Scotus steadfastly refuses to admit the contrary opinion that is advanced under the pretext that the hierarchy of causes prevents an inferior being from reacting upon a superior being. That objection is foolish, since the soul of Christ was capable of a still greater privilege, namely, that of the hypostatic union. Furthermore, the principle invoked has no application in the order of grace. There the communications are not measured according to the dignity of the nature in itself, but according to the proportion of the grace and the free disposition of God.¹³⁹ Nothing prevents us, therefore, from admitting that the grace of Christ extends to the angels, and from adding thereby this new glory to the royal dignity of the God-Man.

More visibly does the salutary influence of Christ spread out over mankind. The Saviour could have come

in all His glory, for from His assumption into the Word, the Beatific Vision irradiated His soul. The redemption of the human race, however, demanded the abasements of the cross.¹⁴⁰ "Man having become the enemy of God through sin, God decided not to remit that fault, except at the price of an offering which was *more agreeable* to God than the offense had been displeasing to Him. Now, one can conceive of nothing which could be more agreeable to the Trinity than the fault of the human race was odious to It except, namely, the homage of a Person more beloved by It than all mankind was or could have been even if man had not sinned. Such a Person mankind was not able to find in its bosom, because man had been entirely given over to perdition. The Trinity decreed, therefore, to give to the human race that beloved Person, and to incline Him to offer His homage for all His brothers. This Person is none other than Christ, to Whom God has given grace without measure. In His homage there appears the greatest charity."¹⁴¹ In this perfect mediation of Christ, grace — the primary reason for all union with God¹⁴² — was communicated to all mankind. By a unique privilege, grace embraced the soul of the Blessed Virgin at the first moment of her existence and preserved her from the original stain,¹⁴³ dwelling therein in all its fullness.¹⁴⁴ After the Blessed Virgin, the supernatural influence reached all men and especially the elect.¹⁴⁵ In this manner, all beings without exception are under the sanctifying influence of Christ and receive from Him, in the words of Saint Paul, "every kind of spiritual blessings."

Thus, . . . the theology of Duns Scotus glorifies the royal and primary dignity of Christ. Duns Scotus strives

before all else to establish the fact that the true cause of the Incarnation is in the preordained love of God for Himself. Consequently, the mystery of Christ does not depend upon the original fall.¹⁴⁶ "That which was occasional and accidental¹⁴⁷ was the sin of Adam, hence the redemption and the rôle of the Redeemer in the Incarnate Word. But the Incarnation, the very existence of the God-Man, was never willed in a merely occasional manner. To Christ, then, belongs the first place in the order of previsions and in the logical instants of the decree which established the universal plan of creation. "To Christ, God and Man, belongs the first loving thought of the Holy Trinity Who, wishing to create, fixes at once upon that Creature Who could render to It the greatest glory. To Christ, before angels and men, belongs the place of honor among those predestined to glory. To Christ, finally, belongs the primacy over all the elect, since their sanctification is dependent upon the plenitude of grace which is in Him.¹⁴⁸ In complete truth, we add that Christ is the secondary Final Cause of creation, which fact Duns Scotus¹⁴⁹ implies in his general thesis. Raymond Lull¹⁵⁰ and Ubertin de Casale¹⁵¹ happily develop this same point. Truly, there is no jewel lacking in the royal crown of our Divine Lord.

* * *

Such, . . . in its essential lines, was the theological monument erected to the Kingship of Christ by the Franciscan doctors of the thirteenth century. Saint Bonaventure has given harmonious proportions to it by

placing the Word Incarnate at the center of all things, "tenens medium in omnibus." But the edifice would have been uncrowned if Duns Scotus had not radically corrected several lines of the plan.¹⁵² It remained for Scotus to go beyond the Bonaventuran synthesis and to bring forth his two great assertions: first, the absolute primacy of the Sacred Heart in the divine plan; second, the universal sanctification of the angels and men in Christ.

As history amply testifies, the thought of Blessed Duns Scotus has profoundly stirred the field of theology.¹⁵³ Saint Francis de Sales has consecrated it forever by inscribing it in the first chapters of his golden book entitled the *Treatise on the Love of God*. Therein he declares that the thought of Duns Scotus is "according to the order of Providence, accordingly as, examining the Holy Scriptures and the doctrine of the early writers, we are able to discover it there." It is likewise the thought of Duns Scotus, as Goyau has observed, that has inspired the French mysticism of Monseigneur Gay. In Italy, the thought of Scotus was the basis for the eloquence and the social activity of Saint Bernardine of Siena; for the ecstatic flight of Saint Magdalen de Pazzi; in the nineteenth century, for the lofty philosophical conceptions of Benedetto d'Acquisto. More recently, the distinguished voice of Monseigneur Bonomelli has not hesitated to formulate the greatest hopes for this doctrine.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, . . . it would not be rash to conclude by expressing the view that the authentic thought of Duns Scotus more and more inspires contemporary theology and Catholic Action, and thus contributes to an ever-increasing glorification of Christ the King.

NOTES

1. This is the main body of an address delivered by Fr. Ephrem Longpré, O. F. M., at the Milan National Congress. The *Acta* of this Congress were published by Fr. Agostino Gemelli, O. F. M., rector of the University of the Sacred Heart, under the title *La Regalità di Christo* (Milan, 1926).

2. Saint Bonaventure, *Legenda S. Francisci*, c. 2, n. 5, in *Opera omnia*, Quaracchi, VIII, 509.

3. Cf. Barth. de Barberiis, O. M. C., *Cursus theologicus ad mentem S. Bonaventurae*, P. 3, De Christo, d. 12, q. 7, n. 258, Lyons, 1687, II, 96; P. Ortoleva da Mistretta, O. F. M., *Il Verbo divino, increato, incarnato, ispirato, eterna verità e centro d'Unità*, Florence, 1867; R. Guardini, *Die Lehre des heil. Bonaventura von der Erlösung*, Düsseldorf, 1921, 101-103.

4. In *Joan.*, c. 18, n. 63-68, VI, 488-489; c. 19, n. 31-34, VI, 496-497; In *Luc.*, c. 1, n. 57-59, VII, 24; c. 19, n. 43-63, VII, 487-491; *Lignum vitae*, n. 45, VIII, 84; *Apologia pauperum*, c. 9, n. 10, VII, 297; *Sermo II in caena Domini*, IX, 250-253, etc.

5. In *Joan.*, c. 12, n. 12-21, VI, 414; In *Luc.*, c. 1, n. 8, VII, 13; c. 2, n. 24, VII, 50; c. 3, n. 4, VII, 71; c. 19, n. 18, VII, 478.

6. *Sermo in Epiphania*, IX, 164: "In Christo fuit excellentia dignitatis regalis judicialis et pontificalis. Primum respicit maiestatem, secundum sapientiam, tertium, bonitatem." *Sermo de Trinitate*, IX, 355 a: "Dat testimonium in caelo beata Trinitas quod est humana natura a Verbo assumpta. In hoc caelo dat triplex testimonium, quia in Christo est triplex natura, triplex auctoritas et triplex gratia... Triplex auctoritas est regalis, pontificalis, prophetalis; et regalis attestatur Patri," etc. In *Luc.*, c. 18, n. 54, VII, 468; c. 24, n. 57, VII, 600: "Omnia in Scriptura testimonium perhibent Christo tanquam excellentissimo imperatori, doctori et pontifici."

7. In *Joan.*, c. 5, n. 41, VI, 309.

8. In *IV Sens.*, d. 48, a. 1, q. 2, IV, 985: "Secundum utramque naturam habet auctoritatem, sed secundum divinam principalem et naturalem, secundum humanitatem commissam, unde *constitutus est rex.*"

9. *Ibid.*, 984: "Haec duo communicavit Deus-Trinitas homini Christo: auctoritatem, dando dominium, sicut dicitur Actuum 2: *Dominum fecit Deus hunc Jesum*; potestatem etiam, sibi cetera subijciendo, Mathaei ultimo: *Data est mihi omnis potestas*. Et ideo ipse est qui *constitutus est a Deo iudex vivorum*, sicut dicitur Actuum 10. Quoniam igitur potestas iudiciaria respicit illa duo jam dicta et illa sunt Deo per naturam, in Christo Homine per gratiam, ideo iudiciaria potestas est Christi secundum divinitatem per naturam, secundum humanitatem collata per gratiam." In *Joan.*, c. 5, n. 55, 57, VI, 312-313; In *Luc.*, c. 9, n. 41, VII, 229.

10. *Sermo I in Epiphania*, IX, 147: "Evangelica lectio est annuntians de isto rege quod sit rex et dominus. At quorum est dominus? crede: universorum. Ipse est, ut dicitur Apocalypsi, *qui habet in vestimento et in femore suo scriptum: Rex regum et dominus dominantium*. Ipse dominus universorum et ideo absolute, ipse est rex cuius sunt omnia."

11. *In Luc.*, c. 20, n. 48-49, VII, 516-517: "Nulli dedit Deus regnum supremum, sacerdotium aeternum et iudicium universorum nisi Christo."

12. *In Luc.*, c. 20, n. 49, VII, 516: "Exprimit ipsius Filii Dei imperium universale cum addit: *Donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum*... quia per virtutem omnipotentem et regit bonos et conculcat perversos."

13. *III Sent.*, d. 14, dub. 4, II, 326.

14. *In Luc.*, c. 11, n. 46, VII, 292; *In Hexaem.*, coll. 3, n. 18, V, 346.

15. *In Luc.*, c. 20, n. 49, VII, 517; *Sermo V in dominica in albis*, IX, 293: "Est princeps excellens, ideo stat ad promulgandum perfectionis edicta, ad decernendum iudicia universa, ad largiendum aeterna donativa, ad praestandum tribulatis auxilia," etc.

16. *In Hexaem.*, coll. 18, n. 12, V, 416: "Hierarchia principalis Christus est"; coll. 22, n. 4, V, 438: "In spiritualibus fundamentum est supremum... Christus, qui est caput, locum supremum tenet in hierarchia nostra." *Breviloq.*, prol. D. 3, V, 205.

17. *Sermo II in dom. in Palmis*, IX, 245 a: "Licet venerit humilis, benignus et caritativus, tamen ipse est rex naturalissimus per essentialitatem excellentiae in presidendo, Apocalypsi 19: *Habet in vestimento*," etc.

18. *Sermo XIX in Nativitate Dom.*, IX, 121.

19. *In Luc.*, c. 4, n. 36, VII, 97: "Nota quod humana natura in Christo per virtutem Spiritus Sancti fuit concepta et per ejus gratiam divinae naturae unita. Et propter hoc duo dicit Spiritum Domini *super eum esse et unxisse*. Vel certe dicitur *esse super eum* quantum ad superexcellenciam gratiae singularis. Dicitur veto *unxisse eum* quantum ad praerogativam sacerdotalis et regalis dignitatis. Haec respiciunt assumptam naturam in Christo, et hoc praefigurabatur in unctione regum et sacerdotum," etc.

20. *In Luc.*, c. 9, n. 34, VII, 226: "Christus exprimit personam unam in duabus naturis et dignitatem regiam et sacerdotalem et gratiae plenitudinem propter unctionis praerogativam, de quo in Psalmo: *Unxis te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo laetitiae*... Intelligitur etiam dignitatis regalis et prophetalis et sacerdotalis secundum triplicem excellentiam suam, scilicet potestatis, veritatis et sanctitatis."

21. *Sermo I in dom. in Palmis*, IX, 243 a.

22. *Ibid.*, IX, 244 b: "Quia Dominus Jesus Christus tantum se humiliavit ut vellet tradi... et condemnatus morte turpissima occidi, ideo secundum infallibilem regulam divinae justitiae, quae est: *Qui se humiliat, exaltabitur*, exaltatus est propter suam profundam humilitatem in solium regale et coronatus est diademate honoris et gloriae." *Sermo I in Resurrectione*, IX, 273 a: Ipse tanquam auctoritatem habens potuit Angelis praecipere: *Attollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini, portae aeternales*... Nunc ergo, amoto gladio flammeo de porta paradisi, volo ut fiat reseratio ianuae caelestis quia ego, *Dominus virtutum*, per proprium sanguinem, devicto diabolo, acquisivi regnum caeleste. Et ideo non tantum in quantum Deus, sed etiam in quantum homo Christus est rex gloriae."

23. *IV Sent.*, d. 24, p. 1, n. 1, q. 3, ad 4, IV, 612: "Melchisedech fuit rex et sacerdos sicut et Christus. Et quamvis Dominus honorem regalem recusaverit propter exemplum humilitatis, et ipse pauper et mendicus fuerit, tamen ad hoc alios non arctavit."

24. *Sermo I in Epiphania*, IX, 145-151.
25. *In Luc.*, c. 19, n. 47, VII, 489.
26. *IV Sent.*, d. 24, p. 1, a. 1, q. 3, ad 4, IV, 612; cf. *IV Sent.*, d. 30, a. 1, q. 2, IV, 710.
27. *In Luc.*, c. 12, n. 23, VII, 316, *Apologia pauperum*, c. 9, n. 11, VIII, 297.
28. *In Joan.*, c. 6, n. 34, VI, 324; *In Luc.*, c. 19, n. 47, VII, 489 b: "Ipse enim desiderat principati cordi, quia ipse solus est Dominus."
29. *In Joan.*, c. 6, n. 34, VI, 324.
30. *Apologia pauperum*, c. 9, n. 10, VIII, 297: "Ex his clarum est quod Christo exhibitus fuit honor regalis, non prophetalis seu sacerdotalis, ut dicit: quem tamen acceptavit propter mysterium nostrae salutis et propter exemplum humilitatis," etc. Saint Bonaventure here opposes Gérard d'Abbeville, who held that Christ had been honored only as a prophet. *In Luc.*, c. 19, n. 43, VII, 487: "Potestatem regalem ostendit se Christo habere tripliciter: primo, per excellentiam in imperando; secundo, per discipulorum obedientiam . . . ; tertio, per populorum reverentiam in laudando. Excellentia igitur potestatis regiae in Christo ostenditur per imperium ipsius pium, providum et potestativum. Tale namque imperium decet regem clementissimum, sapientissimum et potentissimum."
31. *In Luc.*, c. 19, n. 60, VII, 494 b; *In Joan.*, c. 12, n. 26, VI, 415.
32. *In Luc.*, c. 6, n. 9, VII, 137.
33. *In Luc.*, c. 4, n. 83, VII, 108.
34. *In Luc.*, c. 11, n. 46, VII, 292.
35. *In Joan.*, c. 8, n. 16, VI, 356.
36. *III Sent.*, d. 19, a. 1, q. 3, III, 405-407.
37. *Sermo II in cena Domini*, IX, 250-252: "Christus Dominus et Dei Filius incarnatus congrue significatur per regem Assuerum, qui interpretatur beatus, quia ipse est rex gloriae, qui rationabiliter dicitur rex gloriosus . . . quia liberalissimus, potentissimus, sapientissimus, mansuetissimus . . . Quia ergo est rex liberalissimus, ideo in signum suae liberalitatis largissimae fecit grande convivium et delectabile; quia rex potentissimus, in signum suae potestatis altissimae fecit grande miraculum et admirabile vel memorabile . . . Haec hodie legimus celebrata, scilicet paschale convivium, sacramentale mysterium," etc.
38. *In Luc.*, c. 23, n. 46-48, VII, 579; *In Joan.*, c. 19, n. 31-34, VI, 496-497.
39. *In Luc.*, c. 13, n. 69, VII, 355; c. 18, n. 53, VII, 468.
40. *In Joan.*, c. 18, n. 65, VI, 488.
41. *In Hexaëm.*, coll. 1, n. 10-39, V, 330-335; cf. coll. 18, n. 9-13, V, 116; *In Joan.*, coll. IV, VI, 540-542; *In Luc.*, c. 24, n. 46, VIII, 598; *Sermo I et II in dom. 3 Adventus*, IX, 57-64.
42. *In Luc.*, c. 20, n. 23, VII, 508 b: "Imaginandus est Christus tanquam lapis centralis in toto corpore Ecclesiae, quod circumferentiae circuli comparatur; ad quem quidem omnes lineae deductae angulum faciunt et ununtur in ipso tanquam in puncto indivisibilitatis, in quo fit osculum linearum crucis in medio sui concurrentium in unum." *Itiner. mentis ad Deum*, c. 4, n. 5, V, 307: "Jesus Christus, simul et proximus et Deus, simul etiam

rex et amicus, simul Verbum increatum et incarnatum, formator noster et reformator, ut alpha et omega, qui etiam summus hierarcha est."

43. *In Hexaem.*, coll. 1, n. 10, V, 330.

44. *Ibid.*, n. 14, V, 331; *Sermo II in dom. 3 Adventus*, IV, 60 a: "Dei Filius media est persona in Trinitate."

45. *Ibid.*, n. 15-18, V, 332.

46. *Sermo I in dom. 3 Adventus*, IX, 57 a: "Certe congruum fuit ut qui medium tenebat in throno, medium teneret in officio et qui medium in via fuerat creationis medium existeret in via recreationis, ut per Verbum mundus reficeretur per quod factus fuerat." Cf. *De reductione artium ad theol.*, n. 23, V, 325.

47. *Ibid.*, IX, 57 b: "Christus est medium congruum mirabilis colligantiae in Incarnatione, qua in ipso mirabiliter duo coniunguntur extrema, videlicet primum divinitatis et ultimum humanitatis."

48. *Sermo I in dom. 2 in Quadragesima*, IX, 218 b; *In Hexaem.*, coll. 3, n. 13, V, 345.

49. *In Hexaem.*, coll. 1, n. 12, V, 331; *Sermo de corpore Christi*, n. 31, V, 563: "In Christo est thesaurus omnis essentiae."

50. *In Hexaem.*, coll. 3, n. 14-16, V, 345.

51. *Sermo I in dom. 3 Adventus*, IX, 57: "Christus fuit medium vitalis influentiae in passione," etc.

52. *In Joan.*, coll. 4, n. 4, V, 540: "Christus fuit medius inter hominem et Deum, inter hominem et angelum, inter hominem et hominem"; *Sermo II in dom. 3 Adventus*, IX, 61; especially, *III Sent.*, d. 9, a. 2, q. 2, III, 409-411.

53. *Breviloq.*, p. 4, c. 5, V, 245-246: "Omnes iusti, ubicumque sint et quodcumque fuerint, unum efficiunt corpus Christi mysticum, sensum et motum suscipiendo ab uno capite influente secundum fontalem, radicalem et originalem plenitudinem omnis gratiae in Christo habitantis sicut in fonte"; cf. *III Sent.*, d. 13, a. 2, q. 1 et 2, III, 283-288.

54. *III Sent.*, d. 13, a. 2, q. 3, III, 288-290. In a text of later date than the *Commentarium in Sententias*, the *Sermo de corpore Domini*, n. 13, V, 563, Saint Bonaventure appears to give to the grace of Christ a stronger influence: "In Christo est thesaurus omnis gratiae; ipse enim est plenus gratia et veritate, de cuius plenitudine hauriunt angeli et homines. Ipse enim fontalem plenitudinem habet. . . In Christo est thesaurus omnis gloriae. Quidquid enim habent angeli gloriae et homines, quicumque salvandi sunt usque in diem iudicii, de ipso quasi de thesauro hauriunt sive pertineant ad stolam corporis sive animae."

55. *Sermo I in dom. 3 Adventus*, IX, 38 a; *In Hexaem.*, coll. 3, n. 17 et 19; V, 346; *In Joan.*, coll. 4, n. 10, VI, 541.

56. *III Sent.*, prooemium, III, 2.

57. *In Joan.*, coll. IV, n. 7, VI, 541: "Fuit etiam Christus quasi medium morale circa quod est rectitudo virtutis"; *Sermo I in dom. Adventus*, IX, 57: "Christus fuit congruum medium regularis disciplinae in conversatione," etc.; *In Hexaem.*, coll. I, n. 31-33, V, 335.

58. *De plantatione paradisi*, n. 8-9, V, 576.

59. *Ibid.*, n. 9, V, 577.

60. *Lumenerium mentis ad Deum*, prool., n. 3, V, 296.

61. *Ibid.*, c. 4, n. 2, V, 306: "Quantumcumque sit illuminatus quis lumine naturæ et scientiæ acquisitæ, non potest intrare in se ut in se ipso delectetur in Domino, nisi mediante Christo."

62. *Ibid.*, c. 7, n. 1-2, V, 312; cf. c. 2, n. 9, V, 295.

63. Beaufreton, S. *François d'Assise*, Paris, 1923, 86: "On the foundation of Franciscan theocentrism and Franciscan devotion to the Incarnate Word, the renowned Tertiary Cardinal de Bérulle erected in the seventeenth century a splendid metaphysical structure which sheltered the masters of that great school of spirituality that has recently found in M. A. Bremond its definitive historian: Condren, Olier, the Venerable John Eudes, the Blessed Grignon de Montfort. But as soon as it emerges from the retreat where meditate the disciples of the elite, the teaching of de Bérulle abandons the lofty to recover its Franciscan simplicity. The devotion, so popular in his time, initiated by Marguerite de Beaune to the Infant Jesus, is singularly interesting in this regard. The French school, separated from Franciscan spirituality, returns to it spontaneously when it addresses itself to the masses. In it comes to full bloom, without any deformation, one of the most beautiful flowers of the tree planted by the Little Poor Man of Assisi."

64. *In Hexaëm.*, coll. I, n. 10, V, 331. Cf. Guardini, *Die Lobre*, etc., p. 105-107.

65. *Ibid.*, n. 11, V, 331.

66. *Sermo quod Christus unus omnium magister*, V, 567-574.

67. *Sermo III in dom. 12 post Pentecosten*, IX, 402-403.

68. *Sermo III in dom. 22 post Pentecosten*, IX, 444; *In Hexaëm.*, coll. 12, n. 5, V, 385.

69. *Sermo I in dom. 22 post Pentecosten*, IV, 442 a.

70. *Quod Christus unus omnium magister*, n. 19, V, 572.

71. *I Sent., protemium*, q. 1, I, 7: "Subjectum ad quod omnia reducuntur ut ad totum integrum est Christus," etc.; *In Hexaëm.*, coll. 1, 37, V, 335.

72. *In Hexaëm.*, coll. 1, n. 31-37, V, 334-335.

73. Cf. E. Gilson, *La philosophie de S. Bonaventura*, Paris, 1924, 220-223.

74. *In Hexaëm.*, coll. 1, n. 25-31, V, 354.

75. *Ibid.*, n. 13, V, 331: "Metaphysicus, ut considerat illud esse in ratione omnia exemplantis, cum nullo communicat et verus est metaphysicus. Pater enim ab æterno genuit Filium suum... et omnia in eo expressit, scilicet in Filio seu in isto medio tanquam in sua arte. Unde illud medium veritas est."

76. *Breviloq.*, p. 4, c. 4, 245: "Decebat mediatorem quendam suorum membrorum præcedere, quendam sequi"; *In Joann.*, coll. IV, n. 7, VI, 541: "Christus fuit quasi medium rationale, circa quod est certitudo veritatis; medium, inquam, extrema ordinans. Ipse enim medius existens inter duo testamenta, vetus et novum ordinat et utriusque veritatem patefecit." Cf. *In Hexaëm.*, coll. 3, n. 11, V, 345; *In Luc.*, c. 24, n. 57, VII, 601.

77. *In Joann.*, coll. IV, n. 7, VI, 541: "Fuit iterum Christus quasi medium naturale, circa quod est validitudo salutis; unde in Psalmo: *Opera-*

ius est salutem in medio terra." Cf. *In Hexaem.*, coll. 1, n. 18-25, V, 332-335.

78. *Ibid.*, n. 11, VI, 342: "Nota quod Christus stetit, medius jacuit, medius sedit, medius pependit, medius ambulavit," etc. Cf. *Sermo II in dom. 3 Adventus*, IX, 60, et *Sermo II*, IX, 64 b. Christ is in the midst of all in much the same way as the middle term of a chain of reasoning can be observed in the figures of the syllogism. In *Joan.*, coll. IV, n. 5, VI, 341.

79. *In Hexaem.*, coll. 1, n. 10, V, 330.

80. *Sermo in Trinitate*, IX, 355 a: "Effectus potissimus descendens ab origine causante omnia fuit Incarnatio Christi."

81. *De reductione arithm. ad theol.*, n. 20, V, 324: "Appetitus qui est in materia ordinatur ad rationes intellectuales, ut nullo modo perfecta sit generatio, nisi anima rationalis uniatu materiae corporali. Per similem igitur rationem potest argui quod summa perfectio et nobilissima in universo esse non possit, nisi natura in qua sunt rationes intellectuales, et natura in qua sunt rationes ideales simul concurrant in unitatem personae, quod factum est in Filii Dei incarnatione. Prædicat igitur tota naturalis philosophia per habitudinem proportionis, Dei Verbum, natum et incarnatum, ut idem sit alpha et omega, natum scilicet in principio et ante tempora, incarnatum vero in fine sæculorum."

82. *III Sent.*, d. 32, a. 1, q. 5, ad 3, III, 706: "Non enim Christus ad nos finaliter ordinatur ad ipsum quia non caput propter membra, sed membra propter caput."

83. *III Sent.*, d. 32, a. 1, q. 5, III, 705-706: "Absque omni calumnia potest concedi et dici quod Deus magis dilexerit et diligat Christum quam totum genus humanum."

84. Theology of Christ the King is so closely linked with the "central dignity" of the Incarnate Word that L. Janssens, O. S. B., *De Deo-Homine*, Fribourg in B., 1902, V, 546-552, treats of it only as a function of the latter.

85. *III Sent.*, d. 1, a. q. III, 21-28. On the doctrine of Alexander of Hales, see *Summa theologica*, p. III, q. 2, m. 13, Cologne, 1622, III, 21, and F. Risi, *Sul motivo primario della Incarnazione del Verbo*, Rome, 1898, I, 2-8. Cf. Fr. Chrysostom, *Doctrina et cultus Christi Regis in ordine Fratrum minorum*, in the *Antonianum*, Rome, 1926, I, 291-293.

86. *Itinerarium*, c. 6, n. 7, V, 312: "Dum mens nostra contemplatur in Christo . . . videndo simul in unum primum et ultimum, summum et imum, circumferentiam et centrum, alpha et omega, causatum et causam, creatorem et creaturam, librum scilicet scriptum intus et extra, jam pervenit ad quamdam rem perfectam," etc.

87. Cf. F. Godts, C. Ss. R., *Jean D. Scot et l'Immaculée Conception*, in *Vie Franciscaine*, Paris, 1925, V, 739.

88. *Reportata Parisiensis*, 4, d. 48, q. 2, n. 9, XXIV, 607; cf. Vat. Lat. 4290, f.° 44 r.: "Illi humane nature in Christo obligamur sicut domine nostre, tamen sub dominatione, quia adhuc est sub supremo Domino in quantum Deus est dominus omnium."

89. *Opus Oxoniense*, 4, d. 43, q. 1, n. 9, XX, 518. Cf. *Ox.* 4, d. 19, q. 1, n. 5, XVIII, 606-607: "Primus præsidens non potest esse nisi Deus

solus. . . . Secunda clavis, scilicet non principalis, tamen præcellens, potest intelligi quantum ad duplicem præminentiam. Unam quidem in universalitate causarum judicandarum, aliam in firmitate sententiæ definitivæ. . . . Hæc clavis cum utraque præminentia proprie est Christi qui novit omnia merita et demerita judicandorum et semper justitiæ divinæ conformiter judicat," etc.; R. P. 4, d. 19, q. 1, n. 5-6, XXIV, 294. A complete exposition of the thought of Duns Scotus is found in J. de Montefortino, *Summa theologica Ven. D. Scoti*, nov. ed., Rome, 1903, Pars 3, q. 59, V, 540-549.

90. *Ox.* 4, d. 48, q. 1, n. 10, XX, 520: "Christus habet imperium efficax respectu potestatis angelorum." R. P. 4, d. 48, q. 2, n. 7, XXIV, 606: "In Christo est natura conjuncta cum persona Verbi et ideo isto secundo modo (sc. imperative) potest solus judicare secundum formam hominis."

91. *Ibid.*, n. 9, XXIV, 607, Vat. Lat. 4290, f.° 44 r: "Natura humana est ratio et principium cujusdam dominii, scilicet principium reparationis nostræ et redemptionis in ratione causæ meritorie, non tamen in ratione causæ effectivæ."

92. R. P. 4, d. 1, q. 5, n. 11, XXIII, 565.

93. *Ox.* 3, d. 20, q. 1, n. 10, XIV, 738: "De facto, sua gratia, passionem suam ordinavit et obtulit Patri pro nobis et ideo multum tenemur ei. Ex quo enim aliter potuisset homo redemi et tamen ex sua libera voluntate sic redemit, multum ei tenemur et amplius quam si sic necessario et non aliter potuissemus esse redempti."

94. *De sacra scriptura mysterio*, n. 3-15, edited under the name of Saint Bonaventure by Bonelli, *Supplementum ad opera S. Bonaventura*, Trent, 1772, I, 285-297.

95. The *De cessatione legalium* is still unedited. Its teaching on the Incarnation is treated at length by Peter of Candia (Alexander V), whose text has been edited by Fr. Chrysostom, *Christus, alpha et omega*, Lille, 1910, p. 12-21.

96. *Quodlibetum* 2, q. 5: *Utrum Filius Dei incarnatus fuisset si homo non peccasset*, Florence, Bibl. Laurent., cod. Conv. Sopp., 123, f.° 133 v-135 r: "Aliæ rationes non cogunt quibus ad præsens omitto respondere propter reverentiam magnitoris domini Roberti Lincolnienensis qui ipsas studiose et sollerti sermone adinvenit."

97. *In III libr. Sent.*, d. 1, q. 8: *Utrum Filius Dei fuisset incarnatus si homo non peccasset*; Florence, Bibl. Laurent., Plut 33, dext. cod. 1, f.° 163 r-163 v.

98. Fr. Raymond, O. M. C., *Le motif de l'Incarnation: Duns Scot et l'École Scoiste*, in *Études Franciscaines*, Paris, 1912, XXVIII, 186-202.

99. G. de Ware, *loc. cit.*, f.° 163 r: "Dicitur quod certitudinaliter nullus potest hoc scire per naturalem rationem, sed quantum ad congruentias quid magis deceret sunt opiniones."

100. *Questiones disputatae de Christo*, Quaracchi, 1914, 177-181. Cf. A. Tominec, O. F. M., *Vorbestimmung der Menschwerdung Christi nach der lehre des Matthaus von Aquasparta*, Mostar, 1920.

101. *Loc. cit.*, f.° 163 v.: "Dico quod, si loquamur de incarnatione quantum ad ejus substantiam absolute, fuisset incarnatus si homo non peccasset. Si loquamur de incarnatione quantum ad circumstantiam et

finem certum, ut videlicet pateretur pro homine, sic dico quod non fuisset incarnatus, et isto modo intelliguntur Sancti qui dicunt quod non fuisset incarnatus nisi homo peccasset."

102. In his *Questiones per artem demonstrativam solubiles*, q. 24, ed. Mayence, IV, 50, Lull poses the question thus: *Utrum in Incarnatione Dei fuerit principalis divina Ostensio et Dilectio vel nostra Redemptio*. On this subject see Mgr. Maura y Gelabert, Bishop of Orihuela, *El optimismo del B. Raymundo Lulio*, Barcelona, 1904, 29-41. Blessed Duns Scotus has some beautiful meditations on Christ the King in his *Liber Contemplationis*, 1, 2, c. 68, ed. Mayence, IX, 148-151.

103. Fr. Chrysostom, *Le motif de l'Incarnation*, Tours, 1921, 10-12.

104. *Ox.* 3, d. 7, q. 3, XIV, 348-359: "Tertio quæritur: utrum Christus prædestinatus fuerit esse Filius Dei"; *ibid.*, n. 3, XIV, 354: "Hic sunt dubia. Primum, utrum prædestinatio præxigat necessario lapsum naturæ humanæ; quod videntur sonare multæ auctoritates quæ sonant Filium Dei nunquam fuisse incarnatum si homo non cecidisset." The text of the *Opus Oxoniense* is quoted from ms. 137, f.° 149 r. of the public library of Assisi. — R. P. 3, d. 7, q. 4, XXIII, 301-304.

105. *Sermo de universali regno et dominio Jesu Christi*, in *Opera Omnia*, Venice, 1591, 1, 493-500. The thought of Saint Bernardine has been very ably presented by Fr. Ludovic de Castelplano, *Maria nel consiglio del l'Eterno*, 1, 1, sect. 7, Naples, 1872, I, 29-39.

106. *Traité de l'amour de Dieu*, 1, 2, c. 4 et 5. On this subject see Fr. Jean-Baptiste du Petit-Bornand, O. M. C., *Primauté de N. S. J. C.: témoignage et sentiment de S. François de Sales*, in *Etudes Franciscaines*, Paris, 1900, III, 37-51.

107. E. Longpré, *La philosophie du B. Duns Scot*, Paris, 1924, 139-149.

108. R. P. 2, d. 27, q. 1, n. 3, XXIII, 135; *Ox.* 2, d. 27, q. 1, n. 3, XIII, 249 r; *Ox.* 1, d. 17, q. 3, X, 93: "Deus est formaliter dilectio et formaliter caritas et non tantum effective."

109. R. P. 3, d. 7, q. 4, n. 3, XXIII, 303.

110. *Ox.* 3, d. 28, q. 1, n. 2, XV, 378: "Perfecte diligens vult dilectum diligere sicut patet per Richardum"; R. P. 3, d. 28, q. 1, n. 2, XXIII, 488: "Perfecte amans dilectum vult eum diligere."

111. *Ox.* 3, d. 32, q. 1, n. 6, XV, 433; Assisi, *cod. cit.* f.° 174 b: "Nam omnis rationabiliter volens primo vult finem et secundo immediate illud quod attingit finem et tertio alia quæ sunt remotius ordinata ad attingendum finem; sic etiam Deus rationabilissime, licet vero non diversis actibus, unico tantum actu, in quantum ille diversimode tendit in objecta ordinata vel super objecta ordinata, — primo vult finem et in hoc est actus suus perfectus et intellectus ejus perfectus et voluntas ejus beata; secundario vult illa quæ immediate ordinantur in ipsum, prædestinando scilicet electos qui scilicet immediate attingunt Eum, et hoc quasi reflectando, volendo alios condiligere idem objectum secum, sicut prius dictum fuit de caritate, dist. 28 hujus tertii [libri]. Quare enim primo se amat ordinate et per consequens non inordinate, zelando vel invidendo, secundo vult alios habere condiligentes, et hoc est velle alios habere hujusmodi bonum finaliter et hoc est prædestinare eos, si velit eos habere

hujusmodi bonum finaliter et æternaliter; tertio autem vult alia quæ sunt necessaria ad attingendum hunc finem, scilicet bona gratiæ," etc.

112. *R. P. 2*, d. 29, q. 1, n. 8, XXIII, 145; *R. P. 1*, d. 17, q. 1, n. 7, XXII, 210; Cf. *Ox. 1*, d. 41, q. 1, n. 11, Primum probatur, etc., X, 697; *Ox. 2*, d. 20, q. 2, n. 2, XIII, 120; *R. P. 2*, d. 20, q. 2, n. 2, XXIII, 98. "Omnis ordinate volens, primo vult quod est immediatum fini; sed Deus est ordinatissime volens et immediate post dilectionem sui vult beatitudinem illis qui eam habebunt," etc.

113. *R. P. 3*, d. 19, q. 1, n. 13, XXIII, 407. *R. P. 3*, d. 32, q. 1, n. 10-11, XXIII, 508: "Vult Deus ex caritate primo bene sibi tanquam fini omnium; secundo vult alium velle sibi bonum esse: in isto instanti potest poni prædestinatio; ex eodem enim habitu potest velle mihi omnia necessaria ad diligendum se et ex consequenti illa efficere in me. Nam post volitionem finis, primum immediatissime volitum videtur esse illud quod propinquissime ad finem ordinatur in omni rationabili voluntate, et ideo illud per quod ad finem devenitur immediatius, et tertio omnia quocumque modo ad hæc necessaria et sic post prædestinationem. Deinde est collatio gratiæ et aliorum supernaturalium quibus immediate attingimus finem et postea iste mundus sensibilis. . . . In omnibus tamen his gradibus unus est actus qui est diligere omnia inæqualiter, non absolute, sed ut transit in objecta, non quidem æqualiter sed secundum quod aliqua immediatius ordinantur ad finem; ideo non æqualiter diligit omnia, loquendo de actu ut transit in objecta," etc.

114. Klein has accurately shown this in *Der Gottesbegriff des Johan. Dwar Skorus*, Paderborn, 1913, 137-139.

115. *Ox. 3*, d. 32, q. 1, n. 5, XV, 432.

116. *R. P. 3*, d. 32, q. 1, n. 10, XXIII, 507: "In Deo est unus actus diligendi omnia, quia est unum objectum quod est ratio diligibilitatis sui et ratio diligendi omnia, quocumque modo diligibilia sunt. Est tamen unum objectum primum et necessarium, aliud contingens, quod nullo modo causat actum distinctum ab actu perfectissimo et primo," etc.

117. Cf. Saint Bonaventure, *Sermo III de Annuntiatione B. M. V.*, IX, 667 b.

118. See especially F. Lychet, *Comment. in 3 Librum Scoti*, d. 7, q. 3, Venice, 1589, 35-37; Fr. de Pitigianis, *Summa theol. Spec. et moral.*, seu *Comment. in 3 Librum Scoti*, d. 7, Venice 1613, I, 220-240.

119. *Disputatio fidelis et infidelis*, p. 4, n. 16, ed. Mayence, IV, 31-32: "Manifestum est quod principaliter fuerit Deo quod sit Incarnatus propter Humanitatem quam habet sibi unitam quam propter aliam communi humanam naturam vel etiam propter restaurationem humanæ naturæ, quia cum illa Humanitas sit unita Deo et nobilior et potentior et sapientior quam reliqua natura omnium: aliter Deus magis diligeret id quod est remotum quam id quod est propinquum sibi et per magis aliud a se ipso quam se ipsum, quod est impossibile; ergo Deus fuit incarnatus propter Humanitatem quam habuit unitam sibi, et sic non valet quod dixisti contra hoc. Sed adhuc est alius principalissimus finis et ultra istum non est querendus finis: videlicet propter Deitatem. Omnia quocumque Deus facit, fecit et faciet, principalissime sunt propter se ipsum, cum non tantum diligit nec possit aliud quam se ipsum," etc. It is in-

teresting to encounter in this work, written in Paris in 1289, the two chief contentions of Duns Scotus. These, as well as another argument of Scotus, namely, that Christ could not have been called forth by the fault of Adam, are indicated also by Lull in his *Questiones per artem demonstrativam solubiles*, q. 29, ed. Mayence, IV, 50, where the following thesis is established: "In Incarnatione Dei fuit principalis divina Ostensio et Dilectio, non autem nostra redemptio."

120. *R. P.* 3, d. 7, q. 4, n. 5, XXIII, 303. In ms. F. 69 of the chapter library of the Cathedral of Worcester, which we transmit without any change or revision in the text—an echo of the *Paris Lessons* of Duns Scotus—the passage is as follows: "Dico ergo sic: quod primo Deus diligit se, secundo diligit se aliis et iste est amor castus, tertio vult se diligi ab Eo qui potest eum summe diligere, loquendo de amore alicujus extrinseci, et quarto prævidit unionem illius naturæ quæ debet eum summe diligere, etsi nullus cecidisset."

121. *Ox.* 3, d. 13, q. 4, n. 9, XIV, 463: "In commendando enim Christum malo excedere quam deficere a laude sibi debita," etc.

122. *R. P.* 3, d. 7, q. 4, n. 4, *Dico tamen*, XXIII, 303. In ms. F. 69 of Worcester, the text reads thus: "Dico quod lapsus non fuit causa prædestinationis Christi, immo etsi nec homo nec angelus fuisset lapsus, nec plures homines creandi quam Christus, adhuc fuisset Christus prædestinatus sic: quia omnis ordinate volens primo vult finem, deinde immediatius immediatiora; sed Deus est ordinatissime volens, ergo sic vult: primo ergo vult se et post se immediate quantum ad extrinseca est anima Christi; ergo primum post velle intrinseca, voluit gloriam istam Christo; ergo ante quodcumque meritum et ante quodcumque demeritum, prævidit Christum sibi esse uniendum in unitate suppositi."

123. *Ibid.* n. 4, Item ut declaratum, XXIII, 303. Worcester, *cod. cit.*: "Item, ut declaratum est in primo libro, in materia de prædestinatione, prius est præordinatio et prædestinatio circa electos quam aliquid fiat circa reprobos in actu secundo ne aliquis gaudeat ex perditione, alterium quasi sibi sit lucrum; ergo ante lapsum prævisum et ante omne demeritum fuit totus processus prævisus circa Christum." *Ox.* 3, d. 7, q. 3, n. 3, XIV, 354. In ms. lat. 15, 361, f.° 18 v, of the National Library in Paris, the text is in full accord with that of this edition. It reads thus in the Assisi ms. already cited, f.° 149 r: "Sine præjudicio potest dici quod cum prædestinatio cujuscumque ad gloriam præcedat ex parte objecti naturaliter præscientiam peccati vel damnationis cujuscumque secundum opinionem ultimam dictam, dist. 45 primi libri, multo magis est hoc verum de prædestinatione illius Animæ quæ prædestinabatur ad summam gloriam. Universaliter enim ordinate volens prius videtur velle hoc quod est fini propinquius et ita sicut prius vult gloriam alicui quam gratiam, ita etiam inter prædestinatos quibus vult gloriam, ordinate prius videtur velle quem vult esse proximum fini, et ita huic. Animæ prius vult gloriam quam alicui alteri animæ velit gloriam, et prius cuilibet alteri gloriam et gratiam quam prævideat illi opposita istorum habituum. Ergo a primo, prius vult Animæ Christi gloriam quam prævideat Adam casurum." Cf. *Ox.* 3, d. 19, q. 1, n. 6, XIV, 714.

124. *Cod. cit.* f.° 163 v.

125. *R. P.* 3, d. 7, q. 4, n. 5, XXIII, 303. According to the Worcester ms.: "Quomodo ergo sunt intelligendæ auctoritates Sanctorum potentium quod Deus non fuisset mediator nisi aliquis fuisset peccator et multæ aliæ auctoritates quæ videntur sonare in contrarium. — Dico quod gloria est ordinata animæ Christi et carni sicut potest carni competere, et sicut fuit collata animæ in assumptione, ideo statim fuisset collata carni, nisi quod propter majus bonum fuit illud dilatum, ut per mediatorem, qui potuit et debuit, redimeretur humanum genus a potestate diaboli, quia majus bonum fuit gloria Beatorum redimendorum per passionem carnis quam gloria carnis; et ideo in quinto instanti vidit Deus mediatorem venientem passurum, redempturum populum suum, et non venisset, ut passurus, ut redempturus nisi aliquis prius peccasset; neque fuisset gloria carnis dilata nisi fuissent redimendi, et statim fuisset totus Christus glorificatus." Cf. *Ox.* 3, d. 7, q. 3, XIV, 355 a.

126. *R. P.* 3, d. 19, q. 1, n. 13, XXIII, 407.

127. *R. P.* 3, d. 7, q. 4, n. 4, Item si lapsus, XXIII, 303. The text of the Worcester ms. is shorter: "Item, si lapsus esset ratio prædestinationis Christi, sequeretur quod summum opus Dei esset maxime occasionatum, quia gloria omnium non erit tanta intensive quanta fuit Christi." — *Ox.* 3, d. 7, q. 3, n. 3, XIV, 355 a: The Assisi ms., *loc. cit.*, reads thus: "Nec fuisset redemptio, nisi homo peccasset, facienda. Sed non propter istam solam causam videtur Deus prædestinasse illam Animam ad tantam gloriam, cum illa redemptio sive gloria animæ redimendæ non sit tantum bonum quantum est illa gloria animæ Christi. Nec est verisimile tam summum bonum in entibus esse occasionatum propter minus bonum; nec est verisimile ipsum prius præordinasse Adam ad tantum bonum ad quantum Christum, quod tamen sequitur; immo, quod absurdius est, sequitur etiam quod prædestinando Adam ad gloriam prius prævidisset casurum quam prædestinasset Christum ad gloriam, si prædestinatio illius Animæ tantum esset pro redemptione aliorum."

128. Following R. Marston, *cod. cit.* f.° 134 v, Grosseteste argues thus: "Valde videtur magnum inconueniens ut summum quod habemus per gratiam, videlicet quod filii Dei nominemur et simus, et creatura excellentissima, videlicet anima Christi, occasionata sit tantummodo per peccatum."

129. *Cod. cit.* f.° 163 v: "Item, summum in genere humano quantum ad bonum naturæ et gratiæ non potest esse occasionatum; sed humanitas Christi est summum in genere humano quantum ad naturam et gratiam adoptionis filiorum, quantum ad gratiam quæ non solum est propter conformitatem voluntatum; igitur humanitas Christi et gratia non est occasionatum; sed occasionata fuisset si non fuisset nisi homo peccasset; hoc igitur non est ponendum."

130. *Ox.* 3, d. 13, q. 4, n. 17, XIV, 471-472.

131. *Ox.* 3, d. 13, q. 4, n. 8, XIV, 461; *R. P.* 4, d. 8, q. 1, n. 9, XXIV, 13: "Sacramentum (Eucharistiæ) significat gratiam essentialem, scilicet Christum verum qui est caput omnis gratiæ." On this subject see J. de Montefortino, *Summa theologica D. Scoti*, p. 3, q. 8, a. 4, Rome, 1903, V, 118-120.

132. *Ox.* 4, d. 2, q. 1, n. 11, XVI, 248: "Posset dici quod in universis operibus Dei non fuit aliquod opus mere gratiæ nisi sola Incarnatio Filii Dei"; *R. P.* 4, d. 2, q. 1, n. 11, XXIII, 572. Cf. Montefortino, *loc. cit.*, q. 8, a. 4, V, 119.

133. *Summa theolog.*, p. 3, q. 12, n. 2, art. 2, Cologne, 1622, III, 78-79.

134. *Quodlibetum* 2: q. *utrum anima Christi et Virginis gloriose prævaleant et magis sunt Deo acceptæ quam tota curia cælestis*, in ms. 95, f.º 57 b. of the public library of Todi: "Quantum pertinet ad animam Domini Jesu videtur mihi quod prævalet omni et toti creaturæ. . . Patet hoc ex comparatione Christi ad totum universum respectu cuius habet rationem capitis. Non enim in Christo est solum gratia singularis qua excellit alios personas, nec solum gratia unionis qua humanitas Dei Verbo unita fuit, sed etiam gratia capitis quo totum corpus militantis et triumphantis ecclesiæ vitam et motum suscepit et quantum ad homines et quantum ad angelos. Quod sit caput omnium, Ephes. 1: *Ipsum*, inquit Apostolus, *dedit caput super omnem ecclesiam*, ubi Glossa: "Dicitur caput secundum humanitatem secundum quam unitur ei Ecclesia natura et gratia." Quod sit caput angelorum, Col. 2: *In ipsum*, inquit, *habitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter, quæ est caput omnis principatus et potestatis*; ergo cum in capite sit major vita et sensus, a quo sensus et motus omnibus aliis influunt, sequitur quod, si omnes angeli et beati a Christo influentiam suscipiunt, saltem ratione unionis, quod in ipso est, major gratia quam in toto alio corpore mystico," etc. Cf. Fr. Delorme, O. F. M., *L'Œuvre Scolastique de maître Vital du Four*, in *France Franciscaine*, Paris, 1926, IX, 454.

135. *Art de contemplatio*, c. 7, ed. Probst, in *Beilage zur Geschichte der Phil. des Mittelalters*, XIII, Münster, 1914, 86: "So great, O Queen, is the splendor of the sun that it gives light to the moon, the stars and the heavens: but, as the mercy and humility of thy Son are greater than the splendence of the sun, there comes to us, to us and to the angels, a greater effect of benediction from the Fruit of thy womb than is the splendor of the sun and of other creatures."

136. *R. P.* 3, d. 14, q. 2, n. 25, XXIV, 354.

137. *Ox.* 3, d. 14, q. 2, n. 20, XIV, 518.

138. *Ox.* 3, d. 13, q. 4, n. 6, XIV, 460: "Gratia animæ et angeli est ejusdem speciei," etc., *R. P.* 3, d. 13, q. 3, n. 22, XXIII, 341.

139. To seize the whole of Scotus's thought, compare the objection he is meeting and his response, *R. P.* 3, d. 13, q. 1, n. 1, and n. 17, XXIII, 331, 339: "Item, ordo attenditur secundum influentias superiores ad inferius et non e contra; igitur illud quod est inferius in natura, non potest influere in superius in hierarchia; sed si anima Christi haberet summam gratiam, ipsa influeret in naturas angelicas." To which Scotus replies: "Oppositum. Anima Christi fuit capax illius unionis in qua fuit summa gratia collata. . . Ad aliud, cum dicitur superius solum in natura influit in inferius, dico quod hoc est verum in hierarchia naturæ, falsum tamen in hierarchia gratiæ. Infirma natura enim beatificabilis in hierarchia naturæ potest influere in supremam, dum tamen inferior in hierarchia naturæ sit superior in hierarchia gratiæ. Unde Deus exinanivit se, acci-

piendo infimam naturam beatificabilem, quia noluit quod illa natura haberet de gratia cui plus competeret de congruo, sed fecit infimam naturam in una hierarchia supremam in alia." In this passage, Scotus is speaking only of sanctifying grace, as is observed by Minges, O. F. M., *Compendium theologiæ dogm. specialis*, Ratisbon, 1921, I, n. 543, p. 300. Cf. *R. P.* 3, d. 14, q. 2, n. 25, XXIII, 354.

140. *R. P.* 3, d. 7, q. 4, n. 5, XXIII, 303.

141. *Ox.* 4, d. 2, q. 1, n. 7, XVI, 246. Cf. *Ox.* 3, d. 19, q. 1, n. 10, XIV, 724; *Ox.* 3, d. 20, q. 1, n. 10, XIV, 737; *R. P.* 4, d. 2, q. 1, n. 7-12, XXIII, 570-572.

142. *R. P.* 44, d. 4, q. 3, n. 6, XXIII, 601 a.

143. *Ox.* 3, d. 3, q. 1, n. 4-10, XIV, 161-165. Cf. Klein, *loc. cit.*, p. 138-139.

144. *Ox.* 4, d. 4, q. 6, n. 4, XVI, 454.

145. *R. P.* 4, d. 2, q. 1, n. 7, XXIII, 570: "Christus fuit maxime charus et dilectus a tota Trinitate, quia dedit ei Deus gratiam et non ad mensuram aliorum Sanctorum; Christus etiam voluit obsequium maxime gratum offerre Deo Patri, quia se ipsum hostiam immolandam pro nobis, et noluit hoc obsequium pro se, quia non indiguit, sed pro electis et prædestinatis. . . Decrevit enim Deus a tempore prævaricationis primi hominis, ex quo genus humanum habuit initium, ut nunquam alicui offensam remitteret, vel aliquem acciperet in amicitiam, quousque amicus merito vel obsequio amplius placaretur quam offendebatur ex delicto et demerito: tale fuit obsequium Christi pro electis."

146. In another text preserved at Oxford, Merton College, cod. 62, f.º 5 r., Duns Scotus stresses his thought very strongly: "Videtur mihi dicendum quod nullius electi prædestinatio habuit causam occasionariam et si minimus electus non fuit prædestinatus propter lapsum et reparationem alicujus, multo fortius nec prædestinatio Christi, qui est caput electorum, habuit causam occasionariam, ut lapsum generis humani, immo si genus humanum non fuisset ita lapsum, adhuc fuisset prædestinatus et natura unita Verbo."

147. Fr. Sigismond, *La royauté universelle du Sacré Cœur d'Après la doctrine du B. Jean Duns Scot*, Toulouse, 1925, 7.

148. Fr. Raymond, *art. cit.*, 315.

149. Scotus teaches, from the fact that the sensible world is decreed in view of those predestined, of whom Christ is the first, *R. P.* 3, d. 32, q. 1, n. 11, XXIII, 508; *Ox.* 3, d. 32, q. 1, n. 5, XV, 433 a: "Quarto vult propter illos alia quæ sunt remotiora, puta hunc mundum sensibilem, ut serviat eis."

150. *Libre de Sancta Maria in Obras de Roman Lull*, Palma, 1915, X, 63: "The nature of Jesus Christ is more lofty and more noble than all other creatures, for it is the end, the beginning and the complement of all creatures, since all that God has created, He has created in order to clothe Himself in that human nature which was born of Our Lady." *Liber de centum nominibus Dei*, c. 33, n. 6, in *Obras rimadas*, Palma, 1859, 235: "O Jesu, propter te principaliter est mundus creatus de nihilo," etc. Justly has Fr. Ant. Pasqual, Ord. Cist., in his work, *Vindicta Iulianæ*, Avignon, 1778, Lib. 2, c. 17, n. 3, II, 359-361, written

on this subject: "Adeo trita est Lullii doctrina quod Jesus Christus sit finis totius mundi nullus fere sit liber in quo hoc non profiteatur."¹⁵¹ *Arctior viue crucifixe*, lib. 1, c. 6, Venice, 1483: "Per hoc potest principalis ratio creationis reddi: manifestatio et communicatio summi Boni. . . Licet, inquam, hæc sit principalis ratio, tamen cum hæc potest reddi secunda: scilicet quod Deus omnia *ut convenienti ratione prædiceretur illa natura humana* quam Deus infinitus superexcellenti dono suæ bonitatis sibi in tendebat unire unione hypostatice et personali et ut illa assumpta natura sive ipse Deus et Homo Jesus *haberet decentem consuetudinem creatae nature* et omnem creaturam rationalem in se ipso et per se ipsam faceret gustare inestimabilem gloriam unionis personalis et ineffabiles gratias diffunderet in sua membra. . . Principalis ergo natura intenta a Deo ab æterno fuit, quia prædestinavit ad personalem unionem: et cum ipsa sit omnium summa in ordinatione gratiæ, quæ superat ordinationem nature, ad ipsam Deus æternus omnia posuit, qui in omnibus principatum tenet, et ad ejus honorem et gloriam omnia ordinavit, ut ex omnibus bonis et malis honor accrescit Deo et Homini Jesu Christo." Did not Saint Francis de Sales know this text?

¹⁵² Saint Bonaventure, moreover, is not completely opposed to this extension, III *Sent.* d. 1, a. 2, q. 2, III, 24: "Uterque modus catholicus est et a viris catholicis sustinetur. Uterque etiam modus excitat ad devotionem secundum diversas considerationes."

¹⁵³ Fr. Jean Baptiste, O. M. C., *La Primauté de N. S. Jésus Christ*, in *Étude: Franciscaines*, Paris, 1899, II, 563-584; Fr. Risi, *Sul motivo primario della incarnazione del Verbo*, 4 vol., Rome, 1898 (an important work).

¹⁵⁴ See Risi, *loc. cit.*, I, 251-252, who quotes him thus: "Questa sentenza oggi va guadagnando terreno e forse verrà tempo, che come la scuola scottista l'ebbe vinta sulla tomista, quanto all'immacolato concepimento di Maria, così la potrà vincere quanto a questa sentenza che mirabilmente ci arride." July 10, 1897, Mgr. Bonomelli said to Fr. Jean Baptiste, *art. cit.*, p. 572: "This doctrine, which I hold to be certain, is gaining ground every day, and I have no doubt at all the time will come when it will receive the sanction of the Church."