

**THE « MORALIA » OF POPE ST GREGORY
THE GREAT AND ITS INFLUENCE
ON ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS**

(A general approach)

Pope John XXIII said in his first address to students preparing for the priesthood: « Beloved sons: if you wish to train yourselves in wisdom, if you wish to taste something enduringly uplifting, become familiar with reading the thirty-five books of the *Morals* of St. Gregory the Great »¹. The spiritual value of this work of Gregory is also attested to by St. Teresa, she writes: « To obtain [patience] I was greatly helped by having read the story of Job in the *Morals* of St. Gregory »².

¹ A.A.S. 50 (1958), p. 1008. In the *Journal of a Soul* (transl. by Dorothy White; N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1965) p. 271, Pope John speaks of his private reading: « Oh, the simplicity of the Gospel, of the Imitation of Christ, of the Little Flowers of St. Francis, and the most exquisite passages in St. Gregory, in his *Moralia*: 'the simplicity of the just man is derided' [Job 12:4] and the words that follow! I enjoy these pages more and more and return to them with joy ». Addressing the third session of the Roman Synod, Pope John says of Gregory: « quocum ecclesiastico scriptore a iuvenilibus annis familiaritate quadam utimur, eumque singulari pietatis studio colimus », A.A.S. 52 (1960) p. 246. There is an interesting parallel in the lives of Gregory and John. Before he became Pope, Gregory was sent to Constantinople (Istanbul) as Papal representative and it was there that he began the *Moralia* as conferences to monks. Pope John likewise had previously served as Papal representative at Istanbul.

² *Vida* 5, ed. Silverio, *Obras de Sta. Teresa de Jesús*, BMC (Burgos, 1915), I, p. 31. P. Silverio adds this note: « Religiosamente guardan las Descalzas de San José de Avila dos abultados tomos de los *Morales de San Gregorio* que se cree manejó la Santa. Al principio del segundo volumen viene esta nota: 'Estos Morales son los de nuestra santa Me. y en las oras de dormir arrimaba a ellos su santa cabeza...' » (ibid.). In the first *Instrucción de Novicios Descalzos* (1591) attributed to John of Jesus Mary (Aravalles) and personally signed by John of the Cross as Definitor, there are a number of quotations from the *Moralia*. Cf. *Enchiridion de Institutione Novitiorum Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum*, ed. P. Simeon a S. Familia, (Romae, 1961), pp. 142-226. In the *Instructio Magistri Novitiorum* (1608) by the Ven. John of Jesus Mary (Calaguritanus), under the title « Catalogus librorum Magistri » we find « Gregorii *Moralia* », cf. *Enchiridion* p. 474. We also find the influence of the *Moralia* in a more ancient Carmelite document, the *Institutio Primorum Monachorum*; cf. *Les Plus Vieux Textes du Carmel* (Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 1945), pp. 111-147 and compare the mystical interpretation of Job 39:5-7 on pp. 122-123 and Job 38:41 on pp. 137-141 with the commentary of Gregory on these verses of Job.

The *Moralia in Job* of Pope St. Gregory the Great (540-604) is a vast commentary on the Book of Job occupying one thousand four hundred and twenty-six columns in Migne's Latin Patrology³. Primarily a mystical and spiritual commentary on each verse of the Book of Job, the *Moralia*, in sonorous Latin sentences, speak to the reader on practically every subject of dogmatic, pastoral and spiritual theology. For a thousand years it was universally read as an authoritative source for the theology of the spiritual life, and it is especially on account of the influence of the *Moralia* that Pope Gregory became the « spiritual father of the Middle Ages in the West »⁴.

I. - GREGORY'S APPROACH TO THE BOOK OF JOB

Gregory says he intends to interpret the text of Job « tripliciter », first explaining it literally, then giving its significance for our faith and contemplation and finally explaining its 'moral' meaning⁵. The interpretation « iuxta litteram » (I 513) or « historice » (II 769) is the least developed. Gregory says that to stay with the « cortex litterae » is to remain in the realm of « exterioris intelligentiae » (II 187-189). Hidden in the literal sense is a deeper meaning, the

³ P.L. 75:509-1162 and P.L. 76:9-782. The *Moralia* is arranged in thirty-five books each divided into chapters and is usually cited accordingly. For purposes of simplification we are going to use the following signs: Roman numeral I followed by a number indicates P.L. 75 and the column, e.g. I 707 = P.L. 75, column 707; Roman numeral II followed by a number indicates P.L. 76 and the column, e.g. II 375 = P.L. 76, column 375. On the doctrine of the *Moralia*, see the 'Introduction' of Dom Robert Gillet, O.S.B. to *Morales sur Job*, 'Sources Chrétiennes' (Paris: Ed. du Cerf, 1950), pp. 7-113 and his article « Grégoire le Grand » in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, VI, (Paris, 1967), 872-910.

⁴ Dom Jean Leclercq, O.S.B., *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages*, (A History of Christian Spirituality, Vol. II; London: Burns and Oates, 1968), p. 30. See also Henri de Lubac, S.J., *Exégèse médiévale*, Les Quatre Sens de l'Écriture, Part I, T. II, (Paris: Aubier, 1959), pp. 538-548: « Le moyen âge grégorien ». On the influence of the *Moralia*, see L. Serrano, *La obra 'Morales de S. Gregorio' en la 'literatura hispano-goda'* in *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, 20 (1909), pp. 401-411 and *Traducciones castellanas de los Morales de San Gregorio*, Ibid., 25 (1911), p. 389 ff. Also the studies of R. Wasselynck: *La part des Moralia in Job de S. Grégoire le Grand dans les Miscellanea Victorins*, in *Mélanges de science religieuse*, 10 (1953), pp. 287-294; *L'influence des Moralia in Job de S. Grégoire le Grand sur la théologie morale entre le VII^e et le XII^e siècle*, in *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 29 (1962) pp. 5-33; *Les Moralia in Job dans les ouvrages de morale du haut moyen âge latin*, Ibid. 31 (1964) pp. 5-31; *L'influence de l'exégèse du S. Grégoire le Grand sur les commentaires bibliques médiévaux*, Ibid., 32 (1965), pp. 157-204.

⁵ I 513: « Nam primum quidem fundamenta historiae ponimus; deinde per significationem typicam in arcem fidei fabricam mentis erigimus; ad extremum quoque per moralitatis gratiam quasi superducto aedificium colore vestimus ».

« mysterium » (ibid.) or « intellectus mysticus » (II 245 and 139) which brings to light the mysteries of our faith in Christ and the Church⁶ and from this comes the final significance of the text understood « moraliter » for our personal spiritual lives.

The Book of Job is a privileged place for the mystical interpretation because Job is « gratia prophetici spiritus plenus » (I 649), he speaks « ex prophetico spiritu » (I 801). Job is a prophetic figure of Christ in His sufferings, and by having actually suffered he more truly prefigures Christ than those who only prophesied by words:

Si igitur Redemptoris speciem petra tenuit [I Cor. 10:2-4], cur non figuram illius beatus Job insinuet, qui eum quem voce protulit etiam passione signavit?... Beatus igitur Job, qui Mediatoris typum eo verius tenuit quo passionem illius, non loquendo tantummodo, sed etiam patiendo prophetavit... (II 251).

Throughout the *Moralia* Gregory repeats that the name of Job as well as his sufferings prefigure Christ as the Suffering Servant of Isaiah (53: 4):

Unde et idem beatus Job latino eloquio dolens dicitur, ut per ejus et nomen et vulnera, Redemptoris nostri passio designatur, de quo propheta ait: ' Vere languores nostros ipse tulit, et dolores nostros ipse portavit » (I 729)⁷.

But the mystical sense is not completed by reference to the Person of Christ alone, it extends to the Church, the Body of Christ:

Quia igitur ipse in capite sponsus, ipse est in corpore sponsa, necesse est ut cum nonnunquam aliquid de capite dicitur, sensim ac subito etiam ad vocem corporis derivetur; et rursum cum de corpore aliquid dicitur, repente ad vocem capituli ascendatur. Beatus ergo Job venturi cum suo corpore typum Redemptoris insinuat; uxor vero ejus, quae eum ad maledicendum provocat, vitam carnalium designat qui intra sanctam Ecclesiam incorrectis moribus positi, quo per fidem bonis juxta sunt, eo per vitam durius premunt; quia dum quasi fideles vitari non

⁶ Cf. II 769: « Haec historice facta credimus, haec mystice facienda speramus ».

⁷ See also II 9 and II 251. Gregory sees Christ mystically signified in the first line of the Book of Job, on the words of Job 1: 1 « Vir erat in terra Hus, nomine Job », Gregory says the name of Job means « dolens » and prefigures the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53:4 and the words of Job 1:8 « servum meum Job » leads Gregory (I 576) to Philippians 2:7 « formam servi accipiens ».

possunt, a fidelibus tanto deterius, quanto et interius tolerantur. Amici vero ejus [Eliphaz, Bildad and Sophar], qui dum consulunt invehuntur, haereticorum figuram expriment, qui sub specie consulendi agunt negotium seducendi. Unde et ad beatum Job quasi pro Domino loquuntur, sed tamen a Domino non approbantur; quia videlicet omnes haeretici Deum, dum defendere nituntur, offendunt (I 525)⁸.

Through the words of Job « ex prophetico spiritu etiam sententia fidelis populi ex voce Ecclesiae universalis exprimitur » (I 801-802). Job in his sufferings speaks « ac si ex voce dolentis Ecclesiae loquatur » (II 105).

Since the Body of Christ is made up of individual members, the 'moral' sense, which teaches us about our own spiritual development, has the function of building up the Body of Christ. Thus Gregory says after giving a mystical interpretation:

Haec in significationem nostri capitis breviter tractata transcurrimus: nunc in aedificationem ejus corporis, ea moraliter tractando replicemus, ut quod actum foris narratur in opere, sciamus quodmodo intus agatur in mente (I 586).

Whereas the mystical sense refers to the members of the Church « generaliter », the moral sense is realized « in singulis specialiter » (II 394) and by it we fully receive the message of Scripture:

Sed haec quae de significatione sanctae Ecclesiae dicta sunt placet ut breviata replicatione moraliter disserantur. Dignum namque est ut per ea quae beato Job dici cognoscimus ad corda nostra revocemur, quia verba Dei tunc mens verius intelligit cum in eis semetipsum quaerit (II 459).

Through the moral sense the words of Scripture are realized in

⁸ Elihu, Job's fourth and final 'counselor' signifies Catholic theologians who criticize the Church, cf. II 252-253, 256-257, and II 452: 'Unde et eorum qui intra catholicam Ecclesiam inani gloriae student, non immerito typum tenet: qui dum se prae caeteris peritos credunt, divino iudicio de imperitia redarguuntur'. Gregory's commentary on the final chapter of Job is of interest to the theology of ecumenism. In Job 42:8 God tells the three friends: « ite ad servum meum Job », they are to offer sacrifice and Job will pray for them and they will be reconciled to God. Gregory comments that Christians separated from the Church cannot please God by sacrifice « nisi ad catholicam Ecclesiam, quam Job significat, convertantur » so God tells them: « a me salutem vestram per catholicam Ecclesiam, quam diligo, postulate » (II 756). Gregory observes that Elihu is not invited by God to be reconciled, thus arrogant Catholic theologians are treated more harshly by God than separated Christians (II 253-254).

our lives *quotidie*⁹ and we can put the biblical text into practice (cf. I 545: « imitari spiritualiter possumus »). However, both 'mystical' and 'moral' can be subsumed under the more familiar term 'spiritual', Gregory says he wishes « ut lector meus ex ipsa hac replicatione meminerit me in hoc opere spiritali intellectui deservire » (I 730; cf. I 554). In the *Moralia*, therefore, the words of Job inspire a theology of the suffering Christ and His Church and an entire theology of the spiritual and mystical life of souls¹⁰.

What role does Job play in the theology of John of the Cross?

⁹ II 520: « Quod tamen si moraliter discutimus, quomodo quotidie agatur invenimus ». Cf. I 650 where « moraliter retractare » means bringing Scripture « in usu praesentis vitae ». Gregory speaks of Scripture 'growing' with us as we read it spiritually: « aliquo modo cum legentibus crescit, quod a rudibus lectoribus quasi recognoscitur, et tamen doctis semper nova reperitur » (II 135). On becoming familiar with Scripture, Gregory says: « Veritatis intelligentia cum per cordis humilitatem quaeritur, legendi assiduitate penetratur. Sicut enim ignotorum hominem facies cernimus, et corda nescimus, sed si familiari eis locutione coniungimur, usu colloqui eorum etiam cogitationes indagamus; ita cum in sacro eloquio sola historia aspicitur, nihil aliud quam facies videtur; sed si huic assiduo usu coniungimur, ejus nimirum mentem quasi ex collocutionis familiaritate penetramus. Dum enim alia ex aliis colligimus, facile in ejus verbis agnoscimus, aliud esse quod sonant... » (I 633). Cf. Patrick Catry, *Lire l'Écriture selon saint Grégoire le Grand in Collect. Cisterc.* 34 (1972), pp. 171-201. St. Bernard shows us the influence of the Gregorian reading of Scripture in the twelfth-century; cf. *Oeuvres Complètes de Saint Bernard*, ed. Dion et Charpentier, T. IV, (Paris, Vivès, 1887). In *Sermo* 92 Bernard speaks of interpreting Scripture « secundum triplicem sensum... historicum, moralem [= moralis sensus], mysticum » (ibid., pp. 54-55) and in *Sermo* 94 the colorful expression « In hoc sacrae lectionis pelago agnus ambulat et elephas natat » (ibid. p. 58) is taken from Gregory's introductory letter to the *Moralia* (I 509-516). Similarly in the *Sermones in Cant. Canticorum* Bernard speaks of « moralis sensus » in *Sermo* 23 (ibid. p. 241) and 51 (ibid. p. 394) and in *Sermo* 80 (ibid. pp. 549-550) he says: « Igitur redeamus ad indaganda moralia... Atque hoc ita congrue fiet si quae dicta sunt in Christo et in Ecclesia, Verbo animaeque eadem nihilominus assignemus ». St. Bonaventure, distinguishing the three senses of Scripture as 'allegoricus', 'moralis', and 'anagogicus' observes: « Primum maxime docet Augustinus, secundum maxime docet Gregorius, tertium vero docet Dionysius. Anselmus sequitur Augustinum, Bernardus sequitur Gregorium, Richardus sequitur Dionysium, quia Anselmus in ratiocinatione, Bernardus in praedicatione, Richardus in contemplatione » *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*, 5 (*Operam*, T.V., Quaracchi, 1891, p. 321).

¹⁰ The mystical significance Gregory sees in Job takes on a new value in the light of the most recent studies on the Book of Job. See Jean Lévêque, O.C.D., *Job et son Dieu*, 2 Vols., (Études Bibliques; Paris, Gabalda, 1970). Lévêque says there are many indications that « révèlent chez l'auteur une intention typologique. Derrière la silhouette de Job malmené par Dieu et rejeté par les hommes se profile l'Israël souffrant. L'ulcère de Job, c'est l'ulcère du peuple de Dieu » (ibid., II, p. 440). The laments in Job 30:10 and 16:10 are related to the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 50:6. In Job suffering in nakedness, weakness and dependence on God alone: « Nous rejoignons là, à travers la figure prophétique du Serviteur Souffrant, le Christ en Croix attirant tout à lui et l'aventure à la fois nocturne et lumineuse des mystiques chrétiens au sein de l'Église » (ibid. I, p. 210) and the several literary contact between Job's laments and the Lamentations of Jeremiah are, says Lévêque, a « nouvelle preuve

II. - THE POSITION OF JOB IN THE THEOLOGY OF JOHN OF THE CROSS

We are simply going to follow John of the Cross as he cites the Book of Job in each of his major works¹¹. Without changing the sequential order of the citations, we shall briefly indicate the doctrinal context in which they appear and any expressions the Saint uses to qualify his interpretation.

A. - In the 'Noche Oscura'

By this title we understand the Saint's major doctrinal theme, developed in the *Subida*, especially in the *Noche Oscura*, in the 'excursus' in the *Llama I*: 18-26 where the Saint summarizes the doctrine he says was treated more extensively in the « Noche Oscura de la Subida del Monte Carmelo » (ibid. 26), and in *Ll. II*: 24-30.

In the 'Prólogo' to the *Subida*, which uses the expression « noche oscura » six times and understands it as a passive purification, the very first biblical reference to the soul suffering the Night occurs when the Saint compares persons who fail to understand the nature of this suffering to « los consoladores de Job » (Prólogo: 4).

The *Subida* contains five citations of Job. In *S I* 6:6 Job 20:22 is cited to prove the disturbing effects of unmortified appetites. In *S II* 9:3, which treats of faith as the only means of union with God, the Saint refers to Job 38:1 and 40:1 where the « aire tenebroso » from which God speaks to Job is said to signify « la oscuridad de la fe ». *S II* 14:1, treating of the first sign for passing from meditation to contemplation, cites « el santo Job » 6:6. *S III* 28:6 cites Job 31:27-28 to illustrate detachment from pleasure « en los bienes morales », and in the following chapter, *S III* 29:1, Job 40:16 is cited to indicate the devil's access to souls who rest in the pleasure of these « bienes morales ».

qu'aux yeux de l'auteur Job est le type d'une expérience spirituelle spécifique, celle qu'a connue Israël lors de la chute de Jérusalem et que revit individuellement tout croyant qui voit la misère sous la verge de la fureur de Dieu » (ibid. I, p. 355). Thus the door is opened to a renewed appreciation of Gregory's reading of Job *mystice* and *moraliter*. On the parallelism Job/Israel in Jewish studies, cf. André Néher, *L'existence juive. Solitude et affrontements* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1962).

¹¹ We shall cite from the seventh edition of P. Lucinio Ruano, O.C.D., *Vida y Obras de San Juan de la Cruz*, (BAC, Madrid, 1973) using the following abbreviations: S = Subida del Monte Carmelo; N = Noche Oscura; C = Cántico Espiritual (in the second redaction, or CB); LI = Llama de Amor Viva (second redaction). The Bible will be cited according to the *Vulgata*, which is the edition used by the Saint.

In Book One of the *Noche Oscura* there is only one reference to Job. In N I 12:3 explaining the value of suffering the Night, the Saint says:

La disposición que dio Dios a Job para hablar con El no fueron aquellos deleites y glorias que el mismo Job allí refiere que solía tener en su Dios, sino tenerle desnudo en el muladar, desamparado y aun perseguido de sus amigos, lleno de angustia y amargura y sembrado de gusanos el suelo; y entonces, desta manera se preciò... el altísimo Dios, de descender y hablar allí cara a cara con él, descubriéndole las altezas profundas, grandes, de su sabiduría, cual nunca antes había hecho en el tiempo de la prosperidad.

This is a summary of the forty-two chapters of the Book of Job.

In Book Two of the *Noche Oscura* the citations of Job proliferate, there are twelve in all. Commenting the first verse of stanza one, « En una noche oscura », in N II 15, the Saint begins to explain the sufferings of the soul under infused contemplation by the principle of « dos contrarios » reacting against one another (ibid. n. 4) and the first Scriptural text adduced in illustration of this doctrine is Job 7:20 where Job says he feels « contrario » to God (ibid. n. 5). This, says the Saint, was « uno de los mayores trabajos que sentía Job cuando Dios le tenía en este exercitio » (ibid.). In this same chapter, (ibid. n. 6 and 7), Job 23:6 is cited to express the weakness the soul feels under the strength of contemplation, the Saint adding: « Lo cual habiendo experimentado el profeta Job, decia... », and finally the words of Job 19:21 are applied to the soul who feels abandoned by everybody in the Night. Thus, in this leading chapter, three citations of Job illustrate the doctrine contained in the verse « en una noche oscura ». In N II 7:1, the Saint says that in the Night souls suffer by remembering their past prosperity, they have given much service to God and now feel so distant from their former ways. This is illustrated by a long citation of Job 16: 13-17 introduced with the words: « Esto dice Job también (como lo experimentó)... ». In this same chapter, (ibid. n. 3), Job 12:22 is cited to show that great good is to come out of the Night of suffering. N II 9 treats of the necessity of suffering in this « noche contemplativa » (ibid. n. 6), the pain felt by the soul is such, says the Saint, « que no sé cómo se podría dar a entender sino por la semejanza que el profeta Job, estando en el mismo trabajo de él, por estas palabras dice », citing Job 3:24 (ibid. n. 7). In this same chapter, « el profeta Job » is said to speak of « esta noche encu-

bridora de las esperanzas de la luz del día » in the words of Job 30:17 which contain the word « noche » (ibid. n. 8) and finally the depths of the soul's suffering is indicated in a citation of Job 30 in which part of verse 16 is combined with part of verse 27 (ibid. n. 9). Just as three citations of Job were placed close together in N II 5, which began the explanation of the verse « en una noche oscura », so we again find three citations of Job similarly placed in N II 9 where the Saint is preparing to end his explanation of this verse.

Having finished the commentary on the first verse, John of the Cross announces a change of theme in N II 10:10. This new theme is contained in the second verse, « con ansias, en amores inflamada », which is commented in N II 11-13. In N II 11:6 the Saint sees the meaning of this verse contained in the words of « el profeta Job » 7:2-4, Job « hablando *espiritualmente* y a nuestro propósito » expresses the « inflamación de amor » affecting the soul as well as the sufferings in darkness (ibid. n. 6).

The commentary on the second stanza is begun in N II 15. In N II 17, explaining the word « secreta » in the second verse, « por la secreta escala, disfrazada », the Saint says contemplation is incomprehensible and ineffable and the last Scriptural citation adduced for this doctrine is Job 37:16 (ibid. n. 8). N II 23 comments the verse « a oscuras y en celada » of the security of the soul under the influence of contemplation, the Saint says however, « a la misma medida y modo que va Dios llevando al alma y habiéndose con ella, da licencia al demonio para que desa misma manera se haya él con ella » (ibid. n. 7); this is « según la proporción de la justicia, y así no pueda alegar el demonio de su derecho, diciendo que no le dan lugar para conquistar al alma, como hizo de Job (cf. Job 1:6-12) (ibid. n. 6). In this same chapter (ibid. n. 8) Job 41:25 is cited to show that the devil notices spiritual communications received by the soul.

Although the *Llama* treats of the perfection of love in the state of transforming union (cf. Prólogo: 3), in the commentary on the fourth verse of stanza one, « pues ya no eres esquiva », John of the Cross says this same « llama » caused the purifying suffering of the soul (Ll. I:18-19) and this reference occasions the 'excursus' on the « noche oscura » in Ll I:18-26. In Ll I:20 the sufferings of the soul are said to occur on all spiritual levels, the soul feels abandoned by God and unable to turn towards Him; that God appears to have turned cruel to the soul is expressed in the words of Job 30:21 which the Saint introduces with « como dice Job que en este ejercicio hizo Dios con él ».

There is another 'excursus' on the « noche oscura » in LI II:24-30. In the commentary on the fifth verse of stanza two, « y toda deuda paga », the « deuda » for which the soul feels paid refers to the purifying sufferings of the Night (ibid. n. 24). God sends the « señalada merced » of such interior sufferings only to souls who have done « muchos servicios » and are pleasing to Him (ibid. n. 28):

Ni más ni menos vemos en el santo Job que, en aceptando que aceptó Dios sus obras delante de los espíritus buenos y malos, luego le hizo merced de enviarle aquellos grandes trabajos para engrandecerle después mucho más, como lo hizo multiplicándole los bienes en lo espiritual y temporal: cf. Job 1, 2, and 42 (ibid.).

B. - In the 'Cántico Espiritual'

There are twelve citations of the Book of Job in the *Cántico Espiritual*.

The 'Declaración de las Canciones' begins with a citation of Job 14:5 on the brevity of life. In C 1, commenting the first verse, ¿ « Adónde te escondiste? », John of the Cross speaks of the hiddenness of God and draws the conclusion that hiddenness is the condition under which the soul must seek God (ibid. n. 3-4). Since nothing the soul can clearly feel is God « esencialmente », the feeling of abandonment and the absence of God does not prove that the soul is separated from God, just as sensible devotion does not indicate that the soul is close to God. The Saint illustrates this doctrine by citing the words of Job 9:11 which he introduces with: « por lo cual el profeta Job dice » (ibid. n. 3). C 3:9 contains a citation of « el profeta Job » 41:24 on the strength of the devil.

In C 7:4 the mystical wounding of the soul by love is expressed in the words of « el profeta Job » 6:9, cited in Latin and Spanish. C 9, which treats of the wounding of the soul by love and the desire for God's healing, contains (in n. 7) only one citation of Scripture, Job 7:2-4 (the same text cited in N II 11:6). Attributing these words of Job to the soul wounded by love, John of the Cross introduces the citation with: « según lo dio a entender el profeta Job cuando, hablando con la misma ansia y deseo que aquí está el alma, dijo »; at this time of the spiritual life, adds the Saint, the soul « siempre está de la figura que en la dicha autoridad le pinta Job » (ibid.).

C 12 treats of the vehement desire of the soul to see clearly the God whom it has only glimpsed in the contemplation of faith, the

vehemence of the soul's desire and its torment at being denied the perfect vision of God is expressed in the words of Job 3:24 (part of this verse was already cited in N II 9:7) introduced with: « De donde a este propósito espiritual dice Job » (ibid. n. 9). Immediately following, in C 13:1, the Saint says this suffering results from the soul's closer contact with God and will not end until God communicates Himself in the transforming union: « y, entre tanto, siempre está el alma como Job diciendo », citing Job 23:3 (ibid.).

C 14-15 treats of the extatic contemplation of God in the state of spiritual betrothal. In the commentary on the verse « el silbo de los aires amorosos », the soul's reception of contemplation is illustrated by Job 42:5, cited both in Latin and Spanish and introduced with: « Lo cual dio bien a entender el profeta Job, hablando con Dios, cuando se le reveló, diciendo » (ibid. n. 15). The very next citation of Scripture is also from the Book of Job and John of the Cross presents it with unusual solemnity. In C 14-15:17 he says:

Y, porque me parece viene muy a propósito en este lugar una autoridad de Job que confirma mucha parte de lo que he dicho en este arrobamiento y desposorio, referirla he aquí (aunque nos detengamos un poco más), y declaré las partes de ella que son a nuestro propósito. Y primero la pondré toda en latin, y luego toda en romance, y después declararé brevemente lo que della conviniere a nuestro propósito; y, acabado esto, proseguiré la declaración de los versos de la otra canción.

The Saint then cites Job 4:12-16 both in Latin and Spanish and says: « En la cual autoridad se contiene casi todo lo que hemos dicho aquí hasta este punto de este raptó, desde la canción 13, que dice: 'Apártalos, Amado!'. Each verse of Job 4:12-16 is then given a spiritual interpretation (in n. 17-21) and the Saint ends by saying that Job 4:16 contains the theology of the verse « el silbo de los aires amorosos » (ibid. n. 21). The theology of two entire stanzas (C 13 and 14) of the *Cántico Espiritual* contained in four verses of the Book of Job!

In C 30:10 there is a citation of Job 41:6-7 illustrating the strength of the devil in contrast with the spiritual strength of the soul in the state of perfection. C 36 treats of the perfection of love which causes the soul to make requests of God, on the desire of the soul to enter the deepest of sufferings in order to see God. Job 6:8-10 is cited (in n. 12; Job 6:9 was already cited in C 7:4) and introduced with: « De donde, deseando el profeta Job este padecer por ver a Dios, dijo... ». Finally, in C 39, which treats of the joys of transforming union and of contemplation as a « noche serena », « el profeta

Job » 4:2 is cited in the « Anotación » to express the soul's desire to speak about its joys.

C. - In the 'Llama'

Ten citations of the Book of Job occur in the *Llama*. We have already noted the use of Job 30:21 in Ll I:20 and the references to Job 1, 2, and 42, in Ll II:28.

In Ll II:13 commenting the verse « Oh regalada llaga! » the Saint expresses the wonderful feeling of the mystical wounding of love in the words of Job 10:16 introducing the citation with: « La cual maravilla echó bien de ver Job en sus llagas cuando dijo a Dios ». In Ll II:36 the joy of the soul over the newness of life in the state of perfection is expressed in the words of Job 29, a part of verse 20 being joined with a part of verse 18.

In Ll III:63-65, where the Saint gives an 'excursus' on the devil, all the citations of Scripture referring to the devil are taken from the Book of Job. There are four citations: Job 41:25, 40:18 and 19, 41:21.

In Ll IV:11 the mystical grace consummating God's communication to the soul, indicated in the verse « Cuán manso y amoroso recuerdas en mi seno! », is illustrated by two citations of Job, Job 26:14 and 23:6. This last was already cited in N II 5:6 to express the sufferings of the soul in the 'noche'.

* * *

Job whom we met in the prologue to the *Subida* as the first figure of the soul suffering in the 'noche oscura' is still visible in the commentary of the final verses of the *Llama* where his words apply to the soul in the state of perfection receiving the indescribable « recuerdo de la excelencia de Dios » (Ll IV:10). The forty-one citations of the Book of Job occurring throughout the works of John of the Cross illustrate all levels of the soul's spiritual progress but their most concentrated use is for the theology of the 'noche oscura'. The Saint's frequent use of the formula « el profeta Job » is certainly explainable by a reading of Gregory, but are there even closer ties between the author of the *Moralia* and John of the Cross?

III. - IS THE JOB WHOM JOHN OF THE CROSS PRESENTS AS SPEAKING 'ESPIRITUALMENTE' THE JOB OF ST. GREGORY SPEAKING 'MORALITER'?

P. Crisógono de Jesús O.C.D. in a fundamental study published in 1929 stated with certainty that John of the Cross was influenced by reading the *Moralia*, he writes: « It is impossible to doubt that the author of the *Cántico Espiritual* read the *Moralia*... We find traces of it in the works of St. John of the Cross »¹². P. Crisógono also suggested that the Saint's theological use of the Book of Job might be dependent on his reading of Gregory¹³. Though the influence of Gregory on the Saint is mentioned in passing by a few other authors¹⁴, later studies on the sources of John of the Cross give little or no attention at all to the *Moralia*¹⁵.

In fact, Jean Vilnet in *Bible et Mystique chez saint Jean de la Croix*¹⁶ represents the Saint's approach to Scripture as far removed

¹² *San Juan de la Cruz, su obra científica y su obra literaria*, 2 Vols., (Madrid, 1929), I, p. 35. Comparing C 14: 12-21 with Gregory's commentary on Job 4:16 (I 715-716), P. Crisógono says: « Es tal aquí la semejanza de las páginas del *Cántico* y de los *Morales*, que se hace recia cosa pensar que es mera coincidencia » (ibid.). Crisógono also says (ibid.) that the theology of the verse « en la noche serena » of C 39 is related to Gregory's commentary on the words « in visione nocturna » of Job 33:15 (II 273-274).

¹³ « Alguna mayor probabilidad de reminiscencia tiene la interpretación que san Juan de la Cruz da al libro de Job en muchos lugares de sus obras, y que él pudo aprender muy bien de san Gregorio » (ibid. p. 36).

¹⁴ Jean Leclercq, O.S.B. in *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* (Mentor Omega Books; N.Y.: New American Library, 1962) says John of the Cross was « certainly inspired » by Gregory (p. 34) and on p. 290, n. 10 he says Dom G. Lefebvre pointed out to him « the texts of St. John of the Cross which bear so close a resemblance to those of St. Gregory as to suggest direct dependence ». Dom Georges Lefebvre is the author of *Prière Pure et Pureté de Coeur. Textes de Saint Grégoire le Grand et Saint Jean de la Croix* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1953) however this small book does not attempt to show Gregory as a source of John of the Cross (cf. p. 14: « notre intention n'est pas de tenter un exposé systématique »).

¹⁵ The very extensive and detailed study on the sources of the saint by Jean Orcibal, *Saint Jean de la Croix et les mystiques rhéno-flamands* (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1966) mentions the *Moralia* only once, in a footnote on p. 210 (n. 2), citing P. Crisógono. For Orcibal, Tauler is « la source principale » for the doctrine of the 'noche oscura' (ibid. pp. 110 and 118). No mention of the *Moralia* is made by P. Federico Ruiz, O.C.D. in *Introducción a San Juan de la Cruz* (BAC; Madrid, 1968). P. Federico believes the Saint did not commit himself to any particular author or work and that the results of investigations into his sources have yielded very problematic results, contributing little to an understanding of John of the Cross (cf. ibid. pp. 90-91). For P. Federico the Saint's supreme authority among the Fathers is the Pseudo-Areopagite (ibid. p. 94) and the Saint's preference for the Book of Job is treated (ibid. pp. 86-87) without reference to Gregory and explained by his personal, experiential approach to Scripture. Similar absence of the *Moralia* in *Mediaeval Mystical Tradition and Saint John of the Cross*, by a Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey, (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1954).

¹⁶ *Etudes Carmélitaines*, Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1949.

from Patristic, and hence, Gregorian, tradition. Recalling that the Saint attended the University of Salamanca at a time when the traditional approach to Scripture, based on the interpretation of the Fathers, was, under the leadership of Luis de León, being challenged by a newer, 'literal' approach based on a knowledge of biblical Hebrew and Greek¹⁷, and that the Saint was rector of the Carmelite college at Alcalá where the University was the center of such biblical renewal¹⁸, Vilnet says:

[John of the Cross] is impregnated with the scriptural principles of which a Fray Luis de León is the champion at this time... Thus, from his teachers at Salamanca, from the doctrine of Luis de León which he knew intimately, St. John of the Cross was able to learn never to sacrifice knowingly the direct meaning of the words or the literal doctrine of Scripture (ibid. p. 28).

When John of the Cross uses the expression 'spiritual sense' he does not intend thereby to define a precise sense of Scripture (ibid. p. 85). « 'Spiritual' », says Vilnet, « is not opposed to 'literal' », it simply means taking the spiritual message of the biblical text (ibid. p. 86) and « this 'literal' exegesis is, with [John of the Cross] the most developed and the most interesting » (ibid. p. 90)¹⁹. Accordingly, in Vilnet's discussion of the Saint's use of the Book of

¹⁷ Ibid. pp. 21-22. Vilnet (and others) think the Saint attended the course on the Psalms given by Gaspar de Grajal. Grajal, a disciple of Luis de León, represented the new 'literal' approach to Scripture and in the controversies that shortly ensued, was imprisoned by the Inquisition along with Fray Luis and Martín de Cantalapiedra who taught Hebrew. Cf. R.P.M. de la Pinta Llorente, *Procesos inquisitoriales contra los catedráticos hebraístas de Salamanca: Gaspar de Grajal* (Madrid-El Escorial, 1935) and *Proceso criminal contra el hebraísta salmantino Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra* (Madrid, 1946).

¹⁸ The University of Alcalá, with the publication of the Biblia Polyglotta in 1517 became a leader in the renewal of biblical studies. Especially promoted was the study of Hebrew under the direction of the young Cistercian Cipriano de la Huerca who taught Luis de León and Arias Montano, the great hebraist of sixteenth-century Spain and representative of a 'pure' biblical interpretation, distant from the commentaries of the Fathers. Cf. Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus et l'Espagne, Recherches sur l'Espagne spirituelle du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1937), pp. 781-786) and Aubrey F.G. Bell, *Luis de León. A Study of the Spanish Renaissance* (Oxford, 1925).

¹⁹ Cf. ibid. pp. 184 ff. where Vilnet speaks of John of the Cross' « souci marqué du sens littéral doctrinal ». P. Federico Ruiz adopts the judgment of Vilnet when discussing the Saint's 'técnica exegética' (op. cit., pp. 83-86) saying: « Le preocupa sobre todo el sentido 'espiritual'. El sentido espiritual que descubre San Juan de la Cruz es mucho más adherente. Cae dentro del sentido literal, ya que asume el valor religioso de la Biblia... Este no debe entenderse como aplicación piadosa del sentido literal, distinta y posterior al mismo, aunque también haya citas que pertenecen a esa categoría » (ibid. p. 85).

Job (ibid. pp. 140-141) no mention is made of Gregory's *Moralia in Job* as a possible influence.

It is of course precisely upon the resolution of the question of how John of the Cross interprets the Book of Job that his dependence upon the *Moralia* is to be judged. We have therefore decided, as we proceed in our study, to check our findings against a 'literal' interpretation of the Book of Job contemporary with John of the Cross and issuing from the same milieu. This will be furnished us Luis de León himself. Maestro Luis was teaching in the University of Salamanca during the years the Saint studied there (1564-1568) and died in the same year (1591) as the Saint. Luis, who was the first editor of the works of St. Teresa, wrote a commentary on the Book of Job which he dedicated to Madre Ana de Jesús, the same person to whom John of the Cross dedicated the *Cántico Espiritual*, and throughout he shows his concern to explain the literal sense of the verses, recurring constantly to the original Hebrew text²⁰. To help us judge the faithfulness of John of the Cross to

²⁰ Luis de León's *Exposición del Libro de Job* is published in *Obras Completas Castellanas de Fray Luis de León*, ed. Félix García, O.S.A. (BAC; Madrid, 1944). This work of Fray Luis was published only after his death. The first edition, used by García, has the following title page: *Exposición del Libro de Job. Obra Póstuma del Padre Maestro Fr. Luis de León, De la Orden de N.P.S. Agustín, Cathedrático de Escritura en la Universidad de Salamanca. Con las Licencias Necesarias. En Madrid: En la Imprenta de Pedro Marin. Año de M.DCC.LXXIX.* In the 'Dedicatoria' to Ana de Jesús, Luis says that «traslado el texto del libro por sus palabras, conservando, cuando es posible, en ellas el sentido latino y el aire hebreo, que tiene su cierta majestad» he will explain each verse and then put each chapter of Job into poetic form. Luis' interpretation is thoroughly literal and based on the meaning the text has «en la lengua original». His approach to Scriptural interpretation was already clearly set forth in the 'Prólogo' to his *Exposición del C. de los Cant.* (cf. *Obras Completas* ed. cit.) where he says: «En este sentido espiritual no tengo que tocar... Solamente trabajé en declarar la corteza de la letra así llanamente, como si en este Libro no hubiera otro mayor secreto del que muestran aquellas palabras desnudas... que será solamente declarar el sonido de ellas». Since Fray Luis wrote this work in 1561 and it rapidly came to be known at the time the Saint was studying at Salamanca, Vilnet says John of the Cross «connut certainement le commentaire castillan du Cantique des Cantiques» (op. cit. p. 26). Ana de Jesús may give us another reason for comparing John of the Cross with Luis de León. P. Eulogio de la Virgen del Carmen, O.C.D. in his article *Propagación manuscrita del Cántico Espiritual fuera del Carmelo Reformado* in *El Monte Carmelo* 74 (1966) pp. 3-22 has an interesting note (p. 16 and note 44) on the visit Ana de Jesús made to Madrid in 1586 accompanied by John of the Cross, it was there that Luis de León came to know her and Madre Ana may have given Fray Luis a copy of the 'Cántico Espiritual'; a companion of hers testifies: «Que se admiraba el padre Maestro fray Luis de León de ver sus escritos, y no sabia santo a qué comparar la delicadeza de ellos». Though the two men may have known of each other's writings, a comparison of their interpretation of the Book of Job shows profound differences. Cf. Jean Baruzi, *Luis de León. Interprète du Livre de Job* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), p. 68: «il manque à Luis de León d'avoir, comme Jean de la Croix, reconnu dans la supplice de Job les traits de celui que s'est enfoncé dans l'abîme mystique».

the literal sense of Scripture we are fortunate in having as a guide a literal interpretation of the Book of Job written by a person whose principles of scriptural interpretation were obviously familiar to the Saint²¹.

IV. - SOME EXAMPLES OF JOHN OF THE CROSS' 'SPIRITUAL' INTERPRETATION OF THE BOOK OF JOB IN THE LIGHT OF THE 'MORALIA'

Before determining what course to follow in our study, it will be useful to select some citations of Job from each of the works

²¹ Though Fray Luis' commentary on Job was not published during the Saint's lifetime, there were other 'literal' commentaries on Job that the Saint could have referred to if he wished. St. Thomas commented Job purely in the literal sense; cf. Sancti Thomae de Aquino, *Expositio Super Job ad Litteram* (Romae: ad Sanctae Sabinae, 1965), 'Prologus', p. 4: « Intendimus enim compendiose secundum nostram possibilitatem, de divino auxilio fiduciam habentes, librum istum qui intitulatur 'Beati Job' secundum litteralem sensum exponere; eius enim mysteria tam subtiliter et diserte beatus papa Gregorius nobis aperuit ut his nihil ultra addendum videatur ». Also available was Nicholas of Lyra's [† 1340] *Postilla* on the entire Bible, which, together with the *Glossa Ordinaria* was published many times. Lyra is concerned with the literal sense and draws from St. Thomas for the interpretation of Job. Juan de Avila, who studied theology at the University of Alcalá, shows a concern for the literal sense and recommended Lyra; cf. *Obras Espirituales del Padre Maestro Beato Juan de Avila*, (Madrid, Apostolado de la Prensa, 1951): in the *Audi Filia*, c. 57 he says he will interpret a passage of Scripture « según la letra griega y edición Vulgata... puesto caso que según la letra hebrea tenga otro sentido » (p. 200) and in *Carta 5*, to a priest, he says: « El estudiar [el Nuevo Testamento] será... leer el texto, sin otra glosa, si no fuere cuando algo dudare, que entonces puede mirar a Crisóstomo o a Nicolao [de Lyra] o a otro que le parezca que declara la letra no más; y no se meta sino en saber el sentido propio que el Señor quiso allí entender, que por ahora no es menester leer más » (pp. 474-475). Denis the Carthusian [† 1471] could have provided John of the Cross with a summary view of practically every interpretation of the Book of Job available in the fifteenth century; cf. *Enarratio in Librum Job in Doctoris Ecstatici, D. Dionysii Cartusiani, Opera Omnia*, Monstrolii, Typis Cartusiae S. M. de Pratis, 1897, T. IV, pp. 287-696 and T V, pp. 1-80. On each chapter of Job Denis gives a separate 'literal', 'mystical', and 'moral' commentary using St. Thomas for the literal sense. On the 'spiritual' interpretation of Job, Denis writes: « Expositores, quos legi, parum aut nihil de mystica, id est allegorica et tropologica, expositione libri hujus scripserunt, forte quia B. Gregorius mysteria ejus diserte ac luculenter exposuit. Verum, quia Gregorius tractando diffusus atque prolixus est, nec omnibus est facultas ejus praelegantissima scripta ad manum habere, nec sic mysticum prosecutus est sensum, quin... queant et alia dici ac aliqua addi, dicta quoque ab eo clarius exprimi; aliqua de spirituali ac mystico hujus voluminis intellectu ...scribere opto ». It is interesting to note that John of Jesus Mary (Calaguritanus) wrote a purely literal commentary on the Book of Job; cf. *Paraphrasis in Librum Job cui subiicitur Brevis expansio litteralis vel tropologica vel mixta, Per P.P. Fr. Joannem a Jesu Maria, Carmelitam Discalceatum, Calaguritanum, Congregationis S. Eliae Procuratorem Generalem. Romae, Ex Typographia Gulielmi Facciotti, MDCXI*. John of Jesus Mary says he will not develop the mystical sense « quia id a S. Gregorio Magno insigniter praestitum est » and « quia sensus ipse litteralis adeo arcanus... » (p. 9).

of John of the Cross, identify their literal meaning, compare this to the interpretation given by the Saint, and then examine Gregory's interpretation of the respective text. This section can serve as a kind of preliminary 'test'. If Gregory's interpretation should prove to be directly in line with that of John of the Cross, then a more thorough and systematic study of the *Moralia* will be indicated.

A. - *The use of Job 20:22 in S I 6:6*

Literally Job 20 speaks of the fate God has reserved for the impious man. The theme is announced in v. 5: « quod laus impiorum brevis sit, et gaudium hypocritae ad instar puncti ». The happiness evil men enjoy is shortlived, they will pass into oblivion, neither the honor nor position they enjoy will last (vv. 6-10). Verses 11-16 speak of the inevitability of the impious man's ruination and verses 19-21 give as a reason the injustices such a man has perpetrated on others. The impious man, then, will not enjoy for long the satisfactions he has unjustly acquired (v. 22), God in His wrath will smite him (vv. 23-28). The conclusion of Job 20 is in v. 29: « Haec est pars hominis impii a Deo ».

Job 20:22, « Cum satiatus fuerit, arctabitur; aestuabit, et omnis dolor irruet super eum », means that in the fulness of prosperity the impious man will experience calamities of all kinds. Luis de León translates v. 21: « No dejó de su comer; por tanto no permanecerá su bien » noting this indicates a « castigo de Dios », he then translates v. 22: « Cuando a abondo se rellenare, angustia será a él; toda mano de desventura le acometerá » commenting:

Porque el no repartir de la comida es codicia, y la escasez es deseo de abundar en riqueza. Por eso dice, consiguientemente, que cuando estuviere relleno por medios tan civiles [ruines] e injustos, entonces le acontecerá lo que acontece a los que se hinchen con demasiados y diferentes manjares, que no caben en sí, y, llenos de angustia y congoja y dolores diversos que la pesadumbre despierta, se padecen bascas de muerte. Y así estos, cuando mas llenos y hartos, mete la mano en ellos la desventura, y remuévelos, túrbalos y hácelos miserables por innumerables maneras²².

²² Ed. cit. on Job 20:22. Knabenbauer, in *Commentarius in Librum Job* (Parisii: Lethielleux, 1886), p. 268, comments Job 20:22: « Etsi illi bonis impleri concedatur, tamen media in abundantia angustiis, terroribus et omni dolorum genere cruciabitur ».

Disasters, therefore, will surely befall men of such evil lives.

In S I 6:6 it is a question of proving how « los apetitos cansan y fatigan el alma », even though the soul should satisfy its appetites « siempre se cansa, porque nunca se satisface ». John of the Cross sees this doctrine expressed in the words of Job 20:22 and while this may not be too far removed from the literal sense we find the following affinities with Gregory's commentary.

S I 6: 6

I 1094-1095

Porque, como se dice en el libro de Job (20: 22): 'Cum satiatus fuerit, arctabitur, aestuabit, et omnis dolor irruet super eum'; que quiere decir: Cuando hubiere satisfecho su apetito, quedará más apretado y agravado: creció en su alma el calor del apetito y así caerá sobre él todo dolor'. Cásase y *fatigase* el alma con sus apetitos..., y cumplimiento de ellos, pues todos le causan mayor vacío y hambre;

Job 20:22, « Cum satiatus fuerit, arctabitur, aestuabit et omnis dolor irruet in eum ».

Satiatus arctatur, quia dum anxiatur qualiter acquisita custodiat, ipsa eum sua satietas angustat...

O angustia ex satietate nata!... Prius namque dolorem habuit in ipsa suae concupiscentiae *fatigatione* qualiter concupita raperet... at postquam acquisitis rebus pervenit ad desiderium, alius hunc dolor *fatigat*, ut cum sollicito timore custodiat quod cum gravi labore meminit acquisitum.

Gregory, in the immediate context, commenting verses 19-20 of this same chapter 20, says:

Liquet vero quia avaritia desideratis rebus non extinguitur, sed augetur. Nam *more ignis cum ligna quae consumat acceperit, accrescit*; et unde videtur ad momentum flamma comprimi, inde paulo post cernitur dilatari (I 1093).

porque, como comúnmente dicen, el apetito es *como el fuego, que echándole leña crece*.

The spiritual meaning attributed to Job 20:22 in S I 6:6²³ is, therefore, directly expressed by Gregory in his commentary on this verse.

²³ In the preceding chapter of the *Subida* there are also affinities with the *Moralia*. In S. I 5: 6 John of the Cross gives us his first scriptural source for the image of ascending the 'Mount of perfection'. Treating of the necessity

B. - *The use of Job 31:27-28 in S III 28:6*

In Job 31 Job protests his innocence in the form of sixteen oaths excluding from his past life any moral or religious misdeeds. In vv. 26-28 he says: *Si vidi solem cum fulgeret, et lunam incedentem clare, et laetatum est in abscondito cor meum, et osculatus sum manum meam ore meo: quae est iniquitas maxima, et negatio contra Deum altissimum.*

Here Job is saying he did not engage in the idolatrous worship of celestial bodies. Luis de León, noting that in v. 27 Job says he did not look on the sun and moon as gods, translates the verse: « y besó a mi mano mi boca », commenting: « parece ser manera de reverencia y demostración del culto que se les daba, allegar el que los adoraba su mano a su boca »²⁴.

John of the Cross in S III 28 is treating of the « daños » caused in the soul « por el gozo vano de sus buenas obras y costumbres » (ibid. n. 1), that is by pleasure taken in one's « bienes morales » (ibid., title) which are defined in the preceding chapter (S III 27:1) as « las virtudes... y el ejercicio de cualquiera virtud... la guarda de la ley de Dios... y todo ejercicio de buena índole e inclinación ». To illustrate the spiritual doctrine of directing one's intention to God alone, not resting in the good one does, the Saint says in S III 28:6, citing Job 31:27-28:

of mortification of the appetites, he says: « Esto también es lo que se denotaba cuando mandaba Dios a Moisés que subiese al monte a hablar con El. Le mandó que no solamente subiese él solo [cf. Exodus: 19: 11-13], dejando abajo a los hijos de Israel, pero que ni aun las bestias paciesen de contra del monte: 'Nullus ascendat tecum, nec videat quispiam per totum montem, boves quoque et oves non pascant e contra (Exodus 34:3). Dando por esto a entender que el alma que hubiere de subir a este monte de perfección a comunicar con Dios, no sólo ha de renunciar todas las cosas y dejallas abajo, mas también los apetitos, que son las bestias, no las ha de dejar apacentar de contra deste monte, esto es, en otras cosas que no son Dios puramente... » In his commentary on Job 5:26, Gregory says, referring to God's descent on Mt. Sinai: « necesse est ut quisquis ad contemplationis studia properat, semetipsum prius subtiliter interroget, quantum amat. Machina quippe mentis est vis amoris, quae hanc dum a mundo extrahit, in alta sustollit... Prius igitur mens ab appetitu gloriae temporalis, atque ab omni carnalis concupiscentiae delectatione tergendae est, et tunc ad aciem contemplationis erigenda. Unde et cum lex accipitur, *populus a monte prohibetur*, ut videlicet qui infirmis adhuc mentibus *terrena desiderant*, considerare sublimia non praesumant. Unde et recte dicitur: 'Si bestia tetigerit montem, lapidabitur' (Exodus 19:13). *Bestia enim montem tangit, cum mens irrationabilibus desideriis subdita ad contemplationis alta se erigit. Sed lapidibus percutitur, quia summa non sustinens, ipsis superni ponderis ictibus necatur* » (I 762-763).

²⁴ Ed. cit. on Job 31:27. The Bible de Jerusalem interprets this verse as signifying « un geste ancien d'adoration ». Cf. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* L. 28, c. 11): « In adorando, dexteram ad osculum referimus, totumque corpus circumagimus ». On this form of worship practised in the ancient Near East, cf. Marvin Pope, *Job* (The Anchor Bible; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965), p. 206.

Y a este propósito se entiende aquella sentencia de Job cuando dice: 'Si yo besé mi mano con mi boca, que es iniquidad y pecado grande, y se gozó en escondido mi corazón'; porque aquí por la mano entiende la obra, y por la boca entiende la voluntad que se complace en ella; y porque es, como decimos, complacencia en si mismo, dice: 'Si se alegró en escondido mi corazón, lo cual es grande iniquidad y negación contra Dios'; y es como si dijera que ni tuvo complacencia ni se alegró su corazón en escondido.

John of the Cross, therefore, interprets these words of Job as meaning he did not take pleasure in his good works, whereas literally Job is saying he avoided the evil cults of false religions.

The spiritual use of this text by John of the Cross is explainable by a reading of the *Moralia*. After a literal interpretation of Job 31:26 ff., Gregory begins to interpret the verses « per allegoriae... mysteria » (II 215-216). On v. 26, « Si vidi solem cum fulget », Gregory says the sun is « *bonum opus* in manifestatione » (II 219-221) and speaks of the dangers of becoming too secure because of our good works. We must turn our memory away from the good we do: *Habent itaque proprium sancti viri, ut bona quidem quae agunt videant, et tamen cum peregerint, ab eorum memoria oculos avertant* (ibid.). We recognize immediately the 'atmosphere' of S III 28 with its doctrine on detachment from pleasure in our « *buenas obras* » (ibid. n. 1) and the necessity for the soul to « *esconder la obra...*, no sólo... de los demás, mas aun de si mismo » (ibid. n. 6). On the words: « *et lunam incedentem clare* » of this same verse 26 Gregory says the moon signifies the « *fama* » we receive from our good works: « *concupita fama, quasi luna... accendit scilicet ad exercitium operis, resolvit vero ad concupiscentiam favoris* » (II 221-223). We must, therefore, not even tacitly rejoice when we are praised; this, says Gregory, is the meaning of verse 26:

Beatus igitur Job, quia nequaquam de operatione se praetulit, fidenter dicit: 'Si vidi solem cum fulget'. Quia vero hunc a iudicii interioris intuitu fama laudabilis non divertit, adjungit 'et lunam incedentem clare'. Quia autem opinionis suae gratia animum devinci, nec tacita cogitatione permisit, protinus subdidit: 'Et si laetatum est in abscondito cor meum'. (II 225).

On verse 27 Gregory comments:

Et quia plerumque inconsiderata mens, dum transitorio favori non renititur, ad hoc usque pertrahitur, ut laudet ipsa quod facit, conditioni quae praemissa est quasi congrue subinfertur: 'Et osculatus sum manum meam ore meo'. Per manum quippe

operatio, per os autem locutio designatur... Manum ergo suam osculatur ore suo, qui laudat quod facit, et testimonio propriae locutionis sibi virtutem tribuit operis (ibid.).

John of the Cross' interpretation of verse 27 is: « *por la mano entiendo la obra, y por la boca entiendo la voluntad que se complace en ella; y porque es, como decimos, complacencia en si mismo...* » (S III 28:6). Gregory continues his commentary on verse 27:

Sancti autem viri... quidquid vero in se boni inspiciunt, immortalis gratiae cognoscunt donum, eique de accepto munere debitores fiunt... Beatus ergo Job, quia sic bona quae operatus est narrat, ut tamen haec suae operationi non tribuat, sed ad auctoris laudem recurrat, manum suam ore suo osculatum fuisse se denegat. Ac si patenter dicat: Ego mea opera tanquam mea non profero, quia auctoris sui gratiam negare convincitur, quisquis sibi tribuit quod operatur (II 225-226).

On v. 28: « Quae est iniquitas maxima, et negatio contra Deum altissimum », Gregory says that what is being condemned here is « praesumptio... virtutis propriae » (II 226). In S III 28:2 the Saint speaks of « presunción » resulting from attachment to one's good works.

The use of Job 31:27-28 in S III 28:6 points therefore to the *Moralia* 25, and since the Saint says that the citations of Scripture immediately preceding and following this citation of Job in S III 28:6-7 are being interpreted *espiritualmente* we think that the word 'spiritual' can mean something quite different from 'literal' and be the 'moral' sense of Gregory.

Let us examine the 'spiritual' use of the scriptural text given by John of the Cross in S III 28:7 immediately after the citation of Job 31:27-28. To illustrate the doctrine of detachment from consolations the Saint cites Ecclesiastes 10:1: « Las moscas que se mueren, pierden la suavidad del unguento », he says this verse « se entiende *espiritualmente* » of souls who « asidos al gusto y consuelo en el obrar, cuando en sus obras y ejercicios no hallan gusto y consuelo... desmayan y pierden la perseverancia »²⁶. Gregory, in his

²⁵ The influence of Gregory's spiritual interpretation of Job 31:27-28 can also be felt in St. Bernard's use of this text in *Sermo* 4 and 28 in *Cant. Cantorum*, cf. ed. cit., T. IV, pp. 144-145 and p. 283.

²⁶ Literally, Ecclesiastes 10:1 reads: « Muscae morientes perdunt suavitatem unguenti. Pretiosior est sapientia et gloria, parva et ad tempus stultitia ». The context of this verse (Ibid. 9:13-18; 10:2-3) refers to the superiority of wisdom and its opposition to evil and folly. The preceding verse, 9:18, reads: « Melior est sapientia quam arma bellica; et qui in uno peccaverit multa bona perdet ». Thus verse 10:1 compares the effects of a little folly on wisdom to the conta-

commentary on Job 28, gives a spiritual interpretation of Eccles. 10:1 in the same doctrinal context as that of S III 28:7. On Job 28:12-13: « Sapientia vero ubi invenitur... nec invenitur in terra suaviter viventium » Gregory says (II 75) that to possess Wisdom we must renounce consolations citing Psalm 76: 3-4: « Negavi consolari animam meam... Memor fui Dei et delectatus sum » commenting: « auctoris... mei... sola memoria delectat ». These verses of Psalm 76 are cited by John of the Cross in N I 13:6 where he says « ordinaria memoria... de Dios » is a fruit of detachment from consolations. On this necessary « amaritudo sapientium » Gregory cites Ecclesiastes 2:2 and 7:5, both of which are given by John of the Cross in S III 18:5 where he is speaking of detachment from « gozo acerca de los bienes temporales » (ibid. title). Interpreting Job 28:14 of the necessity of quiet from external cares to possess Wisdom, Gregory says « muscae » signify « insolentes curae desideriorum carnalium » (II 78) and continues:

S III 28: 7

[on Eccles. 10:1; souls, when they don't find consolation]

perden la perseverancia, en que está la *suavidad del espíritu* y consuelo *interior*.

II 78

Eccles. 10:1: « Muscae morientes perdunt suavitatem unguenti » quia cogitationes superfluae, quae assidue in animo carnalia cogitante et nascuntur et deficient, eam *suavitatem* qua unusquisque *intrinsicus per spiritum* unctus est perdunt, quoniam integritate ejus perfrui non permittunt²⁷.

C. - *The use of Job 40 and 41 for the theology of the devil in the 'Suida', 'Cántico' and 'Llama'*

Job 40 and 41 seem to be John of the Cross' favorite scriptural source for the theology of the devil. In the 'excursus' on the devil

mination of precious ointment by dead flies. On the various 'spiritual' uses of this verse, cf. Cornelius a Lapide, *Commentaria in Ecclesiasten* (T. IV, Parisiis, 1875), pp. 283-285.

²⁷ It is interesting that St. Bernard, in *Sermo* 18 in *Cant. Canticorum* associates Gregory's commentary on Job 31:27 with Job 28:13 on which he says Wisdom is not to be found « in gusto oris » (ed. cit. T. IV, p. 283) and in *Sermo* 44 in *Cant. Canticorum* (Ibid. p. 363) he gives the Gregorian interpretation of Ecclesiastes 10:1 saying: « muscae moriturae exterminant hoc suavitatis unguentum », that is, « carnales videlicet concupiscentiae... mentem curis et sollicitudinibus lacerant, socialis gratiae suavitatem exterminant ».

in the Llama III: 63-65 four different verses are cited: Job 41:25; 40:18 and 19; 41:21. Similar uses of these chapters of Job are: Job 40:16 in S III 29:1; Job 41:6-7 in C 30:10; Job 41:24 in C 3:9; Job 41:25 in N II 23:8.

The reader of today will be surprised when he searches for the devil in these chapters of Job. The verses quoted by John of the Cross are from God's second speech to Job; after the first speech which ends (Job 38:39-39:1-30) with God reminding Job of the wonders to be seen in the animal world, describing lions, ravens, mountain goats, deers, onagers, the rhinoceros, ostriches, the horse, the hawk and the eagle, God then, in the second speech, describes to Job two other animals much more spectacular, Behemoth (Job 40: 10-19) and Leviathan (Job 40:20-41:25). Contemporary interpreters see the hippopotamus in the description of Behemoth and the crocodile in that of Leviathan²⁸. But at the time of John of the Cross, Luis de León tells us that Behemoth « al juicio común de todos sus doctores significa al elefante » and Leviathan, « señaladamente a las ballenas »²⁹. This is the interpretation of St. Thomas; in his literal commentary on these chapters of Job St. Thomas draws from the zoological studies of Aristotle though he believes the devil is intended by God in the description of the two animals³⁰. Luis de León makes an extensive use of zoological science in his commentary on these

²⁸ Thus the Bible de Jerusalem (on Job 40:15 and 25) and Jean Lévêque, O.C.D. in *Job et son Dieu*, I, pp. 214-215. Lévêque discusses the etymology of the names of the two animals (ibid.) but tends to doubt whether the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan originally belonged to the Book of Job (cf. ibid. II, 502-503). The Book of Job, however, has an international atmosphere and seems at times to refer to Egyptian culture in which the hippopotamus and crocodile are prominent (cf. ibid. I, p. 53). Marvin Pope in *Job*, The Anchor Bible, pp. 268-287, suggests that the two creatures may not belong to the natural world but rather represent the primeval monsters which in pre-Israelite cosmology (e.g. Ugarit) were conquered by the gods.

²⁹ Ed. cit. on Job 40:10 and 20.

³⁰ Cf. *Expositio Super Job ad Litteram*, p. 215: « Dominus describit diabolum sub figura elephantis et ceti ». The reason given by St. Thomas for seeing the devil intended here is that Job 40:14 « Ipse est principium viarum Dei » and Job 41:25 « Ipse est rex super universos filios superbiae » cannot refer « ad litteram » to the elephant and the whale (ibid.). However some verses cannot be literally interpreted of the devil; on Job 40:11 St. Thomas describes the sexual activity of elephants, citing Aristotle (*V Anim.*) and adds: « Haec autem ad diabolium litteraliter referri non possunt » (Ibid., pp. 216-217). Albert the Great sees in Behemoth and Leviathan, not the devil, but the corruption of human nature itself. Cf. B. Alberti Magni, *Commentarii in Job*, ed. Melchior Weiss (Friburgi Brisgoviae; Herder, 1904). On Job 40:10 Albert interprets Behemoth as « animalis et brutalis natura quae in te est » (citing the 'animalis homo' of I Cor. 2:14) and on Job 40:20 he says: « Sicut per Behemoth sensualitas intelligitur in homine, quae est animalis vita... ita Leviathan infectio primi serpentis [i.e. concupiscence] intelligitur ».

³¹ *Hist Nat.* Lib. VIII, c. 10. Ed. cit. on Job 40:16.

chapters of Job, citing Pliny on the habits of elephants and whales and this is in marked contrast to the use John of the Cross makes of the same verses. In S III 29:1, speaking of the « engaños del demonio, los cuales están encubiertos en el gozo » John of the Cross says:

Como lo podemos entender por aquello que se dice en Job, es a saber: 'Debajo de la sombra duerme, en lo secreto de la caña y en los lugares húmedos' (Job 40:16). Lo cual dice por el demonio, porque en la humedad del gozo y en lo vano de la caña (esto es, de la obra vana) engaña al alma.

Luis de León's commentary on the same verse of Job is: Son amigos de lugares húmedos los elefantes, según Plinio de ellos escribe³¹.

John of the Cross is again going beyond the literal meaning of the text when he sees in the tightly jointed scales on the back of Leviathan the spiritual connectedness of diabolical malice (C 30:10) and when he says that Behemoth gulping down the water of a river is the devil capturing souls (Ll III:64). This use of the Book of Job is explainable by a reading of the *Moralia* in which Gregory develops an extensive theology of the devil commenting the verses that describe Behemoth and Leviathan.

S III 29:1

II 671-672

Job 40:16: « Debajo de la sombra duerme, en lo secreto de la caña y en los lugares húmedos ».

Job 40:16: « Sub umbra dormit in secreto calami, in locis humentibus.

Lo cual dice por el demonio

Iste igitur Behemoth [diabolus] quia in illis quasi quamdam requiem invenit, quos a veri solis, ardore subtrahendo frigidus facit, sub umbra dormire perhibetur... Hoc autem loco umbra nequitiae torpor accipitur in qua Behemoth dormit quia contra corda charitate calentia sollicitus vigilat, in frigidis autem mentibus securus jacet... Quae [umbra] ubi ab illo inveniatur, ostenditur, cum protinus subinfertur: 'In secreto calami'...

II 673-674

en lo vano de la *caña* (esto es, de
la *obra vana*) engaña

Hoc ergo loco quid aliud appellatione *calami* nisi mentes saecularium temporali gloriae deditae designantur? Qui tanto apud semetipsos *intus inanesunt*, quanto alti et nitidi exterius ostenduntur, quia dum ad exteriorem gloriam per superficiem defluunt, nulla intus firmitate solidantur. More quippe *calami* intus sunt quidem per fatuitatem *vacui*, sed foris per speciem et ostentationem pulchri... Unde recte nunc Behemoth iste in secreto *calami* dormire perhibetur quia quorum studia ad appetitum temporalis nitoris atque altitudinis commovet, eorum corda tacitus tenet; et quasi ipse ibi quietus dormit, ubi eos quos possidet quiescere non permittit. Dum enim excedere caeteros bonorum altitudine ambiunt, dum more *calami* per nitorem exterioris munditiae justorum speciem quasi solidarum arborum corticem vincunt, in hoc quod ipsi interius *vacui* remanent, locum Behemoth isti ubi apud se requiescere debeat praebent... Quia enim fluxa fit terra quae infunditur, loca arentia atque inaquosa sunt corda justorum, quae per disciplinae fortitudinem ab omni carnalis concupiscentiae humore siccantur. Unde hic quoque adhuc ubi Behemoth iste dormiat, demonstratur cum protinus subditur: '*In locis humentibus*'. Loca enim humentia sunt terrenorum hominum mentes, quas *humor carnalis concupiscentiae*, quia replet fluidas facit. In quibus Behemoth iste iniquitatis suae vestigia tanto altius imprimat, quanto in eisdem mentibus pertransitus illius quasi in fluxa

porque en la *humedad del gozo*
...engaña al alma

terra descendit. Loca quippe humentia sunt opera voluptuosa... In his itaque locis humentibus Behemoth dormit, quia in reproborum hominum lubrica operatione requiescit.

LI III:64

Job 40:18: 'Absorberá un río, y no se maravillará; y tiene confianza q̄ue el *Jordan* caerá en su boca' - que se entiendo por *lo más alto de la perfección*.

II 677-678

Job 40:18, 'Absorbebit fluvium et non mirabitur, habet fiduciam quod influat Jordanis in os ejus'.

Qui enim fidem jam veritatis agnoverunt sed vivere fideliter negligunt, recte fluvius dici possunt, quia videlicet deorsum fluunt. *Jordanis* vero Hebraeo vocabulo descensio eorum dicitur. Et sunt nonnulli qui viam veritatis appetentes semetipsos abjiciunt, atque a vitae veteris elatione descendant; cumque aeterna cupiunt, valde se ab hoc mundo alienos reddunt, dum non solum aliena non appetunt, sed etiam sua derelinquunt, et non solum in eo gloriam non quaerunt, sed hanc cum se obtulerit, etiam contemnunt.

II 679

Mas es con tanta facilidad las riquezas que estorba y estraga a estas preciosas almas, que, *con preciarlo él más que derribar muchas de otras, no lo tiene en mucho* por la facilidad con que lo hace y lo poco que le cuesta. Porque a este propósito podemos entender lo que de él dijo Dios a Job (40:18).

Sed antiquus hostis *hoc pro magno non habet* quod sub jure tyrannidis terrena quaerentes tenet... Absorbebit ergo fluvium et non mirabitur, quia *pro magno non aestimat* cum eos devorat qui per ipsa suae vitae studia deorsum currunt; sed illos magnopere rapere nititur, quos despectis terrenis studiis, jungi jam coelestibus contemplatur. Unde absorpto fluvio recte subjungitur: 'Et habet fiduciam quod influat *Jordanis* in os ejus' quia

illos insidiando rapere appetit quos pro amore supernae patriae a praesentis vitae gloria semetipsos dejicere agnoscit... Qui ergo hic Jordanis, ipsi illic [Amos 7:4] pars domus Domini vocantur. Antiquus ergo hostis habet fiduciam quod in os ejus et Jordanis influat, quia nonnunquam calliditatis suae insidiis eos etiam qui jam electi putantur necat. Sed cujus cordis duritiam non ista Domini verba perturbent? cuius

II 680

mentis constantia non ab intimis cogitationum radicibus quaeratur, cum hostis noster tantae esse contra nos fortitudinis demonstratur? Nullum ne erit consolationis adjutorium? Erit certe, nam subditur:

Ibid.

Job 40:19: 'en sus mismos ojos la cazará como con anzuelo, y con alesnas le horadará las narices'

esto es, con las puntas de las noticias con que la está hiriendo la *divertirá el espíritu*; porque el aire que sale por las narices recogido, estando horadadas, se divide por muchas partes.

II 680-681

Job 40:19: 'In oculis ejus quasi hamo capiet eum et in sudibus perforabit nares ejus.'

Quid aliud sudes, id est palos accipimus, qui videlicet exacuuntur ut figantur, nisi *acuta* sanctorum *consilia*? Quae hujus Behemoth nares perforant, dum sagacissimas ejus insidias et vigilando circumspiciunt et superando transfigunt. Per nares vero odor trahitur et deducto flatu hoc agitur ut res etiam quae longe est posita cognoscatur. Naribus ergo Behemoth callidae ejus insidiae designantur, per quas sagacissime nititur et *occulta cordis nostri* bona cognoscere et haec pessima persuasione *dissipare*. In sudibus itaque

Dominus nares ejus perforat
quia callidas ejus insidias acutis
sanctorum sensibus penetrans
enervat.

In his interpretation of the above verse, John of the Cross appears to change in the direction of the devil the metaphor Gregory applies to the soul³².

C 30:10

De el demonio dice Dios en el libro de Job (41:6-7) que 'su cuerpo es como escudos de metal colado, guarnecido con escamas tan apretadas entre sí, que de tal manera se junta una a otra, que no puede entrar el aire por ellas'.

Pues si el demonio tiene tanta fortaleza en sí por estar vestido de malicias asidas y ordenadas unas con otras, las cuales son significadas por las escamas,

Job 41:6-7: 'Corpus illius quasi scuta fusilia, compactum squamis se prementibus. Una uni conjungitur et ne spiraculum quidem incedit per eas'.

II 706

Fertur quia draconis corpus squamis tegitur ne citius jaculatione penetretur. Ita corpus omne diaboli, id est multitudo reproborum, cum de iniquitate sua corripitur quibus valet tergiversationibus se excusare conatur, et quasi quasdam defensionis squamas objicit ne transfigi sagitta veritatis possit.

II 708

Istae squamae peccantium, ne ab ore praedicantium aliquo vitae spiraculo penetrentur, et ob-

³² The Saint apparently liked the imagery of Job 40:19 since he uses it again in the very same paragraph (L1 III:64): « [el demonio] causa gravísimos daños, haciendo al alma perder grandes riquezas, sacándola con un poquito de cebo (como al pez) del golfo de las aguas sencillas del espíritu... » John of the Cross may be giving a personal touch to Gregory's spiritual interpretation of the fishbait and hook on Job 40:19 and 20: « An extrahere poteris Leviathan hamo? ». Cf. II 680: « Quis nesciat quod in hamo esca ostenditur, aculeus occultatur. Esca enim provocat, ut aculeus pungat. Dominus itaque noster ad humani generis redemptionem veniens, velut quemdam de se in necem diaboli hamum fecit. Assumpsit enim corpus, ut in eo Behemoth iste quasi escam suam mortem carnis appeteret... In hamo ergo ejus incarnationis captus est, quia dum in illo appetit escam corporis, transfixus est aculeo divinitatis ». Also II 682: « Leviathan iste hamo captus est, quia in Redemptore nostro dum per satellites suos escam corporis momordit, divinitatis illum aculeus perforavit. Quasi hamus quippe fauces glutientis tenuit, dum in illo et esca carnis patuit, quam devorator appeteret, et divinitas passionis tempore latuit, quae necaret ».

que su cuerpo se dice ser como 'escudos de metal colado', siendo todas las malicias en sí *flaqueza*.

Ll. III:64

Job 41:21: 'Debajo dél estarán los rayos del sol, y derramará el oro debajo de sí como el lodo'³³

duratae sunt et conjunctae. Quos enim similis reatus sociat, concordi pertinacia etiam defensio perversa constipat ut de facinoribus suis alterna se invicem defensione tueantur.

II 705

Quod vero in hoc loco corpus Leviathan istius *scutis fusilibus* comparatur perscrutandum nobis innuitur, quia *durum* quidem, sed tamen cum labitur *fragile* solet esse vas omne quod fusile est... Corpus ergo Leviathan istius, id est omnes iniqui, quia per obstinationem duri sunt, sed per vitam *fragiles*, scutis fusilibus comparantur.

II 731-733

Job 41:21: 'Sub ipso erunt radii solis, et sternet sibi aurum quasi lutum'.

[...] intelligentia quae illis sicut sol desuper fuit ex coelesti munere antiqui hostis pedibus subternatur ex terrena cupiditate...

Solis ergo radii sub ipso sunt... Hi qui intra sanctam Ecclesiam

³³ The 'radii solis' are the 'sapientium intellectus', the 'acumina sapientium'. In the Church, 'nonnulli etiam docti viri' subject themselves to the world 'pro commodo vel gloria vitae temporalis and when they 'immoderato acumine prava in sacro eloquio sentiunt'. Job 41:21 in the Vulgate appears to picture something shiny underneath the crocodile but Jerome's translation is distant from the Hebrew. Knabenbauer, *Commentarius in Librum Job*, pp. 458-459, says the Hebrew describes the sharp scales on the underbelly of the crocodile: «delineat, quomodo in terra, in litore sua relinquat vestigia v. 21 in hebr. 'sub ipso acutae testae' (acumina testae) i.e. habet in ima ventris parte squamas forma et duritie testis similes; id quod illustrari potest ex Aeliano (Hist. Nat. 10, 24)... unde si corpus trahit per lutum, vestigia in luto apparent impressa quasi tribuli; 'sternit tribulum super lutum', intelliguntur ergo scuta eius aspera et squamosa, quibus ventri pars est obsita, quae tribuli ferramentis similia repens vel iacens bellua in coenum molle imprimit». Luis de León, (ed. cit.) says on verse 21: «está dicho a la vizcaina, y con falta de algunas palabras... 'Debajo de sí rayos de sol', esto es, recuéstase, si le place o cuando le place, sobre los rayos de sol, que llama así lo que la otra letra nombre 'puntas de tejas'; que por lo uno y lo otro entendemos las piedras y guijas agudas y ásperas, que suelen estar en lo hondo del agua». Cf. Bible de Jerusalem: «Il a sous lui des tessons aigus, comme une herse il passe sur la vase».

porque admirables *rayos de divinas noticias* hace perder a *las almas ilustradas*,

y precioso oro de matices divinos quita y derrama a las almas ricas.

per acumina sapientiae quasi radios videbantur lucis aspergere, et per auctoritatem rectitudinis desuper resplendere, potestati Leviathan istius iniqua se operatione substernunt, ut non iam recta praedicando desuper luceant, sed ei perverse obsequendo famulentur...

Aurum enim quasi lutum sternere est in quibusdam vitae munitiam, per illicita desideria conculcare, ut hi etiam sordidis ejus vestigis serviant, qui contra illum prius virtutum splendore rutilabant... sensum continentium per immunda desideria dissipat.

The importance and the interpretation of these texts of Job given by John of the Cross indicate, we think, familiarity with Gregory's commentary on them³⁴.

D. - *The use of Job 37:16 in N II 17:8*

In Job 37, Elihu, the fourth and last of the 'consolers' of Job, addresses his fourth and final speech to Job. Literally, Job 37 contains a praise (begun in 36:22-33) of God's wondrous and incomprehensible power over the physical universe, thunder and lightning (vv. 2-5), the falling of snow and rain (v. 6), animals hiding in their lairs (v. 8), the cold winds, waters freezing and turning into ice,

³⁴ Vilnet, recognizing John of the Cross' obviously non-literal use of Job 40 and 41 for the theology of the devil explains it without reference to the *Moralia*. Cf. *Bible et Mystique chez Saint Jean de la Croix*, p. 87, n. 1. Vilnet thinks the Saint was not convinced of the absolute legitimacy of applying these texts of Job to the devil and that he indicates his reserve by introducing Job 40:16 in S III 29:1 and Job 40:18-19 in *Llama* III:64 with the formula: « podemos entender »: « Or cette formule introduit assez souvent, chez saint Jean de la Croix, certaines utilisations scripturaires quelque peu déconcertantes, ou dont la conformité avec le sens premier du texte semble bien douteuse » (ibid. p. 87). We are not so convinced. John of the Cross does not use this formula for the other 'disconcerting' interpretations of Job 40 and 41; cf. C 30:10 where Job 41:6-7 is introduced with: « Del demonio dice Dios en el libro de Job... ». On one of these texts of Job John of the Cross may be giving his personal interpretation since Gregory speaks differently. In LI III: 64 we read: « ' Todo lo alto ve ' — dice Job (41:25) — ' el demonio ', es a saber, la alteza espiritual de las almas para impugnarla » (also in N II 23:8). John 41:25, « Omne sublime videt » is interpreted by Gregory as meaning that the devil looks down on others as inferior, « quasi de sublime respicit » (II 741).

thick clouds — all obey the commands of God (vv. 9-13). Elihu wants Job to stop and think of all this: « Ausculta haec, Job; sta, et considera mirabilia Dei » (v. 14). Can Job understand how God controls rainshowers and causes lightning (v. 15)? Verse 16 questions Job's ability to understand how clouds float in the sky: « Numquid nosti semitas nubium magnas et perfectas scientias? ».

Luis de León, nothing that Job 37 speaks of « las obras maravillosas que Dios en la naturaleza hace » translates verse 16: « Por dicha supiste sendas de nubes, grandes y perfectas ciencias? » commenting: Sendas de nubes son los caminos que hacen, el venir sin saber en qué manera, y el desaparecer, cuando menos se piensa. O según otra letra: 'Extendimientos o pesos de nube', pesos de nubes llama lo que en el aire las tiene suspensas, y como en una cierta balanza, que no las consiente ni alzarse más altas, ni caer descendiendo³⁵.

John of the Cross introduces Job 37:16 in N II 17 which explains why the « noche oscura de contemplación » should be called « secreta » (ibid. n. 1):

Que esta propiedad tienen los pasos y pisadas que Dios va dando en las almas que Dios quiere llegar a sí haciéndolas grandes en la unión de su Sabiduría, que no se conocen. Por lo cual, en el libro de Job se dicen — encareciendo este negocio — estas palabras: ¿ 'Por ventura' — dice — 'has tú conocido las sendas de las nubes grandes o las perfectas ciencias?' (Job 37:16); entendiendo por esto las vías y caminos por donde Dios va engrandeciendo a las almas y perfeccionándolas en su sabiduría; las cuales son aquí entendidas por las nubes. Queda, pues, que esta contemplación que va guiando al alma a Dios, es sabiduría 'secreta' (ibid. n. 8).

Thus verse 16 is interpreted by John of the Cross not literally of the movement of physical clouds, but 'spiritually' of souls being secretly conducted by God in contemplation. The Saint himself, in this very same paragraph, uses the formula « hablando espiritualmente » when giving a similar interpretation of Psalm 76:19-20.

Throughout his commentary on Job 37, Gregory interprets what is literally said of God's action in nature as spiritually referring to God's action in souls. Thus in verses 15 and 16 the « nubes » signify

³⁵ Ed. cit. on Job 37:16. Luis renders the Hebrew exactly for the first part of the verse. Knabenbauer, op. cit. p. 418, renders the Hebrew as: « numquid nosti librationes nubium, miracula eius qui perfectus est scientificis? » Cf. Bible de Jerusalem: « Sais-tu comment il suspend les nuées en équilibre, prodige d'une science consommée? »

souls in whom God works in a hidden way³⁶. But it is in his commentary on verses 4 and 5 of this same chapter 37 of Job that Gregory clearly presents doctrinal affinities with John of the Cross' theological use of verse 16. In N II 17 the Saint is treating of the incomprehensibility of the ways God leads souls in contemplation, contemplation is called « lenguaje de Dios al alma » (ibid. n. 4 and 3) and qualified as « secreta », that is, beyond comprehension, and « indecible » (ibid. n. 5). Gregory begins his commentary on Job 37 by speaking of the « extasis » and « excessus » of the soul in contemplation (II 417). On Job 37:4 « tonabit voce magnitudinis suae; et non investigabitur cum audita fuerit vox ejus », he comments: « Vox Domini auditur cum gratiae ejus aspiratio mente concipitur » (II 422), this is hidden to our understanding: « istius visitationis *occultae* quibus modis se nobis insinuet terror ignoratur » (ibid.). Citing John 3:8: « Spiritus, ubi vult spirat », Gregory says we cannot know how God communicates « istam vocem supervenientis Spiritus quae se in aures cordis insinuat... Vocem enim spiritus audire est vi compunctionis intimae in amorem invisibilis conditoris asurgere » (ibid.).

N II 17:8

II 423
(on Job 37:4)

los pasos y pisadas que Dios va dando en las almas ...no se concocen este camino de ir a Dios es tan secreto y oculto.

Sed ni occultae aspirationis modi quia comprehendi nostra cogitatione nequeunt, nimirum divinae vocis vestigia nesciuntur.

³⁶ On Job 37:15 « Numquid scis quando praeceperit Deus pluviis, ut ostenderent lucem nubium ejus » Gregory says the « nubes » signify the « praedicatores », their words are as rain and the verse is interpreted: « nemo comprehendit quando Deus virtutem praedicationis praebeat ut praedicantium gloria clarescat »; when God impels them through the Spirit, we cannot know « quibusve modis eorum vitae claritatem mundo innotescat ». On Job 37:16 « numquid nosti semitas nubium magnas... », Gregory says the « semitas » are the « subtilissimas vias praedicationis » which teach not an « ampla via » but a « semita », that is, the narrow way of Christ, citing Matth. 7:14 and commenting: « Arcta enim bene vivendi censura non est ampla via sed semita ». Thus the meaning of verse 16 is: do you know how the preachers, after rising to the heights, humble themselves? (II 435). On the following verse, Job 37:17 « Nonne vestimenta tua calida sunt, cum perflata fuerit terra Austro? » Gregory comments: « Vestimenta ergo sanctae Ecclesiae calida sunt, dum terra Austro perflatur, quia hi qui ei per fidem inhaerent, ferventibus charitatis studiis inardescunt, dum eorum mens sancti Spiritus afflatu perfunditur »; Gregory cites Cantic of Canticles 4:16 « Surge, Aquilo et veni Auster; perfla hortum meum et fluant aromata illius », that is, when the Holy Spirit « hortum perflatur », breathing in souls, « opinio virtutum aspergitur » (II 436-437). John of the Cross, in C 17: « Detente, cierzo muerto; ven, austro, que recuerdas los amo-

In N II 17 John of the Cross says that contemplation is « secreta » not only because of the way in which it is infused (ibid. n. 2) but also (ibid. n. 3) « por los efectos que hace en el alma... después en la iluminación, cuando más a las claras se le comunica esta sabiduría, le es al alma tan secreta para decir y ponerle nombre... », contemplation is « indecible... y por eso se llama secreta » (ibid. n. 5). Gregory also speaks of the soul being unable to grasp what it is receiving in contemplation.

II 423

Job 37:5: « Tonabit Deus voce sua mirabiliter, qui facit magna et inscrutabilia ».

Voce sua Deus mirabiliter tonat, quia occulta vi corda nostra incomprehensibiliter penetrat. Quae dum latentibus motibus premit in timore, et format in amore, quanto ardore sequendus sit aliquo modo silenter clamat, et fit cujusdam impulsione nimietas in mente, cum nihil sonet in voce. Quae tanto apud nos valentius perstrepat, quanto et ab omni exteriori strepitu aurem nostri surdescere cordis facit. Unde et anima ad semetipsam mox hoc intimo clamore collecta miratur quod audit, quia vim compunctionis incognitae percipit. Cujus ipsa admiratio bene apud Moysen manna desuper veniente signatur... Manhu enim dicitur 'Quid est hoc'? Et quid est hoc dicimus quando hoc quod cernimus nescientes admiramur. Supernum igitur manna anima percipit, cum per vocem compunctionis elevata novam speciem internae refectionis ob-

N II, 17:3

...esto tiene el lenguaje de Dios, que, por ser muy íntimo al alma y espiritual, en que excede todo sentido, luego *hace cesar y enmudecer* toda la armonía y habilidad de los sentidos *exteriores* y interiores.

ibid.

[when receiving this 'lenguaje de Dios' souls:] *no saben dar*

res, aspira por mi huerto y corran sus olores... » cites the Canticle of Canticles 4: 16 (n. 9) and gives a similar spiritual interpretation; cf. ibid. n. 5: « aspirar *por* el alma es hacer Dios toque y moción en las virtudes y perfecciones que ya le son dadas, renovándolas y moviéndolas de suerte que den de sí admirable fragancia y suavidad al alma ».

razón ni imaginarla para decir algo della; aunque claramente ve que entiende y gusta aquella sabrosa y peregrina sabiduría; bien así como el que viese una cosa nunca vista cuyo semejante tampoco jamás vio, que, aunque la entendiese y gustase, no le sabría poner nombre ni decir lo que es, aunque más hiciese

ibid. n. 6

[the soul is 'levantada' above creatures].

stupescit, ut divina dulcedine repleta jure respondeat, 'Quid est hoc'? quia dum ab infima cogitatione suspenditur, ea quae de supernis conspicit *insolite miratur*...

Ut enim homo terrenis usibus deditu iniquis desideriiis pressus, subito ad nova afferveat, atque ad consueta frigescat, exterioribus curis renuntiet, in internis contemplationibus anhelat, quis hanc virtutem supernae vocis considerare sufficiat? quis considerando comprehendat? Magna sunt quae per vocem suam Dominus facit, sed minus magna essent

II 424

si perscrutari potuissent. 'Facit ergo magna et inscrutabilia', quia ostendit foris perfectionem operis, sed latet intus ipsa qualitas operationis.

ibid. n. 5

[contemplación] es indecible.

ibid. n. 6

es imposible... aunque más alta y sabiamente se hable en ellas [las cosas divinas] poder conocer ni sentir [ni menos declarar] de ellas como ellas son³⁷.

II 441

(on Job 37:23)

Qui enim sentiri digne non valet, quanto minus dici?

II 438

(on Job 37:20)

Si effari homo aeternitatem *sicut est*, etiam hoc sibi subtrahit quod de illa vel tacitus *sentit*.

³⁷ In N II 17:6, after saying contemplation is « indecible », John of the Cross says that it « tiene propiedad de *esconder* al alma en sí... absorbe al alma y sume en su abismo secreto, que el alma echa de ver claro que está puesta alejadísima y remotísima de toda criatura, de suerte que le parece que la colocan en una *profundísima* y anchísima soledad donde no puede llegar alguna humana criatura, como un *inmenso* desierto... tanto más deleitoso... cuanto más *profundo*... le hace... echar de ver cuán bajos y cortos y en alguna manera improprios son todos los términos y vocablos con que en esta vida se trata de

Read in the *Moralia*, therefore, Job 37 is related theologically to the doctrine being treated by John of the Cross in N II 17.

The affinities between Gregory and John of the Cross, visible in the preceding section, justify a thorough and systematic study of the relationship between the *Moralia in Job* and the theology of the Saint. Unlike Gregory, John of the Cross does not follow Job chapter by chapter, but the range of his forty-one citations covers practically the entire Book, from the Prologue (ch. 1 and 2) to the central section of the dialogues between Job and his three friends (ch. 3-31), the speeches of Elihu (ch. 32-37), and the final section where God speaks to Job personally (ch. 38-42:6) and Job is reinstated in a happy condition (Epilogue, ch. 42:7-16).

V. - DIRECT OR INDIRECT DEPENDENCE OF ST. JOHN FROM THE 'MORALIA'?

In judging the influence of the *Moralia in Job* on John of the Cross, it will be helpful to keep in mind the other 'sources' from which he may have drawn. The Saint does not identify them by name, referring only generically to « los espirituales » (S I 1:1), « los contemplativos » (N II 5:1) or « místicos teólogos » (N II 5:3). It is important to know whether these authors can in any way explain the mystical prominence given to Job by John of the Cross. The authors we are looking for are those whose doctrine bears some resemblance to the theology of the 'noche oscura' and the passage of the soul from meditative prayer to contemplation or mystical theology. In all probability, at least four of the authors fitting this description are: Tauler, Harphius, Osuna and Laredo.

Tauler has long been considered the principal source of John of the Cross for the theology of the 'noche oscura'³⁸ and his works were available to the Saint in the Latin translation of Surius³⁹. We

las cosas divinas ». There are some similarities of vocabulary between this text of John of the Cross and Gregory's commentary on Job 37:20. « Etiam si locutus fuerit homo, devorabitur ». Gregory says the contemplation of God is ineffable and one who tries to speak of God will be devoured by his ignorance: « si loqui de Deo coeperit, illico quam sit nihil ostenditur, quia magnitudinis illius *immensitate* devoratur, et quasi in *profundum* raptus *absconditur*; quia *fari ineffabilem cupiens*, ipsa suae ignorantiae angustia deglutitur » (II, 439).

³⁸ P. Crisógono, op. cit. I, p. 50 says Tauler « fué el autor que más influyó en san Juan de la Cruz ». Orcibal, op. cit. pp. 80-118, claims that Tauler is the principal source for the theology of the 'noche oscura'.

³⁹ Published in 1548 and 1553. The edition we have used bears the title: *D. Joannis Thauleri Clarissimi Theologi Püissimae tam de Tempore quam de Sanctis Homilie, Opera; eiusdem alia Pietati quam maxime inservientia, sum-*

have counted about twenty citations of the Book of Job in this edition of Tauler's works, but of these only two are used by John of the Cross (but one of these latter, verses from Job 4:12-16, is cited by Tauler six times). Unlike the Saint, Tauler, in formulas such as: « Unde D. Gregorius praedicta D. Job verba exponens »⁴⁰, identifies Gregory as the source of his mystical use of the Book of Job.

The Franciscan Harphius also treats of both infused contemplation and the passive purification of the soul which he describes in terms of 'night' and 'darkness', and his works, in a Latin translation under the title *Theologia Mystica*⁴¹, were very influential in Spain (but they were prohibited by the Index of Valdés in 1559). The citations of the Book of Job in this edition of Harphius number about twenty (five of which reproduce the same text of Job 1:21) but of these only two correspond to those used by John of the Cross. For Harphius, Job is a figure of the soul suffering in the spiritual 'night' and his mystical interpretation of the texts of Job are explicitly referred to Gregory's commentary in formulas such as « Gregorius super illud Job »⁴², or, without citing Job, « dicit Greg. in Moraliibus »⁴³.

The *Subida del Monte Sion*, Part Three, (2nd ed., Seville, 1538, of the Franciscan Bernadino de Laredo presents — even by the title itself — a number of resemblances to the doctrine of John of the Cross⁴⁴. Drawing heavily on Harphius, Laredo treats extensively of mystical theology and infused contemplation to which the soul is introduced after practising meditative prayer but he does not develop a theology of the 'night' of passive purification. The Book of Job is not prominent in Laredo, there are only three citations, none of which correspond to those used by John of the Cross. However,

mo studio recens ab ipso interprete Laurentio Surio recognita, et Homiliis Epistolisque aliquot modo primum additis, diligentissime nunc iterum excusa — Coloniae ex Officina Haeredum Joannis Quentel, MDLIII. On the presence of Surius' edition of Tauler in the library of the University of Salamanca at this time, of García Rodríguez, *Taulero y San Juan de la Cruz in Vida Sobrenatural* 50 (1949) p. 350. It should be noted that this edition of Tauler was placed on the Index of Quiroga in 1583; cf. Orcibal, op. cit., p. 43.

⁴⁰ Sermon on the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, ed. cit., pp. 503-504.

⁴¹ *Theologiae mysticae D. Henrici Harphii Theologi Eruditissimi. Iuxta ac Rerum Divinarum Contemplatoris Profundissimi, cum speculativae, tum adfectivae, quae non tam lectione iuvatur, quam animi puritate, exercitioque obtinetur amoris, Libri tres...* Coloniae Agrippinae Apud haeredes Arnoldi Birckmanni Anno 1556.

⁴² Ibid., L. I, P. II, c. 40.

⁴³ Ibid., L. III, Eden, c. 7.

⁴⁴ *The Ascent of Mount Sion*, Book III, transl. by E. Allison Peers (London: Faber and Faber, 1952). It should be remembered that St. Teresa says this book helped her in her crisis of prayer; cf. *Vida* 23.

Laredo explicitly refers to the *Moralia* three times⁴⁵.

Of all the authors we have examined, Osuna comes closest to John of the Cross in the mystical use of the Book of Job. In the *Tercer Abecedario*⁴⁶ Osuna touches themes that are recognizably those of John of the Cross, contemplation is called a 'night' as is also the period of spiritual sufferings. In the *Tercer Abecedario* the Book of Job is cited twenty-nine times and eight of these citations correspond with those used by John of the Cross. On three occasions Osuna says that his spiritual interpretation of Job is taken from Gregory's commentary⁴⁷.

The influence of the *Moralia* on the mystical interpretation of Job in authors closest doctrinally to John of the Cross is, therefore, an established fact and their citations of Job, especially when they coincide with those of the Saint, will help orient us as we proceed. We can, however, see from this brief résumé that the Book of Job occupies a more central position in the theology of John of the Cross than in that of the authors we have just mentioned.

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⁴⁵ In ch. 5 the elevation of the soul in infused contemplation, beyond all understanding, is explained by a quotation introduced by: « as Saint Gregory remarks in his moral exposition on the thirty-first chapter of Job » and in ch. 21, which treats of trials and sufferings in the contemplative life — together with Harphius who is cited three times — the *Moralia* is mentioned twice.

⁴⁶ *The Third Spiritual Alphabet*, transl. by a Benedictine of Stanbrook (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1948). St. Teresa says she took this book as a guide for prayer: « teniendo a aquel libro por maestro » (*Vida* 4). P. Silverio notes: « El *Tercer Abecedario* es, sin disputa, el que más influencia ejerció en el misticismo de Santa Teresa » (*Obras*, BMC I, p. XXXV).

⁴⁷ *Third Spiritual Alphabet*, T. 20, ch. 5; T. 21, ch. 1 and 4.