Editors' Preface

The two works presented here are sufficiently distinct to be called two works, but enough of a unity to be included together in one volume. The second work in the volume was the first to be written: Lonergan's doctoral dissertation, completed in May 1940 at the Gregorian University in Rome under the title *Gratia Operans: A Study of the Speculative Development in the Writings of St. Thomas of Aquin*. The first work in the volume was a publication of that dissertation in what Lonergan called a 'condensed and abbreviated' form in four articles in *Theological Studies* (1941–42) under the title 'St. Thomas' Thought on *Gratia Operans*.¹ Some thirty years later the four articles were collected and published in book form under the title *Grace and Freedom: Operative Grace in the Thought of St. Thomas Aquinas*.² We retain the book and dissertation titles for parts one and two respectively of the present volume and as well have usurped the book title for this whole volume which is number one in the Collected Works of Bernard Lonergan.

Such in a paragraph is the brief history of CWL 1; it may be worth our while to see it in greater detail.

Lonergan's religious superiors had sent him to Rome in 1933 with the intention that, after his basic theological studies, he should obtain a doctor-

- 1 Bernard Lonergan, 'St. Thomas' Thought on *Gratia Operans*,¹ *Theological Studies* 2 (1941) 289–324, 3 (1942) 69–88, 375–402, 533–78. Note that in this series the title of the third article was given as 'St. Thomas' Theory of Operation.'
- 2 Bernard J.F. Lonergan, *Grace and Freedom: Operative Grace in the Thought of St. Thomas Aquinas*, ed. J. Patout Burns (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, and New York, Herder and Herder, 1971).

ate in philosophy.³ This expectation oriented Lonergan's spare-time reading and writing for the next five years, during which he completed the regular program of studies and formation for Jesuit scholastics. He had even focused his personal thought on philosophy of history and had study of this as a distant goal right up to August 1938.⁴

At this time, however, on the eve of his return to Rome for doctoral studies, his superiors, planning now to keep him in Rome on the faculty of the Gregorian University, decided to switch him from philosophy to theology, on the ground of the large number of English-speaking students in that faculty.⁵

This dislocation of his plans meant that Lonergan arrived in Rome in the late fall of 1938 without plans or proposals for the topic of his doctoral dissertation. He had, however, made inquiries in France about possible directors, and had been told Charles Boyer, then Prefect of Studies at the Gregorian University, was an intelligent person; so Lonergan asked him to be his director.⁶ Boyer agreed, and they discussed a number of different topics, only to set them aside. Finally Boyer reached for his copy of Thomas Aquinas's *Prima secundae*, pointed to an article that he himself had difficulty in interpreting, and suggested that Lonergan make a study of that article in itself, of its *loca parallela*, and of its historical sources.⁷ Thus, by a simple accident of history, Lonergan was led to concentrated study of Thomas

3 Perhaps with a view that he should join the faculty of the Jesuits' newly opened house for philosophical studies in Toronto.

4 Letter to Henry Keane, his Provincial Superior, 10 August 1938; File 713 in his unpublished papers, especially the writings of 1937–38 (Archives, Lonergan Research Institute, Toronto).

5 Letter of Vincent McCormick to Henry Keane; Lonergan's account thirty-five years later: 'The following September [that is, in 1938] I had a letter from Fr Vincent McCormick informing me that most of the English-speaking students at the Gregorian were in theology and that I, accordingly, was to do a biennium in theology.' Bernard Lonergan, 'Insight Revisited,' in *A Second Collection*, ed. William F.J. Ryan and Bernard J. Tyrrell (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1974, and Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975; repr. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996) 263–78, at 266.

6 Information received from Fred Lawrence and Richard Renshaw (the latter in an interview with Lonergan, 18 January 1973 – Archives) on the choice of Boyer for director; see also the notes Lonergan made in 1943, in preparation for the defense of his thesis, College of the Immaculate Conception, Montreal (Archives, Batch 1-A, Folder 16; A51 in the catalogue made by Robert Doran; these very extensive notes are a valuable resource for study of various points in the dissertation).

7 Archives, as in preceding note.

Aquinas, beginning what would be an eleven-year apprenticeship,⁸ and proposed as his topic, duly listed in the university records as accepted, 'A history of St. Thomas's thought on operative grace.'

There is hardly any information on the actual writing of the dissertation, but we do know that he shed his Molinist views very quickly: 'Within a month or so it was completely evident to me that Molinism had no contribution to make to an understanding of Aquinas.'⁹ My interview with Boyer over thirty years later yielded only meager results.¹⁰ The dissertation itself shows a quite remarkable amount of research, and some work notes that remain give us a glimpse of Lonergan at work. As we shall see, there is reason to believe that Lonergan was persuaded to rush the completion of his task. It is, in any case, something of a *tour de force* to write a doctoral thesis in the 'biennium' that was then the normal amount of time available to doctoral candidates, and Lonergan submitted the typed work (ix and 338 pages, plus bibliography of ix pages), on 1 May 1940, less than seventeen months from the date of his topic approval.¹¹

The oddity that the doctorate was awarded only in 1946 brings up a curious bit of history in regard to fulfilment of the doctoral requirements and has its interest for the dissertation itself, the last chapter of which shows evidence of a hastier composition.¹² In fact the war broke out as Lonergan began the second year of his 'biennium,' and was raging furiously as he awaited the defense of his dissertation. It is highly probable that there was pressure on him to finish the written work, fulfil the further requirements for the doctorate, and get back to Canada while there was still time. The date originally set for the defense of his thesis, which I presume would

8 1938–49; Lonergan's letter of 3 March 1980, to F. Crowe. I borrow from William Mathews the use of 'apprenticeship.' Much later Lonergan attributed the choice of his thesis topic to luck (*Curiosity at the Center of One's Life: Statements and Questions of R. Eric O'Connor*, ed. J. Martin O'Hara [Montreal: Thomas More Institute, 1984] 375–76, in the interview of 25 February 1969); one must remember that for him 'luck,' like 'fate,' was the created component of divine providence.

9 Bernard J.F. Lonergan, *Method in Theology*, 2nd ed. (London: Darton, Longman & Todd; New York: Herder and Herder, 1972; reprint Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996) 163, note 5.

10 In 1973. Boyer remembered directing Lonergan's thesis, but had little information on the details of its composition.

11 The Gregorian University Catalogus IV gives this information about Lonergan's thesis. Catalogus I, entry 615, thema approbatum, 6.xii.38; Catalogus II, entry 793, dissertatio scripta, 1.v.40; Catalogus III, entry 479, dissertatio typis edita, 23.xii.46.

12 Typos uncorrected, pagination added by hand, etc.

normally have been in June or even July, was advanced to mid-May, but then just two days before the new date he was told to take ship from Italy, and so he arrived home without his doctorate.¹³ Years later, Lonergan still showed his displeasure at the way he was pushed around, but in retrospect we have to say providence was at work; it is frightening to think of this Canadian citizen holed up in the four walls of the Gregorian University, where he would enjoy Vatican protection from the 'enemy,' till the liberation of Rome in 1944.¹⁴

The next steps followed slowly. As the war dragged on and Lonergan was still without his doctorate, his Provincial Superior, Thomas J. Mullally, pressed on Rome the anomaly of the situation, to the good effect that an examination board of 'Magistri Aggregati' of the Gregorian University (a degree held by several professors at the College of the Immaculate Conception, not now in use) was set up in Montreal and Lonergan duly presented his 'Lectio coram' there on 27 May 1943, and defended his thesis two weeks later on 8 June.¹⁵

One requirement remained. To obtain the doctorate, candidates must 'publish' their thesis or 'excerpta' from it, where 'publishing' meant providing fifty copies for the Gregorian University. This had to be delayed till

13 Sketchy notes of a conversation with Lonergan over thirty years later enable us to deduce the following sequence. The exam was set for Friday, 17 May, to enable Lonergan to take ship on the *Washington*, sailing from Naples Saturday, 18 May. Then it was discovered that there was no room on the *Washington*, and so on 15 May, two days before the date assigned for his defense, Lonergan was sent to Genoa, where he embarked on the *Conti di Savoia*, and arrived in New York on 24 May 1940.

Worth noting is a little flurry of bureaucratic activity that May, both at the Gregorian and at the Jesuit Curia, which gave Lonergan's case unusual attention. At the University the advanced date was arranged by Joseph Filograssi (Dean of Theology) when neither Charles Boyer (his Director) nor Vincent McCormick (the Rector) favored the hurry-up. At the Jesuit Curia, Fr Lodimir Ledochowski, the Superior General, was against the move, but it was pushed by Adelard Dugré, a member of the French-Canadian Jesuit Province, and Assistant to the Superior General in Rome for the region covering Canada; Dugré, it seems, had his own agenda and wished to transfer Lonergan to the faculty of the College of the Immaculate Conception in Montreal. – Quite a fuss of top administrators over a doctoral examination, but the times were chaotic!

14 Italy became an 'enemy' country for Canada on 10 June 1940, but the signs of approaching hostilities were already clear shortly after Lonergan submitted his thesis.

15 *The News-Letter: Province of Upper Canada* 18:6 (June 1943) 45: '[T]he Gregorian University delegated the theological faculty' of Immaculate Conception College to hear the examinations.

the war was over, and Lonergan then fulfilled the requirement by supplying fifty copies of his fourth *Theological Studies* article, adding a prefatory note (published here in an appendix) and a table of contents of the four articles. It was an arrangement that would probably be frowned on today, but was wisely accepted in the chaos of the 1940s, and Lonergan was finally granted his doctorate on 23 December 1946. The Gregorian *Liber Annualis* duly recorded the fact in its 1948 volume (for the years 1946–47).¹⁶

Meanwhile, as this curious history was unfolding and prior to most of it, Lonergan had written for *Theological Studies* the 'contracta et abbreviata' account of his dissertation in the four articles mentioned above. Some thirty years later, J. Patout Burns, then a student at Regis College, Willowdale (Toronto), edited the articles and published them in book form as *Grace and Freedom: Operative Grace in the Thought of St. Thomas Aquinas*. His 'Editor's Foreword' lists the editorial work involved: stylistic modifications to divide the four articles into six chapters, significant changes in the mode of making references, addition of Bekker numbers for references to Aristotle, the Quaracchi editions for the works of Peter Lombard, St Bonaventure, and Duns Scotus, the Borgnet edition for St Albert, the Marietti numbers for their editions of St Thomas, and so on. The foreword also mentions Lonergan's expansion of some of the notes and his elimination of a small number of references that in the new context would be pedantic; it concludes by saying: 'Fr. Lonergan's own advice has been invaluable' – a remark that gains weight from the fact that Burns and Lonergan were both resident at Regis College in 1970 during the work of editing.

In the context of that last remark, the editors of this Collected Works edition of *Grace and Freedom* are happy in their turn to acknowledge that the work of Professor Burns has been invaluable to them. We have taken over and incorporated his work in specifying references, particularly in his use of the Marietti numbers for several works of Aquinas and his list of loci in Aristotle and Thomas; we have added to that list the further loci in the dissertation, but we have not included the loci in Augustine, Peter Lombard, Albert, and Bonaventure.

The dissertation, however, presented its own problems. We worked from Lonergan's copy, which is a carbon (probably a second carbon). Lonergan

16 The 'excerpta' records the 'Vidimus et approbamus' of the Gregorian readers (Charles Boyer and Joseph de Guibert) as given 8 June 1943, the date of the defense at Montreal, and the 'Nihil obstat' (Alex. Carter, 'censor ad hoc') and 'Imprimatur' (Philippe Perrier) of the Montreal Archdiocese as given 21 May 1946.

clearly was his own typist, and made his own typos, though they were fewer than was normally the case in getting English texts typed professionally in Rome, and were easily corrected. But he also wrote in the margins, presumably after submitting the good copy (or copies), often adding further references to Aquinas; anyone who has worked on Aquinas will recognize the syndrome: further texts noticed that pertain to a point made in the original; that is an endless process, but we have noted them when they seemed more important.

Chapter 1 of the thesis (II-1 in this volume) is a special case, with a good deal of sidelining, underlining, marginal ticking, and so on. Some of this is done in Lonergan's style, and could be explained as preparation for his doctoral defense, first for the aborted defense of 1940 and then for the actual defense of 1943.¹⁷ But some of the markings are not his, as when a note asks whether Melchior Cano is meant.¹⁸

One further curiosity remains in this already curious history. At the end of his own bound copy of the dissertation Lonergan included 71 pages (numbered in his hand and concluding at 70, but he missed a page at 28–29) of what are obviously work notes for chapter 3 of the dissertation. The section numbers show they were drafted (and sometimes drafted twice) as developments of various topics: Aristotle's cosmic views, his hierarchy of movers, Thomas's theory of motion, causation by intellect, the idea of application, and so on. If these various drafts have any unity in themselves, it is probably to be found under the heading of God as an agent 'per intellectum agens,' and the advance made by Thomas over Aristotle under that heading. The editors, after some debate, decided not to add these notes to an already oversize volume, but they have no doubt about the value of the notes; Lonergan himself saw reason to bind them in his personal copy of the dissertation, and they remain to be studied by some future researcher.

We conclude with our usual word regarding the editorial conventions we have adopted: the use of the *Oxford American Dictionary* and the *Chicago*

17 One intriguing notation occurs on p. 430 below, on the word 'trahuntur,' quoted from Aquinas on chapter 6 of John's Gospel, on our being drawn by the Father. The notation is 'S. Aug., Homilia, Fer. iv, Oct. Pentecost.' Pentecost in 1940 was on 12 May, feria 4 would be a Wednesday, but Matins and Lauds were regularly anticipated the evening before, and Lonergan could have made this notation after reading Matins on Tuesday, the eve of his departure for Genoa – sheer speculation, but an intriguing possibility nevertheless.

18 P. 11 of the dissertation ms.

Manual of Style as guides to the minutiae of editing; the addition of a lexicon of Latin and Greek phrases (longer passages are translated in the text or the accompanying footnote); a list of the editions of Thomas that we consulted. *PL* is our abbreviation for references to Migne's *Patrologia latina*. *DB* and *DS* are used for Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum*. Lonergan's English quotations from scripture remain as he gave them, but we rely on the *New Revised Standard Version* for our own translations, so that correspondence with the Latin is at times in the sense rather than in the letter. No attempt is made to soften the sometimes unecumenical tone of his remarks, even where we believe he would have written differently in later years. Nor have we attempted to correct his non-inclusive language.

Finally, besides our already acknowledged debt to J. Patout Burns, we have other debts of gratitude to pay: to Marcela Dayao, who typed *Grace and Freedom* (the present first part) onto computer, and Elaine MacMillan, who did the same for a good part of the dissertation (here the second part), completing a task begun by Robert Doran; to Richard Tetreau and Barbara Geiger, Librarians at Regis College, who allowed us the great convenience of long-term loans from the Regis Library while we were checking Lonergan's work; to Giovanni Sala and Michael Stebbins, who provided helpful corrections to Lonergan's references; to Gene Merz, S.J., and the Marquette University Jesuit community for the hospitality accorded Robert Doran in the semester he spent with them editing the volume; and to the librarians at Marquette University for the kind and gracious assistance they gave to Robert Doran in that same semester.

FREDERICK E. CROWE

(for the editors)

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