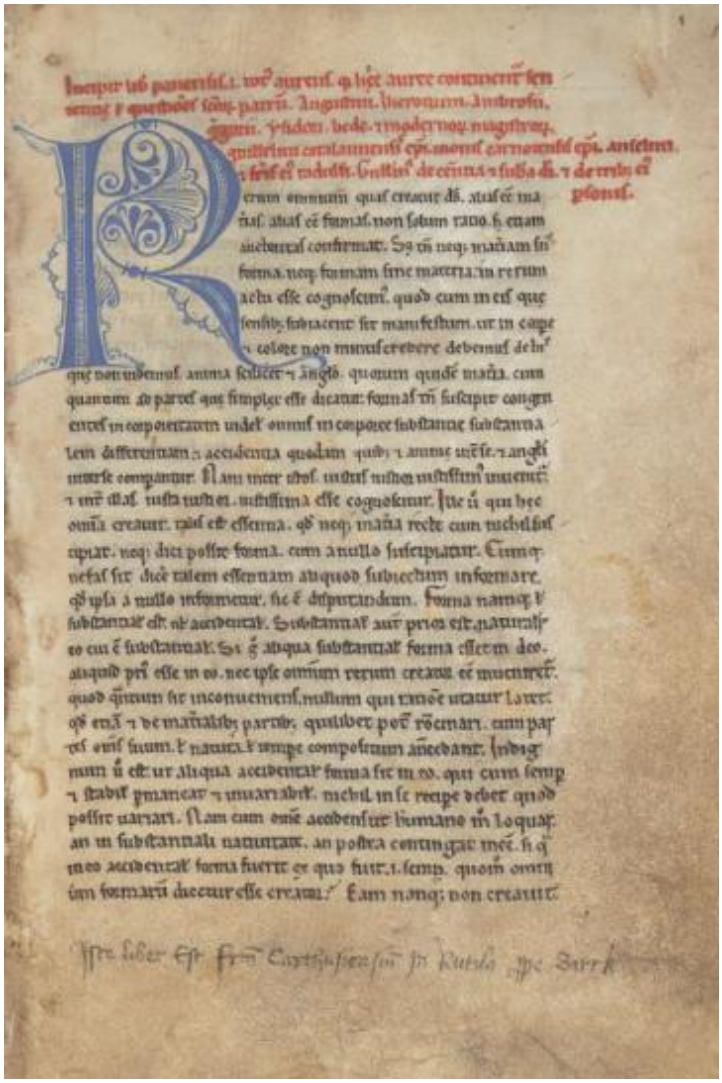
"Let everyone consult his own conscience"

Sin and interiority in the thought of Anselm of Laon

Teun van Dijk



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Abstract:

The development of the thinking on sin and confession in the twelfth century has given rise to claims that the modern concept of the "individual" or the "self" find their birth in the twelfth century. This topic has been much discussed and nuanced, but there is a scholarly consensus that there certainly were developments in the thinking on the "self" and the human interior during this time, often expressed in writings about the topics of sin, penance, and confession. Discussions of this development are often related to 'revolutionary' thinkers such as Peter Abelard, who supposedly turned away from traditional authorities and relied on his own rationality in order to explore questions of interiority. This thesis will be concerned with the teachings of a more 'traditional' and often neglected thinker from the early twelfth century, the schoolmaster Anselm of Laon (d.1117 CE). As such, this thesis is centred around a study of the sentence collections connected to Anselm's cathedral school in Laon, primarily through the framework of those sentences concerned with topics related to the theme of sin. As this thesis argues, ideas of a 'discovery' or sudden emergence of the "self" or the human interior have to be revised. Rather, the sentence collections from the school of Laon show us that a thinker such as Anselm of Laon, who was firmly rooted in the work of traditional authorities, took part in a gradual, complex development which saw the intensification of the thinking about the human interior in the early twelfth century.

Cover image: First folio of a copy of the *Liber Pancrisis,* Harley MS 3098.

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Introduction:

Anselm of Laon was one of the most important figures in the ecclesiastical circuits of his hometown Laon. He climbed the ranks from master of the cathedral school, to chancellor, dean and finally archdeacon of the same cathedral of Laon.[1] Besides this impressive *cursus honorum* within the cathedral chapter, Anselm was mostly known as a teacher of theology and biblical interpretation. It was in this role that he was highly regarded by most of his contemporaries, and he taught many of the brightest minds of his time.[2] Despite his many students and the high praises heaped unto him by the likes of John of Salisbury and Peter the Chanter, there were also those who held less fond views of Anselm's intellectual prowess.[3] Peter Abelard's famous description of his time as a student in Laon paints Anselm as a fire that creates smoke without light, a tree that bears no fruit. In other words, for Abelard Anselm represented the old-fashioned master who spoke well but said little, who earned his fame by conservatively reiterating patristic statements without any critical analysis.[4]

As in his own time, modern scholarship also shows opposing views on Anselm's talents. On the one hand, there were those that argued in favour of Anselm's creativity, and saw him as one of the innovating forces responsible for the systematic sentence collections of the later twelfth century, as well as the thirteenth-century *summae.*[5] On the other hand, there are those who

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[1] For the definite account on Anselm, his life, and his school, see Cédric Giraud, *Per verba magistri. Anselme de Laon et son école au XIIe siècle* (Turnhout 2010). For Anselm's *cursus honorum,* see especially pages 42-60.

[2] Giraud has been able to identify more than twenty students of Anselm, hailing from France, Britain, Italy and Germany. See, Giraud, *Per verba magistri,* 69-112.

[3] See for example, Cédric Giraud, "Anselm of Laon in the Twelfth-Century Schools: Between *Fama* and *Memoria*", in Lucie Dolezalova (ed.) *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages,* 337, 343.

[4] Peter Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum*, in Dag Nikolaus Hasse (ed. and trans.), *Abaelards "Historia calamitatum": Text – Übersetzung- literaturwissenschaftliche Modellanalysen* (Berlin; New York 2002), 7. For assessments of Abelard's statements about Anselm, and what it has meant for scholarship on the School of Laon, see among others: Alexander Andrée, "Anselm of Laon Unvieled: The *Glosae Svper Iohannem* and the Origins of the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the Bible", *Medieval Studies* 73 (2011), 217-260, 219-220; Giraud, *Per verba magistri,* 108-114.

[5] For accounts of the historiography of the early twentieth century, see Andrée, "Anselm of Laon Unveiled", 219; Marcia Colish, "Another Look at the School of Laon", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age,* 53 (1986), 7-22; and Giraud, *Per verba magistri,* 21-25.

follow the assessment of Abelard, emphasising the conservatism and dullness of Anselm's school. For example, Richard W. Southern has called Anselm "colourless", and "certainly no charismatic figure".[6] At least part of the scepticism with which Anselm's intellectual capabilities have been regarded in modern times can most likely be attributed to the fact that his teachings only survive in piecemeal fashion. Indeed, apart from a single letter, there are no texts directly written by Anselm that have been handed down to us. Instead, the contents of his lectures have to be deduced from two different types of sources: collections of sentences, or *sententiae,* compiled by his students, and biblical commentaries coming from the cathedral school.

Consequently, there have been debates about the validity of speaking about a "School *of* Laon" because of the diversity of theological opinions found in the sentence collections attributed to it. Valerie J. Flint has therefore argued that there was no such thing as a coherent theological school of thought with a clear doctrinal direction. According to her, we can merely speak about the existence of a school *at* Laon, under the direction of Anselm and his brother Ralph of Laon (d. 1133). [7] This view has been objected to by Marcia Colish, who saw Flint's "agnosticism" as an overreaction.[8] According to her, the school of Laon was not as original or systematic as had been claimed in the early twentieth century, but the Laon masters - including also the anonymous masters that taught at the school after Anselm's death - were both conservative in their approach as well as doctrinally comprehensive.[9] Furthermore, in his seminal study on Anselm and the school of Laon, Cédric Giraud has finally concluded that we can indeed speak of a "school of Laon", and that we can define the doctrinal direction of this "*milieu scolaire"* through the various sentence collections compiled by students of Anselm and his pupil William

[6] Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe, Vol 2.* (Oxford 1995-2001), 27-28.
[7] Valerie J. Flint, "The "School of Laon": A Reconsideration", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale,* 43 (1976), 89-110.
[8] Colish, "Another Look", 10-11.
[9] Ibidem.

of Champeaux: "*On peut donc définir l' "école de Laon" comme le milieu scolaire où différents recueils de sentences ont été produits dans les années 1120-1140 sous l'influence doctrinale de maître Anselme.*"[10]

Nevertheless, Anselm is still often regarded as one of the prime examples of the traditionalist, dull theology of early twelfth-century pre-scholasticism. As characterised by Willemien Otten, Anselm is often grouped among thinkers that are stereotyped as "restricted to the narrow confines of an increasingly stifling paradigm."[11] Indeed, Anselm is regularly presented as a mere contrast to more "cutting-edge" thinkers such as Abelard, who, equipped with rational intelligence and intellectual boldness, are seen to be pointing straight ahead to the culture of modernity.[12] In this sense, then, Anselm can be seen as being somewhat ignored in discussions of the idea of a Renaissance of the twelfth century. Building on the ideas expressed in Charles Homer Haskins's *The renaissance of the twelfth century* (first published in 1927), authors such as Richard W. Southern and Collin Morris have argued for seeing the twelfth-century developments in social, political and religious structures as integral for the emergence of the characteristics of modern Western society.[13] Parallel to structural transformations in papal government and complex social institutions, Southern and Morris also see the appearance of "an emphasis on personal experience, an appeal to the individual conscience, a delving into the roots of the inner life."[14] Therefore, according to them, not only can the origins of the institutional and organizational characteristics of modernity be found in the twelfth-century, but so can the birth of the modern individual.

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[10] Giraud, *Per verba Magistri,* 405; see also pages 394-398; Giraud's conclusion has been supported by Alexander Andrée among others: see Andrée, "Anselm of Laon Unveiled", 220.
[11] Willemien Otten, *From paradise to paradigm: A study of twelfth-century humanism* (Leiden 2004), 131.
[12] Idem, 131-132.
[13] See especially Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Harvard 1927); Richard W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven 1963); Idem, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth 1970); and Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200* (Toronto 1987). For an influential account of the ecclesiastical reformations of the twelfth century, see Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge 1996).
[14] Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 228.

A subject that is central to such arguments concerned with development of thinking about the interior and the individual in the twelfth-century is the century's changing attitudes towards sin, penance and confession. Works such as Collin Morris's *The Discovery of the Individual. 1050-1200* see the emergence of a new focus on the sinner's inner landscape during this period. For Morris, this focus is the prime example of the twelfth-century movement "away from external regulations, towards an insight into individual character" which constitutes the "discovery" of the (modern) individual and his inner world.[15] In his work as well as that of Southern, it is especially Abelard – and not "traditionalist" thinkers such as Anselm of Laon- who is presented as the catalyst for shifts away from external expressions of penance that prevailed in the "primitive society" before 1050, and towards a stress on inward sorrow and repentance with a focus on the inner intentionality of the sinner.[16]

However, this view has been contested and nuanced from multiple sides. First of all, there have been various critiques which question the originality of the twelfth century in general, and of Abelard in particular, in stressing the importance of intentionality and inner remorse.[17] Also, the extent to which Abelard's works conform with modern conceptions of "individualism" have been under review.[18] However just these objections may be, most critics of "Morris's paradigm" nevertheless agree that there were certainly developments and intensifications in thinking on the "self" and the human interior during the twelfth-century.[19] Still, as Ineke van 't Spijker has rightly

[15] Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual*, 75.
[16] Idem, 20-31; 71-75. An influential critique of Morris' work can be found in Caroline Walker Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?", in Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: studies in the spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley 1982).
[17] See for example Otten, *From paradise to paradigm,* 129-181; Rob Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600-1200* (Cambridge 2014), 200-204; and Walter Pohl, 'Introduction: Ego trouble?', in Richard Corradini et al. (eds.), *Ego trouble: authors and their identities in the early Middle Ages* (Vienna 2010), 9-23.
[18] See for example Sverre Bagge, "The autobiography of Abelard and medieval individualism", *Journal of Medieval History,* 19 (1993), 327-350.
[19] The term "Morris's paradigm" comes from Pohl, "Introduction: Ego Trouble?", 10. For support for the idea that the twelfth century saw developments and intensifications in thinking about the self, see for example: Pohl, "Ego Trouble", 11 and 21 ; Bynum, "Did the Twelfth

pointed out, the notions of interiority we are here concerned with are highly contextual. As she puts it, interiority is "no self-subsistent aspect of human existence with an unchanging meaning (...)", thus stressing that interiority is not some pre-determined phenomenon which only shows up when the historical circumstances are fitting. [20] In a similar vein, Suzan Verderber has warned against seeing the modern ideal of individualism as the "natural, universal predetermined, and *desirable* mode of subjectivity" which can arise from deep slumber if the societal conditions are right for it to do so.[21]

In other words, then, it would be a mistake to classify our contemporary conception of interiority, or what it means to speak of a "self" or "individual", as constituting the real, unchanging definition of these concepts. As pointed out by Walter Pohl, even if they did so in ways that are different from those common in modernity, thinkers and writers have always shared in the examination and fashioning of 'the self' in relation to the world they inhabit.[22] Therefore, we should not assume that twelfth-century conceptions of interiority are either conformant to our conceptions or basically non-existent. Rather, examinations into medieval conceptions of interiority should be conducted on the terms of the examined people themselves if we truly wish to learn more about how they experienced the relationship between their inner and outer world.[23]

Thus, this thesis will not forage the teachings of Anselm of Laon in search of a modern sense of interiority, characterized by its sense of individuality, rationalism, and ideals of the inherent worth and agency of human beings.[24] Rather, the two fundamental issues that this thesis will pursue are as follows: First, this thesis is concerned with exploring the relationship between

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Century Discover the Individual", 86 and 106 ; and Ineke van 't Spijker, *Fictions of the Inner Life: Religious Literature and Formation of the Self in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Turnhout 2004), 3-6.
[20] van 't Spijker, *Fictions of the Inner Life,* 4.
[21] See Suzanne Verderber, *The Medieval Fold. Power, Repression, and the Emergence of the Individual* (New York 2013), 4.
[22] Pohl, "Introduction: Ego Trouble?", 16-18.
[23] See also Susan R. Kramer, *Sin, interiority, and selfhood in the twelfth-century West* (Toronto 2015), 4-17.
[24] Idem, 13-14; see also van 't Spijker, *Fictions of the Inner Life,* 5-7.

Anselm of Laon's thoughts on sin and his own conception of interiority. Secondly, it examines how Anselm's attitude towards the traditional Scriptural and Patristic authorities is reflected in the Laonnois *sententiae.* These are not to be understood as two disconnected inquiries. Rather, as this thesis will show, the first question can only be answered through the second: if we wish to come to a better understanding of Anselm's own conception of interiority, we will need to ask ourselves to what extent this conception is mediated by Anselm's reading of the traditional sources. Furthermore, as we will see, an inquiry into the doctrinal contents of the Laonnois *sententiae* concerned with themes of sin and interiority provides a perfect set of case studies for studying the nature of Anselm's conversation with the traditional material. This thesis' research into Anselm's conception of interiority will be conducted especially through *sententiae* concerned with various topics related to sin. As we will see, sin was a theme that was particularly connected to Anselm's conception of man's inner world. For him, sin should be seen as both the result of internal acts of the sinner's soul, as well as a sort of 'sickness' that contaminates it. Laonnois discussions of sin are thus almost automatically also discussions of the workings of the human interior.

As stated, evidence of the contents of Anselm's teachings have to be pieced together from the various sentence collections through which his thought has come down to us. Although this should not discourage us from exploring Anselm's theology, it is sometimes a difficult task to disentangle the relationships between the different collections and their contents. Therefore, before we can begin our investigation into Anselm's actual teachings, we must first reserve some space to provide vital information about the *sententiae* that comprise the majority of the sources of this thesis. In the first chapter then, various aspects of the Laonnois sentence collections are reviewed: the oral teaching in which they find their origins, the ways they are handed down to us, and the theological goals which lead to their conceptions.

The true starting point for the investigation of Anselm's conception of interiority will be in the second chapter, which focusses on Anselm's debate with Rupert of Deutz concerning

human freedom of the will and responsibility for sinful behaviour. As I will argue, establishing the nature and extent of human free will was a fundamental first step in Anselm's understanding of sin. In all of Anselm's discussions on sin and repentance, the freedom of the human will is pre-supposed. However, as will be shown in the second chapter, the exact extent of human inner autonomy was not something that was set in stone. Particular Scriptural passages could be understood as undermining the position that it was the individual alone who was ultimately responsible for his own sinful behaviour. As a result, Anselm and Rupert of Deutz held fierce debates about the role of God in 'turning' human hearts to evil. As I will argue in this chapter, these debates show that despite their different conception of the relationship between God's will and that of humans, both Anselm and Rupert saw the responsibility for sinful thoughts and deeds as inseparably linked to the inner autonomy of the human soul.

Because of the importance of the soul's self-determination in establishing responsibility for sinful behaviour in Anselm's thought, it is highly relevant to look at Anselm's opinions on those movements of the soul that take place in the liminal space between conscious, deliberate willing and those unconscious impulses and desires that arise before the mind has a chance for deliberation. This is what the third chapter will be involved with, where I will provide a close examination of the doctrine of pre-passions as it existed in the school of Laon. As the chapter will show, the idea of pre-passions – designating spontaneous reactions to sinful impulses still outside of the mind's control, which could or could not result in full-fledged sinful desires – was a topic with a rich, but diverse Patristic tradition. Hence, a study of the way Anselm dealt with this variety of approaches serves as a perfect way to examine the synthesising qualities of Anselm's hermeneutical approach. Not only that, it will also show how Anselm's theological program influenced his own particular views of the workings of the human interior. As I will argue, the final Laonnois understanding of the idea of pre-passions consisted of a unique amalgamation of theories by Jerome, Augustine and Gregory the Great, resulting in a conception

of the first movements of the soul that was comprised of elements of all three thinkers, but ultimately different from all of them.

After detailing Anselm's ideas about the formation of sin within the human soul, the last chapter of this thesis will be concerned with Anselm's opinions on how to treat a soul that has been infected by sin. Being one of the main players in the early twelfth-century rise of the cathedral schools and universities, Anselm fits very well in the trends which saw penance and confession as increasingly important topics in theological discourse.[25] Like many of his time, Anselm was a firm proponent for verbal confession to a priest, which he saw as a necessity for the sinner's reconciliation with God.[26] Peter Von Moos, among others, has shown that in an important sense, it is precisely the act of confession that can elicit an exploration of the sinner's interior.[27] In this final chapter, we will not only investigate Anselm's own views on interiority, but also how he helped to shape such views in others. In doing so, it will become clear that it would be a mistake to dismiss Anselm and his importance for the developments of the twelfth-century conceptions of the interior and the self in favour of "cutting-edge" thinkers such as Abelard. Rather, we shall see that a thinker such as Anselm, although firmly rooted in traditional discourse, could nevertheless greatly contribute to the intensification of thinking about the human interior during the twelfth century.

[25] See Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe,* 199-204.
[26] On the early twelfth-century reforms and the call to confession, see for example Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe,* 199-204 ; Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 269-274; Alexander Murray, "Confession Before 1215", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 3 (1993), 51-81; Peter von Moos, "*Occulta cordis:* Contrôle de soi et confession au Moyen Âge: II. formes de la confession", *Médiévales* 30 (1996), 117-137 and Joseph Goering, "The Scholastic Turn (1100-1500): Penitential Theology and Law in the Schools, in Abigail Fiery (ed.), *A New History of Penance* (Leiden-Boston, 2008), 219-239.
[27] Von Moos, "*Occulta cordis:* II. formes de la confession", 117-137.

Chapter One: The Laonnois *Sententiae*, Their Origins, and Their Goals:

I: From oral teaching to writing

Although Abelard's damning account of his time as student at Laon may have done much to discredit the reputation of its master, his autobiographical *Historia calamitatum* is nevertheless a valuable source for our understanding of the pedagogical methods Anselm and his fellow masters employed. From Abelard we learn that the teaching in Laon was conducted in two major ways: the *lectio* and the *collatio sententiarum* .[28] First, during the *lectio* or *expositio sanctorum,* a master explained biblical passages to listening students. According to Abelard, this was often done with the help of an *expositor,* likely meaning a gloss or commentary composed of traditional exegesis of those parts of the Bible discussed during the *lectio.*

Whilst this thesis is not concerned with the biblical glosses that were produced at the school of Laon, a brief word about them is in order. The importance and influence of these biblical glosses should not be underestimated. Indeed, as has been shown most notably by Beryl Smalley, the origins of the massive *Glossa Ordinaria* can be traced back to the school of Laon.[29] This highly influential project consisted of a relatively standardized corpus of collected short excerpts of patristic authors which were placed in the margins or between the lines of biblical texts.[30] The *Glossa Ordinaria* would later be conceived as a coherent piece of interpretation and commentary on the entirety of Scripture, but it originated out of a variety of glosses compiled on certain individual books of the Bible.

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[28] Giraud, *Per verba magistri,* 186-190; Alexander Andrée, "Diuersa sed non aduersa": Anselm of Laon, Twelfth-Century Biblical Hermeneutics, and the Difference a Letter Makes", in *From Learning to Love. Schools, Laws, and Pastoral Care in the Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of Joseph W. Goering,* edited by Tristan Sharp et. al. (Toronto 2017), 3-28: 6-8; and Idem, "Magisterial Auctoritas and Biblical Scholarship at the School of Laon in the Twelfth Century", in E. D'Angelo and J. Ziolkowski (eds.), *Auctor et Auctoritas in Latinis medii aevi litteris. Author and Authorship in Medieval Latin Literature* (Florence 2014) 3-16: 6-7.

[29] See especially Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, 3rd edition* (Oxford 1983), 46-66.

[30] Ibidem; See also Giraud, "The Literary Genres of "Theology", in Cédric Giraud (ed.) *A Companion to Twelfth-century Schools* (Leiden 2019), 250-271: 252.

On account of Smalley's study, it is Anselm himself who is often regarded as the instigator of the massive project, being credited with glosses on the Psalms, the Song of Songs, the epistles of Paul, and possibly the gospel of John.[31] More recently however, Anselm's direct responsibility for the glossing of biblical books has come under review. According to Alexander Andrée, it might have been the case that Laonnois compilations of glosses which ended up in the *Glossa ordinaria* were written under the direction of Anselm's successors, namely his brother Ralph of Laon (d. 1134 or 1136) and Gilbert the Universal (d. 1134).[32] One of the main reasons for this is that the oldest manuscripts containing parts of the *Glossa* with clear Laonnois origins all date from the mid-1120s, and are thus from after Anselm's death in 1117.[33] Nevertheless, Andrée also states that the compilation project may very well have originally begun when Anselm was still alive, and that the project represented Anselm's scholarship as "digested" by the generation after him. Furthermore, Giraud still maintains that in "all likelihood", it was Anselm who assembled the gloss on the aforementioned books of the Bible.[34] All in all, then, although we cannot be certain of his direct involvement in the creation of what would later become the *Glossa Ordinaria,* there is certainly enough ground to argue that glosses on several books of Scripture within it seem to be based on Anselm's exegetical teachings.[35]

Apart from the *lectio,* Abelard also speaks of the *collatio sententiarum,* the comparing or reviewing of seemingly discordant *sententiae,* or statements. Although the word '*sententia'* was used in many different ways, ranging from 'opinion' to 'juridical judgement', it should in this theological context be understood to designate either quotations of texts with variable degrees of

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[31] Andrée, "Anselm of Laon Unveiled", 223-229 ; See as an example Mary Dove's edition of the *Glossa* on the Song of Songs, where she credits Anselm himself as the compiler, with his brother Ralph as possible helper: *Glossa ordinaria in canticum canticorum,* ed. by Mary Dove, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 170.22 (Turnhout 1997), 33-39.
[32] Andrée, "Anselm of Laon unveiled", 227-229.
[33] Andrée here relies on the list of the earliest manuscripts of the *Glossa* by Patricia Stirnemann, "Où ont été fabriqués les livres de la glose ordinaire dans la première moitié du XIIe siècle?" in Françoise Gasparri (ed.), *Le XIIe siècle. Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XIIe siècle* (Paris 1994), 257–301: 262.
[34] Giraud, "The Literary Genres of "Theology", 252.
[35]Andrée, "Anselm of Laon unveiled", 228.

authority attributed to them, or the 'deeper meaning' or 'essence' of a certain text.[36] It is likely that the problems discussed during this exercise thus arose during the master's *lectio,* in which such *sententiae* were used to explain the *Sacra Pagina.* This second way of teaching allowed for a sort of Socratic dialogue between master and students where the similarities and differences between different *sententiae* was discussed.[37] However, despite the collaborative nature of this discussion, it was the master who finally established the degree of authority and meaning that was to be attributed to the *sententiae* that he had expounded in his *lectio.* In doing this, the master in effect became a producer of *sententiae* himself, as his solutions to problems or his opinions on certain passages were remembered by his students. [38]

When regarding the sentence collections connected to Anselm, it is thus important to understand the process of memorization that played such a vital role in their origins. Mary Carruthers has shown that one of the most common and ancient distinctions made in texts about memorization throughout the classical and medieval periods was the distinction between memory for things or subjects (*ad res*) and memory for exact words (*ad verba*).[39] According to Giraud, this distinction should also be applied to the sentence collections connected to master Anselm: rather than remembering Anselm's opinions *ad verba*, his students would have memorized them *ad res.*[40] More specifically, they would have remembered Anselm's own *sententiae* that originated through their discussions *sententialiter,* or, as Carruthers translates it, "by the sense-units".[41]

Contrary to what modern readers might assume, this *memoria rerum* by no means indicated a lack of concern for precision in memorizing compared to *memoria verborum*, nor did it follow from any underappreciation of Anselm's authority. Instead, Carruthers has shown that in

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[36]Mariken Teeuwen, "Sententia, summa", in *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: 2003), 336-339.
[37] For more on the Socratic method employed in the teaching of Abelard and at Laon, see M.T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford 1997), 85-88.
[38] Giraud, *Per verba magistri,* 187-188.
[39] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture,* second edition (Cambridge 2008), 110-111.
[40] Giraud, "Anselm of Laon in the Twelfth-Century Schools", 335.
[41]Carruthers, *The Book of Memory,* 114.

medieval thought on memory, words were considered only signs of the *res* and were therefore of secondary importance: "[Words] mediate the public appearance of the *res*, rather as clothes may be said to mediate the public appearance of a person (...)"[42] The true authority of a text thus lay only in the *res,* and it was exactly through the retaining and imitating of an author's thought *ad res* within the memories of subsequent generations that this author acquired authority.[43]

This, then, is exactly how the authority of Anselm was established for later generations. Although there exist around seventy manuscripts that contain sentences attributed to Anselm, none of these manuscripts come from the first quarter of the twelfth century, and were thus all copied after Anselm's death in 1117. According to Giraud, explanations for this discrepancy should not be sought in destructions or accidents in which manuscripts were lost. Rather, a distinction between the function of memory in the monastic world and the environment of urban schools comes to the forefront here. Because monastic authors and their works were seen as contributing to the prestige of their respective communities, the monks of such communities were meticulous in putting these teachings into text. In urban schools, on the other hand, there was less incentive to immediately systematise the arguments and opinions of the masters. This was because as long as the masters were alive, written records of their teachings were not deemed necessary and could even be detrimental to the attraction of new students to the school, as potential students would no longer need to attend the lectures and discussions in person if notes or transcriptions circulated in written form in high enough numbers.[44] Of course the possibility that lecturenotes did in fact circulate among students in various fleeting forms cannot be ruled out. Indeed, this would certainly help to explain how former students of Anselm were able to remember the – sometimes quite complex – contents of Anselm's lectures for more than ten years after they had followed them. Such notes have not yet been discovered, however, and at any

[42] Idem, 235.
[43] Idem, 236.
[44] Idem, 335; On the potential risks for schoolmasters to publish their works, see, Clanchy, *Abelard: a Medieval Life,* 88.

rate it is certain that Anselm himself was not actively involved in producing written forms of his own lectures. How exactly the memories of Anselm's lectures were kept alive during this period thus remains uncertain.

Nevertheless, many of Anselm's students found careers as teachers, monks or in other ecclesiastical positions. Here, they did find cause to write down Anselm's sentences, whether as a source of inspiration for their own lectures or to fulfil the intellectual needs of their communities. Thus, it would have been only after Anselm's death that his former students would have truly felt the need to record the thoughts of their old master. [45] Of course, they then would have done so on the basis of their own *ad res* memories or notes of his authoritative opinions. As Giraud rightly points out, their memorization of Anselm's *sententiae* was of course a selective process, and it might very well be the case that one student decided to focus on memorizing certain aspects of Anselm's teachings while ignoring others. Nevertheless, this does not negate the fact that the *res* that *was* memorized corresponds to the teachings of Anselm. Consequently, we can thus be fairly certain that when dealing with a sentence collection attributed to Anselm, we are indeed concerning ourselves with his opinions: the words may be different, but the *res* remained.[46]

Therefore, I think it is justified to speak in terms such as "Anselm's opinion" or "Anselm's explanation" when discussing the standpoints and opinions that arise from the various collections of *sententiae.* However, since we have seen that none of the sentences themselves are actually made up of Anselm's own words and were not directly composed by him, I will refer to the "author" or "text" when dealing with citations and statements from particular *sententiae.* In this way, I hope to avoid making any statements on matters of attribution which are beyond the scope of this thesis, while still not shying away from fully engaging with all the sources that bear witness to the teachings of Anselm and his school.

[45] Cédric Giraud, "Anselm of Laon in the Twelfth-Century Schools", 335-6.
[46] Ibidem.

II: The different sentence collections and their provenance

Since the initiatives to record Anselm's thought in *sententiae* came from various of his former students, most likely after his death, the corpus of collections that has been handed down to us is by no means uniform. All in all, Giraud has identified eight different collections for which the connection to Anselm's teaching is highly likely, along with a couple of others for which this connection is less certain but still probable.[47] In order to ground the discussions of the theological and philosophical contents of the Anselmian sentence collections in the following chapters, I will here provide a short overview of what is known of the collections whose *sententiae* will feature in the rest of this thesis, as well as what we know of their connection to Anselm. The first two sentence collections under discussion here – the *Liber Pancrisis* and the *Principium et causa* – are the most extensive and most reliable witnesses to Anselm's teachings. Hence, it will be these two collections that will comprise the main body of work under discussion in the following chapters of this thesis. The main exception to this focus on the *Liber Pancrisis* and the *Principium et causa* will be in the third chapter, where the collection *Quid de sancta* also plays an important role. Therefore, I have also included it in the discussion here.

The most important collection of *sententiae* connected to Anselm can be found in the *Liber Pancrisis,* a work which consists of a compilation of *sententiae* attributed to both "modern" masters such as Anselm and William of Champeaux, and to various Church Fathers.[48] The collection is

[47] The collections most likely connected to Anselm's teachings are identified by Giraud as parts of the *Liber Pancrisis* and the collections *Principium et causa, Prima rerum origo, Deus de cujus, De sententiis divine, Quid de Sancta, Divina essentia teste* and *Deus est sine*, all of which are identified by the first three words of their incipit. Less certain are most notably the collections *Potest queri quid* and *Deus non habet.* Giraud discusses these collections in the first and second chapters of the third part of his *Per verba magistri,* 339-405.

[48] Manuscript Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, 19 (V), states:
"*Sententie vel questiones sanctorum Augustini, Jeronimi, Ambrosii, Gregorii, Isidori, Bede extracte vel exposite a modernis magistris Guillelmo, Anselmo, Radulfo, Ivone Carnotensi episcopo*" ;
The manuscript Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 425 (T) says the following:
"*Incipit liber pancrisis id est totus aureus, quia hic auree continentur sententie vel questiones sanctorum patrum Augustini, Jheronimi, Ambrosii, Gregorii, Ysidori, Bede et modernorum magistrorum Guillelmi Catalaunensis episcopi, Ivonis Carnotensis episcopi, Anselmi et fratris ejus Radulfi*."

divided into different themes, for each of which sentences from various authors are provided. Anselmian sentences concerning sin can be found surrounded by *sententiae* from Ambrosiaster, Augustine, Bede, Eusebius Gallicanus, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville and William of Champeaux on the same topic.[49] Despite the uncertainty that had for long surrounded the attributions of the *sententiae* to the teachings of Anselm and William, meticulous work by Giraud and Mews has led them to conclude that the records of the *Liber Pancrisis* can indeed be appreciated as reliable witnesses to the thought and teachings of both masters.[50] The main reasons for this are that they are explicitly credited in the rubric of two manuscripts, and they are named in numerous *sententiae* in multiple different manuscripts in which the *Liber* is preserved. Furthermore, the *Liber* also features an authentic text of Anselm, his letter to Héribrand, the abbot of Saint-Laurent in Liège, on which more will follow below. The importance of the *Liber Pancrisis* for establishing the contents of the teachings of Anselm comes in large part because it is one of the collections most reliably connected to him.

The attribution of the collection *Principium et causa* to Anselm enjoys the same level of certainty as that of the sentences in the *Liber Pancrisis*. Although the manuscript tradition for this collection is difficult to entangle and the collection is anonymous in all but one of the eleven manuscripts in which all or parts of it are found, it is identified as the *Sententie Anselmi* in the most complete witness, and has consequently been denoted in this way in modern scholarship.[51]

Both cited from Cédric Giraud and Constant J. Mews, "Le *Liber pancrisis,* un florilège des Pères et des maîtres modernes du XIIe siècle", *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi,* 64 (2007), 145-191:148.

[49]For an index of the sentences and their authors in the *Liber Pancrisis,* See Giraud and Mews, *"Le Liber Pancrisis",* 149-151.

[50] Giraud and Mews, "Le *Liber Pancrisis*", especially 189-190. Here they also warn that Lottin's tendency to "subsume the teaching of both Anselm and William into a single intellectual tradition needs to be viewed with caution." (190)

[51] The manuscript is Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek 236, ff. 42rb-85vb, which states: "*Incipiunt sententie Anselmi. Principium et causa*…", cited from Giraud, *Per verba magistri,* 370; This is also the manuscript on which Bliemetzrieder based the majority of his edition, supported by evidence of seven other manuscripts. See, Franz Bliemetzrieder, "Anselms von Laon systematische Sentenzen" *BGPMA 18.2-3* (Aschendorff 1919), 4-10. However, there are two manuscripts he missed, as well as extracts to be found in a manuscript preserved in Valenciennes. Fortunately

Although this one identification alone would of course not be enough to establish that the *sententiae* were indeed Anselm's, Giraud is confident in stating that the collection reflects the teachings of Anselm based on its doctrinal similarities with the Anselmian sentences in the *Liber Pancrisis* as well as those of other Anselmian collections where *sententiae* are explicitly credited to him.[52] Despite the fact that this collection is conventionally denoted as the *Sententie Anselmi* after F. Bliemetzrieder's edition, I have chosen to follow Giraud in consistently using the three words of the incipit of the Anselmian sentence collections instead of identifying them by their respective conventional names. It could be argued in the specific case of the *Principium et causa* that, since the collection is indeed a fair representation of Anselm's teachings, it is in that way a collection of "*Sententiae Anselmi"* in the medieval sense of the word, and so the name is aptly given. However, such specific names could suggest that the the status of their connection to Anselm is more firmly established than collections that are solely identified by the first three words of their incipits, while this is not always the case. Therefore, sticking to the first three words of the incipit prevents me from an unintended engagement in problems of attribution that might arise from giving special names to some collections.

This same principle thus also holds for the collection *Quid de Sancta,* which is conventionally called by the name of *Sententiae Berolinenses* because its only witness can be found in Berlin. The manuscript must originally have been copied in France according to Giraud, and the collection of sentences is anonymous.[53] It seems to be difficult to firmly establish a connection between this text and the school of Laon, both because of its anonymity and due to the relatively low number of themes discussed, combined with the high level of influence of the authority of the Church Fathers. Therefore, a distinct doctrinal direction which could link this collection of

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this does not seem to have major consequences for his edition. See Giraud and Mews, "Le *Liber Pancrisis*", 167, 190.

[52] Giraud discusses the manuscript tradition and the attribution of the collection to Anselm in *Per verba Magistri,* 367-378. See especially 376-8.

[53] The manuscript is Berlin, SB, Theol. lat. oct. 140, see Giraud, *Per verba magistri,* 348-351 for his discussion of the sentence collection.

sentences to Laon is hard to discover, and Giraud does not seem confident enough to confirm that its compiler was a direct student of Anselm himself. Nevertheless, strong similarities to the collection *Principium et causa* in passages relating to baptism makes Giraud conclude that the *Quid de sancta* must at least have emerged from within the context of the school of Laon, with Anselms brother Ralph as another possible authoritative source of these *sententiae*.[54]

III: The sententiae's *theological goal:*

As mentioned above, the one truly authentic text that has been composed directly by Anselm himself is his letter to Heribrand, abbot of Saint-Laurent in Liège. The letter is preserved in nineteen manuscripts, most often among sentence collections such as the *Liber Pancrisis*. It is the only text in which we can read Anselm's own words, as can be learnt from the letter's opening salutations: "*Venerabili abbati de Sancto Laurentio H. Anselmus humilis filius Laudunensis aecclesiae salutem.*"[55]

This text, which has been called Anselm's theological statement, was written as a response to allegations made by one of Héribrand's monks, Rupert of Deutz. For now, it will suffice to say that Rupert had written a treatise in which he accused Anselm of teaching his students that God willed evil in certain circumstances, a position that Rupert was vehemently opposed to. This dispute between Anselm and Rupert will be treated in the next chapter, and its precise nature should not concern us here. However, the letter is worth looking at in this moment, as in it, we can learn from Anselm's own words what he considered to be his theological and philosophical goals. He describes these in the following sentence, in which he contrasts his way of looking at seemingly discordant sentences with that of Rupert:

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[54] Idem, 349-351.

[55] The letter is edited by Odon Lottin. See, Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles V: L'école d'Anselme de Laon et de Guillaume de Champeaux* (Louvain 1959), 176. Andrée provides his first version of an edition of the letter in his chapter "Diuersa sed not aduersa", 25-26. However, this is not a full critical edition yet, so I have decided to stick with Lottin's edition.

"*However, the sayings (sententie) of the catholic men are diverse but not adverse, they come together in the same concordance, but in the verbal formulation some sound like contradictions and fights, by which the weak are scandalised, the strong are exercised, the proud (superbi) argue about them, but the experts are excluded from them because they show rapidly, while others are feeble (languentibus), that the dissonant things are in fact consonant.*"[56]

In the context of his dispute with Rupert, Anselm can here be seen to frame Rupert as one of those who is driven to argument by the seeming contradictions in the *sententiae* of Scripture and the Church Fathers. On the other hand, Anselm presents himself as one of the "proven (*probati*)"experts who are excluded from the verbal formulations that sound like contradictions and fights. In Anselm's own words then, this is his theological goal: he wants to show that although the *sententiae* of Scripture and Catholic authors are diverse and may seemingly contradict, they are in fact always consonant with each other.

Of course, there was nothing new in reconciling divergent biblical statements. From the patristic tradition onwards, there had always been attempts to find common ground between biblical verses that seemed to contradict each other. However, as argued by Andrée, the novelty in Anselm's approach can be found in the assertion that the Fathers and other ecclesiastical authors themselves (*omnium catholicorum)* also held positions that seemed to contradict, and that the task of reconciliation also applied to their works.[57] In this sense, then, Anselm can be seen to apply the method of *disputatio,*

Abelard's *Sic et non* is one of the most famous works employing such methods, and has often been regarded as a "crucial stage in the development of the scholastic disputation."[58] In this work, Abelard systemically listed contrasting or contradictory theological statements. Abelard

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[56]Lottin, *Psychologie et morale*, 176: "*Sententiae quidem omnium catholicorum diversae sed non adversae in unam concurrunt convenientiam; in verbis vero sonant quasi quedam contrarietates et pugnae, in quibus scandalizantur pusilli, exercentur strenui, contendunt superbi, excluduntur probati, qui aliis languentibus expedite dissonantia consonare ostendunt."*
The translation is cited from Olga Wijers, *In Search of the Truth. A History of Disputation Techniques from Antiquity to Early Modern Times* (Turnhout 2013), 86.
[57] Andrée, "Diuersa sed non aduersa", 16.
[58] Olga Weijers, *In Search of the Truth,* 80.

does not solve these contradictions, nor does he choose sides. Rather, in the introduction of his work he outlines certain hermeneutical rules and principles with which such contradictory texts should be approached. According to Abelard, the goal of this practice is as follows: "By doubting we come to enquiry and by enquiry we perceive the truth." According to Olga Weijers, Abelard and Anselm are thus concerned with the same method: the method of contrasting authorities in order to "find the truthful answer to a question".[59] However, as Alexander Andrée rightly states, although Anselm's approach bears similarities to that of Abelard, their goals are ultimately not exactly similar. Weijers is certainly correct in her assessment of Abelard; as we can learn from Abelard's statement quoted above, he was indeed concerned with finding a single truth or solution by comparing and contrasting opposing statements. This is not to say that Abelard freely discarded some authoritative statements in favour of others, but rather that, for him, conflicts between *sententiae* were problems to be solved. Thus, Abelard's ultimate goal was to chisel out a single, higher understanding of the truth. For Anselm, however, there *are* no conflicts between different catholic *sententiae*. The only problem that has to be solved for him is how to show that all catholic statements are harmonious within the unity of the faith, however diverse they may appear to be.

In the chapters that follow, we will see the unfolding of this theological ideal time and time again. The *sententiae* treat numerous different opinions of numerous different authors. As we will see, there certainly were statements by important catholic authors that seemingly go against Anselm's own opinions. Nevertheless, the *sententiae* never overtly disagree with them. In the *sententiae*, problems are not solved by discarding one statement in favour of another. Rather, they attempt to show that when understood in a certain way or seen from a certain point of view, a statement that at first does not seem to fit into the larger argument the *sententiae* is making, is actually concordant with it. For Anselm, then, the problem never lies with the statements of important authors he is discussing, but with wrong ways of interpreting them. The goal of many

[59] Idem, 80-81.

of the *sententiae* is thus to provide the correct interpretations of difficult catholic sentences, so that the harmony of the Christian tradition can be shown.

Chapter two: Anselm of Laon and Rupert of Deutz on Human Free Will and Responsibility

I: Rupert of Deutz' challenge to Anselm

Although it is Anselm of Laon's dispute with Abelard through which he seems to be remembered best in modern scholarship, it was not his only run-in with a younger contemporary thinker. In the final years of his life, Anselm had to deal with the accusations of a monk from the abbey of Saint-Laurent at Liège. This Rupert, who would later become abbot of Deutz and one of the most prominent theologians of his time, had in two separate treatises accused Anselm of holding a heretical view on the will of God. According to him, Anselm had in fact taught his students that God could be said to have willed evil.[60]

Despite the fact that Rupert lived very near Laon in the years 1092-95 (being in exile at the priory of Evergnicourt), he states that he never met master Anselm in person.[61] It was because of his return to the Abbey of Saint-Laurent in Liège after 1095 that he could familiarize himself with the contents of Anselm's teaching. In his *De uoluntate Dei*, the first treatise in which he accused Anselm, he directly addressed the "*illustrious masters of our time, William, bishop of Châlons, and Anselm, light-bearer of Laon*."[62] Here, Rupert reports that one of his confrères at the Abbey of Saint-Laurent in Liège had studied at the school of Laon before he entered the abbey. It was because of the prolonged dispute (*longa contentione*) that Rupert had with this former Laonnois student that he became aware of Anselm's explanation of the will of God that he would so vehemently oppose: "(…) *a certain brother of ours confesses that he has received this from your school; that it*

[60] John Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley 1983), 191-200; Andrée , 'Diuersa sed non aduersa", 13; Hubert Silvestre, "À Propos de la lettre d'Anselme de Laon à Héribrand de Saint-Laurent", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 5-25 ; Riccardo Quinto, "Divine Goodness, Divine Omnipotence and the Existence of Evil: A Discussion of Augustine's Enchiridion, 24-26, from Anselm of Laon to Stephen Langton", *Przegląd Tomistyczny* XVII (2011), 29-52.
[61] John van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz,* 209-212.
[62] Rupert of Deutz, *De uoluntate Dei,* in *Opera apologetica,* ed. by Maria Lodovica Arduini, Coprus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 28 (Turnhout 2012), 1.26-32: "(…) *o magistri temporibus nostris inclyti, Willelme, Catalaunensis pontifex, et Anselme, Laudunensis lucifer* (…)"

is said that God wills that evil happens and that it was God's will that Adam transgressed."[63] On the report of Rupert, his fellow monk could not support this claim with the authority of scripture, but relied rather on the authority of Anselm alone (*Non scripturarum auctoritatibus, sed vestri nominis magnitudini innititur*). It was thus solely because of Anselm's teaching that his former student held the opinion that "*The will (of God) is approving of some evils, permitting of others*."[64]

The problem at the heart of the confrontation between Anselm and Rupert was thus the ever-returning problem of the coexistence of evil with the omnipotent, benevolent will of God. If God wills all that happens, and evil is something that happens, then it should follow that God sometimes wills evil. However, stating that God could in any way will evil goes against the standard Christian conviction that God is absolutely good by nature, and that evil is completely foreign to his essence. In the *De uoluntate Dei,* Rupert constantly makes clear that God's absolute benevolence is something that could by no means be encroached upon, and that the evils that men commit by their own will are always *against* the will of God. For Rupert, making a dialectical division in God's will would therefore not do as an attempt to reconcile God's benevolence with the evil that men do. For, in the end, such a dialectical distinction still meant that God in some way willed evil, which for Rupert was impossible.[65]

Rupert was thus not convinced by the positions of his confrère, and he relates that he had extensive and heated discussions with him and other former students of Anselm who were present at Liège. According to John Van Engen, it is likely Rupert had these arguments before writing his *Commentary on Genesis* in 1112, as this is the first of Rupert's treatises in which he challenges ideas of God "willing evil".[66] Hereafter, Rupert wrote extensively about problems concerned with the relationship between God's will and evil in his commentary on the Gospel of

[63] Ibidem: " (...) *de vestris scolis hoc se quidam nostrorum accepisse fatetur, ut diceret quia Deus malum fieri vult et quia voluntatis Dei fuit quod Adam prevaricatus est*." (my translation)
[64] Ibidem: "*Non scripturarum auctoritatibus, sed vestri nominis magnitudini innititur , traditamque a vobis huiusmodi divisionem longa contentione testatur: 'Voluntas', inquit, 'mali alia approbans, alia permittens*"
[65] Ibidem. See below.
[66] John Van Engen, *Rupert,* 197.

St. John, which he worked on from 1114 to early 1116. Much of the *De uoluntate Dei,* which Rupert wrote in 1116, was borrowed from this substantial commentary. Re-releasing this material, and framing it with a personal address to Anselm in such a confrontational tone, can thus be regarded as a premeditated act by which Rupert wished to make his own views on the matter known to a larger public. Seeking a public debate with such an esteemed master was by no means unprecedented, and similar strategies of self-promotion were employed by Anselm Peripateticus, Berengar of Tours and Roscellin among others. We need only to remind ourselves of Abelard's challenges to the same Anselm and William to see how such confrontational attitudes could help develop the *fama* and reputation of up-and-coming intellectuals.[67]

Rupert did not receive the response he might have wished for, however, as there was no reply to any of his challenges from either Anselm or William, and there are no clear indications that Anselm read Rupert's treatise in the years directly following its publication. According to Rupert, his treatise was, however, read by disciples of Anselm who lived in Liège, and they did not take the challenge to their master's authority lightly. Indeed, their reaction to his treatise was so fierce that Rupert could "not adequately explain with how much criminal aggressiveness" (*Nequeo satis edicere quanta quamque iniuriosa violentia*) they tried to force Anselm's opinion on him.[68] Despite, or perhaps exactly because of this aggressive response to his first treatise, Rupert decided to write a second treatise on a very similar subject. The treatise, *De omnipotentia Dei,* was written early in 1117 and features another defence of Rupert's position that God by no means could will evil.

[67] For a comparison between Abelard's and Rupert's challenge to Anselm, See Van Engen, *Rupert,* 194-5. Here Van Engen also points to similar strategies of self-promotion by Anselm Peripateticus, Berengar of Tours and Roscellin. See also Giraud, "Anselm of Laon in the Twelfth-century Schools: Between *fama* and *memoria*", 331-333.
[68] Rupert of Deutz, *De Omnipotentia Dei,* in *Opera apologetica,* ed. by Maria Lodovica Arduini, Coprus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 28 (Turnhout 2012), c. 23.

Although it cannot be confirmed with certainty whether Anselm eventually read any of Rupert's works or not, he must at the very least have been aware of Rupert's accusations.[69] In the summer of 1117 Anselm wrote a letter addressed not to Rupert himself but to Rupert's superior at Liège, abbot Hériband. Compared to Rupert's two treatises, the letter was rather short, and its tone has been described as almost "curt" and even "haughty".[70] In the letter, Anselm immediately dismisses the debate concerning his alleged position that God wills evil as a mere quarrel over words: "*It is to be understood, my lord, that this question in view of which you are agitated, does not consist of a sentence, but rather in a quarrel over words (non in sententia sed in pugnis verborum sit).*"[71] That we should understand the word *sententia* here as designating the 'essence' or 'deeper meaning' of a text becomes especially clear in the strong words with which Anselm continues his letter: "*To discuss correct understandings is for men, to quarrel over little words is for boys who do not delicately understand what they are saying or hearing.*"[72]

Indeed, Anselm quickly affirms that his position barely differs from Rupert's, as he underlines Rupert's position that God is neither the author nor inciter of evil (*Non enim Deus auctor et incentor est mali*), but that he can "leave" (*relinquit*)someone in evil, provided that it is just to do so.[73] However, in his short elaboration of his own position to Hériband, Anselm can also be seen to be employing a modified quotation from Augustine's *De gratia et libero arbitrio* which raises the question of whether his disagreement with Rupert was indeed a mere verbal controversy. Here Anselm, following Augustine, states that "*It is evident that God works in human souls* to incline their wills (inclinando uoluntates eorum) *to whatever He wills, either to good according to his mercy, or to*

[69] See especially Andrée , 'Diuersa sed non aduersa", 12.
[70] Andrée , 'Diuersa sed non aduersa", 13 ; Silvestre, "À Propos de la lettre d'Anselme de Laon", 16.
[71] Lottin, *Psychologie et morale,* 176: "*Videndum est, domine, ne illa quaestio, quae apud vos sic agitatur, non in sententia sed in pugnis verborum sit.*" (my translation).
[72] Ibidem: "*Rectos sensus discutere virorum est, de verbulis litigare puerorum est, qui non nisi tenuiter intelligunt, quae dicunt vel audiunt.*" (my translation).
[73] Ibidem: "*Non enim Deus auctor et incentor est mali sed dum iuste, ut diximus, relinquit (…)*"

evil according to his judgement (sive ad malum iudicio suo), which is sometimes hidden, but always just."[74] (emphasis mine) This position, however, that God could "incline wills to evil", had already been objected against by Rupert in his *De voluntate Dei*. For Rupert, stating that God could will to incline the wills of people to evil was in principle no different than stating that God's will could be seen as the efficient cause of the evil of men.[75]

In what follows, an explanation of the nature of the disagreement of Rupert and Anselm will be offered, and we will see how Anselm could claim that God is by no means the *inciter* of evil, while he can nevertheless be said to *incline* men to do evil. Although this dispute has been discussed in modern scholarship before, it has not been discussed with a real focus on what it can tell us about Anselm's thoughts on human responsibility. Rather, in those cases where Anselm's side of the argument has been investigated, it has been either his ideas about divisions within the will of God, or his overall theological programme that were at the center of attention. [76]

In our research on Anselm's conceptions of human sin and interiority, a better understanding of Anselm's view on human autonomy is highly valuable. As we will see, the subjects are closely connected in Anselm's thought. Indeed, for Anselm, his influences, and his

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[74] Ibidem: "*Manifestum est Deum operari in animis hominum inclinando uoluntates eorum quocumque uoluerit, siue ad bonum pro sua misericordia, siue ad malum iudicio suo, aliquando occulto, semper autem iusto*" (my translation) ; Augustine reads: *"(…), manifestatur operari deum in cordibus hominum ad inclinandas eorum uoluntates, quocumque uoluerit, siue ad bona pro sua misericordia siue ad mala pro meritis eorum, iudicio utique suo aliquando aperto, aliquando occulto, semper tamen iusto.*" Augustine, *De gratia et libero arbitrio,* ed. by Volker Henning Drecoll and Christoph Scheerer, in *Späte Schriften zur Gnadenlehre: De gratia et libero arbitrio. De praedestinatione sanctorum libri duo,* Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 105 (Berlin 2019), 129-176: 163.

[75] Van Engen, *Rupert,* 213

[76] Van Engen is naturally concerned with Rupert's point of view, and discusses Anselm's thought on the matter only very briefly. Closer looks into Anselm's thoughts on the divisions in the will of God can be found in Maria Ludovica Arduini, "Anselmo di Laon, Ruperto, Sant`Agostino", *Aevum,* 80 (2006), 377-387 and Quinto, "Divine Goodness, Divine Omnipotence and the Existence of Evil", 29-52. In both cases Anselm's views on human responsibility and autonomy are not the focus.
Finally, although Andrée and Silvestre shortly touch on the theological discussion at play in Anselm's letter to Héribrand, they are mostly concerned with investigating what the letter can tell us about Anselm's synthesising theological goals and methods: see Andrée , 'Diuersa sed non aduersa" and; Silvestre, "À Propos de la lettre d'Anselme de Laon".

peers, discussions about sin and human responsibility were inseparably linked to the freedom of the human will. To have a proper understanding of how Anselm regarded sin, it is thus important to also have a good grasp on his views on human free will, which, as this chapter will show, can only be understood when its relationship with the will of God is taken into account. Anselm's conflict with Rupert presents us with a perfect framework through which Anselm's thinking on all of these subjects – the will of God, human freedom of the will and human responsibility for sin - can be studied.

II: Augustine and God's hardening of the human heart

As can be seen by Anselm's quotation of the *De gratia et libero arbitrio* in his letter to Hériband, the prime authority on which Anselm based his assertion that God could incline wills to evil was Augustine. This is also recognized by Rupert, who in his *De omnipotentia Dei* states that all of those that uphold the statement that "God wills evil", claim to receive protection (*patrocinium sumpsisse*) from Augustine. According to Rupert, one of the Augustinian passages they most often use as a defensive shield is a passage from the 24th chapter of the *Enchiridion*.[77] Indeed, this text is often referred to in those Laon sentences which are concerned with the relationship between human free will and the will of God.[78]

Within the chapter, Augustine reflects upon the omnipotence of God, and states that nothing happens unless God wills it to happen. In the part of the chapter Rupert cites as a major influence on his adversaries, Augustine makes the distinction between God being willing to *let* certain things happen (*sinendo ut fiat*), and God willing something in a positive sense, where God

[77] Rupert, *De omnipotentia Dei,* c. 20.
[78] See Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* sent. 291 and 292 ; Bliemetzrieder, *Sententie Anselmi,* 63-64, 66; and *Sententie diuine pagine,* edited by Franz Bliemetzrieder in "Anselms von Laon systematische Sentenzen*" BGPMA 18.2-3* (Aschendorff 1919), 27.

actually *causes* something to happen (*ipse faciendo*).[79] It is this relationship between this distinction and human free will that lies at the heart of both this chapter of Augustine, as well as the argument between Anselm and Rupert. It is therefore vital to have a proper understanding of what Augustine exactly means here if we wish to fully grasp the supposed "*pugna verborum"* about God's role in the evil wills of men.

For Augustine, all evil things that happen fall into the category of *sinendo ut fiat*, meaning that God does not cause any evil, but only *lets* it happen. Further, even if God allows evil things to happen, he only does so through a just judgement (*iusto iudicio*). In this way, even though the existence of evil is bad in so far as it is evil in itself, "(...) *still it is a good thing that not only good things exist but evil as well. For if it were not good that evil things exists, they would certainly not be allowed to exist by the Omnipotent Good* (...)"[80]

Augustine then turns to a statement of the apostle Paul, which is also often quoted in the Laonnois sentences: "God wishes all men to be saved"(I Timothy 2:4). How, asks Augustine, can this be reconciled with the fact that the majority of men are actually not saved? Indeed, it could seem that God's will to save humans is thwarted by an impediment (*impediente*) of the human will, which does not want to be saved (*humana scilicet voluntate impediente voluntatem dei).*[81] According to Augustine, however, the deliberate choice of a human agent to accept or reject God's offer of salvation is *not* the determining factor concerning whether they are saved.[82] Augustine explains this with the example of infants. They do not yet posses the power of "willing or not willing"

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[79] Augustine, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium, seu de fide, spe et caritate,* ed. by E. Evans, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 46 (Turnhout 1969), cap. 24: "*Non ergo fit aliquid nisi omnipotens Deus fieri uelit uel sinendo ut fiat, uel ipse faciendo.*"

[80] Ibidem: "*(…)tamen ut non solum bona sed etiam sint et mala, bonum est. Nam nisi esset hoc bonum ut essent et mala, nullo modo esse sinerentur ab omnipotente bono (...)"* Translations of the *Enchiridion* are from Augustine, *Confessions and Enchiridion,* ed. and trans. by Albert Cook Outler (London 1955), 337-413: 395.

[81] Ibidem: " *(…) quam ob rem uidendum est quemadmodum sit de deo dictum - quia et hoc uerissime apostolus dixit -: qui omnes homines uult saluos fieri. cum enim non omnes, sed multo plures non fiunt salui, uidetur utique non fieri quod deus uult fieri, humana scilicet uoluntate impediente uoluntatem dei*."

[82] On this point, see also John M. Rist, *Augustine. Ancient thought Baptized* (Cambridge 1994), 270 – 271.

(*parvulis non potest, quorum nondum est velle seu nolle*), but despite being incapable of making a personal choice, they can be saved through baptism.[83]

It is in Augustine's further building upon his point that the deliberate choice of an agent is not the causal element of their salvation where we come to the crux of the problem. Here, Augustine claims that it would be both foolish and impious to say that "*God cannot turn the evil wills of men – as he wills, when he wills, and where he wills – towards the good.*"[84] Then, he continues as follows: "*But, when he acts, he acts through mercy; when he does not act, it is through justice. For, "he hath mercy on whom he will; and whom he will, he hardeneth*""(Rom 9:18) [85]

There are multiple questions that arise here, but for the purposes of this chapter we must concern ourselves with asking what it means to say that God hardens the will of men: are we here concerned with the same "turning" of the will of men by God's will?[86] If we follow Augustine here, there must indeed be a difference in the "turning" of the human will towards the good, and the hardening of the human will towards evil. The first is namely *done* through mercy, and God can thus be seen to be the efficient cause of salvation. On the other hand, the hardening of a human will is brought about precisely by God's inaction: God is thus not in any way explicitly the cause of any human agent turning toward evil. This distinction between a positive, causal willing and a non-causal willing in which God merely lets things happen is again employed here by Augustine: "*In this way, neither does he who is saved have a basis for glorying in any merit of his own; nor does*

[83] Augustine, *Enchiridion,* c. 24.
[84] Idem, cap. 25: "*quis porro tam impie desipiat ut dicat deum malas hominum uoluntates, quas uoluerit quando uoluerit ubi uoluerit, in bonum non posse conuertere?*" Translation, 396.
[85] Ibidem: "*sed cum facit, per misericordiam facit; cum autem non facit, per iudicium non facit, quoniam: cuius uult miseretur et quem uult obdurat.*" Translation, 396.
[86] Another important question that can be asked about this statement is if Augustine means to say that God's gift of grace is irresistible when he states that that God can "turn the evil wills of men to good". Discussions of this difficult question can for example be found in John Rist,"Augustine on Free will and Predestination, *The Journal of Theological Studies,* 20.2 (1969), 420-447: 428-436 ; and Eleonore Stump, "Augustine on free will", in Eleonore Stump and Norman Kretzmann (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine* (Cambridge 2001), 124 – 147: 136 – 142.

the man who is damned have a basis for complaining of anything except what he himself *has fully merited*."[87] (my emphasis)

Still, it seems the vocabulary Augustine inherited from the Bible with which to designate God's 'letting men do evil' did not help his cause. Despite Augustine's explanation, the words "whom he will, he hardeneth (*quem vult indurat*)" nevertheless seem to imply some causality on God's part. This implication seems to be even more present in the words Augustine employs in the *De gratia et libero arbitrio* which we have already seen being referred to by Anselm in his letter. Here, following numerous biblical examples in which people are "led astray" (*seducere*) or have their hearts dulled (*obtundere*) or hardened by God (*obdurare*), Augustine says that it is clear to him that "*God works in human hearts to incline their wills to whatever He wills, either to good due to His mercy or to evil due to their deserts.*"[88] Augustine is very clear in saying that God inclining people to evil is always just, and there is no doubt these people suffered it justly, even if we do not understand how. Furthermore, we must not imagine that whenever God hardens someone's heart, he does so without they themselves hardening their hearts through their own free will. For example, commenting upon Exodus 9: 12, in which it is said that God hardened the heart of Pharaoh towards the Jews, Augustine explains: "*God hardened [the heart of Pharaoh] by His just judgement, and Pharaoh himself did so by free choice.*"[89] With this example of Pharaoh, Augustine is clear that we must understand God's hardening of the heart with his judgement as something that God is willing to *let* happen (*sinendo ut fiat),* without him being the *cause* of the hardening. However, in other discussions of biblical examples in the *De gratia et libero arbitrio* it seems harder to discern Augustine's idea of God only willing to *let* a heart harden in a completely non-causal way.

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[87] Augustine, *Enchiridion,* c. 25. Translation, 398.
[88] Augustine, *De gratia et libero arbitrio,* 163: "(…)*operari deum in cordibus hominum ad inclinandas eorum uoluntates, quocumque uoluerit, siue ad bona pro sua misericordia siue ad mala pro meritis eorum* (...)" Translation from Augustine, "On Grace and Free Choice", in *On the Free Choice of the Will, On Grace and Free Choice, and Other Writings,* ed. and trans. by Peter King (Cambridge 2010), 141-185, 180.
[89] Idem, 165: "*ac per hoc et deus indurauit per iustum iudicium, et ipse pharao per liberum arbitrium*." ; Translation, 183.

We can for example turn to Augustine's explanation of the Book of Chronicles: "*And the Lord stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines (...) and they came up into the land of Judah, and ravaged it (...)*" (2 Chr, 21:26-27). For Augustine, it is not possible to deny that God did indeed "stir up" their spirits (*eorum spiritum suscitavit*), because that would mean that the Scripture is untrue.[90] Nevertheless, it must also be the case that the Philistines came to the land of Judah through their own will, which leads Augustine to conclude: *"the Lord stirred up their spirit, and yet they came of their own will. The Almighty accomplishes in human hearts even the movement of their will, to accomplish through them what He wills to accomplish through them – He who does not know at all how to will anything unjust.*"[91] Again, Augustine is clear in stating that God is not doing anything unjust in stirring up the spirits of the Philistines, since he by no means acts against their own free will to ravage the land of Judah. Nevertheless, in Augustine's words, it is still God that stirs up the Philistines' spirits, and it is still God himself who "accomplishes" or "effects"(*agere*) the movements of the Philistines' wills. Although Augustine might not have wanted it to be so, his words certainly seem to leave room to interpret God as sharing in the causal chain leading up to the Philistines' evil deeds, even if God was perfectly justified to do so. In the terms of Rupert's critique, Augustine could still be read here as stating that God willed the evil that the Philistines committed, because stating that God accomplished "*through them what He wills to accomplish through them*" does not seem to be different than saying that "*God wills evil*" if what is accomplished through them are evil wills and deeds.

III: Rupert on God's will and human responsibility in his De voluntate Dei

We should now return to Rupert, and see how he attempted to reconcile these Augustinian passages with his assertion that God could not will evil in any way. Rupert's *De*

[90] Idem, 161; translation, 179
[91] Ibidem: "(…) 'et eorum spiritum dominus suscitauit, et tamen sua uoluntate uenerunt.' Agit enim omnipotens in cordibus hominum etiam motum uoluntatis eorum, ut per eos agat, quod per eos agere ipse uoluerit, qui omnino iniuste aliquid uelle non nouit."

uoluntate Dei is framed through questions asked by a literary adversary, who tries to dismantle Rupert's position that God in no way willed evil. In the first part of the work, Rupert is primarily concerned with showing that it won't do to speak of a "permitting" will pertaining to the relationship between God's will and evil. As we have seen, Rupert claimed that Anselm's student had said that "*The will (of God) is approving of some evils, permitting of others*."[92] Although we will later see to what extent this opinion was actually held by Anselm, Rupert immediately tries to show that the idea of a "permitting" will towards evil raises more dialectical problems than it solves. First, if we can indeed speak of a "*species*" of God's will (*species* here meaning a "particular form" or "type") that is specifically concerned with evil, how should we interpret the moral qualities of the permitting will that would be part of this *species*? If this permitting will is evil, how is it in any way different from a will that approves of evil? And if it is good, how can it be said to be part of the "species of evil will? (*Si bona, quomodo species voluntatis mali?*)"[93]

Turning to the evidence of Scriptures, Rupert then argues that God cannot be said to be willing to permit evil per se, but he is willing to endure or undergo (*sustinere*) evil with his patience: "(...) *nunquam Deus volendo malum fieri permisit, sed sustinendo malos patiens fuit*.[94] Thus, when we speak of "God's permission" (*permissionem Dei*), we are actually speaking of the patience with which he allows sinners the time to repent by not immediately punishing their sinning (*peccantem non statim punit*). Furthermore, Rupert states that when God exercises this sort of "permission" or patience, he actually does so unwillingly (*Deus nolens malum permittat*). This does not mean he 'permits' it because he is in any way forced to do so, but he endures evil through his abundance of kindness, patience and forbearance: "(...) *non consequitur quia invitus aut coactus permittit, sed, propter supradictas divitias bonitatis, et patientiae et longanimitatis suae (...)".*[95]

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[92] Rupert, *De voluntate Dei,* c.1: "*Non Scripturarum auctoritatibus, sed uestri nominis magnitudini innititur , traditamque a vobis huiusmodi diuisionem longa contentione testatur: "Voluntas", inquit, "mali alia approbans, alia permittens*"."

[93] Ibidem ; See also: Van Engen, *Rupert,* 196.

[94] Idem, c. 2.

[95] Idem, c. 3.

In the fourth chapter of his *De voluntate Dei,* Rupert's imaginary adversary raises the now familiar words of Paul: *he hath mercy on whom he will; and whom he will, he hardeneth* (Rom 9:18). How could Rupert explain these words of "*quem vult indurat*", while maintaining that God only unwillingly endured evil? Rupert says that God should in this case not be seen as the *cause* of the hardening, but that the hardening comes purely from the person themselves. When Scripture speaks of God hardening someone, it thus means that God *lets* the person stay hardened, and does not soften (*emollire*) them through his grace: "*What then does it mean that God hardens who he wills to harden, if not that he does not soften whom he does not will to soften?*"[96]

In order to explain his position that in such cases God is always acting justly, Rupert turns to the book of Genesis. Here, the chief cupbearer (*pincerna*) and the chief baker (*pistor*) had offended (*peccassent)* their lord Pharaoh. According to Rupert, Pharaoh "*owed neither of them anything else than a judgement of damnation* (*damnationis judicium*)."[97] Nevertheless, although Pharaoh hanged the baker, he spared the life of the cupbearer and restored him to his place at court. According to Rupert, no one found fault with this (*nemo reprehendit*), since it was clear that the Pharaoh was owed a just punishment for the cupbearer. However, by granting him his life and a return to his place with his mercy, Pharaoh did not claim what he was rightfully owed. On the other hand, Pharaoh had every right to claim what he was owed from the baker, and thus carried out a just punishment. In the same way, no one can find fault with God not softening the heart of sinners if he does not will to do so. Like the cupbearer and the baker, each individual sinner transgresses against God through their own free will, and the sin is thus entirely their own responsibility. When God softens their hearts, it is an act of mercy, and we should see God as the *cause* of the individual turning from evil to good. However, just like Pharaoh, God is under absolutely no obligation to do this. Through their turning to evil by their own free will, God is rightfully owed a

[96] Idem, c. 4: "*Quid ergo est quod Deus 'quem uult indurare, indurat', nisi quem non vult emollire, non emollit?*" (my translation)
[97] Ibidem: "*Sic Pharao, cum peccassent ei duo eunuchi, pincerna ipsius et pistor, neutri illorum aliud quam daamnationis iudicium debuit."* (my translation)

damnationis judicium of each sinner, and the only reason God does not immediately claim the punishment he is owed is because of his unwilling patience. Thus, Rupert concludes: "*For how can anyone find fault in God in this, while for the same thing no one can justly find fault in man?"*

It is thus interesting to see that in discussion about the 'hardening of the heart', the figure of the Pharaoh was used to represent both of the two players in the process: as God by Rupert, and as the individual sinner by Augustine. Despite this distinction, the conclusion reached by Augustine -being that God was not the *cause* in the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, and therefore did not share in the responsibilities for his evil will – is the same conclusion reached as is reached by Rupert: all responsibility for the hardening of the heart is found with each individual sinner, and God not being willing to soften a hardened heart is perfectly just.

IV: Anselm and the relationship between the will of God and human free will

As we have seen, Rupert had made the assertion that Anselm's attempt to reconcile the benevolence of God and the existence of evil involved a dialectical division of the will of God into two categories, an approving will (*voluntas approbans*) and a permitting will (*voluntas permittens*). It was because of this, so Rupert claims, that Anselm's former student in Liège could claim that "*The will (of God) is approving of some evils, permitting of others.*"

Dialectical divisions within the will of God certainly pop up in various Laonnois sentences, and Rupert's account of this aspect of Anselm's teaching is certainly not drawn from thin air. Indeed, Laon sentences can be seen to employ double, triple and even quadruple categories in the will of God, in which a *voluntas permittens* can often be found.[98] Designating a

[98] In his article on twelfth-century discussions on the coexistence of evil and divine omnipotence, Riccardo Quinto is quick to affirm Rupert's statement about Anselm teaching of an approving and a permitting will. Quinto identifies seven Laonnois sententiae concerned with the will of God. According to him, these sentences "testify of a consistent teaching", in which a twofold distinction of the will of God is made. However, he only lists the following sentences collected and edited by Lottin: Sent. 152, 153, 290, 291, 292, 293, 295. He thus misses the following

category of the will of God as *voluntas permittens* was not strictly a Laonnois invention however. It is Anselm of Canterbury who seems to have first introduced this category in his *De Concordia* and philosophical fragments, where he proposes a fourfold distinction of the will of God.[99] Indeed, it seems that a certain Laon sentence, *sententia* 290 in Lottin's edition, which also speaks of a fourfold distinction in God's will, can be traced back to Anselm of Canterbury at least in part (see the appendix). This chapter is not the place to go into an in-depth discussion on the influence of Anselm of Canterbury on the distinctions in the will of God that can be found in the Laonnois sentences however. Rather, we should see what it meant for Anselm of Laon that God could 'permit' certain human evil doings.

As confirmed by Rupert himself, the echoes of Augustine's distinction between God being willing to *let* certain things happen (*sinendo ut fiat*), and God being willing to *cause* something to happen (*ipse faciendo*) ring clear throughout the Laon sentences. It is, however, in the way that Anselm explained and applied this distinction that the nature of Rupert's conflict with him becomes clear. For example, in a sentence from the *Principium et causa,* Augustine's distinction is cited directly in the context of the original sin. When elaborating on this distinction, the sentence explains God being willing to *let* Adam commit sin as God 'permitting' Adam's sin: "*Thus Adam's sin, which was a mistake, was justly permitted to be made by God, because, so that he might do well, he was not obliged to constrain him. He therefore disposed in this way, that is, he reasonably permitted Adam to sin. Nevertheless, he willed - that is, he prescribed -that Adam did not sin, and it is not discordant if this he prescribed for good, and permitted the doing of the other for evil.*"[100]

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sentences from the *Liber Pancrisis* also found in Lottin: Sent. 31 (*De triplici voluntate Dei),* 32 (*De voluntate Dei*), 33 (*De iustitia Dei),* 34 (*De praescientia Dei),* in which God's will is divided into three categories.. Furthermore, discussions of the will(s) of God can also be found in *Principium et Causa,* ed. Bliemetzrieder, 62-65, and the *De sententiis divine,* 27-30. ; Quinto, "Divine Goodness, Divine Omnipotence and the Existence of Evil", 32.
See furthermore, Silvestre, "À Propos de la lettre d'Anselme de Laon", 23 ; Arduini, "Anselmo di Laon, Ruperto, Sant`Agostino", 377-387; Giraud, *Per verba magistri,* 323.

[99] See G.R. Evans, *Anselm and a New Generation* (Oxford 1980), 133-134.

[100] *Principium et Causa,* ed. Bliemetzrieder, 64 : "*Peccatum ergo Ade, quod error fuit, Deus iuste fieri permissit, quia ut bene ageret, eum cogere non debuit. Disposiot itaque, id est, rationabiliter permisit Adam*

So far, Rupert might have found little to be offended by in Anselm's explanation, even if he would probably have substituted the word "permitting" with "letting". However, the next sentences of the passage show the primary difference between the two thinkers in this debate: "*Although evil will is concordant with the will of God, because he wills it (quia vult), it is also discordant, because in this way he does not will it (sic non vult). On the other hand, although good will is discordant, because he wills it, it is nevertheless concordant, because he wills it this way*."[101] Anselm explains what he means here with an interesting example: If "I" will the death of my father for evil reasons, and it happens my father dies, "*My evil will is concordant with the will of God (...)*", because if God has arranged the death of my father he can be said to have willed it.[102] However, in this case our wills are also discordant "*because he wills it out of justice, I will it from spite."* [103] Very briefly, the author here also states that his own *good* will can also be discordant from the will of God: "(...) *With my good will I want all men to be saved, this is however contrary to God's will* (...)"[104]

Presented the way it is here, this statement may be hard to understand. Luckily, a better explanation of the same idea can also be found in sentence 196 of the *Liber Pancrisis* (Lottin 31), in which the example of someone who wickedly wills the death of his father can also be found. Here, Anselm comments upon the relationship between God's will and the familiar statement that "God wills all to be saved" found in I Timothy 2:4. This particular category of God's will is shared by the saints: "*For if saints love their neighbours as they love themselves, they certainly want them to be saved, and this they have from the Lord.*"[105] However, like Augustine, Anselm recognizes that most people are as a matter of fact not saved, which leads him to conclude that something "marvellous (*mirum*)" is happening in the will of God, whereby the saints can actually be seen to partly

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peccare, et tamen, ut Adam non peccaret, voluit, id est, precepit, nec est inconveniens, si illud precepit ut bonum, et aliud fieri permisit ut malum." (my translation)

[101] Idem, 65-65: "*Mala voluntas, quamuis concordet cum voluntate dei, quia vult, discordat tamen, quia sic non vult. Rursus bona voluntas, quamuis discordet, quia vult, concordat tamen, quia sic vult.*" (my translation)

[102] Idem, 65: *Mala voluntas mea concordat cum voluntate dei* (…)"

[103] Ibidem: "(…)*discordat, quia ille vult ext iustitia, ego ex invidia.*"

[104] Ibidem: "*Rursus bona voluntas mea vult omnes homines salvos fieri, quod est contra dei voluntatem* (…)

[105] Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* sent. 31: "*Si enim sancti diligunt proximos sicut se ipsos, volunt utique illos salvos fieri, et hec habent a domino.*" (My translation)

disagree with it: "*God namely does not will, that is, does not arrange that all are saved who the saints nevertheless want to be saved. Concerning their evil neighbours therefore, they (the saints) agree with that will of God, because they do not wish to resist God, and from the affection of their charity they disagree.*"[106]

Thus, whereas Rupert focused on those aspects of Augustine's thought that highlighted God merely *letting* evil happen, Anselm is less concerned with this aspect of the problem. Indeed, it seems Anselm attempted to confront some of the difficulties that Augustine also struggled with in his discussion of God "stirring up" the spirit of the Philistines. Anselm's explanation of the example of someone willing the death of his father could also help in part to understand Augustine saying that God "... *accomplishes in human hearts even the movement of their will, to accomplish through them what He wills to accomplish through them ...*" [107] In Anselm's terms, we could understand this as saying that God's will was concordant with that of the Philistines, in the sense that their will to ravage the land of Judah was concordant with God's arrangement that the land of Judah had to be ravaged. The moral value of willing that the land of Judah is to be ravaged can only be determined when we consider the point of view through which this willing is regarded: from the point of view of the Philistines this willing was evil, but from the point of view of God there can be no evil, and this willing has to be understood as good and just, even if we humans do not understand why. The same is true for the will of the saints that all humans are saved: From a human perspective, it is good to will that all are saved, but the same cannot be said from the perspective of God's causal will, because if it was good for God's causal will to save all, it would be impossible that there are people that are not saved.

Nevertheless, even if this Laon sentence can help clarify how the wills of God and man can be concordant in willing something that is evil from a human perspective, we are still left with the question what it would mean for Anselm that God "*accomplishes the movement of their will*".

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[106] Ibidem: "(…) *deus enim non vult, id est, non disponit omnes salvare, quos sancti tamen volunt fieri salvas. Circa igitur malos proximos cum illa dei voluntate conveniunt, quia deo resistere nolunt, et ex affectu caritatis disconveniunt."* (my translation)

[107] Augustine, *De Gratia et libero arbitrio,* 161.

Although it is hard to discern a conclusive answer to this question in the Laonnois sentences, we can be sure that like Augustine and Rupert, Anselm would by no means concede the existence of the freedom of the human will.

As we can read in another sentence of the *Liber Pancrisis,* Anselm upheld that no one could resist the will of God, and God does whatever he wills. But this does not mean God ever encroaches upon free will: "*Therefore he saves who he wants, but not without their free will, because he does not will it if they do not will it. He wishes evil to perish, but not without their will, because that would be unjust.*"[108] With regards to the movements of the human will then, the wills of men and God's eternal plan are always concordant, as God only wills the human will to will what it freely wills out of itself: "*Therefore, God sees future things of men, and even if they are necessary, they are not fulfilled if not by the free will of those doing them.*"[109]

Unfortunately, Anselm here does not elaborate exactly on how he regards the relationship between God's foreknowledge, necessity and human free will. However, since it is beyond any doubt that Anselm knew his Augustine well, it seems safe to assume he was working here with the Augustinian idea that freedom of the will could only be *guaranteed* through the necessity of God's omniscient foreknowledge.[110] Although we cannot treat it here in detail, the fifth chapter of the *De Civitate Dei* features Augustine's attempt to prove that the only necessity that the human will is under is the necessity for it to be self-determining, so "*that it is necessary that,*

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[108] Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* sent. 32: "*Ergo quos vult salvat, non tamen sine eorum voluntate libera, quia ipse non vult, nisi ipsi velint. Malus vult perire, non tamen sine eorum voluntate, quia aliter iniuste...*" (my translation)

[109] Ibidem: "*Itaque Deus previdet de hominibus futura, licet sint necessaria, non tamen implentur, nisi facientium voluntate libera*"

[110] On this idea in the *De civitate Dei,* see for example Nico den Bok, "In vrijheid voorzien. Een systematisch- theologische analyse van Augustinus' teksten over voorkennis en wilsvrijheid", *Bijdragen: International Journal for Philosophy and Theology* 56:1 (1995), 40-60; and Barry A. David, "Divine Foreknowledge *in De civitate Dei* 5. 9: The Philosophical Value of Augustine's Polemic," *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 75(2001), 479-495: 481-2 .

when we will, we will by free choice (...)"[111] Thus, as Augustine works out here, God has granted humans the power and ability to will, but that does not mean he also determines *what* it is that the human will actually wills. God's foreknowledge is not something that determines what humans will, but rather it is the *guarantee* that it is the human will itself who wills what it wills: "(…) *our wills have just so much power as God willed and foreknew that they should have; (…) and whatever they are to do, they are most assuredly to do, for He whose foreknowledge is infallible foreknew that they would have the power to do it, and would do it*."[112] This Augustinian idea thus fits with how Anselm describes the freedom of human wills in this *sententia*: they are included within God's foreknowledge and therefore necessitated, but this necessity only means that it is necessary that the "future things of man" are fulfilled through their own free will.

Conclusion:

In terms of human responsibility for the evils that men commit, Rupert and Anselm thus reach very similar conclusions: humans are absolutely free to will what they will, and God can by no means be said to be responsible for the evil wills that can arise from this freedom. As we have seen, it would be a mischaracterization of Anselm's actual beliefs to say that Anselm taught his students that "God wills evil" if we understand this statement as saying that God is in any way the *cause* of evil through his willing. Anselm's statement in his letter to Hériband that "*God works in human souls to incline their wills to whatever He wills*" thus has to be understood within an Augustinian context. God "inclining" wills is in no way to be seen as Him determining human wills against their own free will, but rather that God fulfils his eternal plan through the free wills of men. In this sense then, it is understandable that Anselm described his disagreement with

[111] Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei,* ed. by B. Dombart and A. Kalb, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina,* 47 (Turnhout 1955) (electronic edition): Liber 5, cap. 9.: "*dicimus necesse esse, ut, cum uolumus, libero uelimus arbitrio*". Translations from: Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God,* trans. by Marcus Dods (New York 2000) (electronic edition).

[112] Ibidem: "*quapropter et uoluntates nostrae tantum ualent, quantum deus eas ualere uoluit atque praesciuit; et ideo quidquid ualent, certissime ualent, et quod facturae sunt, ipsae omnino facturae sunt, quia ualituras atque facturas ille praesciuit, cuius praescientia falli non potest."*

Rupert as a mere quarrel over words, as Rupert and Anselm seem to be perfectly in agreement in their views on God's responsibility for human evil wills. Indeed, they were both concerned with showing that it is completely within a person's own responsibility to entertain sinful thoughts or to commit sinful deeds. For Anselm as well as Rupert, the human interior was understood as a principally autonomous place, operating freely from Godly intervention or pre-determination.

From my perspective however, the main difference between Rupert and Anselm is that Rupert goes to great lengths to show that God's "permission" of the evil that men do is never aligned with his actual will, but is instead endured unwillingly. Thus, for Rupert the evil human will is predominantly presented as in conflict with God's good will, which always diametrically opposes it. In a sense, Rupert defines the moral content of the human will primarily through its relationship to the will of God: it is good when it aligns with God's will, and evil when it opposes it.

On the other hand, Anselm's conception of the relationship between the wills of God and man is not as binary. Although Anselm by no means attempts to justify human evil wills, he still shows that they can nevertheless align or be concordant with certain aspects of God's will. Furthermore, by also showing that good human wills are actually not necessarily concordant with all parts of God's will, Anselm seems to present a concept of the human will that is in a way less dependent on the will of God than Rupert presents it. The relationship between the human and Godly wills Anselm proposes is more fluid, as for him the moral quality of a human will is not necessarily dependent on its alignment or concordance with the will of God.

Thus, although Anselm and Rupert similarly saw autonomy as an absolutely vital aspect of the human interior, they certainly had different views on how this autonomy was to be conceptualized. Consequently, their views on human interiority as a whole, and it's moral qualities in particular, must be seen as being subtly divergent. Indeed, it seems that for Rupert more so than for Anselm, the autonomy of the human interior can only manifest itself distinctly in those instances when the human soul turns to sin, and therefore away from God. When the

soul is not in a sinful state, it always acts in accordance with the will of God. This makes the extent of the autonomy of the human interior in such a sinless state more ambiguous, as it becomes harder to locate the precise demarcation between a person's own responsibility for his sinless behaviour and God's influence therein. Because of Anselm's understanding of the human will as being in a way more independent of the will of God, however, we can see that for him the autonomy of the human interior clearly manifests itself in both its sinful and its sinless states. The existence of freedom of the human will is thus not only fundamental for Anselm's understanding of the soul's sinful behaviour, but also for his understanding of *all* of its wilful expressions.

That we are dealing with *wilful* expressions here is important. So far, we have seen that Anselm expressly linked responsibility - and therefore culpability – to conscious acts of the will. However, Anselm certainly did not group all movements of the human soul under such a category. Indeed, sinful thoughts, feelings and desires could very well arise unconsciously or even unwillingly , and such interior movements caused new problems in defining the limits of human responsibility for sin. In the next chapter, Anselm's thoughts on a subject's responsibility for such (potentially) sinful internal movements will be investigated. In it, more will become clear about Anselm's conception of the relationship between sin and the human interior.

Chapter three: Anselm of Laon on *propassio* and the steps of sin

Introduction:

As discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, the theological goal which stood at the basis of much of Anselm's teaching at the school of Laon was to reveal the underlying harmony of all catholic *sententiae*. Although applying this ideal to the statements of all ecclesiastical authors can be seen as a novel approach, the same cannot be said for the Laonnois attempts to reconcile seemingly diverse Biblical passages. From the earliest Christian theologians on, all parts of the Bible were understood as standing in complete harmony with each other. For example, Irenaeus of Lyon (c. 130 - c. 202 CE) granted that certain Biblical passages might seem to hold obscurities or contradictions when regarded in isolation. However, when understood properly within the frame of the Scriptures as a whole, none of these seeming contradictions presented actual problems that would tarnish the Bible's perfect unity.[113] Of course, demonstrating the perfection of the Scriptures did require serious efforts, and generations of theologians occupied themselves with such exegetical work.

One Biblical passage that bears a long tradition of such interpretative discussion is that of Exodus 20: 5, in which God states: *I am the Lord thy God, mighty, jealous, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me.*[114] This passage held great interest for biblical interpreters from the first century onwards precisely because of the way it seemingly stands in direct contrast with the contents of other biblical verses. Prominently, it is said in Ezekiel 18:20 that *The soul that sinneth, the same shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, and the father shall not bear the iniquity of the son: the justice of the just shall be upon him, and the*

[113] See Charles Kannengieser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis : The Bible in Ancient Christianity* (Leiden – Boston 2006), 486-487.
[114] Exodus 20:5, *Douay-Rheims Bible* : "(…) *ego sum Dominus Deus tuus fortis, zelotes, visitans iniquitatem patrum in filios, in tertiam et quartam generationem eorum qui oderunt me*."

wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.[115] As it seems then, the Scriptures hold both that God will punish children for the sins of their forefathers, while also claiming sons are not punished (*shall not bear the iniquity*) for the sins of their fathers. This apparent conflict between the books of Ezekiel and Exodus was already noted and discussed by rabbis in the first century, and later the same problem was food for thought for Patristic authorities such as Augustine, Jerome and Gregory the Great. [116] In the twelfth century and beyond, the problem was still warranted serious consideration, as can be seen in discussions from theologians such as Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, and indeed the Laonnois *sententiae.*[117]

In the Laonnois sentence collection *Principium et causa* a literal but creative reading which attempts to reconcile the two passages of Exodus and Ezekiel can be found. The *sententia* states that a baptized child will in principle not carry the injustices of his father, and will not be punished for them.[118] Nevertheless, when the child does fall into sin himself, he will be punished (*dampnabitur*), not only for his own sins, but also for the ones he has contracted from his forefathers: "*The soul that sins, that one will die, that is, he will be punished not only for his sin, but also for that which he contracts from his father.*" [119]

However, because God is merciful, this accumulation of punishment is halted after the fourth generation, so that later descendents are not burdened by the sins of countless forefathers: "*Post quartam generationem partum peccata remittuntur filiis misericordia dei, ne posteriores filii peccatorum nimia sarcina premantur*".[120] It is this which explains why it is stated in the book of Exodus that God punishes up to the third and fourth generation, as well as why it is possible to confess the

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[115] Ezekiel 18: 20, *Douay-Rheims Bible*: "*Anima quae peccaverit, ipsa morietur : filius non portabit iniquitatem patris, et pater non portabit iniquitatem filii : justitia justi super eum erit, et impietas impii erit super eum.*"
[116] Michael Grave, *The Inspiration and Interpretation of Scripture: What the Early Church Can Teach Us* (Michigan 2014), 111.
[117] See Arthur Michael Landgraf, *Dogmengeschichte der Frühscholastik. Vierter Teil: Die Lehre von der Sünde und iheren Folgen,* Volume I (Regensburg 1955), 155-156.
[118] *Sententie Anselmi*, ed. Bliemetzrieder, 74.
[119] Ibidem: "*Anima que peccaverit, ipsa morietur, id est, dampnabitur non solum pro suo peccato, sed etiam pro illo quod contrahit a patre.*" (my translation)
[120] Idem, 75.

statements of both the books of Exodus and Ezekiel: it depends on whether or not the child sins him- or herself if they are to contract punishment for the sins of their forefathers.

In the sentence collection *Quid de Sancta,* an altogether different explanation of the harmony of the two Scriptural passages is employed. Rather than proposing a literal reading of the two passages, the *sententia* here references a tropological piece of exegesis from Jerome's *Commentary on Ezekiel.* In this context, tropology was the term used to describe the 'turning' of phrases so that they point to other objects than they would normally refer to, and is thus close in meaning to our modern conception of allegory.[121] Therefore, the tropological exegesis of scripture focused on passages that could be regarded as containing figurative or allegorical language. Often, the Scriptures were read as referencing different aspects of human behaviour in figurative language with normative or moralistic intent.[122] Indeed, in his tropological reading of the passage of Exodus in his *Commentary*, Jerome states that it can be read as an allegory referencing the workings of sin in the human soul. He claims that the sinning father and his descendants should be seen as allegorical figures for different steps that constitute the act of sin: *"(…) the father is the fickle moment of perception and that which incites vice, the son however if the thought conceived sin, the grandson if you perform by work that what you thought and conceived, moreover the great-grandchild – this is the fourth generation – if not only you did what is evil and sinful but glory in your evil deeds (…)*"[123] According to Jerome, then, God does not necessarily punish the children for the sins of their fathers in the literal sense. Rather, he punishes the third and fourth "generation" of the steps of sin, which are to be identified with the sinful act itself and the subsequent feeling of

[121] See, Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew,* translated by Thomas P. Scheck (Washington, D.C. 2008), 105; and Kannengieser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*, 254-256.
[122] Kannengieser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis,* 254-256.
[123] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV,* edited by Francisci Glorie (Turnhout 1964), 228: *"(...) patrem in nobis levem puntum sensuum et incentive vitiorum esse dicentes, filium vero si cogitatio peccatum conceperit, nepotem si quod cogitaveris atque conceperis opere perpetraris, pronepotem autem, hoc est quartam generationem, si non solum feceris quod malum est et sceleratum sed in tuis sceleribus gloriesis* (...)" (My translation) ; Some of the ideas on Jerome expressed in this chapter are adapted from a paper written for the course *Latin in Late Antiquity (TL3V19002),* this is also were I first prepared the translations for the *Commentary on Ezekiel.*

pride that the sinner lingers in. Furthermore, Jerome holds that the first two steps of sin are not punished by God: "*God by no means punishes the first and second incentives of thought, which the Greek call propatheia - without which no one can belong to men – but punishes if anyone decided to do what had been thought, or anyone does not want to make amends for that what he did by penitence.*"[124]

In the *Quid de Sancta,* the general idea of this tropological reading is followed, but interestingly, the stages of sin are attributed to the four generations in a different way from Jerome's explanation. The *Quid de Sancta* acknowledges that Exodus 20:5 seems contrary to Ezekiel 18, but that on closer inspection, this is not the case. According to the *sententia,* this becomes apparent when it is understood that this passage from Exodus is speaking of "*original sins and the vile sons who imitate the paternal iniquity.*"[125] The reference to the punishment of later generations in Exodus 20:5 should thus be understood in the following way: "*Vel dicatis hoc modo: Prima generatio est mala voluntas, secunda mala delectatio, tertia pravus consensus." Dicatis: "Visitat Deus peccata patrum filios usque in tertiam et quartam generationem", quia punit malam voluntatem et malam delectationem et pravum consensum et operationem.*" [126]

Here, the writer thus sees evil inclination or evil affection ("*mala voluntas*") as the father, and states the son should be identified with the evil delight ("*mala delectatio*") for this inclination. The grandchild then stands for the depraved agreement ("*pravus consensus*") to the inclination, and it is only the fourth generation that constitutes the actual act ("*operationem*") of sin. Although the sentence can thus be seen to follow Jerome in seeing the passage of Exodus as an allegory for different stages of the psychology of sin, it is striking that it attributes these psychological stages

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[124] Ibidem: "*Deus igitur primos et secundos stimulus cogitationum, quas Graeci* προπάθεια *vocant, sine quibus nullus hominum esse potest, nequaquam punit, sed si cogitate quis facere decreverit aut ipsa quae fecit noluerit corrigere paenitentia.*" (My translation)

[125] F. Stegmüller, "Sententiae Berolinenses: Eine neugefundene Sentenzensammlung aus der Schule des
Anselm von Laon", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 11 (1939), 33-61; 53: "*Item huic sententiae : Filius non portabit impietatem patris opponitur ista [Exod 20, 5] : Visitat Deus peccata patrum in filiis usque in tertiam et quartam generationem. Sed non est contrarium, si intelligamus, hoc esse dictum de originalibus peccatis et nequam filiis, qui imitantur paternam iniquitatem."*

[126] Idem, 33-61; 53.

to their respective generation in a different way than Jerome does. However, the major difference between Jerome's explanation and that of the Laonnois sentence seems to be that the sentence claims that God punishes *all* stages of the psychology of sin ("(...) *punit malam voluntatem et malam delectationem et pravum consensum et operationem.")* Hence, although the first and second stages were seen as exempt from punishment by Jerome, the *sententia* holds that these stages are very much culpable. Finally, one of the more remarkable parts of Jerome's exegesis - his usage of the Greek word προπάθεια (*propatheia*) to refer to the first two stages of sin– is left out by the sentence. As we will see, this is all the more striking considering that Anselm was certainly aware of the Latin equivalent of this concept (*propassio*), and that the concept shows up in various Laonnois sentences concerned with the steps through which sin emerges internally. When we keep Anselm of Laon's opinion on the harmony of *all* Catholic sentences in mind, we would expect the Laonnois sentences not to propose a fundamentally different reading of the steps of sin from that of Jerome. It is clear that the *Quid de Sancta sententia* does in fact make substantial adaptations to Jerome's scriptural exegesis, changing Jerome's explanation of the steps of sin in considerable ways.

This chapter will be concerned with trying to explain why the writers of the school of Laon felt the need to adapt Jerome's exegesis in this way. Doing so will provide an excellent opportunity to explore the interrelation between Anselm's handling of traditional authorities and his own conception of the human interior: through a closer examination of the reasoning behind the internal steps of sin as presented by the *Quid de Sancta,* a clearer picture of Anselm's understanding of man's inner world will emerge, and we will have a better understanding of the way his reading of Patristic authority shaped this understanding. The concept of *propatheia* - or *propassio* - will be central to our discussion. As we will see, Patristic authorities were not always in agreement on which interior processes were actually designated with this term, nor on which interior steps of sin were punished by God. Nevertheless, staying true to Anselm's theological ideal, the Laonnois sentences can be seen trying to harmonize various opinions on the way sins

take shape within the human mind. As a result, they come to a unique, synthesized understanding of the emergence and culpability of internal sins. In order to fully grasp this unique understanding, it is first necessary to come to a proper understanding of Jerome's own understanding of the steps of sin. Thereafter, other Patristic explanations of the steps of sin that inspired the Laonnois *sententiae* - in particular those of Augustine and Gregory the Great - will be under review. Finally, we will be able to see how the Laonnois sentences combined the works of these different authors to their own formulation of the workings of interior sins.

I: Propatheia *and* propassio *in the work of Jerome*

In his *Commentary on Ezekiel,* Jerome does not offer his reader much explanation of the term *propatheia.*[127] He only notes that the term is Greek, and that it denotes the "first and second incentives of thought". Originally, the term was derived from Stoic philosophy, Seneca's *On Anger* being the main text dealing with *propatheia* which has survived. [128] For the Stoics, passions were inherently negative states of mind which disturbed inner tranquillity and violated reason. However, they also regarded passions as impulses which were the result of conscious judgements made by the mind about whether or not external impressions that are made upon it were of enough importance to be take in. In that sense, passions were in fact also seen as the result of rational processes under the mind's control. In order to describe reactions of the mind that were not yet under rational control, and which did therefore not violate the ideal of inner tranquillity and reason, the notion of *propatheia* was developed.[129]

Hereafter, this concept was adopted by the Jewish philosopher Philo, who in turn served as inspiration for the Christian philosophers Origen and Didymus the Blind. During the time

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[128] See Richard Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation* (Oxford 2002)*,* 343; Richard A. Layton, "*Propatheia:* Origen and Didymus on the Origin of the Passions", *Vigiliae Christanae* 54 (2000), 262-282; 263.

[129] Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind,* 343.

Jerome was a student at the catechetical school in Alexandria, it was Didymus who stood at the head of this school, following in the footsteps of Origen. It is thus very plausible that Jerome learned of the concept of *propatheia* during his time as a student in Alexandria.[130] Origen's borrowing of Stoic terminology was primarily used to explain problematic biblical passages. One of his most notable exegetical efforts was his explanation of Matthew's description of Jesus's agony in the Garden of Gethsemane. Here, Origen attempted to reconcile the fear Jesus allegedly felt for the suffering and death he knew he was about to experience with the theories the Stoics held about the irrationality of the passions. Through a thorough examination of the language employed by the Scriptures, Origen attempted to demonstrate that Christ never entered a state of mind that was passionate, and that Christ therefore never fell short of the Stoic ideal of the wise sage.[131] Origen's explanation of this passage was built upon by Jerome, and since Jerome hardly explains his usage of the concept of *propatheia* in his *Commentary on Ezekiel,* it is fruitful to look at his influential discussion of this exact same passage to form a better understanding of Jerome's understanding of the concept.

In his *Commentary on Matthew,* Jerome is, like Origen, concerned with the following passage describing Jesus: *"And when he had taken Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, he began to be sorrowful and grieved* (Matthew 26: 37)*"* Following Origen, Jerome claims that Jesus did in fact not experience any real passions: "*lest passion should be dominant in his soul, he* began *to be sorrowful through pre-passion. For it is one thing to be sorrowful, another to* begin *to be sorrowful.*" (emphasis Scheck's)[132] To explain the vital importance of this difference between being passionate and beginning to be passionate Jerome refers to his prior introduction of the term *propassio* in his commentary on Matthew 5:28:

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[130] Idem, 343-344.
[131] Layton, "*Propatheia:* Origen and Didymus on the Origin of the Passions", 265-266.
[132] Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Commentarii in evangelium Matthaei,* ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum series Latina, 77 (Turnhout 1969), Lib. 4, linea 1213: "*llud quod supra diximus de passione et propassione etiam in praesenti capitulo ostenditur, quod dominus, ut ueritatem adsumpti probaret hominis, uere quidem contristatus sit sed, ne passio in animo illius dominaretur, per propassionem coeperit contristari. aliud est enim contristari et aliud incipere contristari.*" The translation is from Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew,* trans. by Thomas P. Scheck (Washington, D.C. 2008), 300.

Whoever looks upon a woman to lust after her has already committed adultery with her in his heart. Jerome reads this passage as meaning that feeling a true passion for a sinful thing – such as feeling lust for commiting adultery - is always sinful. This is because when the passion to commit sin is felt in one's heart, there is also a will to sin which is present at that moment. If this is so, it depends only on the opportunity of the moment if one will commit the sin or not.[133]

Nevertheless, passion arises through the mind's consent to pre-passion. If one's spirit is stimulated by the sight of a woman, he "(…) *has been struck by pre-passion; but if he consents and makes an affection out of the thought, then it has passed from pre-passion to passion* (...)"[134] Since the movement of pre-passion is outside the mind's control, pre-passion is according to Jerome not to be seen as sinful. Hence, it seems to make sense that he identified the figure of the father in his exegesis of the book of Exodus in his *Commentary of Ezekiel* with the "*fickle moment of perception and that which incites vice*".[135] Here, he refers to the movement of pre-passion, a movement which according to Jerome indeed strikes all human beings, even Christ: "(…) *propatheia – without which no one can belong to men* (…)"[136]

However, whereas Jerome's commentary on Matthew speaks of *propassio* as if it denotes a single movement of the mind, his commentary on Ezekiel identifies *propatheia* as "*the first and second incentives of thought"*. Therefore, it seems that Jerome also includes the second step of sin under *propatheia*, which is when "the thought conceived sin (*cogitatio peccatum conceperit*)". It is thus not entirely clear if Jerome means that in taking this second step the mind has already made an affection out of the thought, or that there is only a potential for doing so which has now arisen. Because Jerome stresses that God does not punish this second stage of sin, it seems to me that he should mean the latter of the two options.

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[133] Ibidem.
[134] Idem, 81-82: "*Ergo qui uiderit mulierem et anima eius fuerit titillata, hic propassione percussus est; si uero consenserit et de cogitatione affectum fecerit sicut scriptum est in dauid: transierunt in affectum cordis, de propassione transiuit ad passionem et huic non uoluntas peccandi deest, sed occasio.*" Translation, 82.
[135] Jerome, *Commentariorum in Ezekiel,* 228.
[136] Ibidem.

These difficulties with Jerome's exegesis have been noticed by Severino Visintainer, who proposes that Jerome's notion of *propassio* can be divided into two distinct psychological moments. First, there is the spontaneous attraction for an object that touches the mind, and secondly, there is the thought or deliberation of committing the action that corresponds to this object. Nevertheless, Visintainer acknowledges that seeing Jerome's conception of *propassio* in this way would entail a more expansive and more fleshed out definition than Jerome provides us with in his two commentaries.[137]

It seems that Visintainer's views do in fact find support in a letter Jerome wrote to Salvina, which is not taken into account by him. In this letter, Jerome explains the concept of *propassio* as follows: "*For the incentives to every vice titillate (titillare) the mind, and our judgement is at the midpoint between accepting and rejecting what is thought*."[138] It thus seems that we can indeed distinguish two distinct moments that the mind goes through before it enters the stage of proper passion. First, Jerome states that the mind is "titillated" by certain stimuli, being the inventives to vice. Hereafter, the mind must deliberate on whether or not to accept the contents of its thinking with its faculties of judgement and will.

If this reading is correct, we should see the son in Jerome's allegorical reading of Exodus as representing the second moment within the complete movement of pre-passion: that moment in which "our judgement is at the midpoint", considering whether or not the passionate thought that titillates it should be made into a passion. In this stage then, the mind is thus conceiving or deliberating the temptation to sin without yet making any evaluative commitment on whether it wants to entertain the passion or not.

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[137] Severino Visintainer, *La Dottrina del Peccato in S. Girolamo* (Rome 1962), 97.

[138] Jerome, "Epistula 79.9", in *Epistulae II,* ed. by I. Hilberg, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 55, 2nd edition (Vienna 1996)*,* 98 :
Difficile est, quin potius inpossibile, perturbationum initiis carere quempiam, quas significantius graeci προπαθείας uocant, nos, ut uerbum uertamus e uerbo, antepassiones possumus dicere, eo quod incentiua uitiorum omnium titillent animos et quasi in meditullio nostrum iudicium sit uel abicere cogitata uel recipere.
Translation cited from R. Sorabji, *Emotion and peace of mind,* 354.

This interpretation of Jerome's conception of *propatheia* would also conform to his Stoic heritage, as the Stoics stressed that only the mind's assent to an impulse entails its moving from *propatheia* to passion or emotion proper, thus agreeing with Jerome that the first movement does not include evaluative commitment of any kind. Even though it thus seems to be the case that this is the explanation of Jerome's conception of *propassio* that makes the most sense (supposing Jerome held a consistent view on the subject throughout his writings), and aligns with his Stoic heritage the best, it remains peculiar that from this explanation it would follow that Jerome does not include the stage of true passion into his exegesis on generations in his *Commentary on Ezekiel*. Instead, the generations then represent the first stage of pre-passion, the second stage of pre-passion, the act of sin itself, and the feeling of delight in this act.

II: Augustine and Gregory the Great on the steps of passion and sin

Although Augustine never used the words *propatheia* or *propassio* like Jerome, his thought on the emergence of passions or emotions within the mind was similarly inspired by the Stoic theory of first movements.[139] However, Augustine adapted this Stoic heritage in considerably different ways from Jerome. In his work studying the influence of the Stoic theory of emotions on Christian thought, Richard Sorabji argues that Augustine did not have the proper terminological framework to distinguish between the first movements as purely preparatory changes of the mind towards an emotion and emotions proper.[140] According to him, Augustine's explanation of Stoic first movements in book 9 of the *Civitate Dei* was marred by its reliance on Aulus Gellius's *Attic nights*. In this work of philosophical journalism, a Stoic sage is reported of having stated that "having the jitters" (*pavor*) while sailing during a storm was not the same as

[139] Augustine uses different words for what are often called 'emotions' in the secondary literature, such as passions (*passiones*), affections (*affectiones*), and affects (*affectus*). See Simo Knuutila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford 2004), 156.
[140] Richard Sorabji, "Stoic First Movements in Christianity", in Steven K. Strange and Jack Zupko (eds.), *Stoicism, Traditions and Transformations* (Cambridge 2009), 95-107: 104-107.

experiencing the real, objectionable, emotion of fear. Because of the ambiguity of the word *pavor,* which seems to float between feeling genuine fear and a mere involuntary bodily reaction, Augustine concluded that the Stoic sage did indeed feel real fear. According to him, the Stoics did not want to admit that the sage felt fear because of their negative view of emotions, and therefore made up a distinction that was a distinction in name only. According to Sorabji, the ambiguous terminology employed by Gellius caused Augustine to treat the slightest involuntary expressive movements as already indicative of emotions proper, in turn causing Augustine to misrepresent the Stoic theory of the mind's first movements.[141]

While Simo Knuuttila agrees that Augustine himself does not make a distinction between the first movements which do not yet hold evaluative commitment and voluntarily assented emotions, he does not state that this conflation stems from a lack of ability to understand this distinction on Augustine's part. Rather, he rightly points out that Augustine's adoption of the Stoic theory of the first movements should be regarded within the wider contexts of Augustine's view on the rational and irrational parts of the human soul.[142] The Stoics saw no such divisions within the structure of the soul, which meant that according to them, true emotions that have entered the domains of the mind must already have been voluntarily assented to by the entire mind. Although it has proven difficult to determine how exactly Augustine regarded the division of the soul, it is clear that he saw the soul as comprised of different hierarchical levels, in which one of the fundamental distinctions was that between its rational and irrational parts.[143] According to Knuutilla then, it was this view of the human soul which caused Augustine to regard the Stoic first movements as reactions of the irrational, emotional part of the soul, and therefore as the first stage of a proper emotion. For Augustine it was thus possible for the mind

[141] Ibidem.
[142] Knuutila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy,* 154-155. On the differences between Sorabji and Knuutila see also Timo Nisula, *Augustine and the Functions of Concupiscence* (Leiden 2012), 197-199.
[143] See Gerard O'Daly, *Augustine's Philosophy of Mind* (London 1987) 11-15 and 89-90.

to have been entered by a true emotion before the assent of reason, a possibility that the Stoics did not allow for.

The relationship between Augustine's views on first motions and the different parts of the soul can be discerned in one of his metaphorical readings of the corruption of Adam and Eve in his *De Trinitate*. Here, during an investigation into "that part of reason to which knowledge belongs (*illa parte rationis ad quam pertinet scientia*)", Augustine states that the relationship between Adam and Eve can be read as an allegory for the "hidden and secret marriage" in the human soul between its carnal or sensual movement and its reasonable part.[144] The serpent in the story of the Fall is then the temptation of sinful pleasure which addresses Eve, the carnal or animal sense of the soul. Eve starting to eat the forbidden fruit is equated to the pleasure that the lower part of the soul feels in thinking about the sinful attraction, without yet possessing any intention to act. According to Augustine, this first impulse to seek satisfaction cannot be stopped by the corrupted human will. Because of the Fall, only divine grace can restore the fragmented mind and help the lower part of the mind to resist improper impulses.[145] It is at this point that reason , the "authority of the higher counsel (*superioris uero auctoritate consilii*)", can restrain the limbs of the body from completing the sinful movement through deed.[146] If reason is successful herein, it is "as if the woman alone had eaten the forbidden food."[147] If it is not, then both man and woman

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[144] Augustine, *De trinitate libri XV. Libri I-XII,* ed. by W.J. Mountain and F. Glorie, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 50 (Turnhout 1968, 2001), 12.11-12:
"*Nunc de illa parte rationis ad quam pertinet scientia, id est cognitio rerum temporalium atque mutabilium nauandis uitae huius actionibus necessaria, susceptam considerationem quantum dominus adiuuat peragamus. Sicut enim in illo manifesto coniugio duorum hominum qui primi facti sunt non manducauit serpens de arbore uetita sed tantummodo manducandum persuasit, mulier autem non manducauit sola sed uiro suo dedit et simul manducauerunt, quamuis cum serpente sola locuta et ab eo sola seducta sit, ita et in hoc quod etiam in homine uno geritur et dinoscitur, occulto quodam secreto que coniugio carnalis, uel ut ita dicam qui in corporis sensus intenditur sensualis animae motus, qui nobis pecoribus que communis est, seclusus est a ratione sapientiae.*"
The translations are from Augstine, *On the Trinity. Books 8-15,* ed. by Gareth B. Matthews, trans. by Stephen McKenna (Cambridge 2002), 95-97.
[145] See also Knuutila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy,* 171.
[146] Augustine, *De Trinitate* 12.12: "*Sed iste consensus si sola cogitationis delectatione contentus est, superioris uero auctoritate consilii ita membra retinentur ut non exhibeantur iniquitatis arma peccato, sic habendum existimo uelut cibum uetitum mulier sola comederit.*"
[147] Ibidem.

are to be regarded as having eaten the fruit of sin: "*For the mind cannot decide both that a sin is to be thought of with pleasure and also to be carried into effect, unless that intention of the mind which wields the sovereign power of moving the members to action or of restraining them from action also yields to and becomes the slave of the evil deed.*"[148]

Furthermore, it can also be the case that although reason decides that a sinful thought is not to be acted upon, it still lets the lower part of the soul revel in the sinful thought. Augustine grants that this is much less sinful, but nevertheless says it is undeniable that there has been sin in such cases, so that it is still necessary to ask for forgiveness of God. Thus, in order to avoid sin, reason should "cast aside" sinful pleasure "as soon as it touch[es] the mind (*quae statim ut attigerunt animum respui debuerunt*)." [149]

It is thus in the fleeting moment between the initial reactions of the carnal part of the soul to sinful temptation, and the (potential) intervention of reason that Augustine finds his version of pre-passion. In this moment, there is not yet a moral quality to the workings of the mind, since it is only in the assent or dissent of the soul's commanding faculty where this moral quality of human behaviour lies. Although the Hieronymian and Augustinian conceptions of the first movements are thus similar in the sense that they both locate them in the "fickle moment" in which there is not yet talk of any assent or dissent, they differ in regard to what it is exactly that is capable of making this decision. For Jerome, here following the Stoics, it is the mind in its entirety that rejects or succumbs to sinful temptation, meaning that pre-passions should not be regarded as proper emotions that have entered the mind, but rather as the mind's movement towards or away from passions. Augustine regards the corrupted human soul as frail however,

[148] Ibidem: "*Neque enim potest peccatum non solum cogitandum suauiter uerum etiam efficaciter perpetrandum mente decerni nisi et illa mentis intentio penes quam summa potestas est membra in opus mouendi uel ab opere cohibendi malae actioni cedat et seruiat.*"

[149] Ibidem: "*Nec sane cum sola cogitatione mens oblectatur inlicitis, non quidem decernens esse facienda, tenens tamen et uoluens libenter quae statim ut attigerunt animum respui debuerunt, negandum est esse peccatum sed longe minus quam si et opere statuatur implendum. Et ideo de talibus quoque cogitationibus uenia petenda est pectus que percutiendum atque dicendum dimitte nobis debita nostra, faciendum que quod sequitur atque in oratione iungendum: sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*."

meaning that it has no autonomous means to reject passions from entering its lower parts. It is this which causes Augustine to regard first movements as already being initial passions or emotions in themselves.

Keeping to allegorical interpretations of the book of Genesis, another highly influential patristic theory of the steps of sin can be found in the works of Gregory the Great. In his *Moralia in Iob,* Gregory makes a tri-partite connection between the steps of sin, the temptation of Adam and Eve, and the following questions posed by Job: "*Why did I not die in the womb, why did I not perish when I came out of the belly? Why [was I] received upon the knees? why suckled at the breasts?*"[150]

According to Gregory, these questions are not indicative of any antinatalist tendencies in Job. We should not understand him as wishing he was never born, but he should rather be read as lamenting the stages of sin through which the human race has fallen to its present condition. Gregory here establishes the four stages of sin committed within the "heart" (*perpetratur in corde*) as follows: suggestion (*suggestione*), pleasure (*delectatione*), consent (*consensus*), and finally the "boldness to defend" (*defensionis audacia*) the sin.[151] The first three of these steps can also be found in Augustine's influential *De sermone Domini in monte*, and it is likely that this is the source for the first three steps that Gregory presents here.[152] For the purposes of this chapter, the fourth stage Gregory adds here need not be elaborated upon, but the way Gregory treats the first three steps

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[150] Job 3:11: cited by Gregory as "*quare non in uulua mortuus sum; egressus ex utero non statim perii? Cur exceptus genibus? Cur lactatus uberibus*?", in Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob,* IV.27, ed. by M. Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 143 (Turnhout 1979).
See also Friedrich Ohly, *Metaphern für die Sündenstufen und die Gegenwirkungen der Gnade* (Leverkusen 1990), 18.

[151] Ibidem: "*Quattuor quippe modis peccatum perpetratur in corde, quattuor consummatur in opere. In corde namque suggestione, delectatione, consensu et defensionis audacia perpetratur.*"

[152] Augustine, *De sermone Domini in monte,* ed. by A. Mutzenbercher, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 35 (Turnhout 1967), 1.35: "*Sicut ergo tribus gradibus ad peccatum peruenitur: suggestione delectatione consensione, ita ipsius peccati tres sunt differentiae: in corde in facto in consuetudine, tamquam tres mortes: una quasi in domo, id est cum in corde consentitur libidini, altera iam prolata quasi extra portam, cum in factum procedit adsensio, tertia, cum ui consuetudinis malae tamquam mole terrena premitur animus, quasi in sepulchro iam putens.*"
See also Ohly, *Metaphern für die Sündenstufen,* 48-49.

of sin yield valuable insights into his idea of the first movements of sinful passions. The womb referenced in Job's first question becomes the sin's "womb of conception" (*vulva conceptionis*), which Gregory also identifies with the suggestion of the serpent's tongue. If man would have understood that this suggestion would bring death, the sinner (*peccator*) could have died there. [153] However, sin emerged from the belly in the same way that pleasure emerged in Eve out of the serpent's suggestion, both images representing the pleasure that is felt in the body after a sinful suggestion. Adam consenting to the eating of the forbidden fruit can then be parallelled to the consent of the spirit (*consensensionem spiritus*) to this pleasure, the knees in Job's third question then representing the senses being made subservient to the carnal satisfaction (*delectationem carnis*) like the knees of the mother support a child fresh out of the womb.[154]

Although there are thus certainly many similarities here between Gregory's explanation of the steps of sin and Augustine's, there are also important differences. First of all, whereas Augustine makes a distinction between the carnal and rational parts of the soul in identifying Eve and Adam respectively, Gregory identifies Eve with the flesh, and Adam as the spirit as a whole. Furthermore, where Augustine states that the moral quality of human behaviour lies in the voluntary consenting or assenting to reason, Gregory can be seen to say that each step of sin is already sinful in itself: "*Quattuor quippe modis peccatum perpetratur in corde, quattuor consummatur in opere.*" (my emphasis).[155]

Gregory elaborates on these ideas in his letter to Augustine, bishop of Canterbury, a text known as the *Libellus responsionum.* Here, in an answer to the question of whether someone who has had a sexual dream is fit to receive communion, Gregory states that even involuntary, immediately expunged sinful pleasures that occur in the flesh are sinful: *For when an evil spirit suggests*

[153] Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob,* IV.27: "*Prima enim uulua conceptionis fuit lingua malae suggestionis. Sed peccator in uulua moreretur, si moriturum se homo in ipsa suggestione cognosceret."*

[154] Ibidem: "*Post egressionem uero exceptus est genibus quia cum ad delectationem carnis prodiit, nimirum culpam per consensionem, spiritus, subiectis cunctis sensibus, quasi suppositis genibus consummauit*."

[155] Ibidem.

a sin to the mind, if no delight in the sin follows then the sin is not committed in any form; but when the flesh begins to delight in it then sin begins to arise. But if the mind deliberately consents, then the sin is seen to be complete.[156] Thus, although the crime is not severe, one can still sin through sinful pleasure of the flesh alone, even if this pleasure is involuntary and even vehemently bewailed by reason: "*And since the flesh cannot get delight without the mind, the mind, struggling against the desires of the flesh, is in some ways unwillingly bound down by carnal delight, so that through reason it refuses to give its consent: and yet it is bound by carnal delight, but vehemently bewails its fetters*."[157]

The three Church Fathers here discussed have thus left us with seemingly similar, but ultimately considerably different position on the nature and culpability of *propassiones,* Jerome being the only one of the three to actually call the first movements by this word. Where Jerome

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[156] Ever since Boniface expressed his doubts about the *Libellus* there have been debates about the authenticity of this letter, and whether it can be ascribed to Gregory the Great at all. Following the work of Paul Meyvaert, most scholars have accepted that most of the letter is in fact authentic, although there have been some debates about the authenticity of the chapter of the letter that is concerned with incest, which most scholars now hold is in fact also authentic. Indeed, on its own, the doctrinal overlap between *Moralia in Iob* and the *Libellus* concerning the steps of sin seem to support that the *Libellus* was in fact a work of Gregory. See, Paul Meyvaert, "Les Responsiones de S. Grégoire le Grand à S. Augustin de Cantorbéry", *Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique,* 54 (1959), 879-894; and Michael D. Elliot, "Boniface, Incest, and the Earliest Extant Version of Pope Gregory I's Libellus responsionum (JE 1843)", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung,* 100.1 (2017), 62-111.
The letter has recently been edited by Valeria Mattaloni: *Rescriptum Beati Gregorii Papae ad Augustinum Episcopum quem Saxoniam in praedicatione direxerat (seu Libellus responsionum)*, ed. by Valeria Mattaloni (Florence 2017). Unfortunately however, I could not access this edition through the Utrecht University Library, nor any other library in the Netherlands. Therefore, I have resorted to quoting the full citation of the letter by Bede in his *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum:* Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum,* ed. by A. Crépin, M. Lapidge, P. Monat and Ph. Robin, in Bède le Vénérable, *Histoire ecclésiastique du peuple anglais (Livres I-II),* Sources Chrétiennes, 489 (Paris 2005), 238:
"*Cum enim malignus spiritus peccatum suggerit in mente, si nulla peccati delectatio sequatur, peccatum omni modo perpetratum non est; cum vero delectari caro coeperit, tunc peccatum incipit nasci; si autem etiam ex deliberatione consentit, tunc peccatum cognoscitur perfici.*"
The translations of this letter therefore also come from a translation of Bede's *Historia:* Bede, *Bede's Ecclasiastical History of the English People,* ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford 1969), 99-101. On Bede's citation of the letter, see especially Paul Meyvaert, "Bede's Text of the Libellus responsionum of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury", in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock,* ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge 1971), 15-33.

[157] Bede, *Historia,* 238: "*Et cum caro delectare sine animo nequeat, ipse tamen animus carnis voluptatibus reluctans in delectatione carnali aliquot modo ligature invitus, ut ei ex ratione contradicat ne consentiat, et tamen delectatione ligatus sit, sed ligatum se vehementer ingemiscat.*"

kept closest to the Stoic heritage and saw pre-passions neither as proper passions nor as sins, Augustine regarded them as the first instances of proper passions, which are sinless only under the condition that they are eradicated by reason as soon as possible. Gregory deviated furthest from the Stoic origins of the theory, since he regarded them as the arising of sinful pleasure in the flesh which already constituted venial sin.

III: First movements in the time between Gregory and Anselm

Although the period between Gregory and the early twelfth-century is often glossed over with regards to the first movements, the order of sins that was shared by Augustine and Gregory props up in a number of works in the time span between them and Anselm of Laon, especially from the eighth century onwards.[158] Already before the Carolingian period, however, it was Bede who included Gregory's letter to Augustine of Canterbury in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum,* thus also providing his readers with Gregory's opinions on the first movements.[159] Later, Hincmar of Rheims mentioned the order of *suggestione, delectatione, consensu* through a quotation of Gregory's *Moralia in Iob.*[160]

In a similar manner, Sedulius Scotus and Hrabanus Maurus cited Augustine's identification of the three-step order of *suggestione, delectatione, consensione* in their commentaries on

[158] In Knuuttila's work on ancient and medieval emotions for example, there is a direct jump from Gregory to the twelfth century, the centuries in between are relegated to a footnote. See Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy,* 180; Similarly, when discussing the influences of Peter Lombard's conception of the first movements of sin, Marcia Colish also jumps directly from Jerome and Augustine to other twelfth century thinkers such as Anselm of Laon and Peter Abelard. See Marcia L. Colish, *Peter Lombard. Volume One* (Leiden 1994), 473-474.

[159] Bede, *Historia*, 238; Meyvaert, "Bede's Text of the Libellus responsionum of Gregory the Great".

[160] Hincmar cites Gregory's *Moralia,* and thus also includes the fourth step of *defensionis audacia:* Hincmar of Rheims, *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis,*ed. by Doris Nachtmann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte, 16 (München 1998), 194.

the book of Matthew.[161] Importantly however, Hrabanus did so in the part of his work that discusses Matthew 5:28, the same passage Jerome explains through the distinction between *passio* and *propassio*. Where Hrabanus thus explains the passage by using Augustine's three-step model of sin, he does so only after he has cited Jerome's *propassio*-explanation of the passage. Thus, it happens that Hrabanus first cites Jerome saying that *propassio* is not a sin ("... *propassio (licet culpam habeat) tamen non teneture in crimine.*)" after which he immediately quotes Augustine's *De sermone Domini in monte* in saying that sin is committed through suggestion, pleasure and consent ("*Sicut ergo tribus gradibus ad peccatum peruenitur: suggestione, delectatione, consensione."*)[162] Since Hrabanus does not elaborate on the matter further, it isn't clear if he was aware of the different attitudes taken towards first movements by Jerome and Augustine, or that he wished to present the two conflicting options without himself choosing to provide his verbal support for one over the other. For example, he does not state whether he sees *propassio* as being the same as suggestion or pleasure, and neither does he elaborate on whether he considers the human will strong enough to ward off pleasure after the initial strike of *propassio.* Despite the lack of further explanation, it is

[161]Sedulius makes a reference to the steps *suggestione, delectatione, consensu* twice, the latter of which features direct citations from Augustine's *De sermone Domini in monte*: Sedulius Scotus, *In evangelium Matthaei,* ed. by B. Löfstedt in Sedulius Scottus, *Kommentar zum Evangelium nach Matthäus* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1989), 110, 161.

[162] Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentarius in Matthaeum. I-IV,* ed. by B. Löfstedt, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 174 (Turnhout 2001), 96, 150; Hrabanus Maurus mentions also cites the same passage in his *Commentaria in Genesim,* cap. 15, col. 491;
The same two passages of Jerome and Augustine are also collated in a commentary on Matthew by Pseudo-Bede, which Ohly and the only edition of the text falsely attribute to the real Bede. See Ohly, *Metaphern für die Sündenstufen,* 17; Pseudo-Bede, *In Matthaeum,* in *Venerabilis Bedae. Opera Omnia Vol. III,* ed. by J.P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina, 92 (Paris 1862), col. 28B:
"*Inter passionem et propassionem apud ueteres differentia haec est: qui uiderit mulierem et eius anima fuerit titillata, hic propassione percussus est; qui autem delectationi consensum prebuerit, de propassione ad passionem transit; et sic tribus gradibus peruenitur ad peccatum: suggestione, delectatione, consensu*."

Hrabanus's pupil Otfrid of Weissenburg quotes this Pseudo-Bede commentary in his own *Glossae in Mattheum,* citing the same passages of both Jerome and Gregory: Otfrid of Weissenburg, *Glossae in Matthaeum,* ed. by C. Grifoni, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 2000 (Turnhout 2003), cap. 5.27, linea 267.
On Hrabanus's commentary, its influence, as well a the inauthenticity of the Bede commentary, see Owen M. Phelan, "The Carolingian Renewal in Early Medieval Europe Through Hrabanus Maurus's *Commentary on Matthew", Traditio,* 75 (2020), 143-175.

nevertheless Hrabanus Maurus who can be credited for being the first to collate the Hieronymian and Augustinian conceptions of the first movements, a collation that, as we will see, may have proved influential for Anselm of Laon.

Finally, the most detailed discussion of first movements in the time between the fifth and twelfth centuries can be found in the Matthew-commentary of Paschasius Radbertus. In his commentary on Matthew 5:28, Paschasius combines Jerome's commentary on Matthew and Jerome's commentary on Ezechiel. Paschasius can thus be seen employing both the Latin and Greek versions of the terms, and he follows Jerome's position concerning the culpability of *propassio,* stating that it does not share in sin ("...*habeat initium culpe non tamen teneri in crimine*"). However, Paschasius adds to Jerome that the term *propassio* denotes a mental event that is still without any deliberation of the good or evil in an act (*sine deliberatione boni aut mali operis*), while *passio* is a deliberating state of the mind (*affectio deliberati animi*) which can be acted upon if the opportunity to do so presents itself.[163] It is difficult to see if, by adding this explanation, Paschasius actually follows Jerome's position here or not. As we have seen, Jerome's conception of *propassio* can be understood to be comprised of two distinct psychological moments: the spontaneous and involuntary titillation of the mind by an external object and the deliberation of the mind on whether to accept or reject this suggestion. The question thus remains whether Paschasius disagrees with Jerome that there is any act of deliberation in the moment of *propassio* at all*,* or whether Paschasius thinks that there is indeed deliberation during *propassio*, but that this deliberation has no moral character as yet. The answer seems to lie in the second option, since Paschasius warns us that when we are titillated (*titillamur*) by *propassio,* we should turn away our mind's eye from the considered acts (*tollamus oculos mentis ab intuit operis*), lest we are carried away

[163] Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo IX-XII,* ed. by B. Paulus, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 56B (Turnhout 1984), lib. 3, linea 3070 : "*Haut dubium quin sicut ΠΡΟΠΑΘΟΣ accidens est sine deliberatione boni aut mali operis ita ΠΑΘΟΣ affectio deliberati animi si locus adsit perficiendi.*"

by a *levis suggestio* towards feeling pleasure, and so enter a state of sinful *passio.*[164] Although Paschasius does not say so, it seems that in order to avert our mind's eye, there has to be a certain amount of deliberation at play before we can decide to avert them or not. However, it is not clear how we are to correctly decide when to avert our mind's eyes, if we cannot yet deliberate if the suggestion is good or bad. Whatever the case may be, Paschasius' exegesis shows engaged involvement in Jerome's ideas, much more so than can be discerned in the literal quotations related above. Furthermore, although Paschasius does not discuss Augustine's or Gregory's ideas of the first movements, it is interesting to see that, according to Paschasius, the human will has enough authority to avert the mind from feeling any pleasure due to sinful suggestions. Here he diverts from Augustine and Gregory, who did not see such authority, due to the infirmity of the human soul after the Fall. Paschasius can thus be seen to take his own position in the debate, something that for example Hrabanus Maurus did not do.

IV: Propassio in the school of Laon:

As we have seen, the Church Fathers' theories held their relevance in biblical exegesis throughout the early Middle Ages. However, aside from Paschasius Radbertus, theologians up to the twelfth century showed little eagerness to engage with the Patristic material beyond quoting or collating it. Nevertheless, the importance of the practice of collating various Patristic opinions on the first movements should not be underestimated. As we will see, such collations may have proved quite influential for the development of Anselm of Laon's own understanding of the steps of sin, and especially of the movement of *propassio* therein.

The fact that neither Augustine and Gregory used the term *propatheia* or *propassio* might help to explain why the discussion of Exodus 20:5 in the sentence collection *Quid de Sancta*

[164] Ibidem: "*Unde summopere curandum si propassione aliqua titillamur tollamus oculos mentis ab intuitu operis ne forte leuis suggestio transeat in delectationem et affectum cordis ne rei ex passione deliberati animi pro facto damnemur.*"

likewise doesn't refer to the first stages or generations of sin with this terminology. Rather, it identifies the first and second stage of sin as "*mala voluntas*" and "*mala delectatio*" respectively, both of which, it maintains, are punished by God. However, this lack of usage of the term *propassio* is nevertheless striking when we consider that other sentence collections connected to the school can in fact be seen to make the distinction between *propassio* and proper passion. In a Laonnois sentence group called *De Novissimis,* which is found in manuscripts which also contain the collection *Principium et causa,* the author states that the first root (*radix*) of sin is *propassio,* which he calls a sudden motion (*subitus motus*).[165] Here the author states that this first motion is actually sinful, albeit in a venial way (*culpa sed venialis*), and that the motion is still without deliberation whether the suggestion is good or evil (*sine aliqua deliberatione boni vel mali*).[166] From a sentence from the *Liber Pancrisis* we learn that *propassio* is a result of external suggestions that are put in the mind either by other humans, the devil, or by one's own carnality.[167] Receiving these suggestions is not sinful in itself, rather their pestering of the human mind is part of the punishment for original sin.[168] However, Anselm had clearly read his Augustine and Gregory, as he now turns to the question of why some say that sin is committed in three steps (*delectatione, consensum, opus*), while others state that it is committed in four steps (*suggestionem, delectationem, consensum, opus*). Perhaps influenced by Hrabanus Maurus's collation, we can see that Anselm starts to combine the Hieronymian terminology of *propassio* with the vocabulary Augustine and Gregory used to designate the steps of sin. It seems he is concerned here with reconciling Jerome's notion of *propassio* with Augustine's and Gregory's accounts of the first movements as far as he can.

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[165] The group is edited by Lottin, see *Psychologie et Morale,* sent. 453, page 304: "*Prima radix peccati est propassio, id est subitus motus, quod est aliqua culpa sed venialis, sine aliqua deliberatione boni vel mali*." On the collection *De Novissimis,* see Giraud, *Per verba magistri,* 224.
[166] Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* sent. 453.
[167] Giraud calls this sentence 194 from the Liber Pancrisis, it is found in Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* as sentence 85, on page 73: "*Tribus modis temptatur homo per suggestionem, scilicet vel ab inimico visibili, id est homine, vel invisibili, id est diabolo, vel propria carne*." See also Giraud, *Per verba magistri,* 324; and Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy*, 178-9.
[168] Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* sent. 85: "*Videtur enim non peccare per suggestionem (...)*"

Although he is not explicit about this, such a synthesising approach would certainly comply with Anselm's theological goal of demonstrating the harmony of all catholic *sententiae.*

Anselm attempts to do this by stating that, when someone is struck with a sinful suggestion, he begins to sin *only* when he starts to consider (*dubitare*) or deliberate (*deliberare*) on whether or not to give in to the suggestion, whether there is any pleasure in this consideration or not.[169] This way, it can be maintained that receiving a suggestion is not a sin per se. However, when these titillations are not immediately banished from the mind, but are instead deliberated upon, one is said to have sinned through suggestion.[170] As we have seen in the sentence "*De processu peccati*", the notion of *propassio* as a motion without any deliberation on whether the suggestion is good or evil was present in Laonnois circles. Considering the similarity in wording, Paschasius's commentary on Matthew could be a likely source for this idea, either directly or indirectly. [171] In Anselm's discussion of deliberation, we encounter the same question that arose through Paschasius's account of *propassio* as a mental moment in which there is still no deliberation on good or evil. It remains unclear how Anselm would propose to banish a suggestion from the mind without any form of deliberation preceding the will's decision to do so. Nevertheless, it seems this is the only way we can interpret Anselm on this matter, since in the *Liber Pancrisis* he upholds that *any* form of deliberation on a sinful suggestion causes us to fall into sin.

Matters become more complicated when the same sentence in the *Liber Pancrisis* states that even if one does not deliberate upon a suggestion, it can still happen that a suggestion immediately and involuntarily leads one to feel pleasure (*delectatio*) after having received it. This unavoidable (*inevitabilis*) pleasure is the result of human infirmity and carnality after the Fall.

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[169] Ibidem: "*Ad quod dicendum est quod, a quocumque fiat suggestion, tunc ille cui malum suggeritur, dicitur peccare per suggestionem quando apud se dubitat de illa malo, utrum ipsum faciat an non et deliberat apud se, nondum delectatus vel consentients. Sic enim peccat contra suum creatorem qui vel dubitare vel deliberare audit utrum ipsum Deum illud faciendo offenderet an non.*

[170] Ibidem: see note above.

[171] Paschasius says: *ΠΡΟΠΑΘΟΣ accidens est sine deliberatione boni aut mali operis ...* (see note 163 above); The sentence states: "*... propassio, id est subitus motus, (...), sine aliqua deliberatione boni vel mali".*

Anselm strikingly identifies this pleasure with the term *propassio,* and reaffirms that it is a venial sin.[172] Here Anselm thus pulls the term *propassio* fully into the realm of the Augustinian conception of the first movement of sin. Anselm, in agreement with Augustine, describes the frail human mind as incapable of reliably and autonomously warding off sinful pleasure as a result of the Fall, thus applying the term *propassio* to that mental moment which Augustine described as the moment of pleasure spontaneously felt in the carnal part of the soul before reason has had a chance to put an end to it. However, Augustine did not consider this initial feeling of involuntary pleasure as sinful just yet, still allowing reason the time to intervene. Anselm does not seem to allow for this, as he states in both the *Liber Pancrisis* and a sentence which Lottin has called "*De processu peccati"* that *propassio* is already a venial sin. In the *Liber Pancrisis* it is furthermore explicitly stated that this involuntary pleasure is sinful: "*Inevitabilis vero delectatio est motus quidem animi inuiti legi carnis subiectus. Hec autem delectatio peccatum quidem est, sed veniale* (...)*"* [173] It is when one willingly lets the pleasure grow, that it becomes avoidable. If this happens, then one has consented to the pleasure, and has thus already committed the sin in the heart. If this is the case, then the crime is much more serious.[174] In this final step of the *sententia*, we can thus discern the influence of Gregory's *Libellus Responsionum,* where it is also said that one can indeed sin through pleasure in the flesh alone, even if reason does not consent to it and the pleasure can thus be described as unavoidable.

In the *Liber Pancrisis,* Anselm thus clearly poses a difference between avoidable and unavoidable pleasure, although he sees both kinds as venial sins. At first sight, this does not seem to fit in with the aforementioned sentence "*De processu peccati".* The author of this sentence states that the second step of sin, that is passion, should be understood as *delectatio,* and that consensus

[172] Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* sent. 85, "*Inevitabilis vero delectatio est motus quidem animi inviti legi carnis subiectus. Hec autem delectatio peccatum quidem est, sed veniale et esset quidem mortiferum nisi haberet praecedens baptisma remedium. Hanc autem infirmitatem, sive necessitatem, sive, ut quidem volunt, propassionem, nobis ad agonem Deus reliquit*;"
[173] Ibidem.
[174] Ibidem: "*Nam consensus ille est quando aliquis favet illi evitabili delectationi et producit eam ut magis delectetur.*"

follows from there: "*Prima radix peccati est propassio, id est subitus motus, quod est aliqua culpa sed venialis, sine aliqua deliberatione boni vel mali. Deinde sequitur passio, id est delectatio. Post delectationem vero consensus...*"[175] The only way to reconcile the meaning of the two sentences seems to be to suppose that the author of the *De processu peccati* has left out the first kind of *delectatio* that involuntarily arises with *propassio*. The actual second step of sin could in that case entail the failure of the will to stop the carnal part of the soul in consenting to the sinful pleasure. The way consent is described in the third step would indeed support this view: "*...consensus, qui est duplex: quo, peccatum dum facere volumus, formidine pene vitamus; et quo, eadem expulsa, opportunitatem faciendi querimus*."[176] Here we are thus clearly a step beyond just feeling pleasure in a sinful suggestion, but have already consented to doing the deed with our entire will, the act of which expulses our fear of punishment and makes us look for a suitable opportunity to commit the act.

Combining the different Laonnois sentences on the steps of sins, it seems the sequence that results from a feeling of pleasure through a suggestion as Anselm proposes it runs as follows, where the need to repent already arises at the second step:

Suggestion → pre-passion (involuntary pleasure in the flesh **or** the initial deliberation of a sinful suggestion) → the will consents to the feeling of pleasure **or** chooses not to ward off the suggestion → passion (voluntary pleasure in the soul) → consent to committing the act → committing the sinful act.

As we have seen, the sequence presented here was constructed through an amalgamation of three different conceptions of the first movements of sin. Rather than simply collating them as for example Hrabanus Maurus had done before, the writers from Laon tried to make a coherent whole out of three diverse theories, combining aspects of all three. It can be contested to what extent they succeeded in creating a convincing endproduct, and it seems they themselves also

[175] Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* sent. 453.
[176] Ibidem.

struggled how best to approach and combine the material that was handed to them. We should, however, remind ourselves that the object under investigation here is a mere "fickle" moment of undefined duration. Jerome, Augustine and Gregory all struggled to clearly define the slippery concept of the first movements of the mind, and it should come as no surprise that Anselm's synthesis of their ideas is therefore slightly elusive as well. Nevertheless, the sentences show a readiness to handle the legacy of Jerome, Augustine and Gregory in a critical, original manner, clearly showing Anselm's involvement with investigations into the workings of the interior of the human mind.

This attitude will become evident again when we now return to the attribution of the steps of sin with the four generations in Exodus 20:5 in the *Quid de sancta*. Here, we saw the steps of sin defined as *mala voluntas, mala delectatio, pravus consensus,* and *operationem*. The third and fourth generation are thus easily identifiable with the consent to commit the act and the committing of the sinful act itself in the sequence presented above. With regard to the second generation (*mala delecatatio*), it is less immediately clear which stage of the sequence is meant. As we have seen, both passion and pre-passion are characterized by a feeling of pleasure that comes with it, and both forms of pleasure are sinful according to Anselm, both deserving of the predicate of *mala.* However, since we are still left with the first generation (*mala voluntas*), it seems to me that we should identify the second with the pleasure felt in the stage of passion. Although *mala voluntas* could be translated as "evil will", it should in my opinion be understood as "evil desire" or "evil disposition". In this sense then, this evil desire can be understood as the state of *propassio* which immediately and involuntarily arises though a sinful suggestion. Seeing that *propassio* is indeed a venial sin, it is needed that one repents for tthe pleasure in a sinful suggestion. If one does not, one will still be punished by God, which is why the *Quid de sancta* could state that God could rightly visit the iniquity of the first generation as well as the others.

Although the author of the *Quid de sancta* was thus clearly inspired by the exegesis of Jerome, the application of his general idea is thus markedly different. Where Jerome for some

reason did not identify one of the generations with passion proper, but instead used the first two generations to refer to pre-passion, the *Quid de sancta* changes this aspect of Jerome's explanation in a manner that seems very logical and makes place for both pre-passion and passion. Furthermore, influenced by Augustine and especially Gregory the Great, the writers deviate from Jerome's position that some generations are exempt from sin, and that *propassio* is by no means punished by God. The original and sometimes even critical way they engaged with the traditional material can thus be seen yet again.

Conclusion:

In the second chapter of this thesis, we concluded that Anselm could be seen linking responsibility and culpability with conscious acts of the human will. As this chapter has shown, this link between responsibility and conscious wilful acts remained highly important in formulating which interior movements were to be classified as sinful. Thus, the question that stands at the heart of the Laonnois discussions about the first movements of sin was to what extent the universally shared experience of the spontaneous rising of feelings and desires could be controlled. As we have seen, the exact point at which the mind can control a sinful suggestion was rather hard to pin down, resulting in a somewhat elusive Laonnois outline of the steps of sin. It seems that precisely because the amount of control one could exert over the movement of *propassio* was so hard to define, Anselm still maintained that experiencing it should be regarded as a venial sin. Although *propassio* could be used to denote uncontrollable, involuntary pleasures, there could also be a certain level of controllable deliberation already involved with it. Therefore, denoting it as a venial sin might have seemed the safest option, because it could not be ruled out that a certain level of personal responsibility was at play. Nevertheless, even if Anselm's investigations of the first movements of sin did not result in a crystal-clear demarcation of the boundaries between those internal processes that humans are able to control and those that they

are not, they nevertheless demonstrate his interest and readiness to explore the workings of the human interior. That the results of these explorations sometimes remain ambiguous should not be seen as a detriment to Anselm's efforts, but rather as a testament to how hard it is for the human mind to reveal the secrets it holds for itself.

Chapter four: Confession and Interiority in the school of Laon

Introduction

"And the Lord turning looked on Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, as he had said: Before the cock crows, thou shalt deny me thrice. And Peter going out, wept bitterly."[177]

Peter's triple denial of Christ and his subsequent remorse was a highly commented passage in early Christian exegesis. Notably, late ancient Roman bishops such as Leo I and Gregory the Great , who wished to employ the figure of Peter for their own ends, can be seen to attempt to adapt Peter's denial to their own needs.[178] For example, in his sermon on Palm Sunday of 445, Leo does not focus on Peter's failure itself, but rather on the benefits of said failure. Peter was permitted to hesitate in confirming Christ "*so that the remedy of penitence might be founded in the prince of the Church (ut in Ecclesiae principe remedium paenitentiae conderetur)"*[179] In focussing on Peter's penance rather than his denial, Leo did not stand alone. Indeed, in several late antique exegetical works commenting on Peter's denial of Christ, the apostle is developed into a model penitent because of the bitter tears he wept after the cock's crow.[180]

Most influential and controversial of these exegetical works is St. Ambrose's commentary on the Gospel of St Luke, where a sentiment very similar to Leo's can be discerned. Here, Ambrose chooses to focus on the good that sprung forth from Peter's denial: "*(...) when the saints err, good comes from it. Peter's denial has done me no harm. I have gained by his repentance."*[181] Ambrose

[177] Luke 22:61-2.
[178] See George E. Demacopoulos, *The Invention of Peter. Apostolic Discourse and Papal Authority in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia 2013), 21.
[179] Leo I, *Sermones,* ed. by Antonius Chavasse, Corpus Christanorum Series Latina 138-138a, *Sermo* 60. Translation cited from Demacopoulos, *The Invention of Peter,* 47.
[180] Kramer, *Sin, Interiority, and Selfhood,* 60-61.
[181] Ambrose of Milan, *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 14, 10:87: "*unde etiam lapsus sanctorum utilis. nihil mihi nocuit quod negauit Petrus, profuit quod emendauit.*" All

paints Peter as a model for his audience, which should be imitated if they themselves have fallen into sin: "*He wept so that, with his tears, he might wash away his sins. And you, my friend, if you want to obtain pardon, wash away your sins with your tears."*[182]

As can be discerned from these two quotations from Ambrose's commentary, he was especially concerned with Peter's tears. Parts of the commentary can almost be read as a canticle upon their cleansing powers. In and of itself, such an appraisal of weeping might not have elicited much debate among later exegetes, was it not for the fact that Ambrose not only praises the power of tears, but also seems to denounce the effects of spoken confessions: "*Tears wash off the sins that shame prevents us from confessing. Tears provide pardon and show that we feel ashamed. Tears tell silently and movingly of our sin; tears admit our crime without offending modesty. Tears do not ask for pardon, but they obtain it.*"[183]

The way Ambrose presents it, tears take primacy over words of confession during repentance. Not only are they a viable way to repent when our words fail us, but they are in fact a superior way to gain forgiveness than speech. Whereas words may be deceiving, may offend, or can be said in vain, tears are always genuine, and bear witness to what is secret inside the sinner ("*secretorum tuorum testis"*). [184] Thus, in words often discussed in the twelfth century, Ambrose states: "*I read about his tears, I do not read of his satisfaction* (*Lacrimas eius lego, satisfactionem non lego.)*"[185]

It is these words especially, which can be read as a denial of any spoken confession of Peter after his sin, that became fuel for twelfth-century debates about the necessity to confess

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translations from Ambrose's commentary on Luke are from: *Commentary of Saint Ambrose on the Gospel according to Saint Luke,* trans. by Íde M. Ni Riain (Dublin 2001).

[182] Ibidem: "*fleuit ut lacrimis suum posset lauare delictum. et tu si ueniam uis mereri, dilue culpam lacrimis tuam;"*

[183]Ibidem: "*lauent lacrimae delictum, quod uoce pudor est confiteri. et ueniae fletus consulunt et uerecundiae. lacrimae sine horrore culpam loquuntur, lacrimae crimen sine offensione uerecundiae confitentur, lacrimae ueniam non postulant et merentur.*"

[184] Ibidem.

[185] Ibidem. Translation from Kramer, *Sin, Interiority, and Selfhood.* Ni Riain translates as "*I read that he wept. I do not read that he made excuses*", which might fit with Ambrose's argument but also makes the statement even more controversial than it already is, and deviates too far from the original Latin in my opinion.

one's sins to a priest in order to be reconciled with God. Indeed, the sentiments expressed here by Ambrose were presented by different twelfth-century authors as arguments in favour of the position that confession did not need to be made through a human mediator, but could be made directly to God.[186] Such debates about the necessity of private confession in the twelfth century are often regarded as primary catalysts in the movement "away from external regulations towards an insight into individual character (...)"[187] Indeed, the growing incentive to make private confession mandatory, culminating in Innocent III's famous decree of 1215 that obliged all adults to confess their sins to their own priest annually, is seen as proof of a new "fascination with exploring the inner space of human subjectivity" in medieval society.[188]

The question arises in which ways these changes are reflected in how twelfth-century thinkers such as Anselm of Laon approached patristic texts such as that of Ambrose, which could be read as advocating direct reconciliation between the sinner and God. Much on this front has already been done by Susan Kramer, who has done much to map out the twelfth-century response to Ambrose's treatment of the tears of St. Peter. Although she has not forgotten the school of Laon in her analysis, her treatment of Anselm's reaction focuses on a single *sententia* from the *Liber Pancrisis.*[189] One thing on which Kramer is certainly correct is grouping Anselm with those that stressed the need for confession to a priest. As we can read in a *sententia* from the *Principium et causa,* Anselm was very clear about this: "*It is to be understood that penance is not sufficient*

[186] The most notable example of this can be found in the *Libellus de celanda confessione,* which most likely has to be attributed to Lanfranc, although this is not absolutely certain. The *Libellus* encourages private confession, but still maintains that it was possible to confess to God alone. See, *Libellus de celanda confessione,* in Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina* 150 (Paris 1845), 630. For the *Libellus* and its attribution to Lanfranc, see Alexander Murray, 'Confession before 1215', *TRHS* 6.3 (1993), 51-81: 53, and Sarah Hamilton, 'Penance in the Age of Gregorian Reform', in Kate Cooper (ed.), *Retribution, Repentance, and Reconciliation* (Oxford 2004), 47- 73: 52. Ambrose's passage is also quoted in Gratian's *Decretum,* on which more later. See Gratian, *Tractatus de penitentia: A New Latin Edition with English Translation*, ed. and trans. by Atria A. Larson (Washington D.C. 2016), 3-4.
[187] Morris, *The discovery of the individual, 1050,* 75.
[188] Raymond Martin and John Barresi, *The Rise and Fall of Soul and Self* (New York 2006), 90.
[189] Kramer, *Sin, Interiority, and Selfhood,* 62-63.

without confession, although some may say that remorse of the heart alone (compugnitionem cordis solam) is necessary, not confession (...)"[190]

In this chapter, I will offer a more detailed investigation into Anselm's positions about penance. In doing so, I do not wish to contradict Kramer's findings, but rather to provide a better and more nuanced understanding of why Anselm saw confession to a priest as necessary for the reconciliation of the sinner and God. More importantly, an exploration of Anselm's thoughts about confession serves as an excellent window of opportunity to come to a better understanding of his engagements with the human interior. As a thinker active in the early stages of the debates about the necessity of confession to a priest, a major question that arises is to what degree the development of a new "fascination with exploring the inner space of human subjectivity" can be seen in the works of Anselm.[191] To what extent can we see an intensification of interest in the human interior in his works as opposed to what we see in the traditional authors that proved such major inspirations to his thought? Did Anselm's insistence on the necessity of confession to a priest translate into a different approach to interiority from that of the authors upon whose works he commented?

In order to find answers to these questions, we will first continue to consider St. Peter's tears in order to form a better understanding of why Anselm disagreed with Ambrose's appraisal of tears over words. Then, we will examine which arguments Anselm proposed in favour of his position that confession to a priest was necessary to reconciliate oneself with God. In doing so, it will hopefully become clear in which aspects Anselm deviated from his sources, and that these deviations show a comparatively deeper engagement with the human interior.

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[190] Bliemetzrieder, *Sententie Anselmi,* 124: "Sciendum est penitentiam non sufficere sine confessione, quamvis quidam dicant, compugitionem cordis solam esse necessariam, non confessionem."
[191] Martin and Barresi, *The Rise and Fall,* 90.

I: Anselm on tears and compunction

All of the Laonnois *sententiae* that deal with the subject of St. Peter's tears are framed as a rebuttal to (anonymous) adversaries who would use Ambrose's *Commentary* to argue that confession can be made directly to God, without the need for priestly intervention. It seems that this must have been an argument Anselm dealt with at least a number of times, as in a sentence from the *Liber Pancrisis* attributed to him, even the scriptural passage describing Peter's crying itself is bewailed as seemingly clouding the truth (*veritati obviare videntur).* [192] According to Anselm, it is clear that with support of Ambrose's statement about Peter's tears – which is here paraphrased as "*Lacrimas Petri lego, penitentiam non lego*"- the need for a proper penitential procedure is denied. Thus, according to Anselm the quotation was used by those that claimed that "(...) *if someone is ashamed to confess, his tears will still accomplish it*."[193] What is meant with "it" is not immediately clear, but in a *sententia* whose opening sentences are almost identical to this one, its meaning is filled in: *"*(...) *if someone is ashamed to confess, his tears will still accomplish forgiveness (venia)"*[194] This idea, however, is immediately described as being "against faith" by Anselm (*contra fidem est).*[195]

The arguments that the Anselmian *sententiae* raise against denying the need for confession to a priest are threefold. In the *Liber Pancrisis,* the assertion that "*Tears put an end to (delent) that sin which is shameful to confess with speech"* is attacked.[196] Because, Anselm states, "*Because if he dismisses to confess because of shame, it is pride, in which no one can be saved."*[197] Unfortunately, this is not elaborated on further, and it is not immediately clear if Anselm here speaks out against Ambrose himself, or only against those that use his words for the wrong ends. Anselm argues against tears *putting an*

[192] Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* sent. 64.
[193] Ibidem: "*Ecce plane videtur velle, quod si aliquem pudeat confiteri, fletus tamen impetrat.*"
[194] Idem, sent. 363: "Ecce *plane videtur velle quod si aliquem pudeat confiteri, fletus tamen impetret veniam*" This sentence is found in two manuscripts, and is clearly based on the sentence from the *Liber Pancrisis,* although a little more text is added near the end.
[195] Idem, sent. 64: " (…) *quod contra fidem est.*"

[196] Ibidem: "*Lacrime delent peccata, que pudor est voce confiteri."*
[197] Ibidem: *Si enim propter pudorem dimittat confiteri, superbia est in qua nemo potest salvari.*"

end to or *destroying* sins which are shameful to confess with speech (*delere*), while Ambrose spoke of tears *washing* (*lavare*) these types of sin. As we can learn from Hugh of St. Victor's *De Sacramentis fidei Christiana,* there is a considerable difference between the two.

Here, Hugh sides with Anselm in defending the need for confession to a priest, and denies that confession can be made directly to God in the form of tears. Thus, he would agree with Anselm that tears do not *put an end to* sins by themselves. Further, he also agrees with Anselm that it would be wrong not to confess to a priest because of a feeling of shame : "*For in the confession of sins man should be ashamed, so that he may humbly realize what he has done, and yet not be so ashamed that he is silent.*"[198]However, Hugh also agrees with Ambrose that tears are important signifiers of true inner remorse, and that they play an important role in truly confessing. Hugh warns against those sinners that confess only with their mouths, "(...) *without any feeling of compunction (...) thinking that they for the utterance of words only are absolved from the debt of their sins, and to these it is rightly said: First there must be weeping, afterwards confessing.*"[199] Thus, on the condition that there is indeed a confession to a priest that follows, Hugh agrees that tears can *help* wash away a sin which is shameful to confess. The tears signify the true remorse that is needed both for true contrition of the heart, as for the overcoming of overwhelming shame which might prevent confession.

From this, then, it seems that Anselm is not necessarily speaking out against Ambrose's words themselves, but rather against those that draw wrong conclusions from them. This seems to be confirmed in a *sententia* from the *Principium et causa,* where we are provided with another argument against using Peter's tears as a way to deny confession to priests. Here, we are

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[198]Hugh of St. Victor, *De Sacramentis Christiane Fidei,* ed. by Rainer Berndt, *Corpus Victorinum. Textus Historici, V. 1.* (Westfalen: Aschendorff, 2008), liber 2, pars. 14, cap. 1: "*In confessione namque peccatorum hominem et verecundari oportet ut humiliter quod fecit cognoscat, et tamen non sic verecundari, ut taceat.*" Translations from Hugh of St. Victor, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De Sacramentis),* trans. by Roy J. Dererrari (Cambridge: MA 1951), 404-406.

[199] Ibidem: "*Hoc bene novit peccatrix illa quae etiam venit ut peccata sua se abscondere nolle ostenderet et tamen non ante, sed retro stetit, ut verecundiam turpitudinis suae se attendere demonstraret. Propter hoc recte dicitur prius flendum, post confitendum.*"

presented with the following words from Maximus of Turin's elaboration on Ambrose's appraisal of tears: "*It is right that Peter wept... and what the voice had denied, is confessed by tears.*" [200] (ellipses Bliemetzrieder's) Anselm does not seem to find much fault in these words, but rather explains them in the following way: *"Thus by the words of the blessed Maximus the interior emotion (interior affectus) is commended, out of which tears come forth."* [201] Still, Anselm asserts that it does not follow that "*the tear undoes (laxat) sin"*. Further, Anselm states it is not the case that Scripture denies that Peter confessed his sins after he cried, even if it does not explicitly mention that he did so.

The impression that arises from these *sententiae* is thus that, despite his stance on the necessity of spoken confession, Anselm is not concerned with undermining the importance of tears and most certainly not the "interior emotion" of contrition which make them spring forth. Indeed, the value that tears have in the process of penance is further underlined in another Laonnois sentence, which combines patristic exegesis with contemporary medicinal theories in its discussion of the origins of tears.[202]

The sentence begins with a reference to the twofold distinction in the types of tears found in the works of Gregory the Great: "*Those tears that are [shed] for the desire of the celestial fatherland, this is the upper watery land. But [those that are shed] for the bitterness of sin, this is the lower watery land. They are praiseworthy and pleasing to God.*"[203] This connection between different types of tears and higher and lower watery grounds originate from one of the letters of Gregory the Great, in which Gregory is asked to explain the how many kinds of compunction there are. According to

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[200] Bliemetzrieder, *Sententie Anselmi*, 124: *"Recte Petrus flevit … et quod voce negaverat, lacrimis confitetur."* This is paraphrased from Maximus of Tour's sermon 76, where he (clearly inspired by Ambrose) states: "*Recte plane petrus fleuit et tacuit, quia quod defleri solet non solet excusari; et quod defendi non potest ablui potest. Lauat enim lacrima delictum, quod uoce pudor est confiteri.*" See, Maximus of Tours, *Collectio sermonum antiqua nonnullis sermonibus extrauagantibus adiectis,* ed. by A. Mutzenbecher, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 23 (Turnhout 1962), sermo 76.

[201] Ibidem, "*Sic verbis beati Maximi commendatur interior affectus, ex quo lacrime procedunt*."

[202] The sentence is Lottin*, Psychologie et Morale*, sent. 438. It is found in Manuscript O (Oxford Bodl. Laud. Misc. 277, fol. 57ra-57rb) among *sententiae* contributed to Anselm which are also found in the Liber Pancrisis. On the manuscript and its contents, see Giraud, *Per verba magistri,* 221-222.

[203] Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* 438: "*Lacrime ille que sunt pro desiderio celestis patrie quod est irriguum superius, vel pro peccatorum amaritudine quod est irriguum inferius, laudabiles sunt et Deo placentes (…)"*

Gregory, there are two main categories in which the types of compunction are divided. First is the type of compunction that comes from fear of punishment, second is the type of compunction that comes from a love of heavenly delights: "*whereas before [the soul] wept so that it would not be led to punishment, afterward it poured out the most biter tears, because it is deferred from the kingdom.*"[204] Gregory elaborates on these two types of compunction in a piece of exegesis of the story of Achsah, who besides the dry southern land she had received from her father Caleb, also requested watery lands. Caleb granted her this request: "*And Caleb gave her the upper and the nether watery ground.*" (Joshua 15:19) For Gregory, the upper and lower watery ground (*irriguum superius et inferius)* correspond to the two kinds of compunction: the compunction born out of fear is designated by the lower watery grounds, while the compunction of love corresponds to the upper grounds. Although the "*compunction of love is greater in dignity*" than the compunction of fear, the compunction of fear is still beneficial, as it "*leads the soul to the compunction of love*".[205]

Achsah's request of these lands from her father in turn represents the desire of the sinner to receive the "grace of tears (*lacrimarum gratia*)" from God so that they can properly bewail the sins of their past life.[206] Interestingly, Gregory does not present tears as flowing spontaneously from the sinners sorrow or regret for what he has done. Rather, the "grace of tears" is something that has to be actively sought after: "*Just as she begged her father with a sigh for pools of water, so must we with deep desire seek the grace of tears from our Creator.*" [207] This sentiment is also reflected in the aforementioned Laon sentence, where it states that the "reward of tears (*premio lacrimarum)*" is something that is granted by God. According to the sentence, those who "have the interior cause for tears, being compunction (*habent lacrimarum causam interiorem scilicet compunctionem*)", cannot

[204] Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum,* ed. by D. Norberg, Corpus Christianorum Corpus Latina, 140A (Turnhout 1982), lib. 7, epist. 23: "*Et qui prius flebat, ne duceretur ad supplicium, postmodum flere amarissime incipit, quia differtur a regno.*" (my translation)
[205] Ibidem: "*Sed quia compunctio amoris magna dignitate praeeminet, necesse fuit ut prius irriguum superius et post irriguum inferius diceretur.*"
[206] Ibidem.
[207] Ibidem: "Quae suspirans a patre terram irriguam petit, quia a creatore nostro cum magno desiderio quaerenda est lacrimarum gratia."

complain about having exterior tears (*exteriores lacrimas habere non possint dolent).*[208] In these cases, the penitents are "*not seen to be deprived of the reward of tears before God, the inspector of hearts*."[209]

In this sense, the *sententia* presents tears as a gift from God as a reward for the true contrition that is felt in the heart. However, Gregory's exegetical explanation of compunction is also collated with a medical understanding of the emergence of tears. The sentence recognizes that besides signifying the 'upper and lower watery lands', tears can also be "*physical proceedings from a certain interior heat (interiori calore).*"[210] Although according to the sentence this "*never or most rarely*" happens, tears can come from "*a combination of dry humours*" which are "*worn down (conterantur) by interior heat.*"[211] The sentence is therefore consistent with twelfth-century notions that tears were produced by the dissolving of humours in the brain by an internal bodily heat.[212] Unfortunately, the sentence is not explicit in what this medical explanation of the emergence of tears means for the reliability of tears as a witness for true inner remorse. However, it seems that the sentence is expressing the sentiment that a human witness cannot be certain of which internal processes lead to the tears he is regarding on the cheecks of another person. Tears most certainly *can* come from the interior cause of compunction, but they can *also* arise through the purely physical process of the interaction of heat and humours within the body. For human assessment, tears are not regarded as perfectly reliable witnesses of internal compunction. It is only God, the "*inspectorem cordium",* who knows the true reason for the emergence of tears besides the crying person themselves.

God's role as the inspector of the human interior was certainly not foreign to the school of Laon, as can be seen in a *sententia* which comments on Romans 2:16: "*He shall judge the secrets of*

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[208] Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* sent. 438.
[209]Ibidem: " (…) *premio lacrimarum non videntur privandi apud Deum inspectorem cordium*."
[210] Ibidem: "(…) *secundum physicam procedentes ex quodam interiori calore*."
[211] Ibidem: "(…) *Sunt aliqui secundum complexionem humorem sicci, qui in lacrimas exteriores vel nunquam vel rarissime possunt prorumpere etsi conterantur interiori calore.*"
[212] For more about twelfth-century conceptions of the physicial processes responsible for tears, see Kramer, *Sin, Interiority, and Selfhood,* 70-71, and Katherine Harvey, 'Episcopal emotions: tears in the life of the medieval bishop", *Historical Research* 87 (2014), 591-610.

the heart'. According to this sentence, "*only clearly visible things (Sola enim manifesta) can and should be judged by the delegates of Christ (vicariis Christi); secret things (occulta)however are to be reserved for divine judgement only; as it is said:* man sees in the face, God in the heart (I Samuel 16:7)."[213] Although this is not elaborated upon further, the question that arises in the context of our discussion of weeping is whether or not tears are to be classified under those things that are "*manifesta".* As we have seen, Ambrose would maintain that they are, since for him they are the most reliable witnesses to true compunction. In the case of Anselm, an affirmative answer seems less likely however, as he thought that tears did not necessarily result from an interior feeling of remorse, but could in some cases also have purely physical causes. Thus, it makes sense for Anselm to regard tears alone as insufficient for reconciliation with God, as God does not have to rely on such external signs of repentance that may be deceiving, but can look directly into the heart itself.

Although the role Anselm saw for God as the sole judge of the human interior helps to explain why he did not regard exterior tears alone to be sufficient for the forgiveness of sins, it also sharpens the question of why Anselm was such a strong advocate for the need of oral confession to a priest: if it is only God who can know whether a sinner feels true remorse for what he has done, what is the use of a priest who cannot be certain of these 'secret things'? It would be hard to defend the claim that sinners can deceive with their tears but not with their spoken confession.

II: The ten lepers, Lazarus, and the vivification of the soul

The main way inwhich Anselm attempted to formulate an answer to this question was through an exegesis of the accounts of Jesus curing lepers and performing miracles of resurrection. Interestingly, all discussions of the tears of Peter found in Laonnois sentences are

[213] Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* sent. 106: "*Sola enim manifesta a vicariis Christi iudicari possunt et debent ; occulta vero soli divino reservanda iudicio ; unde dicitur:* homo videt in facie, Deus in corde. (I Samuel 16:7)"

followed by an explanation of the need for confession to a priest framed through these passages. The reading of the stories in which Jesus cured lepers and resurrected the dead as allegories for the forgiveness of sinners already had a long and rich tradition in Anselm's time. Notably, Augustine's equation between the three different resurrection miracles and three different types of sin (those committed in thought, action, and habit) was highly influential throughout the Middle Ages, and, as we will see, is also referred to in the Laonnois *sententiae.*[214]

An interpretation of these miracles which builds on Augustine's exegesis that proved particularly influential in discussions on penance and confession can be found in the Gospel commentaries of Bede. In commenting upon the biblical story in which Jesus cleanses ten lepers, Bede had said that there are certain sins that are healed by God alone: "*Other defects truly, such as of the health and of what can be called the members of the soul and senses, the Lord heals and corrects by himself internally in the conscience and intellect.*"[215] Although Bede does not confirm so himself, such a statement could certainly be read as proving a category of sins which do not require confession to a priest, but which are forgiven by God alone.

The potential of such an understanding of Bede's words was recognized by Anselm, and, as can be discerned from an Anselmian *sententia* in the *Liber Pancrisis,* he attempted to defuse such readings of the passage. Bede's assertion that "certain [sins] are relaxed in the conscience alone" (*cetera vero in sola conscientia relaxari*)*",* is therefore explained as referring to the difference between public and private confession: "*Because those [sins] he says are relaxed in the conscience alone, those [are the sins] we confess privately*."[216] Although we have seen that Anselm certainly took some liberty in elaborating and explaining traditional passages, he here seems to provide an interpretation of Bede's point for which it is very hard to find support in the original text.[217] It is true that Bede

[214] See Kramer, *Sin, Interiority, and Selfhood,* 25- 37.
[215] Bede, *Expositio in Lucae Evangelium,* ed. by D. Hurst, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 120 (Turnhout 1960), 5. 17:14 ; Tranlation cited from Kramer, *Sin, Interiority, and Selfhood,* 41.

[216] Lottin, sent. 65: "*Nam illa in sola conscientia dixit relaxari, que privatim confitemur."*
[217] This is also noted by Kramer, who calls it an "interpretation that is not sustained by Bede's *sententia.",* but does she does not elaborate further. See Kramer, *Sin, Interiority, and Selfhood,* 45.

does not provide an explicit explanation for what his statement means for the need to confess such sins to a priest. However, it would require way fewer interpretive liberties to read Bede as stating that for such sins confession can be made directly to God, without the need for a priest.

Although we might therefore not agree with Anselm's interpretation of Bede's words, the treatment of the curing of the lepers and the resurrection of Lazarus in other Laonnois sentences could help us understand how Anselm came to his conclusion. They also show that within the framework of Anselm's thought, his interpretation of Bede is perhaps not as far-fetched as it might seem at first sight. For Anselm, there was certainly a distinction between the sins that are signified by the lepers and those that are signified by Lazarus. Consequently, they also required different ways of confession and penance.

According to the *sententia* from the *Principium et causa* which we have already seen in the context of the tears of St. Peter, the lepers suffer from "leprosy of the soul (*lepram anime)*", while Lazarus signifies those who have committed "manifest crimes (*manifesta crimina*)." [218]As we have seen, Bede saw the lepers as signifying those who suffer from "defects (...) of the soul and senses", and it thus seems Bede and Anselm were speaking of the same types of sin, being those committed in thought. However, where Bede maintained such defects of the soul are healed and corrected by God internally, Anselm stresses that, after the lepers were cleansed by Jesus, He commanded them to present themselves to priests. Thus, Anselm concludes that the biblical story shows that it is "*they who exhibit their leprosy of the soul to priests [that] are cleansed from their sins*."[219] In one sense, Anselm is in concordance with Bede, as both maintain that in the first place it is indeed God who cleanses the leprous soul. On the other hand, Bede claimed God corrected the soul internally "by himself", while Anselm clearly requires the intervention of priests to fully complete the cleansing.

[218] Bliemetzrieder, *Sententie Anselmi,* 124-125.
[219] Ibidem: "*(…) quos ipse iussit sacerdotibus presentari, significans eos qui lepram anime sacerdotibus manifestant a peccatis mundari."*

Anselm and Bede also seem to be in agreement as to what type of sin is represented by Lazarus. According to Bede, Lazarus signifies those who sin not only in thought and by doing, but also by habit.[220] This habitual nature of the sin Lazarus signifies is not made explicit by Anselm, but considering he makes a reference to the three types of sin that are designated by the three resurrections, we can be confident in assuming he also considered Lazarus to be the sinner who errs in thought and deed by habit. For such sinners, a private confession to a priest is not sufficient according to Anselm: "*the crimes manifest in Lazarus signify those which are dealt with under ecclesiastical judgment, because he who sins openly, performs [sin] and sets an example [of sin] (quia qui aperte peccat, agit et docet).*"[221] With this final sentence, Anselm makes a reference to the *Sententiae* of Isidore of Seville, who stressed that it is a lot worse to commit a manifest sin than a secret one, because sinning in the open is not only an act of sin but also sets an example of sinful behaviour.[222] Furthermore, in stating that such sins as signified by Lazarus require more than a private confession, Anselm could also find support in Bede, who claimed that since Lazarus was resurrected amidst many people, the types of sins he signified required public penance.[223]

Interestingly enough, however, the Laonnois sentences are not consistent in reading the unbinding of Lazarus as representing sins that are dealt with under ecclesiastical judgement as opposed to merely being confessed to a priest in private. In the discussion of the resurrection of Lazarus in the aforementioned *sententia* 363, which also discussed the tears of St. Peter, there is no mention of the ecclesiastical judiciary system. Rather, it is only stated that when the disciples were commanded to loosen the bindings with which Lazarus was wrapped after Jesus had restored him to life, this shows that "(...) *the groaning sinner is vivified by God, but never if he is not loosened by the*

[220] Bede, *In Lucae,* 3. 8:55.
[221] Ibidem.

[222] Isidore of Seville, *Sententiae,* ed. by P. Cazier, Corpus Christionarum Series Latina, 111 (Turnhout, 1998), 2.20: "*Maioris est culpae manifeste quam occulte peccare. Dupliciter enim reus est qui aperte delinquit, quia et agit et docet."*

[223] Bede, *In Lucae,* 3. 8:55.

ministers of the Church."[224] Indeed, the sentence quickly becomes explicit in claiming the Lazarus story shows the need to confess to a priest: "(...) *that which God does for man by itself of course dismisses sin; in this way however: so that he is saved by a priest (ut ille salvatur a sacerdote)."*[225] Thus, there is no indication that this *sententia* presents the story of Lazarus to represent only those sinners who committed manifest sins habitually. Instead, Lazarus here represents all types of sinner who feel repentant in their hearts.

The treatment of the story of Lazarus in this *sententia* may also help us to form a better understanding of Anselm's statements about the ten lepers. There, we have seen that Anselm upheld that even after God has cleansed the sinner, they were still required to "*exhibit their leprosy of the soul to priests."* With this statement, questions about the chronology of the steps Anselm presents us with could certainly arise: how can a sinner exhibit his inner leprosy to a priest when God has already cleansed the sinner's soul? The answer to this question can be found in Anselm's account of the untying of Lazarus' bindings.

Here, Anselm claims that the sin is remitted by God first, just as Lazarus was first vivified by Jesus. However, Anselm then asks us to consider what would have happened if Jesus had not asked his disciples to loosen Lazarus's bindings: "*and what does his vivification mean if he forever remained lying bound in his tomb, or what good does the unbinding serve if it was preceded by the vivification?"*[226] In other words, Anselm does not necessarily see the steps of the remission of sin in terms of chronology where one step follows the other. On the contrary, the vivification of the soul by God and the loosening of the ties of sin by the priest are interdependent on one another, and the one does not take (temporal) primacy over the other: "*Both is achieved at the same time, if the one is*

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[224] Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* sent. 363: *"(…)peccator ingemiscens a Deo vivificatur, sed nunquam nisi per ministros ecclesie solvitur.*"

[225] Ibidem:"(…*) quod per se Deus ad hominem facit, scilicet dimittit peccata ; sic tamen ut ille salvatur a sacerdote*."

[226] Ibidem: *"(…)et illi quid valeret vivificatio si semper iaceret ligatus in sepulcro, vel quid prodest solutio nisi precesserit vivifacatio?*"

without the other, it is wholly of no use(...)"[227] Thus, not only is there no benefit in having the soul vivified when it is not unbound by a priest, there is also no benefit in going to a priest when one's heart is not truly contrite. If this is the case, God will not vivify the soul, and although the priest may loosen its bindings, the soul cannot raise from its tomb of sin. There is only one exception to this interdependence of God's vivification and the priest's unbinding, and that is when someone is caught by surprise by impending death and has no opportunity to see a priest before he passes away. If in such cases the sinner is "*bitterly penitent of all he has committed, especially of that for which there has not been a confession",* God's vivification of his soul alone will suffice.[228]

III: Anselm and Gratian on Psalm 87:11

After this aside on deathbed repentance, Anselm stresses the importance of true inner contrition one last time. To do so, he brings to mind Psalm 87:11 : "*Wilt thou shew wonders to the dead? or shall physicians raise [them] to life to confess to you?*"[229] The question asked here should be understood as denying the possibility of such a thing happening, as is evidenced from the usage of the word *numquid* to start the question.[230]

The purpose with which the Psalm is quoted is to underline the need for true interior repentance. Those who do not feel compunction about their sins remain spiritually dead, and cannot be vivified by God. Hence, there is no benefit for them to confess to a priest - here referred to as physicians - as they cannot vivify a sinner's soul: "*Everyone should consult his conscience whether going to a priest is merited by him being vivified by God. It will certainly be merited if he was truly*

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[227] Ibidem: "*Utrumque simul perfectum est, alterum sine altero omnino inutile est (…)*"
[228] Ibidem: "*(…) nisi forte in articulo mortis deprehensus non habeat spatium confitendi et tantum amare penitens omnium commissorum, imprimis de hoc quod confessus non fuit, dum licuit*. "

[229] The quotation in the *sententia* is as follows, Ibidem: "Unde in psalmo: *numquid mortuis facies mirabilia et medici siscitabunt?*"

[230] See for example Leo F. Stelten, *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin* (Peabody, MA, 1995) (online version): "*numquid: interr. Used when a negative answer is expected*;"

penitent: [true] penitence however is wanting to weep for the committed, and not committing that which is to be repented."[231]

The psalm is thus used to bolster a point already made, that God vivifies and the priests unbinds, and in that regard its inclusion in the *sententia* is perhaps not very striking. However, the significance of this quotation might be larger than it seems at first sight. As has been shown by Atria A. Larson, the quotation of Psalm 87:11 in the context of a discussion about the importance of confession to priests is an important piece of evidence of the influence of the school of Laon on one of the most important and most widely read twelfth-century works on penance, that is Gratian's *Tractatus de penitentia.*[232] This extensive treatise on penance was incorporated into Gratian's *Concordia discordantium canonum,* commonly known as the *Decretum,* the work through which Gratian came to be regarded as one of the prime instigators of the systematic study of ecclesiastical norms and the systematisation of canon law.[233] In the first *distinctio* of the *Tractatus,* the question of whether it is possible to make satisfaction to God through a contrite heart only, without oral confession, is under investigation. Gratian presents arguments for and against the 'contritionist position', as well as arguments for and against the position of those who defend the need for oral confession without clearly choosing either side of the debate himself.

Neither Anselm nor his school are ever explicitly mentioned in these discussions, but it has long been suspected that Gratian was highly indebted to Laonnois teachings on the need for oral confession.[234] An argument in favour of this theory is found when Gratian discusses the

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[231]Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* sent. 363: "*Consulant quisque conscientiam suam, si veniens ad sacerdotem meruit a Deo vivificari. Meruit utique si vere penituit ; penitentia autem est velle deflere commissa et penitenda non committere.*"

[232] Atria A. Larson, 'The Influence of the School of Laon on Gratian: The Usage of the *Glossa Ordinaria* and Anselmian *Sententiae* in *De Penitentia (Decretum* C. 33 Q.3)', *Mediaeval Studies* 72 (2010), 197-244; 229-231.

[233] For a study on the *Tractatus de penitentia* and its influence, see especially Atria A. Larson*, Master of penance: Gratian and the development of penitential thought and law in the twelfth century* (Washington 2014). See also John Wei, *Gratian the Theologian* (Washington D.C., 2016).

[234] Larson, 'The Influence', 201- 207.

resurrection of Lazarus and the curing of the lepers in providing arguments for the position of those who claim that only true contrition suffices to make amends with God. The argument Gratian presents here is as follows. The leper is cleansed by God before he reaches the priest, and Lazarus is resurrected before he is loosened. Therefore, although it might be a fitting custom to confess orally, it is not strictly necessary to do so in order satisfy oneself with God. It is only God who can cleanse a sinner's soul, and therefore it is only God who can bring a spiritually dead soul back to life. It is in this context that Gratian quotes Psalm 87:11, albeit a slightly later part of the verse: "(...) *physicians are denied the ability to resuscitate someone so that, having been resuscitated, he may confess, when through the prophet it is said*, will physicians resuscitate them, and will they confess to you?"[235]

As Larson has shown, the quotation of Psalm 87:11 within the context of a discussion about the necessity of oral penance through the framework of the resurrection of Lazarus is unique to Gratian and the Laon sentence discussed here.[236] Larson rules out the possibility of Gratian being inspired *only* by the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Psalm 87:11, which does indeed state that confession from a dead heart is useless. The reason she does so is because the Gloss does not mention Lazarus, nor does it mention the vivifying powers of God, both of which are integral to both the argument of the Anselmian *sententia* and Gratian's *Tractatus*.[237] Although I agree with Larson's assertion that the incorporation of Psalm 87:11 by Gratian further supports the theory that there was significant influence from the school of Laon on Gratian's *Tractatus*, I am less keen to agree with her suggestion that it was a particularly unobvious choice to use the Psalm in a discussion about penance.[238] Although the incorporation of the Psalm in twelfth-century debates about the need for oral confession may have been unique between this *sententia* and Gratian's

[235]Gratian, *Tractatus de penitentia: A New Latin Edition with English Translation*, ed. and trans. by Atria A. Larson (Washington D.C. 2016), 20-21. The Latin reads: "(…) *medici negantur resuscitare aliquem, ut resuscitatus confiteatur, dum per prophetam dicitur, Numquid medici resuscitabunt, et confitebuntur tibi?"*
[236] See Larson, 'The Influence', 231.
[237] Larson, 'The Influence', 230.
[238] Ibidem.

Decretum, it is not the case that Anselm was the first to interpret the Psalm in the light of confession. Indeed, I would argue that Augustine's commentary on this specific Psalm in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* probably served as the main inspiration for Anselm's inclusion of the Psalm within this context.

Here, Augustine also interprets the physicians mentioned in the Psalm as spiritual physicians, representing the ministers of the Church. The point of the Psalm according to Augustine is, that however skilled the ministers of the Church, they cannot bring a spiritually dead soul back to life, as this can only be achieved through the grace of God. Augustine concludes as follows: "*Will there be any raised up by them [the physicians]* to confess to you*? No, because such confession is the work of those who are alive. Scripture testifies elsewhere that* no confession can be made by a dead person: he is as though non-existent (Ecclesiasticus 17:26)."[239] The Laon *sententia* uses the Psalm to make the exact same point, and it therefore seems likely that someone as well versed in Augustine's work as Anselm would use this piece of Augustinian exegesis to flesh out his argument about the need to have a vivified soul in order for penance to have effect.

However, what is especially striking about Augustine's final remark is his quotation of Ecclesiasticus 17:26: "(...) *no confession can be made by a dead person: he is as though non-existent.*" This verse is also incorporated into the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Psalm 87:11, where Augustine's commentary on the Psalm is explicitly referred to. Furthermore, this exact verse from Ecclesiasticus is also quoted by Gratian immediately after his quotation of Psalm 87:11. Larson quotes the *Glossa*'s incorporation of this verse from Ecclesiasticus in her article, but unfortunately does not recognize it as biblical, nor does she mention Augustine's *Ennarationes* anywhere in her discussion. Although Larson does not say Gratian did *not* draw from the *Glossa,* I think we must conclude that he has. The Laonnois *sententia* does not mention the quotation from Ecclesiasticus,

[239] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos,* ed. by E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 39 (Turnhout 1956), psalmus 87, par. 10: "(…) *aut medici exsuscitabunt, et hi quos exsuscitabunt, confitebuntur tibi? haec enim confessio indicat uiuos; non sicut alibi scriptum est: a mortuo, uelut qui non sit, perit confessio.*" ; Translation from Augustine, *Expositions of the Psalms 73-98,* ed. by John E. Rotelle, trans. by Maria Boulding (New York 2002), 263-265.

and the collation of the two verses must thus have come either from a careful reading of Augustine, or, more likely in Gratian's case, of the *Glossa Ordinaria.*[240] Of course, this by no means diminishes Larson's argument that the inclusion of the Psalm into discussions about the lepers and Lazarus shows the influence of the Laonnois *sententia.* However, it is interesting to see how in the space of a few sentences, Gratian shows that he was influenced by the school of Laon through two distinct ways which he might not even have connected himself.

Because of the Laonnois influence on Gratian's *Tractatus,* it can be argued that Anselm of Laon played a not-insignificant role in the development of penitential traditions in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As Joseph Goering has argued, the emergence of the widely popular tradition that required each Christian to "learn how to search their consciences, to name their sins individually, to recognize their weight and seriousness, and then to confess them in front of a priest" would have been almost unthinkable without the influence of Gratian's work in schools and universities troughout Europe .[241] What this shows, then, is that although we have been concerned with works of a theoretical nature, the teachings of Anselm certainly did exert their influence in social practice as well, taking part in shaping the lived experience of many of the Christian faithful in the following centuries. Of course, we are in this case dealing with a rather indirect influence, and it is absolutely not my goal to argue that it was Anselm alone or primarily who was responsible for the broad and complex developments in penitential practices.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that Anselm's teachings did in fact also have a more direct impact in changing penitential practices than through influencing the work of Gratian. Indeed, as Alexander Murray has shown, Anselm's defence of the importance of regular confession for all of the faithful – clerics and lay people alike – was instilled in the mind of his pupils.[242] For example, Anselm's former student William of Corbeil, an Augustinian canon who

[240] The influence of the *Glossa* on Gratian's work is one of the main topics of Larsons paper, see especially pages 207- 223.
[241] Goering, "The Scholastic Turn", 227.
[242] Murray, "Confession before 1215", 76-81.

would become archbishop of Canterbury in 1123, was active as a reformer with a strong pastoral impulse. It was thus especially in England from the 1110s onwards- when the ecclesiastical ranks abounded in Laonnois *alumni* - that Anselm's teachings were translated into an increasing focus on the practices of lay confession. In the words of Murray, "It was England that reaped the harvest" of the doctrinal ideals of regular confession that were propagated by Anselm of Laon.[243]

Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, we asked the question whether Anselm's position that confession to a priest is necessary translated itself into a different approach to interiority than that of the authors upon whose works he commented. I would argue that although there are areas for which this is not the case, the Laonnois *sententiae* nevertheless show that there is a certain intensification of interest in the human interior on Anselm's part.

On the one hand, we have seen in the works of Ambrose, Gregory and Bede that Anselm was not saying anything new when he commended true inner contrition. Like his predecessors, Anselm stressed the importance of a true feeling of remorse within the penitent's heart, and like them he also saw the contents of the heart as secret to anyone but God. In this sense, Anselm does not betray more interest for the interior of his fellow men than the authors he commented upon. Probably precisely because Anselm thought that only God could look into the secret hearts of men, he maintains an outsider's view of its interior workings. Therefore, unlike with his explorations of the steps of sin, Anselm himself does not investigate what it actually means for the soul to feel inner compunction, nor does he explain how this feeling comes about.

However, with his exhortations to confess one's sin to priests, he does exhort everyone to look into their *own* heart. Thus, we read that everyone should "*consult his conscience*" to see if it merits to attend a priest, and that people should "*exhibit their leprosy of the soul to priests*". In this sense, Anselm provides a prime example of the paradoxical nature of confession as identified by

[243] Idem, 78.

Peter von Moos.[244] The paradox here is that by exploring and exposing the hidden and secret contents of the heart to others, a personal inwardness is created at the same time. This happens because, through his confession, the penitent is forced to articulate what in the first place was known only to God. Thus, he is forced to search deep inside himself, and is thereby helped to reveal his own hidden thoughts and feelings to himself as well as to others.

This is exactly what can be seen in the Laon sentences: the heart is understood as a secret space which only God can enter, but, nevertheless, the penitent must articulate what is inside this space to a priest. This calls for more self-exploration on the part of the penitent than if God cleanses the penitent's soul 'by himself', as was maintained by Bede for example. The way Anselm's thought on confession encouraged self-exploration can also be seen in his privileging of spoken confession over tears. As we have seen, tears were prized by Ambrose *precisely* because they were spontaneous witnesses to true inner compunction. But because tears have such a spontaneous character, this also means that the penitent is not required to pause and think about the compunction he is feeling: he can simply let his tears flow. When forced to put this feeling into words, however, the penitent is also forced to expose his own interior landscape to himself.

In conclusion, Anselm might not have delved much deeper into the workings of the human interior than his predecessors did through his discussions of the act of confession, but through exhorting others to reveal the contents of their hearts to their fellow men, he certainly encouraged them to delve deeper within the confines of their own hearts. And, as is evidenced by his influence on the work of Gratian as well as important on figures of the upper echelons of the English church of the early twelfth century, his exhortations did not fall on deaf ears. Rather than bearing theoretical weight alone, Anselm's position on the necessity of confession eventually influenced the lived experiences of many Christians, causing them to explore their own inner world.

[244] Von Moos, "*Occulta cordis:* II. formes de la confession", 117. See also Kramer, *Sin, Interiority, and Selfhood,* 4.

Conclusion:

In the *sententiae,* Anselm's thought can be seen to be both traditional and innovative at the same time. On the one hand, his thought was deeply rooted in the received tradition. In the *sententiae,* there are no attempts to come to theological or philosophical arguments which are not founded in the fertile grounds of the Scriptures or Patristic authorities. Thus, we find no efforts such as those of Anselm of Canterbury's *Proslogion* (1077-78), in which the author refused to build on the testimonies of either Scripture or Patristic tradition for his ontological argument for the existence of God.[245]

On the other hand, the *sententiae* do testify to Anselm of Laon's constant efforts to approach tradition in original ways which were in tune with contemporary debates. The manner in which he approached older sources did not emerge from a desire to exhibit his own originality or innovation however. Rather, it was the result of the goals which Anselm had set for his over-arching theological project. As discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, Anselm saw demonstrating that the "sentences of all catholic men" are in concordance with each other as the prime objective of his theological philosophy.[246]

The effects of this hermeneutic approach are reflected time and again in the Laonnois *sententiae.*[247] The sentences concerned with themes connected to the topic of sin are absolutely no exception to this. As we have seen, the treatments of subjects such as free will, the stages of sin, and the need for confession by Scriptural and Patristic authorities seemed to abound in contradictory views: parts of Scripture seemed to undermine the existence of human free will; different Patristic authors held different views on the stages of sin; and numerous Patristic texts could be understood as subverting the need for verbal confession.

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[245] On the originality of Anselm of Canterbury in comparison to the ideal of '*ingenium*' as propagated by Peter Abelard, see Otten, *From paradise to paradigm*, 131.
[246] See chapter one; Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale,* 176.
[247] The hermeneutic characteristics of Anselm's approach have been fleshed out by Andrée, "Diuersa sed non aduersa".

If Anselm wanted to remain true to his goals he had set out for himself, it would not be possible to simply regurgitate Patristic opinion, nor would it suffice to simply back those opinions he agreed with in favour of others. Instead, all "catholic" opinions were to be taken into account and synthesised into a harmonious whole. Although Alexander Andrée has elucidated the synthesizing nature of Anselm's theological approach very well, I think more attention to the exclusionary mechanics of Anselm's ideals of concordance is warranted.[248] Indeed, I would argue that the process of the synthesization of diverse "catholic" ideas already pre-supposes an established canon of thinkers which constitutes the diverse elements out of which a harmonious whole can be created. Anselm is very clear that all *catholic* sentences are in concordance with each other, thereby immediately creating a category of non-catholic *sententiae* with which his theological project will not concern itself. Indeed, opinions which are not catholic and do not fit within harmony of faith as Anselm conceives it, are never explicitly named nor treated in detail in the Laonnois *sententiae.*

A perfect example of this is the *sententiae's* treatment of Ambrose of Milan's and Maximus of Turin's assessments of the supremacy of tears over words. For Anselm, these two thinkers were part of the *omnium catholicorum,* and their opinions thus had to be explained in such a way as to fit into what he considered to be the harmonious opinion of the faith: that verbal confession is necessary. It would not do to simply discard the opinions of these authorities, however discordant their sentences may seem at first sight. As we have seen, Anselm solved this problem by reading Ambrose and Maximus as merely praising interior compunction, while not outright denying the need for verbal confession.

Other thinkers who used Ambrose's and Maximus' statement explicitly to argue for the position that verbal confession is not necessary are never explicitly identified however, nor is there any attempt on behalf of the Laonnois *sententiae* to fit their views into the harmony of the faith. We may wonder to what extent this is solely due to Anselm's own teaching however, or

[248] Idem.

whether the way the *sententiae* were composed also plays an important role in these exclusionary aspects. It may for example very well have been the case that Anselm did in fact discuss opposing opinions in a more detailed manner during his lectures, but that such nuances did not survive the process of his students transposing his spoken words into the *sententiae* as they are handed down to us today. Nevertheless, it seems we can safely conclude that although Anselm was concerned with harmonizing very diverse opinions, there certainly were limits to the extent of diversity for which Anselm allowed.

Another aspect of Anselm's harmonizing approach can be discerned from the *sententiae's* treatment of Ambrose and Maximus. Here, we can see that for certain topics, Anselm worked towards a readily conceived conclusion. It is quite clear that Anselm was convinced that verbal confession to a priest was necessary, and therefore he knew what his final synthesis should look like.[249] Thus, he interpreted sentences by Ambrose, Maximus and also Bede in such ways as to make them harmonious with this preconceived synthesis. Although it can sometimes be hard to get to a clear picture of Anselm's own opinions of things precisely because of his synthesising approach, such moments in which Anselm can be seen working towards a predetermined conclusion provide excellent opportunities to do so.

However, as can be seen from the *sententiae*'s treatment of the steps of sin, Anselm also worked the other way around. Here, it seems Anselm did not necessarily have a pre-established notion of what the stages of sin were. Rather, theories of Jerome, Augustine and Gregory the Great regarding this topic are used and combined in various Laonnois sentences. Here, a true synthesis of the "*omnium catholicorum*" was attempted in an effort to come to an original and harmonious end-product. Nevertheless, we have also seen that not all of these diverse patristic theories emerged completely unscathed from the Laonnois synthesis. Indeed, it seems Anselm

[249] See for example the following statement from to be found in Lottin, *Psychologie,* sent. 64: "*Ecce plane videtur velle, quod si aliquem pudeat confiteri, fletus tamen impetrat.* Quod contra fidem est." (my emphasis) See also the discussion of this *sententia* in chapter 4.

felt enough freedom from patristic authority to seriously alter certain aspects of their exegesis, such as happened to Jerome's interpretation of the book of Exodus.

This reaffirms that although Anselm's starting point always remained the authority of Scripture and the Patristics, he examined his sources carefully and critically when necessary. In this respect then, although Richard W. Southern's labelling of Anselm and his school as primarily conservative and uninnovative cannot be said to have been drawn completely out of thin air, they are certainly overblown. There is no blind "veneration of fossilized *auctoritas"* in Anselm's philosophy.[250] We can rather find a deep appreciation of the traditional material, combined with an ambitious, sometimes critical hermeneutic approach.

As this thesis has shown, this approach is reflected in Anselm's treatment of human interiority in relation to the topic of sin. The point of departure of all of the *sententiae*'s discussions of interiority can be found in either Scriptural or Patristic authority, and these discussions remain firmly rooted in these traditions throughout. In this sense then, we should not be surprised that there are no radically new investigations into the human inner world to be found in the *sententiae:* It was not Anselm's theological goal to come to wholly new ideas divorced from tradition, and there is no exception to this in his treatment of the topic of sin.
Nevertheless, the *sententiae* time and time again testify to Anselm's interest and concern for the interior landscape of the sinner, especially related to questions regarding the sinner's autonomy. As has been shown in the past three chapters, the *sententiae* are constantly trying to define the limits of what Susan Kramer has called the "inner autonomous space for individual action."[251] This is of course most apparent in the second chapter, which treated Anselm's way of seeing the relationship between human free will and the will of God. As established there, Anselm presented the human will as completely autonomous, with God bearing absolutely no

[250] The words are from Willemien Otten, characterising the common stereotyping of pre-scholastic theology: Otten, *From Paradise to Paradigm,* 131.
[251] Kramer, *Sin, Interiority,and Selfhood",* 137.

responsibility for the evil that is committed by any person. In this sense then, Anselm reaffirms the observation made by Kramer that in twelfth-century thought it is especially the "expressions of the soul" that lead the sinner away from God that are distinguished as autonomous and constitutive.[252] However, we have also seen that for Anselm, good human wills are also independent from the will of God to a great degree, more so than for Rupert of Deutz, for example. For Anselm, the autonomy of the human soul was thus not necessarily connected to the souls sinful behaviour more so than its other expressions.

Nevertheless, most of Anselm's discussions of the interior were in fact related to to the soul's sinful manifestations. Indeed, the deepest exploration ofthe workings of the human inner landscape at the school of Laon was conducted precisely in order to elucidate the progressive motions of sin inside the soul. In the third chapter we have seen the question of inner autonomy come to the fore again, as the Laonnois *sententiae* about the steps of sin show deep concern with pinpointing the exact moment at when it becomes the moral responsibility of the subject to feel what it feels and to want what it wants. Indeed, the *sententiae* present the human interior as the venue in which man's moral qualities are decided. The external act of sin is the direct consequence of the failure of the human interior in combating sinful suggestions, ultimately culminating in the soul's consent to the committing of a sinful deed.

However, the last chapter has shown that although Anselm thought sin originated within an interior venue, it could not be forgiven within the human heart alone. The *sententiae* show constant exhortations to all Christian subjects to verbally confess their sins, whether they were committed in act or in thought alone. Although Anselm regarded true inner remorse as fundamentally important, as traditional authorities had done, he also urged all subjects to objectify their inner compunction into speech. As argued in the last chapter, it was this insistence on the need for the articulation of inner life with which Anselm encouraged all Christian subjects

[252] Idem, 136.

to explore their inner self, as this exploration was necessitated by the demands for the verbal articulation of one's interior.

This was then the area in which Anselm deviated from tradition the most, as thinkers such as Augustine, Ambrose and Bede had never been so insistent on the need for private confession, and sometimes even seemed to undermine its effectivity. In this respect then, Anselm can be seen to fit in the model sketched by Collin Morris, who saw the twelfth-century insistence on private confession as highly important for an increase in self-examination throughout society, and therefore as instrumental in the twelfth-century "discovery of the individual."[253] However, we have seen that Morris expressedly saw Peter Abelard, and not schoolmasters such as Anselm, as the prime instigator of such a movement. For him, Abelard represented a break with a constricting reverence of traditional authority. Therefore, it is my opinion that a closer inspection of the Laonnois *sententiae* reveals the nuance that is often lacking from "Morris's paradigm".[254] Indeed, the *sententiae* show that it would be a vast oversimplification to present twelfth-century movements towards the interior as a radical break with the proceeding centuries. If we were to follow Morris and see the "discovery of the individual" as being exemplified above all by a stress on inward sorrow and repentance, as well as a focus on the inner intentionality of the sinner, it seems that we must conclude that Anselm fits perfectly well in this development.[255] The Laonnois *sententiae* are prime examples of all of these tendencies. But, as becomes manifest precisely from the *sententiae,* this concern with inward compunction and the insistence on the intentionality of the sinner was already present in all of the traditional works Anselm built on. All of the discussions in the Laonnois sentences in which Anselm's concern with the human interior can be discerned to show the lasting influence of thinkers from before the twelfth century, from Augustine to Bede and from Jerome to Paschasius Radbertus. The *sententiae* thus show that it is too simplistic to see the twelfth century as a watershed moment in which there was a sudden,

[253] Morris, *The discovery of the individual,* 71-75.
[254] The term "Morris's paradigm" comes from Pohl, "Introduction: Ego Trouble?", 10.
[255] Morris, *The discovery of the individual,* 71-75.

unprecendented emergence of a concern for the human interior. On the other hand however, they also show that pre-scholastic thinking about the self and the human interior was not static or regurgitative. Rather, Anselm of Laon can be seen taking part in a gradual, intricate development which saw an intensification of a concern about the human interior, and a strengthened call to examine one's own inner conscience.

Appendix: *Sententia* 290 and an early recension of Anselm of Canterbury's *De Concordia*

The sentence on which Hubert Silvestre and Riccardo Quinto base their assertions that a fourfold separation of the will of God was upheld in Laon is Sentence 290 in Odon Lottin's edition of the Laonnois *sententiae.*[256] What they do not note, however, is that the four types of will that are named in this sentence can be traced back to the works of Anselm of Canterbury. This observation has already been made by G. R. Evans in her work *Anselm and a New Generation*.[257] However, Evans states the division of the wills were probably derived from a reading of Anselm of Canterbury's *Philosophical Fragments.* It seems that Evans has not noticed that some parts of the Laonnois *sententiae* in question use almost identical language as can be found in an early version of Saint Anselm's *De Concordia.* Similarly, in his edition of the Laonnois sentences, Lottin also does not mention the influence of Saint Anselm's work.

In the table below however, it becomes clear that the *sententiae* does not only propose the exact same fourfold division as Anselm of Canterbury, but also uses many of the same phrases to describe them:

Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, "Eine fruehe rezension des werkes de Concordia", in Anselm of Canterbury, *Opera Omnia. Tomus Primus*, ed. by Franciscus Salesius Schmitt (Stuttgart 1968), 100 – 115	Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et Morale aux XIIe et XIIIe Siècles. Tome V: Problèmes d'Histoire Littéraire. L'ecole d'Anselme de Laon et de Guillame de Champeuax* (Gembloux 1958), S*ententia* 290:
Est et alia huius voluntatis divisio. Alia enim	**Est et alia huius voluntatis divisio. Alia** est

[256] See chapter 2 of this thesis.
[257] G.R. Evans, *Anselm and a New Generation* (Oxford 1980), 134.

dici potest **efficiens, alia approbans, alia concedens, alia permittens.**	**efficiens, alia approbans, alia concedens, alia permittens.**
Efficiens est quae facit, ut sit quod vult, si potest, ut cum vult aliquis legere et legit; et si non potest, tamen vult. Secundum hanc, quae facit quod vult, dicitur de deo: "omnia quaecumque voluit, fecit" (Ps. 134: 6)	**Efficiens** voluntas in Deo facit quicquid vult; efficiens in homine quod potest homo et vult ipso actu. ("omnia quaecumque voluit, fecit" is quoted earlier in the *sententia,* as well as later in the context of a quote from Augustine's *De civ. Dei*)
Approbans est, quae approbat aliquid quod dicitur velle. Secundum hanc vult deus omnem hominem salvum fieri, **quoniam nullum prohibet quantum ad se** facere, ut **salvus sit**, sed cum aliquis hoc facit, approbat, et si omnes facerent, approbaret.	**Approbans est que approbat aliquid**, et hec ad hominem pertinet et ad Deum ; approbans est in Deo que vult omnes salvos fieri, **quoniam nullum prohibet quantum ad se** quin **salvus sit** ; immo si quis ad hoc laborat, approbat. Patens est quod que sit approbans in homine.
Concedens est, quando concedit aliquis **ut fiat aliquid.** Per hanc voluntatem **vult deus, ut homo qui melius non proposuit, uxorem ducat**, id est concedit ut ducat.	**Concedens est qua concedit ut fiat aliquid** ; concedente autem aliquid voluntate **vult Deus ut homo qui melius non proposuit uxorem ducat.**

Permittens est, quando permittimus aliquid fieri, quod tamen nobis displicet. **Hoc modo dicitur dues velle mala quae permittit fieri**, ut cum dicitur quia "**quem vult indurat**" (Rom. 9:18)	Permittens voluntas est qua permittit aliquid fieri, etsi displiceat quandoque: **hoc modo dicitur Deus velle mala que permittit fieri** ; unde dicitur: quoniam "**quem vult indurat** et cui vult miseretur". (Rom. 9:18 : Not noted by Lottin)

Interestinly, two of the three manuscripts in which this part of the early version of the *de Concordia* survives are the manuscripts München, Clm 22273 and 22291.[258] In both of these manuscripts, fragments of Saint Anselm's work are immediately followed by Anselm of Laon's letter to bishop Hèribrand. Both these manuscripts (which are closely related to each other) have their provenance from the Abbey of Windberg, and according to F. Bliemetzrieder they were probably made under the supervision of abbot Gebhard (1141-91). Of this Gebhard, Bliemetzrieder states the following: "Wenn nicht selbst Schüler Anselms v. Laon, stand Gebhard doch seiner Schule sehr nahe."[259]

There are only two manuscripts in which the *sententia* 290 has been found. In both cases, the sentence is not part of any "official" Laon sentence collection, but is added after such a collection. First, there is the manuscript Rouen, BM, 626, fol. 219r – 220v. According to Cédric Giraud, this manuscript is from 2nd half of the 12th century, and has its provenance in Fécamp. This manuscript contains the sentence collection *Principium et causa* on fol. 191r-216v, and is thereafter complemented with "sentences d'inspiration monastique". *Sententia* 290 is thus counted

[258] Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, "Eine Fruehe Rezension des Werkes *de Concordia*", in Anselm of Canterbury, *Opera Omnia. Tomus Primus,* ed. by Franciscus Salesius Schmitt (Stuttgart 1968), 100 – 115: 102-103.
[259] Bliemetzrieder, *Anselms von Laon systematische Sentenzen,* 28.

as one of these monastic sentences by Giraud, but he does not provide us with an opinion of whether or not these sentences have their origins in the school of Laon.[260]

The second manuscript in which *sententia* 290 is found is München, Clm 14569, on folio's 130r – 133r. According to Giraud, this manuscript contains extracts from the collection *Deus principium est,* but that collection only ranges from folio 99r to 130 r. Giraud does not give us information on the sentences that come afterwards. Notably however, the provenance of this manuscript is from the abbey of Saint-Emmeram in Regensburg.[261] Thus, the manuscript was composed some 50 kilometres from the abbey of Windberg, where the manuscripts containing the early version of the *de Concordia* come from.

Based on the information gathered here, I would argue that we can question whether Anselm of Laon in fact upheld the theory of a fourfold division in the will of God. Indeed, *sententia* 290 is the only Laonnois sentence that proposes such a fourfold division, whereas the other sentences propose a dual or triple division (see chapter 2 of this thesis). There are thus some possibilities that should be considered as to why *sententia* 290 is nevertheless counted among the Laonnois sentences.

First, there is of course the possibility that Anselm of Laon did in fact mention the fourfold distinction proposed by Anselm of Canterbury in some of his lectures. Afterwards, this information could have travelled to the abbey of Saint-Emmeram in Regensburg through one of Anselm's students, who could have noted this down together with other *sententiae* taken from the contents of Anselm's lectures.

However, in what seems like a more plausible option to me, it could also be possible that *sententiae* 290 as composed at the abbey of Saint-Emmeram was in part constructed based on the two Windberg manuscripts which feature the early version of the *De Concordia.* Although the goal of the composer of the Saint-Emmeram manuscript may have been to record evidence of the

[260] Giraud, *Per verba magistri,* 370.
[261] Idem, 400.

teachings of Anselm of Laon, he also added work by Anselm of Canterbury. The distinction between the two Anselms could very well have gotten blurred because of the vicinity in which their works were collected in the Windberg manuscripts. The possibility of this confusion between the two namesakes is confirmed by Fransiscus Salesius Schmitt, who states that the distinction between the two Anselms is not clear in the Windberg manuscripts, and that there is no clear indication of where the work of Anselm of Canterbury stops and the work of Anselm of Laon begins.[262]

It could very well be the case that the fourfold division of God's will as proposed by Anselm of Canterbury was not in fact part of the doctrine of Anselm of Laon, but rather was added to the corpus of sentences connected to his school at a later date. This would also fit with what can be learnt of Anselm of Laon's ideas about the divisions in the will of God from other Laonnois *sententiae,* where a fourfold distinction cannot be found.

[262] Schmitt, "Eine Fruehe Rezension", 104-105.

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