The place of scripture in the thought and writings of Anselm of Canterbury

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Contents

Abstract 1 5
Abstract 2 7
Acknowledgements 15
Abbreviations 17
Note on editions and translations 19

Introduction: Locations of spiritual authority 21

PART I: Scripture in Anselm's world 44

1. Locations of scriptural encounter: the liturgy 45
    1.1. The liturgical backdrop 48
        i. The mass and office as Anselm would have known it 48
        ii. Performing scriptural salvation: the structure of the mass, the office and the liturgical year 53
        iii. Liturgical books 66
    1.2. The liturgy at Bec 75
    1.3. Scripture in the liturgy 84
        i. Scripture in the Divine Office: Vigils 84
        ii. Scripture in the mass 88
2. Methodology: what scripture is and how to find it 94
    2.1. Anselm and scripture in secondary literature 94
    2.2. What is scripture? 100
    2.3. The Revealed Bible in reception 103
    2.4. The Revealed Bible in monastic reception 117
    2.5. Searching for *signa* 123

PART II: Scriptural *signa* in Anselm's prayers and meditations 129

3. The works in question 130
4. *Confiteor:* sin in the prayers and meditations 138
    4.1. *Arbor infructuosa* 139
    4.2. *Servus peccati* 148
    4.3. *In peccato conceptus et natus* 159
5. *Graduale:* seeking God in the prayers and meditations 166
    5.1. *Dominus illuminatio mea* 167
    5.2. *Dominus illuminatio mea* and *vultum tuum requiro* 170

6. *Domine, non sum dignus:* redemption in the prayers and meditations 177
6.1. *Qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* 179
6.2. *Qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* and *obediens usque ad mortem* 181
6.3. *Qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* and *ego pono animam meam* 186
6.4. *Bonus pastor* 189
7. *Accipite et manducate:* the promise of satiety in the prayers and meditations 199
7.1. *Fons vivum* 201
7.2. *Fons vivum* and *eructavit cor meum bonum verbum* 205
7.3. *Petite, quaerite, pulsate* 211
7.4. *Ut gaudium sit plenum* 220

PART III: Scriptural *signa* in the *Proslogion,* the three dialogues and *Cur Deus homo* 228

8. The works in question 229
8.1. *Proslogion: 'Dei gratia illuxit in corde eius'* 229
8.2. The dialogues: '*tres tractatus pertinentes ad studium sacrae scripturae'* 235
8.3. *Cur Deus homo: 'quidquid in novo veterique testamento continetur probatum'* 240
9. Sin: entrapment in misperception 248
9.1. *Servus peccati* 248
9.2. *In peccato conceptus et natus* 260
9.3. *Dixit insipiens in corde suo* 265
10. Seeking: longing for Christ's light 274
10.1. *Vultum tuum requiro* 274
10.2. *Vultum tuum requiro* and *illumina oculos meos* 276
10.3. *Vultum tuum requiro* and *emitte lucem et veritatem tuam* 280
11. Satisfaction 1: satisfying redemption's demands 287
11.1. *Qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* and *obediens usque ad mortem* 288
11.2. *Qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* and *pono animam meam* 293
11.3. *Recti corde* 297
12. Satisfaction 2: satisfying the soul's desire 305
12.1. *Fons vivum* 305
12.2. *Ut gaudium sit plenum* 308

13. Conclusion 318

Appendix 330
Bibliography 362

Abstract 1

The tools of 'reason' and their relation to biblical authority lay at the centre of the twelfth century's intellectual renewals. Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109) occupied this contested territory, and his writings remain pivotal witnesses to the renegotiations of the relationship between 'reason', faith and the authority of sacred texts. Much of Anselm's historical significance rests upon the presence or absence of scripture in his writings, as it was scripture's alleged absence which characterised his most celebrated contributions to Christian thought. However, no comprehensive study of his approach to scripture exists in secondary scholarship.

This dissertation offers a detailed investigation of the place of scripture in Anselm's thought and writings. Its methodology employs a conceptualisation of 'scripture' which seeks to remain faithful to Anselm's monastic context. Biblical texts, when 'inhaled' and 'exhaled' by monastic liturgical performance, should not be shorn of the associations they thereby accumulated. These verbal and pictorial clusters, which this dissertation terms '*signa*', are first uncovered Anselm's prayers and meditations, the texts which best capture his monastic life. This study then scrutinises the works in which scripture's role seems most ambiguous - Anselm's *Proslogion,* containing his 'proof' for God's existence, his three philosophical dialogues, allegedly 'pertaining to the study of sacred scripture', and the *Cur Deus homo,* featuring his theory of atonement – for traces of those, or related, *signa.*

These *signa,* standing out like braille from a page, reveal a more textured account of Anselm's thought than many secondary reconstructions. Monastic themes, such as moral integration, purity of heart and the trajectory of humility overspill the boundaries

of his devotional writings to shape his intellectual enquiry. What results is not only in a fresh interpretation of Anselm's theology, but also in a more detailed picture of the movement from *fides* to *intellectum*, and of scripture's place within it.

Abstract 2

The tools of 'reason' and their relation to the authority of the Bible lay at the centre of the vibrant intellectual renewals of twelfth-century western Europe. Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109), the second Norman archbishop after the conquest of England, occupied this contested territory, and his writings remain pivotal witnesses to the renegotiations of the relationship between 'reason', faith and the authority of sacred texts at a time when the cultural and intellectual ground was beginning to shift.

Anselm's position, straddling some of the period's primary fault-lines, nonetheless remains disputed. For some scholars, Anselm's significance lies in the boldness with which he suspended scriptural authority, pursuing theological speculation 'by reason alone' (*sola ratione*). The pioneering para-scripturality of his argumentation, purporting (in his *Monologion* and *Proslogion*) to discover a 'proof' for God's existence unsupported by reliance on biblical authority, establishes him in many secondary accounts firmly under the banner of 'reason'. In his innovative theory of atonement, in which the rationale behind Christ's Incarnation and death is investigated '*Christo remoto'* (with Christ 'removed' from the argument), Anselm seems to offer a pathway to theological knowledge blazed independently of scriptural revelation. His status as a champion of reason is closely entwined with the supposition that his most important arguments' significance lies in their emancipation from reliance on the Bible.

For other scholars, Anselm's writings were planted firmly in fideistic soil. On these accounts, his arguments were in fact prime examples of conventional Augustinian neoplatonism, exercises in 'faith seeking understanding' (*fides quaerens intellectum*) in which faith took decided precedence. Many have emphasised their monastic character, shaped during his three decades as a monk at the Norman monastery of Bec. His

collection of devotional works is considered a witness to his use of prayerful meditation as a route to theological knowledge, and his *Monologion* and *Proslogion* have been read not as dialectical proofs for God's existence, but as pioneering examples of the genre of meditative monastic reading. In many of these accounts, Anselm's writings are presented as scripturally-inspired, arising from ruminations on doctrinal topics or structured after the practice of *lectio divina,* even if direct references to biblical passages are nowhere to be seen. Whether or not scripture is thought to be 'present' or 'absent' in Anselm's writings therefore tends to depend on the scholar's judgement as to the nature of his authorial enterprise. What results is a blind spot regarding Anselm's actual scriptural usage. For those who consider Anselm primarily motivated by dialectical argumentation, scripture is believed to be essentially 'absent' even when biblical quotations appear in his texts. For those who consider him a scripturally-inspired theo-logician, the Bible is spoken of as 'present' even when explicit biblical material is not.

However, despite the fact that much of Anselm's historical significance rests on the presence or absence of scripture in his writings, no comprehensive study of his approach to scripture exists in secondary scholarship. The small number of current studies (articles by Jean-Robert Pouchet, Jean Châtillon, Helen Lang, M.B. Pranger, Jasper Hopkins, Giles Gasper and John Fortin, and the monograph of Helmut Steindl), have examined portions of Anselm's corpus, or treated the biblical origins of a single theological topic, but lack the comprehensive overview which would relate their valuable conclusions to Anselm's essential aims and motivations. The tendency for scholars of different disciplinary leanings to 'carry off' (in Eileen Sweeney's words) select parts of Anselm's corpus and scrutinize them in isolation is a well-recognised pitfall in the study of Anselm. Anselm the monk is too often divorced from Anselm the dialectician. This fracturing paints not only an incomplete picture but a distorted one, as

if Anselm's views on scriptural revelation simply changed along with his authorial mode to suit the requirements of whichever genre he happened to adopt. The issue at stake in Anselm's approach to scripture is not only his perceived place at the hinge of his period's intellectual turn, but also the very internal coherence of his enterprise.

This dissertation offers a detailed examination of the place of scripture in Anselm's thought and writings. In doing so, it seeks not only to reintegrate the various parts of Anselm's corpus, but also to make sense of Anselm's own seemingly-ambiguous statements about scriptural authority and its relation to intellectual enquiry. Indeed, in Anselm's writings, the tools of 'reason' and their suitability for theological questions present something of a conundrum. At the opening of his *Monologion,* he states his intention to undertake his investigation 'by reason alone' (*sola ratione*), without direct recourse to scriptural authority. Yet in his rebuttal of Roscelin of Compiègne, the dialectician from whose Trinitarian theology Anselm was eager to distance himself, he energetically denounces those 'heretics of dialectic' who believe that the puny props of dialectical argumentation are sufficient to support the 'mountain' of Christian doctrine. Anselm's own description of his methodology merely adds to the puzzle. In various places, Anselm describes his intellectual programme as one of 'faith seeking understanding (*fides quaerens intellectum*) – 'I believe', he writes in the *Proslogion,* 'in order to understand' (*Credo ut intelligam*). The task which often falls to Anselm's modern readership is to visualise the interplay between 'belief' and 'understanding' in a way which makes sense of his mission statement as well as what his works actually achieve. Which path, prayer or proof, was the authoritative route to theological knowledge?

Anselm's decisions to use, or not to use, scriptural references present an even trickier conundrum. The *Monologion* contains very few explicit scriptural quotations,

while the *Proslogion,* in which Anselm condenses the *Monologion's* 'chain of arguments' into a single *unum argumentum,* is awash with scriptural language. If scriptural authority is dispensable, at least for the sake of (the *Monologion's*) argument, then what purpose does its presence serve in the *Proslogion*? Many of his other works offer similar puzzles. His trio of dialogues, *De Veritate, De Libertate Arbitrii* and *De Casu Diaboli,* exploring questions of truth, freedom of choice and the fall of the devil, contain only a small handful of visible scriptural references. His *Cur Deus homo,* the text outlining his theory of atonement, features sporadic clusters of scriptural quotations at certain junctures of the argument. Yet Anselm describes the three dialogues as 'pertaining to the study of sacred scripture' and the *Cur Deus homo* as 'proving' 'everything which is contained in the Old and New Testaments', despite being conducted '*Christo remoto*'. On what grounds is scripture largely excluded from texts which purport to 'pertain to the study of sacred scripture', while it is included in the work which aims to proceed without a knowledge of Christ? The place occupied by scripture in Anselm's thought and its presence or absence in his writings is therefore not only essential to mapping out the relationship between the devotional and dialectical methods in his search for theological knowledge. The combination of selective presence and selective absence of scripture in his writings requires an explanation: when scriptural authority could be temporarily suspended in one theological argument, why was it included in others?

In order to gauge the presence or absence of scripture in Anselm's writings, it must first be established what is meant by 'scripture'. In doing so, this study seeks to circumvent the Scylla and Charybdis of anachronistic visions of the medieval Bible and its place in the lives of medieval Christians. The way in which 'scripture' is conceived is essential to any methodology for identifying it in an author's work. Too narrow conceptualization, defining scripture as reductively limited to the written words on the

page and isolated from the ritual and performative contexts in which it was received, would yield a methodology which simply equated scriptural presence with citation. This approach would only be capable of tracking instances of textual reproduction, and would lack the nuance required to analyse scripture's presence beyond mere computation of frequency and repetition. Too broad a conceptualization, however, taking scripture to be indicative of a general Christian-theological outlook or identified simply with the traditional body of Christian teaching would not only dissolve scripture's textuality, but thereby preclude any possibility of its absence. An authentic impression of scripture must be drawn from Anselm's own historical context.

This dissertation's first part, 'Scripture in Anselm's world', therefore explores what 'scripture' would have meant in Anselm's eleventh-century environs. The first chapter examines the 'locations of scriptural encounter' which Anselm would have experienced in his life as a monk. This chapter focuses on the liturgy as the central 'location' for engaging with scriptural material on a daily basis. It seeks not only to establish how precise an impression it is possible to glean of the liturgical traditions Anselm would have known at Bec, but also to investigate the beliefs about scripture which Anselm's theological inheritance would have bequeathed him, and the practical encounters with holy texts which a life of liturgical observance would have entailed.

This investigation into Anselm's liturgical world yields a conceptualization of scripture as inextricable (in his case) from monastic observance. Scripture was understood as a textual canon whose full spiritual meaning was brought to life by prayerful, performative, moral and mystical Christian practice. Text and reception were therefore of a piece, the written words and their performance mutually expanding and vivifying one other. The methodology required to uncover this sort of scriptural presence therefore cannot simply scan for traces of textual reproduction. It must be

able uncover scriptural traces which monastic reception had swelled with associations, as if 'inhaled' and 'exhaled' through liturgical prayer, private devotion, the structures of obedience and humility which disposed the soul to receptivity and the moral striving which propelled it towards contemplation. In the second chapter, 'Methodology: what scripture is and how to find it', scripture is therefore conceptualised as 'the Revealed Bible in reception', that is, the material content of the Bible embedded in its interpretative and performative reception. Since much of Anselm's life was spent in the Norman monastery of Bec, this reception, for him, would have been shaped by rites and routines of a Benedictine monk. Extracts from the Revealed Bible would come with a particular biography. Biblical words, themes and phrases would carry clusters of associations, fashioned by the liturgy's 'poetry' and embedded in the customs of the cloister. These clusters of words, phrases and images taken from the Revealed Bible and bearing the marks of monastic and liturgical reception are termed '*signa',* identification-markers pointing to the many meanings which the words themselves carried. It is these *signa* which this study aims to uncover in Anselm's writings.

Since it was Anselm's monastic context which sculpted his reception of the Revealed Bible's content, the first place to search for *signa* is the section of Anselm's corpus which most closely represents his engagement with monastic life. This study's second part, 'Scriptural *signa* in Anselm's prayers and meditations', therefore scrutinises Anselm's devotional works, the collection of prayers and meditations which were largely products of his time at Bec, for clusters of biblical words, phrases, images and associations. This collection of nineteen prayers and three meditations contains numerous *signa* – the biblical 'slave to sin', the desire for the 'face of God', the image of the 'fount of life', the promise of 'fullness of joy' – which touch upon critical themes of sin, redemption, and the search for God. The *signa* are therefore grouped thematically

and divided into four chapters. The first chapter groups together the *signa* concerned with sin, the second, those concerned with the process of approaching God, the third, those picturing the redemptive mechanics of monastic '*satisfactio*', and the fourth, those evoking the hope of future satiety. Scrutinising the prayers and meditations for scriptural *signa* thus offers a point of reference for the ways in which biblical material passed through the 'meditative machinery' of Anselm's monastic observance, and supplies a bank of *signa* which can then be sought in Anselm's other works.

This study then turns to the works in which scripture's role seems most ambiguous - Anselm's *Proslogion,* containing his 'proof' for God's existence, his three philosophical dialogues, allegedly 'pertaining to the study of sacred scripture', and the *Cur Deus homo,* featuring his theory of atonement. The third part, 'Scriptural *signa* in the *Proslogion,* the three dialogues and the *Cur Deus homo',* scrutinises these key texts for the *signa* found in the prayers and meditations, or any other similar clusters of scriptural words and associations. Discovering *signa* which mirror, formally or materially, the *signa* of Anselm's devotional writings in the works which most famously showcase his dialectical skill, constitutes compelling evidence for Anselm's monastic scriptural reception directly informing his broader theo-logical pursuits. The *signa* uncovered in this third part are grouped once more according to theme, and divided into four chapters: 'Sin: entrapment in misperception', 'Seeking: longing for Christ's light', 'Satisfaction 1: satisfying redemption's demands' and 'Satisfaction 2: satisfying the soul's desire'. Since only a selection of Anselm's key works will be treated, and since images and allusions will surely be missed, this dissertation makes no claims to comprehensiveness. Yet its method offers a way of isolating and examining the scriptural presence in Anselm's writings which reflects a conceptualization of scripture native to Anselm's own context, not as mere reproduction of text, but as the deep

interiorisation of themes and ideas intimately connected to scriptural words and phrases.

When these scriptural signa are allowed to stand out from Anselm's texts like braille from a page, they present the scholar with a revised, more richly textured theological narrative than many secondary reconstructions. Monastic themes, such as moral integration, purity of heart and the trajectory of humility overspill the boundaries of his devotional writings to shape his intellectual enquiry. What results are fresh readings of Anselm's theology. The *Proslogion* is revealed to have at its heart a deeply monastic theme: the integration of interior disposition and exterior speech. The *Cur Deus homo,* almost universally considered a radical departure from patristic atonement models, is revealed to be considerably indebted to the older redemptive motifs evoked by scriptural *signa*. In terms of scripture's place in Anselm's thought, moreover, the *signa* demonstrate the fundamental preparatory role played by monastic rumination as a prerequisite for intellectual endeavour. The 'seeds' of biblical revelation (to use a metaphor employed by Anselm himself), planted in his monastic prayer, yield a crop which is 'harvested' in rational enquiry to proffer a fuller 'tasting' of the truth of what is believed. What this study achieves, then, is not only a re-examination of some of Anselm's most significant contributions to Christian thought, and a detailed articulation of the monastery's influence in supplying and shaping his arguments. It also helps to construct a more thorough account of how he envisaged the movement from *fides* to *intellectum*, and of scripture's place within it.

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Finally, to my parents Geoff and Jo Cresswell, whose generosity enabled me to pursue an academic path and whose own relationship with scripture sparked my interest in Anselm's, it seems most fitting to dedicate this project.

Abbreviations

BM	*The Bec Missal*. Edited by Anselm Hughes. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1963.
CB	*Consuetudines Beccenses.* Edited by Marie Pascal Dickson, OSB. *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum,* IV. Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1967.
CCCM	*Corpus christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis.* Turnhout: Brepols, 1966-
CCSL	*Corpus christianorum, series Latina.* Turnhout: Brepols, 1953-
CDH	Anselm, *Cur Deus homo.*
CS	*Carmina scripturarum.* Edited by Carl Marbach. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1963.
DC	Anselm, *De Concordia Praescientiae et Praedestinationis et Gratiae Dei cum Libero Arbitrio.*
DCD	Anselm, *De Casu Diaboli.*
DDC	Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana.*
DIV	Anselm, *De Incarnatione Verbi.*
DLA	Anselm, *De Libertate Arbitrii.*
DV	Anselm, *De Veritate.*
Ep.	*Epistola.*
M	Anselm, *Monologion.*
Med	*Meditatio.*
NRSV	Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version.
P	Anselm, *Proslogion.*
PL	*Patrologia cursus completus: series Latina.* Edited by J.-P. Migne, 162 volumes. Paris: Migne, 1841-1864.

O	*Oratio.*
RB	Benedict of Nursia, *Regula Benedicti.*
SC	*Sources chrétiennes.* Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1942-
VA	Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi.*

Note concerning editions and translations

Translations

All translations from Anselm's works are mine unless indicated. The main exception, in which another translation is preferred, is in references to Anselm's letters, which follow the translation of Walter Fröhlich, in *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury,* 3 volumes (Kalamazoo, Mich: Cistercian Publications, 1990-1994). In making my translations, I consulted a number of pre-existing translations, especially those of Benedicta Ward, in *The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm, with the Proslogion* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), and Jasper Hopkins and Herbert Richardson, in *Anselm of Canterbury*, 4 volumes (London: SCM Press, 1974).

The sections of Anselm's writings which appear in translation in the body of the thesis are included in Latin in the appendix.

Translations of other Latin authors, such as Augustine, Cassiodorus, Cassian, Bede, Amalarius of Metz and Durandus, are taken from recent reputable translations, and have been checked against the original Latin. References to these works take the following pattern: book, chapter, paragraph and line number (if relevant) from the Latin edition, followed by volume and page number from the English translation.

References to the *Benedictine Rule*, Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi* and Lanfranc's *Constitutions* are taken from the side-by-side Latin and English translations of Timothy Fry, R. W. Southern and David Knowles respectively. References to these translations will follow this pattern: volume number (if relevant) chapter number (if relevant), page number.

English translations of biblical texts are taken from the Douai-Rheims translation of the Latin Vulgate unless indicated. Where the meaning of the text is made clearer by making use of a newer translation, the New Revised Standard Version is used, and is indicated in brackets.

Editions

The majority of references to Anselm's works are taken from *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia,* edited by F. S. Schmitt, 6 volumes (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1940-1951). References to this edition will follow this pattern: volume number in Schmitt's edition (SI-VI), title of work, book and chapter (if relevant), with page number and line number following the colon.

References to Anselm's letters are taken from *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury,* translated by Walter Fröhlich, 3 volumes (Kalamazoo, Mich: Cistercian Publications, 1990-1994). References to this translation will follow this pattern: *Ep.,* the number of letter, followed by the volume and page number in Fröhlich's translation.

References to the *Liber Anselmi archiepiscopi de humanis moribus per similitudines* and the *Liber ex dictis beati Anselmi* are taken from *Memorials of St Anselm,* edited by R. W. Southern and F. S. Schmitt (London: Oxford University Press, 1969). References will cite the chapter and line number, followed by the page number.

The Latin Bible used in this study is the Vulgate: *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatem versionem*, 4th edition, edited by Roger Gryson, with B. Fischer, H. I. Frede, H. F. D. Sparks and W. Thiele (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994). Reference was also made to the online search tool www.biblegateway.com. Psalm numbers follow the Vulgate numbering.

Introduction: locations of spiritual authority

'It can scarcely be too strongly emphasised', claimed Richard Southern in his classic biography of Anselm of Canterbury, 'that that the span of Anselm's life covered one of the most momentous periods in European history'.[1] For many historians of the 'long twelfth-century', the decades from Anselm's birth in 1033 to his death in 1109 laid the foundations for a period of 'renewal', 'renaissance', 'reformation' or even 'revolution' in the culture of the Latin west.[2] On these accounts, the second half of the eleventh century was the hinge on which the central middle ages turned, inaugurating a renewed confidence in intellectual endeavour and a burgeoning interest in literacy, individuality, selfhood and the tools of 'reason'.[3] Anselm himself often appears in scholarly imaginations at the vanguard of this movement, displaying a 'humanistic' concern for personal interiority, employing daring dialectical methods to arrive at new theological insights, and even championing the *libertas* of his episcopal see over the claims of the

[1] R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 4.

[2] Giles Constable, 'Renewal and Reform in Religious Life: Concepts and Realities', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century,* ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 37-67, and *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c. 970-1215* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); Thomas F. X. Noble and John Van Engen (eds.), *European Transformations*: *the long twelfth century* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012).

[3] Susan R. Kramer and Caroline Walker Bynum, 'Revisiting the Twelfth-Century Individual: The Inner Self and the Christian Community' in *Das Eigene und das Ganze: Zum individuellen im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum,* ed. Gert Melville and Markus Schürer, (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2002), 57–85; Bynum, 'Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?', in *Jesus as Mother: studies in the spirituality of the high middle ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 82-109; Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200* (London: S.P.C.K., 1072); Thomas H. Bestul, 'Self and Subjectivity in Prayers and Meditations of Anselm of Canterbury', in *Saint Anselm: Bishop and Thinker*, ed. Roman Majeran and Edward Iwo Zielinski (Lublin: The University Press of the Catholic University of Lublin, 1999), 137-156; Kramer, *Sin, Interiority, and Selfhood in the Twelfth-Century West* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2015).

English crown.[4] For some, it was Anselm who blazed the trail for Peter Abelard's (c.1079-1142) incursions of *ratio* onto the hallowed ground of divine revelation.[5]

The world into which Anselm was born in the Alpine town of Aosta was itself negotiating the relationship between the old and the new. Many of Christian society's prime players believed that spiritual regeneration was necessary to rectify ('*emendare',* '*corrigere'*) the errors into which they had slid and restore Christianity's early purity.[6] This concept of 'reform' has been nuanced in recent scholarship – the traditional image of an homogenous, centralised, clerical 'programme' having given way to a more diverse tapestry of local reforming processes stemming from lay sources as well as clerical – but, as Lauren Mancia has recently argued, the drive towards renewing the spiritual landscape, both external and internal, belonged firmly within the mind-set of many of Anselm's near-contemporaries.[7] Despite the diversity of their local manifestations, this

[4] Despite concluding in 1970 that Anselm could be described as a humanist, Southern became more reticent towards the end of his career: Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), 9-18; *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe. Vol. I: Foundations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 26-27; *Portrait,* 447-452. Anna Sapir Abulafia uses the qualifier 'Christian' in referring to Anselm's humanism: *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 39-47; Benjamin Brown shows no hesitation in applying the term to Anselm: 'The Christian Humanism of Anselm of Canterbury', in John P. Bequette, (ed), *A Companion to Medieval Christian Humanism: essays on principal thinkers* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 62-87.

[5] For the twinning of Anselm and Abelard, see Giles E. M. Gasper and Helmut Kohlenberger (eds.), *Anselm and Abelard: investigations and juxtapositions* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2006); David E. Luscombe, 'St. Anselm and Abelard', *Anselm Studies* 1 (1983), 208-213; M. B. Pranger, 'Medieval Ethics and the Illusion of Interiority: Augustine, Anselm, Abelard', in *Virtue and Ethics in the Twelfth Century,* ed. István Pieter Bejczy and Richard Newhauser (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 11-32, and 'Sic Et Non: Patristic Authority between Refusal and Acceptance: Anselm of Canterbury, Peter Abelard and Bernard of Clairvaux', in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West, Vol 1: From the Carolingians to the Maurists,* ed. Irena Backus (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 165-193.

[6] Julia Barrow, 'Ideas and Applications of Reform', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. III: Early medieval Christianities, c. 600-c. 1100,* ed. Thomas F.X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 345-62.

[7] Lauren Mancia, *Emotional Monasticism: affective piety in the eleventh-century monastery of John of Fécamp* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), 4-6. For new perspectives on 'reform', see Maureen Miller, 'Reconsidering Reform: a Roman Example', in *Christianity and Culture in the Middle Ages: Essays to Honor John Van Engen*, ed. David C. Mengel and Lisa Wolverton (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015), 123-140; Steven Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900-1100* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 1-13, and 'Monastic Reform from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West,* ed. A. Beach and I. Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 599-617. For a critical response to these developments, see John Howe, 'Reforming Reform: Steven

period's 'reforming' currents can be viewed under a particular aspect: the struggle to clarify the relationship between two planes of reality. Anselm's thought took shape amid a growing desire to map the relationship between the spiritual sphere, which was gradually gaining a more robust articulation, and the temporal sphere, which was increasingly differentiated over and against it. Clarifying the nature of God's presence in the world, identifying the points of contact between earthly and heavenly realms, and negotiating the conditions for the reliable mediation of spiritual authority on the terrestrial plane were concerns which formed the backdrop to Anselm's literary career.

The attempt to locate the sources of spiritual authority and renegotiate their relationship with terrestrial authority underpinned the claims of the eleventh century's newly vivified papacy. Steered by a succession of ambitious popes, the papacy morphed into an active political force (akin to a 'monarchy', in Colin Morris's view) of increasing theological self-assurance, laying universal claim to the sphere of spiritual authority in a way which undercut the prerogatives of lay rulers.[8] In this increased differentiation between the spiritual and temporal, it was the contaminating presence of lay influence which was thought to undermine the legitimate sanctity of the spiritual sphere.[9] The battle-cry of Pope Gregory VII (c. 1015–1085) was *libertas ecclesiae:* the 'freedom' of the Church, both in the negative sense of extricating ecclesiastical life from lay encroachment and in the positive sense of returning the Church to original purity by

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Vanderputten's Monastic Histories', *Catholic Historical Review*, 102:4 (2016), 814-819; and Conrad Leyser, 'Church Reform – Full of Sound and Fury, Signifying Nothing?', *Early Medieval Europe,* 24.4 (2016), 478-499.

[8] Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: the Western church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

[9] Much impetus for reform, however, had originated from lay nobility. See John Howe, 'The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church', *American Historical Review*, 93:2 (1988), 317-339; Jonathan R. Lyon, 'Nobility and Monastic Patronage: The View from Outside the Monastery', in *Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism,* 848-864; Isabelle Rosé, 'Interactions between Monks and the Lay Nobility (from the Carolingian Era through the Eleventh Century)', in *Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism,* 579-598.

purging perceived abuses.[10] Gregory, like his predecessors Leo IX (1002-1054), Nicholas II (c. 980-1061) and Alexander II (c. 1018-1073), sought to disentangle papal appointments from the influence of the Salian dynasty and reserve the right to invest all episcopal office-holders. This attempt to lay claim to an unprecedented universality of spiritual jurisdiction, even down to the power to absolve subjects from their loyalty to kings, underpinned the so-called 'Investiture Controversy' which came to a head in the famous conflict between Pope Gregory VII and King/Emperor Henry IV (1050-1106) in the 1070s and 1080s. This claim to authority was rigorously contested; the pontificates of Nicholas II, Alexander II and Gregory VII, as well as their successors Victor III (c.1026-1086), Urban II (c.1042-1088), Paschal II (c.1050-1099) and Gelasius II (c.1061-1119) were all threatened by rival papal candidates supported by their political opponents. Gregory also faced staunch opposition from the bishops who believed that in overstretching Rome's prerogatives, the Pope was disregarding the traditional liberties of the episcopate.[11] Yet whether it was in support of a greater centralisation of papal authority, or in opposition to it, the legitimacy of spiritual jurisdiction in the 'external' sphere was intimately connected with the Church's 'internal' purity, guaranteed, so many 'reformers' believed, by the moral and social distinctiveness of its clergy. The 'purchase' of ecclesiastical appointments and the practice of marriage and concubinage amongst the clergy were believed to be the polluting elements which needed to be expunged in order for the Church to exercise its spiritual power legitimately. The prohibition on clerics paying homage to their lay lords in return for

[10] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 495-583; 608-658.
[11] I. S. Robinson, '"Periculosus Homo": Pope Gregory VII and Episcopal Authority', *Viator,* 9 (1978), 103-131; and *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: the polemical literature of the late eleventh century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), 151-190.

their offices was frequently renewed during Anselm's lifetime; at Pope Urban II's Easter Council in Rome at 1099, Anselm heard the ruling first-hand.[12]

Anselm's biographer Eadmer (c.1060-c.1126), the Canterbury monk who memorialised his hero in his *Vita Sancti Anselmi* and *Historia Novorum in Anglia,* describes the latter portion of Anselm's life as caught between the teeth of the reforming papacy's demands.[13] In 1093, a reluctant Anselm was elevated from his office as abbot of the Norman monastery of Bec to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.[14] Sally Vaughn has argued that royal and ecclesiastical powers working in tandem had been characteristic of Bec's relationship with the duchy of Normandy.[15] Yet with Anselm's elevation to Canterbury, this diarchic model seems to have crumbled as the new archbishop's relationships with William II (c.1056-1100) and Henry I (c.1068-1135) were hit by the shrapnel of the papacy's expanded jurisdictional claims. Twice, Eadmer recounts, Anselm went into voluntary exile from his see: the first time in 1097, owing partly to William II's refusal to recognise Urban II over the rival papal candidate Clement III (c.1029-1100), and the second time in 1105, over the archbishop's refusal to pay homage to Henry I.[16] Although Vaughn has argued that Anselm should be considered a champion of Canterbury's rights rather than a wholesale supporter of the papal camp, his London council of 1102, prohibiting clerical marriage, concubinage and simony, nonetheless demonstrates his own conviction that the 'inner' purity of the

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[12] Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi,* ed. and trans. R. W. Southern as *The Life of St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1962), II.28, 115-116. Hereafter *VA.* See also C. Warren Hollister, 'St Anselm on Lay Investiture', *Anglo-Norman Studies,* 10 (1987), 145-158; and Sally Vaughn, 'St Anselm and the English investiture controversy reconsidered', *Journal of Medieval History*, 6:1 (1980), 61-86.
[13] For the classic double biography of the two men, see Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059-c.1130* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).
[14] On the question of Anselm's reluctance, see Vaughn, 'Anselm: Saint and Statesman', *Albion* 20 (1988), 205-220, and *Archbishop Anselm 1093-1109: Bec Missionary, Canterbury Primate, Patriarch of another world* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 55-60; Southern, 'Sally Vaughn's Anselm: An Examination of the Foundations', *Albion* 20 (1988), 181-204.
[15] Vaughn, *Archbishop Anselm,* 65-71.
[16] *VA,* II.20-21, 91-98; II.52, 130.

Church, set apart (at least in theory) from the encroachment of worldly affairs, was essential to the Church's claim to constitute a vital location of spiritual authority in contradistinction from the temporal sphere.[17]

Anselm would have witnessed the crystallising distinction between spiritual and temporal planes long before his removal to Canterbury in 1093. The drive to purify the channels by which God's presence was mediated had sprung up from the soil of tenth-century monasticism. Monasteries such as Cluny, Gorze and Fleury, promising to house a renewal of discipline and purity, had supplied the reforming popes with many of their supporters: Pope Leo IX's circle included Humbert of Silva Candida (d.1061) from the reformed monastery of Moyenmoutier (associated with Gorze), Frederick of Lorraine (c.1020-1058) the future abbot of Montecassino who would later become Pope Stephen IX, and Hildebrand, the future Gregory VII, who joined Leo directly from a stay at Cluny.[18] As in the papacy's attempts at reform, the kind of spiritual authority promised by these monastic centres hinged on the 'internal' purity of their monastic observance, encapsulated in a return to the discipline and order of the *Regula Benedicti*. Cluny's flourishing in the tenth and eleventh centuries evinces this demand for a renewed monastic strictness; indeed, dissatisfied monks began to arrive at Cluny and Fleury from other, less exacting monasteries in search for the spiritual renewal which they promised.[19]

The monasteries' status as centres of spiritual authority entailed, at least theoretically, complete withdrawal from the world. Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi* relates

[17] Vaughn, 'St Anselm and the English investiture controversy reconsidered', *Journal of Medieval History*, 6:1 (1980), 61-86.
[18] Kathleen G. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 66-68.
[19] Ute-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy*: *Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 12.

Anselm's vision of 'a swift and turbulent river into which flowed all the purgings and filth of the whole earth', signifying 'the torrent of the world by which worldly men are caught', contrasted with an enclosure of 'most pure and shining silver', which represented 'the true monastic life'.[20] The cloister walls, in Anselm's view, traced a spiritual membrane which pushed back against the encroaching thrust of the sinful world. The power of these new monastic centres, moreover, rested in their identity as points of contact between earth and heaven. Part of Cluny's distinctive form of piety was its special connection with the dead, enabling the monastery to function as an interface between this life and the next.[21] Monastic foundations such as Cluny answered the need for a pure and uncorrupted channel mediating between spiritual and terrestrial planes, one in which an 'interior' purity based on a setting-apart from the world was the guarantee of the monastery's legitimacy as a reliable locus for spiritual authority.[22]

The monastery of Bec in Normandy, where Anselm made his profession around 1060, lay almost at the geographical centre of a constellation of these reforming powerhouses: Fécamp, St Wandrille, Jumièges, St Evroult, Troarn and St Ouen. Supported by the dukes of Normandy, a wave of Italian abbots, most famously William of Volpiano (962 -1031), imported their own brand of monastic order into dozens of Norman monasteries.[23] Another Italian, John of Fécamp (c.990-1079), followed William

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[20] *VA,* I.21, 35.
[21] Jennifer Harris, 'Building Heaven on Earth: Cluny as *locus sanctissimus* in the Eleventh Century', in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: the medieval customs of Cluny*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 131-152.
[22] For the multidimensionality of this 'inside-outside' paradigm, see Gert Melville, 'Inside and Outside: Considerations about cloistral boundaries in the central middle ages', in *Ecclesia in medio nationis: reflections on the study of monasticism in the central Middle Ages*, ed. Steven Vanderputten and Brigitte Meijns (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011), 167-182.
[23] Mancia, *Emotional Monasticism,* 57-62. One important element of William's reform was in the monasteries' chant: Jesse D. Billett, 'Discerning "Reform" in Monastic Liturgy (c. 750–1050)', in *Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism,* 415-431, esp. 424.

to Saint-Bénigne de Dijon and then to Fécamp, where he took over the restructuring of the monastery which Dukes Richard I (932-996) and Richard II (978-1026) had allocated as their burial site.[24] Lanfranc, too (c.1005-1089), later to become the first archbishop of Canterbury after the Norman conquest, travelled north from his native Pavia, first to Avranches, where he probably met Anselm for the first time, and then to Bec to become the young monastery's prior, bringing with him a reputation for learning and legal expertise.[25] The renunciation of worldliness, moreover, was a fundamental to the Bec monks' own narrative of their monastery's inception. Bec's founder Herluin (c.997-1078) was a converted layman who, like Cluny's founder William of Aquitaine, dedicated his own land to the building of the monastery. When Bec monks began to write the biographies of their first abbots in the early decades of the twelfth century, dramatic transformation of life was a common trope.[26]

The monastery's (theorietical) position of remove from the world of temporal affairs required continual renegotiation. Bec's surrounding territory belonged to the counts of Brionne, an area with a history of unrest. During Lanfranc's tenure as prior of Bec, the rebellious Guy of Burgundy had held out against duke William I in Brionne's fortress, only a short distance from the monastery.[27] The success of William's consolidation of political power in Normandy was due in no small measure to the web of loyal monastic houses over whose major appointments the duke retained a guiding hand.[28] Lanfranc in particular set a precedent for cooperation with the Norman political

[24] David Chadd, 'Introduction', in *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp: Fécamp, Musée de la Bénédictine, Ms 186* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2000), I.14-15; Mancia, *Emotional Monasticism,* 130-131.
[25] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9-10.
[26] Gilbert Crispin's *Vita Herluini* and Milo Crispin's *Vita Lanfranci* placed their subjects' turnings from the world at the centre of Bec's identity. See Jean-Hervé Foulon, 'The Foundation and Early History of Bec', in *A Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec in the Central Middle Ages (11th–13th Centuries),* ed. Benjamin Pohl and Laura Gathagan (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 11-37, and Vaughn, *Archbishop Anselm,* 28-29.
[27] Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 30-31.
[28] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc,* 29-38.

elite, often straddling the fault-line between ecclesiastical, ducal and papal politics.[29] Nor did Anselm experience Bec as a haven from the pollutions of politics; only three years after his monastic profession he was elected prior in place of Lanfranc, an office he held for sixteen years until his election as abbot in 1079. As prior, he oversaw administration of the monastery, directed architectural projects, protected Bec property in legal cases and enthusiastically recruited new members.[30] Moreover, many monks to fall under his authority went on to climb their own ecclesiastical career ladders. Bec furnished candidates for important positions in many of the older, more well-established foundations in Normandy, such as Lessay, Cormeilles, Saint-Ouen, Saint Wandrille, Fécamp and Mont Saint-Michel, as well as many strategic abbacies and bishoprics in the newly-conquered England, such as Rochester, Malmesbury, St Albans, Westminster and Battle.[31] Anselm may have envisaged life outside the cloister as a river of filth, but he nonetheless presided over an expanding religious house which rivalled Normandy's most well-established monasteries for political influence.

The boundaries between temporal and spiritual spheres therefore needed to be drawn at an interior level. As Lauren Mancia has recently argued of the abbey of Fécamp, setting oneself apart from the world at the level of social, economic and moral life was not sufficient to constitute a full spiritual 'conversion'.[32] Interior freedom from the encroachment of worldly affairs was to be established in the monks' own souls. Indeed, the scandal of the 'worldly' monk, preoccupied with wealth and status, prompted waves of criticism against older monastic houses like Cluny. The reform-minded Peter Damian (c. 1007-c.1072) complained of the monks' unholy interest in

[29] *Ibid.,* 34-37. Lanfranc is often credited with obtaining papal dispensation for Duke William's marriage to Matilda, although Cowdrey notes that Lanfranc's precise role is far from clear.
[30] Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 201.
[31] Vaughn, *Archbishop Anselm,* 27.
[32] Mancia, *Emotional Monasticism,* 18-45.

litigation, property and business, and John of Fécamp lamented that the 'ways and manners of clergy and people, priest and monk, are indistinguishable'.[33] A monastery's legitimacy as a locus of spiritual authority therefore required the dividing-lines between spiritual and temporal spheres to be drawn not only on an exterior level, but in terms of an interior 'conversion' on the part of its monks. Anselm's own devotional writings, the collection of prayers and meditations which he begun during the first two decades of his monastic life, are considered by some to be rhetorical agents for this conversion.[34]

The renegotiation of the relationship between spiritual and terrestrial planes, and the reliability of the connection between them, also touched the period's reflections on sacramentality. The desire for a setting-apart of the clergy at the level of the interior life revealed a theological ambiguity about the nature of priestly ordination.[35] Precisely where the true spiritual meaning of a priest's ordination lay, and what sorts of malpractice could invalidate it, mystified Christendom's loftiest churchmen. When Pope Leo IX declared in his Lateran Synod of 1049 that no ordination performed by a simoniac was valid, his statement provoked an outcry which forced him to moderate his stance.[36] Peter Damian and Humbert of Silva Candida disagreed over whether or not such priests should be re-ordained, and Pope Gregory VII urged the faithful to boycott masses celebrated by married or unchaste priests.[37] Such ambiguities, especially in the

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[33] John of Fécamp, Letter '*Tuae quidem'*, in *Un maitre de la vie spirituelle au XIe siècle, Jean de Fécamp,* ed. Jean Leclercq and Jean Paul Bonnes, (Paris: J. Vrin, 1946), 201-203, quoted in Jean Leclercq, 'The Monastic Crisis of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages,* ed. Noreen Hunt (London: Macmillan, 1971), 222. For Peter Damian, see Patricia Ranft, *The Theology of Work: Peter Damian and the Medieval Religious Renewal Movement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); and Gordon Mursell, 'Turning the World Upside-Down: St Peter Damian's Theology of the Spiritual Life', in *Prayer and Thought in Monastic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Benedicta Ward SLG*, ed. Santha Bhattacharji, Dominic Mattos and Rowan Williams (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2014), 139-152.
[34] Southern, *Portrait,* 91-112; Rachel Fulton Brown, *From Judgment to Passion: devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 174.
[35] Cushing, *Reform and Papacy,* 35.
[36] Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, 74.
[37] *Ibid*., 75-76.

potential Donatism in Gregory's position, reflected a very real threat to the nature of spiritual authority. Whoever held the mandate to rule on the validity or invalidity of a priest's sacramental ministry had the authority to determine, identify and administer heavenly realities as well as earthly ones. Like the monasteries, whose ability to mediate between temporal and spiritual realms hung upon the monks' interior separateness, so disputes over the nature of ordination necessitated a renewed concern for the relationship between the 'exterior' integrity of the priest's moral actions and the 'interior' validity of his liturgical ones.

This concern was reflected in similar discussions over the nature of the Eucharist. The church Fathers had offered multiple definitions of the sacrament: Ambrose stressed the corporeal reality of Christ's presence, Augustine the 'sacred sign' of Christ's crucifixion and of the union of all Christians, and Isidore of Seville the physical token which indicated a spiritual reality.[38] The ninth-century Eucharistic debate between Pasachius Radbertus (785–865) and Ratramnus of Corbie (d. 868) had grappled both with the question of interpreting patristic authority and with the fundamental meanings of words such as *figura* and *sacramentum*.[39] The question was raised once more in the eleventh century by Berengar of Tours (c. 999-1088), a canon educated at the cathedral school at Chartres, whose teaching on the Eucharistic change was condemned by Lanfranc, Hildebrand, Humbert, Durandus of Troarn (c. 1012-1089)

[38] Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, 'Semiotic Anthropology: The Twelfth Century Experiment', in *European Transformations,* 434. For the varieties of medieval Eucharistic theology, see Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984) and Henri De Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: the Eucharist and the church in the Middle Ages*, trans. Laurence Paul Hemming and Susan Frank Parsons (London: SCM, 2006).

[39] Willemien Otten, 'Between Augustinian Sign and Carolingian Reality: the Presence of Ambrose and Augustine in the Eucharistic Debate Between Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramnus of Corbie', *Dutch Review of Church History,* 80:2 (2000), 137-156; Patricia McCormick Zirkel, 'The Ninth Century Eucharistic Controversy: a Context for the Beginnings of the Eucharistic Doctrine in the West', *Worship* 68 (1994), 8-9.

and other associates of Leo IX.[40] Berengar's argument revolved around Augustine's definition of the sacrament as a 'sign'; if a 'sign' is defined as something which points to something other than itself, then the Eucharistic bread could not literally become the physical substance of Christ's body during consecration at the mass because it would cease to be something distinct from what it signifies.[41] Moreover, to argue that the substance of bread no longer remains after the Eucharistic change would make the sentence 'this [bread] is Christ's body' a logical impossibility according to the laws of grammar. Berengar reasoned that the substance on the altar must therefore still be bread, housing the presence of Christ's body only in a spiritual sense.

The logical nature of Berengar's arguments not only sought to delineate more precisely the relationship between the spiritual and temporal, the 'interior' essence of a thing and its 'exterior' appearance. It also necessitated a greater philosophical sophistication on the part of those wishing to counter him. Lanfranc's arguments in his refutation, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini,* written around 1060-3, made liberal use of dialectical language, albeit with the author's frequent assurances of his reluctance to do so.[42] Although Berengar eventually retracted his views in the face of sustained papal pressure, his attempt to sketch the nature of the Eucharistic change carried the threat of an alternative authority, that of rational argumentation, drawn from the principles of logic. It is too simplistic (as Toivo Holopainen notes) to picture the eleventh century as a tussle between 'dialecticians' and 'anti-dialecticians', yet the relationship between

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[40] Berengar of Tours, *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum,* ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 84 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988). See also Henry Chadwick, 'Symbol and reality: Berengar and the appeal to the Fathers', in *Auctoritas und Ratio. Studien zu Berengar von Tours*, ed. Peter Ganz, R.B.C. Huygens and Friedrich Niewöhner (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990), 25-45; and Toivo J. Holopainen, *Dialectic and Theology in the Eleventh Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 77-118.
[41] Bedos-Rezak, 'Semiotic Anthropology', 433-434.
[42] Lanfranc, *De corpore et sanguine Domini adversus Berengarium Turonensem: (excerpta)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010,) trans. Mark G. Vaillancourt as *On the Body and Blood of the Lord* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009).

sacred topics and the use of 'profane' methods to explicate them required urgent renegotiation.[43]

Anselm's Bec was a prime location for this renegotiation. The education Anselm received prior to his monastic profession was shaped by the very dialectical methods which Berengar put to so bold a use. On his departure from Aosta, the young Anselm spent three years 'partly in Burgundy and partly in France' receiving a cutting-edge education in the skills of the liberal arts, grammar, logic and rhetoric.[44] Bec's reputation for learning initially raised Anselm's fears that Lanfranc's brilliance might outshine his own.[45] Indeed, Bec's school, which Lanfranc opened to non-monastic pupils, had become famous; in 1059, Pope Nicholas II sent his papal clerks to Bec for lessons in the liberal arts and scriptural study, and Pope Alexander II entrusted a favoured nephew to Lanfranc tutelage.[46] Lanfranc's teaching methods seemed to have capitalized on his expertise in dialectical analysis, subjecting scriptural texts to logical scrutiny in order to untangle their apparent paradoxes.[47] Lanfranc and Anselm, who started teaching soon after he arrived, probably employed the common pedagogical method of commenting on a text line by line with the students taking notes.[48] The personality of the pedagogue

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[43] Holopainen, *Dialectic and Theology,* 1-2.
[44] *VA,* I.5, 8; Southern, *Portrait,* 11-13.
[45] *VA* I.5, 9.
[46] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc,* 19-20; Sally Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein (eds.), *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, c. 1000-1200* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 7; Pierre Riché, 'La vie scolaire et la pédagogie au Bec au temps de Lanfranc et de Saint Anselme', in *Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XIe-XIIe siècles: études anselmiennes (IVe session): colloque,* ed. Jean Pouilloux (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1984), 213-227.
[47] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc,* 46-59.
[48] For Lanfranc's and Anselm's teaching, see Priscilla D. Watkins, 'Lanfranc at Caen: Teaching by Example', in *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, c. 1000-1200*, ed. Sally Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 70-97; Vaughn, 'Anselm of Bec: the pattern of his teaching', in *Teaching and Learning,* 98-127; Ann Collins, *Teacher in Faith and Virtue: Lanfranc of Bec's Commentary on Saint Paul* (Leiden: Brill, 2007). Collins's dating of Lanfranc's commentary on the Pauline epistles is disputed, so her conclusions regarding this text should be viewed with some hesitation: Marcia Colish, 'Teacher in Faith and Virtue: Lanfranc of Bec's Commentary on Saint Paul (review)', *The Catholic Historical Review* 94:4 (2008), 795-797; Gibson, 'Lanfranc's Commentary on the Pauline Epistles', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 22 (1971), 86-112.

was intended to form a significant part of the instruction, and Eadmer recounts the seriousness with which Anselm took this responsibility.[49] Indeed, it was his fellow monks who inspired Anselm's early authorial projects. Having supplied a logical dialogue, *De Grammatico,* for his monastic students, and begun his collection of prayers and meditations, Anselm began to turn his dialectical skills to theological topics. His *Monologion,* a 'meditation' on the 'divine essence', and its extension the *Proslogion,* were written from 1077-1079, followed by a trio of philosophically-themed dialogues, *De Veritate, De Libertate Arbitrii* and *De Casu Diaboli* in the 1080s. It was probably owing to the influence of Boso (d. 1136), a monk who sought out Anselm 'perplexed by many intricate problems which no-one whom he had been able to meet had unravelled to his satisfaction', that Anselm began the *Cur Deus homo* in 1094, a dialogue exploring the rationale behind the Incarnation which features Boso as its interlocutor.[50] Yet the application of dialectical methods to sacred topics was controversial, even at Bec. Although Church fathers had confirmed that selected 'pagan' texts, when translated into the Christian idiom, could convey divine wisdom, Anselm's *Monologion* nonetheless received criticism from Lanfranc for including too little scriptural and patristic authority.[51] Anselm's circle at Bec may have been the testing-ground for the suitability of dialectical methods in theological investigation, but his experiments had the potential to be destabilising, even for his own community.[52]

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[49] *VA* I.11, 20. For teaching 'by example', see Vaughn, 'Anselm of Le Bec and Canterbury: Teacher by Word and Example, Following the Footprints of His Ancestors', *Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec*, 57–93.
[50] *VA,* I.34, 60.
[51] Lanfranc's letter to Anselm does not survive, but Anselm's response is preserved in his letter collection: Anselm, *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury,* trans. Walter Fröhlich, 3 volumes (Kalamazoo, Mich: Cistercian Publications, 1990-1994), vol. 1, *Epistola* 77, 205-207. Hereafter *Ep.*
[52] Gasper, 'Envy, jealousy and the boundaries of orthodoxy: Anselm, Eadmer and the Genesis of the *Proslogion*', *Viator*, 41.2 (2010), 45-68. Gasper argues that factions within Bec itself were opposed to Anselm's dialectical boldness.

Indeed, the spectre of the logician's ability to threaten the accepted channels of authority loomed alarmingly close to home. Anselm's lifetime witnessed a renewed interest in the nature and value of words, prompted by the resurfacing of the so-called 'question of universals'. The 'question of universals' concerned whether a collective noun described a really-existing entity, or simply constituted a mental category. For the majority of western Christian thinkers since late antiquity, there existed, as in Plato's view, an invisible, transcendent world containing the pure forms of earthly things. Several *homines* could therefore be grouped under the term *homo* because a real, extramental *Homo,* in whose attributes all individual *homines* participated, existed in this invisible plane. This 'realist' position was challenged by the so-called 'nominalist' view: the term *homo* was only a label, the connection between language and the essential natures of things in the world was looser, and words did not necessarily capture the essences of the things to which they referred. This metaphysical problem had profound epistemological implications: if the 'natural' harmony between words and things was dislocated, how could language be trusted to offer access into the spiritual sphere? Anselm was propelled into the centre of this debate when the nominalist Roscelin of Compèigne (c. 1050–c. 1125), in teaching that only the conventions of language prevented the Trinity from being described as three separate gods, cited Lanfranc and Anselm as sharing his position. Anselm, eager to distance himself, set down his rebuttal in the form of an open letter, the *Epistola de Incarnatione Verbi,* which he drafted and redrafted from 1092 to 1094.[53] Roscelin's nominalism, Anselm wrote, did not make him a true 'dialectician', but rather a 'heretic of dialectic', and ought to

[53] For Roscelin's views, see the essays collected in Constant J. Mews, *Reason and Belief in the Age of Roscelin and Abelard* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2002). For the political context of the conflict, see Mews, 'St Anselm, Roscelin and the See of Beauvais', in *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury: papers in commemoration of the nine-hundredth anniversary of Anselm's enthronement as archbishop, 25 September 1093,* ed. D. E. Luscombe and G. R. Evans (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 106-119.

disqualify him entirely from probing into theological questions.[54] Although Roscelin was condemned at the Council of Soissons in 1092, the danger to theological discourse had been showcased. In the wrong hands, the alternative authority offered by the methods of the liberal arts could undermine not only orthodox doctrine, but the very ability of language to lead truly and reliably from visible realities to invisible ones.

Anselm was therefore planted firmly within his period's knottiest disputes concerning spiritual authority, its sources on the terrestrial plane, and their potential for mediating between temporal and spiritual worlds. Scripture, too, lay at the centre of these concerns.[55] Scripture's validity as a locus for divine authority was guaranteed, for medieval Christians, by its status as God's word of revelation. It was 'sacramental' in that the exterior words contained the interior Word, the living embodiment of God's intelligibility, whose presence in scripture was revealed to the faithful by the Holy Spirit.[56] It was only in the relatively recent Carolingian period that the number and order of the biblical books had been fixed, and it was scripture's status as human speech, as well as divine, which constituted a vital point of connection 'mediat[ing] between ordinary language and God's word'.[57] Christ's mediating presence in the holy

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[54] Anselm, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia,* ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 volumes (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1940-1951), vol. II, SII, *De Incarnatione Verbi,* 1:9.21-22. Translations from this edition are mine unless indicated.

[55] For classic studies of medieval scriptural interpretation, see Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages,* third edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); Henri de Lubac, *Medieval exegesis: the four senses of Scripture*, trans. Mark Sebanc, 3 volumes (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 1998-2009); Gilbert Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval, XIIe-XIVe siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 1999); and *Lire la Bible au Moyen Âge - Essais d'herméneutique médiévale* (Geneva: Droz, 2009). See also Ineke van 't Spijker (ed.), *The multiple meaning of scripture: the role of exegesis in early-Christian and medieval culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Earlier Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Margaret Gibson, *The Bible in the Latin West* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1993); and John Barton, *A History of the Bible: the book and its faiths* (London: Allen Lane, 2019).

[56] See Hans Boersma, *Scripture as Real Presence: sacramental exegesis in the early church* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017).

[57] Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, 'The Latin Bible, c. 600 to c. 900', in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, Vol. II: From 600 to 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 69-92; Stock, *Augustine the Reader: meditation, self-knowledge, and the ethics of interpretation* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1996), 11.

words of the Bible was what made the liturgical performance of these words an instrument of redemption, and the 'correcting' of scriptural manuscripts for this very purpose was among many 'reforming' monasteries' priorities. In negotiating the boundaries between spiritual and terrestrial spheres, scripture, as both human and divine language, ought to straddle the two.

This conundrum of the spiritual and its relation to the temporal is analogous to the puzzle which Anselm presents to secondary scholarship. How did Anselm the monk relate to Anselm the 'secure technician', confidently wielding dialectical methods in feats of philosophical enquiry?[58] Which path, prayer or proof, was the authoritative route to theological knowledge? Attempts to map out the relationship between devotional and dialectical ways of knowing has dominated much scholarship of Anselm.[59] The seeming-ambiguity of Anselm's own remarks serves to complicate this task. At the opening of his *Monologion,* he states his intention to undertake his investigation 'by reason alone' (*sola ratione*), without direct recourse to scriptural authority.[60] Yet in his rebuttal of Roscelin, Anselm vehemently attacks those 'heretics of dialectic' who believe that the puny props of dialectical argumentation are sufficient to support the 'mountain' of Christian doctrine.[61] Anselm's own description of his methodology merely adds to the puzzle. In various places, Anselm describes his intellectual programme as one of '*fides quaerens intellectum'* – 'I believe', he writes in the *Proslogion,* 'in order to understand'.[62] The task which frequently tends to fall to Anselm's modern readership is to visualise the interplay between 'belief' and

[58] Evans, 'The "Secure Technician": Varieties of Paradox in the Writings of St. Anselm', *Vivarium*, 13 (1975), 1–21.
[59] For a summary of the scholarship's main 'camps', see Eileen C. Sweeney, *Anselm of Canterbury and the Desire for the Word* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 4-8.
[60] SI, *Monologion,* 1:13.5-11. Hereafter *M.* In fact, the *Monologion* does contain a few visible scriptural references.
[61] SII, *De Incarnatione Verbi,* 1:9.21-22; 1:5.10-19. Hereafter *DIV.*
[62] SI, *Proslogion,* 1:100.18-19. Hereafter *P.*

'understanding' (often overlaid with the concepts of 'faith' and 'reason') in a way which makes sense of his mission statement as well as what his works actually achieve.[63] The implications of this task are far-reaching when it comes to locating Anselm within his shifting intellectual surroundings. In the context in which the sources of spiritual authority in the terrestrial realm were being contested, in which the relationship between spiritual and temporal planes was being painfully renegotiated, and in which the ability of words themselves to lead to the true nature of things was subject to question, where exactly did Anselm stand?

Anselm's conception of scriptural authority is essential to this question. Yet scripture's presence (and absence) in Anselm's writings presents an even trickier conundrum. The *Monologion* contains very few explicit scriptural quotations, while the *Proslogion,* in which Anselm condenses the *Monologion's* 'chain of arguments' into a single *unum argumentum,* is awash with scriptural language.[64] If scriptural authority is dispensable, at least for the sake of (the *Monologion's*) argument, then what purpose does its presence serve in the *Proslogion*? Many of his other works offer similar puzzles. His trio of dialogues, *De Veritate, De Libertate Arbitrii* and *De Casu Diaboli* contain only a small handful of visible scriptural references, and his *Cur Deus homo* features sporadic clusters of scriptural quotations at certain junctures of the text. Yet Anselm describes the dialogues as 'pertaining to the study of sacred scripture' and the *Cur Deus homo* as having been conducted '*remoto Christo*', with Christ having been 'removed' from the

[63] For example, Katherin A. Rogers, 'Can Christianity be Proven? St Anselm of Canterbury on Faith and Reason', *Anselm Studies* 2 (1988), 459-479; Marilyn McCord Adams, 'Anselm on Faith and Reason', in *The Cambridge Companion to Anselm,* ed. Brian Davies and Brian Leftow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 32-60; Victor Roberts, 'The Relation of Faith and Reason in St. Anselm of Canterbury', *The American Benedictine Review* 25 (1974), 494–512; Coloman Etienne Viola, 'Authority and Reason in Anselm's Life and Thought', *Aosta Bec and Canterbury*, 172-208; Jasper Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972), 38-66; Steven Gersh, 'Anselm of Canterbury', *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 255–278.
[64] SI, *P, Prooemium:* 93.4-10.

argument.[65] On what grounds is scripture largely excluded from texts which purport to 'pertain to the study of sacred scripture', while it is included in the work which aims to proceed without a knowledge of Christ? The place occupied by scripture in Anselm's thought and its presence or absence in his writings is therefore not only essential to mapping out the relationship between the devotional and dialectical methods in his search for theological knowledge. The combination of selective presence and selective absence of scripture in his writings requires an explanation: when scriptural authority could be temporarily suspended in one theological argument, why was included in others?

No complete survey of Anselm's approach to scripture exists in secondary scholarship. The general influence of scripture at some subterranean level of Anselm's thought and writings is often presumed, even affirmed, and yet rarely outlined in detail.[66] The small number of existing studies (articles by Jean-Robert Pouchet, Jean Châtillon, Helen Lang, M.B. Pranger, Jasper Hopkins, Giles Gasper and John Fortin, and the monograph of Helmut Steindl), have examined portions of Anselm's corpus, or treated the biblical origins of a single theological topic, but lack the detailed, comprehensive overview which would relate their valuable conclusions to Anselm's corpus as a whole.[67] Many recent studies of the rhetorical functions of Anselm's writings

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[65] SI, *De Veritate, Praefatio:* 173.2; SII, *Cur Deus homo, Praefatio:* 42.12. Hereafter *DV* and *CDH.*
[66] Southern, *Portrait,* 69-71; Benedicta Ward, 'Introduction', in *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm, with the Proslogion* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), 27-35.
[67] Jean-Robert Pouchet, 'Saint Anselm: Lecteur de Saint Jean, in *Les mutations socio-culturelles,* 457-468; Jean Châtillon, 'Saint Anselm et l'Écriture', in *Les mutations socio-culturelles,* 431-442; Helen Lang, 'Anselm's use of Scripture and his theory of signs', in *Les mutations socio-culturelles,* 443-456; Pranger, '*Studium Sacrae Scripturae.* Comparaison entre les methodes dialectiques et méditatives dans les oeuvres systématiques et dans la première meditation d'Anselme', in *Les mutations socio-culturelles,* 469-490; Pranger, 'Anselm, Calvin and the Absent Bible' in *Christian Humanism: Essays in Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt*, ed. Alasdair A. MacDonald, Zweder R.W.M. von Martels, and Jan R. Veenstra (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 457-68; Jasper Hopkins, 'The Alleged Superfluity of Scripture in the Thought of St. Augustine and of St. Anselm' (July 1, 2009), accessed October 2013, http://cla.umn.edu/sites/jhopkins; Gasper, 'Between Dialectic and the Sacred Scripture: Anselm of Canterbury and the Bible', in *Prayer and Thought*

linked Anselm's devotional works with the *Monologion* and *Proslogion* via the practice of meditative reading, but too often the Anselm of the prayers and meditations is considered in isolation from the Anselm of philosophical argumentation.[68] As such, accounts of the nature of Anselm's intellectual programme, and where he is thought to stand within his period's re-evaluation of the sources of spiritual authority and the legitimate routes to theological knowledge, are insufficient whilst a survey of his approach to scripture is lacking.

This study aims to fill this lacuna. The first part, 'Scripture in Anselm's world', explores what 'scripture' would have meant in Anselm's eleventh-century context. Its first chapter examines the 'locations of scriptural encounter' which Anselm would have experienced in his life as a monk. This chapter focuses on the liturgy as the central 'location' for engaging with scriptural material on a daily basis, positing some initial conclusions as to the beliefs about scripture which Anselm's theological inheritance may have bequeathed him, and the sorts of attitudes towards scripture which his liturgical environs might have engendered. These observations create the perimeters within which the second chapter's examination of the definitions of 'scripture' will proceed. This chapter, 'Methodology: what scripture is and how to find it', probes the conceptualisations of 'scripture' under the surface of secondary approaches to Anselm's use of biblical material in the attempt to establish a conceptualisation of 'scripture'

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in Monastic Tradition, 181-195; John R. Fortin, 'Scriptural Images in Saint Anselm's Second Prayer to Saint John the Evangelist', *American Benedictine Review,* 70:2 (2019), 201-211; Helmut Steindl, *Genugtuung. Biblisches Versöhnungsdenken – eine Quelle für Anselms Satisfaktionstheorie?* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1989). See also Thomas A. Losconcy, 'Will in St Anselm: An Examination of his Biblical and Augustinian Origins', in *Les Mutations socio-culturelles*, 701- 710; André Cantin, 'L'Usage de la sainte Écriture ches S. Anselme st S. Augustin ou Le projet historique, conçu au XI siècle, d'une science sacrée rationnelle, non positive', *Anselm Studies,* 2 (1988), 423-445.

[68] For example, Pranger, *The Artificiality of Christianity: essays on the poetics of monasticism* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003), 162-176; Sweeney, 'The Rhetoric of Prayer and Argument in Anselm', *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 38:4 (2005), 355-378.

which avoids, as far as possible, the pitfalls of modern anachronism. By reimagining scripture as the 'Revealed Bible in reception', this chapter aims to offer a conceptualisation of scripture which Anselm himself may have recognised as the foundation for the study's methodology. Anselm's reception of biblical material would have been enmeshed in his monastic observance, and so any methodology for identifying his use of scripture must take into account both the biblical words, themes and phrases which Anselm deploys and the wealth of associations which they may well have brought with them from the cloister. These individual biblical motifs, accompanied by their clusters of related themes and phrases, are termed *signa,* and it is these *signa* which this study will aim to uncover in Anselm's works. While this requires an appeal to the historical imagination, it does not constitute, as does Rachel Fulton Brown's recent study of Marian devotion, the use of personal devotion as a methodological tool.[69] Rather, the idea behind the search for *signa* is the desire to take into account medieval Christians' conviction that the 'letter' alone contained no life if not vivified by prayer and practice.

Since it was Anselm's monastic context which would have hosted his 'praying and practising' of scriptural material, the first place to search for *signa* will be the section of Anselm's corpus which most closely represents his engagement with monastic life. The second part, 'Scriptural *signa* in Anselm's prayers and meditations', therefore scrutinises Anselm's devotional works, witnessing the ways in which scriptural material passed through the 'meditative machinery' of his monastic observance. An opening chapter surveys Anselm's collection of prayers and meditations

[69] Fulton Brown, *Mary and the Art of Prayer: the hours of the Virgin in medieval Christian life and thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018). For a critique of Fulton Brown's methodology, see Van 't Spijker 'Review: Mary and the Art of Prayer. The Hours of the Virgin in Medieval Christian Life and Thought, by Rachel Fulton Brown', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 99:1 (2019), 74-75.

as a genre, before the *signa* uncovered in these works are divided into four chapters. The first of these chapters groups together the *signa* concerned with sin, the second, those concerned with the process of approaching God, the third, those picturing the redemptive mechanics of '*satisfactio*', and the fourth, those evoking the hope of future satiety. Armed with these devotional *signa,* which reveal the role of scriptural motifs in his conception of monastic prayer, the study then turns to a selection of Anselm's other works. The third part, 'Scriptural *signa* in the *Proslogion,* the three dialogues and the *Cur Deus homo',* scrutinises these key texts for the *signa* found in the prayers and meditations, or any other clusters of scriptural words and images which take a similar form. Following an opening chapter detailing the composition of the works in question, the *signa* discovered in these works are grouped together into another four chapters: 'Sin: entrapment in misperception', 'Seeking: longing for Christ's light', 'Satisfaction 1: satisfying redemption's demands' and 'Satisfaction 2: satisfying the soul's desire'. The *Proslogion,* the trio of dialogues *De Veritate, De Libertate Arbitrii* and *De Casu Diaboli,* and *Cur Deus homo* have been selected from among Anselm's corpus not only because their scriptural presence or absence is particularly puzzling, but also because determining scripture's role in their arguments can prompt valuable new readings, summarised, finally, by the conclusion.

In his study of Augustine and the art of reading, Brian Stock describes scriptural words as agents of interior ascent:

> In the presence of a sufficiently authoritative text (such as the Bible), the reader can approach a higher understanding, even if he or she rarely transcends the senses entirely. An act of reading is then a critical step upwards in a mental ascent: it is both an awakening from sensory illusion and a rite of initiation, in which the reader crosses the threshold from the outside to the inside world.[70]

[70] Stock, *Augustine the Reader,* 1.

Eadmer records a similar vision of ascent in the form of a childhood dream which Anselm used to relate to his monastic brethren.[71] Anselm's boyhood had been spent under the shadow of the mountains which towered over his home town of Aosta. As a child he had imagined that God lived at the summit, and dreamt that he was bidden to climb the mountain to meet him. On the way, he came across field labourers, lazily gathering the harvest, and the boy resolved to accuse them before their king when he reached the mountain peak. He eventually arrived at the top of the mountain, where he found God seated on his throne. The divine king asked his name and business, before giving him the 'whitest of bread' to eat.[72] This childhood dream of the steady climb to the vision of God clearly stayed with Anselm long enough for him to relate it to Eadmer many decades later. How Anselm envisaged the upward journey towards theological knowledge, and scripture's role in that journey, constitute the essential questions this study hopes to answer.

[71] *VA*, I.2, 4-5.
[72] *VA*, I.2, 5.

PART I: Scripture in Anselm's world

1. Locations of scriptural encounter: the liturgy

The goal of this chapter is to gain a clearer insight of the kinds of encounters with scriptural texts Anselm may have experienced. In what manner, and in what context, did monks come across scripture's words and phrases? What was the status of those words and phrases in monastic lives and imaginations? To answer these questions, it must first be established how precise an impression it is possible to gain of the scriptural texts Anselm encountered and the kinds of environments in which he encountered them. It is thus necessary to train one's focus upon the primary medieval arena for exposure to scriptural material, namely, the liturgy.

'Liturgy', the formal acts of prayer and worship rendered to God by the faithful, was considered the duty of the Christian church since its earliest centuries. The scriptural exhortation to 'pray without ceasing' was applied particularly to monks and clerics, generating the cycle of communal prayer which formed the backbone of monastic life.[1] From his entrance into Bec at the age of twenty-seven to his death almost fifty years later, practically every day of Anselm's life would have been structured around approximately ten formal services of worship. Even if Anselm was not personally present for every single service (especially as archbishop), he would have nonetheless experienced each day as punctuated by eight offices of communal prayer and two communal celebrations of the Eucharist, not including any masses said in private. These services were almost entirely constructed from scriptural texts. The parts not lifted directly from biblical sources constituted explanatory comments or elaborations on

[1] Jonathan Black, 'The Divine Office and Private Devotion in the Latin West', in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, second edition, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan, and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2005), 42-46.

scriptural texts, such as hymns, homilies and sequences, or texts deriving from early Christian liturgies, such as the *Kyrie, Credo* or *Te Deum.* So pervasive was liturgy in medieval literate culture that liturgical manuscripts make up around ten percent of all surviving medieval manuscripts, more numerous than any other type.[2] It is no exaggeration to say that the very fabric of Anselm's daily life was woven from scriptural material.

Liturgical texts are notoriously difficult for non-specialists to access. The task of identifying and analysing medieval liturgical material requires a familiarity elusive to all but experienced liturgists. Yet historical interest in the liturgy has seen a recent resurgence. The publication of introductory texts offers an entry-point into this seemingly impenetrable field, and accessible directories are available to untangle manuscript histories and confusing terminologies.[3] Classic studies by Joseph Jungmann and Cyrille Vogel have been made available in English translation.[4] Students can now make use of electronic tools and databases offering easier access to liturgical material.[5]

Recent years have witnessed a concurrent increase in what Jesse Billett terms 'functional' studies: works using liturgical evidence as a key to unlock other historical

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[2] Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources,* revised English edition, trans. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1986), 1.
[3] Paul F. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church: a study of the origin and early development of the divine office* (London: SPCK, 1981); Richard Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: a history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1991); Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and its meaning for today* (Collegeville, Minn., 1986); Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: a guide to their organization and terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Colleville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1993); Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton (eds.), *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: essays in interpretation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).
[4] Joseph A Jungmann SJ, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development* trans. Francis A. Brunner (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1949); Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy.*
[5] 'CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant', University of Waterloo, accessed August 2017, http://cantusdatabase.org; 'Cantus Planus', University of Regensburg, accessed August 2017, https://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/.

phenomena.[6] Liturgy has been used as a source to inform studies of vernacular literature, pedagogical techniques and medieval attitudes to childhood.[7] Medievalists such as C. Clifford Flanigan, Nils Holger Peterson and Miri Rubin have studied the social functions of liturgical processions, liturgical drama and the development of particular feasts.[8] Monastic customaries from Cluny and Fulda have been considered valuable sources of social history, and the liturgy's musical and artistic content have occasioned renewed interest.[9] Investigating Anselm's encounters with scripture, then, is rendered easier by a scholarly climate which allows greater accessibility to and interest in liturgical texts, even if only an impressionistic sketch of Anselm's exact liturgical environs can be attempted.

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[6] Jesse D. Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England, 597-c.1000* (London: Boydell Press, 2014), 4.
[7] Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (eds.), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Susan Boynton, 'Training for the liturgy as a form of monastic education', in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig (Leicester University Press, 2000), 7-20; Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Petersen (eds.), *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: studies in honour of C. Clifford Flanigan* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 1996); Dianne J. Reilly, 'Education, Liturgy and Practice in early Cîteaux,' in *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication,* ed. Steven Vanderputten (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 79-108.
[8] Nils Holger Peterson, 'Ritual and Creation: Medieval Liturgy as Foreground and Background for Creation', in *Creations: Medieval Rituals, the Arts and the Concept of Creation* ed. Sven Rune Hausteen, Eyolf Østrem, Nils Holger Petersen and Heinrich W. Schwab (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 89-120; and 'Biblical reception, representational ritual and the question of "liturgical drama"', in *Sapientia et eloquentia: meaning and function in liturgical poetry, music, drama, and biblical commentary in the Middle Ages,* ed. Nicolas Bell and Gunilla Iversen (Turnhout, Brepols, 2009), 163-202; C. Clifford Flanigan, 'The Moving Subject: Medieval Liturgical Processions in Semiotic and Cultural Perspective', in *Moving Subjects: processional performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,* ed. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 35-52; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in late medieval culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
[9] Boynton, 'The Customaries of Bernard and Ulrich as Liturgical Sources', in *From Dead of Night,* 109-130; 'Oral Transmission of Liturgical Practice in the Eleventh-Century Customaries of Cluny', in *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication (Western Europe, Tenth-Thirteenth Centuries),* ed. Steven Vanderputten (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 67-83; 'Religious Soundscapes: Liturgy and Music', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 4: Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100-c.1500*, ed. Miri Rubin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 238-253; and 'The Bible and the Liturgy', in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. Boynton and Reilly (Array: Columbia University Press, 2011), 10-33; Janneke Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c.744 - c.900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Frederick S. Paxton, 'Researching rites for the dying and the dead', in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy,* 39-56; Boynton and Reilly, *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

This chapter will offer a brief summary of the available evidence for the liturgical observations which Anselm might have known. Since the larger part of Anselm's adult life was spent at Bec, it is the Bec liturgy which will have been formative, and not the liturgies which he encountered later at Canterbury, Lyon and Rome.[10] The aim is also to identify any liturgical sources which can be used as a plausible reflection of the Bec liturgy in Anselm's time. How precise an impression of Bec's liturgical life is afforded by the surviving evidence, and how far into the regions of speculation the historian is permitted to travel, will be the main points of focus. In the light of these conclusions, broader themes can be identified as to how an eleventh-century Benedictine would have approached the texts which shaped the pattern of his daily life.

1.1. The liturgical backdrop

i. The Mass and Office as Anselm would have known it

The liturgical norms which would have been familiar to Anselm were many centuries in the making. Among the variety of regional liturgies or 'rites' which co-existed in the early medieval period – Mozarabic, Celtic, Gallican, Byzantine, Roman - it was the Roman rite which came to be promoted as normative, primarily owing to the efforts of the Frankish kings Pippin III (c. 714-678), Charlemagne (c. 742-814) and Louis the

[10] As Helen Gittos observes, the liturgical manuscripts at Canterbury require considerably more research, especially the unedited manuscript containing the pontifical and benedictional believed to be produced for Anselm's episcopal accession. This manuscript, Trinity College Dublin 98 (B.3.6), largely matches a Canterbury gradual (possibly Lanfranc's) given to Durham in the 1080s or 1090s (Durham, University Library, Cosin V.v.6). Since, as Gittos suggests, both the Dublin Pontifical and the Cosin Gradual represented slimmed-down versions of the Anglo-Saxon liturgies Lanfranc found when he arrived in Canterbury, and since the pontifical, as a book containing occasional rites particular to bishops, would not have been part of Anselm's day-to-day life as a monk at Bec, neither manuscript has been included in this study. Dedicated attention to these manuscript sources would need to be the subject of a future project. See Helen Gittos, 'Sources for the liturgy of Canterbury Cathedral in the central Middle Ages', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Canterbury*, ed. Alixe Bovey (Leeds: British Archaeological Association, 2013), 41-58, and M. Gullick and R. W. Pfaff, 'The Dublin Pontifical (TCD 98[B.3.6]): St Anselm's?', *Scriptorium*, 55 (2001), 284–294.

Pious (778-840). The Carolingians looked to Rome as the source of spiritual and political authority, and their programme of empire-wide standardisation featured an eagerness to acquire authoritative liturgical exempla to promote. As well as acquiring from Rome an authentic sacramentary (the book containing the parts of the mass spoken by the bishop or priest), Charlemagne also applied to Monte Cassino for what he believed to be Benedict's original autograph copy of the *Regula Benedicti*. His *Admonitio generalis* of 789 and his synod in Aachen in 802 promoted both texts as the official liturgical templates of all cathedrals and monasteries in Francia.[11]

The liturgy which Charlemagne endorsed was divided into two 'uses' or *cursus:* one, the monastic or 'Benedictine' *cursus* taken from the *Regula Benedicti*, and the other, the 'secular' (sometimes called 'cathedral' or, confusingly, 'Roman') *cursus,* used in non-monastic communities such as cathedral canonries.[12] Both derive in theory from the cycle of prayers observed in the great basilicas in Rome in the fifth century, just as Benedict's scheme for the recitation of the Psalter, which eventually came to be distinguished from that of the cathedrals, was based on what he knew of the Roman conventions.[13] Louis the Pious's endorsement of the *Regula* at the reforming councils of Aachen in 816 and 817 required monks to adhere both to the liturgical instructions of the *Regula* and to the supplement written by Benedict of Aniane (d.821). Benedict of Aniane's supplement modified and expanded the *Regula* to suit the requirements of pre-existing Frankish monasticism, and it was this adaptation which formed the monastic *cursus* under whose umbrella which the Bec liturgy would have fallen.

[11] It should be noted that the Carolingian drive towards uniformity of observance was aspirational, and the period's reforming impetus arose from multiple sources, both courtly and cloistered: Rutger Kramer, 'Monasticism, Reform, and Authority in the Carolingian Era', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval monasticism in the Latin West,* ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 432-449.
[12] Harper, *Forms and Orders,* 14-15.
[13] Billett, *The Divine Office,* 52-69.

Claims to replicate what were considered authoritative liturgical traditions had great currency among many reformers of the ninth and tenth century monastic renewals (outside the Iberian Peninsula). Aspirational abbots such as Aethelwold, bishop of Winchester (c.904–984), Oswald, archbishop of York (c.925–992), and later Lanfranc himself, took their cues from places like Gorze, Brogne and Cluny, whose religious devotion was evidenced, at least in theory, by the seriousness with which they implemented the *Regula Benedicti*.[14] By the eleventh century, it was the Norman abbeys, reinvigorated by the likes of William of Volpiano, which were considered examples of best practice and the legitimate heirs of Benedict of Aniane's vision.[15] Yet despite having the *Regula* as a notional focal point, each religious house nonetheless developed its own distinctive liturgical practices. As Lanfranc himself made clear in his own '*Constitutions*' written for Canterbury, one monastery's observance could not simply be reproduced elsewhere.[16] It was the *Regularis Concordia*, written in the 970s, which provided an adaptation of the *Regula Benedicti* for English monasteries, combining English traditions with those of Cluny, Fleury, Corbie and Ghent.[17] Herein lies one of the tensions which will prove important in the case of Bec's putative liturgy, namely, the conflict between adhering (at least notionally) to authoritative sources of worship and developing a liturgical distinctiveness whose local idiosyncrasies, paradoxically, could also be a fiercely-guarded source of pride.

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[14] David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: a history of its development from the times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 26-28. Isabelle Cochelin cautions against presuming that this kind of seriousness entailed blind observation of the *Regula:* Cochelin, 'Monastic Daily Life (c. 750–1100): A Tight Community Shielded by an Outer Court', in *Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism,* 542-560.
[15] Christopher Brooke, 'Introduction', in *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. David Knowles, revised edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), xvi.
[16] Lanfranc, 'Letter to Prior Henry', *Constitutions,* 4.
[17] Knowles, *Monastic Order,* 42-48.

The Carolingian policy of implementing an empire-wide 'Roman-style' observance included a concern for an authentically Roman Eucharistic liturgy. Like the Divine Office, mass liturgies tend to be identified by the family of 'rites' to which they belonged, with the 'Roman' rite, eventually to prevail across most of Western Europe, distinguished from the Milanese, Mozarabic, Sarum, Byzantine and Gallican rites.[18] Prior to the ninth century, a variety of different liturgical norms had prevailed in the Latin West, as witnessed by the number of contrasting sacramentaries to survive from the period. Individual sacramentaries tended to follow the pattern of the three standard liturgical models – 'Leonine', 'Gelasian' and 'Gregorian' - associated with the papal liturgies in Rome.[19] As part of his programme of standardisation, Charlemagne acquired from Pope Hadrian in around 790 a sacramentary belonging to the 'Gregorian' liturgical family, a sacramentary known subsequently as the *Hadrianum.* In the process of promoting the *Hadrianum* as his preferred liturgical blueprint, Charlemagne applied once again to Benedict of Aniane to create a supplement which would adapt and augment the *Hadrianum* according to the needs of the Frankish churches.[20] Benedict's additions were compiled from existing Frankish liturgical texts (identified as 'Frankish Gelasian') resulting in a hybrid 'Romano-Frankish *Hadrianum'* which successfully supplanted its older Gallican counterparts.[21] Whilst alternative rites continued to be celebrated in Spain and Milan, it was this 'Romano-Frankish' Eucharistic rite which Anselm would have known.

[18] Jungmann *Mass of the Roman Rite,* 1.44-49.
[19] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy,* 64-92.
[20] *Ibid.,* 80-92; Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books,* 53-54.
[21] For a translation of the supplement's preface, see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy,* 87-88.

Yet, as in the case of the Divine Office, the Carolingians' efforts to regulate liturgical observance did not ensure anything like liturgical uniformity.[22] No two sacramentaries were identical. Individual sacramentaries would incorporate different elements of pre-existing local customs, so that the books most common to tenth and eleventh century usages were 'composite' sacramentaries.[23] This liturgical diversity, however, coincided with a newly invigorated interest in the meanings behind the mass and its composition. Charlemagne's drive to promote theological education amongst the clergy spawned a proliferation of mass commentaries – explanations of the parts of the mass and the meanings of the ritual – which swiftly made their home in monastic libraries alongside the scriptural commentaries of Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome and Gregory. Commentaries on the mass from the great Carolingian commentators Rabanus Maurus (d.856), Amalarius of Metz (d. c.850) and Walafrid Strabo (d.849) inaugurated a genre which would remain popular well into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[24] The theological ground which Anselm trod at Bec had been tilled by more than a hundred years of sustained and inventive deliberation on the meaning and significance of the Eucharist and its liturgy.

By the time Anselm was entering Bec, then, three elements had been planted firmly in the liturgical soil: first (with the notable exception of Spain), the Roman rite had become dominant across most of the Latin west, displacing, absorbing or transforming various existing practises; second, the monastic *cursus* had become intimately connected with the distinctively monastic (as opposed to canonical) way of

[22] Carol Symes and Matthew Cheung Salisbury underscore the diversity even within liturgical 'families': Symes, 'Liturgical texts and Performance Practices', in *Cambridge History of Medieval monasticism,* 247-248; Salisbury, 'Rethinking the Uses of Sarum and York: a Historiographical essay', in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy,* 103-104.
[23] Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books,* 55-56.
[24] Macy, 'Commentaries on the Mass during the Early Scholastic Period', in *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays*, ed. Larson-Miller (New York, Garland: 1997), 28-43.

life; and third, the adoption of the *Regula Benedicti* had been established, at least notionally, as a standard of reforming zeal, even though its interpretation differed from monastery to monastery.[25] In broad terms, then, Anselm's Bec would have known the Roman rite and the *Regula Benedicti* as foundational pillars of its liturgy.[26] And yet, no two texts, even from the same liturgical 'family', were identical. Communities adhered to particular rites and uses whilst making them entirely their own.

ii. *Performing scriptural salvation: the structure of the mass, the Office and the liturgical year*

Monks like Anselm were liturgically enveloped in continual overlapping performances of the Christian narrative of salvation. The year, with its winter-summer cycle, the week, revolving around each Sunday, the day, with its tighter round of darkness and light, and the Eucharistic liturgy, re-actualising Jesus's final week and Passion, each spun and re-spun the story of redemption. The moments of God's redemptive presence with humankind, narrated in the Bible, were thereby re-presented in the monks' observance. These moments of presence formed the axle of the wheel, a kairotic, rather than chronologic, impression of time and history. The basic structures of the mass, the daily Divine Office, and the liturgical year, all well-established by the eleventh century, thus operated by enfolding their participants in multiple layers of biblical narrative.

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[25] Billett, *Divine Office,* 75-77. Although Isabelle Cochelin and Felice Lifshitz caution against taking the *Regula Benedicti* as the norm against which medieval monastic practices should be measured, the text nonetheless loomed large in a landscape such as Anselm's. Cochelin, 'Monastic Daily Life (c. 750–1100): A Tight Community Shielded by an Outer Court', in *Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism,* 542-560; and Felice Lifshitz, 'The Historiography of Central Medieval Western Monasticism', in in *Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism,* 365-381.

[26] It is because of the *Regula Benedicti*'s centrality that this study will retain the term 'Benedictine' when describing Anselm's monastic observance, despite Alison Beach's and Isabelle Cochelin's argument that the term obscures 'traditional' monasticism's diversity: Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin, 'General Introduction', *Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism,* 5.

The mass Anselm would have known can be sketched in its essential parts. Mass texts were distinguished between the 'proper', the parts subject to change according to the liturgical occasion, and the 'ordinary', the parts which remained the same. The 'ordinary' of the mass has remained unchanged until the present day, comprising the 'canon' of the mass, and the parts which were often musically elaborated: *Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei,* and *Ite.* With these prayers, along with the *Credo* and other fixed liturgical excerpts, the historian can be confident in confronting a scripturally-inspired text which Anselm himself would have performed. In addition to the 'ordinary' of the mass were the 'proper' antiphons and responses: the introit, gradual, offertory, communion, and other additional prayers which would have varied according to the day of the week, the liturgical season, and the requirements of a feast. Piecing together the 'ordinary' and the 'proper' of each day's mass from the various liturgical books was the work of the community's cantor-librarian, in collaboration with the sacristan who would prepare the physical necessities of the rite.[27]

Since at least the fourth century, the structure of the mass was divided into two: the Mass of Catechumens, which would comprise readings, psalms, prayers and a homily, followed by the Mass of the Faithful, open only to the baptised.[28] The mass would begin with the introit, a short scriptural extract sung before and after a Psalm verse, as the priest processed to the altar. The priest's introductory prayers, said during the introit, were followed by the *Kyrie* and (on feast days and Sundays) the *Gloria in excelsis,* and then the 'proper' collect of the day. After that the Epistle (usually taken from the New Testament) was read or sung, after which point the deacon would mount

[27] For the medieval cantor-librarian, see Katie Anne-Marie Bugyis, A. B. Kraebel, and Margot Fassler (eds.), *Medieval Cantors and their Craft: music, liturgy and the shaping of history, 800-1500* (York: York Medieval Press, 2017).
[28] Harper, *Forms and Orders,* 110-112.

the altar steps to collect the Gospel book to the sound of the gradual, another (often psalmic) chant with responses. As the deacon elevated the Gospel book the alleluia would be intoned (on Sundays or feast days) or whichever replacement text ('tract') was to be sung instead in the penitential seasons in which the alleluia was omitted. On days of particular festivity, such as Easter, a sequence could follow - a text often musically elaborated, heralding the Gospel. Then came the homily, followed by the bringing of the bread and wine to the altar accompanied by the offertory chant (often taken from a Psalm) and by the priest's offertory prayers. The priest would say a silent prayer known as the 'secret', entreating God to accept the gifts, before proceeding to the preparatory prayers leading up to the consecration, which included an exhortation to 'lift up your hearts' (*sursum corda*), and the *Sanctus,* taken from Isaiah 6:3 and Matthew 21:9. The liturgy reached its climax in the 'canon of the mass', comprising the commendation of the offered bread and wine to God, the narrative of the institution of the Eucharist and the words of consecration, *hoc est enim corpus meum…hic est enim calix sanguinis mei*. This, the highest and holiest point of the liturgy, would have been almost inaudible.[29] After the words of consecration came further prayers and the doxology, followed by another set of 'ordinary' prayers, the *Pater noster,* the 'embolism' *'Libera nos quaesumus',* the *Agnus Dei,* and the kiss of peace. Communion would then be received (if not by all those present at every mass, at least by the celebrant) followed by a short antiphon and a post-communion prayer, after which point the ritual concluded with the words *Ite missa est* or *Benedicamus Domino*.[30]

[29] Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite,* I.82-83.
[30] Richard Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: Norton, 1978), 119-122.

Mass would be celebrated as a community twice a day.[31] The 'morrow' or 'chapter' mass was less solemn and usually recited, where the 'high' mass of the day was sung. In addition to these two community masses, monks who were priests could celebrate private masses, perhaps finding time between Lauds and Prime in the summer months while the other monks were reading in the cloister, or even, if the abbey church contained multiple side chapels, at the same time that the morrow mass was taking place.[32] The *Regularis Concordia* recommends daily reception of communion for all religious, so while this was most notably an English custom, it is possible that Benedictine monks who were also priests would celebrate their own mass daily.[33] Laypeople, too, had an interest in the celebration of mass; intercessions could be requested and the names written in a book, either to be read aloud by the deacon or to be placed on the altar during the liturgy. Since the vicinity of Bec was also home to several women living a quasi-religious life, they were probably also in attendance, perhaps separated from sight of the altar by a screen.[34]

This 'holy drama' was, in Anselm's day, resplendent with additional allegory-laden ceremonial.[35] Gallican elements in the Romano-Frankish liturgy added to the Roman rite a degree of spectacle through lavish use of incense and processions. Physical space was invested with great liturgical importance, as the building of the comparatively large Norman churches (undertaken by both Lanfranc and Anselm) with

[31] Fiona J. Griffiths, 'The Mass in Monastic Practice: Nuns and Ordained Monks, c. 400–1200', in *Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism,* 729-746.
[32] Knowles, *Monastic order,* 468-469.
[33] *Regularis Concordia*, ed. and trans. Thomas Symons as *The monastic agreement of the monks and nuns of the English nation* (London: Nelson, 1953), 1.23, 19.
[34] For Anselm's relationship with these women, see Vaughn, *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens of God: a study of Anselm's correspondence with women* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 67-115.
[35] Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, I.107.

their long naves suited to large communities and long processions can witness.[36] Liturgical elaboration would involve the participation of a greater number of acolytes and thurifers.[37] Jungmann includes among the features of this period repeated blessings by the priest, kissings of the altar, and multiple signs of the cross.[38] These elements were far from mere embellishment. The priest's actions served as methexic representations of the crucifixion narrative, bodily mirroring Jesus's actions whilst intoning the words. The priest would lift his eyes before the consecration, pray with arms outstretched in a cruciform shape during the *Unde et memores* prayers, bow his head at the *memento* of the dead, and strike his breast at the words of contrition.[39] Yet for all the ceremonial symbolism, it was considered possible to push allegorising interpretations of the mass too far. Amalarius of Metz, the ninth-century liturgical commentator, was denounced by Florus of Lyon (d. c. 859) for contending that the liturgy's allegorical meanings could be uncovered in exactly the same way as the Bible's.[40] Anselm himself considered there to be a line beyond which allegory ought not extend; in a letter to Walram, bishop of Naumburg, he expressed his disapprobation of the practice of leaving the chalice uncovered to signify Christ's nakedness on the cross. Christ's humility, poverty and rejection, Anselm observes, 'ought to be put into effect in our lives by imitation, as reason urges, rather than having the nakedness of Christ signified by the nakedness of the sacrifice'.[41] Anselm's liturgical engagement with the central biblical moments of Christian salvation would have been populated with actions,

[36] Carolyn Marino Malone, 'Architecture as evidence for liturgical performance', in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy,* 207-237; T. A. Heslop, 'St Anselm and the Visual Arts at Canterbury Cathedral, 1093-1109', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Canterbury*, 59-81.
[37] Noreen Hunt, *Cluny Under Saint Hugh: 1049-1109* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), 112.
[38] Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite,* I.109.
[39] *Ibid.,* I.107.
[40] Eric Nibbs, 'Introduction', in Amalar of Metz, *On the Liturgy,* ed. and trans. Knibbs, 2 volumes (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014), xviii.
[41] SII, *Epistola de sacramentis ecclesiae,* 242:1-2. My translation.

words, gestures and objects, all of which acted as eloquent carriers of theological meanings. Moreover, Anselm clearly believed that the imitations of Christ's actions which the priest's body was called upon to perform ought not comprise bald replications of past events, but rather a personal alignment with the one 'who suffered for us, leaving us an example so that we would follow in his footsteps' (1 Peter 2:21).[42]

This deep identification with the words and actions of Christ was an aspect of the evolving priestly office which Anselm shared with surrounding trends in spirituality.[43] The eleventh century saw a blossoming of heartfelt, personal prayers of contrition offered silently by the priest while he performed liturgical actions. These prayers, known as *apologiae,* were the celebrant's 'personal avowals of guilt and unworthiness' which begged God's forbearance and favour, similar in tone to Anselm's prayers and meditations.[44] These *apologiae* appeared at multiple 'soft spots' during the increasingly elaborate mass liturgy; Jungmann cites a *ordo missae* from around 1030 (the *Missa Illyrica*) which includes *apologiae* in the sacristy after vesting, before processing to the altar, after the kissing of the altar, during the *Gloria*, between readings, during the offertory and during the *Sanctus* and communion.[45] The celebrant seems to have been at liberty to extemporise, elaborate, truncate, vary or omit these prayers as he chose. Similarly, the growing popularity of private and votive masses – for example, masses celebrated for the dead or in honour of the Virgin Mary – appears to some scholars to echo this increased personalisation of liturgical prayer.[46] Multiple formulaic *apologiae* appear in Carolingian liturgical books, and the personal nature of these prayers bled

[42] *Ibid.,* 241:16-17.
[43] Constable, 'The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ', in *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 145–217.
[44] Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite:* I.78; Joanne M. Pierce, 'The Evolution of the *Ordo Missae* in the Early Middle Ages', in *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays,* 8-10.
[45] Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite,* I.79; Pierce, 'Evolution of the *Ordo Missae',* 10.
[46] Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books,* 110.

from the liturgy to the increasingly defined sphere of private devotion. Moreover, *apologiae* often appear alongside rubrics which hint at greater liturgical solemnity.[47] The ritual words and actions which carried specific associations in the liturgy and the personal prayers of confession which began to accompany them seem to have gone hand in hand.

These observations bring to the surface another pertinent feature of eleventh-century liturgical observance: the surprising marriage of the formal and the personal. It has been argued that increased liturgical complication was one of the factors causing the concomitant movement towards pared-down liturgical simplicity witnessed in the birth of the Cistercian, Carthusian and Premonstratensian orders, but the implication that liturgical solemnity somehow precluded personal devotion is a non-sequitur.[48] On the contrary, the points of additional ritual actually allowed space for the priest's individual devotion to make itself known in the mass to an unprecedented extent, perhaps exciting the demand for similarly personal prayers of contrition outside the formal setting of the liturgy. Moreover, this feature underscores the vital connection between the priest's performance of specific actions, laden with theological meaning, and his own interiorisation of those meanings in Christoform imitation. Even formulaic prayers had to come from the heart. Subjective absorption of scriptural phrases, linked with Christ's own words and actions through liturgical association, would have formed a significant part of Anselm's daily engagement with biblical material.

Like the structure of the mass, the basic skeleton of the Divine Office in the monastic *cursus* has remained fairly constant. The Divine Office comprises seven services of worship during the day ('seven times a day have I praised you', Psalm

[47] Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite,* I.97.
[48] Knowles, *Monastic Orders,* 470-471.

118:164), and one during the night ('at midnight I will rise and thank you', Psalm 118:62).[49] Beginning at around 2am or 3am, the monastic day would begin with the office of Vigils (also called the Night Office or Matins), followed by Lauds at daybreak. Then came the so-called 'little offices' at three hour intervals: Prime at around 6am, the first hour of the day, and Terce, Sext and None, celebrated at the third, sixth and ninth hours. These times of day signified both the hours at which Jesus was condemned, crucified and died, and the times at which the disciples assembled at Pentecost (Acts 2:15), Peter went to pray (Acts 10:19) and Peter and John went up to the Temple (Acts 3:1). The day ended with evening offices of Vespers and Compline before the sun went down.[50] The offices were of varying length, with the 'little hours' comprising a relatively small number of Psalms and prayers while the night office of Vigils could take something in the region of an hour and a half.[51] Psalms, canticles, hymns and other prayers were often tailored to the time of day, with Psalms referring to light or sunrise (such as Psalm 5, *Verba mea* and Psalm 56, *Miserere mei deus miserere*) assigned to the morning office and Psalms referring to darkness or sleep (such as Psalm 4, *Cum invocarem,* Psalm 90, *Qui habitat in adiutorio,* and Psalm 133, *Ecce nunc benedicite*) to the evening.[52] These Psalms were fixed at the same points each day, while the rest were distributed so as to cover the whole Psalter in the course of a week. As the daily round of prayers had recalled the hours of Christ's Passion, so the weekly cycle also formed a

[49] *Regula Benedicti,* trans. Timothy Fry as *RB 1980: the Rule of St Benedict in Latin and English with notes* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1981), 16, 210-211. Hereafter *RB.*
[50] Lila Collamore, 'Charting the divine office' in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: methodology and source studies, regional developments, hagiography,* ed. Margot Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 3-14.
[51] For the difficulties in calculating the relative lengths of offices, see Leclercq, 'Prayer at Cluny', *Journal of The American Academy of Religion,* 51 (December 1983), 651-665.
[52] *RB* 12-13; 17-18, 206-215.

miniature narrative, with Friday as the principle fast-day in remembrance of the crucifixion, and Sunday as the day of the resurrection.[53]

Interlocking with these daily and weekly cycles was the movement of the seasons, the *temporale.* The year was organised into two periods, each roughly coinciding with the adaptations required by the reduced sunlight hours of the winter months. One half of the year hinged on the celebration of Jesus's Incarnation, comprising Advent, Christmas, Epiphany and the weeks up to Septuagesima (seventy days before Easter Sunday), and the other half on his death and resurrection, comprising Lent, Easter, Pentecost and the months up to All Saints in November. The date of Easter, which moved from year to year, determined the precise layout of the weeks, and required mathematical computation to establish. The formulae for calculating the date of Easter were conventionally found in the Kalendar at the beginning of liturgical books, making Christ's resurrection both the practical and the symbolic anchor which held the rest of the year in place.[54] What the daily hours and the weekly cycle depicted in miniature the liturgical seasons painted in broader strokes, memorialising the key events of Christian history annually in conjunction with the seasonal passage of time. The wintry period from Septuagesima to Easter evoked the *tempus deviationis* from Adam to Moses, the dark hours of Christ's temptation and passion, and the guilt of life before baptism. The springtime from Easter to Pentecost evoked the joy of Christ's life on earth, the celebration of the resurrection and the luminosity of life after baptism. Advent pictured the waiting-period of darkness before the Incarnation, Lent the preparation for Easter

[53] Amalarius of Metz, in his *Liber Officialis* (which appears in the Bec library catalogue) offers an allegorical interpretation of the days of the week. Amalarius, *Liber Officialis,* in *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. Jean Michel Hanssens, volume 2 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948-1950), trans. Eric Knibbs as *On the liturgy,* 2.4.12-18, II.411-443.
[54] For a sketch of the liturgical year, see Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office,* 3-13.

at the apex of the year, and All Souls and All Saints in November, the end of the world, as the nights lengthened with the approach of winter.[55]

Mapped on to the feasts of the *temporale* was the annual cycle of saints' days, the *sanctorale.* Individual feasts were ranked according to importance, with the principle saints and events of the church's calendar celebrated with greater solemnity.[56] Lanfranc's *Constitutions* lists Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption of Mary (15th August) and the 'feast of the house' (*festivitas loci*), which in Canterbury's case was probably the feast of St Dunstan, among the most important feasts. Other feasts were of secondary and tertiary importance, such as the local saints venerated by the community, the feast of the dedication of the church, and the saints of the religious order. In the second rank Lanfranc includes the Epiphany (6 January), the Purification of Our Lady (2 February), the Annunciation and the Ascension, as well as the feasts of the notably English saints Gregory, Augustine of Canterbury and Elphage. The feasts of the apostles and the Invention and Exaltation of the Holy Cross appear in the third rank.[57] The Kalenders at the beginning of each community's liturgical books, whilst retaining the same principal feasts, would therefore differ according to a particular house's heavenly patrons. Indeed, it is possible that Bec's liturgy was distinctively Marian owing to the monastery's dedication to the Virgin Mary.[58] But a community's cycle of festal celebration was liable to shrink or expand; Lanfranc's arrival in Canterbury offers an example of the deliberate slimming down of the community's

[55] See Stephan Borgehammer, 'A Monastic Conception of the Liturgical Year', in *Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 13-44.
[56] For a sketch of the liturgical calendar, see Harper, *Forms and Orders,* 237-241.
[57] Lanfranc, *Constitutions,* 90-93
[58] Gasper, 'Theology at Le Bec', in *Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec,* 222-224. Fulton Brown notes that many of Anselm's contacts had a devotion to the Office of the Virgin Mary: Fulton Brown, *Mary and the art of prayer,* 14.

calendar, and Eadmer's determined championing of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary the drive towards augmenting it.[59]

The inclusion or exclusion of certain feasts constituted powerful, and often politically-charged, expressions of a community's identity. Eadmer describes Lanfranc's conundrum when faced with the cult of St Elphage at Canterbury; unable to vouch for the saint's validity, Lanfranc had appealed to Anselm for his opinion.[60] His eventual inclusion of Elphage in the calendar for Canterbury, and his commissioning of a *vita* for the English saint, may, as Richard Pfaff has argued, evince an attempt by the new archbishop to bolster his own authority by aligning himself with Elphage's.[61] However, the removal of other Canterbury saints such as Bregwine, Adelard and Alfric from the calendar (and their relics from the church) drew consternation from patriotic monks such as Eadmer.[62] Feasts of the *sanctorale,* therefore, not only texturized the narrative of salvation, but also the narrative of a particular community's sense of its own history.

The liturgical cycles of hours, days, weeks and seasons directly determined the structure and quality of monastic life. The primary effect which would have been felt day-to-day was the difference between feast days, ferial days and fast days, reflected in the composition of the office of Vigils. The office was made up of 'nocturns': Psalms, a versicle-and-response (a short biblical phrase sung by the cantor, and an answering phrase sung by the congregation), 'lessons' (readings) and responsories (sets of sung antiphonal exchanges between cantor and congregation). On ferial days, the office would have only two nocturns, missing out the entire third nocturn and the lessons and

[59] Jay Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History: the competing visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury', *Speculum*, 74 (April, 1999), 279-309.
[60] *VA* I.30, 50-54.
[61] Pfaff, 'Lanfranc's Supposed Purge of the Anglo-Saxon Calendar', in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London: Hambledon, 1992), 95-108. A similar argument was made by Susan Ridyard: '*Condigna veneratio*: Post-Conquest Attitudes to the Saints of the Anglo- Saxons', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9 (1987), 179-206.
[62] Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History', 279-309.

responsories of the second nocturn, leaving only three lessons overall. Sundays and feast days included three nocturns, each with four lessons and four responsories, making twelve all together, with the *Te Deum,* the day's Gospel and the *Te decet laus* added at the end.[63] Feasts of twelve lessons often featured the relaxing of strictures, such as eating of meat at mealtimes, having two meals instead of one, and the easing of workloads. The daily readings from Vigils even extended directly from the choir into the refectory and the chapter-house.[64] By the eleventh century, the practice of reading from the *Regula* during chapter and mealtimes was being replaced on Sundays and feast days by reading from the day's Gospel, tessellating deliberately with the readings at Vigils.[65] The liturgical status of each day would therefore have modified the monks' quality of life at the level of quantities of sleep, food and work they were permitted, as well as training them to link their 'daily bread' with both heavenly and earthly nourishment.

On a broader scale, monks would have seen their seasonal indulgences and asceticisms mirrored in the church and cloister buildings, with the technicolour and greyscale of the monks' daily routines reflected in corresponding ritual exuberance or solemnity. The eight days after a major feast such as Christmas, Easter or Pentecost (known as an 'octave') were celebrated as an extension of the feast day, and it was these feasts which featured the greatest liturgical complexity, including, according to Lanfranc, visual festivity, the wearing of copes or albs, the decoration of the church and refectory and the lighting of additional lamps.[66] Bede, in a homily on the feast of his church's dedication, urges his brethren to allow the liturgical richness of their

[63] Collamore, 'Charting the divine office', 4-7.
[64] *RB* 38, 236-239.
[65] Teresa Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory: Monastic Practice in England from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Centuries, London University Annual John Coffin Memorial Palaeography Lecture', online revised version, accessed 1st May 2020: http://www.ies.sas.ac.uk/sites/default/files/files/Publications/Coffin%20lectures/Webber_Teresa_ReadingintheRefectory_Feb2012_RevisedEdition2013_new.pdf.
[66] Lanfranc, *Constitutions,* 18-23.

surroundings to dispose their hearts 'in accord with the solemnity of the feast which we are celebrating':

> Just as we traditionally spend the night vigil joyfully singing additional psalms and [hearing] a larger number of lessons, in a church where many lights are burning and the walls are adorned more lavishly than usual, so we should always embellish the innermost recesses of our hearts with the indispensable adornments of good works.[67]

The more saints in a monastery's Kalendar, the more feasts of twelve lessons would probably have been celebrated. Knowles estimates that communities who venerated more saints could have celebrated over 150 days a year, an average of about three days a week, with some degree of festivity.[68] Likewise the weeks of Advent and Lent were marked out by increased liturgical sparseness – for example, the stripping of altars on Maundy Thursday, and the extinguishing of candles during Vigils and Lauds of the Triduum - which was mirrored in the daily obligations of fasting and penance.[69]

The cycle of the Divine Office touched both the most sublime and the most prosaic elements of a monk's life. The liturgical round determined both the way he absorbed and processed the mysteries of his religion and what time he had his first meal, changed into his day-shoes or combed his hair.[70] The minutest features of daily life could not escape liturgical significance; even the monks' tri-annual bath was liturgically determined, coinciding with the other purifications in preparation for major feasts. Moreover, the individual identities of monastic communities were closely connected with the distinctive liturgical life they cultivated. Each community would have differed, both in the written records of its liturgy – the saints in its Kalendar, the stipulations of

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[67] Bede, *Bedae Homiliae evangelii,* ed. David Hurst, in *Bedae venerabilis opera: pars 3, Opera homiletica,* ed. Hurst and J. Fraipont, CCSL 122 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), trans. Lawrence T. Martin and David Hurst as *Homilies on the Gospels* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1991), II.25.3-7, 255.
[68] Calculated from the Worcester calendar of c.1230: Knowles, *Monastic Order,* 540.
[69] Lanfranc, *Constitutions,* 44-73.
[70] *Ibid.,* 6-7.

its customaries, the additional prayers and devotions it appended to the offices - and in the innumerable details lost to the historian. Scriptural words, yoked with ritual gestures and theological meanings, were woven into a monk's life on macro and micro scales, as monks manoeuvred to align every aspect of their common life with authoritative precedents, just as priests aligned their interior disposition to the demands of established liturgical formulae.

iii. *Liturgical books*

Celebrating the mass and the Divine Office required multiple books, each with a different function. The breviaries (containing the chants and prayers for the office), missals (containing the chants and prayers for the mass) and rituals (containing the liturgical material needed by a priest) which combined the necessary parts of a service into one handy volume for the celebrant were a development of the twelfth- and thirteenth centuries, and were only a rarity in the eleventh.[71] During Anselm's lifetime, the separate parts of the 'proper' and 'ordinary' of the mass were contained in different books and had to be pieced together following a framework called an *ordo missae.* Each participant would use a combination of books: the sacramentary for the celebrant (containing the prayers and prefaces of the mass); perhaps a lectionary for the reader with biblical readings arranged according to the liturgical year, or more commonly a large Bible with marginal markings showing when to begin and when to finish; a Gospel book for the deacon, the kyriale (containing the chants of the 'ordinary'), gradual (containing the choral chants of the 'proper'), perhaps a cantatory, troper and sequentiary (containing various other musical portions of the mass) and an *ordo missae*

[71] Jeanne E. Krochalis and E. Ann Matter, 'Manuscripts of the Liturgy', in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 393-430.

for the cantor.[72] The requisite books for the Divine Office were the Psalter, the antiphonal and the responsorial (sometimes combined), which would include the text and music for the antiphons (the short verses sung before or after a psalm or canticle), the responsaries, and the chant melodies for the Psalms.[73] Choral or ferial psalters contained the Psalms and their chants, as well as other music and texts used on ferial days, like canticles, short responsaries and invitatories. The reorganisation of liturgical books which began in around the twelfth century reveals more, on Eric Palazzo's account, than a practical desire to condense all the necessary mass texts into one book. According to Palazzo, the compiling of missals attests an evolution in ecclesiological convictions, a movement away from congregational participation towards concentrating all the ritual action 'in the celebrant's hands'.[74] While this development may have been incipient during Anselm's years as a priest, he would more likely have known the liturgy as a multi-volume textual storehouse from which relevant parts were selected and combined.

Bibles, too, came both in one, and in several, volumes. Many communities would have owned biblical texts in several codices, with biblical books bound together in groups. The Psalter was commonly bound as a single book, and could even be in a different Latin translation from the rest of the biblical texts (the *psalterium Romanum,* a revision of the Old Latin Psalter, was commonly used in England until 1066).[75] A separate volume containing the Gospels, or perhaps an 'evangelistary' containing only the necessary Gospel extracts ('pericopes') was invested with particular ritual significance in liturgical use. The reading of the Gospel was the high point in the Mass of

[72] Jungmann *Mass of the Roman Rite,* I.60-61.
[73] For the distinction between antiphonal and responsorial Psalms, see Harper, *Forms and Orders,* 72.
[74] Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books,* 107.
[75] Bogaert, 'The Latin Bible', 77-79.

the Catechumens; the reader (necessarily ordained) would receive a blessing before carrying the book aloft to the special place designated for reading - the top of the ambo, physically elevated above the altar steps where the other readings took place – accompanied by incense and candles.[76] 'The more illustrious place where the Gospel is read', wrote Amalarius of Metz, 'signified the most eminent doctrine of evangelical preaching and the clearest authority of its judgement'.[77] The fact that the book was raised higher than the two candles indicated 'that the law and the prophets are lower than the Gospel'. The candles would be extinguished after the Gospel reading 'because the law and the prophets will be finished when the preaching of the Gospel is finished'.[78] The Gospel was greeted with an acclamation as if hailing Christ himself, and was intoned with a more elaborate melody than the Epistle.[79] The fact that biblical texts were often bound in several codices allowed the Gospels, liturgically and visually, to inhabit a category of their own. Gospel books were the ones most likely to be richly illuminated, bound in precious materials and decorated with jewels. Irish Gospel books from the earlier middle ages were even treated as cultic artefacts, placed in reliquary-style boxes and worn around the neck as amulets.[80] Even if Bec did not own illuminated Gospels quite of this calibre – indeed, there is evidence to suggest that the books produced at Bec were more than usually plain - its Gospels books would likely have been distinguished for their elevated role in the liturgy.[81]

Although the Bible may have been experienced as a sacred library of books, by Anselm's day it was also being bound in one volume. Alcuin's production of pandects in

[76] Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite,* I.77
[77] Amalarius, *On the liturgy*, 3.18.13, II.107-109.
[78] *Ibid.,* 3.18.13, II.109.
[79] Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite,* I.447; I.419.
[80] Dorothy Shepard, 'The Latin Gospelbook, c. 600–1200', in *New Cambridge History of the Bible,* 338-362.
[81] Jenny Weston, 'Manuscripts and Book Production at Le Bec', in *Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec,* 155.

Tours from the late eighth century onwards contributed not only towards the fixing of the order of the biblical books, but also towards the trend for luxury one-volume Bibles, of which the 'Moutier-Grandval Bible' (British Library, Add MS 10546) is a particularly lavish example.[82] Laura Light notes that a large Bible in this style was made for Anselm's friend and fellow Bec monk Gundulf, bishop of Rochester (c.1024 – 1108).[83] Indeed, as the fashion for 'giant' lectern Bibles in Cluny and its dependencies makes plain, many communities would celebrate the Divine Office in the massive physical presence of the sacred text, which would remain on the lectern owing to its unwieldy size.[84] One-volume Bibles like the giant pandects would have physically dwarfed all other books, as well as being considerably costly to produce. Indeed, the production of liturgical texts was a major aspect of a monastery's output, as the copying of liturgical material represented one of the primary tasks of a monastery's scriptorium.

A close connection existed between a community's liturgy and its books. The offices of cantor and librarian were often conflated, denoting combined oversight of the liturgy in both its textual and its performative aspects`.[85] Many contributions to Margot Fassler's recent edited volume on the medieval office of cantor highlight how the practical and ceremonial sides of the cantor-librarian's duties dovetailed, combining organisational, literary and musical expertise with specific liturgical roles.[86] Teresa

[82] Frans van Liere, 'The Latin Bible, c.900 to the Council of Trent, 1546', in *New Cambridge History of the Bible,* 98.
[83] Laura Light, 'Versions et re´visions du texte biblique', in *Le moyen âge et la Bible*, ed. Pierre Riché and Guy Lobrichon (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), 70.
[84] Dianne Reilly, 'The Cluniac Giant Bible and the *Ordo librorum ad legendum*: a reassessment of monastic Bible reading and Cluniac customary instructions', in *From Dead of Night,* 163-189. Reilly notes elsewhere that the production of giant lectern Bibles often went hand in hand with reforming priorities, even if the books functioned more as 'showpieces': Reilly, 'The Bible as Bellwether: manuscript bibles in the context of spiritual, liturgical and educational reform', in *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible,* ed. Eyal Poleg and Laura Light (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 9-29.
[85] Teresa Webber, 'Cantor, Sacrist or Prior? The Provision of Books in Anglo-Norman England', *Medieval Cantors and their Craft,* 187.
[86] Bugyis, Kraebel and Fassler, *Medieval Cantors and their Craft,* 3.

Webber also points out that the responsibility for choosing where to start and finish each reading in the Office would be down to the cantor-librarian, who would judge at which point a biblical reading should end, and co-ordinate the refectory readings accordingly.[87] The most literarily talented monks would also tend to be given the office of cantor. Many monks associated with Anselm, including Eadmer, Maurice and Osbern of Canterbury, went on to combine the duties of a literary secretary with oversight of the library and scriptorium.[88] Making one's way around biblical texts and masterminding their liturgical organisation demanded intimate knowledge of key biblical motifs and their sources, whether they were to be found in one volume or in many. Intellectual aptitude and liturgical responsibility overlapped with the kind of theological and ceremonial savvy required to choose appropriate scriptural readings according to the season, the feast and the occasion.

Monks were also instrumental in the physical production of scriptural and liturgical texts.[89] The larger the community, the more books would be needed. A community such as Bec undergoing expansion would be particularly in need of Bibles and service books, not only for its own swelling numbers but for any dependencies which it supported.[90] Newer monasteries would need to produce books rapidly, and could even hire the scribes of other monasteries to copy books for them; Abbot Paul of St Albans (r. 1077-1093) and Abbot Faricius of Abingdon (r. 1100-1117) both employed this strategy.[91] The example of Christ Church Canterbury, whose monastery was largely destroyed by fire in 1067, witnesses how deliberately abbots would prioritise the

[87] Webber, 'Cantor, Sacrist or Prior?', 187.
[88] Knowles, *Monastic Order,* 428.
[89] See Weston, 'Manuscripts and Book Production at Le Bec', 144–170.
[90] For Bec's dependencies, see Marjorie Chibnall, 'The relations of St Anselm with the English dependencies of the Abbey of Bec, 1079-1093', in *Piety, Power and History in Medieval England and Normandy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 521-530.
[91] Knowles, *Monastic Order,* 519-520.

production of liturgical books and the restocking of libraries. By c.1170, Christ Church's library had as many as 600-700 books, and its scriptorium had produced Bibles, canon law texts and monastic customs which spread across many English monasteries.[92]

Copying and correcting scriptural manuscripts was also a hallmark of reform-minded communities. Peter Damian modestly described how he had undertaken to 'emend the entire library of volumes of the Old and New Testament, albeit hastily and therefore not very precisely'.[93] According to Milo Crispin, Lanfranc himself was famous for the assiduity of his corrections of biblical texts. His *Vita Lanfranci* testifies that

> both before and during his episcopate, he was constantly reading as much as he could. And because the text of the scriptures was spoiled by excessive corruptions, he busied himself with correcting all the books of the Old as well as the New Testament, and also the writings of the holy Fathers, according to the orthodox faith. And he also corrected to a tee many of those which we use night and day in the service of the Church – and this was done not only by him, but also by his disciples.[94]

While Laura Light has argued that the evidence for Lanfranc's amendments is scant, the trope of the saintly abbot toiling away to purify his library's Bibles from corruptions was sturdy enough to make it into John of Salisbury's *Vita* of Anselm.[95] As van Liere points out, this practice should put one in mind more of a desire to iron out discrepancies between manuscripts than a modern editorial drive to produce a critical edition of the Bible.[96] Nonetheless, ensuring that biblical texts were preserved from

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[92] See the Christ Church catalogue, M.R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover: the catalogues of the libraries of Christ Church Priory and St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury and of St. Martin's Priory at Dover* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903), 7-12; H. H. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon: being an inquiry into the text of some English manuscripts of the Vulgate Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), 181-182; 191; Knowles, *Monastic Order,* 525.

[93] Peter Damian, *De ordine eremitarum, PL* 145, col. 334CD, quoted in Van Liere 'The Latin Bible', 99, n. 21.

[94] Milo Crispin, *Vita Lanfranci, PL* 150, col. 55. My translation. Also quoted in Van Liere, 'The Latin Bible', 96, n. 13.

[95] Light, 'Versions et révisions du texte biblique', 56; John of Salisbury, *Joannis Saresberiensis Opera Omnia. V: Vita Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis,* ed. J. A. Giles (Oxford: 1948), 305-357, trans. Ronald E. Pepin as *Anselm & Becket: two Canterbury saints' lives* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009), 23-24.

[96] Van Liere, 'The Latin Bible', 96-97.

'errors' was among the priorities which later authors, at least, were keen to ascribe to the Bec's abbots.

According to H.H. Glunz, the copying efforts of Norman monasteries were particularly influential in the promotion of the Vulgate, to which 'European Christianity of the Latin rite had to surrender by degrees'.[97] Glunz's work on the history of the Vulgate in England should be taken with a pinch of salt – his claim that the eleventh-century illuminated Gospel book known as Wadham A.18.3 (or A.10.22, in its older shelfmark) was a copy of the very book Lanfranc brought with him from Bec, corrected and glossed by his own hand, seems to have been something of a hopeful speculation - but there is little reason to doubt that Lanfranc promoted the Vulgate when he came to England.[98] The new archbishop supposedly took steps to ensure that the Bibles supplied to English churches were the same as those used in Normandy, Italy and France, and both Lanfranc's nephew Paul, the abbot of St Albans, and Gundulf of Rochester seem to have had copies matching Lanfranc's.[99] Excepting the snatches of older Latin translations which sometimes still lingered in the liturgy – most notably the *Pater Noster*'s '*panem nostrum cotidianum'* rather than the Vulgate's *'supersubstantialem'* - the Vulgate is likely to be the version Anselm would have known.[100]

The purity of the community's manuscripts upheld the purity of its worship. Much of the material produced by the monastic scriptorium was copied and corrected in order to be sung. Larger monasteries with a greater administrative burden would employ the younger monks to do the copying, indicating a pedagogical value attached to the practical handling of scriptural and liturgical manuscripts, both in the scriptorium

[97] Glunz, *History of the Vulgate,* 149.
[98] *Ibid.,* 159-162. I am grateful to Dr Samu Niskanen and the late Prof Richard Sharpe for their advice concerning this manuscript.
[99] Knowles, *Monastic Order,* 515.
[100] I owe this example to Rev Dr Richard Conrad OP.

and in daily chant practice.[101] Indeed, the sound of liturgical texts being memorized must have resounded through the chapter house or the cloister whenever there was time in the gaps between the day's offices.[102] All members of the community would be expected to learn the Psalms and their chants by heart, but for the adult novices, this could be done with reference to personal psalters and hymnals which they could keep until they had committed them to memory.[103] In terms of the day-to-day canticles and chants, the liturgical books probably acted as prompts for the cantor and the choir monks, reminding them the order in which to sing the texts already fixed in their memory. Biblical texts, then, were the subject of a variety of technical skills which the monks were required to learn: the handling of manuscripts, the memorization of liturgical extracts, and the ability to express them intelligibly in song.

It is this more ephemeral aspect of Anselm's engagement with biblical words and phrases which liturgical sources fail to capture. Liturgical books tend to focus on the exceptions rather than the rules of everyday observance. Lanfranc specifies in great detail the rituals for Christmas and Easter without dedicating equal attention to a run-of-the-mill ferial office in ordinary time. Any extra prayers, devotions and observances which may have formed a community's oral tradition or an abbot's particular preference would have been too familiar or too flexible to transcribe. The *Regula Benedicti* expressly allows for its own modification, and Lanfranc highlights in his *Constitutions* that abbots are free to 'add or take away or to make changes if we think alteration to be an advantage'.[104] Conversely, the appearance of a rubric (that is, a chorographical or ritual instruction) in a liturgical book does not necessarily mean that

[101] Boynton, 'Training for the liturgy', 8-9.
[102] *Ibid.,* 11.
[103] *Ibid.,* 11-12.
[104] Lanfranc, 'Letter to Prior Henry', *Constitutions,* 4.

the instruction was carried out. The rubric could be aspirational, a wish on the part of the copyist to encourage a certain kind of formality, promote a particular feast or emulate another monastery.[105] Liturgical books therefore aptly visualise the ways in which scriptural words and phrases straddled the fault-line between the written and the unwritten, between an authoritative bank of revealed speech and the daily performance which reified its cardinal truths.

The fact that liturgical books only reveal to the historian the liturgy's fingerprints renders the task of uncovering Bec's liturgy all the more complex. As Carol Symes observes, the fact that a liturgical text was written down at all is much more likely to constitute a desire to promote or prohibit certain practices than to transcribe the services as they actually happened.[106] If liturgical texts were neither wholly prescriptive nor wholly descriptive, neither were they static. Their use enabled flexibility within the parameters marked out by adherence to a basic textual model. They were tools for prompting the memory, for instructing novices and for establishing communal identity. Although they were ancillary to the performance of the office – once the Psalms were memorized, for example, constant reference to the Psalter was superfluous – the books were no less ritual artefacts for being geared towards functionality. Crucially, it is clear that when it came to physical engagements with scriptural texts, the lines between study, pedagogy, ceremony and worship were extremely permeable. As the combined office of the cantor-librarian demonstrates, the acts of reading, copying and correcting biblical texts belonged within the same notional category as singing, praying and performing them. As such, many of the physical encounters with scripture that someone like Anselm experienced would have been geared essentially towards the injunction to

[105] Cochelin, 'Monastic Daily Life', 543; Symes, 'Liturgical texts and performance practices', 239-246.
[106] Symes, 'Liturgical texts and performance practices', 244.

psallite sapienter (Psalm 46:8). The absence of anything like a hard boundary between studious engagement with a biblical text and it prayerful performance in the liturgy was written in to the very functions and duties of practical monastic life.

1.2. The liturgy at Bec

When surveying the liturgical landscape, it is important to bear in mind the interplay between adherence to authoritative norms which marked out a monastery's reforming character and the variety of local idiosyncrasies which distinguished each monastery from the next. Holding these two features in balance preserves the historian from too maximalist an impression of the medieval liturgy's uniformity on the one hand and too minimalist an impression on the other. Certain liturgical trends have remained broadly stable, such as the traditional linking of certain scriptural passages with theological themes or ceremonial actions. These generalities can be gleaned from sources such as Marbach's *Carmina scripturarum,* a compendium of the antiphons and responsories of the Roman Rite, the 1570 Roman missal, and the CANTUS online database.[107] The *Regula Benedicti,* too, offers a key point of orientation. Although the *Regula* would have been supplemented and modified - Benedict himself called it a rule for 'beginners', designed to be surpassed in practice – its theological motifs, and the connections drawn between certain scriptural passages and liturgical practice, would have been deeply familiar to Anselm.[108] When it comes to the more granular details concerning the exact liturgical makeup of Anselm's Bec, the picture becomes rather more complex.

No complete eleventh century liturgical sources survive from the years of Anselm's residence in Bec. Recourse to the twelfth-century library catalogue yields no

[107] Carl Marbach, *Carmina scripturarum: scilicet antiphonas et responsoria ex sacro scripturae fonte in libros liturgicos sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae derivata* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1963). Hereafter *CS.*
[108] *RB* 73, 294-297.

useful results, since liturgical books would more likely have been kept in the sacristy.[109] The liturgical manuscripts from medieval Bec to survive are all of a later date. These have been summarised by Marie Dickson in the introduction to her edition of the *Consuetudines Beccenses.*[110] The surviving sources which she lists are: two manuscripts of a customary (Rouen A 226 and Paris BN lat. 1208), the former of which includes an antiphonal and a hymnal, the latter an ordinal; a breviary (Laon 225); a missal (BN lat. 1105, edited by Anselm Hughes); and a gradual from the priory of St-Nicaise de Meulan, a Bec dependency (Leningrad O v I 6).**[111]** Dickson dates all of these to around the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, with the exception of the Meulan gradual, which she places at the end of the twelfth.[112] Not preserved in manuscript form but printed by Edmond Martène in 1690 are three fragments of a customary dating from around the beginning of the twelfth century, but no earlier evidence than this survives.[113]

Bec, newly established '*ex nihilo'* in 1034, did not take its liturgy directly from any mother house.[114] In its early years, Bec probably would have had very few liturgical books and no written customs. Any norms stipulated by its first abbot Herluin would have been orally preserved.[115] The expansion and growing wealth of the monastery which coincided with Lanfranc's arrival, Dickson argues, would have been a perfect opportunity for the codifying of liturgical norms, meaning that Anselm's priorate (1063-

[109] For the Bec library catalogue, see Laura Cleaver, 'The Monastic Library at Le Bec', in *Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec,* 171–205.
[110] Marie Pascal Dickson OSB (ed.), *Consuetudines Beccenses: Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum IV* (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1967). Hereafter *CB.*
[111] Dickson, 'Introduction', xv-xiii; Anselm Hughes, *The Bec Missal* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1963). Hereafter *BM.*
[112] Dickson, 'Introduction', xiii, n. 19.
[113] Edmond Martène, *De antiquis monachorum ritibus* (New York: Anisson, Posuel & Rigaud, 1690), 2 volumes, cited in Dickson, 'Introduction', xi, n. 17.
[114] Dickson, 'Introduction', xxxv.
[115] See Vanderputten, 'Custom and Identity at Le Bec', *Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec,* 228-247.

1078) and abbacy (1078-1093) may have seen a surge of liturgical production at Bec. The growing number of professions under Anselm's tenure, which increased dramatically after 1078, would necessitate both the production of additional books and the clearer articulation of the new monastery's customs.[116] The construction of the new church, begun by Lanfranc and completed by Anselm in 1077, would have provided ample opportunity for reflection upon Bec's desired liturgical tenor. Moreover, it was during that time that Bec probably gained a reputation for its culture of learning; notwithstanding the influence of twelfth-century priorities upon later retellings of Bec's beginnings, there is little reason to believe that Orderic Vitalis was exaggerating too wildly when he wrote in around 1114 that the monks of Bec, 'by good custom, are so devoted to the study of letters, so eager to solve theological problems and compose edifying treatises that almost all of them seem to be philosophers'.[117] Liturgical books are bound to have been among those produced under Anselm's oversight.

Indeed, Dickson suggests that Anselm or Lanfranc may have had a hand themselves in drafting the first of Bec's written customaries.[118] Anselm showed interest in the 'Rule' or '*Institutia'* of St Dunstan (by which he probably meant the *Regularis Concordia,* erroneously thought to have been written by Dunstan) which he requested from Canterbury after Lanfranc's departure.[119] Dickson is confident that Bec's earliest customary can be traced to Anselm himself: 'we can be doubly certain, first that a customary was drafted during the abbacy of Herluin and perhaps under the priorate of Anselm, of which we can find traces in the book of usages published in part by Martène, and also of the permanence of that customary in its essential characteristics throughout

[116] Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, 201.
[117] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* 6 volumes, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1969-1980), II.296.
[118] Dickson, 'Introduction', xxix.
[119] *Ep*. 39, I.141; and 42, I.146.

the different redactions up until the fourteenth century'.[120] If Dickson is right, then the later medieval liturgical books which make up her edition could be considered exemplary not only of Anselm's liturgical environment but also of his indirect authorship. This is a significant claim, especially as Dickson identifies in these books a consciously anti-Cluniac flavour. In an excellent table demonstrating the points of liturgical overlap between the customary of Bec and Lanfranc's *Constitutions*, Cluny's customaries, and the uses of Fécamp, Fruttuaria and Lorraine, the point she draws out with most force is Bec's apparent non-conformity with Cluny.[121] Her analysis lays stress on Bec's independence, free from any binding influence of a mother-house, free from external influence (Bec reserved the tradition of always electing an abbot from among its own monks) and free from the climate of 'ritualism' associated with Cluny.[122] This would seem to indicate that in the years of Bec's adolescence - years of Lanfranc's and/or Anselm's oversight - a conscious decision was made to draw up customs decidedly opposed to the Cluniac way of life.

It ought to be noted that Dickson's assessment contains a faint anti-Cluniac bias.[123] Her observations contain traces of the assumption that elaborate ritual is allied with excess and degeneracy. She observes that the ordinary Benedictine accretions which the customary contains - the thirty Psalms before Vigils, the Psalms for relatives after each hour, the Office of All Saints and the Office of the Dead and so on – represent an 'overload which was, fatally, somewhat detrimental to the simplicity of the Benedictine life'.[124] She also frames the 'essential elements' of Bec's tradition in

[120] Dickson, 'Introduction', xxxiv. My translation from the French.
[121] *Ibid.,* xxxvii-xli.
[122] *Ibid.,* xli-li.
[123] Constable, 'Reviewed Work(s): *Consuetudines Beccenses* by Marie Pascal Dickson', *Speculum*, 43 (1968), 338-339.
[124] Dickson, 'Introduction', xlv-xlvi.

contradistinction to Cluniac norms: Bec demonstrates greater liturgical equality over and against the focus on hierarchy apparently characteristic of Cluniac ceremonial; Bec is notable for its simplicity, the lack of psalmody during occasions such as the tonsuring of the brethren, over and against Cluny's ubiquitous ritualising.[125] She notes approvingly that 'in general, the accumulation of offices is, wherever possible, avoided'.[126]

Partial overtones notwithstanding, Dickson's claim is not improbable. Bec's liturgy was likely have represented a lighter load than Cluny's, otherwise Anselm's decision to enter the former rather than the latter establishment would have been mere hair-splitting.[127] Moreover, serious challenges to the Cluny model were not far on the horizon, with congregations like Chartreuse and Cîteaux consciously defining themselves against what they took to be liturgical excess. The scholarly young Bec could plausibly have constituted a forerunner of these movements. Complicating Dickson's theory, however, is the question of Lanfranc's *Constitutions* written in around 1077 for use at Canterbury, and considered by David Knowles to be a more likely candidate for reflecting Bec's liturgy than the later Bec customaries. If Bec's liturgical books were written during or shortly after Lanfranc's priorate, and if, as Dickson postulates, Lanfranc himself had a hand in their writing, then it would be natural to expect his *Constitutions* for Canterbury to resemble those customs he produced maybe ten or fifteen years previously. Indeed, the 1326 library catalogue for Christ Church Canterbury confidently designates Lanfranc's *Constitutions* as '*consuetudines ecclesiae Beccensis'*.[128] Yet Lanfranc's scheme borrows heavily from Cluniac practices and

[125] *Ibid.,* xlix, li.
[126] *Ibid.,* li.
[127] *VA,* I.5, 8-10.
[128] James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover,* 49-50, as cited in Brooke, 'Introduction', x, n.47.

includes large sections from a Cluniac customary. The archbishop himself describes how he 'compiled from the customs of those monasteries which in our day have the greatest prestige'.[129] Despite admitting to have 'added a few details' and 'made certain changes', Lanfranc's amalgam, according to Christopher Brooke, lay 'steadfastly within the tradition' of conventional Norman monasticism within which Cluny was not altogether anomalous.[130] If Dickson is right in suggesting that Bec's liturgy was consciously anti-Cluniac, then it must be concluded that Lanfranc performed a remarkable *volte-face* in writing customs for Canterbury which could even be described as anti-Bec.

This theory does warrant examination. Lanfranc's *Constitutions* were written for a community who prised highly both their (real or embellished) reforming credentials and what they believed to be their primacial independence.[131] In a climate of conquest, liturgical changes could turn sour; when the Bec monk Thurstan, abbot of Glastonbury from 1077 to 1082, attempted to introduce a new style of chant to the Glastonbury monks, the community revolted violently against their superior.[132] Faced with what may well have been a potentially unruly community, Lanfranc determined to raise liturgical standards, as the canons of his 1070 legatine council at Winchester attest.[133] Canterbury, whose primatial status he was keen to promote, would naturally have been the flagship for ecclesiastical consolidation across the whole of England; as Lanfranc makes clear in the *Constitutions'* preface, 'certain changes' have been made concerning

[129] Lanfranc, *Constitutions,* 'Letter to Prior Henry', 4.
[130] Brooke, 'Introduction', *Constitutions,* xvi.
[131] The argument that Dunstan's reforming achievement were exaggerated by later Canterbury hagiographers is made by Nicola Robertson, 'Dunstan and Monastic Reform: Tenth-Century fact or Twelfth-Century fiction?', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 28 (2006),153-67; and Margot Fassler, 'Shaping the Historical Dunstan: Many lives and a musical office', in *Medieval Cantors,* 127.
[132] David Hiley, 'Thurstan of Caen and plainchant at Glastonbury: musicological reflections on the Norman conquest', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 72 (1986), 57-90.
[133] Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England,* 103-104.

particular feasts, 'considering that they should be kept with greater solemnity in our church by reason of the primatial see which is there'.[134] Perhaps he wished to underscore Canterbury's pre-eminence with an elaborate, continental-style liturgy to match the magnificent Norman cathedral he built to replace the one destroyed in the 1067 fire, similar in style to the church he had left under construction at Caen.[135] He might have decided that an amalgam of the best contemporary continental practices, including those of Cluny, would suit the primatial seat of a conquered territory better than the simpler style of his old monastery at Bec.

Lanfranc almost certainly intended his liturgical programme to spread across the newly-occupied kingdom. Gundulf of Rochester and Gilbert Crispin of Westminster (d. 1117), both friends of Anselm, probably took copies of his *Constitutions* for their communities - Westminster certainly had a copy by the thirteenth century – and Wido, the ex-Christchurch monk who became abbot of St Augustine's, may have taken them there too.[136] Evidence for the *Constitutions* is also found in Worcester, Eynsham, Evesham, Battle and Durham, whose secular canons were replaced by monks and whose cathedral was rebuilt during Lanfranc's pontificate.[137] The later witness of Matthew Paris (c.1200–1259) suggests that Lanfranc also gave the book to his nephew Paul, abbot of St Albans, and whether or not this is strictly true, the archbishop certainly patronised the monastery, and supported the building of a Norman abbey church as he had done in Durham, so it is reasonable to suppose that the *Constitutions* came too.[138] Although it is possible to overstate a putative desire for liturgical conformity on Lanfranc's part – plenty of evidence survives from monastic houses whose liturgy does

[134] Lanfranc, 'Letter to Prior Henry', *Constitutions,* 4.
[135] Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England,* 103.
[136] Brooke, 'Introduction', xxxi.
[137] *Ibid.,* xxxii; Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, 109.
[138] *Ibid.,* xxxiii-xxxv.

not seem to reflect anything of the *Constitutions,* such as Hyde Abbey in Winchester – he nonetheless envisaged his scheme applying to communities outside Canterbury, so it is possible that he considered the Cluniac style best suited to the kinds of reforms he wanted to promote nationwide.[139]

Yet this suggestion of Dickson's is not without problems. It is hard to imagine that Lanfranc would have incorporated so little of the liturgy of Bec into his *Constitutions*. He certainly brought other liturgical books with him from Normandy to Canterbury, and it is possible that one of them was a Bec sacramentary. Overlaps between the thirteenth-century Bec Missal (BN Lat. 1105) and sacramentaries from St Augustine's, Canterbury (CCC 270), St Gregory's, Canterbury (Canterbury Cathedral Library Add. MS 124/14), St Albans (Bodl. Rawl. liturg. c.1), and the fourteenth-century Durham missal which contains traces of the *Constitutions* (BL Harl. 5289) could indicate that the Bec Missal reflects an older Bec sacramentary which Lanfranc introduced into English monasteries.[140] This case is strengthened by the almost exact crossover between the Bec Missal and the twelfth-century gradual from St-Nicaise de Meulan (Leningrad O v I 6).[141] Although there are examples of monasteries in which multiple strains of influence ran alongside each other – St Albans under Abbot Paul being one – it is hard to imagine the new archbishop, on deciding Canterbury's liturgical agenda, deliberately eschewing Bec's customary whilst electing to keep its sacramentary.[142]

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[139] For Hyde Abbey, see J.B.L. Tolhurst, ed., *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1932-1942), 6 volumes; Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England,* 110-111.
[140] Nicholas Orchard, 'The Bosworth Psalter and the St Augustine's Missal' in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: churches, saints and scholars 1066-1109*, ed. R. G. Eales and Richard Sharpe (London: Hambledon, 1995), 88.
[141] This manuscript is reproduced in Jean-Baptiste Thibaut, *Monuments de la Notation Ekphonétique et Neumatique de l'Église Latine* (St. Petersburg: 1912). It is the subject of Ruth Steiner's study, 'The liturgical and musical tradition of Bec', in *Studies in Gregorian Chant* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 1-15. I am grateful for Prof. David Hiley for private communications concerning this manuscript.
[142] Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England,* 158-165.

Nor are Dickson's findings conclusive. Martène's fragments may not even predate the writing of Lanfranc's *Constitutions.* In his introduction to the revised edition of the *Constitutions,* Christopher Brooke mentions the possibility that they really were the authentic '*consuetudines ecclesiae Beccensis',* and the fragments printed by Martène upon which Dickson's theories rests simply constitute relics of a later customary.[143] The liturgy at Bec is therefore a topic which remains, in Brooke's words, a 'region in which it is wise to speak with extreme caution'.[144] None of the available sources - neither the collection published in Dickson's *Consuetudines Beccenses* (possibly reflecting Bec's earlier constitutions), nor the Bec Missal edited by Anselm Hughes (possibly reflecting an early Bec sacramentary), nor Lanfranc's *Constitutions* (possibly including early Bec uses) - offers an unqualified reconstruction of the liturgy Anselm knew. Moreover, since local variants and idiosyncrasies belonged as firmly to the liturgical climate as adherence to authoritative norms, the historian must tread carefully between presuming too much continuity and presuming too little. Rather than making the choice, then, between leaning fully on Lanfranc's *Constitutions* to the exclusion of the other sources and trusting Dickson's confidence in the later sources to the exclusion of Lanfranc, tentative recourse will be made in this project to all of them. Any of these texts – the *Constitutions,* the material making up the *Consuetudines Beccenses* (that is, the customary, appended by the ordinal found in Paris BN lat. 1208), and the Bec Missal – could conceivably preserve parts of the liturgy which Anselm would have known. In the absence of a definitive liturgical text which Anselm certainly knew personally, it is necessary to return also to the *Regula Benedicti.* Whether or not Bec followed the distribution of the Psalms as it is laid out by Benedict, Anselm would certainly have

[143] Brooke, 'Introduction', xli.
[144] *Ibid.,* xviii-xl.

been intimately familiar with the *Regula*'s content and themes. Whilst the aforementioned texts will be used as points of reference, it is to the *Regula* this project will turn for a source which Anselm definitely knew.

1.3. Scripture in the liturgy

i. *Scripture in the Divine Office: Vigils*

The reading of scripture (as opposed to psalmody or chant) in the office of Vigils was seasonal. The readings had begun as attempts at *lectio continua,* the reading of the Bible in roughly consecutive sections each night until it was finished.[145] By the eleventh century, the readings at Vigils were structured according to the schemes laid out in the *ordines Romani*, liturgical blueprints associated with the authority of the Roman basilicas.[146] Most popular were the schemes known as *Ordo* XIIIA and *Ordo* XIV.[147] *Ordo* XIV, purportedly reflecting the readings in the basilica of St Peter in the second half of the seventh century, set the broad pattern for the distribution of readings in the office of Vigils throughout the year, and *Ordo* XIIIA concretised this format (with minor amendments) to become the earliest surviving Roman *ordo* to be used in Frankish monastic houses.[148] According to *Ordo* XIIIA, the Heptateuch was read from Septuagesima to Holy Week, Jeremiah in Holy Week (particularly the famous 'lamentations'), Acts, the non-Pauline epistles and Apocalypse from Easter to the Octave of Pentecost, Kings and Chronicles until August, the wisdom books until September, and Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther and Ezra from September to October. In October was read the two books of Maccabees, in November Ezekiel, Daniel and the minor prophets until

[145] Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books,* 149.
[146] Reilly, 'Cluniac Giant Bible', 165.
[147] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy,* 166-168. For the texts of the *Ordines,* see Michel Andrieu (ed.), *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge* (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1931-1956), II.469-448, III.25-41.
[148] Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books,* 150.

Advent, when the liturgical year began again with Isaiah. Whilst some copies of *Ordo* XIIIA include readings tailored to specific feats such as Maundy Thursday, Holy Saturday and the vigil of the Nativity, the main priority seems to have been *lectio continua* among those communities which owned a giant pandect.[149] Notwithstanding the likelihood of local adaptations, Anselm would probably have associated certain biblical books with particular parts of the year, dutifully read in a scheme designed to present the whole Bible as a single, continuous story.[150]

The scriptural reading in the office of Vigils would appear in the first nocturn. The second nocturn would often include a saint's life or a commentary designed to underscore the liturgical significance of that particular day, and the third nocturn a patristic homily on the Gospel of the day (to be read in full later at mass), or alternatively a reading from the New Testament.[151] This practice was at least as old as the *Regula Benedicti*, which exhorts monks that 'besides the inspired books of the Old and New Testaments, the works read at Vigils should include explanations of scripture by reputable and orthodox catholic Fathers'.[152] Readings from Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Bede and other fathers would act as a commentary on the scripture just heard.[153] Older medieval sacramentaries offered a selection of patristic readings to choose from, but newer monasteries could have their own homiliary along the lines of the one composed by Paul the Deacon for Charlemagne.[154] This 'official' Carolingian homiliary which Charlemagne promoted throughout his empire contained 244 sections corresponding to the liturgical year and assigning a homily suitable to the Gospel of

[149] Reilly, 'Cluniac Giant Bible', 166.
[150] *Ibid.,* 168-170; Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books,* 149-152.
[151] Billett, '*Sermones ad diem pertinentes:* Sermons and homilies in the liturgy of the Divine Office' in Sermo doctorum*: Compilers, Preachers and their Audiences in the Early Medieval West,* ed. Maximilian Diesenberger, Yitzhak Hen and Marianne Pollheimer (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 341.
[152] *RB* 9.8, 204-205.
[153] Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books,* 152-156.
[154] *Ibid.,* 154-155.

every Sunday and many major feast days.[155] Even though a standard office lectionary was never established, and communities tended to produce their own cycles of readings, deliberate effort was made to ensure that the readings tessellated with each other; Jesse Billett points to a commentary on the *Regula Benedicti* by Hildemar of Corbie (d. c.850) from around 845, which advises that once a book has been finished, a suitable exposition should be found to complement it, for example, pairing the Advent readings from Isaiah with Jerome's commentary.[156] The same went for the extracts from the lives of the saints which could be read in the second nocturn. The saints occupied a conspicuous place within the liturgy, with their names invoked during the mass and their relics encased in every church's altar.[157] Hagiography, already an established genre, was often written with the liturgy in mind, composed in short chunks suitable for reading at the office, usually centring on a particular motif or miraculous occurrence.[158] As more feasts acquired their own 'proper' readings, the readings from the lives of the saints could be tailored to fit the liturgical occasion. A scriptural passage would no sooner have been heard than the voices of the saints and the Fathers would have chimed in to explicate, voices which, as Billett stresses, would have been 'heard as a kind of liturgical music', intoned 'for both a human audience and a Divine one'.[159]

Indeed, the wreathing of scriptural texts with other texts to create a multi-layered commentary grew in sophistication as the number of feasts marked with liturgical distinctiveness grew. Beginning in the Carolingian period, those responsible for the makeup of their community's liturgy increasingly sought to match the theme of

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[155] *Ibid.*

[156] Billett, '*Sermones ad diem'*, 342. For reconstructions of medieval lectionaries, see R. Etaix, 'Le lectionnaire de l'office à Cluny', *Recherches, augustiniennes*, 11 (1976), 91-159, and A. Davril, 'Le lectionnaire de l'office à Fleury: Essai de reconstitution', *Revue Bénédictine,* 89 (1979), 110-164.

[157] Heffernan, 'Liturgy and Literature of Saints' Lives', 78-82.

[158] *Ibid.,* 104.

[159] Billett, '*Sermones ad diem'*, 366.

the day's Gospel with the contents of Vigils. Billett argues that the practice of matching the homily of Sunday Vigils to the Gospel reading of the day transformed the function of the Vigils homilies from extensions of the *lectio continua* to comments on the particular liturgical occasion: '*sermones ad diem pertinentes*'.[160] The readings of Sunday Vigils became so closely connected with the day's Gospel that Durandus (c.1230 -1296) the thirteenth-century liturgical commentator, considered the third nocturn to signify the third age of grace in which the Gospel is preached, understood and celebrated.[161] This development demonstrates the gradual orientation of scriptural and parascriptural readings around liturgically-determined focal points. A scriptural motif could serve as the thematic cog around which the rest of the office orbited.

Moreover, this development further elevated Gospel texts to the level of liturgical centrality. Because the Gospel of the Sunday would be read at mass every day for the rest of the week (unless a certain day had its own Gospel reading, like feast days, Ember days and the weekdays of Lent), the themes of a single Gospel pericope would be threaded through the entire week, repeated every day at mass and commented on every night at Vigils.[162] 'You should know', Durandus stated, 'that just as the head is in charge of the other parts of the body, and just as the other parts serve the head, so the Gospel is the chief of all that is said in the Office of Mass and rules over the entire Office of Mass'.[163] It is easy to imagine the Gospel readings, determined by the seasonal unfolding

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[160] *Ibid.,* 348.
[161] Guillelmi Duranti*, Rationale divinorum officiorum. V-VI,* ed. A. Davril, OSB and T. M. Thibodeau, CCCM 140A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), V.2.49, II.38, as quoted in Billett, '*Sermones ad dies*', 346, n. 17.
[162] For the centrality of the Gospel text to both the mass and the office, see Fassler, 'Sermons, Sacramentaries and Early Sources for the Office in the Latin West: the example of Advent', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages,* 27.
[163] Duranti, *Rationale divinorum officiorum. I-IV,* ed. A. Davril, OSB and T. M. Thibodeau, CCCM 140 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), IV.24.3, I.341, as quoted in Anne Walters Robertson, 'From Office to Mass: The Antiphons of Vespers and Lauds and the Antiphons before the Gospel in Northern France', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: methodology and source studies, regional developments, hagiography* ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 303, n. 12.

of the liturgical cycle, bearing a particular image or idea which the other scripture readings could draw out and magnify.

ii. *Scripture in the mass*

The readings in the office of Vigils therefore served as a counterpoint to the readings at mass, which would not, in Anselm's time, have followed the pattern of *lectio continua*.[164] The readings at mass, constituting a crescendo towards the supreme moment of liturgical solemnity, would have been read (and often sung) with more ceremonial reverence than the readings in the office, yet exactly what was read is often difficult to determine.[165] Not only did each community follow its own liturgical Kalendar, but as lectionaries were not yet the norm they would become in the thirteenth century and beyond, there was no absolute uniformity even within the Roman rite. However, common trends existed nonetheless. Certain high points of the year which comprised fixed liturgical units – Advent, Christmas, Lent, Holy Week, Easter Week, Pentecost Week and the Ember days – remained basically the same until the modern period.[166] From Easter to Pentecost the readings were taken from Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians, and during the octave of Pentecost from the Acts of the Apostles. The *Missale Romanum* of Pius V, standardised in 1570, based on the medieval system found in the *Comes* of Murbach (a ninth-century list of readings for mass) reflects some of the earlier practices of mass readings, and a cursory comparison with the fourteenth century Bec missal reveals a broad, though not exact, correlation with the 1570 missal when it comes to the year's most important liturgical seasons and

[164] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy,* 299-300.
[165] For the origins of scriptural readings in the mass, see *ibid.,* 301-303.
[166] *Ibid.,* 349.

feasts.[167] Throughout the rest of the year, the 'ordinary time' from Pentecost to Advent and from Epiphany to Lent, there tended to be more divergence in what was read.

The combination of each day's readings was designed to throw into sharp relief the principle of biblical typology.[168] Each reading, response and prayer illuminated and explicated the others, creating an intertextual kaleidoscope coloured by the particular liturgical season. For example, the readings of the creation story, the sacrifice of Isaac and the crossing of the Red Sea which belonged to the vigil of Easter implicitly identified Adam, the primordial man, Abraham, the father of the Jewish faith, and Moses, the saviour of the Israelites, as types of Christ. That the Old Testament was indispensable but ancillary to the Gospel is witnessed in the liturgical commentary of Amalarius of Metz; 'through the reading', Amalarius explains, 'we can understand the preaching of the Old Testament, which is humbler; through the responsory, the preaching of the New Testament, which is more elevated'.[169] Amalarius details the significance of the readings' progression from lower to higher importance, finally culminating in the Eucharistic sacrament: just as the more mundane sciences paved the way for the study of sacred doctrine, so 'holy men, as children, [are] instructed in the first principles of the Old Testament so that they may arrive at the fullness of the Gospel'.[170] The ritual actions of the priest also pictured Old Testament types. The offertory recalled Melchizadek's offering of bread and wine to Abraham, and the washing of the celebrant's hands recalled the ritual libations of Jewish priests.[171] The liturgy's interpretative webs were spun with Christ as the central analogue.[172]

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[167] For the *Comes* of Murbach, see André Wilmart, 'Le Comes de Murbach', *Revue Bénédictine* 30 (1931), 25-69.
[168] Marie Anne Mayeski, 'Reading the Word in a Eucharistic Context: the shape and methods of early medieval exegesis', in *Medieval Liturgy: a book of essays,* 62-66.
[169] Amalarius, *On the liturgy,* 3.11.5, II.73.
[170] *Ibid.,* 3.11.8, II.75.
[171] *Ibid.,* 3.19.20-23, II.120-125.
[172] Jean Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1956), 5.

Special place was afforded to the Psalms in both the mass and the office.[173] The Psalms were the language of response, linking together the various strands of the typological web. According to John Cassian, the singer of the Psalms should repeat them 'not as if they were composed by the prophet but as if they were his own utterances and his own prayer'.[174] The Gradual Psalm, though it could be the subject of the homily in its own right, was often chosen as a commentary on the typological connection between the reading(s) and the Gospel, a response to the first reading and a preparatory pathway towards the next. This view of the Psalms as a 'garden' containing all the seeds of salvation history stemmed from patristic thought, according to which the Psalms placed into the mouths of the faithful a scriptural reaction to the content of revelation.[175] He who sings the Psalms, according to Athanasius of Alexandria (c.296-373) hears the words 'as though he himself were speaking', and responds to prophecies of the coming saviour 'as if they were his own songs'.[176] The Psalms were also a mouthpiece for echoing the words of Christ. In his *Ennarationes in Psalmos,* a staple of medieval monastic libraries, Augustine famously identifies two 'voices' of Christ in the Psalms: the voice of Christ speaking as the 'head' of the Church's mystical body, and the voice of Christ speaking as its 'members'.[177] In the context of the liturgy, the Psalms

[173] Joseph Dyer, 'The Psalms in monastic prayer', in *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages,* ed. Nancy van Deusen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 59-89; and 'The Singing of the Psalms in the Early Medieval Office', *Speculum,* 64 (1989), 535-578. For the influence of the Psalms more generally, see Andreas Andreopoulos, A. Casiday and C. Harrison (eds.), *Meditations of the Heart: The Psalms in Early Christian Thought and Practice* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); Susan Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries,* 2 volumes (Chichester: Blackwell, 2008); William L. Holladay, *The Psalms Though Three Thousand Years: Prayerbook of a Cloud of Witnesses* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).
[174] John Cassian, *Collationes patrum,* ed. E. Pichery as *Conférences*, SC 54 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1955-59), trans. Boniface Ramsey, as *The Conferences* (New York: Paulist Press, 1997), 10.11.4, 384.
[175] Mayeski, 'Reading the Word', 67-69.
[176] Robert C. Gregg, *Athanasius* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), 109, as quoted in *Ibid.,* 68-69.
[177] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos,* ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCSL 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), trans. Maria Boulding OSB, as *Expositions of the Psalms,* 6 volumes, ed. John E. Rotelle (Hyde Park, N.Y.: New City Press, 2000), Psalm 85, 1.1, IV.220-221.

offered a language which married human words with God's. It was a language, moreover, whose proper articulation was not in speech, but in song.

A life of liturgical observance would have engendered an attitude towards scripture which embedded the Bible's words, phrases and motifs in their performance. It was the cyclical enactment of the Christian narrative of salvation, interlocking with each round of hours, days and seasons, which furnished these words with their contexts, meanings and relations to each other. Viewing the Bible as a monumentally-sized pandect may have conveyed a sense of the unassailable unity of its textual authority, but encountering biblical passages interspersed across multiple volumes, codices and liturgical 'hymn-sheets' may also have given the impression of a 'storehouse' of textual material to be selected and reconfigured for theologically-appropriate performance. When imagining Anselm engaging with scriptural words and phrases, it is this, rather than the image of a scholar at his desk, which should be called to mind.

If biblical words were the collection of threads from which a community wove its own liturgical tapestry, then some threads would be found entwined together in the memory. Layers of liturgical performance would have yoked particular words, phrases and biblical passages to the actions, rituals, seasons or saintly individuals with which they were associated. Liturgical and theological expertise overlapped. As deeper and deeper grooves were worked into the memory, associations would probably have been automatic, arising with the same immediacy with which the remainder of the Psalm would follow on from the intoning of its first line. Singing scriptural passages would have fixed these associations in the muscle memory. Jesse Billett quotes Christopher Page's observation that 'a plainsong melody principally existed as a feeling in the throat,

a sensation in the ear and a penumbra of associations created by years of repetition, by the lengthening and shortening of days or by the arrival and disappearance of seasonal fruits at the common table.'[178] Liturgical performance, furthermore, hierarchized scriptural texts. Anselm may well have encountered certain words or phrases occupying a position of thematic centrality, with other, auxiliary texts casting light upon them, like the decorated Gospel book raised aloft in the mass liturgy, and the candles held on either side of it.

These words and phrases were also to be internalised. Following the *Regula's* injunction to 'sing the psalms in such a way that our minds are in harmony with our voices', the monk, and especially the priest, was to take scripture's words and, in uttering them, to make them his own.[179] His interior life of compunction and confession was to accompany him to the altar, robed in the scriptural language of the *apologiae.* In particular, it was the scriptural words and actions of Christ which a priest was to assume. It was by vocalising Christ's own words and mirroring his actions that the priest's words could become illocutionary, bringing about what they announce, blessing, consecrating, absolving.[180] Moreover, as Anselm told Walram, this Christoform imitation was to spread out from the liturgy into the moral life. The liturgical matrix fashioned by scriptural material in which the monk was to live and move thus concertinaed the hermeneutical distance between the 'reader' and the biblical texts. The monk was to be 'in' the matrix of the words, and the words were to be 'in' the heart and mouth of the monk. The meanings of these texts was therefore not to be found at a

[178] Christopher Page, *The Christian West and Its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 443, as quoted in Billett, 'Discerning "Reform"', 430, n. 65.
[179] *RB* 19.7, 217.
[180] For 'illocutionary' speech-acts, see Michael Morris, 'Austin on speech-acts', in *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 231-247.

critical remove, as in modern scholarly attitudes. Rather, they were to be found through the enfolding of the worshipper into the salvation narrative which the liturgy re-presented, and through the voicing of scripture's words as if they were his own; words which were to be sung – '*psallite sapienter*' (Psalm 46:8) – in order to be understood.

2. Methodology: what scripture is and how to find it

2.1. Anselm and scripture in secondary literature

The positions Anselm has traditionally held in secondary narratives of the twelfth-century's intellectual renewal, especially in its characteristic interplay between *ratio* and *fides,* have the effect of making his approach to scriptural authority central to his historical significance. For some scholars, the two towering monuments of 'reason' and 'faith' divided medieval thinkers according to allegiance, the scholastic against the monastic, the dialectician against the anti-dialectician.[1] The pioneering para-scripturality of Anselm's argumentation and his pursuit of theological knowledge *sola ratione* establishes him, for some, under the banner of 'reason'.[2] His suspending of scriptural authority allegedly marked the advent of a 'new beginning', a 'reassessment of the biblical message about God' and a 'new theological approach to scripture'.[3] In Étienne Gilson's *Reason and Revelation*, Anselm's reduction of 'reason' to logical arguments displayed a rationalistic 'recklessness' which would have 'never entered the mind' of a thinker like Augustine.[4] Jean Leclercq, unable to fit Anselm comfortably into his study of monastic theology, consigned him to a non-committal appendix.[5] The proliferation of analytical-philosophical studies of Anselm's writings reinforces the

[1] For the classic distinction between 'monastic' and 'scholastic' theology, see Leclercq, 'The renewal of Theology', in *Renaissance and Renewal,* 68-87; and 'Naming the Theologies of the Early Twelfth Century', *Mediaeval Studies,* 53 (1991), 327-336. For dialecticians and anti-dialecticians, see Holopainen, *Dialectic and Theology.*

[2] Although Anselm's commitment to faith is acknowledged in these accounts, it is his role as the 'father of scholasticism' which constitutes his primary significance. For example, Edward Grant, *God and Reason in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 53-56.

[3] Charles Kannengiesser, 'Scripture Interpreted: The Definition of Catholic Theology', in *Faith Seeking Understanding: learning and the Catholic tradition: selected papers from the symposium and convocation celebrating the Saint Anselm College centennial*, ed. George C. Berthold (Manchester, N.H.: Saint Anselm College Press, 1991), 15.

[4] Gilson, *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966), 26.

[5] Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture,* trans. Catharine Misrahi, third edition (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982), 277.

impression that his status as a logician willing to extend logic's technical methods into the realm of divine mysteries determines both his historical importance and his contemporary relevance.[6] In this innovative rationalism Anselm allegedly swam against the tide of his own age's engagements with the Bible; for one scholar, his dialectical treatment of the existence of God seemed even to 'betray the monastic tradition of the *lectio divina'*.[7] Constant Mews posits that Rupert of Deutz's (c.1075-c.1129) writings offered a deliberate contrast to Anselm's precisely in the emphasis they placed on 'scripture as the medium of divine revelation'.[8] Anselm's status as a champion of reason is closely entwined with the supposition that in most important arguments, it was not from the Bible that he took his cues.

For others scholars, Anselm fought under the opposite banner. In the faith-reason binary, Anselm was the archetypal medieval pistic.[9] His arguments, purportedly *sola ratione,* were in fact prime examples of conventional Augustinian neoplatonism, an exercise in 'faith seeking understanding' in which faith took decided precedence. Anselm could not be the twelfth-century's rationalistic pioneer, since his writings were pure distillations of Augustinian thought.[10] For Karl Barth, Anselm's attempt to

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[6] Examples include D.P. Henry, *The Logic of Saint Anselm* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); John Hick and Arthur Chute McGill, *The Many-Faced Argument: Recent Studies on the Ontological Argument for the Existence of God* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967); Alvin Plantinga, *The Ontological Argument: From St Anselm to Contemporary Philosophers* (London: Macmillan, 1968); Holopainen, 'Anselm's Argumentum and the Early Medieval Theory of Argument', *Vivarium,* 45 (2007), 1-29, and 'Logic and Theology in the Eleventh Century: Anselm and Lanfranc's Heritage', in *Anselm and Abelard,* 1-16; Ian Logan, 'Anselm's challenge to contemporary philosophy: its origins and its significance', in *Anselmo e la "nuova" Europa*, ed. Giulio Cipollone and Maria Silvia Boari, (Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2014), 95-112; Richard Campbell, *Rethinking Anselm's Arguments: A Vindication of his Proof of the Existence of God* (Leiden: Brill, 2018); and many of the contributions to the *Cambridge Companion to Anselm.*

[7] Kannengiesser, 'Scripture Interpreted', 14.

[8] Constant J. Mews, 'Monastic Theologies, c. 1050–1200', in *Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism,* 704.

[9] Examples include Karl Barth, *Anselm: Fides Quaerens Intellectum: Anselm's Proof of the Existence of God in the Context of His Theological Scheme,* trans. I.W. Robertson (London: SCM, 1960); Hans Urs Von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord: a theological aesthetics. Vol. II: Studies in theological style. Clerical styles* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2006), II.211-259; David S. Hogg, *Anselm of Canterbury: The Beauty of Theology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

[10] Southern, *Portrait,* 71-73; Lydia Schumacher, *Divine Illumination: The History and Future of Augustine's Theory of Knowledge* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2004), 66-84. For Augustine's influence on Anselm, see

'understand' the content of faith was the ultimate extension of that very faith granted him as sheer revelatory gift. Christian intellection was impossible 'anywhere outside of or apart from the revealed *Credo* of the Church and certainly not apart from or outside of Holy Scripture'.[11] If Anselm appeared to eschew scriptural citation, Barth reasoned, it was out of fidelity to another kind of revelation: the innate knowledge of the divine ideas, the illumination of his mind by God's direct action, or the 'Name' of God by which the insufficiency of human language could be overcome.[12] Scripture's apparent absence only served to reveal the deeper undercurrents of faith through Anselm's superlative mastery of conventional theological mechanisms. Even Rachel Fulton Brown, whose work highlights the significance of Anselm's emotionally-charged meditations, distinguishes him from his contemporary John of Fécamp on the grounds that, unlike John, Anselm 'kept…his citations from scripture to a minimum.'[13] Anselm's significance therefore lay not in his departure from the religiosity of his age; on the contrary, he was its most celebrated representative.

Many scholars have rejected the polarization of faith and reason as anachronistic, arguing that, for medieval Christians, true rationality lay in embracing a Christian worldview.[14] Underscoring Anselm's monastic heritage as the seedbed of his

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F. B. A. Asiedu, *From Augustine to Anselm: The Influence of De Trinitate on the Monologion* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012); Michel Corbin, *La grâce de la liberté: Augustin et Anselme* (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 2012); Frederick Van Fleteren, 'Augustine and Anselm: Faith and Reason', in *Faith Seeking Understanding,* 57-66; Robert A. Herrera, 'A Further Beating of a Nearly Dead Horse: Augustine's presence in Anselm's thought', *Augustiniana* 48 (1998): 331-343; Gareth B. Matthews, Gareth B. 'Anselm, Augustine and Platonism', in *Cambridge Companion to Anselm*, 61-83. c.f. Gasper, *Anselm of Canterbury and His Theological Inheritance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

[11] Barth, *Fides Quaerens Intellectum,* 41.

[12] *Ibid.,* 144-155.

[13] Fulton Brown, *From Judgment to Passion,* 181.

[14] Examples include Pouchet, *La Rectitude Chez Anselme: Un Itinéraire Augustinien De L'ame a Dieu* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1964); Gregory Schufreider, *Confessions of a Rational Mystic: Anselm's Early Writings* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University press, 1994); McCord Adams, 'Elegant Necessity, Prayerful Disputation: Method in *Cur Deus Homo',* in *Cur Deus Homo: atti del Congresso anselmiano internzaionale, Roma 21-23 maggio 1998*, ed. Paul Gilbert, Helmut Kohlenberger and Elmar Salmann (Roma: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1999), 367-396, and 'Praying the *Proslogion*: Anselm's Theological

intellectual pursuits is a common feature of much secondary literature.[15] Anselm's writings, including those of philosophical/theological speculation, were the product of the cloister, bearing distinct traces of the 'monastic mysticism to which he was heir'.[16] On these accounts, Anselm's dialectical methods were actually borrowed from scriptural study. The *Monologion* and *Proslogion*, by virtue of their status as 'meditations', were shadow-acts of *lectio divina.*[17] His historical significance lay not in his breaking of any conventional modes of theological knowing but only in the freshness, inventiveness and mastery with which he used ordinary monastic means to achieve ordinary fideistic ends.

Yet identifying the devotional heart of rational speculation cannot fully explain why Anselm was considered by his contemporaries to be doing something unusual. If Anselm was simply an eminent example of uncontroversial monastic methods, why did he face criticism from his fellow monk Lanfranc, damaging association with 'heretics of dialectic' from which he needed to defend himself, and the possibility of sabotage at Bec?[18] Some scholars faced with this conundrum have had to charge Anselm with practical inconsistency. For Joseph Pieper, Anselm professed in the *Proslogion* to achieve with the tools of 'reason' what he must have known was only possible by faith.[19] In the opinion of M.J. Charlesworth, Anselm 'lacked the conceptual sophistication' to

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Method', in *The Rationality of Belief and the Plurality of Faith: Essays in Honor of William P. Alston*, ed. Thomas D. Senor (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 13-39; Helmut K. Kohlenberger, 'Denken im Horizont des Gebetes', in *Bishop and Thinker*, 173-183.

[15] James T. Gollnick, 'The Monastic-Devotional Context of Anselm of Canterbury's Theology', *Monastic Studies* 12 (1976), 239-248; William Collinge, 'Monastic Life as a Context for Religious Understanding in St. Anselm', *American Benedictine Review* 35.4 (1984), 378-388; Helmut Kohlenburger, 'Über Das Monastische in Der Theologie Des Heiligen Anselm', *Anselm Studies* 2 (1988), 37-52.

[16] Schufreider, *Confessions of a Rational Mystic,* 4.

[17] Pranger, '*Studium Sacrae Scripturae',* 468-490.

[18] SII, *DIV,* 1:9.21-11; *Ep*. 70, I.193-194. Gasper, 'Envy, Jealousy and the Boundaries of Orthodoxy', 45-68.

[19] Josef Pieper, *Scholasticism: Personalities and Problems of Medieval Philosophy* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961), 64, as cited in K.M. Staley, '*Exemplum Meditandi*: Anselm's model for Christian learning', in *Faith Seeking Understanding*, 210.

recognize that his stated means were unsuited to the ends he hoped to achieve.[20] Conversely, Toivo Holopainen has presented the inconsistency as a deliberate attempt on Anselm's part to disguise his innovative and potentially dangerous dialectical methods in the language of prayer.[21]

Others, preferring not to consider Anselm either incoherent or disingenuous, depict him as an occasionalist. On these accounts, Anselm simply tailored his methods to the requirements of his intended genre, topic or audience.[22] Jean Châtillon distinguished four categories in Anselm's 'speculative' writings, each with a method and a level of scriptural presence suited to it. Works of a 'properly theological character' would employ many quotations; those with an apologetic or heuristic purpose would 'vigorously affirm the authority of scripture'; the philosophical dialogues would employ scriptural quotations insofar as they pertained to the relevant themes of truth, freedom and sin; and the *Monologion* and the *Proslogion,* as examples of rational meditation, would contain only 'allusions'.[23] Gillian Evans posits that Anselm's choice of subject-matter determined the scriptural content of his writings: 'he writes…about truth, free will, and the fall of Satan, and makes the use of scripture incidental'.[24] For K.M. Staley, Anselm's method was conditioned by his audience; his writings would have one effect in the hearts of believers and another when aiming to win others to orthodoxy.[25] Eileen Sweeney traced a development throughout Anselm's career, noting that as his writings matured, scripture was used in ways increasingly resembling later scholastic

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[20] M.J. Charlesworth, 'Introduction', in *St. Anselm's Proslogion: With a Reply on Behalf of the Fool by Gaunilo; and the Author's Reply to Gaunilo* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 34, as cited in Staley, '*Exemplum Meditandi',* 210.
[21] Holopainen, 'The *Proslogion* in Relation to the *Monologion', Heythrop Journal* 50 (2009), 560-602.
[22] Richard Campbell, by contrast, presents Anselm's writings as more systematic then heuristic: 'The systematic character of Anselm's thought', in *Les Mutations socio-culturelles*, 549-560.
[23] Châtillon, 'Anselm et L'Écriture', 435-438. My translation.
[24] Evans, *Anselm and a New Generation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 26.
[25] Staley, '*Exemplum Meditandi*', 213-215.

disputation.[26] Stephen Gersh, too, comments that Anselm's early works 'mostly pursue non-scriptural arguments' so as to bolster Christian doctrine, while his later works weave these arguments into 'actual exegesis of biblical texts'.[27]

This approach has a certain explanatory value, and rightly affirms the importance of holistic understandings of Anselm's thought. It also has the benefit of giving due recognition to the important differences in genre and purpose which Anselm's works exhibit. However, viewing Anselm as an occasionalist can surely pertain only to his authorial modes, which he could happily lay down and pick up depending on the task in hand, rather than his fundamental epistemological commitments, which he could not. One may easily alter one's authorial approach to suit a desired purpose, but one may not so casually alter one's approach to the acquisition of knowledge in general. As Helen Lang has observed, the separation of logical methods from underlying metaphysical convictions was not a feature of pre-modern philosophy.[28] It is one thing to argue that Anselm was a pragmatist as far as his intellectual tools were concerned; it is quite another to imply that he had a similarly situationist attitude to the fundamental processes of theological understanding.

The question of Anselm's approach to scripture thus has implications not only for his perceived place in history, but for the very nature, coherence and success of his intellectual enterprise. Whether he really did suspend scriptural authority, whether he only selectively suspended it depending on his authorial intention, or whether it was constantly present in the background, touches the very core of the project of *fides quaerens intellectum.*

[26] Sweeney, *Desire for the Word,* 367.
[27] Gersh, 'Anselm of Canterbury', 258.
[28] Lang, 'Anselm Use of Scripture and His Theory of Signs', 443.

2.2. What is scripture?

Any methodology for investigating scripture's presence or absence in Anselm's writings rests on the chosen definition of 'scripture'. Most historians seem to consider the meaning self-evident, the Bible's general cultural ubiquity being a truism 'every medievalist knows'.[29] Outside works of a more explicitly theological nature, it is rare to find a precise definition of how 'scripture' should be understood in medieval contexts.

The question 'what is scripture' not only determines what the historian should be looking for when attempting to trace scripture's appearances in Anselm's works, but also how the search should be undertaken. For example, is 'scripture' to be understood as coterminous with the verbal content of the Bible, or is it something which surpasses the Bible's words and narratives? If the former, is that verbal content to be understood primarily as something written, or as something spoken or heard? In conceptualizations of scripture which foreground its written-ness, scripture's presence in another author's writings would be uncovered by scrutinizing the work in question for reproductions of biblical texts. This strategy appears fairly common among scholars embarking upon similar projects. Authors analyzing the presence of scripture in the writings of Thomas à Kempis, Thomas Aquinas, and the circle of Thomas Becket have approached their projects by combing their subjects for divine texts amongst the mundane.[30] Indeed, tracking the textual reproduction of biblical words and phrases was the strategy of many of the contributors to Pouilloux's edited volume, using F.S. Schmitt's *index sacrae*

[29] Walter Ullmann, 'The Bible and Principles of Government in the Middle Ages', *La Bibbia Nell'alto Medioevo: 26 Aprille- 2 Maggio 1962* (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 1963), 181.
[30] Kenneth M. Becker, *From the Treasure-House of Scripture: an analysis of scriptural sources in* De Imitatione Christi (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002); Pim Valkenberg, *Words of the Living God: place and function of Holy Scripture in the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000); Julie Barrau, *Bible, Lettres Et Politique: L'Écriture au Service des Hommes à l'Époque de Thomas Becket* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013).

scripturae to provide a numerical tally of the biblical citations in Anselm's writings.[31] Other authors have approached scripture's written-ness from a different angle, emphasizing the ritual and performative contexts in which the Bible's textuality itself was received. In Brian Stock's study of eleventh- and twelfth-century literacy and orality, textuality is contrasted with oral discourse, whose cultural currency was on the wane as society morphed into 'a universe of communication governed by texts'.[32] For Stock, scripture's status as text was fundamental to its power to forge communal identities, especially in the case of so-called 'heretical' groups. Both Stock and Julie Barrau examine scripture's textuality as a socio-cultural catalyst which allowed communities or individuals to harness its authoritative power.

Yet it is not a given that scripture should be imagined as coterminous with the Bible's verbal content. Many scholars use the term more loosely to denote Christian doctrine or imagery. 'Scriptural' or 'biblical' often appears as a catch-all term for general Christian influence. Goulven Madec, for example, states that the Bible in the middle ages was everywhere, 'in the very broad sense that all Christian theology is inherently biblical'.[33] Scriptural language is thought to be 'absorbed almost unconsciously' into Anselm's mind, emerging in 'spontaneous effusions', blended into his own expression.[34] 'Scripture' or 'scriptural' also denotes a fideistic method. Châtillon implies that 'scripture' could euphemistically be said to be 'present' in Anselm's works even in the absence of biblical citations, because Anselm's path to understanding was paved and trodden by faith: 'faith, *and therefore scripture,* is always present in his speculative

[31] For example, Aryeh Graboïs, 'Anselme, L'Ancien Testament et l'idée de Croisade, in *Les Mutations socio-culturelles,* 161-173; Pouchet, 'Lecteur de saint Jean', 457- 468; Châtillon, 'Anselme et L'Écriture', 435-438.
[32] Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: written language and models of interpretation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 3.
[33] Goulven Madec, 'Y a-t-il une Herméneutique Anselmienne?', in *Les Mutations socio-culturelles,* 492. My translation.
[34] Ward, 'Introduction', *Prayers and Meditations,* 27; 28.

works', even in those treatises 'in which the holy books are more rarely cited'.[35] For Helen Lang, too, 'scripture' best signifies a process - not an 'object of study' but 'an activity akin to the activity of the will' – and also the arbiter of that process, a 'constant presence' overseeing the 'search for truth'.[36]

For M.B. Pranger, 'scripture' is so divorced from the verbal content of the Bible as to render the actual biblical words supplementary. In Pranger's view, the 'scripture' to be read was the souls of the readers, and the purpose of monastic reading was to nudge those readers towards inward rumination. One read 'scripture' in reading oneself, aided where necessary by the biblical and patristic texts which passed through the memory's 'meditative machinery'.[37] This process served to acquaint the reader with true 'scripture', that is, the logical underpinnings of reality. The 'search for cogency' in the intelligible cosmos, Pranger states, 'turns out to be the very study of scripture itself'.[38] Anselm's drive towards exactitude in language was therefore a 'reading' of scripture, as he strove to lay bare the foundations of truth on which language is anchored. When true 'scripture' was uncovered, then, whether in the reader's soul or in the rationale undergirding the cosmos, actual biblical words were rendered superfluous. So effective was Anselm in penetrating to the heart of true 'scripture', Pranger states, that Anselm's 'scripturality' is more reliably evidenced by the dearth of explicit citation in his writings than it would be by its presence.[39] Anselm could at no point suspend scripture, since scripture's absence is impossible, on Pranger's logic, wherever there is intellectual curiosity. The definition of scripture, then, not only determines the methodological parameters of this study; it could have a decisive impact upon its conclusions.

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[35] Châtillon, 'Saint Anselme et L'Écriture', 440. My translation and emphasis.
[36] Lang, 'Anselm's Theory of Signs', 452-453.
[37] Pranger, *Artificiality of Christianity,* 164.
[38] *Ibid.,* 171.
[39] Pranger, 'Anselm, Calvin and the absent Bible', 457-468.

Since the chosen conceptualization of scripture is so critical, an authentic impression of scripture, untrammelled by anachronism, must be drawn from Anselm's own historical context.[40] The search for scripture in Anselm's writings should constitute a search for something he and his eleventh-century companions would have recognised.

2.3. The Revealed Bible in reception

Medieval conceptualisations of scripture were expansive enough to consider scripture both as something identified with the Bible's words and as something surpassing them. It is clear that medieval thinkers placed enormous emphasis on the precise words and phrases which the biblical texts contained. A strong tradition inherited from patristic writers affirmed scripture's all-sufficiency.[41] From Irenaeus of Lyons (c. 130- c.202), who named the four Gospels the 'pillars of the church', to Gregory the Great (c. 540-604), who lauded scripture as the raw material for intellectual and moral edification, there persisted a firm belief that all knowledge useful for salvation was to be found in scripture.[42] The enduring myth that Plato had learned his wisdom from Moses bolstered

[40] This study's approach is therefore influenced in only a limited manner by conceptual categories drawn from literary theorists, such as Michael Fishbane, 'The Teacher and the Hermeneutical Task: a Reinterpretation of Medieval Exegesis', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion,* 43 (1975), 709-721; Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: a commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Martin Irvine, *The making of textual culture: 'grammatica' and literary theory, 350-1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); James W. Jones, 'Back to the Future: Postmodern and Patristic Reading of Scripture', *Epworth Review*, 26:4 (1999), 43-51; Marjorie Ethel Reeves, 'The Bible and Literary Authorship in the Middle Ages', in *Reading the Text: Biblical Criticism and Literary Theory*, ed. Stephen Prickett (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 12-63; Thomas A. Schmitz, *Modern literary theory and ancient texts: an introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007); Alastair Minnis, 'The Trouble with Theology: Ethical Poetics and the Ends of Scripture', in *Author, Reader, Book: medieval authorship in theory and practice*, ed. Stephen Bradford Partridge (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 20-37.

[41] Yves Congar, *Tradition and Traditions: an historical and a theological essay* (London: Burns & Oates, 1966), 107-118.

[42] Irenaeus of Lyon, *Adversus Haereses,* ed. A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau as *Contre les hérésies* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1965-1982), trans. Dominic J. Unger, rev. John J. Dillon and Irenaeus M. C. Steenberg, as *Against the Heresies*, 3 volumes (New York: Paulist Press, 1992-2012), 3.11.8, III.56; Gregory, *Moralia in Job,* ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979-1985), 23.19.34 (*PL* 76, 271CD) as referenced in *Ibid.,* 108; 111.

the sense that even ancient philosophy owed its insights to some access to biblical revelation.[43] The Bible's content was thought by some the source of the liberal arts themselves.[44] Scripture could be all-sufficient because its content, down to the last verbal detail, was considered to be divinely intentioned.

Scripture's form, as well as its content, was believed to be deliberate. The concern among reformed circles for scribal exactitude in biblical texts witnesses to the importance of both the Bible's verbal content and the reliability of its textual medium.[45] Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana,* a favourite instruction manual in biblical interpretation for medieval Christians, affirms God's intentional endorsement of the verbal and textual status of his revelation; despite human words' inadequacy, 'he has sanctioned the homage of the human voice, and chosen that we should derive pleasure from our words in praise of him.'[46] So indispensable are the Bible's precise words for Augustine that his first stage of interpretation entails total internalization of the text from beginning to end, even if unaccompanied by understanding.[47] This attitude was echoed in the monastic classroom, as elementary instruction in Latin would include memorization of the Psalter long before the students had sufficient linguistic proficiency to understand it.[48] Even the correct pronunciation, grammar and punctuation of the biblical words was salutary, effective for the 'cleansing of the tongue

[43] Congar, *Tradition and Traditions,* 109.
[44] De Lubac, *Medieval exegesis,* I.42-49.
[45] Light, 'Versions et re´visions du texte biblique', 55–93.
[46] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana,* in *Sancti Aurelii Augustini, De doctrina Christiana, De vera religione*, ed. Joseph Martin and K.-D. Daur, CCSL 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), trans. R. P. H. Green, *On Christian Teaching* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1.6.10, 10-11. Hereafter *DDC.*
[47] *DDC,* 2.9.2, 37. For Augustine's scriptural hermeneutics, see Pamela Bright (ed.), *Augustine and the Bible* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999); Thomas Williams, 'Hermeneutics and Reading Scripture', in *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine,* second edition, ed. David Vincent Meconi and Eleonore Stump (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 311-328.
[48] Boynton, 'Training for the liturgy', 14.

and mouth and the trimming of the teeth'.[49] One *exemplum* from a sermon by the thirteenth-century chronicler Jacques de Vitry (d.1240) describes a cleric spying the devil carrying off all the prayers stolen from God as a result of mispronounced syllables in the choir.[50]

Moreover, God's decision to communicate through the 'given signs' (*signa data*) of scriptural words would supply Christians with an aesthetic training, teaching them to perceive how the various parts of divine revelation related to the whole.[51] That this aesthetic training should take place through the medium of written words is entirely theologically appropriate, Augustine states, since it is the incarnate Word which is both 'our homeland' and 'has made itself the road to our homeland'.[52] That scripture should take the precise textual form that it did was a theological fact of manifest importance in Anselm's context.

Even the ambiguity, crassness and seeming incongruity of scripture's verbal expression was deliberately intentioned by God in Augustine's view. The need to labour over certain passages was part of God's pedagogical strategy. Some scriptural images would appear more attractive by being obscure, Augustine notes, and the problems presented by the more opaque sections would militate against boredom and complacency in its readers.[53] Anselm himself seems to have thought that even textual divergence in biblical copies could be divinely permitted. An interlude in the first book of the *Cur Deus homo* refers to a discrepancy between the Vulgate translation of Deuteronomy 32:8, which reads 'he appointed the bounds of people according to the

[49] Suzanne Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: grammar, rhetoric and the classical text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 18.
[50] M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 3rd edition (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 189.
[51] *DDC,* 2.1.12, 30.
[52] *DDC,* 1.11.9, 13.
[53] *DDC,* 2.6.1-40, 32-33.

number of the children of Israel', and a Septuagint-inspired version, which reads 'according to the number of the angels of God'.[54] Anselm does not insist on alighting upon the correct translation at the expense of the incorrect one. He argues instead that 'both translations either signify the same thing or signify different things without contradiction'.[55] Anselm's surroundings would therefore have furnished him with a conception of scripture which took biblical words and their textual form, even to the smallest, most baffling detail, to be crucial in making scripture what it was. Any conceptualization of scripture aiming at historical authenticity cannot afford to discard these elements so assiduously treasured by medieval exegetes. The verbal content of the Bible and the textual nature of its communication, both considered revelatory, could therefore be termed 'The Revealed Bible'. A term such as this better avoids the pitfalls of suggesting that biblical words were only ever accessed in their written format, as the word 'text' is in danger of doing.

Yet it is clear that the Bible's words alone did not exhaust the notion of 'scripture' in medieval imaginations. The Bible's bare letter would 'kill' without the multiple spiritual meanings which gave it 'life' (2 Corinthians 3:6). For Augustine, to read scripture without access to this inner vitality constituted 'a miserable kind of spiritual slavery'.[56] Much Christian intellectual energy was devoted to breaking open the shell of the 'literal' sense to 'reveal' the scripture's hidden layers: the allegorical sense, which outlined doctrinal content, the moral sense, which related that content to an individual's actions, and the anagogical sense, which pointed towards the mysteries to come, contemplative union with God and the end of the world. To penetrate these spiritual senses was to unveil the true signification of temporal events by recognising

[54] SII, *CDH,* I.18:81.30-34. Anselm may have known this canticle from Saturday's Lauds: *RB* 13.9, 208-209.
[55] SII, *CDH* I.18:82.17-27; I.18:83.1-2.
[56] *DDC,* 3.5.9, 72.

the Christological and ecclesiological typology beneath the surface. The words and their interpretation were of a piece.

Indeed, almost every encounter Anselm would have had with biblical words, whether written, spoken, heard or sung, would have seen them wreathed in theological interpretations. The physical incorporation of interpretative glosses onto sacred pages was underway in Laon.[57] The scholarly activities of Bec's classrooms would have comprised line-by-line expositions of biblical books shot through with patristic explications.[58] In the liturgy above all, the poetic arrangement of biblical and para-biblical texts furnished the architecture of an interpretative space in which Christian devotees quite literally lived and moved. The arrangement and rearrangement of biblical phrases constructed the theological imaginary within whose coordinates, both earthly and heavenly, monks such as Anselm located themselves. Indeed, the faith which unlocked the spiritual senses for medieval Christians was impossible outside the Church. Only by belonging to, living as and worshipping in this community, fused by heavenly bonds as well as earthly ones, could the eyes of the exegete be opened to the Christological traces in the characters and events of the Old Testament. Because, as Augustine stated, the ability to interpret the Bible 'does not somehow originate within the human mind but is given by God', interpretation should take place in a location where God could be found, in the communal life of sacramental, illuminative divine encounter.[59] The Revealed Bible's full spiritual meaning was brought to life by prayerful, performative, moral and mystical Christian practice.

[57] See Lesley Smith, *The Glossa ordinaria: the making of a medieval Bible commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
[58] Elizabeth Kuhl, 'Education at Le Bec: A Case Study of Le Bec's *Florilegia*', in *Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec,* 248-277.
[59] *DDC, prooemium.*115, 6.

The metaphors employed by Christian thinkers in trying to picture scriptural interpretation also have an important bearing on an authentic conceptualisation of scripture. Many patristic and medieval descriptions of scripture drew upon natural, architectural, spatial and alimentary imagery. The scripture was 'a deep forest, with innumerable branches…the more involved one gets in it, the more one discovers that it is impossible to explore it right to the end'.[60] It was an 'ocean of scriptures and…the labyrinth of God's mysteries', which encompassed the interpreter 'as we go about our labours in such enormous depths, as if we were in a huge sea', or which buoyed up the small vessel in which he traversed the waves of unplumbed mystery.[61] It was a mountain, whose climb would lead from the 'simplicity of the letter' 'right to the summit of contemplation'.[62] While it may be tempting to see these metaphors merely as ornamental, they were a matter of serious theological truth. Scripture was authored by God in the same way nature was. For Gregory the Great, scripture reflected 'the well-considered likeness of creation, which is akin to something that the mind can read'.[63] If nature and scripture were the two 'books' written by God for humans to interpret, then scripture should be treated as much like the natural world as the natural world was to be treated as a book.[64] Scripture was therefore conceptualised spatially, comprising both an arena to move within and the material from which that space was constructed.

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[60] De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis,* I.75, n. 3, 4 and 5.
[61] Jerome, *In Hiezechielem libri XIV*, ed. F. Glorie, CCSL, 75 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1964) (*PL* 25, 44D); and Gregory, *Librum Primum Regum,* ed. P. Verbraken, OSB, CCSL 144 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1963) (*PL* 79, 19AC), as quoted in De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis,* 75, n. 8, 5 and 11.
[62] John Scotus Eriugena, *Iohannis Scotti seu Eriugenae Homilia super "In principio erat verbum"; et Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis,* ed. Andrew J. Hicks, CCCM 166 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008) (*PL* 122, 342B), as quoted in De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis,* I.76-77, n. 28.
[63] Gregory, *Moralia in Job,* ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979-1985) (*PL* 76: 359 A), as quoted in De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis,* I.78, n. 54.
[64] Willemien Otten, 'Nature and Scripture: the Demise of a Medieval Analogy', *Harvard Theological Review,* 88 (1995), 257-284.

Scripture's likeness to food, and interpretation to eating, was likewise much more than poetic embellishment. Medieval associations between the Revealed Bible and the Eucharistic bread were theologically grounded in the belief in the revelation of the incarnate Word. To approach the Revealed Bible was like approaching the altar; both approaches involved facing the material instantiation of the Word's self-communicating presence on earth. Like physical food, scriptural reading should nourish, strengthen and expand the one who partakes of it. Unlike physical food, scriptural and Eucharistic nourishment would not be transformed by its eating, but would rather transform the one who partakes of it. 'Truth is bread', Augustine wrote; 'it changes the one who eats it; it is not itself changed into the one who eats it'.[65] The notion of 'eating' scripture was a staple of the monastic practice of *lectio divina.*[66] This 'holy reading' was a requirement of monastic devotion, and monks could spend up to two hours a day (and three on Sundays) chewing over portions of scriptural text.[67] Indeed, analogies of eating, chewing, swallowing and digesting feature in Anselm's own description of meditation:

> Taste the goodness of your redeemer; be enkindled in love of your saviour. Eat the honeycomb of the words, suck the taste sweeter than honey, swallow the saving sweetness. Chew by thinking, suck by understanding, swallow by loving and rejoicing. Rejoice to chew, be glad to suck, delight to swallow.[68]

The Bible of medieval imaginations was therefore not one book among others whose interpretative strategy could belong to the same category as the interpretation of Plato or Virgil. On the contrary, interpreters must aim to assimilate and be assimilated by it. Nor was this merely a matter of interpretive technique. Both the natural and the

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[65] Augustine, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus*, ed. R. Williams (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954) CCSL 36, trans. John W. Rettig as *Tractates on the Gospel of John* (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 1988-1995), 41, III.1.3, 135-136.
[66] See Duncan Robertson, *Lectio divina: the medieval experience of reading* (Trappist, Ky.: Cistercian Publications, 2011), 63-64.
[67] Marjorie Reeves, 'The Bible and Literary Authorship in the Middle Ages', 14.
[68] SIII, *Meditatio redemptionis humanae,* 84.8-11. Hereafter *Med 3.*

alimentary metaphors are deeply rooted in Christological revelation and the mission of the Trinity's incarnate Second Person. The relationship of Christians to Christ was to be participatory, characterised by a mystical uniting. The Bible of many medieval minds therefore demanded an engagement with biblical words which was considerably less like hearing a speech or reading a letter than it was like inhabiting a church or receiving the Eucharist.

From this perspective, the difficulties with scholarship's previous approaches to detecting the presence or absence of scripture in Anselm's writings can come to light. The approach which places biblical and Anselmian texts side by side and traces instances of textual overlap is unsatisfactory on a number of levels. First, the Bible of medieval imaginations precluded the reduction of scripture to text. Measuring replication of verbal material therefore presents an altogether too cerebral picture of Anselm's likely encounters with scriptural language and ideas, shorn of the interpretative community which embedded and performed them. In addition, this approach is too blunt an instrument. Tabulating instances of textual reproduction lacks the nuance required to assess the relative importance of a citation. Beyond highlighting frequency or repetition, the notion that one reference might carry more weight than another is methodologically difficult to justify. Practically, too, investigating all of the possible scriptural references in an author's repertoire represents a daunting task. The few existing studies of scripture's role in Anselm's works tend to limit their attention to selected treatises, topics or biblical books, rendering their important observations somewhat dislocated from a broader picture. Approaches underscoring scripture's textuality which appreciate the cultic elements of the Bible's reception, like Brian Stock's, have the benefit of considering the textual communities who encountered scriptural texts as 'porous' rather than 'buffered', absorbing scriptural material in daily

life rather than merely confronting it on a page.[69] Yet Stock's study falls short in that the contrast he draws between textuality and orality, however subtle, does not give sufficient attention to the status of liturgy, a crucial pillar of scriptural reception neither wholly oral nor wholly textual. He does not give sufficient note to the fact that scripture would have been experienced primarily as something spoken, heard or sung, and only secondarily as a text on a page. Approaches which implicitly or explicitly consider scripture coterminous with the textual content of the Bible therefore fail to correspond with the Bible of medieval imaginations, yielding neither a workable methodology for tracking scriptural content in another author's writing, nor an appropriate means for incorporating liturgical engagements with scripture into its framework.

Understanding the term 'scripture' so loosely as to render the Bible's actual words unnecessary, however, is no closer to an authentically medieval view. This approach has the benefit of appreciating the fluidity with which biblical words bled into all levels of expression, but the sacred words and their textual status were nonetheless paramount in making scripture what it was in medieval imaginations. If scripture is to be identified with the enduring background hum of Christian doctrinal convictions accompanying a monastic-inspired search for logical coherence, then not only did Anselm fail to suspend it, but it is no more than a broad description of his intellectual enterprise. The historian is forced to conclude that in Anselm's writings, scripture is everywhere, even when Anselm himself claims that it is absent. If 'scripture' is cut adrift from the recognisable set of verbal material found in the biblical books, what results is a simple tautology, and to speak of scripture's presence or absence becomes meaningless.

[69] For the 'porous' and 'buffered' self, see Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007).

Where occasional ruminations on scripture appears in Anselm's own works, they seem to affirm both the all-sufficiency of the Revealed Bible and the indispensability of a performative context for understanding it. Towards the close of the *Cur Deus homo,* it is scripture which instructs believers in how to participate in the salvific merit won by Christ's gift of his life:

> everywhere sacred scripture, which rests on firm truth, teaches us how participation in such great grace is to be approached, and how we are to live under it.[70]

The Revealed Bible, by virtue of the internal consistency of its verbal content, could also serve as the tacit standard by which reason's conclusions could be verified. In the *Cur Deus homo,* Anselm embarks upon his investigation of the rationale behind the Incarnation with the disclaimer that any conclusions not 'confirmed by a greater authority' should be considered provisional:

> For I am certain that if I say something which the sacred scriptures indubitably contradict, then it is wrong.[71]

For Anselm, the Revealed Bible's lacunae are as eloquent in guiding the seeker to the truth as its positive statements. In his treatise on free will, grace, predestination and foreknowledge, *De Concordia,* Anselm affirms scripture's sufficiency in all questions concerning salvation,

> since we preach nothing profitably for spiritual salvation that sacred scripture, miraculously fruitful by the Holy Spirit, has not mentioned or does not contain in itself.[72]

Statements which do not find direct support in the Bible's verbal content can nonetheless be put to scripture's adjudication.

> For if something is deduced by clear reason, and [scripture] in no way contradicts it – because [scripture], just as it does not stand

[70] SII, *CDH,* II.19:131.7-10.
[71] SII, *CDH,* I.18:82.8-10.
[72] SII, *De Concordia Praescientiae et Praedestinationis et Gratiae Dei cum Libero Arbitrio*, III.6:271.26-28. Hereafter *DC.*

> against anything true, so it does not support anything false – since [scripture] does not negate a thing that is said rationally, that thing is accepted by [scripture's] authority.[73]

Conversely, if scripture 'undoubtedly disagrees with our opinion', then even if that opinion's rational basis seems 'invincible', it should not be affirmed with the same authority.[74] 'In this way', Anselm states,

> sacred scripture contains the authority for all the truth that reason deduces when it affirms it clearly or does not deny it.[75]

The Revealed Bible's deliberate silence on certain subjects was, for Anselm, an aspect of its sufficiency.

Yet Anselm's belief in the Bible's sufficiency does not entail a conviction that scripture is everywhere, as Pranger would have it. Far from imagining 'scripture' to constitute the logical underpinnings of the intelligible world, Anselm believed it perfectly possible to conduct philosophical enquiries without it. His *Monologion,* written, so he claimed, at the request of his fellow monks, was to have 'nothing in it which is argued by way of scriptural authority'.[76] Scripture could be genuinely absent when the occasion demanded it. Arguments from scripture could also be useless in conversation with people who appear to disregard its authority; in his letter concerning Roscelin, Anselm declared that his adversary's seeming tritheism made appeals to scripture senseless:

> One ought not respond to this man by the authority of sacred scripture, since either he does not believe it, or he interprets it in a perverse sense. For what does sacred scripture say more clearly than that there is one God, and one only?[77]

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[73] SII, *DC,* III.6:272.1-4.
[74] SII, *DC,* III.6:272.4-6.
[75] SII, *DC,* III.6:272.6-7.
[76] SI, *M, Prologus:* 7.7-8.
[77] SII, *DIV*, 2:11.5-7.

Philosophy, too, could either speak about scripture or refrain from doing so. Anselm intended his dialogues on truth, free choice and the fall of the devil to be 'three treatises pertaining to the study of sacred scripture' (*Tres tractatus pertinentes ad studium sacrae*).[78] Unscrupulous logicians like Roscelin, however, ought to stay out of scriptural questions:

> Let everyone be strongly advised to approach the questions of sacred scripture very carefully. Certainly, these dialecticians of our times – rather, heretics of dialectic – who hold that universal substances are nothing but the breath of the voice (*flatus vocis*), and who cannot understand that a colour is different from a body, nor that a person's wisdom is different from their soul, should be utterly cast out of the discussion of spiritual topics.[79]

These 'heretics of dialectic' are disqualified from approaching 'spiritual topics' because of their radical nominalism, which Anselm likens to a fleshly corporeality, an inability to distinguish the object from its properties or the universal from its individual instantiation:

> Indeed, reason, which should be the prince and judge of everything that is in a person, has been so shrouded in corporeal fancies in their souls, that it cannot extricate itself from them, nor is it able to discern from those fancies the things which ought to be contemplated purely and alone.[80]

Such an individual, Anselm states, will never be able to distinguish three persons in one God, or two natures in one divine person.[81] Not only were there topics which the Revealed Bible did not touch upon except by its silence, but also thinkers could either approach scripture or refrain from doing so, depending on the totality of their submission to scripture's authority or on the suitability of their metaphysical convictions to an apprehension of its content. Anselm's conception of scripture

[78] SI, *DV, Praefatio:* 173.2.
[79] SII, *DIV*, 1:9.20-24.
[80] SII, *DIV*, 1:10.1-4.
[81] SII, *DIV*, 1:10.7-13.

included the real possibility of scripture's absence as well as its presence, and its eloquent silence as well as its authoritative speech.

The Revealed Bible, however, was incomplete for Anselm without its deliberate and wholehearted reception into the life of the believer. Anselm seems to have considered this reception a route towards understanding. To his friend Lanzo, who requested that Anselm 'inspire' him to 'spiritual love by a letter of instruction', Anselm wrote that 'although you can find what you require of me much better anywhere in Holy Scripture', he is keen not to refuse his friend.[82] 'Therefore', Anselm writes,

> I shall choose the middle path (*inter utrumque incedam*), first of all requiring you to study Holy Scripture, then, on my own account but not on my own authority, I shall add some exhortations out of these very Scriptures.[83]

The 'middle path' which Anselm chooses comprises the common ground created when both friends treat scriptural reading as the interface between them by which wisdom can be shared. Anselm also refers to a middle way in his letter *De Incarnatione,* arguing that it is through the experience of obeying scriptural precepts that faith is carried over to understanding. Anselm elucidates the proper steps by which the seeker should approach sacred mysteries. First, 'the heart must be cleansed by faith, as it is said of God, "their hearts being cleansed by faith" (Acts 15:9)'.[84] Then, 'the eyes must be illuminated by the keeping of the Lord's precepts, since "the precepts of the Lord are luminous, enlightening the eyes" (Ps 18:9)', and after that, 'we ought to become little through humble obedience to God's testimonies, in order to learn the wisdom which "the faithful testimony of the Lord" grants, "giving wisdom to the little" (Ps 18:8)'.[85] Obedience thereby furnishes judgement, since living 'according to the spirit, putting

[82] *Ep.* 2, I.78.
[83] *Ibid.*
[84] SII, *DIV*, 1:8.7-8.
[85] SII, *DIV*, 1:8.8-12.

aside the things of the flesh' allows the spiritual person, 'by discerning, to examine the deep questions of faith'.[86] It is the experience of obeying the 'precepts' and 'testimonies' of God, found in scripture, which is the surest way to intellectual fulfilment:

> For it is true that the more richly we are nourished by the things in sacred scripture which feed us by obedience, the more ingeniously we are raised to those which satisfy by understanding (*per intellectum*). For the one who tries to say 'I have understood more than all my teachers' does so in vain if he does not dare to mention 'because your testimonies are my meditation' (Psalm 118:99). And the person who proclaims 'I have understanding above my elders' is lying if he is not familiar with what follows: 'for I have sought your commandments' (Psalm 118:100)'.[87]

It is by way of a clean heart, illumined eyes, and humble obedience to scripture's injunctions that seekers after knowledge will come to experience the truths they desire to understand. For Anselm, even the injunction to understand scripture's message by living according to its principles is encapsulated in a scriptural directive:

> This is what I say, without doubt: he who does not believe will not understand (cf. Isaiah 7:9). For he who does not believe will not experience; and he who has not become experienced will not know. For as much as experience surpasses hearing, so much more does knowledge by experience trump knowledge by hearing.[88]

In order to move from belief to understanding, one must make one's life a performative receptacle of scripture's words.

The performative reception of the Revealed Bible's statements as a method for understanding is given poetic voice in Anselm's final work, *De Concordia.* Here, he compares God's revelation to the Bible's authors with miraculous, seedless germination:

> Therefore, just as God in the beginning made crops, and everything springing forth from the earth to give food to humans, by a miracle, without seeds or planting, so he makes the hearts of the prophets, apostles and indeed the Gospel miraculously fruitful with the seeds for salvation without human doctrine…[89]

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[86] SII, *DIV*, 1:8.14-15.
[87] SII, *DIV*, 1:8.19–9:4.
[88] SII, *DIV*, 1:9.5-8.
[89] SII, *DC,* III.6:271.20-23.

Readers are nourished, he goes on, when they collect, sow, cultivate and reap these seeds in their own lives. The yield thereof supplies food for the soul:

> …[from these seeds] we receive whatever we plant salvifically for the feeding of the soul, by 'God's husbandry' (1 Corinthians 3:9), just as we do not have that which we grow for the feeding of the body except from the first seeds of the earth.[90]

The reception of these 'seeds', for Anselm, was critical both in understanding scripture's meaning and beginning to fulfil the intellectual hunger with which the seeker is to pursue theological knowledge. The words of the Revealed Bible, on this account, were by no means secondary to an underlying rational consistency, as Pranger would have it. They supplied a crucial element of the mechanism which carried faith over to understanding, but only when planted as firmly and deeply in a person's life as a seed in soil.

Scripture, then, was present when the Revealed Bible was received. A conceptualization of scripture which Anselm might have recognised could therefore be described as 'the Revealed-Bible-in-reception', that is, the Bible's words, phrases and images embedded in the performance, both public and private, of the community to which Anselm belonged. That community, for the majority of Anselm's adult life, was a monastic community.

2.4. The Revealed Bible in monastic reception

In Anselm's context, it was monasticism which provided both the reception community and the theory for how the Revealed Bible's was encountered. In theory, monasticism epitomised that ecclesial life which could unveil the spiritual senses of scripture.[91] At a

[90] SII, *DC*, III.6:271.23-26.
[91] For an earlier monastic example, see Christopher J. Kelly, *Cassian's Conferences: Scriptural Interpretation and the Monastic Ideal* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

time of vigorous papal and monastic reform, in which a drive for ecclesial purity aimed at reviving apostolic holiness, the monasteries were among the reforming centres of religious life considered 'a church in miniature', emblematic of the Church as *societas perfecta.*[92] As a micro-church, the monastery encapsulated the broader reception community of the *corpus mysticum*, vivified by the Holy Spirit.[93] Monasteries were, of course, not the only locations of scriptural interpretation; in addition to the cathedral chapters and communities of canons, the period would also see blossoming loci of biblical study outside the cloister, most notably in Laon, the birthplace of the *Glossa Ordinaria*.[94] Yet, as far as Anselm was concerned, by the time he entered Bec he considered life outside the monastery to be perilous in the extreme. Even whilst reassuring Countess Matilda of Tuscany of her usefulness as a faithful agent in the world, he still advised her to keep a veil handy, to be hastily donned in the event of unexpected death.[95] If scripture was the Revealed-Bible-in-reception, its reception was the life of the Church, and the pinnacle of the Church was the religious life. Anselm's conception of scripture, and his own pathway to understanding it, would therefore have been inextricable from his monastic observance.

The monastery was relevant to scriptural interpretation in three main senses: as the fulfilment of scriptural directives, the creator of scriptural interpreters, and the locus for scriptural interpretation to take place. First, monasteries were considered locations in which scripture was 'fulfilled'. The monk's renunciation of the world was imagined to be the direct practical application of Christ's teaching in the Gospels, the outworking of obedience to biblical precedents and an adopting of the authentic *vita*

[92] Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century,* 20.
[93] Fry, 'Appendix 2: The Abbot', in *RB 1980,* 353.
[94] For cathedral schools, see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philidephia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).
[95] *Ep*. 325, III.38-39.

apostolica. Indeed, the apostles themselves were believed to be the original architects of monastic life.[96] Christian liturgical actions was thought to be prefigured in the Old Testament, as the meanings of Old Testament rituals found their typological realisation in the liturgy itself.[97] Moreover, the monastery was understood to be a partial realisation of the eschatological vision presented in the New Testament of a 'new heaven and a new earth' (Revelation 21:1). Monks already participated in heavenly harmony, straddling the fault-line between the terrestrial and the celestial.[98] The 'fulfilment' of scripture available to the monk was a foretaste of communion with God, as he stood with one foot already in the hereafter.

Secondly, the monastery aided the individual in preparation for this great eschatological Easter by acting as a 'continuous Lent'.[99] Entering the monastery was likened to a 'second baptism', the *paenetentia secunda* for the forgiveness of sins.[100] In this way, monasteries also conditioned their members to become scriptural interpreters. The reading of scripture was itself an ascetic act. The purification of mind and heart was the primary guarantee of valid theological understanding; as Augustine put it, 'our minds must be purified so that they are able to perceive that [divine] light and then hold fast to it'.[101] For the monastic writer John Cassian, scriptural reading, along with other ascetic practices such as fasting and vigils, were 'tools of perfection' to be observed 'for the sake of the principle *scopos,* which is purity of heart or love'.[102] The reading of biblical texts belonged to the same category of purifying penitential activities as abstaining and self-mortification; Cassian advises the 'frequent reading of and

[96] Marie-Dominique Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 202-213.
[97] Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy,* 5-8.
[98] Constable, *Reformation of the Twelfth Century,* 22.
[99] *RB* 49.1, 253.
[100] Fry, 'Disciplinary measures in the Rule of Benedict', in *RB 1980,* 428.
[101] *DDC,* 1.10.1, 12.
[102] Cassian, *Conferences,* 1.7.2, 46.

constant meditation on scripture' and the chanting of the Psalms 'so that we may continually grow in compunction', noting that 'for this reason we are diligent in vigils, fasting, and praying'.[103] The road to becoming an authoritative interpreter of scripture was paved by the cleansing of the heart through sacred reading, 'until continual meditation fills your mind and, as it were, forms it in its likeness, making of it a kind of ark of the covenant'.[104] Monasteries could be considered the safe locations for interpretative interactions with sacred texts because the monks had, in theory, left the corrupting influence of the world to have the whole of their lives, both intellectually and morally, fashioned anew.

Part of this conditioning in scriptural interpretation would have included monastic education. Monasteries schooled their members in seeing the world as a great map of signs. Monks would also have received conventional theological metaphysics, which, in the eleventh and early twelfth century West, comprised a form of Augustinian Neoplatonism which emphasised language and semiotics.[105] Understanding the world was a matter of learning to interpret the signs which God had 'written into' the cosmos, both in scripture and in creation. This philosophical schooling was by no means disconnected from the purity of heart which monastic discipline was to foster. As his *De Incarnatione* makes clear, Anselm considered Roscelin's misguidedly nominalist metaphysics a result of an imagination enshrouded in 'carnal' fancies.[106] Perhaps, had Roscelin purified his mind by the monastic purgation of scriptural reading, Anselm would have considered him less liable to 'fleshly' philosophical misconceptions. Firmly planted in this foundation, Benedictine monks could, theoretically at least, be properly

[103] *Ibid.,* 1.17.2, 56
[104] *Ibid.,* 14.10.2, 514.
[105] Bedos-Rezak, 'Semiotic Anthropology', 426-467.
[106] SII, *DIV,* 1:10.1-4.

disposed to undertake interpretative activities, such as the writing of commentaries, the compiling of sentences in *florilegia,* the organizing of liturgical worship and the production of works on theological topics. The monastery was therefore the consummate locus for scriptural interpretation, as a *schola Christi* tutoring its members in *ipsa philosophia Christus.*[107]

But the scriptural receptor was not to be a mere conduit of what he received. He was to store the revealed truths in his memory and make them part of himself. Monks became adept at what Mary Carruthers has termed the 'craft of thought', acquiring mnemonic techniques for holding and organising information and highlighting the interconnectedness of divine truths.[108] These techniques involved fixing certain ideas to mental images, structures or phrases to be stored in the memory. Recalling a mental 'hook' would call to mind the idea and all its associations. These 'hooks' could be used for decoding scriptural texts by way of specific verbal associations; when a word was not understood in one context, another context was called to mind which contained the same word, and the second usage helped to interpret the first.[109] One text thereby becomes a 'gathering-place for many other materials', linked 'only by a word or two or a shared image', to create a 'cornucopia of allusions' designed to draw the meditator actively into meditation.[110] Carruthers has demonstrated persuasively the ways in which mnemonic techniques were applied to biblical passages, with patterns like the

[107] Leclercq, *Love of Learning,* 101.
[108] Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
[109] This strategy is recommended by Augustine: *DDC,* 3.26.1, 86.
[110] Carruthers, 'Memory, Imagination, and the Interpretation of Scripture in the Middle Ages', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible*, ed. M. Lieb, E. Mason, and J. Roberts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 218.

dimensions of Noah's ark or the six wings of a seraph serving as prompts for the calling to mind of allegorical and spiritual material.[111]

The web of associations suggested by the liturgical arrangement of scriptural texts would have been supplemented by the intramental web of the monk's own, deliberately fashioned connections. Enmeshment in this web could be so total, in Cassian's view, that scriptural associations could crowd in even when unwelcome:

> for when our mind has understood a passage from any Psalm, imperceptibly it slips away, and thoughtlessly and stupidly it wanders off to another text of scripture. And when it has begun to reflect on this passage within itself, the recollection of another text shuts out reflection on the precious material, although it had not yet been completely aired. From here, with the introduction of another reflection, it moves elsewhere, and thus the mind is constantly whirling from Psalm to Psalm, leaping from a Gospel text to a reading from the Apostle, wandering from this to the prophesies and thence being carried away to certain spiritual histories, tossed about fickle and aimless through the whole body of scripture.[112]

Against this tendency, Cassian recommends sustained meditation upon a single scriptural extract. Psalm 69:2, 'O God, come to my assistance; O Lord, make haste to help me', when repeated and continually returned to, would provide the monk with whatever help he needed: armour against attack, a weapon against temptation, and a safeguard against despair.[113] Indeed, Amalarius of Metz explained this phrase's presence at the opening of Prime as protection against the devil's interference.[114] For Cassian, holding this text in mind was the key to maintaining both a perpetual awareness of God and a disciplined ordering of the monk's mental landscape. 'Let the mind hold ceaselessly to this formula above all', urges Cassian, 'until it has been

[111] Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowski (eds.), *The Medieval Craft of Memory: an anthology of texts and pictures* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 41-70; 83-102.
[112] Cassian, *Conferences,* 10.13.1, 385-386.
[113] *Ibid.,* 10.10-11 379-385.
[114] Amalarius, *On the Liturgy,* 4.2.11-13, II.309.

strengthened by constantly using and continually meditating upon it, and until it renounces and rejects the whole wealth and abundance of thoughts'.[115] Selecting and privileging certain scriptural 'nuggets', and deliberately embedding them in one's mind as an organising principle for the others was a traditional practice which monks such as Anselm may well have embraced.[116]

2.5. Searching for *signa*

A methodology for uncovering scripture's presence in Anselm's writings must therefore search for traces of the Revealed Bible which monastic reception has swelled with association. This methodology must seek evidence of the Revealed Bible, not only at the level of the word, sentence or phrase, but at the level of the poetic, mnemonic or thematic associations which those words and phrases would have carried. Biblical words which had been 'inhaled' and 'exhaled' by the performative observance of monastic life and ritual would likely include evidence of mnemonic links, wordplay and verbal cues, creating clusters of associations connected to specific snatches of scriptural language.

Perhaps the most appropriate term to describe these verbal and pictorial clusters is *signum,* 'sign' or 'seal'. The word *signum* and its cognates *signare* (to sign, seal or stamp) and *significare* (to signify or indicate) was a theologically loaded term in Anselm's context. Augustine's distinction between *signa* and *res* permeated theological discussions, with his explication of language's *signa data* acting as the foundation for his rules on biblical interpretation.[117] The *signa* of the Bible's words pointed towards a *res,*

[115] Cassian, *Conferences,* 10.11.1, 383.
[116] Rachel Fulton Brown also describes the 'scriptural and liturgical nuggets or *formulae* which monks and nuns were trained to store in their memories, precisely so to retrieve them for the purposes of contemplation': 'Praying with Anselm at Admont: A Meditation on Practice', *Speculum* 81:3 (2006), 731.
[117] *DDC,* 2.30-67.

which in turn could be a *signum* of a yet greater *res,* God's own actions, meaning and designs. Like a *signum,* the Bible pointed towards a reality beyond itself.

In Anselm's immediate theological context, it was of paramount importance that *signa* could also point to their own essential natures. The term was crucial in the Eucharistic controversy which persisted through three decades of Anselm's adulthood. It was Berengar's interpretation of *signum* which guided his spiritualising take on the Eucharistic change. Appealing to Augustine's description of a sign as 'a thing which of itself makes some other thing come to mind, besides the impression that it presents to the senses', Berengar argued that, since the Eucharist is a sacred *signum,* the bread could not substantially be Christ's body if its job was to signify it.[118] Significant portions of Lanfranc's response to Berengar were devoted to nuancing the term *signum.* A sign could still be a sign even if it signifies itself, Lanfranc argued: just as the sacrament of faith (baptism) is faith, so the sacrament of Christ's body and blood is Christ's body and blood.[119] The Bible confirms this, Lanfranc claimed. After his resurrection, Christ signified himself, making his body a sign or *figura* when he exhibited to his disciples through his actions the deeper meaning to which those actions pointed.[120] A central feature of Lanfranc's refutation of Berengar rested on his assertion that a *signum* need not only signify something outside of it, but could also signify what it truly was.

In the Vulgate, moreover, the word *signum* carries multiple layers of significance, from the term used of God's covenant, the divinely designated *signum foederis* which set a visible seal on the holy bond between God and his people, to the actions which called that covenant to mind (Genesis 17:11; Ezekiel 20:20). The deliverance of Israel from Egypt was to be remembered through the *signum* of the Passover, just as the blood

[118] *DDC*, 2.1.5, 30.
[119] Lanfranc, *De corpore,* 14, 55-58.
[120] *Ibid.*

marking the doorposts of the Israelites' houses was the *signum* which the angel was to see and pass over (Exodus 13:9; 12:13). The words of the *Shema*, to be carried in the heart, meditated upon night and day, written at the entry of the home and narrated to future generations, were to be bound *quasi signum* on the hand and forehead (Deuteronomy 6:4-10). *Signum* carries the associations of revealing and concealing; a *signum* could also be a miraculous event with a hidden meaning, a revelation of God's power by means of obscure 'signs and portends', ciphers to be interpreted. Jesus's own birth is described as a *signum;* a *signum* for the shepherds of the coming of a saviour, a *signum magnum* which appears in the sky in the Apocalypse, and a *signum cui contradicetur,* a 'sign which shall be contradicted', dividing those 'see' his significance from those who do not (Luke 2:12; Revelation 12:2; Luke 2:34). The hallmark of Christian identity was the willingness to apprehend the hidden divinity which Christ's humanity both veiled and revealed. According to Paul, this capacity was conveyed by the Holy Spirit, by whom those who responded to the *signum* of Christ are *signati* (signed or sealed) for the day of redemption (Ephesians 4:30). In this admixture of revealing and concealing, especially in the words and deeds of the prophets, God's words were fused with human words, God's intention with human acts of signification.

Anselm's own use of the word *signum* denoted a recognisable characteristic or token pointing to a person's true identity. In Anselm's first prayer to St John, the Evangelist bears a characteristic trait by which he is identified, his *signum proprium* as the beloved of the Lord.[121] St Peter is to recognise the identity of the supplicant by looking into his face and perceiving the *signum* of the cross.[122] Even God's identity is to be apprehended through signs; in the *Proslogion,* Anselm asks God for the *signa* by

[121] SIII, *Oratio* 11, 43.51. Hereafter *O.*
[122] SIII, *O*9, 31.37.

which the divine can be recognised, by what signs (*de quibus signis*) he should be sought.[123] It is in this sense of *signum* – its character as an identity-marker, pointing both beyond itself and also to its own true nature – that the term can be applied to the snatches of biblical text and their accompanying clusters of associations which are 'stamped' into Anselm's writings. The distinctive, divine character of these scriptural themes – their hidden, holy identity within the fabric of ordinary human words – is visible to close examination, like the cruciform mark on the faces of the prayers' supplicant.

Having established an authentic conceptualization of scripture, and defined what the search for scripture in Anselm's writings would entail, it is finally possible to construct a methodology. Since Anselm would have encountered the Revealed Bible within the performative space of monastic observance, what is needed is an example of that encounter, that is, a text written by Anselm which could reasonably be considered a reflection or an extension of his monastic life. This could be found in an example of Anselm engaging in one of the interpretative activities which were proper to the monastic life: *lectio divina*, prayer, exegesis, sermons and the like. Within Anselm's corpus, there is one group of texts which best reflects this output. One could easily be a monk without writing treatises or composing letters (whatever degree of monastic epistolary advice the letters reflect), but one could not be a true monk without praying or meditating.[124] His *Orationes sive Meditationes*, then, offer the closest textual

[123] SI, *P,* 1:98.6.
[124] For Anselm's letter collections, see Samu Niskanen, 'The Evolution of Anselm's Letter Collections until ca. 1130', in *Saint Anselm of Canterbury and his Legacy,* ed. Giles E. M. Gasper and Ian Logan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012), 40-60, and *The Letter Collections of Anselm of Canterbury* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

approximation of the sort of space in which the 'inhaling' and 'exhaling' of biblical language, images and themes would have taken place.

The *Orationes sive Meditationes,* the majority of which were products of his time at Bec, comprise Anselm's direct ruminations upon, absorption and expression of the Revealed Bible in a monastic context. They witness Anselm's mind turning over what would become major themes of his writings: God's nature, humanity's plight, sin and its consequences, redemption and future bliss. Any snippets of the Revealed Bible embedded in Anselm's ruminations on these themes could hint at the role these biblical words, phrases and images played in the monastic discourse in which Anselm was engaged. This would offer a point of reference for how biblical verbal and pictorial material was implanted in Anselm's monastic imaginary, and the function it performed in informing the way he thought about these themes. The first step, then, is to scrutinise Anselm's prayers and meditations for *signa,* that is, recurring clusters of words, phrases and images from the Revealed Bible, tracing, as far as possible, the associations they might have carried. At the level of the word, Gillian Evans' *Concordance to the works of St Anselm* provides an indispensable tool for tracing verbal connections.[125] At the level of the phrase, F.S. Schmitt's *index auctorum* and *index sacrae scripturae* offers a departure-point in the search for scriptural, liturgical or patristic references.[126] Inevitably, it will not be possible to take into account every appearance of biblical verbal or pictorial material in the prayers and meditations. Neither is it vital, or indeed possible, to source the exact provenance of each instance of the Revealed Bible's appearance. Moreover, there might naturally be reformulations, misrememberings and paraphrases which would be expected with phrases committed to memory. Because

[125] Evans, *A Concordance to the Works of St. Anselm,* 4 vols. (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus International, 1984).
[126] Schmitt, *S. Opera Omnia,* Vol. VI, 1-18.

allusions and connections will inevitably be missed, this method makes no claim to comprehensiveness. The *signa* to be identified will be the ones which seem, by frequency of recurrence or expansiveness of thematic connection, to carry the most weight for Anselm.

Once these *signa* have been identified in the prayers and meditations, providing a point of reference for the monastic set of Anselm's mind, a selection of his broader corpus can then be scrutinised to see whether the same *signa,* or similar clusters of biblical words and associations, reappear. If *signa* from Anselm's devotional works are found in the *Proslogion,* the three dialogues *De Veritate, De Libertate Arbitrii* and *De Casu Diaboli,* and *Cur Deus homo*, this would constitute compelling evidence for Anselm's monastic scriptural reception directly informing his other theological compositions. Since only a selection of Anselm's key works will be treated, the conclusions cannot be considered comprehensive. Yet this method offers a way of isolating and examining the scriptural presence in Anselm's writings which reflects a conceptualization of scripture native to Anselm's own context, not as mere reproduction of text, but as the deep interiorisation of themes and ideas intimately connected to scriptural words and phrases.

PART II: Scriptural *signa* in Anselm's prayers and meditations

3. The works in question

Before the scriptural *signa* in Anselm's prayers and meditations can be unearthed, the historian must address the question of their genre. Although the majority of the nineteen prayers and three meditations to have been weeded out from amongst the erroneous attributions were probably composed in the first decade or so of his monastic life, they nonetheless remained consistently close to his heart.[1] Anselm laboured over the editorial process. He produced three versions of the prayer to the Virgin Mary which he sent, accompanied by its earlier instantiations, to Gundulf of Rochester in around 1072.[2] On his journey to England in 1092, which would culminate in his reluctant elevation to Canterbury, he requested his prayer to St Nicholas to be sent to him for further editing.[3] He also clearly imagined them as a collection: the six prayers and one meditation which he sent to the lady Adelaide, the daughter of William the Conqueror, in around 1072, came complete with selections from the Psalms to be used as a personal devotional handbook.[4] When he sent the whole collection to Countess Matilda of Tuscany in 1104, he seems to have made no major changes to the prayers he wrote in his early days at Bec, except to add the prayers written subsequently, and the 'meditation on human redemption' of 1099 which served as the prayerful counterpart to the *Cur Deus homo*.[5] Anselm clearly considered these devotional works a valuable part of his output – even in the latter years of his

[1] Anselm's authentic prayers and meditations were identified by André Wilmart: *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin: études d'histoire littéraire* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1932), 162-201.
[2] *Ep.* 28, I.121.
[3] *Ep.* 147, I.333.
[4] *Ep.* 10, I.92-94. For the identity of Adelaide, see Vaughn, *Handmaidens,* 100-101.
[5] *Ep.* 325, III.38-40.

archiepiscopate, he was happy to attach his now-famous name to them - and they were the writings to achieve the most success in the centuries following his death.[6]

That they belong to a different genre from the majority of Anselm's other writings is easily witnessed by their rhetorical effusiveness, starkly contrasting with the measured and methodical style of his dialogues. So fascinated was Richard Southern by their seeming heart-felt intimacy that he believed them to have inaugurated an 'Anselmian revolution' in devotional writing, their 'passionate and personal devotion' diverging from the 'discipline and sobriety' of their Carolingian precursors.[7] More recent studies have nuanced Southern's view, locating Anselm within a generic continuum of affective devotional compositions. Renie Choy has argued against a sharp break dividing Anselm's emotive introspection from the allegedly formulaic stiffness of Carolingian *libelli precum*.[8] Others have contextualised Anselm in continuity with his older contemporary John of Fécamp and in affinity with English trends of devotional writing.[9] What exactly Anselm envisioned these texts to be, and how much of their content simply reflects the demands of the genre, has significant implications upon the relation between the *signa* in the prayers and meditations and those in his other works. In order to justify comparing his devotional works with the others, it needs to be

[6] Ward, 'Appendix: the Development of the Prayers', in *Prayers and Meditations,* 275-287.
[7] Southern, *Portrait,* 103; 112; 97.
[8] Renie Choy, '"The Brother Who May Wish to Pray by Himself": Sense of Self in Carolingian Prayers of Private Devotion', in *Prayer and Thought in Monastic Tradition,* 111. For medieval *Libelli precum* see Boynton, '*Libelli Precum* in the Central Middle Ages', in R. Hammerling, ed., *A History of Prayer: the first to the fifteenth century* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 255-318; and Pierre Salmon, 'Libelli precum du VIIIe au XIIe siècle', in *Analecta liturgica: Extraits des manuscrits liturgiques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. Contribution à l'histoire de la prière chrétienne,* Studi e Testi 273 (Vatican City, 1974), 121–194.
[9] Gillian R. Evans, '*Mens Devota*: the literary community of the devotional works of John of Fécamp and St Anselm', *Medium Ævum*, 43 (1974), 105-115; Brian Patrick McGuire, 'John of Fécamp and Anselm of Canterbury: A New Language of Prayer', in *Prayer and thought in monastic tradition,* 153-166; Fulton Brown, *From Judgement to Passion,* 142-192; Thomas H. Bestul, 'St Anselm, the Monastic Community at Canterbury, and Devotional Writing in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Anselm Studies* 1 (1983), 185–198.

established that such a comparison is not significantly weakened by the differences in generic conventions.

Anselm himself left instructions on why and how the texts were to be used: 'to stir up the mind by reading to love or fear of God', 'not to be read in turmoil, but in quietude, not quickly and cursorily, but a little at a time, and with attentive and serious meditation'.[10] For scholars such as Pranger, these authorial guidelines suggest a very specific purpose for these texts, a purpose which opens a window into the lost medieval crafts of reading and meditation. After the manner of *lectio divina,* these texts, Pranger argues, constituted prompts for the transformative drama fashioned in and by the reader him- or herself. The meditation was not primarily to be found on the page but in the experience of the meditator, with the text 'grasping the reader and forcing him to turn inward'.[11] Crafting a meditation required a dialogic movement between the textual stimuli and the meditator's interior emotional state, spurred 'towards love or fear of God' depending on the individual. Pranger's reading chimes with Anselm's insistence that the whole of the text need not be read in order to bring about this effect, but only 'as much as [the reader] thinks, by God's help, will enkindle a disposition to pray, or as much as he likes'.[12] Anselm's letter to Matilda of Tuscany, moreover, urges her to use his prayers as exempla for composing her own.[13] When viewed within the context of the monastic craft of reading, and as belonging to a genre of texts to be used for the purpose of constructing meditations, Anselm's devotional works, for some, provided the stage upon which monastic readers could perform an 'artificial' drama not 'concerned with authentic emotions' but with 'a technical process in which emotions are being

[10] SIII, *Orationes sive Meditationes, Prologus*: 3.2-5.
[11] Pranger, *Artificiality of Christianity,* 9.
[12] SIII, *Orationes sive Meditationes, Prologus:* 3.5-8.
[13] *Ep.* 325, III.38-40.

established and handled as part of performative exercises'.[14] On Pranger's account, the prayers and meditations were tools for crafting the interior state which monastic ideology demanded. Yet if the form really did determine the content of Anselm's prayers and meditations, as Pranger seems to suggest, then any scriptural themes or images can only be evaluated in terms of their rhetorical function in stimulating an affective experience. The search for scriptural *signa* would consequently be unable to extend across genres, and the prayers and meditations would be effectively closed off from the rest of Anselm's corpus.

That the prayers and meditations are not spontaneous effusions of Anselm's private emotional anguish is readily evident. His instructions for using them clearly indicate that he had a method in mind which he considered appropriate to their purpose. Pranger's analysis also vitally situates Anselm's writings within the context of his monastic practice, and is a valuable check against too autobiographical an interpretation of the emotions they relate.[15] Yet in order to approach the prayers and meditations fully attuned to their context, they must be linked not only with *lectio* but also with liturgy. Anselm's correspondence shows that he envisaged his devotional writings being sewn into the fabric of liturgical lives. His first two meditations were positively received by monastic communities. The abbot of Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne, praising the meditations delivered by messengers from Bayeux, wrote to Anselm asking for more.[16] The two collections Anselm sent to Adelaide in 1072 and Matilda in 1104 - the first with accompanying Psalm extracts, the second with an apology that some prayers might not be relevant – were probably written for monastic use, but Anselm clearly thought them applicable to non-cloistered aristocratic women wishing to

[14] Pranger, *Artificiality of Christianity,* xiii.
[15] For example, Southern, *Portrait,* 105.
[16] *Ep.* 28, I.121-122; and 70, I.193-194.

approximate the liturgical pattern of monastic life. Personal devotional manuals enabling those outside the monastery to replicate elements of monastic prayer were popular in eleventh-century Normandy; John of Fécamp sent his *Libellus de scripturis et verbis patrum* to the Empress Agnes of Poitou (1025-1077), whose other spiritual director was Peter Damian, in around 1060.[17] At least one of Anselm's prayers, the Prayer upon Receiving the Body and Blood of the Lord, could have been directly useful for a priest celebrating mass. Both this prayer and Anselm's Prayer to the Holy Cross were suitable for being incorporated into the liturgy. The prayers remained multi-purpose, designed to be folded into varying degrees of formal or informal liturgies, and corresponding to various kinds of monastic and para-monastic patterns of prayer.

It is also important to emphasise the liturgical echoes within the writings themselves. Mass texts resound in Anselm's collection. His Prayer on Receiving the Body and Blood of the Lord' recalls the priest's penitential prayer before communion, and his Prayer to God follows the skeletal structure of the *Pater Noster*. Schmitt's *index auctores* highlights multiple references to Eucharistic liturgy, from parts of the canon of the mass to hymns for particular feast days and sections of the creeds.[18] Anselm also uses Eucharistic language in his letter to Adelaide, exhorting her to attend carefully to his devotional texts so that the 'sacrifice of prayer might be offered' with humility, fear and love.[19] The fact that Anselm's prayers and meditations were considered suitable for individual use does not mean they are to be restricted to the genre of private emotional drama.

There remains a tendency to view private and liturgical prayer in contradistinction, perhaps owing to an implicit (modern) bias in favour of the former

[17] Mancia, *Emotional monasticism,* 19; Ranft, *The Theology of Work,* 28.
[18] SVI, *Index Auctores*, 19-24.
[19] *Ep.* 10, I.92-94.

over the latter. If the public, communal and ritualistic is defined against the private, the personal and the free, Anselm's devotional works are considered noteworthy in that they are *not* liturgical. In reality, however, no clear categorical distinction existed in medieval minds. While the *Regula Benedicti* does indeed distinguish the *opus dei* from *oratio particulariter,* the two were not in competition but in harmony, two consonant tones on a single musical stave.[20] The boundaries between them were by no means fixed; prayer books designed for individuals often contained texts for communal liturgies, such as services for the adoration of the cross, and Psalters, collects, and hymns used in communal worship formed the basis for individual meditation.[21] Susan Boynton's study of the *libelli precum* at Farfa leads her to posit the 'absence of a strong distinction between the prayer of the hours and personal prayer outside the office'.[22] She argues instead that personal prayers were 'closely bound to liturgical performance, whether to various types of psalmody or to specific ceremonies of the church year'.[23] Another unhelpful bifurcation tends to distinguish textual from so-called 'oral' or non-textual devotions. In the narratives of scholars such as Clanchy and Stock, Anselm's period witnessed a shift from a predominantly oral to a predominantly written culture.[24] Yet neither of these authors engages meaningfully with liturgy as a category, and in focusing on texts they somewhat overlook the 'central act of Christian piety', the Eucharist.[25] The prayers and meditations, then, should not be taken as private texts to be used in contradistinction to the non-textual, oral, liturgical side of worship. In monastic minds, all prayers were offerings to God, participations in the ultimate

[20] *RB* 52.2-4, 254-255.
[21] Boynton, *Shaping a monastic identity: liturgy and history at the imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125* (Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 89. See also Boynton, 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters', *Speculum,* 82 (2007), 896-931.
[22] Boynton, *Shaping a monastic identity,* 91.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record;* Stock, *Implications of Literacy.*
[25] Leonard Boyle, 'Popular Piety in the Middle Ages: What Is Popular?', *Florilegium,* 4 (1982), 187.

Offering upon which the monk's spiritual life quite literally depended. Anselm may have predated the full flowering of the cult of Eucharistic devotion, but every monk's prayers would nonetheless have orbited this central sacramental point as planets orbiting the sun.

As such, the prayers' and meditations' particular devotional genre need not cut them off from the rest of Anselm's corpus. Insofar as they were products of monastic life, designed both for its participants and for those who sought to replicate it, they were oriented, like the monastic liturgy, to offering worship to an ever-present God. In searching for scriptural *signa* in the prayers and meditations, then, recognition should be given to the liturgical soil from which they grew. The main *signa* which stand out in these works tend to reflect certain key themes - sin, salvation, and the approach to God – and so, for the sake of clarity, the *signa* have been grouped according to these themes. Each group of *signa* has been named after a part of the Eucharistic liturgy corresponding with the theme. The first chapter, then, contains those *signa* concerned primarily with the theme of sin. This group has been given the name *Confiteor,* evoking the penitential contrition and confession of sins which was necessary before the celebration of mass. The second chapter, containing the *signa* concerned with the process of approaching God, has been named *Graduale,* the liturgical ascent of the steps up to the sanctuary which precedes the reading of the Gospel. The third, containing the *signa* concerning mediation and redemption, is named *Domine, non sum dignus,* the communicant's prayer of humility after the priestly consecration. The fourth chapter, containing the *signa* evoking the present taste of future bliss, is entitled *Accipite et manducate,* referring to the Eucharistic bread, the foretaste of and participation in the future hope of heavenly satiety. The *signa* in each chapter are so intertwined that disentangling them with too clinical an exactitude would destroy the interconnecting

web which furnishes much of their lyrical meaning. For this reason, while most *signa* appear under separate sub-headings, some are combined under a single sub-heading.

4. *Confiteor:* sin in the prayers and meditations

No reader of Anselm's prayers and meditations could fail to notice the author's preoccupation with the nature and effects of sin. Some of the most striking images Anselm employs are those designed to communicate the wretchedness of the sinner's state, articulated in the language of weight, darkness, incarceration, bondage, sluggishness and insensibility. The words '*gravatus', 'carcer', 'tenebra',* and *'torpor'* are among Anselm's most frequently used words in connection with sin, as his Prayer to Mary Magdalene exhibits:

> I declare, I am cast down miserably into the depth of vice, I am exceedingly loaded down with heavy crimes (*pondere criminum gravatus*); I am thrust down by my own doing into the shadowy prison of sins (*in obscuro carcere peccatorum*), and wrapped in the darkness of numbness (*in torporis tenebris obvolutus*).[1]

Similar clusters of concepts appear in his Prayer for the Consecration of a Church and his Prayer to Nicholas:

> Certainly, I am a useless person, adorned with nothing good, but darkened with deep ignorance (*profunda ignorantia tenebrata*), deformed by innumerable vices, weighed down by immense sins (*immensis peccatis onerata*)...[2]

> What are these things, God, what are these things which thus darken and burden my soul, which bind and confine it (*obtenebrant et gravant, claudunt et ligant*)? Perhaps these are my sins; nay, truly these are my sins…here is the prison and the chains, here is the darkness and the burden (*Hinc est ille carcer et vincula, hinc sunt illae tenebrae et pondera*).[3]

[1] SIII, *O*16, 64.13-15.
[2] SIII, *O*17, 68.8-9.
[3] SIII, *O*14, 58.83-91.

The darkness, blindness and bondage of sin is also expressed in Anselm's Prayer to St Paul, as he woefully addresses his vices:

> While you lure me into your pit, you show how easy it is to return by the sorrow of penance; truly, when you precipitated me, having cast me down you buried me, having buried me you blinded me, having blinded me you hardened me, having hardened me you blocked every exit; and thus you make your deceived, captured, bound wretch despair and lie silent and insensible as if lost to God and forgetting God…[4]

For an author of Anselm's carefulness, the recurrence of the language of darkness, confinement, heaviness and numbness penetrates deeper than would a mere rhetorical trope. This cluster of words is carried from prayer to prayer regardless of the saint addressed. Examining the biblical associations connected with these concepts reveals a number of scriptural *signa:* the unfruitful tree, the slave to sin, and the one conceived and born in sin.

4.1. *Arbor infructuosa*

The tree is a theologically dense image. The fateful tree in the garden of Eden had long been viewed as a prefiguration of the redemptive 'tree' of the cross. Liturgical and theological tradition interpreted Christ's body as the 'fruit' of that second 'tree' whose sacramental consumption would bring life in salvific recapitulation of the death-bearing fruit of the first tree. Hymns and antiphons for the feasts of the Holy Cross (of which Anselm's own Prayer to the Holy Cross shows knowledge) underscored the two trees' place in the work of redemption: 'by wood we were made slaves, and by the holy cross we were set free; the fruit of the tree seduced us, the Son of God redeemed us'.[5] Biblical poetry also supplied a likeness between a fruitful tree and the righteous person: 'The

[4] SIII, *O*10, 35.59-64.
[5] *Propter lignum* antiphon. See Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross: toward the origins of the feast of the Cross and the meaning of the Cross in early medieval liturgy* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000).

fruit of the just man is a tree of life' (Proverbs 11:30); he who delights in God's law is like a 'tree which is planted near the running waters, which shall bring forth its fruit, in due season' (Psalm 1:3). In the Gospels, moreover, a person's 'fruit' testifies to his or her inner disposition: 'No good tree bears bad fruit, nor again does a bad tree bear good fruit' (Luke 6:43, NRSV); 'for every tree is known by its fruit' (Luke 6:44, Matthew 12:33). The biblical tree which Anselm references directly is the one in Jesus' metaphor of judgement, which will be cut down and burned if it does not produce good fruit (Matthew 3:10, 7:17-19, Luke 3:9). That a person's inner disposition, whether righteous or wicked, could be determined by the quality of 'fruit' they produced, appears in the Gospels as a warning against hypocrisy. Jesus' admonition of the Pharisees, whom Christian centuries had considered archetypal hypocrites, extended to all whose seeming holiness masked the absence of repentance.

An explicitly monastic interpretation of this image almost certainly belonged to Anselm's milieu. Interpreting the fruit-bearing tree allegorically gave expression to a particularly Benedictine priority: the consonance which ought to obtain between the interior and the exterior, between the intention of the heart and the purity of thought and speech.[6] One of Bede's homilies on the Gospel passage underscores this priority: 'the good man produces good from the good treasure in his heart, and the evil man produces evil from the evil treasure. The treasure in one's heart is the intention of the thought, from which the Searcher of Hearts judges the outcome…for it is out of the abundance of the heart that the mouth speaks (Matthew 12:34)'.[7] Monastic authors such as Bede used this passage to preach moral integrity, perhaps in order to nudge their brethren out of the complaisant presumption that taking the habit circumvented

[6] *RB* 19.7, 217.
[7] Bede, *Homilies,* II.25.120-130, 259.

judgement. Anselm himself seems to have made a similar link between the image of the tree and the importance of moral intention in the context of monastic profession. The collection of sayings known as the *Liber Anselmi Archiepiscopi de Humanis Moribus per Similitudines,* probably compiled by Anselm's friends after his death from their memories of his conversation, contains a parable comparing the monk to a tree. The *similitudo inter monachum et arborem* relates Anselm's parable of two servants, each with his own fruit-bearing tree.[8] One, 'because he loves his lord but little', gathers only as much fruit as he likes from his own tree to set before his master.[9] The other 'truly loves his lord so much that, coming to him, he offers him the entire tree', wishing that it bear fruit for the master alone.[10] The former, less loving servant represents the Christian still living in the world who has not submitted his will entirely to God's disposing. The latter represents the monk who, having willingly relinquished self-mastery of the entire scope of his potential, makes the more comprehensive gift. 'Whose act of service will therefore seem more pleasing to that lord?', the parable goes on: 'that one is more pleasing who gives the whole tree with its fruit'.[11] In line with traditional typology, to offer fruit to the Father through sacrifice was to mirror the fruitfulness of the 'tree' of Christ's cross. The unfruitful monk would not only suffer the judgement of a hypocrite, but would betray his monastic profession by failing to offer his life in imitation of the saving sacrifice of Christ.

Anselm's first meditation opens with a reference to an *arbor infructuosa:*[12]

> My life terrifies me. For when carefully broken down, almost my whole life appears to me either sinful or sterile. And if fruit seems

[8] *Liber Anselmi Archiepiscopi de humanis moribus per similitudines,* ed. Southern and Schmitt as *Memorials of St Anselm* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 84, 73-74.
[9] *Ibid.,* 84.30-32, 73.
[10] *Ibid.,* 84.32-33, 73.
[11] *Ibid.,* 84.1-4, 74.
[12] The voice of Anselm's prayers will be referred to as 'the supplicant', and the voice of the meditations (and the *Proslogion*) as 'the meditator'. Both will take male pronouns in reference to Anselm's own gender, though Anselm's female readership should be borne in mind.

> to be there, it is either counterfeit or imperfect or in some other way corrupt, so that it can only either fail to please God or displease him. Therefore, O sinner, your life - not only almost all, but certainly all of it - is either sinful, and condemned, or unfruitful and contemptible. But what distinguishes the unfruitful from the damnable? Surely if something is unfruitful, it is also damnable. Thus, what Truth said remains true: 'Every tree which does not bear good fruit will be rooted up and thrown in the fire' (Matthew 3:10).[13]

The fate of the tree is determined by its sterility. The 'tree' of the sinner's life both bears the corrupt fruit of wickedness (therefore displeasing to God and damnable) and is too sterile to produce anything but artificial goodness (therefore failing to please God and contemptible). Yet simply the problem of potentiality – the inability of the sterile tree to produce anything pleasing – is in itself damnable for the very reason which the Gospel passage states: 'every tree which does not bear good fruit will be…thrown in the fire'.

The connection between sterility and burning shifts the image immediately to judgement. The burning which is destined to come to all sterile trees is identified expressly with hellfire by way of a long quotation from the *Dies irae*, the scriptural passage (taken from Zephaniah 1:15-16) sung during funerals and the Office of the Dead:

> Sterile soul, what are you doing? Why are you numb, sinful soul? The day of judgement is coming. The great day of the Lord is near, it is near and exceedingly swift. That day is a day of wrath, a day of tribulation and distress, a day of calamity and misery, a day of darkness and obscurity, a day of clouds and whirlwinds, a day of the trumpet and alarm. O, bitter voice of the day of the Lord![14]

What is the nature of this sterility which curtails the potential for producing goodness? One clue is found in the word *torpor,* numbness or sluggishness. By way of another biblical quotation, Anselm identifies this spiritual stupor as the same 'lukewarmness' (*tepiditas*) which causes the church of Laodicea, neither hot nor cold, to be 'vomited'

[13] SIII, *Med* 1, 76.4-11.
[14] SIII, *Med* 1, 77.23-27.

from the Lord's mouth according to the seer of the Apocalypse (Revelation 3:16): 'Why do you sleep, lukewarm soul, worthy to be expectorated, why do you sleep?'.[15] The reference to sleep, too, clarifies the nature of this *torpor.* It is a spiritual insensibility, an unresponsiveness of affectivity and heaviness of will, which, for Anselm, prevents the germination of fruitful spiritual life.

The tree's sterility, and also its material suitability for burning, is owing to its dryness:

> O dry and useless wood, worthy of the eternal flames, how will you respond on that day, when at the twinkling of an eye (1 Corinthians 15:52) all your time to live is spent and the way that you acted is judged?[16]

Anselm imagines this dryness as the absence of lubricating tears of compunction. Following Gregory the Great, Anselm would have understood compunction not as a 'natural mourning or sadness' but rather as the 'sting of remorse' likened to the puncturing of the skin by a sharp incision.[17] Medieval notions of medicine operated on the basis that opposites could rebalance the unbalanced humours of a sick body; just as heat remedied ailments of coldness, so water remedied ailments of dryness. As Mary Carruthers observes, 'tears are moist and hot', and so 'boredom, indifference, tedium—the cold, dry effects of acedia—are remedied by weeping'.[18] In Anselm's meditation, the piercing nature of compunction is readily evoked by the image of 'thorns', namely, the memory of immanent terror which the meditation brings before the sinner's eyes. Yet

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[15] SIII, *Med* 1 77.27-28.
[16] SIII, *Med 1*, 77-78.38-46.
[17] Fulton Brown, *From Judgment to Passion,* 166; Sandra McEntire, 'The Doctrine of Compunction from Bede to Margery Kempe', in *The Medieval Mystical tradition in England: Exeter Symposium IV: papers read at Dartington Hall, July 1987,* ed. Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1987), 78.
[18] Carruthers, 'On Affliction and Reading, Weeping and Argument: Chaucer's Lachrymose Troilus in Context', *Representations*, 93 (2006), 7.

even rumination upon the impending day of wrath is not enough to squeeze moisture from the dry tree:

> Useless sinner, are these not enough to provoke a great groan? Are they not sufficient to draw out blood and marrow in tears? Alas, wondrous hardness, which these heavy hammers are too light to break! O unfeeling numbness, which these sharp thorns are too blunt to disturb! Like deadly sleep, which such terrifying thunder is too muffled to rouse! Useless sinner, this ought to be enough for you to mourn continuously. They can be enough for you to drink ever-flowing tears.[19]

Compunction is not just an emotional state to be induced, but an efficacious penance tailored to suit the offense. The elusive tears are absent because dryness characterises the sinner just as overflowing plenitude characterises the saint. In his Prayer to Mary Magdalene, the archetypal penitent, Anselm begs the saint to

> obtain for me the compunction of piety, tears of humility, desire for the heavenly homeland, disgust for the earthly exile, the bitterness of penitence, the fear of eternal torture.[20]

As a medicinal remedy for sinful aridity, compunction is a redemptive grace to be received from divine hands. Through compunction, the sinner's lament at his own insensibility in the face of death and judgement can be put in the service of its own restitution.

As the compunction required is not merely descriptive, but actually effectively redemptive, the sinner's sterility cannot be remedied by the sinner's effort alone. Healing can come only by co-operative reception of divine gift. Anselm underscores this necessity by identifying the soul's 'sleep' – the unresponsiveness of the spiritual senses in the face of judgement – with an altogether graver lifelessness. The numbness, lukewarmness, dryness and stupor of the soul are revealed for what they really are - not only deserving of death, but the marks of death itself: 'Whoever does not awake,

[19] SIII, *Med 1*, 78.51-57
[20] SIII, *O*16, 65.19-21.

whoever does not tremble at such thunder, is not asleep, but dead'.[21] The funereal tone set by echoes of the *Dies irae* raises the stakes in the meditation. The Bec Missal, moreover, witnesses that Jesus's parable of the unfruitful tree, the Gospel for the eighth Sunday after Pentecost, was to be read at mass along with a passage from Romans 8:12-17 which explicitly underscores sin's deathly consequences.[22] In this passage, Paul contrasts those who live by the 'flesh' with those 'sons of God' who live 'by the Spirit': 'if you live according to the flesh, you shall die: but if by the Spirit you mortify the deeds of the flesh, you shall live' (Romans 8:13). The necessity of divine aid could hardly be expressed in starker terms.

The image of the *arbor infructuosa* as an *arbor mortua* also appears in Anselm's Prayer to St Paul. The supplicant in the prayer, surveying his sins with dismay, harnesses Pauline language of faith in order to recommend himself to the mercy of Christ and the saint:

> Jesus, God, and you, his apostle: I, a sinner, believe this faith on your command, I throw myself upon it…I wrap myself in this faith before you both, that I might escape the inquisitors and exacters of my sins, and, God, the beating of your strict judgement.[23]

But an obstacle occurs to the supplicant. If scriptural language could be his apologia, it could also be his accuser, since scripture elsewhere (James 2:14-26) proclaims that faith without works is dead:

> But alas, here is yet another serious evil. I had hoped to obtain hope by faith, and behold I see that I do not hold on to faith. I had thought that I was wrapped in that faith, and I know that I am stripped of it. I was sure that I was hidden within it, and I feel myself to be banished from it. For faith without works is dead (James 2:17; 26). Truly, dead faith is not faith. Whoever has dead faith, therefore, has no faith.[24]

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[21] SIII, *Med* 1, 77.27-29.
[22] *Bec Missal,* 104. Hereafter *BM.*
[23] SIII, *O*10, 36.85-90.
[24] SIII, *O*10, 36.92-97.

In language very similar to that of his first meditation, Anselm laments the twofold predicament – the negative sterility and positive, sinful fecundity – which not only merits punishment but evinces a moribund soul:

> Alas, the fecundity of my evil works has prohibited me from having hope, and the sterility of good works proves me to be devoid of faith. Alas, the evils done; alas, the good works neglected! For just as it is necessary that evil works displease God, so it is impossible without faith (which without good works are nothing) to please God (Hebrews 11:6).[25]

When the Gospel image of the *arbor infructuosa* is aligned with the scriptural pronouncement on lifeless faith, the fate of the tree is all the more gravely sealed:

> Indeed, if the just shall live by faith (Romans 1:17), whoever does not have faith is dead (James 2:17; 26). But if someone who is sterile in good works is dead, how much more dead is someone who is fertile in evil works? For if the tree which does not produce good fruit is cut down (Matthew 3:10) as shrivelled, the one which produces bad fruit will certainly be rooted up as poisonous. This death is not of the body, but of the soul.[26]

Yet deathly sterility is only one facet of the sinner's state. As previously noted, the *arbor infructuosa* image reveals the sinner's predicament to be twofold. The opening of the first meditation states that the tree is 'worthy to be burned' in two senses: in the negative sense, its potentiality to produce good fruit is null, and in the positive sense, the fruit it has actually produced has been 'corrupt' or 'counterfeit'. The negative sterility in itself would have been sufficient to merit burning on account of the dry wood's 'uselessness', but the positive sinful fecundity compounds the sinner's woe:

> Unfruitful tree, where are your fruit? Tree worthy to be cut down and burned, worthy to be uprooted and incinerated, where are your fruit? Surely there are only the stinging thorns of bitter sins.[27]

[25] SIII, *O*10, 35.97-100.
[26] SIII, *O*10, 36.101-105.
[27] SIII, *Med* 1, 77.30-32.

This double calamity merits damnation on two counts. Anselm's second mediation, a 'lament for virginity sadly lost' (*Deploratio virginitatis male amissae*), expresses this twofold tragedy by making a distinction between the loss of virginity and the committing of fornication, considering one action under two distinct moral aspects. Christ, the voice of the meditation laments, 'is not now the kind spouse of my virginity, but the terrible judge of my wantonness'.[28] The memory of the lost intimacy 'makes heavier the pressure of possessed unhappiness', since it is both the undue loss and the undue gain which sees the sinful soul condemned from two angles:

> How miserable is the disgraceful fate of humankind, tormented equally by both good and evil! For my bad conscience, and the suffering in which I fear that I will burn, torments me; my good conscience and the memory of its rewards torments me, which I know that I have lost, not easily to be recovered. Alas, how miserable, how much to be grieved, to lose irrevocably that what ought to be retained interminably! Alas, how inconsolable it is to lose that [virginity], the loss of which is not only detrimental to goods, but on top of that, is gainful of torments![29]

The double aspect of sin not only entails a twofold accusation; it also implies two accusers. In his Prayer to St Paul, Anselm declares the sinner to be condemned by both the just and the unjust, by those who seek goodness as well as those who will destruction:

> All the good and evil spirits before God accuse me with them. The good, because they owe justice to God; the bad, because they watch over my iniquity. The good, because they testify to the truth which they contemplate; the bad, because they seek my punishment which they desire. They both judge my iniquity in this, because they know me to deserve damnation according to justice. Alas, how many judges, how many accusers of one wretch![30]

The twofold aspect of the sinner's transgressions bears a possible monastic association. If 'good fruit' is identified with moral actions, and if the possibility for moral

[28] SIII, *Med 2,* 80.10-11.
[29] SIII, *Med* 2, 80.14-19.
[30] SIII, *O*10, 34.17-22.

fruitfulness is the result of divine gift, then producing good fruit entails justly rendering what is owed in response to what has been received. 'Woe is me, woe is me, against whom have I sinned?', Anselm asks later in the first meditation: '[against him] who gave me good in place of evil, to whom I gave evil for good'.[31] The prohibition of rendering evil for evil appears in the *Regula Benedicti,* in which the monks are exhorted to '*malum pro malo non reddere*' and '*Maledicentes se non remaledicere, sed magis benedicere'.*[32] Rendering merciful repayment in the manner which the *Regula* demands cannot be possible if the sinner is not even able to render good for good. The *signum* of the *arbor infructuosa,* therefore, establishes some of the crucial coordinates of Anselm's conception of sin. Where the *signum* appears, it affirms the essential congruence which ought to obtain between interior disposition and its exterior effects. A disjunction between interior and exterior not only testifies to Pharisaical hypocrisy, as in the Gospel passage, but also points directly to judgement. As a monastic image, the prospect of judgement becomes yet graver; the monk was distinguished from the layman in that he vowed to offer all the fruit from his tree to the Father. An unfruitful monk ought, in Anselm's eyes, be an oxymoron.

4.2. *Servus peccati*

The language of dryness, sterility and stupor does not exhaust Anselm's depiction of the sinner's state. Throughout the prayers and meditations, the reader frequently encounters the theme of incarceration, paralysis, bondage and chains. Anselm's Prayer to Stephen emphasises the state in which the 'accused' finds himself when his good actions fail to 'compensate' for his evil deeds:

[31] SIII, *Med* 1, 78.66-67.
[32] *RB* 4.29; 4.32, 182-183.

> For behold, the accused stands before the terrible judge. He is accused of many great offenses. He is found guilty by the witness of his own conscience and by the witness of the eyes of that same judge. He has not done the good actions which would compensate for his evil actions…The prison lies open whence there is no return. In the prison have been put monstrous torments. Torturers are prepared, so that when the sentence of condemnation has been given, they might snatch the condemned man to torment. Torments without end, without respite, without moderation. Horrible torturers who never tire, who never have mercy. Fear shakes the accused, his conscience is bewildered, his thoughts rebuke him, he cannot flee. Thus he stands, anxious, before the gravest sentence.[33]

Notwithstanding the spiritual death evoked by the *signum* of the *arbor infructuosa*, sin was not a passive state of affairs. For Anselm, the sinner's helpless paralysis was actually a state of active subservience. Anselm frequently uses the language of chains and incarceration to express the sinner's subjection to tormenting forces, as his Prayer to Nicholas exhibits:

> My sins, for what do you guard me in these chains and in this prison, under this darkness and heaviness? For what if not the strict judge and your tortures and eternal torments? For what if not the prison of hell and everlasting chains? For what if not the mists of perpetual night and the heaviness of ceaseless death? Surely you are preserving me for these evils; you are drawing me towards these evils.[34]

The state of sinfulness is not likened to incarceration merely because the sinner experiences torment. 'These evils' have a kind of mastery under which the sinner is in active servitude:

> Surely I will be wrapped up in them, if I am not first released from you, [my sins]. Truly I will be their unfree servant, if I am not first set free from you.[35]

[33] SIII, *O*13, 50.19-51.29.
[34] SIII, *O*14, 58.92-96.
[35] SIII, *O*14, 58.96-98.

Anselm encapsulates the notion of service to the dictates of evil using the text of John 8:34, and a curious reference to Psalm 77:39 communicates how inescapable this servitude is:

> You had learned that whoever sins is the slave of sin (John 8:34) – and you committed sin that you might become the slave of such wickedness? You knew that the spirit goes forth and does not return (Psalm 77:39) - and you threw yourself in the irremediable abyss of sin without end?[36]

The language of servitude depicts the situation of the sinner as one of seemingly irremediable entrapment in justly merited torments and enforced vassalage to evil forces.

Anselm also imagines the remedy for sin as a release from bondage. The supplicant's pleas for heavenly intercession are often couched in terms of loosening the chains of captivity. Drawing on the traditional attributes of the saint, he begs his 'good leader', 'sweet master' and 'dear father blessed Benedict', as his confessor, to 'unbind the cords of sin', and St Peter, 'you who bind and loose as you wish' to 'loosen [the sinner's] chains, heal his wounds, free him from the misery of the kingdom of sin and lead him into the blessedness of the kingdom of heaven'.[37] The redemption won by Christ is described in Anselm's third meditation as a freedom from captivity:

> Behold, Christian soul, here is the strength of your salvation, here is the cause of your liberty, here is the price of your redemption. You were held captive, but in this manner you were redeemed. You were a slave, and were thus set free.[38]

Sin is imagined as a restriction of the soul's movement, and an unwilling service from which, without divine help, it seems impossible to escape.

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[36] SIII, *O*14, 59.121-123.
[37] SIII, *O*15, 63.51-52; *O*9 30.4-5; *O*9 33.89-93.
[38] SIII, *Med* 3, 88.129-131.

The concept of servitude evoked a symphony of biblical resonances. The liberation of the Israelites from slavery in Egypt was considered a prefiguration of Christian baptism, with the waters of the red sea foreshadowing the sacramental cleansing of the initiation rite: 'a great work of liberation accomplished by God for his people, enslaved by the forces of evil'.[39] The Johannine Jesus contrasts moral slavery - 'everyone who commits sin is a slave to sin' (John 8:34) –with the freedom of 'friends' and 'sons', a status which his own followers enjoy (John 8:35, John 15:15). In other Gospel passages, the right kind of service is placed in a positive light (Matthew 20:27); the master-servant relation is applied to Jesus and his disciples ('no servant is greater than his master', Matthew 10:24, John 13:16, John 15:20) and the good and bad servants are distinguished according to the diligence of their service (Matthew 18:26-29, Matthew 24:46-8, Luke 12:43-5). As for Paul, his most significant reference to slavery appears in Romans 6, stating that 'to whom you present yourselves slaves to obey, you are that one's slaves whom you obey, whether of sin leading to death, or of obedience leading to righteousness' (Romans 6:16-18, NRSV).

In Schmitt's edition, Anselm's references to the phrase *servus peccati,* including those in his dialogues, appear in the footnotes as references to John 8:34. In a persuasive article, Jean-Robert Pouchet argued that this reference offers the key to contextualising Anselm's discussion of truth in *De Veritate,* which Pouchet believed to be a commentary on John 8.[40] However, it is crucial to recognise that the theme of servitude in Anselm's prayers tends also to be linked with the notion of heaviness, the sinner being weighed down under a burden. 'Behold', the supplicant says to St Peter, 'I

[39] Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, 98.
[40] Pouchet, 'Lecteur de Saint Jean', 457-468.

am the poorest and lowest little man, surrounded by many heavy afflictions and difficulties':

> I present before you my soul, the nerves of its strength dissolved, bound by the chains of vice, weighed down by the weight of sins, stinking with sordid vices, rent by the wounds of demons, putrid and dirty with the ulcers of crimes; in these and in other grave ills, which you see better than me, I am buried, oppressed, surrounded, overcome…[41]

The notion of being weighed down, bent double (*curvatus*) under the burden of sin is one Anselm will have gleaned from Augustine.[42] Where the language of chains and servitude evokes one element of the sinner's state - the curtailing of freedom, the restriction of movement, and the unwilling subjection to a captor - combining chains with a heavy burden adds another aspect: the burden of 'the flesh'. In his Prayer to Stephen, Anselm ponders the peace of those who 'fall asleep in the Lord':

> For they will not be weighed down by the weight of the flesh, nor will the grief of corruption afflict them. They will not battle the sting of temptation, nor will knowledge of sin frighten them.[43]

Sinners are imagined as those buried under burdens, while saints are those who carry no such weight. Here, the burden which weighs down the sinner is the 'weight of the flesh' and the 'grief of corruption'. Although the reference to Wisdom 9:15 (*corpus enim quod corrumpitur aggravat animam*) does not appear explicitly, the weight of the 'corruptible body' was an image Anselm deployed in his monastic correspondence, and he referenced this verse several times in his treatise *De Conceptu Virginali.*[44] This association points to a thematic pathway in Anselm's mind which leads not only to John 8 but also to Romans 6.

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[41] SIII, *O*9, 32.61-66.
[42] See Matt Jenson, *Gravity of Sin: Augustine, Luther, and Barth on* homo incurvatus in se (New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 6-46.
[43] SIII, *O*13, 54.124-126.
[44] SII, *De Conceptu Virginali,* 141.22; 149.26; 150.2; 158.24; 160.25.

In Romans 6, Paul expounds a theology of baptism, defined as the incorporation into Christ's death and resurrection, which heavily draws upon the metaphors of servitude, domination and liberty in relation to sin. Having died with Christ, the baptised person can also hope to be raised with him, living anew not under the 'dominion' of sin, but under grace (Romans 6:14). The baptised person ought not therefore return to a life of sin, because, having once been 'servants of sin' (*servi peccati*), the baptised have now, through obedience, 'been made servants of justice' (*servi facti estis justitiae,* Romans 6:16-18). The thrust of the passage establishes a firm identity for the 'servants' or 'slaves' of sin. They are those who willingly obey the dictates of sin under whose dominion they labour, in contrast to those who willingly obey the dictates of justice as befits their liberated status. In Romans 7, the apostle discusses the conflict between the 'two laws' which fight with each other, one 'spiritual', leading to goodness, and the other governing the 'members', the 'carnal' element, which remains under the sway of sin (Romans 7:19). He describes the experience of being torn between these two in the language of captivity and liberation, but also with the implication that the burden of the flesh is also entailed: 'unhappy man that I am, who shall liberate me from the body of this death?' (*Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus?* Romans 7:24).[45]

This emphasis on the voluntary nature of the two kinds of service, their vital connection to obedience, and especially the connection between the *corpus mortis* and

[45] For the reception of Romans in the middle ages, see William S. Babcock (ed.), *Paul and the Legacies of Paul* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990); Jeffrey P. Greenman and Timothy Larsen (eds.), *Reading Romans Through the Centuries: From the Early Church to Karl Barth* (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2005); J. Patout Burns (ed.), Romans: Interpreted by Early Christian commentators (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2012); William S. Campbell, Peter S. Hawkins and Brenda Deen Schildgen (eds.), *Medieval Readings of Romans* (New York: T&T Clark, 2007); Steven R. Cartwright (ed.), *A Companion to St. Paul in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

slavery, finds clear echoes in Anselm's *signum* of servitude. In his Prayer to Paul, inspired by the theology of his addressee, Anselm punctuates the language of burdening and incarceration with a strikingly Pauline lament: 'Unhappy little man (*infelix homuncio*), where has your prayer arrived at, and where have your hope and faith disappeared to?'.[46] Nor is there any doubt in Anselm's mind that the result of slavery to sin is death. As he tells St Paul in his prayer:

> If I have not yet been handed over to the torments of death, nonetheless I have already been abandoned to the death [of sin] which brings that death. For although I have not yet been thrust into the prison of torments, nonetheless I have already been confined to the pit of sins.[47]

Reference to the *corpus mortis* which weighs down the *infelix homo* enslaved to sin also appears in his Prayer to Stephen. Anselm describes the 'heavy evils' of sin in terms of the weight of the flesh dragging down the willing soul, and beseeches the saint in Pauline language to 'liberate' the 'unhappy man' from it:

> For my soul is miserably at odds when it has bound itself to my flesh, which it does not want to – and nor can it - follow without fear; which it does not dare to – and nor can it - relinquish without grief; which it wants to drag after itself, but cannot, except with labour. Unhappy man (*infelix homo*) that I am, who will liberate me from this 'body of death'?[48]

The prayer's closing lines also feature the request from Romans 7:

> I beseech, O blessed Stephen, I beseech you to have compassion on me, a needy wretch, who rejoices with you in your beatitude, which knows no need. May the grace of God release me from the body of this death by your merits through Jesus Christ our Lord...[49]

Anselm's *signum* evinces a strong connection between the concepts of slavery, heaviness, and the weight of the 'flesh' when evoking the plight of the sinner. This image

[46] SIII, *O*10, 35.47-48.
[47] SIII, *O*10, 37.122-125.
[48] SIII, *O*13, 54.132-136.
[49] SIII, *O*13, 54.137-140.

of the *servus peccati* carried the associations of voluntary obedience, irremediable servitude, and the struggle of the divided will, not to mention the stark polarity of outcomes: death on the one hand, eternal life on the other. The Pauline language and its thematic links to Romans 6 serves to embed this image within the Pauline coordinates of baptismal regeneration and its effects.

It is perhaps this Pauline connotation with baptism which threads this *signum* into the theology of monastic life. The connection between slavery to sin and the submission of the will in obedience would have had resounded immediately in monastic minds. Monastic theological tradition contrasted sinful service of the world with the peaceful obedience found (theoretically at least) only in the cloister. An anonymous treatise on monasticism written by a monk from Bec in the mid-twelfth century offers a just one insight into the central importance Bec monks gave to the voluntary renunciation of the world:

> Whoever truly advances, so that by rejecting earthly things he wishes to fulfil that precept about following the Lord, that is, 'and followeth me', is a monk. But how can anyone do this? When someone of his own free will dons the monastic habit which is the proper sign identifying him as one who has renounced the world, and those things which are worldly and then is blessed as the holy order requires, such a one is without doubt a monk.[50]

The identifier of a true monk, setting him apart from the pious layman, was the free relinquishing of his *voluntas propria.* Anselm's own horror for the world outside the cloister is exhibited in the vision which his biographer Eadmer recounts: 'caught up in the spirit in an ecstasy', Anselm saw 'a swift and turbulent river into which flowed all the purgings and filth of the whole earth' which was identified as 'the torrent of the

[50] *Tractatus de Professionibus Monachorum; The Profession of Monks,* in Constable (ed.), *Three Treatises from Bec on the Nature of Monastic Life*, trans. Bernard Smith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 44-45.

world by which worldly men are caught and drawn along'.[51] The implacable current which swept up powerless individuals against their will was contrasted with a vision of a 'great and spacious cloister' whose walls were 'most pure and shining silver': the order and beauty of the will under control, rightly directed and undisturbed. To remain in service of the world by resisting monastic obedience was, for Anselm, to choose interior chaos over true self-mastery. If monasticism is likened to a second baptism, the baptismal resonances of Anselm's Pauline references may have pointed straight to the cloister. The particular kind of death which was the fruit of slavery to sin could be resurrected only through the penitential 'immersion' of total obedience.

This monastic regeneration could not be simply skin deep. Anselm's Prayer to Benedict reveals a specifically monastic vice: the superficial appearance of obedience masking an interior worldly wilfulness. Before his heavenly abbot, Anselm confesses himself a 'false monk':

> Behold blessed Benedict…behold this good monk, who, with vices and fleshly concupiscence mortified, thus burns and lives solely by virtue! Rather, behold this false monk, who, with virtue extinguished, is thus ruled by a crowd of vices, and oppressed by a mass of sins![52]

The reference to the falsity of Anselm's monastic profession perhaps has its origin in the *Regula Benedicti,* whose first chapter distinguishes true monks from false by their obedience to a rule. The opening of the *Regula* inveighs against the 'sarabites'; rather than living under a rule to 'try them "as gold is tried in a furnace"', they eschew discipline and as a result have 'a character as soft as lead'.[53] The unchecked liberty of their will is at the heart of the worldliness which makes their monastic profession a lie:

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[51] *VA*, I.21, 35.
[52] SIII, *O*15, 63.32-36.
[53] *RB* 1.6, 168-169.

'their law is what they like to do, whatever strikes their fancy'.[54] Benedict describes this as 'lying by tonsure': 'still loyal to the world by their actions, they clearly lie to God by their tonsure (*mentiri Deo per tonsuram*)'.[55] This is the very sin of which Anselm accuses himself to his heavenly confessor:

> For I profess to lead a holy way of life, which I promised by way of the name and habit of a monk; but, having been exiled at a great distance from that life, I am found guilty by my own conscience of lying to God, angels and humans.[56]

The situation of lying *per tonsuram* represents a similar state of paralysis as that evoked by Anselm's *signum* of slavery. Trapped between an unavoidable evil and a seemingly impossible good, the monastic supplicant can neither fully profess himself a monk nor deny that he is one:

> Oh the pain, the anguish from all directions! For if I deny my great king and good master and my profession, it is death to me. But if I profess myself to be a soldier and disciple and monk, my life proclaims me to be a liar, and it is judgement to me.[57]

This interior worldliness which the *Regula Benedicti* condemns entails the kind of 'friendship with the world' identified in scripture as enmity with God (James 4:4). The theme of friendship which is so prominent in the Prayers to John the Evangelist includes Anselm's horror at the concept of being an enemy of God, and the cry for mercy from God's friends:

> Alas, that name to be cursed above all things, the name of 'enemy of God!'…Anguish: the truth of things convicts me as an enemy of God, and the immensity of horror prevents my confessing it… O merciful friends of God, have mercy on one so needy by that mercy which God showed to you. Come to my help, lest the wrath of God overwhelm me along with his enemies. I deny, I detest, I hate to be and be called his enemy, although I confess myself his sinner.[58]

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[54] *RB* 1.8, 170-171.
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] SIII, *O*15, 62.12-14.
[57] SIII, *O*15, 63.39-43.
[58] SIII, *O*11, 43.40-50.

The biblical atonymic coupling of slavery and friendship – friendship with Christ entailing freedom from slavery, and slavery to sin entailing friendship with the world – is closely identified with the appropriate submission of the will to the dictates of monastic obedience. Friendship with the world, then, which occasions enmity with God, is the state to which the monk who lies by his tonsure commits himself.

The *signum* of the *servus peccati* therefore points to another crucial feature of Anselm's prayers: the incapacitating disjunction which can sever appearance from fact. Where the *arbor infructuosa signum* had depicted the harmony between the essential character and its external moral manifestations, Anselm's prayers also encompass the gravity of the failure to act in accordance with the true spiritual state of affairs, a situation described very much like an entrapment. The sin of the monk secretly 'enslaved' to his own will hems him in from two sides. It is neither true to say that he *is* a monk in the fullest sense, but nor is it true to say that he is not. This is echoed powerfully in Anselm's Prayer on the Dedication of a Church, in which the supplicant presents himself to the church's patron in the appearance of an abbot, but without the moral life to witness it:

> For I am called master, but know it is not so. I am called pastor, but know it cannot be. I am called abbot, but that is not what I am. For they see me seated where the abbot sits, but I see that I do not do what an abbot does. They see me in a place of precedence like an abbot, but I see myself not living as an abbot. They show me the honours of abbot, but I do not show them the habits of an abbot. I do not yet lead a life of a good layman, yet they expect me to live in the manner of a monk. What have I done, this little man, this stinking worm, what have I done, what have I presumed to, what did I consent to?[59]

To be seen to be an abbot and a monk, but to fail to match the perception with the moral reality – to appear a man but to be instead a worm – evinces the disjunction between

[59] SIII, *O*17, 68.13-20.

what is, and what merely seems to be, the case. Failure to realise and respond appropriately to the true state of affairs highlights a fatal gap between what the sinner 'thinks' and 'what is'. However heinous the supplicant imagines his sins to be, it 'cannot be compared with what is'.[60] This noetic incapacity, which traps the sinner between the unfelt perils of his true situation and the inability to respond with the appropriate sorrow, is one aspect of the slavery which Anselm so richly depicts.

4.3. *In peccato conceptus et natus*

The fiftieth Psalm, containing the line 'For behold I was conceived in iniquities; and in sins did my mother conceive me' (Psalm 50:7), was for a Benedictine monk probably the most commonly-used Psalm in the Psalter. Those following the schema laid down by the *Regula Benedicti* would have greeted the sunrise with the *Miserere* every day at the office of Lauds.[61] Singing the fiftieth Psalm may have had a preparatory ring for followers of Lanfranc's *Constitutions*, associated with disposing oneself properly to perform a holy task. It was upon hearing the *Miserere* during Terce that those serving the morrow mass should begin to prepare for the Eucharistic liturgy.[62] As one of the seven penitential Psalms, it was efficacious in a quasi-sacramental way, recited as a personal penance, as 'supererogatory' prayer or as intercession for another.[63] Lanfranc recommends reciting the penitential Psalms at least four times a day: after Prime, and, as part of the *Trina Oratio* (the penitential Psalms split into three groups), before Matins, before Terce during wintertime and Prime during summertime, and after

[60] SIII, *Med* 1, 78.61-62.
[61] *RB* 12.2; 13.2, 206-209.
[62] *Ibid.,* 8.
[63] Irven M. Resnick, 'Peter Damian on Cluny, liturgy, and penance', *Journal of Religious History* 15 (1988), 70-74; Michael Driscoll, 'The Seven Penitential Psalms: Their Designation and Usage from the Middle Ages Onwards', *Ecclesia Orans,* 17 (2000), 153-201.

Compline.[64] The *Miserere* would have been particularly evocative of Holy Week, especially Good Friday, and the zenith of the liturgical year. Lanfranc's liturgical schedule stipulates the singing of the *Miserere* several times on Maundy Thursday and throughout Holy Week.[65] In the *Consuetudines Beccenses,* the monks are urged to recite the *Miserere* for their family members during the weeks of Lent, and it also appears in the rites for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday.[66] As words of confession, it would have struck at the intimate depths of personal prayer; as communal liturgical performance, it touched the very apex of Christianity's highest feasts.

Where the *servus peccati signum* encompassed the element of entrapment, torment and an enforced service from which there is no easy escape, and, along with the *arbor infructuosa,* depicted the sinner's failure to appreciate their true spiritual state as a kind of paralysis, Anselm uses a *signum* taken from this most penitential of Psalms to outline the ultimate cause of these calamities. In Anselm's *Meditatio redemptionis humanae,* written shortly after the *Cur Deus homo* as a devotional re-articulation of the dialogue's argument, the meditator considers the perils from which Christ's satisfaction has liberated him. 'Therefore, little man', the meditator addresses himself,

> Consider what [your saviour] was to you and what he became for you, and think that he did this for you, and how he is worthy of love…You were in darkness, on a slippery slope, sinking into the chaos of hell whence there is no return. A great and heavy weight hung about your neck and dragged you downwards; an insupportable load pressed upon you, invisible enemies thrust themselves on you with all their strength.[67]

The reason the sinner was not aware of his predicament was the ignorance of being 'conceived and born in sin':

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[64] For Lanfranc's monastic *horarium*, see Brooke, 'Introduction', xxiii-xxv.
[65] Lanfranc, *Constitutions,* 45; 54; 67.
[66] *CB,* 28; 42; 49.
[67] SIII, *Med* 3, 89.149-156.

> Thus you were, without any help, and you did not know it because you were thus conceived and born. Oh what was then coming to you, and where were you heading? Tremble to remember it, quake to think of it.[68]

The phrase 'conceived and born in sin' was a staple of Anselm's when considering where humanity had come from in the history of salvation, and where it was heading. In his Prayer to the Holy Cross, the supplicant reflects upon the futility of his existence if heading only for destruction:

> For what use is it to me that I was conceived and born, and live and enjoy all the goods of life, if I am to descend into hell afterwards? If this is going to happen to me, it would have been better if I was never conceived.[69]

The spiritual state in which the supplicant was 'conceived and born' is explicitly connected with original sin in the reference to its cleansing by baptism:

> See to it, I pray, that as you have cleansed me in baptism from my sins, in which I was conceived and born, so also re-cleanse me from those which I have contracted after I was reborn, so that through you I may arrive at that good for which humanity was created...[70]

Using the psalmic phrase to look back to the source of sin's slavery locates the roots of the sinner's predicament long before the conception and birth of the individual in the first sin of Adam.

In his Prayer to John the Baptist, however, the phrase 'conceived and born in sin' is used to refer both to the pre-baptismal darkness of original sin and the even murkier darkness of voluntary transgression.

> Alas, what have I made myself into? What was I, God, what did you make me to be, and what have I subsequently become? I was conceived and born in sins, but you washed me, you sanctified me, and I have dirtied myself yet worse. Then, I was necessarily born [in sin]; now [I sin] by free choice. I was conceived in sin without knowing it; now I am willingly open and full of it.[71]

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[68] SIII, *Med* 3, 90.159-170.
[69] SIII, *O*4, 12.38-41.
[70] SIII, *O*4, 12.52-56.
[71] SIII, *O*8, 26.19-23.

For monks using the Bec Missal, this particular Psalm would have been especially associated with death and rebirth; it was sung during the novice's rites of profession, as the novice ritually put his old life to death by prostrating himself before the altar, and also during the liturgy for funerals.[72] Yet while the psalmic phrase evokes the first fall of human nature, to revivified by baptism, Anselm seems to consider post-baptismal sin to precipitate the sinner even further than Adam originally fell. Where inherited sin from Adam is woeful, voluntarily recapitulating it is worse. Using the psalmic phrase *'in peccato conceptus et natus'* to look back at Adam's sin serves as a prompt to highlight the danger of individually reiterating it.

The *signum* of being 'conceived and born in sin' thereby parallels the unwitting ignorance of those under original sin with the wilful ignorance of those who sin voluntarily. For the Augustinian Anselm, this sort of ignorance constitutes the loss of original reason and the subsequent plunge into the blindness of insanity. The blind man of Matthew 15:14, whom Anselm references in his Prayer to Nicholas, is identified as a 'fool', unable to see what he ought and ought not to do: 'The blind man did not see the trench into which he fell, the fool thought he ought to do what he did'.[73] In his Prayer to Benedict, Anselm links the notion of blindness with that of freely willing contrary to reason, the act of a 'depraved mind':

> My depraved mind is swift and tireless in dragging me towards the useless and the harmful, but is disdainful and unmoved at the thought of salutary things. My soul is blinded and distorted, throwing itself freely into vice with ease and speed, but it remembers virtues only with difficulty and hesitation.[74]

[72] *BM,* 181; 203.
[73] SIII, *O*14, 58.110-111.
[74] SIII, *O*15, 62.20-25.

The madness of voluntary sin, Anselm seems to believe, consists in freely choosing the opposite of what the soul finds objectively beneficial. The individual's post-baptismal fall is therefore all the more senseless since he has first-hand experience of just how beneficial God's love has already been. In his Prayer to John the Baptist, Anselm once again twins the effect of original sin (this time without its psalmic tag) with the scandal of voluntary transgression:

> Good God, you had healed my soul from the wounds of my parents, and I impiously killed what was had been healed. Merciful Lord, you had stripped off the old garments of original sin and clothed me in the vestments of innocence, promising incorruptibility, and I, having thrown back at you what you had given, buried myself in sordid sins; having disdained that which you promised, I chose the sadness of eternal misery.[75]

It is this very insanity – the ludicrous preference for the objectively harmful over the objectively good – which hideously inverts the image of baptism, and, by extension, of monasticism. Where baptism (and its monastic consummation) likens the baptised to Christ in imitation of his death and resurrection, the free rejection of universal good likens the sinner instead to the one characterised by universal rejection. Instead of marking him with the *imago dei,* such an imitation stamps the sinner with a dreadful *imago diaboli.* The supplicant laments this inverted baptism:

> You reformed in me your lovely image, and I superimposed a hateful image over it; Alas, Alas, whose? Whose, miserable and demented little man, whose image did I superimpose over the image of God?[76]

This post-baptismal betrayal, since it was committed in full knowledge of God's grace, was even more culpable than Satan's original fall. The Prayer to John the Baptist continues with a litany of comparisons, each declaring the sinner's sin to be more

[75] SIII, *O*8, 27.25-29.
[76] SIII, *O*8, 27.31-33.

morally inexcusable than Satan's. The evil angel could only suspect the consequences of his rebellion; the sinner knowingly befouled what had been so laboriously cleansed:

> But he [the devil] sinned out of pride, with no-one previously having been punished for sin; I, having seen his punishment, contemptuously hurried into sin. He was once established in innocence; I was re-established in it. He was against the one who made him; I against the one who made and remade me. He deserted God, with God permitting it; I fled God, with God following after me. He perseveres in evil, with God condemning him; I ran into it with God calling me back. He was hardened when punished; I was hardened when coaxed. Although both are against God, he is against the one who did not require him, and I against the one who died for me. Oh unhappy, exceedingly unhappy little man – that is, if all my humanity has not slipped away, in whom such great evil has marched in. Behold, I was shuddering at the horror of his image, and I perceive myself to be in so many ways the more horrible.[77]

Anselm's use of the *signum* of *in peccato conceptus et natus* to point towards original sin thereby shines light vicariously upon an even worse predicament. This senseless use of freedom against one's own spiritual interest is identified as primordial irrationality whose closest analogue is the fall of the devil. It is this demonic imitation which accounts for the sinner's incomprehensible predilection to act voluntarily in sabotage of his own salvation. The epistemic consequences of sin, therefore, extend not only to the spiritual insensibility of failing to act in the light of baptismal renewal, or even to the failure to perceive that light in all its iridescence. It comprises the tacit alliance with the powers of destruction against the grace of recreation, and the irrationality of that alliance lies in its inevitable drive towards self-obliteration.

The *signa* which Anselm uses to describe the nature and effects of sin establish some of the key pillars of his theological imagination. First, as the *arbor infructuosa*

[77] SIII, *O*8, 27.34-45.

makes plain, the nature of sin has a double aspect: it entails both the absence of the good which ought to be, and the presence of the evil which ought not to be. The element of entrapment, witnessed in the *servus peccati*, demonstrates that this conundrum results in a paralysis, namely the Pauline tension (likened to incarceration and slavery) between not doing what one knows one ought, and doing what one knows one ought not. The predilection to do what one knows one ought not, that is, to act in contravention of what is truly the case, is a feature of the slavery to sin which constitutes the carnality, the fleshly weight which, in a monk, constituted a fatal alliance with 'the world', a lie *per tonsuram.* The disjunction between what is and what appears to be the case is pictured in the monk who claims to submit to obedience but instead follows his own will, revealing himself to be in imitation not of Christ, as his baptism and his tonsure declare, but of Satan, and a fellow enemy of God with the archetypal Enemy. Anselm's reference to original sin through the *signum* of *in peccato conceptus et natus* allows him to emphasise the cardinal importance he assigns to the will, identifying the free, voluntary, post-baptismal fall as an even greater calamity even than Adam's first trespass. Furthermore, these three *signa* reveal Anselm's conception of sin as a kind of entrapment in unreality. The sinner is somehow unable to act according to how things really are. The monastic resonances of these *signa* - particularly the penitential power of the *Miserere,* which Anselm's monastic readers would have recited daily for the confession and remission of their sins – may also point to a monastic remedy. Since conversion of the will is precisely what the monastic life was intended to achieve, a true appreciation of reality ought to become plainer as monastic discipline washes the dust of the world from the sinner's eyes.

5. *Graduale:* seeking God in the prayers and meditations

The *Graduale,* named for the steps which the priest ascended before the reading of the Gospel, represents a ritual approach towards the means of redemption.[1] It can serve as an analogy for the sinner's journey from the barrenness, incarceration and insanity of sin to the divinely-established locus of reconciliation. Anselm's primary metaphor for this movement is illumination.[2] The theological concept of light was a well-established staple of Anselm's intellectual inheritance. Illumination as an epistemological pathway belonged squarely within the tradition of Augustinian Neoplatonic metaphysics to which Anselm belonged.[3] Patristic exegesis, moreover, will have furnished him with a strong thematic association between light and knowledge. Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos,* commenting on the opening of Psalm 26 ('the Lord is my light and my salvation') interpreted the 'light' of the Psalm's first verse as the knowledge of God: 'the Lord will give me both knowledge of himself and salvation'.[4]

This Psalm, whose opening line, *Dominus illuminatio mea,* would also have acted as its title, contains some of Anselm's most characteristic refrains. Psalm 26:8-9 - '"Come," my heart says, "seek his face!" Your face, Lord, do I seek. Do not hide your face from me' (NRSV) – accompanies both the prayers' and the *Proslogion*'s search for theological knowledge. The Psalm's opening refrain, intoned by the cantor to indicate which Psalm was to be sung next, stood *pars pro toto*; upon hearing the words *Dominus illuminatio mea,* a monk's aural memory would have had no trouble in supplying the

[1] See Harper, *Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy,* 117.
[2] For Anselm's theory of illumination in context, see Schumacher, *Divine Illumination,* 66-84.
[3] See Katherin A. Rogers, *The Neoplatonic Metaphysics and Epistemology of Anselm of Canterbury* (Lewiston, N.Y.; Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997).
[4] Augustine, *Enarrationes,* Psalm 26:1, 1.3, I.270.

rest. This Psalm may also have held a liturgical association with holy preparation. The *Carmina Scripturarum* lists Psalm 26:8 both as a Lenten introit (for the second week of Lent) and as an introit for the Sunday within the octave of the Ascension.[5] The longing for illumination could be penitential, corresponding with the purifying sorrow of the Lenten season, or eschatological, glossing Christ's ascension with the hope of his future return. As an introit, this preparatory longing would accompany the opening rituals of the mass, drawing its participants towards a readiness for the coming divine encounter.

Evocations of the face of God, moreover, would have carried especial resonance for a Benedictine. In the *Regula*'s twelve-rung ladder of humility, a monk's first stage was to 'recall that he is seen by God in heaven, [and] that his actions everywhere are in God's sight'.[6] To know that all of one's actions, overt and hidden, good and evil, were beneath God's gaze was to take the first step on the path of holiness. Scriptural reminders of God's omnipercipience feature among the *Regula*'s most frequently quoted biblical references.[7] The illuminative themes of Psalm 26, therefore, may well have been swelled with metaphysical, liturgical and monastic associations in Anselm's mind. It is these *signa,* combining *Dominus illuminatio mea* and *vultum tuum requiro,* which lay bare Anselm's conception of the sinner's journey out of sin's obscurity and incapacity towards the knowledge and vision of God.

5.1. *Dominus illuminatio mea*

In the opening lines of his Prayer to Christ, Anselm addresses Christ as '*illuminatio mea':*

> My light (*illuminatio mea*), you see my conscience, because, Lord, all my desire is before you (Psalm 37:10), and it is you who grants it if my soul wills something good.[8]

[5] *CS*, 97.
[6] *RB* 7.13, 194-195.
[7] *RB* 4.49; 7.13, 184-185; 7.26, 216; 7.27, 217.
[8] SIII, *O*2, 6.14-15.

Although Anselm refers to Christ as 'my light' (*illuminatio*) and, a few lines earlier, 'my salvation' (*salus*), the reference to Psalm 26:1 ('*Dominus illuminatio mea et salus mea*') is missing from Schmitt's notes. Its inclusion is critical, however, as it serves as the basis upon which the rest of the prayer will proceed. It is Christ's designation as the supplicant's 'salvation' and 'redemption' which identifies Christ as the 'goal' and purpose of the prayer itself:

> Lord Jesus Christ, my redemption, my mercy, my salvation (*salus mea*)…My life, the goal I aim towards, although I have not yet merited to love you as much as I ought, at least I desire you as much as I ought to love.[9]

Anselm's first Prayer to Mary also names Christ as '*illuminatio'* and '*salus'*. The supplicant addresses Mary as the 'mother of the illumination of my heart, nurse of the salvation of my mind'.[10] Proximity to Mary enables the supplicant's 'darkness' to be 'illumined' by the light she carried in her womb.[11] Anselm's association of *Dominus* and *illuminatio* was apparently so strong that he modified other scriptural references to underscore the connection. His Prayer for Enemies includes an echo of Christ's words, 'I am the way, the truth and the life' (John 14:6), but in Anselm's version of the triplet, 'way' is replaced by 'light':

> You who are true light, illuminate [my enemies'] blindness. You who are ultimate truth, correct their errors. You who are true life, vivify their souls.[12]

This *signum* serves to establish Christ as that creative light by whose illumination the prayer takes shape. Just as the human eye (in Anselm's understanding of optics) sees by emitting a beam of light, so the light emitted by the divine eye is

[9] SIII, *O*2, 6.4-13.
[10] SIII, *O*7, 18.18.
[11] SIII, *O*7, 19.20-21.
[12] SIII, *O*19, 73.19-21.

actively creative.[13] In his *Meditatio redemptionis humanae,* Anselm identifies Christ as the 'sun', the unknown source of light revealing to the sinner the extent of his plight:

> O good Lord Jesus Christ, that was my state, neither asking nor imagining that you, like the sun, illumined me, and showed me what I was like.[14]

Having named Christ as the initiator of prayer, Anselm's prayer to Christ continues with a plea that Christ also enable and effectuate it:

> Hope of my heart, strength of my soul, help of my weakness, may your most powerful kindness complete what my most tepid stupidity attempts.[15]

It is only by the light of Christ's presence that prayer is able profitably to unfold. The prayer to Christ also hints that it is expedient not only for the salvation of the sinner, but also for the fitting integrity of God's grace, that the issue of divine illumination should not come to nothing:

> If there is good, Lord, you inspire it – rather, because there is good, give what you made me desire in order that I might desire to love you; grant that I may merit to love you as much as you command. I give praise and thanks to you for the desire which you have inspired; I offer praise and prayers, lest your gift, which you freely gave, be unfruitful to me. Perfect what you have begun, give that which you, by your goodness, preceding and unmerited, made me desire.[16]

Christ's psalmic identification with both 'light' and 'salvation' therefore not only establishes him as the initiator and consummator of prayer. It also implicates God's own integrity and the fulfilment of his plans in the supplicant's success.

[13] For a brief summary of Anselm's ideas concerning physical perception, see Hopkins, *Companion,* 137-139.
[14] SIII, *Med* 3, 90.159-160.
[15] SIII, *O*2, 6.10-11.
[16] SIII, *O*2, 6.14–7.20.

5.2. *Dominus illuminatio mea* and *vultum tuum requiro*

Anselm frequently expresses the desire for Christ's illuminating presence in terms of the psalmic longing for the 'face of God'. His Prayer to Christ features unmistakable references to Psalm 26:8-9 – the Psalm which begins with the words *Dominus illuminatio mea* – using the liturgy's '*vultum*' rather than the Vulgate's '*faciem*':

> I wish for you, I hope for you, I seek you. To you my heart has said: 'I seek your face (*vultum tuum*); your face, lord, do I seek (Psalm 26:8); do not turn your face from me' (Psalm 26:9).[17]

The phrase '*tibi dixit cor meum, exquisivit te facies mea; faciem tuam, Domine, requiram',* appears in the Bec Missal as an introit used during the second week of Lent; perhaps if Anselm knew it from this context, it would carry resonances of penitential desire and purification.[18] Indeed, many of Anselm's scriptural allusions to God's 'face' could have borne penitential associations. 'Gaze on my tears of bereavement and widowhood, which I offer to you until you return' the Prayer to Christ implores, continuing:

> Now come, Lord, appear to me, and I will be consoled. Show me your face, and I will be saved (Psalm 79:4; 8; 20). Manifest your presence, and I will realise my desire. Reveal your glory, and my joy will be perfected.[19]

Similar psalmic laments for the loss of God's face mark many other passages of Anselm's prayers: 'If God turns his face from me, who will turn his to me?' (Psalm 12:1, Psalm 26:9), he asks St Nicholas, 'where can I go from your spirit and where can I flee from your face?' (Psalm 138:7).[20] Adherents of the *Regula*'s scheme of weekly psalmody would have sung the refrain from Psalm 138 at Vespers every Thursday as the sun went down.[21] In the Bec Missal, the phrase '*ne avertis faciem tuam'* is listed as a gradual

[17] SIII, *O*2, 9.77-79.
[18] *BM,* 35.
[19] SIII, *O*2, 9.83-86.
[20] SIII, *O*14, 55.20-21, 60.152-153.
[21] *RB* 18.16, 214-215.

during Holy Week, and the *Carmina Scripturarum* includes '*ostende nobis faciem tuam*' as an antiphon and responsary used during Advent and Lent, the seasons of longing, penance, and preparation.[22]

The turning (*versio*) of God's face and the turning (*conversio*) of the monk's life away from the world was also a well-established monastic trope. A renewed emphasis on *conversio* (or *conversatio*) *morum,* which Timothy Fry translates as 'fidelity to monastic life', was a characteristic feature of reform-minded monasticism.[23] Along with the promise of stability and obedience, the vow to ongoing conversion marked entry into the monastery, that 'second baptism' of spiritual transformation.[24] Biblical exhortations to 'convert' also bookend the season of Lent in Lanfranc's *Constitutions*. '*Convertemini ad me'* (Joel 2:12) appears among the readings for Ash Wednesday, and the psalmic cry of '*converte nos'* was sung on Maundy Thursday along with the *Miserere.*[25] Both the Bec Missal and the *Consuetudines Beccenses* list Joel 2:12 among the readings for Ash Wednesday, and the latter also for Passion Sunday, the fifth Sunday of Lent.[26] In the monastic life of 'continual Lent', the scriptural call to constant conversion, turning away from sin towards the light of God's face, was the monk's particular vocation.

The *signum* of Christ as the prayers' *illuminatio* thus relates to another *signum, vultum tuum requiro,* the seeking of God's face*.* Together, these two *signa* evoke the themes of longing, recognising, converting and perceiving clearly which populate Anselm's devotional writings. For Anselm, the illumination of God's face, or God's 'gaze', is painfully restorative, spotlighting for sinners the woeful state of their souls. The light

[22] *BM,* 60; *CS,* 172.
[23] Fry, 'Monastic Formation and Profession', in *RB 1980,* 459-463.
[24] *RB* 58.17, 268-269.
[25] Lanfranc, *Constitutions,* 29; 45.
[26] *BM,* 23; *CB,* 23; 79.

of God's face not only initiates the act of prayer, but also enables Christians to see plainly the ascending or descending trajectory of their moral actions. It is clear from Anselm's correspondence that he considered it vitally important to consider whether each action was propelling the soul towards heaven or towards hell.[27] A turn away from sin, as he advised Basilia, one of the women living semi-monastically in the vicinity of Bec, was a turn towards God:

> For this reason, a Christian man and a Christian woman should consider carefully in each of their desires or actions whether they are ascending or descending; and they should embrace with their whole heart those things in which they see themselves ascending. Those things, however, in which they perceive themselves descending they should flee and abhor just as they would hell.[28]

In his prayers, the saints' gaze has a similar effect to God's, reflecting the sinner's own uncleanliness in the mirror of the saints' purity. As the supplicant urges his own soul in the Prayer to John the Baptist,

> Flee, flee, I know not what horrible substance, flee from yourself, having been terrified by yourself. But alas! You cannot flee from yourself. Therefore you cannot look at yourself, because you cannot tolerate yourself. For if you could tolerate it without the horror of grief, you would not be able tolerate the fact that you could tolerate it.[29]

Unable to flee, and dreading to close his eyes against it, the prospect of viewing his own sinful aspect entails utmost distress for the sinner. The paralysis analogous to the *servus peccati*'s predicament appears again here; trapped between two seemingly impossible scenarios, the sinner can neither look at himself, nor look away:

> But behold it is worse if I do not see myself. Then I deceive myself. O exceedingly grave trouble! If I look at myself, I cannot tolerate myself; if I do not look at myself, I do not know myself. If I consider myself, my face terrifies me, if I do not consider myself, my

[27] *Ep.* 414, III.185.
[28] *Ep.* 420, III.192.
[29] SIII, *O*8, 27.46-49.

> condemnation deceives me. If I look at myself, the horror is intolerable. If I do not look, death is inevitable.[30]

The sinner faces a similar paradox under the saint's gaze, with the desire to be illuminated fighting with the horror at what the light might reveal. 'O blessed above women', Anselm declares in his first Prayer to Mary:

> my dying spirit pants after the gaze of such goodness, but blushes before the face of such brightness.[31]

In the light of a comparison with Mary's purity, the sinner sees himself as if through the saint's eyes:

> For I desire, lady, to ask you, that you might cure the wounds and ulcers of my sins by your look of mercy, but I am confounded before you by the stench and filth of them. I shudder, lady, to appear before you in my uncleanliness and horrors, lest you shudder at me on their account, and I cannot – woe is me! – be seen without them.[32]

The knowledge of oneself, then, is undoubtedly an illuminative gift, but knowing oneself to be caught between two dreadful alternatives is no less an aspect of judgement:

> And surely this, God's culprit, is justly caught between bad and worse; an exceedingly evil person between something exceedingly evil and something exceedingly evil. It is justly done, it is justly done, my just judge.[33]

In Pranger's words, the monk's existential state is characterised by this 'density', unmitigated by the relief of neutral territory between the painful light of judgement and the more calamitous darkness of ignorance.[34] The mercy which allows the sinner to apprehend the immediacy of God's illuminating presence also entails the judgement which demands an appropriate response to the newly-apparent depths of sin.

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[30] SIII, *O*8, 28.54-58.
[31] SIII, *O*5, 13.25-14.26.
[32] SIII, *O*5, 14.26-30.
[33] SIII, *O*8, 28.74-75.
[34] Pranger, *Artificiality,* 35, 100.

Indeed, the luminosity of recognition associated with the light of God's face is also found in the saints themselves. The saints are the ones whose brightness effects a 'showing' of Christ to the world and of sinners to themselves.[35] Bearing Christ within herself, Mary can 'show' him to creation:

> You showed the world its Lord and its God whom it did not know, and presented the world with the sight of its creator which it previously had not seen.[36]

She carries illumination to a world 'thrown into darkness' because 'from [her] alone arose its light'.[37] Even the saint's face, like God's, has a sort of illuminating efficacy. In Anselm's second Prayer to John the Evangelist, the supplicant presents the saint with the saint's 'own words' (1 John 3:17) - 'How does God's love abide in anyone who has the world's goods (*substantiam*) and sees a brother or sister in need and yet refuses help?' (NRSV) – and thrusts himself before the saint's eyes, confident that to be seen is to be assisted:

> Soul, my soul, gather up all your affection and thrust yourself before his face. Cry, groan out of heartfelt love in his sight: 'you see me'. Repeat again, and importunely: 'you see me, and see me!'[38]

Like God's, the light of the saint's gaze conveys a certain kind of knowledge. To be looked at and known by the saint allows the sinner to look at and know himself:

> John, surely you see, you see me. Therefore, look at me. Master, you see me by knowing me; look at me by having mercy on me. You see and know; see, that I might know. You see and know my need; see, that I might know your goodness. Look at me, look at me, for you see me.[39]

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[35] For the saints' role in making God 'visible', see Fulton Brown, 'Anselm and Praying with the Saints', in *Studies on Medieval Empathies*, ed. Karl F. Morrison and Rudolph M. Bell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 115-138.
[36] SIII, *O*7, 20.56-57.
[37] SIII, *O*7, 20.62-63.
[38] SIII, *O*12, 48.103-105.
[39] SIII, *O*12, 48.106-109.

The saint thereby becomes a prism through which the light of God's face can filter through to the sinner.

The psalmic longing for the sight of God's face may have had one further association for Anselm. Cassiodorus' commentary on Psalm 26:8 makes a direct connection between the desire for a sight of God's face and Jesus's saying in Matthew 5:8, 'blessed are the poor in heart, for they shall see God':

> The heart reveals its silent longing…The man who lives a holy life sees the face of the Lord; of such men scripture says, 'Blessed are the pure of heart, for they shall see God'.[40]

Augustine's comment on Psalm 26:8 in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* does the same:

> To whom does our heart say, I have sought your face? Only to him who offers himself to the eyes of the heart…But you want to behold the light which is seen by the eyes of the heart, because God is that light itself?…Do you aspire to see that light? Make your eye clean, so that you can see it, because 'blessed are the clean of heart, for they shall see God'.[41]

Anselm's Prayer to Stephen seems to echo this connection. Taking his inspiration from the story of Stephen's martyrdom in Acts 7, in which Stephen raises his eyes to heaven, his face shining 'like an angel', and sees a vision of Christ enthroned, the supplicant addresses the martyr:

> hitherto on earth you radiated such a light of holiness, your venerable face shone with angelic dignity; that you gleamed with such purity of heart, that your blessed eyes saw God in his glory.[42]

Although Jesus's words in Matthew 5:8 are not quoted directly, it is clear that Stephen can 'see God' because of his 'purity of heart'. Fostering purity of heart so as to attain the vision of God was considered by John Cassian to be the entire goal of monastic life.[43] The

[40] Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum,* ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 97 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), trans. P. G. Walsh as *Explanation of the Psalms,* 3 volumes (New York: Paulist Press, 1990-1), Psalm 26.178-183, I.267.
[41] Augustine, *Enarrationes,* Psalm 26:2, 15.6-11, I.284.
[42] SIII, *O*13, 50.6-8.
[43] Cassian, *Conferences,* 1.4.3, 43.

notion of Christ as '*illuminatio*', combined with the 'conversion' of the sinner by the light of God's face, may have also carried a crucial association between inner purity, the knowledge and vision of God, and the primary calling of the monk.

These *signa* of illumination and conversion indicate that for Anselm, the light of God's gaze (identified as the creating and recreating presence of Christ) was inescapably immanent. As *Dominus illuminatio mea* implied, each prayer is initiated and consummated by this light; without it, neither supplicant nor supplication would exist. The ubiquity of divine illumination conveys the kind of self-knowledge which relentlessly precludes any neutral moral territory. The pain of recognition which comes with finding oneself thus exposed is experienced both as a mercy and as a judgement by the supplicant in Anselm's prayers. It is therefore by the seeking of 'God's face' by the illumination of his already-present 'light' that the sinner is to be restored. Yet for all the inescapable 'density' of this illuminative presence, it is still possible to turn away from it. Anselm is committed both to the totalizing luminosity of God's truth and also to the possibility that even the clearest facets of that truth might remain opaque to the sinner's comprehension. Finally, the path to true perception – to seeing all things illumined by an awareness of God's light - is accessed via monastic conversion and trodden by monastic purity. The saints act as testifiers that progress on this monastic path away from sin's darkness and incapacity corresponds with the clarity with which the sinner begins to perceive himself, his sin, and the world rightly, that is, by the light of God's presence.

6. *Domine, non sum dignus:* redemption in the prayers and meditations

The phrase '*Domine, non sum dignus*' is taken from Jesus's interaction with a Roman centurion (Matthew 8:5-13). Pleading for his sick servant, the centurion assures Jesus that a journey to the sickbed is not necessary, saying 'Lord, I am not worthy to have you come under my roof; but only speak the word, and my servant will be healed' (NRSV). This confession of the centurion, 'Lord, I am not worthy', made its way into the liturgy of the Eucharist, and the threefold repetition of *domine, non sum dignus* after the consecration of the elements was already widespread by the eleventh century.[1] Anselm's own Prayer on Receiving the Body and Blood of the Lord contains an echo of this phrase:

> I confess, Lord, that I am exceedingly unworthy (*quia nimis sum indignus*) to approach and touch [the Eucharistic elements].[2]

The pairing of worthiness and unworthiness also appears in his second Prayer to John the Evangelist, which twins the phrase '*non sum dignus*' with '*non es indignus*' to describe what is respectively unfitting to humans and to God:

> I know, Lord, I know and confess that I am not worthy that you should love me, but at least you are not unworthy that I should love you.[3]

His third Prayer to Mary employs similar wordplay:

> Lord, Son of my lady; lady, mother of my Lord, if I am not worthy (*si ego non sum dignus*) that I might thus be blessed by your love, at least you are not unworthy of it – rather, you deserve to be loved more. Therefore, most kind one, do not thus deny me, who begs you, that which I confess myself unworthy of (*me confiteor*

[1] Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite,* II.355-359.
[2] SIII, *O*3, 10.9.
[3] SIII, *O*12, 46.31-33.

> *indignum*)…Give me, I say - I who am unworthy (*sum indignus*) - so that something worthy of you may be given back to you.[4]

In this phrase, Anselm hints that the approach to God, whether in Eucharistic communion or in search of healing, is to be presaged by a humble declaration of unworthiness. Indeed, the Bec Missal includes the parable of the centurion's servant as a reading during the first week of Lent.[5]

The concept of self-abasement loomed large in Anselm's imagination. Humility was a definitive aspect of Benedictine spirituality. The chapter outlining the twelve degrees of humility is the longest chapter in the *Regula Benedicti.*[6] When the monk 'not only admits with his tongue but is also convinced in his heart that he is inferior to all and of less value', he adopts the interior posture which should order all of his other spiritual and social interactions.[7] Ritual acts of self-mortification abound in the *Regula,* from the prostration of the errant monk wishing to be reconciled to the bowed head and diminutive bearing accompanying the twelfth step of humility.[8] The permeable boundary which existed between liturgy and everyday monastic life meant that rites of humility flowed from one to the other. A fault committed in the kitchen or the cloister could see the monk barred from reading or cantoring in church, forced to prostrate himself during the office, or prohibited from worship.[9] The performance of appropriate humility rituals was a central cog in the functioning of the cloister's social cohesion. It was the mechanism restoring right order whenever that order was subverted, both horizontally, in relation to a disturbed communal harmony, and vertically, in relation to God.

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[4] SIII, *O7*, 24.163-171.
[5] *BM,* 24.
[6] *RB* 7, 190-203.
[7] *RB* 7.51, 198-199.
[8] *RB* 7.62-6, 200-201.
[9] *RB* 24, 221.

The redemptive power of monastic humility, summed up in this chapter by the phrase '*domine, non sum dignus',* constitutes an overlooked aspect of Anselm's reflections on atonement. While some scholars have highlighted the Benedictine roots of Anselm's soteriological thought, the metaphor of debt and recompense (almost universally considered Anselm's distinguishing feature) tends to overshadow any other redemptive motifs in his writings.[10] The *signa* in this section uncover some crucial images of redemption, first through the *signum* '*qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur',* and then through the *signum 'bonus pastor',* which the majority of secondary accounts overlook.

6.1. *Qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur*

The language of self-abasement favoured by the *Regula* is taken, at least in part, from the parable of the Pharisee and the publican (Luke 18:9-14). It is the publican's humility, beating his breast, confessing himself to be a sinner, and asking God for mercy (*Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori*) which distinguishes him from the proud self-assurance of the Pharisee and furnishes the key to his justification. The Lukan text provides its own interpretative gloss - 'whoever exalts himself will be humbled, and whoever humbles himself will be exalted' – a quotation which bookends the *Regula*'s long chapter on the twelve steps of humility.[11] 'Brothers', the *Regula*'s seventh chapter begins, 'divine scripture calls to us saying, "Whoever exalts himself shall be humbled, and whoever humbles himself shall be exalted"'.[12] The final rung of the ladder of

[10] Guy Mansini, 'St. Anselm, "satisfaction", and the Rule of St. Benedict', *Revue bénédictine*, 97 (1987), 101-121; David Whidden III, 'The Alleged Feudalism of Anselm's Cur Deus Homo and the Benedictine Concepts of Obedience, Honor, and Order', *Nova et Vetera,* 9 (2011), 1055-1087. I am grateful to David Whidden for personal conversations on this subject.
[11] This phrase appears several other times in the Gospels, once in the context of Jesus' banquet at the house of a Pharisee (Luke 14:11), and once amid Jesus' invective against the Pharisees (Matt 23:12).
[12] *RB* 7.1, 191.

humility, that the monk match a humble heart with a humble outward bearing, directly references the Gospel's publican:

> Judging himself always guilty on account of his sins, he should consider that he is already at the fearful judgement, and constantly say in his heart what the publican in the Gospel said with downcast eyes: 'Lord, I am a sinner, not worthy to look up to heaven'.[13]

Crucially, this seventh chapter of the *Regula* reverses conventional notions of ascent and descent in its consideration of humility and pride. The ladder's twelve steps are scaled as the climber progresses in humility:

> If we want to reach the highest summit of humility, if we desire to attain that exaltation in heaven to which we climb by the humility of this present life, then by our actions we must set up that ladder on which Jacob in a dream saw 'angels descending and ascending' (Genesis 28:12).[14]

Going up, however, is only accomplished by going down: 'without doubt, this descent and ascent can signify only that we descend by exaltation and ascend by humility'.[15] The descending motion of 'humbling oneself' is the key to the 'exaltation' of redemption which ought to be the goal of monastic life.

This inverted arc, encapsulated by the phrase *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur,* must have been intimately familiar to Anselm. He considered this Gospel axiom one of scripture's primary condemnations of pride. Writing to the monk Conus in around 1103, Anselm cites *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* as one of the Revealed Bible's authoritative pronouncements against the sin of self-aggrandisement:

> Against…pride numerous sayings can be found in Holy Scripture if you look for them. Against all of them it is said: 'He who exalts himself will be humbled' and 'God resists the proud' (Jeremiah 4:6) and many others.[16]

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[13] *RB* 7.64-6, 200-201.
[14] *RB* 7.5-6, 192-193.
[15] *RB* 7.7, 192-193.
[16] *Ep.* 285, II.295.

The reader of Anselm's prayers and meditations can easily trace the pattern of abasement-followed-by-ascent. Anselm's Prayer to God, paralleling the structure of the *Pater Noster,* opens with the Gospel publican's words: 'Omnipotent God and merciful father and good Lord, "have mercy on me, a sinner" (Luke 18:13)'.[17] In this prayer, the supplicant begs God to grant him continued ascent by way of humility:

> In everything, for your sake, [may I have] pure actions and thoughts, sober, and devoted, with a true and effective mind; a knowledge of, love of, delight in your statutes, ready to carry them out. Always, Lord, [may I] achieve higher with humility, and fail in nothing.[18]

Anselm even produced his own versions of the degrees of humility (with seven stages, rather than the *Regula'*s twelve) which his disciples remembered well enough to record.[19] This trajectory, filtering freely between the altar, the cloister and the page, is what the *signum 'qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur'* encapsulates.

6.2. *Qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* and *obediens usque ad mortem*

One scriptural passage which Anselm entwines with this *signum* of *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* is a the famous 'Philippian hymn' (Philippians 2:6-11) to Christ,

> Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God:
> But emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man.
> He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross.
> For which cause God also hath exalted him, and hath given him a name which is above all names…

Philippians 2:6-11, sometimes known as the 'kenosis hymn' ('kenosis' being the 'self-emptying' experienced by Christ in his Incarnation and Passion), is traditionally

[17] SIII, *O*1, 5.3-4.
[18] SIII, *O*1, 5.9-6.12.
[19] *De Humanis Moribus,* 101-8, 81.

embedded in liturgical expressions of the cross and its meaning. The phrase *'Christus factus est pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis'* appeared in the liturgy of Passion Sunday, and in the Bec Missal it is listed as a gradual for Palm Sunday and Maundy Thursday.[20] The *Carmina Scripturarum* points to the tradition of weaving this passage throughout the liturgies of the sacred Triduum, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday.[21] It was also sung as the gradual during the mass on Maundy Thursday, and recited after the Psalms in the canonical hours of the three holy days leading up to Easter Sunday.[22] Anselm could scarcely have avoided associating this passage with the crucifixion; it featured in the feasts of the 'Invention' ('finding') and 'Exaltation' of the Holy Cross, whose liturgies had been gradually standardising from the Carolingian period onwards, and, for users of the Bec Missal, in the votive mass of the cross.[23] Anselm would also have known that Christ's identity as the one who 'humbled himself' and became 'obedient unto death' was central to the *Regula*'s third stage of humility, the stage which concerns obedience to a monastic superior:

> The third step of humility is that a man submits to his superior in all obedience for the love of God, imitating the Lord of whom the Apostle says, 'He became obedient even unto death'.[24]

The Philippian hymn directly points to a Christological prototype for the trajectory of self-abasement-followed-by-exaltation which was so central to monastic practice.

The phrase *obediens usque ad mortem* seems to have indicated for Anselm totality of commitment, especially monastic commitment. Two letters which he wrote to Ernulf, abbot of Troarn from 1088 until 1112, urge obedience 'unto death' particularly in relation to the vows and responsibilities of an abbot. In the first letter, written when

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[20] *BM,* 57; 62.
[21] *CS,* 511-513.
[22] *Ibid. BM,* 35; 40.
[23] *BM,* 194; 248; *CB,* 125; 147. See Van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross,* 156-157.
[24] *RB* 7.34, 196-197.

Anselm was still at Bec, Anselm advises that Ernulf need not give Bishop Odo of Bayeux (d. 1097) the extra oath of obedience the bishop demanded, since the vow of obedience '*usque ad mortem*' taken by every Benedictine should be sufficient for all subsequent superiors.[25] Later, as archbishop, Anselm advised Ernulf not to foreswear the administration of the community which he had vowed to serve 'unto death' unless his health absolutely demanded it.[26] Both letters use the phrase to evoke the totalising obedience promised by the monastic vow, an obedience which could free Ernulf (from a personal profession to Odo) as readily as bind him (to his community). In Anselm's third Prayer to Mary, this total commitment is attributed supremely to Christ. Here, Christ's love is described as enduring 'unto death', as the supplicant begs Jesus and his mother to advocate on his behalf to one other:

> Lover of humanity and giver of mercy, you could love your accusers even unto death (*usque ad mortem*)– can you refuse the one you love, the one who implores you, the one who is your mother?[27]

The monk's obedience 'unto death' is to take its totality from Christ's limitless love.

More commonly in the prayers and meditations, the Philippian hymn is used to endorse a particular aspect of Christ's passion's redemptive efficacy. Anselm's theological environs, including Bec's library, would have schooled him in the various patristic models of redemption, including that of 'recapitulation'.[28] Recapitulation, whereby the wrong committed by Adam, the first 'head' of the human race, is undone by Christ, the second 'head', includes the notion that the steps taken by sinful humanity should be retraced in order for humanity to be restored. The phrase *usque ad mortem*

[25] *Ep.* 123, I.293.
[26] *Ep.* 425, III.198-200.
[27] SIII, *O*7, 25.191-193.
[28] For Greek patristic influences in Anselm's atonement theories, see Gasper, *Theological Inheritance,* 157-188.

often accompanies passages in Anselm's prayers and meditations which describe this recapitulative pattern, where treading a path of abasement is followed by an ascending return via the same path. Addressing the Holy Cross, the supplicant rejoices that the means by which the greatest evil was perpetrated was also the same means by which the greatest triumph was achieved:

> They [Christ's killers] chose you [the cross] so that they might perpetrate their evil impiety; he chose you, so that by you his work of piety might be finished. They, that by you a just man might be handed over to death; he, that by you he might deliver sinners from death. They, that they might kill life, he, that he might destroy death.[29]

Christ descends via the path of death so as to return, ascending, via the same path, now the path of life:

> They [chose the cross] so that they might kill the living one; he so that he might bring life to the dead. They stupidly and cruelly, he wisely and mercifully. Therefore, wonderful cross, you are not to be judged according to the intention of cruel stupidity, but according to the effect of his merciful wisdom.[30]

This recapitulative triumph is closely followed by an extended and unmistakable reference to the Philippian hymn, the scriptural expression of this pattern of kenosis:

> By you God, the Son of God, willed to be obedient to his father 'unto death' (*usque ad mortem*) for us, for the sake of which he was exalted and received the name which is above every name.[31]

The Philippian *signum* of *obediens usque ad mortem* occurs where the process of redemption mirrors, retraces and corrects the process of perdition.

This pattern of *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* is perhaps most evident in Anselm's third meditation, the *Meditatio redemptionis humanae.* Here, the language of the Philippian hymn recurs with some frequency. Enquiring why Christ's death was able

[29] SIII, *O*4, 11.15-19.
[30] SIII, *O*4, 11.19-23.
[31] SIII, *O*4, 12.30-32.

to secure human reconciliation, the meditator uses the Philippian phrase '*humiliavit semetipsum':*

> Was it that another necessity forced the Most High to 'humble himself' in this way, the Omnipotent one to labour so much in order to do something?[32]

Christ's death was not required by the Father, the meditator goes on to conclude, but by keeping hold of the 'good will' the Father had given him, Christ could still be said to lay down his life out of obedience. This point is demonstrated by pairing the Philippian reference to obedience 'unto death' with a reference to the 'cup' given him in Gethsemane:

> For it was in this way that he was made obedient to the father even unto death (*usque ad mortem*), and as the father commanded, so he did (John 14:31), and the cup which his father gave, so he drank (Matthew 26:39; 42).[33]

Christ's endurance 'unto death' was intimately connected for Anselm both with the total commitment required by monastic obedience and with the process of redemption which Christ's passion effected. The obedience of Christ in 'humbling himself' is what reverses the disobedience of Adam, just as, in the prologue to the *Regula,* 'the labour of obedience will bring [the monk] back to him from whom you drifted through the sloth of disobedience'.[34] The *signum* of *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* establishes Christ's recapitulative descent into humility at the heart of his redemptive work, and of the monastery's redemptive purpose.

[32] SIII, *Med* 3, 86.59-61.
[33] SIII, *Med* 3, 88.116-118.
[34] *RB* Prologue.1, 157.

6.3. *Qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* and *ego pono animam meam*

Another *signum* referencing Christ's death mirrors the trajectory of *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur*. In John 10:17-19, Jesus depicts the pattern of his redemptive death by stating that the laying down of his life would be followed by his freely taking it up again:

> for this reason the Father loves me, because I lay down my life (*ego pono animam meam*) in order to take it up again. No one takes it from me, but I lay it down of my own accord. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it up again (NRSV).

Christ's references to 'laying down his life', which occur several times in the Gospel of John, were liturgically associated with the resurrection; both the *Carmina scripturarum* and the Bec Missal point to the use of John 10:11 ('The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep') as an antiphon or responsary for the second Sunday of Easter.[35] This 'laying down' and 'taking up' seems to have sketched out for Anselm a similar redemptive pattern to that of the Philippian hymn. In the *Meditatio redemptionis humanae,* the meditator pairs the downward motion of the sinner's state of 'incurvatus' with the 'raising up' effected by the gift of Christ's own life:

> You threw off the weight which dragged me down, you removed the burden which pressed upon me, you drove off my oppressors and faced them down on my behalf. You called me by a new name which you gave me from your own name, and you raised me up who was bowed down (*incurvatum*) towards the sight of you, saying 'Take heart, I have redeemed you; I have given my life for you'.[36]

In the Prayer upon Receiving the Body and Blood of the Lord, the supplicant intertwines the liturgical confession of unworthiness (*Domine, non sum dignus*) with the Johannine 'laying down' of Christ's life:

> I confess, Lord, that I am exceedingly unworthy (*quia nimis sum indignus*) to approach and touch [the Eucharistic elements], but putting my trust in that compassion by which you laid down your life for sinners (*animam tuam ponens*), that they might be made

[35] *CS,* 469; *BM,* 78-79.
[36] SIII, *Med* 3, 90.160-164.

> just, and in that holy victim which you willed to be sacrificed to the father, I, a sinner, presume to receive it, that by it I may be justified.[37]

This prayer, a meditation before communion, makes it clear that it is this 'laying down', followed by a triumphant 'taking up again', which constitutes the focal point of Christ's redemptive action.

Indeed, Anselm's depictions of the saints witness his conviction that this downward-motion is both Christoform and salvific. Recalling the Hebrew prophets Elijah and Elisha, who revived the dead by lying on top of them, limb to limb (1 Kings 17:17-24; 2 Kings 4:18-37), Anselm's Prayer to Paul depicts the saint stooping to solidarity with the spiritually dead. Just as Elijah and Elisha, 'in order to raise the dead, united themselves with the dead, limbs joined to limbs, life joined to death', so Paul, who proclaimed himself to be 'all things to all men' (1 Corinthians 9:19-23), could do the same.[38] Participating in Christ's humility through identification with 'all men', the saint could thereby participate in Christ's resurrecting power. The sinner's hope for revivification, then, is founded in the hope that someone spiritually alive should descend to identify himself with the corpse:

> Master, [Paul], you say that you became all to all, so that you might win all. Friend of God, the example of others makes me presume, your words encourage me to confidence. I will say, therefore, master, I will say, 'master, master, come down to this dead man, stretch yourself above this dead man, make yourself not dead, but like that dead man. May this dead man be warmed by the touch of your compassionate care; may this dead man be revived by the effect of your power, that, alive, he might glorify God and you.[39]

[37] SIII, *O*3, 10.9-12.
[38] SIII, *O*10, 37.132-134.
[39] SIII, *O*10, 38.135-141.

Anselm does not hesitate to identify this descent into identification with the dead with Christ's own redemptive work. The saint's 'kenosis' can be efficacious because it is an imitation of and participation in Christ's:

> If he [Christ] who left the bosom of the Father to carry our sorrows, and he [Paul] who declared himself weak with the weak - if these despise the sorrowful [soul] because it is miserable; if he [Christ] who made himself dead that dead souls might be raised, and he [Paul] who made himself all things to all men (1 Corinthians 9:19-23), if they reject this prayer because [that soul] is dead…![40]

The Christoform humility of Paul's self-professed solidarity with sinners enables the saint to imitate and mediate the revivifying power of Christ's own descent and exaltation.

Elsewhere in John, the 'laying down' of Christ's life is identified as the sign of true love of friends: 'No one has greater love than this, to lay down one's life for one's friends' (John 15:13, NRSV). Friendship as a Johannine scriptural theme certainly resounded with Anselm.[41] His first Prayer to John the Evangelist identifies the 'beloved disciple' as the one closest to Jesus in friendship.[42] It is in this prayer that the supplicant obliquely addresses Christ as the one who laid down his life for his friends: 'Sweet, good Lord Jesus Christ, who showed love the greater than which no-one has (John 15:13) and which no-one can equal…'.[43] The 'laying down' of Christ's life, with its trajectory of descent and ascent, is therefore intertwined ultimately with the theme of love. Anselm describes Jesus as the one whose example – and specifically, the example *animam suam ponere* – teaches his friends how to love:

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[40] SIII, *O*10, 39.166-171.
[41] Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community: the monastic experience, 350-1250* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1988), 210-227, and 'Love, friendship and sex in the eleventh century: The experience of Anselm', *Studia Theologica - Nordic Journal of Theology*, 28: 1 (1974), 111-152; Southern, *Portrait,* 138-165.
[42] SIII, *O*11, 42.4-6.
[43] SIII, *O*18, 71.3-4.

> You who did not deserve to die, but nonetheless laid down your good life for your servants and sinners, and prayed for your killers, that you might make them your brothers, and make them just, and that you might reconcile them to the mercy of your father, and to you; you, Lord, who showed such love to your enemies, you yourself taught love to your friends.[44]

The redemptive trajectory of *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* which committed monks are to imitate is identified, when entwined with the *signum ego pono animam meam,* as a movement not only of obedient self-abasement, but ultimately one of love. Yet the laying down of Christ's life has a further connection. In John 10:11, it is the 'good shepherd' who 'lays down his life for his sheep'. This concept of the 'good shepherd' and its appearance in Anselm's prayers and meditation extends the scriptural pattern of kenosis and ascent into the practical hierarchy of monastic life.

6.4. *Bonus pastor*

In Anselm's Prayer to Peter, the saint is exhorted to look towards the sinner and recognise him:

> Faithful shepherd, turn your eyes towards [your sheep] and recognise one committed to you. For if he has gone astray, nonetheless he has not denied his Lord and Shepherd. Look into his face and recognise the sign of your Lord and his. If you do not recognise under such squalor the face of one washed and made white in the fount of Christ, recognise the voice of his confession in the name of Christ, who, thrice questioning you as to whether you loved him, thrice said to you when you confessed it, 'Care for my sheep' (John 21:17).[45]

Peter is asked to recognise himself as well as the sinner. His eyes should alight not only upon the 'sign' of baptism under the obscuring mask of sin, but also upon his own concomitant responsibility. Anselm's Prayer to Paul includes a similar injunction. Combining Paul's language of spiritual motherhood (Galatians 4:19) and Christ's desire

[44] SIII, *O*18, 71.4-8.
[45] SIII, *O*9, 31.35-40.

to gather Jerusalem under his wings (Matthew 23:37, Luke 13:34), the supplicant urges Christ is to recognise himself as a mother (or mother hen) and the supplicant as his son:

> Recognise, mother, your dead son either by the sign of your cross or by the voice of your confession. Revive your chick, resuscitate your dead one, justify your sinner.[46]

The plea in the Prayer to Peter, however, is expressly directed to the 'faithful shepherd', since the duty to recognise a member of the flock entrusted to him by Christ is his by divine command. For Anselm's monastic readership, it was not only Peter's commission in John's Gospel which would have been called to mind by these lines. Among Benedictine readers, the shepherd of Christ's flock had a more immediate Incarnation.

From the Davidic kingship to the Petrine mandate, the figures of authority in Christian tradition had long been associated with shepherds. In the Bible's prophetic literature, indictments against the failings of Israel's leaders condemned the irresponsible shepherds who neglected the care of their flock only to consume its produce themselves (Ezekiel 34). God's promise to take a stand against the unworthy shepherds by seeking out his straying flock himself was interpreted by Christians as a messianic prophecy. The Johannine Jesus, moreover, identifies himself expressly as the 'good shepherd', whose care for his flock extended not only to seeking the one errant sheep and bringing it home on his shoulders (Matthew 18:12-14, Luke 15:3-7, John 10:1-21), but to 'laying down his life for the sheep' (John 10:11, John 10:15). In John's Gospel, Jesus's words make clear that belonging to his flock entailed mutual recognition between shepherd and sheep, an element of possession which was expressly contrasted with both the careless 'hired hands' (John 10:12-13) and the 'robbers' (John 10:8) who try to enter the sheepfold without passing through the gate. These allegories were

[46] SIII, *O*10, 41.233-235.

enthusiastically adopted by the patristic writers most familiar to medieval Benedictines. Augustine's long *Sermo de pastoribus,* a commentary on these very biblical passages, was probably among the texts read during Matins. Even visually, the authority of the bishop was expressed by his crozier, the symbolically reimagining of a shepherd's staff.

Readers of the *Regula Benedicti* would have had no trouble associating their abbot with the *signum* of the *bonus pastor.* The good shepherd is one of the primary images used in the second chapter of the *Regula* to describe the duties and qualities of the abbot.[47] In this chapter, the biblical admonitions of irresponsible shepherds are reiterated in order to warn those in spiritual authority of the harsher judgement they will have to face. The *bonus pastor* comes particularly to the fore in the context of monastic discipline. Christ's parable of the good shepherd who leaves the ninety-nine sheep in order to seek the one gone astray appears in the chapter concerning the abbot's responsibilities towards 'excommunicated' brethren (that is, those barred from participating in the community, rather than those formally cut off from the Church's sacraments).[48] This short chapter also incorporates 'the threat of the Prophet [Ezekiel 34:3-4] in which God says: "what you saw to be fat you claimed for yourselves, and what was weak you cast aside"'.[49] In the light of this threat, the *Regula* states, the abbot is not to be tyrannical in his treatment of the erring. To ensure the excommunicate receives sufficient encouragement and does not despair,

> he is to imitate the loving example of the Good Shepherd…so great was his compassion for [the straying sheep's] weakness that he mercifully placed it on his sacred shoulders and so carried it back to the flock (Luke 15:5).[50]

[47] *RB* 2.7-10; 2.32; 2.39, 172-173; 176-177; 178-179.
[48] *RB* 27, 222-225.
[49] *RB* 27.7, 224-225.
[50] *RB* 27.8, 224-225.

The abbot proved himself a true *bonus pastor* to his monastic flock in the context of readmitting an errant monk back to the community. One way in which the abbot exercised his pastoral calling was in maintaining communal discipline and marking the boundaries of communal belonging.

Neither was this a merely conceptual duty. The practical procedure recommended by the *Regula Benedicti* for rehabilitating the excommunicated brother was extensive. A monk committing a fault, particularly of pride or disobedience, should be given two private warnings before one final public warning in front of the whole community. If he still failed to reform himself, he was to be excommunicated, a punishment whose severity depended upon the sin.[51] For minor transgressions, excommunication entailed being excluded from the common table and forbidden from leading any singing in the office. For more serious faults, the monk would be excluded from the liturgy and alienated from the other brethren, who could face excommunication themselves if they associated with him.[52] Failure to reform would merit corporeal punishment, after which point the abbot, imitating a 'wise physician' and having exhausted all the medicines of encouragement, scripture, and physical threat, 'must use the knife and amputate…lest one diseased sheep infect the whole flock'.[53] The procedure for readmission to communion, described as *satisfacere,* is equally prescriptive. The excommunicate should prostrate himself in church as the brethren depart after the Office and remain there until the abbot decides he should rise. After that, he was to prostrate himself again at the abbot's feet, then 'at the feet of all that they may pray for him'.[54] 'Only then', the *Regula* stipulates, 'if the abbot orders,

[51] *RB* 23, 220-221.
[52] *RB* 24-26, 220-223.
[53] *RB* 28.1-8, 224-225.
[54] *RB* 44.4-5, 244-247.

should he be readmitted to the choir', but must still prostrate himself at every office and refrain from leading the singing. 'He will continue this form of satisfaction (*sic satisfaciat*) until the abbot bids him cease'.[55]

For the abbot to be a true *bonus pastor* entailed overseeing the restoration of social and spiritual cohesion. The key to restoring that cohesion, the *Regula* seems to indicate, was a certain kind of ritual debasement on the part of the perpetrator. The combination of confession, prostration and intention to amend, often described as *satisfacere,* continues throughout the *Regula* as the standard mechanism for re-establishing equilibrium. For mistakes such as breaking or losing an item in the kitchen or the storeroom, the monk must 'admit his fault' and 'make satisfaction' before the abbot and community. Even the suspicion that one of the senior monks might be displeased with him should cause the monk, 'then and there without delay', to 'cast himself at on the ground at the other's feet to make satisfaction'.[56] It was the abbot who was responsible for determining when the sufficient satisfaction has been made, declaring 'enough' and enabling the prostrated excommunicate to rise. *Medicus* and *pastor,* concerned for the health of his whole flock, he should gauge the moral infection of the 'diseased sheep' and how best to remedy it. Indeed, the *Regula* seems to suggest that the act of humility which re-established balance between brethren on the occasion of an offense was made primarily to the abbot himself.

The restoration of communion and harmony after the committing of a fault, known by the term *satisfacere,* was thus a foundational aspect of monastic discipline. The trajectory of humility-followed-by-ascent found in the *signum* of *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* is here given practical expression, pictured in ritual debasement, prostration

[55] *RB* 44.8, 246-724.
[56] *RB* 71.8, 292-293.

and subsequent social and moral rehabilitation. The abbot's role as *bonus pastor* was to oversee this trajectory in the everyday elements of monastic life.

Anselm's Prayer to Peter takes on a new aspect in the light of these considerations. The supplicant applies to the saint as a 'diseased sheep' longing to be healed rather than cast out of communion. The sinner appeals to the saint to 'recognise' him because he wishes to confirm his identity as one of the heavenly abbot's flock. Indeed, the prayer features scriptural images which would have been intimately familiar to monastic readers from the theology of the *Regula,* particularly in its depiction of the sheep that has strayed into the domain of wolves, that is, from the safety of the cloister and into the world:

> For behold a diseased sheep lies and groans before the faithful shepherd, and before the Lord of both shepherd and sheep. The fugitive returns, and begs pardon for his wanderings and disobedience. He reveals to his good and healing shepherd the bites of wolves and gashes of wounds which he incurred when he strayed, and the ulcers which are long untended; and pleads his misery before him merciful shepherd, while there is life left in him, before his merciful shepherd, more by exhibiting [his injuries] than by entreating.[57]

Here the supplicant clearly relates to Peter as a penitent excommunicate ought before his *bonus pastor* the abbot, prostrating himself, confessing his faults, and offering himself to be healed by correction. The process of satisfaction which would ordinarily obtain in the monastic community is virtually performed before the heavenly *pastor ovium dei*.[58] The reference to the 'wolves' which have inflicted these wounds also binds the image to its monastic context:

> Wolves, having already tasted his blood, lie in ambush awaiting his fall. His enemy prowls like a roaring lion seeking him to devour him.[59]

[57] SIII, *O*9, 30.23-31.28.
[58] SIII, *O*9, 30.3.
[59] SIII, *O*9, 31.34-35.

In the Gospel passage in which Jesus declares himself the 'good shepherd' (John 10:1-18) he contrasts his true pastoral care for the sheep with that of the 'hireling' who leaves the sheep to the mercy of the wolves. The difference between the two, the Gospel goes on to explain, is that the good shepherd 'knows' his sheep and is known by them; they follow him because of the mutual recognition which allows them to respond to his call (John 10:14-15). It is this very recognition which the supplicant seeks from Peter.

Anselm's Prayer to Benedict also evokes this combined image of the *bonus pastor* abbot. His prayer to his heavenly abbot begins with a confession of his faults:

> For I profess to lead a holy way of life, which I promised by way of the name and habit of a monk; but, having been exiled at a great distance from that life, I am found guilty by my own conscience of lying to God, angels and humans. Be near, kind father, be near the one who prays to you. I beg you not to abhor such a failure and such a liar, but to hear my confession and have more mercy on my sorrow than I deserve.[60]

The nature of the supplicant's confession matches the *Regula's* requirement to confess one's faults humbly to the abbot, not concealing from him 'any sinful thoughts entering his heart, or any wrongs committed in secret'.[61] Yet the full requirement for satisfaction, entailing both penitential abasement and positive emendation of life, are both lacking, as the supplicant is at pains to relate. He neither feels contrition at his past actions, nor resists falling back into them:

> Yet my perverse heart is stony and dry in deploring past sins, and soft and malleable in resisting occasions of sin. My depraved mind is swift and tireless in dragging me towards the useless and the harmful, but is disdainful and unmoved towards the thought of salutary things. My soul is blinded and distorted, throwing itself freely into vice with ease and speed, but it remembers virtues only with difficulty and hesitation.[62]

[60] SIII, *O*15, 62.12-16.
[61] *RB* 7.44, 198-199.
[62] SIII, *O*15, 62.20-25.

Just as the satisfaction in the monastery needed to be made before the abbot, so the sinner's spiritual satisfaction must take place before the eyes of his heavenly *bonus pastor*, and ultimately before the divine Shepherd himself. The supplicant sums up his plea using a reference to Psalm 24:18 - *Vide humilitatem meam et laborem meum, et dimitte universa delicta mea* - which Anselm may have known from the Lenten liturgy, and certainly from the prologue to the *Regula,* in which the monastery's purpose is described as bringing back through the 'labour of obedience' those who had strayed 'through the sloth of disobedience'.[63] The supplicant desires both that his ritual humility comes under the divine gaze, and that the 'labour' of performing it might contribute towards the righting of those evils: 'Jesus, good Lord, look upon my humiliation and my labour, and forgive me all my sins'.[64] The reconciliation which the supplicant seeks is a distinctively monastic one.

Yet the *signum* of the *bonus pastor* evoked more than the pastoral and disciplinary duties of the abbot. The 'shepherd' of the Gospels also 'seeks' and 'finds' the sheep that was lost (Luke 15:3-7). Here, too, the redemptive trajectory of Christ's descent and exaltation is found clothed in monastic garb. In Anselm's Prayer to Nicholas, to be 'lost' is to be mired in a threefold abyss, and to be 'sought' and 'found' entails Christ's own descent into that abyss. Anselm weaves together the references to the 'abyss' in Psalm 41:8, Psalm 35:7 and Daniel 3:55 (taken from the *Canticum trium puerorum*, one of the liturgy's canticles), which he may have known from Lauds on Sundays and Mondays, sung just as dawn dispelled the darkness.[65] Anselm depicts the sinner trapped from above, below and within; the judgment of God is the 'abyss of judgements above me', the slavery to sin is the 'abyss of sins in which I am, and which is

[63] *RB* Prologue.2, 157; *CS,* 94-95.
[64] SIII, *O*15, 63.45-46.
[65] *RB* 12.4; 13.4, 206-209.

in me', and the future torments of deserved punishment is the 'abyss of hell beneath me'.[66] 'Who', the supplicant asks in despair,

> would seek me in the abyss among the abysses, or who would find God's lost one? Who, outside the abyss of sin, hears his from cry out of the deep (Psalm 129:1)?[67]

References to Daniel 3:55 and Psalm 138:7-8 supply the answer:

> But you, O Lord, who behold the abysses (Daniel 3:55), where can I go from your spirit, and where can I flee from your presence (Psalm 138:7)? Surely, you are not absent from where I am, for even if I descend into hell, you are there (Psalm 138:8).[68]

God is present in these three abysses,

> For who, except you, moves my soul to penitence? And how do you move it, if you do not see it in its abyss?...You made everything which is in the abyss; can it be that you do not hear a cry from the abyss?[69]

When Anselm describes God's presence in the abyss, he does so by repeating the words 'seek', 'find' and 'lost' in a way which must have pointed Anselm's readers to the parable of the lost sheep in Luke 15:4-6:

> Good Lord, I give you thanks; truly you have sought your lost one in the abyss and have found him, (*quaesivisti**...**perditum…invenisti*), whom you frightened there on account of his sins. By the merits of Saint Nicholas, your beloved, lead back your lost one, whom you sought and found (*quaesitum invenisti perditum tuum*), from the abyss of sins. Do not lose the one you found; do not lose your servant, whom you sought and found, in the abyss of hell, where none can be found (*perdas quaesitum et inventum servum tuum*).[70]

Christ's descent into the depths, mirrored by the monastic trajectory of satisfactory humility, is here articulated in the language of the *bonus pastor*. The *signum* of the *bonus pastor,* like that of *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur,* fuses monastic commitment (in this

[66] SIII, *O*14, 60.142-144.
[67] SIII, *O*14, 60.149-151. The liturgical tract featuring Psalm 129:1 ('*de profundo clamavi*') appears in the Bec Missal on the first Sunday of Septuagesima and in the mass for the dead: *BM,* 20; 277.
[68] SIII, *O*14, 60.152-154.
[69] SIII, *O*14, 60.154-162.
[70] SIII, *O*14, 60.165-169.

case, the abbot's responsibilities of discipline and pastoral care), with the salvific kenosis of the redeemer.

For Anselm, then, the monastic injunction to a life of humility, obedience and *satisfacere* took its transformative efficacy from its mirroring of Christ's own kenotic descent and recapituatory restitution. The monk's life was to be a downward sweep into self-abasement which both cleansed sins and restored order. As *bonus pastor,* imitating the divine Shepherd, the abbot held responsibility for facilitating this redemptive trajectory by maintaining communal order, supervising the satisfaction of faults, and overseeing the restoration of harmony. These powerful *signa* with their firm scriptural resonances establish Christ's humility as the archetypal pattern for the redemptive character of both the theory and the practice of monastic life.

7. *Accipite et manducate:* the promise of satiety in the prayers and meditations

The words '*accipite et manducate',* 'take and eat', uttered by the priest in echo of Christ's words at the last supper (Matthew 26:26) form the apex of the liturgy of the mass. This sacramental moment epitomises the mediatory role of the priest, acting and speaking in the person of Christ, and performatively making present his body and blood through the utterance of Christ's words. The 'daily bread' of the Eucharist, consumed at each day's mass, was fixed as the source of each day's spiritual nourishment, like the manna in the wilderness which sustained the Israelites on their journey to the Promised Land.[1] It constituted the *panem cotidianum* of the *Pater Noster,* a prayer which featured as 'a principal component of each liturgical Hour'.[2] The centrality of heavenly food in Anselm's liturgical life supplies the context for the language of hunger and thirst so prevalent in his prayers and meditations.

The prayers' supplicant is frequently cast in the role of the hungry beggar, 'poor and needy', knocking on the door of God's mercy. In Anselm's second Prayer to John the Evangelist, the 'poor and needy' supplicant presents himself as the poor man Lazarus in the Gospel parable, begging for food at the gate of Dives, and longing for the crumbs which fall from the rich man's table (Luke 16:19–31):

> Behold - O saint, opulent in such blessed riches and rich in such blessed opulence - behold an afflicted but Christian soul, poor and needy of that richness with which you so opulently abound. He comes hungry to the gateway of your mercy, begging at the almshouse of your opulence…[3]

He hungers, the supplicant continues, because starved of love for God:

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[1] Hildebrand Yaiser, 'St. Benedict and the Liturgy', *Orate Fratres*, 21 (1946), 264.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] SIII, *O*12, 45.7-10.

> Indeed, my master, beloved of our Lord, my soul is poor – something which I am forced, blushing, to confess – both in the love of God, which loves God much less than it ought, and it has much less of the love of God than it needs.[4]

The 'poor and needy' supplicant is a psalmic character; indeed, anyone observing the *Regula*'s distribution of Psalms would have sung the phrase *pauper et inops* several times in a week, begging God to 'incline thy ear…and hear me: for I am needy and poor' (Psalm 85:1; also Psalm 36:14, Psalm 71:13, Psalm 73:21). The supplicant in Anselm's prayer vows to repeat his lament until his hunger is satisfied, perhaps hinting at the repetition of the phrase in the monk's liturgical round:

> I have not forgotten when I say this, O just and merciful God, nor am I ungrateful for the many kinds of gifts of your love towards me from the beginning of my creation, but until it is satisfied by your love in either way, my hungry soul will always cry that it is poor and needy.[5]

Spiritual hunger, like spiritual thirst, appears in Psalm 41:2-4: 'My soul hath thirsted after God, the fount of mercy…My tears have been my bread day and night'. Since this Psalm also features another characteristic Anselmian motif, the desire for the 'face of God' (Psalm 41:2), it is likely that the supplicant's pleas are designed to mirror the psalmist's (liturgical) longing.

Yet the image of the supplicant as a hungry beggar is more multi-layered than first appearances suggest. Anselm frequently employs a Gospel reference which fleshes out the desire for satiety into a detailed anatomy of holy longing. In Christ's parable, found in Matthew 7 and Luke 11, the disciples are encouraged to ask God for every one of their needs, just as a man who knocks on his friend's door to borrow bread will not be refused on account of his persistence: 'so I say to you, ask, and it will be given you;

[4] SIII, *O*12, 45.16-46.19.
[5] SIII, *O*12, 46.21-24.

search, and you will find; knock, and the door will be opened for you' (Luke 11:9, NRSV). *Petere, quaerere* and *pulsate* at God's door, as the supplicant does in Anselm's prayer for friends, is the key to remedying spiritual hunger:

> You know, Lord, that I love this love which you command, I delight in that love, I desire that love. It is for the sake of this love that I ask (*peto*), that I seek (*quaero*), that this poor beggar of yours knocks (*pulsat*) and cries at the door of your mercy.[6]

The image of the poor and needy beggar, combined with the Gospel injunction to ask, seek and knock, injects the supplicant's spiritual hunger with a promise of hope. The *signa* in this final group evoke Anselm's confidence that the supplicant's search for satiety will eventually be satisfied.

7.1. *Fons vivum*

The image of the fountain sketched by the psalmist at the opening of Psalm 41 - 'As a deer longs for flowing streams, so my soul longs for you, O God. My soul thirsts for God *the living fount* [*Deum fontem vivum*]; When shall I come and behold the face of God?' – carried an ancient exegetical association with baptism.[7] The psalmist's 'thirst' for God's 'fount' had accompanied the procession catechumens to the baptismal font on Holy Saturday since the first centuries of Christianity.[8] According to Cassiodorus, deer become thirsty when they eat poisonous snakes; allegorically, then, 'when we imbibe the poisons of the ancient serpent [Satan]', sinners should

> hasten to the fount of divine mercy. Thus the sickness contracted by the venom of sin is overcome by the purity of this most sweet drink.[9]

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[6] SIII, *O*18, 71.19-22.
[7] The Sixto-Clementine Vulgate (1592) corrected the phrase '*fontem vivum'* to '*fortem vivum',* which now appears in modern Vulgate editions.
[8] Daniélou*, The Bible and the Liturgy,* 36-37.
[9] Cassiodorus, *Expositio,* Psalm 41.39, I.416.

Both Cassiodorus and Augustine note the significance of Psalm 41's inclusion in baptismal liturgies. 'Today the Church appropriately sings this Psalm, which induces goodly longing and instruction, over those to be baptised', Cassiodorus comments, 'so that once they are removed from the madness of this world, they may hasten to the Lord with total purity of heart'.[10] Augustine emphasises the desire which this Psalm can encourage in catechumens, 'arous[ing] in them a longing for the fountain of forgiveness for their sins'.[11] While both commentators clearly identify the *fons vivum* as Christ, Augustine in particular interprets the quenching of thirst as the illumination of spiritual understanding:

> If [Christ] is both fountain and light, he obviously is understanding, for while he fully satisfies the soul athirst to know, everyone who understands is illuminated by a light that is not corporeal or carnal or external, but is an inward radiance.[12]

A reference to a *fons vitae,* moreover, appears in Psalm 35:10, just before another (Christologically-interpreted) evocation of God's light: 'in your light we see light'. It is desire for this 'inward light' of Christ which Anselm's prayers and meditations conjures through the *signum* of *fons vivum,* or, more frequently, *fons misericordiae*.[13]

The phrase *fons misericordiae* often stands in for Christ in the prayers and meditations. Anselm's first Prayer to Mary addresses her as the one 'from whom the fount of mercy sprung'.[14] In his Prayer to Mary Magdalene, Anselm depicts the archetypal penitent coming to Christ to drink from the source of spiritual life:

> Saint Mary Magdalene, you came to Christ the fount of mercy with a fountain of tears; burning with thirst, you were abundantly revived by him; a sinner, you were justified through him; grieving most bitterly, you were most sweetly consoled by him.[15]

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[10] *Ibid.,* 41.317, I.423.
[11] Augustine, *Enarrationes,* Psalm 41, 1.20-22, II.239.
[12] *Ibid.,* Psalm 41, 2.30-31, II.241.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] SIII, *O*5, 14.38-49.
[15] SIII, *O*16, 64.3-6.

Yet while Christ himself is the source, it is the saint who channels his grace to the sinner. 'Lord', the supplicant pleads to Christ in Anselm's second Prayer to John the Evangelist,

> my soul is anguished with thirst near the stream, but there is nothing to drink if it does not flow from the fount. May the fount of mercy flow from you [Christ] into him [John], so that I may drink of you in him.[16]

Hopeful of the evangelist's aid, the heartened supplicant declares:

> I run back to the fountain; I will do nothing else. May my thirsty soul not perish at the living fountain (*ad fontem vivum*). May one who is parched not be denied a drink.[17]

Christ may be the *fons vivum* and the *fons misericordiae,* but it is the saints who conduct his mercy to those who thirst.

This mercy channelled by the saints often takes the form of biblical words. When the supplicant asks to be satiated at the fount of Christ's mercy using John as an intermediary, it is the words of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37), compelling the Evangelist to come to the aid of his needy neighbour, which the sinner longs to hear. Imagining a conversation between Christ and John, the supplicant prompts both of them in turn to repeat the words of Jesus identifying any needy person as a 'neighbour':

> May your satisfied one [John] hear your pronouncement, and your thirsty one drink of your [Christ's] clemency from him. Say to him, 'John, who seems to you to be the neighbour of him who fell among thieves?' (Luke 10:36). Reply, blessed John, the way the human race replied about its Samaritan, giving thanks to him. Reply: 'he who had mercy on him' (Luke 10:37).[18]

It is the Evangelist's own words in 1 John 3:17 – 'how does God's love abide in anyone who has the world's goods and sees a brother in need and yet refuses help?' (NRSV) –

[16] SIII, *O*12, 49.113-115.
[17] SIII, *O*12, 49.115-116.
[18] SIII, *O*12, 49.117-121.

which gives the supplicant hope. 'Beloved lover of God', the supplicant begs the evangelist,

> who glories in the blessed plenitude of your mutual love in which you are safe, be so generous in the mutual love to this poor beggar, as much as you know yourself to be in such great abundance and see me to be in such great need.[19]

In Anselm's Prayer to Stephen, the slaking of thirst, the irrigation of dryness, and the liquid salve of scriptural words seem to go together. This prayer employs a vivid image of the pressure of the stones at Stephen's martyrdom squeezing out words of mercy like the crushed olive issues oil:

> Pride crushed humility under a sharp stone, and the odour of charity arose from there. Love was struck with a rock out of hatred, and the sound of piety came ringing back. The impious pressed piety with stones, and the oil of mercy flowed forth.[20]

The oil, biblically evocative of kingly anointing, of healing, and of the richness of sanctity, is here identified with Stephen's words of forgiveness, begging pardon for his persecutors. When, in this prayer, Anselm repeatedly recalls Stephen's plea that God 'not hold their sin against them', he is doing more than drawing a Christological parallel. Because such words of forgiveness poured out from Stephen towards his murderers, the sinner too can rush to 'drink' of them, receiving refreshment and revitalisation:

> 'Lord, do not hold this sin against them'. Blessed man, how much hope you give to sinners, your friends, when they hear you concerned in this way about your impious enemies! Vessel of charity overflowing with plenitude, how abundantly can you pour on him who desires to cherish you in his heart, when you did so to those who ejected you from the city? When you thus give yourself [to drink] to those who rushed upon you, panting angrily, in what way will you relieve those who, fearfully panting, flee to you?[21]

[19] SIII, *O*12, 48.86-93.
[20] SIII, *O*13, 53.87-90.
[21] SIII, *O*13, 52.74-79.

When the saints channel life-giving water from the *fons vivum,* it is their scriptural words which grant the thirsty sinner relief.

7.2. *Fons vivum* and *eructavit cor meum bonum verbum*

Indeed, it is scriptural words, in the form of another related *signum,* which Anselm uses to evoke this overflowing of sanctity from the saint to the sinner. The phrase '*eructavit cor meum bonum verbum'* (Psalm 44:1) describes the 'eruption' of 'good words' from the heart of the psalmist. The 'good word' which 'erupts' from Stephen is Christ's own plea for mercy for his murderers - a word which the supplicant longs to be spoken for him:

> O that I might merit to draw forth out of the charity of Stephen this precious oil which they were able to press out with stones! For my soul is languid with the most serious languor, which cannot be healed unless by the oil of mercy. If only once he would apply to God for me and for all my sins: 'Lord, do not hold these sins against him!'.[22]

Not only can the supplicant be the recipient of this overflowing grace, but he can also learn from the saint how to cherish interiorly the sanctity which will produce such an issue:

> Teach me, blessed soul of blessed Stephen, the taste which delighted you, the satiety which simmered within you, when your heart uttered a word so good…Say therefore, blessed Stephen, what you fostered inside, which erupted outside with a mixture of such sweetness.[23]

No empty heart could produce such superfluity. 'For how will the heart issue a good fragrance', Anselm inquires in his prayer to Mary Magdalene, 'when it does not have the taste of it inside?'.[24]

[22] SIII, *O*13, 53.91-95.
[23] SIII, *O*13 53.95-104.
[24] SIII, *O*16, 67.78-79.

It is the interior fullness of love which causes the *bonum verbum* to issue from the heart of the saint. In Anselm's Prayer to Mary Magdalene, the supplicant pictures Mary seeking Christ's resurrected body after having discovered the empty tomb. On seeing her, the risen Christ 'bursts forth' upon her to prevent her from 'bursting' with grief at his absence. From the heart of Christ's own love erupts the word 'Maria', to which Mary responds in mutual recognition:

> He bursts with the sweetness of loving, so that she might not burst with bitterness of weeping. The Lord names the familiar name of his handmaid, and the handmaid knows the familiar voice of the Lord…O lovable voice, O how much charm, how full of love! It could not be expressed more briefly nor more swiftly: 'I know what you are and what you want: here I am, do not cry; here I am, the one whom you seek'.[25]

Her tears, indication both of her desire for Jesus and of the grief of her abandonment, are 'changed' on seeing Christ, and they burst forth from her in love, not unlike Stephan's oil of mercy:

> But [the tears] which her contrite heart at first squeezed out in torment, afterwards exultantly overflow from her rejoicing heart. O how dissimilar are 'Raboni' and 'If you have taken him, tell me!'. O how dissonant are: 'They have taken my Lord away, and I do not know where they have put him', and this: 'for I saw the Lord, and he spoke to me!'.[26]

The saints do not merely channel Christ's mercy; in Mary's cry of 'Raboni', she 'erupts' with the title of Christ himself, as the fullness of her love overspills.

The Christological identity of this 'word' issuing from the saints' abundance would have been obvious to any medieval mind steeped in patristic inheritance. The '*bonum verbum'* of Psalm 44 was traditionally interpreted as the eternal Word begotten of the Father's self-knowledge. '"My heart overflows with a good word": this can be understood', Augustine had explained, 'as God the Father's statement about his good

[25] SIII, *O*16, 66.66-71.
[26] SIII, *O*16, 66.68-67.76.

Word, our God, our benefactor, that good Word though whom alone whatever we have of goodness is possible'.[27] Both Augustine and Cassiodorus emphasise the fullness of the Father's 'heart' whence the Son is begotten. 'By "a good word", comments Cassiodorus, 'he means the Son of God of whom the evangelist John said: "In the beginning was the Word…"'.[28] Analogously, the words which humans speak issue from their hearts in transitory reflection of that eternal Word issuing from the Father's: 'Any word you speak yourself you bring forth from your heart'.[29] Both the martyred Stephen and the penitent Magdalene mirror in their Christological utterances the salvific Word of the Father's self-knowledge.

This Christological link offers a clue as to how the saints are able to act as effective intercessors. The prayers make it clear that it is the saints' plenitude which supplies their intercessory usefulness, as the saints' graces provide the exact remedy for the sinners' plight. That saints abounded where sinners lacked furnished the material substance of their aid: 'Therefore I beseech you', Anselm prays to St Mary Magdalene,

> I, wretched, call upon you, blessed; I, darkened, upon you, illuminated; I, a sinner, upon you, justified; I, unclean, upon you, cleansed.[30]

Anselm's second Prayer to John the Evangelist, the saint whose distinguishing mark was 'richness' in the love of God, depicts the beloved disciple overflowing with the very nourishment which the 'poor and needy' soul requires. The sinner's poverty, Anselm explains, comprises loving God less than he ought, and having less of God's love than he needs. These are problems which the saint 'rich in blessed opulence' is ideally suited to remedy:

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[27] Augustine, *Enarrationes,* Psalm 44, 4.32-33, II.284-285.
[28] Cassiodorus, *Expositio,* Psalm 44.50, I.441.
[29] Augustine, *Enarrationes,* Psalm 44, 5.19, II.285.
[30] SIII, *O*16, 65.16-17.

> Behold - O saint opulent in such blessed riches and rich in such blessed opulence – behold an afflicted but Christian soul, poor and needy of that richness with which you so opulently abound. He comes hungry to the gateway of your mercy, begging at the almshouse of your opulence…[31]

Since Mary Magdalene was the recipient of grace herself, she ought to have pity on a needy petitioner:

> Remember, kindest lady, what you were and how much mercy you needed, and ask indulgence for me, just as you wanted to be given to you.[32]

The saints can act as mediators because they simultaneously touch two axes, likeness to the sinner in receiving grace, and likeness to Christ in being filled with it.[33]

The *fons vivum signum,* then, combined with *eructavit cor meum bonum verbum,* throws into relief the kind of Christological likeness which renders the saints capable of being *fontes misericordiae* themselves. Anselm's second Prayer to John the Evangelist sketches out this intercessory relationship by interweaving, strikingly, the *signa* of *fons vivum* and *eructavit cor meum bonum verbum* with the language of debt and recompense.[34] In this prayer, the supplicant urges Christ and the saint to prove their mutual love by incorporating the sinner into it. The sinner initially stands outside the current of love flowing between Christ and his beloved. Yet it is not only the sinner's love which is deficient while a third is excluded from the union, but also the saint's. John is exhorted to come to the sinner's aid, not only to prove his love for Christ, but also to pay the debt of love which the saint himself owes to God. 'Saint John', Anselm prays,

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[31] SIII, *O*12, 45.4-10.
[32] SIII, *O*16, 65.17-19.
[33] Fulton Brown characterises the meditator's link with the saints in terms of 'empathy': 'Anselm and Praying with the Saints', 136.
[34] Many of the ideas for this chapter were given as a paper entitled 'The saints as images of Christ in the prayers of Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109)' at the 2018 International Congress on Medieval Studies in Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo. John Fortin, in his 2019 article, also notes the image of the *fons vivum,* as well as other biblical images, in this prayer: 'Scriptural Images in Saint Anselm's Second Prayer to Saint John the Evangelist', *American Benedictine Review,* 70:2 (2019), 201-211.

> beloved of Jesus Christ my Lord: the servant of your friend asks you, that for the sake of the name of your Lord, his lover, you might obtain for him the mutual love of God. Obtain for me, I ask you, that just as I am loved by him [Christ], I might also worthily love him [in return]. For surely, beloved of God, if [Christ] loves us for your sake, you expend mercy on us; and if we love [Christ] through you, you repay gratitude to him. Surely, master [John], if you turn him to loving us, you make us debtors to you for such a great service; and if you inflame us to loving him, you make yourself a returner of a debt to him.[35]

If the saint enables the sinner to love God, he pays his own debt of gratitude for the grace given to him. The souls of sinners whom the saint turns to God constitute part of the repayment, augmenting the offering of love which God can expect to receive from the saint:

> Therefore, blessed John…Do this by the repayment of the love which you owe to him, so that you may also release my love of him with yours, to whom you, for him alone, owe not only your love, but that of many.[36]

This Anselm describes, intriguingly, as the saint 'unbinding' or 'releasing' (*solvere*) both the sinner's love and the saint's, on account of the fact that the saint 'owes' it to God to win the love of many others. John is therefore enjoined to come to the sinner's aid, not only because his own scriptural writings condemn those who see a brother in need and do nothing to help him, but because in unlocking the supplicant's love for God, John is giving to God no less than he ought:

> Blessed John, you are an expert in your own blessedness, because just as no-one can give to God sooner than he is obliged to, so neither can he repay more than he owes. If therefore however many love God, your beloved, through you, they cannot make compensation to him; I pray, master [John], do not abandon one who asks to be numbered among them.[37]

[35] SIII, *O*12, 46.38-46.
[36] SIII, *O*12, 47.61-65.
[37] SIII, *O*12, 47.65-69.

By witnessing the saints' merits, the sinner is drawn on to admiration of their divine source. The more sinners are incited to love through contemplation of the saint's graces, the more love is directed up to God by way of the saint:

> Surely, blessed one, however much you cause him [Christ] to love more people, you diminish nothing [of his love] for you; and as much as you cause more people to love him, so much more do you return to him.[38]

When the saint incorporates the sinner into his own offering of love to God, he not only mirrors Christ's mediation, but does so by paying his own debt:

> Grant, therefore, master, this mercy to your supplicant, so that you may make me your debtor for so great a kindness, and yourself the returner of one soul to God.[39]

Here, Anselm intertwines theological metaphors to articulate the same redemptive process. The images of the saint channelling mercy from the fount, and the sinner approaching to quench his thirst, depict the same theological dynamic as does the image of the saint returning the sinner to God in payment of his debt of love. 'Therefore, God and his beloved', Anselm prays,

> do not love only each other in your blessedness, but also us in our misery…Do not shut up such good between you to rejoice in it alone, but may some flow over us, that its diffusion among us may anoint and please our souls.[40]

The interlacing of these two themes depicts redemption as the sweeping up of the sinner into the reciprocal love of God and his beloved, part of the offering rendered to the Father by his grace-filled mediator. The *signa* of *fons vivum* and *erutavit cor meum bonum verbum* not only incorporate the language of debt and recompense into a broader image of abundance and overflow. They also represent the paying of a debt, not

[38] SIII, *O*12, 46.45-46.
[39] SIII, *O*12, 46.46-47.48.
[40] SIII, *O*12, 48.83-85.

as the appeasement of a creditor, but as the priestly action of Christ offering redeemed humanity to the Father.[41]

The intertwined *signa* of *fons vivum* and *eructavit cor meum bonum verbum* also highlight the role of the saints as mediators in Anselm's conception of redemption. The saints' interior purity not only blossoms in their external actions, it positively bursts like water from a fountain. The fact that Christ himself is the Word which 'erupts' from the 'fullness of heart' and the source of the overflowing torrent of mercy identifies his own presence as the plenitude in which the saints participate. A further aspect of Anselm's vision of redemption is thereby uncovered. The *signum* of *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* makes clear that if laying down one's life for one's friends is the essential character of love, this act cannot be separated from the trajectory of humility – the descent and subsequent exaltation - which constituted Christ's redemptive kenosis. By incorporating these *signa, fons vivum* and *eructavit cor meum bonum verbum,* Anselm implies that it is not only Christ's self-emptying whose imitation is salvific, but also his plenitude. The dynamic of self-immolation, inextricably bound up with the life and liturgy of the monastery, is incomplete as a redemptive movement if it is not combined with Christ's overflowing abundance, channelled to sinners through those saintly friends of his who imitate him best.

7.3. *Petite, quaerite, pulsate*

Anselm's language of satiety and the longing for fulfilment is not exhausted by the *signa* of *fons vivum* and *eructavit cor meum bonum verbum.* Christ's injunction to 'ask', 'seek'

[41] The Trinitarian aspects of Anselm's view of atonement are also noted by David Bentley Hart, though his article only discusses the *Cur Deus homo*: David Bentley Hart, 'A Gift Exceeding Every Debt: An Eastern Orthodox Appreciation of Anselm's Cur Deus Homo', *Pro Ecclesia* 7.3 (1998), 343-344.

and 'knock' is framed in the Gospel texts within a broader comment about God's faithfulness in granting the seeker's desire:

> For everyone who asks receives, and everyone who searches finds, and for everyone who knocks, the door will be opened. Is there anyone among you who, if your child asks for a fish, will give a snake instead of a fish? Or if the child asks for an egg, will give a scorpion? (Luke 11:10-12, NRSV)

Anselm's supplicant uses the language of 'asking', 'seeking' and 'knocking' in the hope that God would make good this scriptural promise. In his Prayer to Nicholas, the supplicant begins by lamenting the absence of an intercessor to call upon. Looking to God to provide one, he begs to be given the good gifts of the Gospel passage, rather than the bad:

> So great is the confidence, Lord, that your servant, created and recreated by you, has in your goodness, that this culprit of yours presumes to ask an intercessor of you. For no-one will care for me unless by your command, no-one will be useful to me unless by your assent; and yet I hope that what you deny me on account of my sins, you may permit me on account of the merits of someone who is your friend. Good one, from whom I seek a go-between, do not show yourself as an avenger, if you do not give a stone instead of bread, a serpent instead of a fish, a scorpion instead of an egg. Therefore, Lord, give me Nicholas as an intercessor, your great confessor, whose blessed name the whole world praises.[42]

The gifts which the Gospel's seeker requests were generally allegorised in medieval commentary, and Anselm was no exception. In Bede's interpretation, to ask is to pray, to seek is to live as one ought, and to knock is to persevere in a holy way of life.[43] For Bede, the bread signified love, as opposed to the stoniness of a heart of hatred; the fish signified faith, as opposed to the poisonous serpent of unbelief; and the egg signified hope, the promise of what is ahead, as opposed to the scorpion, whose power comes from behind.[44] Anselm does not adopt Bede's allegory wholesale, but he does in several

[42] SIII, *O*14, 56.31-38.
[43] Bede, *Homilies,* II.14.9-10, 124.
[44] Bede, *Homilies,* II.14.149-213, 129-131.

places identify the 'bread' of the Gospel passage as mercy and the 'stone' as justice. In his Prayer to Peter, he takes on the role of the hungry petitioner, resisting the 'stone of justice' in favour of the 'bread of mercy':

> O the bitterness of desperation! I know certainly, I know that to be the sentence of justice, not of mercy. Who invoked justice in my case? I spoke of mercy, not of that. My soul begs of you the bread of mercy, God, in wretched tribulation; why do you press the stone of justice into my mouth?[45]

When the supplicant in the Prayer to Paul throws himself before his judge, Anselm once more employs the Gospel triplet in pleading for mercy:

> Jesus, God, and you, his apostle, in this faith I, a sinner, believe on your command, I throw myself upon this faith; indeed I have already thrown myself. I approach you, about to pray, having put on this faith. In this faith I ask, in this faith I seek, in this faith I knock, (*peto…quaero…pulso*), that you might have mercy on a sinner, you [God] by sparing, you [Paul] by interceding; you [God] by saving, you [Paul] by praying.[46]

Weaving this passage into his petition for mercy enables the supplicant to contextualise his longing within the Gospel's promise of fulfilment.

Yet the *signum's* roots reach further for Anselm. The notion of hunger, of desiring the taste of something not yet attained, is closely intertwined with the love which surpasses intellection. The gift of love is what the 'poor beggar' requests when he 'asks', 'seeks' and 'knocks' in Anselm's Prayer for Friends:

> You know, Lord, that I love this love which you command, I delight in that love, I desire that love. It is for the sake of this love that I ask (*peto*), that I seek (*quaero*), that this poor beggar of yours knocks (*pulsat*) and cries at the door of your mercy.[47]

At the end of his third meditation, too, it is love for which the meditator asks, seeks and knocks, but love which is understood as the deeper, affective internalisation of the

[45] SIII, *O*9, 32.83-33.87.
[46] SIII, *O*10, 36.85-88.
[47] SIII, *O*18, 71.19-22.

truths which his intellectual harvest has yielded. Having meditated on the rationale behind the Incarnation, the meditator asks his soul what response can worthily reflect this theological truth:

> Consider, my soul, take heed, all my innermost being, how much the whole of your substance owes to him.[48]

Grasping soteriological proofs is not enough; the only proper response is to ingest them, drawing the meditator into a communion of love:

> I beg you, Lord, grant that I may taste by love what I taste by thought. May I know by affect what I know by intellect.[49]

Once more employing the Gospel triplet, Anselm's meditator begs God to make good his promise on the grounds that it was God himself who inspired and instructed the asking, the seeking and the knocking:

> I ask, I seek, I knock. You who makes me ask, grant that I might receive. You give me the seeking; give me the finding too. You teach me to knock; open to the knocking. To whom do you give, if you refuse one who asks? Who finds, if the seeker seeks in vain? To whom do you open, if you are closed to the knocker? What do you give to those who do not pray, if you refuse your love to one who does? From you I have the desire; from you may I obtain.[50]

The notion that the mediator requires one more door to be opened to him, the door to full absorption of the meaning of his discoveries, hints that the seeker's hunger will be satisfied when intellection reaches its affective fulfilment in love.

It is here that the *signum* of *petite, quaerite, pulsate* extends to encompass the kind of seeking and entering associated with biblical allegories of spousal union. In challenging God to fructify the meditator's desire which God himself has planted, the meditator of Anselm's third meditation begs to be admitted into the 'inner chamber' of God's love:

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[48] SIII, *Med* 3, 91.191-192.
[49] SIII, *Med* 3, 91.196-197.
[50] SIII, *Med* 3, 91.203-207.

> Behold, Lord, my heart stands before you. It tries, but it cannot by itself; you do yourself what it cannot. Admit me into the inner room of your love (*Admitte me intra cubiculum amoris tui*).[51]

The reference to an 'inner chamber of love' belongs to the traditional spousal imagery of the Song of Songs, that biblical poem voicing the mutual yearning of two lovers. From Origen and Gregory of Nyssa to Bede and Bernard of Clairvaux, the two lovers in the poem were traditionally interpreted as Christ and the Church, and the Song's images – the garden, the bedchamber, the lattice, the vineyard – carried rich mystical meanings for monastic exegetes.[52] One famous passage depicts the bride seeking her spouse:

> I sought him whom my soul loves…I will rise now and go about the city, in the streets and in the squares; I will seek him whom my soul loves (Song 3:1-2, NRSV).

On finding her beloved, the spouse declares,

> I found him whom my soul loves. I held him, and would not let him go until I brought him into my mother's house, and into the chamber of her that conceived me (Song 3:3-4, NRSV).

Anselm probably had this passage in mind in the meditator's longing to enter the 'inner chamber' of God's love, since he quotes directly from the Song of Songs only a few lines later. Recalling the passage in Song 2:5 - 'Stay me up with flowers, compass me about with apples: because I languish with love' – Anselm's meditation ends with a cry for the satiety of union:

> Good, good Lord, do not scorn [my soul], for it languishes with love for you; bring it to life again (*amoris tui languet: refocilla eam*). May it be satiated with your love, anointed with your affection, filled with your love. May [that love] seize the whole of me and possess the whole of me…[53]

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[51] SIII, *Med* 3, 91.201-203.
[52] See Denys Turner, *Eros and allegory: medieval exegesis of the Song of Songs* (Kalamazoo, Mich.; Cistercian Publications, 1995); Ann E. Matter, *The Voice of my Beloved: the Song of Songs in western medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990); Ann W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).
[53] SIII, *Med* 3, 91.207-211.

In Bede's commentary, the soul languishes out of eschatological longing. Prompted to 'seek the light of eternity, she doubtless grows weary from the love of that which is temporal' and the more unsatisfactory she considers this passing world, 'the more ardently does she rise up to contemplate the joys of an eternal kingdom'.[54] For Anselm, as for Bede, when the search for God is couched in the language of seeking, knocking and entering, it entails more than an intellectual seeking, but a desire for full, eschatological unity with the beloved.

Yet this desire is not without penitence and tears. In the Prayer to Mary Magdalene, the saint distinguished by both love and penitence, Mary's search for Jesus in the garden of the resurrection mimics the spouse of the Song of Songs. Anselm even designates her as 'blessed spouse of God':

> For who can explain, O blessed spouse of God… how can I say, when, blazing with love for him, you wept, looking for him, and tearfully sought him, how ineffably, how wonderfully he came to console you, and inflamed you yet more greatly; when he hid himself from sight and showed himself without being seen; when the one whom you sought was present, and asked you whom you sought and why you were crying?[55]

According to Bede, the bride's search in the Song of Songs was 'fulfilled in Mary Magdalene, who contains a type of the Church', and whose love and yearning were evident in her tears.[56] Indeed, the notion of seeking God with tears, with burning penitence and with desire, is several times expressed by Anselm as a love-sick 'languishing' of the heart taken straight from the Song of Songs. In his third Prayer to Mary, he weaves three scriptural references to express the totality of this longing: the heart which 'languishes with love' (Song 2:5), the soul which 'melts' (Song 5:6, *Anima*

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[54] Bede, *In Cantica Canticorum allegorica expositio,* in *Bedae venerabilis opera: pars 2, Opera Exegetica*, 2B, ed. D. Hurst and J.E. Hudson, CCSL 119B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983), trans. Arthur G. Holder as *On the Song of Songs and selected writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 2011), 1.2.5.176-181, 69.
[55] SIII, *O*16, 65.31-37.
[56] Bede, *In Cantica Canticorum*, 2.3.4.107-109, 92.

mea liquefacta est) and the 'flesh and heart' which 'fail' (Psalm 72:26, *Defecit caro mea et cor meum*). Asking Christ and his mother to 'teach my heart with what reverence I ought to think of you', the supplicant declares,

> Tell and grant my soul with what affection you are to be remembered as it delights in you, as it rejoices, delighting in you, as it is anointed, rejoicing in you. Anoint and ignite it with your love. May my heart continually rest in your love, my soul melt, my body fail. (*Vestro continuo amore langueat cor meum, liquefiat anima mea, deficiat caro mea*) If only the innermost parts of my soul would blaze up with the sweet fervour of your love, so that the innermost parts of my body would dry up![57]

The Prayer to Christ, too, evokes the 'languishing' heart and the 'failing' body in connection with the search for the hidden saviour. Having imaginatively remembered the events of Christ's Passion, the supplicant finds himself dismayed that he himself was not there to witness it. The search for Christ he undertakes echoes the search of the Song's spouse and of Mary Magdalene:

> What am I to say? What am I to do? Where am I to go? Where can I seek him? Where and when shall I find him? Whom shall I ask? Who will tell my beloved, for I languish with love (Song 2:5)? The praise of my heart fails, my laughter is turned to mourning (Lamentations 5:15).[58]

The prayer continues with a litany of psalmic laments, ending in the characteristic cry to see God's 'face' recalling a previous *signum*:

> My body and my heart fails, God of my heart and my portion forever (Psalm 72:26). My soul refuses to be consoled, unless by you, my sweetness (Psalm 76:3). For what have I in heaven but you, and what do I wish for on earth? (Psalm 72:25). I wish for you, I hope for you, I seek you. To you my heart has said: I seek your face; your face, Lord, do I seek; do not turn your face from me (Psalm 26:8).[59]

[57] SIII, *O*7, 24.155-162.
[58] SIII, *O*2, 9.72-74.
[59] SIII, *O*2, 9.75-79.

For Anselm, then, the *signum petite, quaerite, pulsate* demonstrates that a constituent part of seeking God, poetically evoked through hunger, thirst and spousal desire, entails the tearful anguish of a longing as yet unrewarded by full consummation.

While this longing is described in the language of exile - 'Give to me, Lord, in this exile, the bread of sorrow and tears, for which I hunger above many delicacies' – the God whom the supplicant seeks is far from absent.[60] On the contrary, this *signum* suggests a God of startling immanence. Indeed, it is not only the sinner who 'seeks' and 'knocks', but also God himself. In his comment on Song 5:2 ('the voice of my beloved knocking: Open to me, my sister'), Bede explains that Christ 'stands and knocks' at the door of his church (Revelation 3:20) when he excites a longing for the Lord's coming.[61] In Anselm's Prayer to Nicholas, the Christ who seeks and knocks is both provoking the sinner to perceive his plight and plundering the abyss in pursuit of his lost handiwork:

> Good Lord, you beat (*pulsasti*) and stirred me in the abyss of my sins, in which I was sleeping as if on a couch. You roused my torpor, you stirred up my negligence…you decided that I should ask (*peteret*) for an intercessor, and you showed him to me…Good Lord, I give you thanks; truly you sought (*quaesivisti*) your lost one in the abyss and found him…[62]

Far from implying God's absence, then, Anselm's language of fainting heart, melting soul and failing body indicate the incapacity of mortal creatures to bear the weight of this divine presence. Even God's indirect presence, visible in the saints' sanctity, can prove too much for the sinner. On several occasions, the prayers' supplicant finds himself tongue-tied before the saint, his powers of speech having abandoned him. Faced with the glory of Mary, 'the life of my soul, sustainer of the repair of my body, nurse of the

[60] SIII, *O*16, 67.82-83.
[61] Bede, *In Cantica Canticorum*, 3.5.2.145-166, 144.
[62] SIII, *O*14, 60.158-166.

salvation of the whole of my substance', the supplicant is unable to find the words with which to offer appropriate response:

> But what am I to say? My tongue fails, because my mind is not sufficient. Lady, lady, all my innermost self is agitated, that it might be free to thank you for such great gifts, but it cannot think what is worthy, and is ashamed to offer what is unworthy. What therefore can I worthily say to the mother of my creator and saviour, by whose sanctity my sins are purged, by whose integrity incorruptibility is given to me, by whose virginity my soul is loved by its Lord and disposed for its God? What, I say, can I worthily say to the bearer of God and my Lord, by whose fecundity the captive is redeemed, by whose childbirth I am rescued from eternal death, by whose offspring the lost is restored and led back from miserable exile to the land of the blessed?[63]

On seeking to grasp the nature of Mary's greatness, the supplicant finds that comprehension flees before him. Expression of the saint's superabundance is thwarted, not because Mary's beatitude is not apparent, but because the sinner's existential frame is somehow unable to sustain comprehension of it. Seeking and failing to grasp the saint's holiness only sharpens the supplicant's longing, much like the deer in Psalm 41:

> O exceedingly exalted one, whom the affection of my soul tries to follow, where do you flee from the sight of my mind? O beautiful to behold, lovable to contemplate, delightful to love, where to you evade the capacity of my heart? Lady, make my weak soul ready to follow you. Do not hide yourself, lady, seeing the small soul who seeks you. Have mercy, lady, on the soul who pants after you with longing.[64]

The spousal overtones of Anselm's desire reveal a longing for apprehension of a God who is so immanent as to be hidden in plain sight. He is present with such abundance that just a glimpse of his glory reflected in the saints scatters the spiritual senses. The seemingly penitential aspect of this desire does not necessarily suggest the sin which Anselm invokes elsewhere by way of different *signa*, but simply the limitations of temporal creatureliness. Where the saints 'erupt' with the scriptural words of mercy,

[63] SIII, *O*7, 19.29-38.
[64] SIII, *O*7, 21.89-92.

the frame of the ordinary Christian is somehow unable to bear this interior glory; the flesh fails, the heart melts, the tongue falters, the hunger and thirst remain.

7.4. *Ut gaudium sit plenum*

This spiritual search and desire for satisfaction are not to go unconsummated. In one further *signum,* Anselm encapsulates the scriptural hope of their eventual fulfilment. Christ's words in John 15:11 promise the disciples that if they keep God's commandment to love one another, they will be his friends, his 'joy' will be in them, and their own 'joy will be full' (*ut gaudium meum in vobis sit, et gaudium vestrum impleatur*). One chapter later, Christ repeats the promise of joy, urging the disciples to petition the Father in his name, for if they do, they shall receive what they ask, and their 'joy shall be full' (*petite, et accipietis, ut gaudium vestrum sit plenum*, John 16:24). The language of spousal longing indirectly presupposes an expectation of eventual satiety, recurring in the prayers and meditations as a *signum* pointing towards Gospel's promise of 'fullness of joy'.

The earthbound seeker experiences the 'fullness of joy' as something woefully postponed. Towards the close of his long Prayer to Christ, having imaginatively rehearsed the events of Christ's life and having grieved that he was not there to experience them, the supplicant voices his psalmic longings for the satisfying of this promised vision in terms of hunger, thirst and desire:

> When will you come, my consoler, whom I await? O when shall I see my joy which I desire! O that I might be satiated with the sight of your glory (Psalm 16:15), for which I hunger! O that I might be inebriated with the plenty of your house (Psalm 35:9)! That you might make me drink of the torrent of your pleasure, for which I thirst (Psalm 35:9)![65]

[65] SIII, *O*2, 9.88-92.

The prayer ends with the supplicant's psalmic request that he be 'fed' with tears until the day when his *gaudium* will be *perfectum:*

> Now come, Lord, appear to me, and I will be consoled…Reveal your glory, and my joy will be perfected…Until then, Lord, may tears be my bread day and night (Psalm 41:4), until it is said to me, 'behold, your God', until I hear, 'soul, behold your spouse'. Until then, feed me with my sobs, until then, quench me with my tears, revivify me with my sorrows. Meanwhile perhaps my redeemer may come, who is good; nor will he tarry, because he is kind.[66]

The life of plenitude, of 'satiety', 'inebriation' and 'torrents of pleasure', still far off for the sinner, is one already enjoyed by, and explicitly associated with, the saints. The passage from John 15 featuring Jesus's promise of 'fullness of joy' is listed in the Bec Missal as a reading for the vigil of the feast of an apostle.[67] In Anselm's Prayer to Stephen, the martyr is able to erupt with merciful words, and thereby serve as an effective intercessor, because he has entered the eschatological realm which is characterised by this fullness:

> By all these virtues with which you abounded, I beseech you, charitable Stephen, pray that charity might fill my dry soul 'as with marrow and fatness' (Psalm 62:6). Help me, that my hungry soul may be satisfied with the bread of charity. Grant that the fire of charity might ignite my cold soul...[68]

The eschatological character of Stephen's heavenly rest – 'Oh he fell asleep! Oh slumber in rest, rest in security, security in eternity!' – is underpinned by references from Revelation 21:4 which Anselm may have known from the *commune martyrum,* the liturgy for the feast-days of martyrs:[69]

> In how much peace do they sleep, those who fall asleep in the Lord! For the great weight of the flesh does not weigh them down, nor do the griefs of corruption afflict them. They do not battle with the sting of temptation, nor is their conscience terrified by sin. No

[66] SIII, *O*2, 9.83-86; 9.93-97.
[67] *BM,* 82.
[68] SIII, *O*13, 53.105-109.
[69] SIII, *O*13, 53.110-111; *CS,* 536.

> neediness troubles them. God 'wipes away every tear from their eyes' (Revelation 21:4).[70]

Having entered the heavenly Jerusalem, the saints both reveal and convey to sinners some of the eschatological plenitude which sharpens and purifies their longing. Intersecting both heavenly and earthly axes, the saints are able to picture to earthly seekers the 'fullness of joy' which is promised them, and even offer them a foretaste.

In Anselm's third meditation, the foretaste of this 'fullness of joy' and the expectation of future happiness is identified not only with the beatitude of the saints in heaven, but with the interiorisation of the truths of redemption and the receiving of communion. Having ruminated on the redemption Christ's satisfaction has won, the meditator exhorts himself:

> Behold, Christian soul, here is the strength of your salvation, here is the cause of your liberty, here is the price of your redemption. You were held captive, but in this manner you were redeemed. You were a slave, and were thus set free. Thus the exile was brought home, the lost one found, the dead raised to life.[71]

These theological truths are to be tasted and ingested, not only in prayerful meditation, but at the moment of receiving communion:

> Eat it, reader, chew it, suck it, let your heart swallow it, when your mouth receives the body and blood of your redeemer. Make this the daily bread of this life, your nourishment and viaticum, because by this and by nothing other than this can you remain in Christ and Christ in you, and your joy will be full in your future life.[72]

The pledge of future 'fullness of joy' is to be found in 'tasting' in the sacrament the implications of his theological convictions: 'grant that I may taste by love what I taste by thought. May I know by affect what I know by intellect'.[73] The sacramental overtones of this 'tasting' are made more explicit in Anselm's Prayer upon Receiving the Body and

[70] SIII, *O*13, 54.123-127.
[71] SIII, *Med* 3, 88.129-132.
[72] SIII, *Med* 3, 89.132-136.
[73] SIII, *Med* 3, 91.196-197.

Blood of the Lord, in which the supplicant asks that by receiving communion, he may realise in his physical and spiritual senses what he knows to be true by faith:

> Grant, Lord, that I might know in faith and affect, as I perceive in mouth and heart, that by virtue of [the body and blood] I may merit to be planted in likeness to your death and resurrection through the mortification of the old man and the beginning of a just life.[74]

Intertwined with the hope for a future 'fullness of joy' is the Eucharistic image of 'tasting' by an enriched interior appreciation the truth of what is believed, wedding Anselm's intellectual endeavours intimately with the sacramental presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

It is in this *signum,* then, that the affective rumination on theological truths and the presence of Christ in the sacrament find their convergence. Although the full satiating of the supplicant's desire is not yet possible for the mortal wayfarer, a foretaste of the 'fullness of joy' to come is found in the meeting of *memorare* and *gustare.* The injunction to 'remember' appears in Anselm's Prayer to Christ, in which the supplicant, 'orphaned' from his heavenly Father, repeatedly 'remembers' or calls to mind the events of Christ's life which he was not fortunate enough to witness:

> I thirst for you, I hunger for you, I long for you, I sigh after you, I desire you. And as an orphan presented to a most kind father, weeping and lamenting, unceasingly cherishing his lovable face with all his heart, in this way - not as much as I ought, but as much as I am able - I remember your Passion (*memor passionis tuae*), I remember your blows, I remember the flagellation, I remember the cross, I remember your wounds, I remember how you were killed for me, how you were anointed, how you were buried, and at the same time I remember your glorious resurrection and wondrous ascension (*memor tuae gloriosae resurrectionis et admirabilis ascensionis*); I hold on to this undoubtable faith, I mourn the distress of my exile, I hope in the sole consolation of your coming, I burn for the glorious contemplation of your face.[75]

[74] SIII, *O*3, 10.15-18.
[75] SIII, *O*2, 7.30-38.

The phrases *memor passionis tuae* and *memor tuae gloriosae resurrectionis et admirabilis ascensionis* are distinctly reminiscent of the *Unde et memores* prayers uttered by the priest in the mass directly after the consecration.[76] Even if Anselm did not directly intend to quote the *Unde et memores,* the connection between spiritual hunger, the rumination upon theological truths and the great sacramental act of 'remembrance' could not have been far from his mind. A priest himself, Anselm would have sacramentally 'remembered' Christ's sacrifice at least once a day, 'tasting' in his own mouth the words of Christ: '*hoc facite in meam commemorationem'*. To 'remember' a theological truth, then, in the context of this prayer, would not only have meant to recall an event or fact to the forefront of the mind, nor even (as an Augustinian would have it) to draw it out from the storehouses of memory and fix it with the attention of the will.[77] It would also have echoed the performance of a priestly act, bringing into the midst of the community the sacramental presence of Christ.

The postponed realisation of the 'fullness of joy' thus weds Anselm's *signum* of *ut gaudium sit plenum* with Eucharistic communion, the definitive foretaste, 'tasting by love', which surpasses and fulfils spiritual and intellectual longing. To ruminate upon a theological truth, to experience fully its affective power, to 'remember' the full import of its meaning, for Anselm, involves a 'tasting' which is more akin to the communicant's awareness of Christ's presence in the sacrament than to the cognitive affirmation of a philosophical proposition. Moreover, the search for this promised satiety, and the 'asking', 'seeking' and 'knocking' which accompanies it, is not a hunt for a God who is absent. This group of *signa* communicate that the search for God – intellectual, spousal

[76] Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite,* II.218.
[77] For Augustine's theory of memory, see Roland Teske, 'Augustine's philosophy of memory', in *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine*, ed. Eleanore Stump & Norman Kretzmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 148-158; and Dave Tell, 'Beyond Mnemotechnics: Confession and Memory in Augustine', *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 39:3 (2006), 233-253.

and sacramental – is a struggle to possess totally that which, in a certain sense, is already possessed.

The *signa* outlined in these chapters by no means constitute an exhaustive itemisation of scripture's presence in Anselm's prayers and meditation. They do, however, act as focal points which draw the eye towards the theological themes and convictions which tend to be yoked to the scriptural words, phrases and images he employs. A number of observations can be drawn out. First, the harmony which ought to obtain between interior and exterior was what distinguished a hypocritical monk, lying *per tonsuram,* from the saint, whose interior purity burst out in liquid beatitude. It was the disharmony between the real spiritual state of affairs and the Christian's ability to grasp them which should prompt the soul to prayer. The inability to grasp theological realities could take the form of sinful ignorance (or even demonic madness), associated with the Pauline struggle of the will between flesh and spirit. It could also take the form of a desire for a true, affective 'tasting' of the truths which are affirmed intellectually, the longing for a fuller, more comprehensive grasp of what the mind claims to know.

Secondly, the *signa* hint at two senses of being 'satisfied'. The redemptive model offered by Christ's salvific humility is echoed in the theory and practice of monastic discipline, by which faults are 'satisfied' by a ritual self-abasement followed by a ritual reconciliation. In this trajectory, it is the logic of recapitulation and the scriptural language of kenosis which lends Christ's actions (and the monk's imitation) their redemptive efficacy. Yet there is another kind of satisfaction, connected with the quenching of thirst and the assuaging of hunger, which requires Christ's overflowing fullness, mediated through the saints, to fulfil. The search for this full satisfaction,

loaded with spousal and sacramental overtones, finds its foretaste in the hidden Eucharistic presence of Christ.

Together, the *signa* witness to Anselm's sense of God's inescapable presence. The prior necessity of God's grace, the hidden omnipresence of divine light, the participation in Christ's humility and obedience, and the present taste of future hope, all testify to a God whose actual absence is (quite literally) unthinkable. Anselm's *signa* allow him to balance the paradoxes which follow from this conviction, namely, the undeniability of realities which sinners choose to deny; the universal manifestness of a God who somehow still fails to be obvious; and the living oxymoron of the worldly monk. The pictorial nature of the *signa,* moreover, convey an immediate intuition of right order, both of how things ought to be and of how they ought not to be. It is clear that a light should illumine, a shepherd should tend his sheep, and a fountain should quench thirst. It is equally clear what is wrong with a lifeless tree and a self-subjugating slave. These images conjure with a kind of immediacy the spiritual realities which the sinner, trapped in imperceptions, might not otherwise see.

The monastic canvas on which Anselm paints these images is crucial in understanding their fuller meaning. The monastery was the *locus* in which the true, spiritual state of affairs ought most clearly to be visible. Monastic life proclaimed to the sinner the nature of his sin: deathly dryness, slavery and inherited blindness. Monastic life itself provided the remedy: the second baptism of penitence and compunction, the Christoform humility which effects reconciliation, and the 'freedom' which comes from obedience, acting for rather than against one's own spiritual interests. If sin creates a dual imbalance – the lack of goodness which ought to be there, and the presence of wickedness which ought not be there – it is the monastery which offers a dual satisfaction to remedy it. Satisfaction for offenses is made not only when the monk

prostrates himself in humility, but when he orients his life by desire towards the fullness of joy, of knowledge and love of God, which he currently lacks. Yet a faithful monk, even one engaging in theological speculation, could still fail to 'taste' by love the truth of what he lived and believed.

PART III: Scriptural *signa* in the *Proslogion,* the three dialogues and *Cur Deus homo*

8. The works in question

The *signa* uncovered in Anselm's prayers and meditations act as a point of reference for the search for scripture in his other works. Where *signa* appear in the *Proslogion,* the three dialogues *De Veritate, De Libertate Arbitrii* and *De Casu Diaboli* and the *Cur Deus homo*, whether materially (i.e. the same *signa*) or only formally (i.e. similar clusters of words, phrases and images from the Revealed Bible), these witness to Anselm's monastic reception of biblical material extending into some of the core texts of his broader, more 'philosophical' corpus. Since these texts represent a variety of genres, intended audiences and circumstances of composition, a brief introduction is necessary before the search for *signa* can begin.

8.1. *Proslogion: 'Dei gratia illuxit in corde eius'.*[1]

When Anselm's biographer Eadmer recounted the writing of the *Proslogion* – presumably relayed by Anselm himself – he depicted an experience of sudden illumination. The search for a single, self-contained proof for the essential Christian doctrines of God had cost Anselm sleep, appetite, and 'disturbed the attention which he ought to have paid to Matins and to Divine service at other times'.[2] Convinced that his distraction was a temptation from the devil, Anselm tried to push the question aside, when 'suddenly one night during Matins the grace of God illuminated his heart, the whole matter became clear to his mind, and a great joy and exultation filled his inmost being'.[3] This telling resonance with the Bible's divine inspiration is bolstered by

[1] *VA,* I.29-30.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid*.

Eadmer's story of the mishaps (diabolical or otherwise) in the *Proslogion*'s transcription, when the loss and destruction of Anselm's initial notes prompted him to write directly on to vellum.[4] This grace of illumination produced the divinely-favoured *Proslogion* shortly after the *Monologion*, in 1077 or 1078, just on the cusp of Anselm's elevation to the abbacy. It must have seemed to Eadmer that the divine authority which graced Anselm's inspired authorship presaged the authority he would soon assume over the monastic community, and, eventually, over the see of Canterbury.

Eadmer's recounting of the *Proslogion* is the first in a very long interpretative history. Anselm's book, 'small in size but full of weighty discourse and most subtle speculation', had both admirers and detractors in Anselm's own lifetime.[5] The philosophical repost of Gaunilo, probably a monk from Marmoutiers, delighted Anselm so much that he insisted it should be addended, along with his own reply, whenever the *Proslogion* was copied.[6] While it was the thirteenth-century Franciscans who took up (and, in Lydia Schumacher's view, misconstrued) Anselm's 'proof', it is the modern era which has granted the *Proslogion's unum argumentum* its remarkably extended afterlife.[7] The reception of the so-called 'ontological argument' in modern analytical philosophy, whose key trends have been summarised elsewhere, does not lie within the scope of this chapter.[8] However, the *Proslogion* occupies such a prominent place in scholarly understandings of *ratio*'s relation to *fides* in the central middle ages that it is necessary to carve a path through the tangle of secondary opinions.

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[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] The identity of Gaunilo is discussed in Gasper, 'Envy, Jealousy and the Boundaries of Orthodoxy', 64, fn. 63.
[7] Schumacher, 'The Lost Legacy of Anselm's Argument: Re-thinking the Purpose of Proofs for the Existence of God', *Modern Theology*, 27.1 (2011), 87-101.
[8] For succinct summaries, see Colish, *The Mirror of Language*, 59-63; Arthur C. McGill, 'Recent Discussion of Anselm's Argument,' in *Many-Faced Argument,* 71–104; Ian Logan, *Reading Anselm's Proslogion*: *the history of Anselm's argument and its significance today* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 129–196; Sweeney, *Desire for the Word*, 152-165.

The presence of an apparently dialectical proof embedded in a meditative prayer forms the sticking-point of many interpretations. It is the 'peculiar combination of argumentation and devotion' which makes the *Proslogion,* in Toivo Holopainen's view, 'the most fascinating work within the history of philosophical theology'.[9] Marilyn McCord Adams argued that the *Proslogion* 'alternates prayer exercises…with sections of intellectual inquiry', in order to affirm both reason's capacity to reach a certain level of understanding of God and also its inability to arrive at full theological vision.[10] Theologically-motivated interpretations of the *Proslogion* have tended to consider Anselm's proof, insofar as it is a 'proof' at all, as a rational tool mobilised in the service of faith. In some accounts, it is a logical formula for doubtful monks to generate an understanding of divine attributes, or a mental exercise to reorient their perspective towards a continual awareness of God's reality.[11] The harmonising of rational and prayerful elements is therefore found, for some, in the 'performance' of the *Proslogion's* argument. Arlo Vanderjagt argues that the '*credimus*' which prefixes the *Proslogion's* central claim that God is 'that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought' reveals that claim to be intended as a performative speech-act, whose utterance constitutes an act of believing.[12] For Lydia Schumacher, the rational proof acts as a conceptual tool to train monks in becoming 'living proofs' themselves, those who habitually think and act as if God's existence were beyond doubt.[13]

Other scholars have been less optimistic about the co-inherence of prayer and proof in the *Proslogion*. Ostensibly, one – either prayer or proof – must represent

[9] Holopainen, 'The *Proslogion* in relation to the *Monologion*', 590.
[10] McCord Adams, 'Anselm on Faith and Reason', 36; 'Praying the *Proslogion*: Anselm's Theological Method', in *The Rationality of Belief* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), 17–18.
[11] Gersh, 'Anselm of Canterbury', 276-278; Schumacher, *Divine Illumination,* 79.
[12] A. J. Vanderjagt, 'The Performative Heart of Anselm's Proslogion', in *Aosta, Bec and Canterbury,* 229-237.
[13] Schumacher, 'The Lost Legacy of Anselm's Argument', 97-99.

Anselm's true aim, and the other must be auxiliary. Arguing in favour of the 'proof' are scholars such as Richard Campbell, the latest in the long history of philosophers to foreground the *Proslogion'*s dialectical aspect and enquire into the structure of the argument, its logical validity and its much-contested designation as 'ontological'.[14] Some explain the proof's theological garb in terms of the *Proslogion*'s foundational metaphysical convictions, arguing that it is against the backdrop of Anselm's (theistic, realist, Augustinian, Neoplatonist) conception of 'reason' that the proof should be understood.[15] For Stephen Gersh, the *Proslogion*'s biblical references therefore do not change its essentially 'non-scriptural character' as a work whose fundamentally philosophical nature is 'consistent with its method of arguing without appeal to scripture'.[16] For others, Toivo Holopainen among them, the *Proslogion's* prayerful format is merely a rhetorical cloak - Anselm's attempt to keep his dangerously rationalistic light hidden under its devotional bushel.[17]

Stolidly occupying the other end of the spectrum is Karl Barth, who envisioned the argument not as an attempt at natural philosophy but as a decidedly theological reflection upon a divinely-revealed Name of God.[18] In line with Barth are those who consider the *Proslogion* a mystical or 'mystagogic' text, documenting Anselm's climb up from the slough of contingent thought and the limitations of reason to the pinnacle of

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[14] Campbell, *From Belief to Understanding: a study of Anselm's Proslogion argument on the existence of God* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1976), and *Rethinking Anselm's Arguments;* Logan, *Reading Anselm's Proslogion;* Brian Davies, 'Anselm and the Ontological Argument', in *Cambridge Companion to Anselm*, 157–178. For a recent re-reading of Anselm's argument, see Luca Vettorello, *L'unum Argumentum di Sant' Anselmo: Alla ricerca dell'interpretazione autentica della prova anselmiana dell'esistenza di Dio* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2015).

[15] Southern, *Portrait,* 127-137; Frederick Van Fleteren, 'Augustine's Influence on Anselm's Proslogion', in *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury*, 56-69; Fastiggi, 'The Divine Light Within', 195-206. For Anselm's realism, see Adams, 'Was Anselm a Realist? The *Monologium*', *Franciscan Studies*, 32 (1972), 5-14; Henry, 'Was Anselm a Realist?', *Ratio*, 5 (1963), 181-186; Yukio Iwakuma, 'The Realism of Anselm and his Contemporaries', in *Aosta, Bec and Canterbury*, 120-135.

[16] Gersh, 'Anselm of Canterbury', 273.

[17] Holopainen, 'The *Proslogion* in Relation to the *Monologion',* 560-602.

[18] Barth, *Anselm: fides quaerens intellectum.*

knowing (as in Gregory Schufreider's account) or, indeed, of unknowing (as in Anselm Stolz's).[19] The *Proslogion'*s argument, on accounts such as these, is useful insofar as it leads the would-be contemplative into the desired ecstatic affect.[20] For scholars like M. B. Pranger and Eileen Sweeney, Anselm's aim, in harmony with a decidedly monastic *ratio,* was to solve a 'quintessentially monastic problem', namely, that the God whose immediacy ought to be undeniable is the one whose existence, at times, seems most in doubt.[21] The *unum argumentum* was a tool for bridging this paradox, simultaneously creating a sense of proximity and distance from God - a formula which allows the monastic contemplative to enact the 'drama' of 'perceiving' the God who remains, at the same time, imperceptible.[22] The proof's rational aspect is therefore considered the handmaid to the *Proslogion'*s contemplative monastic goals.

The most direct route through this maze is to take the *Proslogion*, as far as possible, at face value. When it comes to hidden agendas, the text should be presumed innocent until proven guilty. The simplest explanation for both the form and the content of the *Proslogion* is the one Anselm himself supplies in the preface of his work:

> therefore, considering that what I rejoiced to discover, if written down, would please another to read, I wrote the following work about this and about certain other things in the persona of someone trying to raise his mind to the contemplation of God and seeking to understand what he believes.[23]

The presence of an apparently dialectical proof within a blueprint for meditation is most easily accounted for by supposing that Anselm really did think it ought to be there.

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[19] Dominic F. Doyle, 'The Mystagogic Structure of Anselm's *Proslogion', Heythrop Journal,* 57 (2016) 282-92; Schufreider, *Confessions of a rational mystic;* Anselm Stolz OSB, *The Doctrine of Spiritual Perfection,* trans. Aidan Williams (London: Herder, 1938); Robert McMahon, *Understanding the Medieval Meditative Ascent: Augustine, Anselm, Boethius & Dante* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2006), 159-210.
[20] Martin Benson, 'Prayer and Proof, Affect and Argument: The Role of Joy in St. Anselm's *Proslogion*', *The Downside Review*, 135 (2017), 154–162.
[21] Pranger, *Artificiality of Christianity,* 97-101; Sweeney, *Desire for the Word,* 171-173.
[22] Sweeney, *Desire for the Word,* 173.
[23] SI, *P, Prooemium:* 93.20-94.2.

He must have considered that the genuinely philosophical content which he carried into the cloister from his secular education belonged comfortably within a monk's contemplative prayer. His sincere joy at this symbiosis should be taken seriously, as should his distress upon discovering that it could be considered potentially heterodox.[24]

The *Proslogion*'s shape can be sketched in brief outline. Having offered in the *Monologion* an 'example for meditating on the rational basis of faith', Anselm decided to seek

> one argument whose proof would need nothing outside of itself, and would alone suffice to demonstrate that God truly is (*deus vere est*), and that he is the supreme Good, in need of nothing else, which all other things need for their being and well-being, and whatever we believe about the divine being.[25]

'In the persona of someone trying to raise his mind to the contemplation of God and seeking to understand what he believes', Anselm launches his meditation, with the meditator seeking God's face, and, entering into himself, lamenting humankind's loss of sight of its creator. The meditator then argues, prompted by recollection of the scriptural 'fool' who 'says in his heart that there is no God' (Psalm 13:1; 52:1), that whilst the fool does not acknowledge God, he nonetheless understands the concept of 'that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought', and that concept can therefore be said to exist 'in his mind'.[26] Yet, by definition, 'that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought' must exist in reality as well as in the mind, and if God is 'that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought', then this designation renders God's non-existence genuinely unthinkable. Using this formula to infer that God is whatever-it-is-better-to-be-than-not-to-be, the meditator then goes on to deduce that God must be perceptive

[24] Anselm's concerns that misunderstandings might elicit unfair criticism of the *Monologion* are expressed in his letter to Rainald, abbot of Poitiers. *Ep.* 83, I.217-218.
[25] SI, *P, Prooemium:* 93.2-10.
[26] It should be noted that Anselm does not distinguish, as later philosophers would do, between 'essence' and 'existence'.

and incorporeal, omnipotent and unable to sin, compassionate and impassable, merciful and just. Ruminating on God's mercy and justice in chapters fourteen to eighteen, the meditator confronts the incomprehensibility of God's goodness, and is forced to admit that despite his discoveries, he still cannot perceive God. Having lamented the numbness of his spiritual senses, he then reasons that although he cannot comprehend all of God's attributes in one glance, he can at least consider him the supreme Good towards whom lesser goods point. A litany of scriptural references concludes the *Proslogion* as the meditator relates the human goods which point towards their ultimate heavenly fulfilment.

Three primary clusters of scriptural language coalesce at critical junctures in the *Proslogion:* the opening, the central chapters fourteen to eighteen, and the end. In between these blocs, several chapters pass seemingly shorn of scriptural allusion. The scriptural presence in the *Proslogion,* therefore, ought to be examined with a consciousness of the apparent scriptural 'absence' which relieves it. The clusters of scriptural language, moreover, are so closely intertwined that extracting one strand from the rest produces a certain flattening effect, like listening in turn to each individual voice in a polyphonic piece of music. However, at the risk of artificially dismantling the text's harmonic complexity, isolating each *signum* can allow the reader to approach the *Proslogion'*s scriptural content in different thematic registers.

8.2. The three philosophical dialogues*: 'Tres tractatus pertinentes ad studium sacrae scripturae'.*

Anselm's three dialogues on Truth (*De Veritate*), Freedom of Choice (*De Libertate Arbitrii*) and the Fall of the Devil (*De Casu Diaboli*) were completed in the 1080s, over two decades after he followed his fellow dialectician Lanfranc into the cloister. Fifteen

of those years were spent as the community's prior, and at the death of Bec's founding abbot Herluin in 1078, Anselm was chosen as his successor. The writing of these dialogues, perhaps at the point at which the monastic conversion of his mind was reaching maturity, coincided with the assumption of even greater hierarchical authority. Anselm stepped into an abbacial office whose spiritual responsibility he viewed with utmost seriousness. The *Similitudes* attributed to him contain several parables hinting at the weighty charge laid on an abbot's shoulders; in one *similitudo,* the abbot in his judicial capacity is depicted as God himself.[27] Anselm evidently made his mark on Bec; his fifteen-year abbacy witnessed a dramatic increase in monastic professions which necessitated building projects to accommodate the community's expansion.[28] When Anselm transcribed his reflections on the themes of truth and lies, freedom and slavery, sin and choice, he did so having assumed authority for a young, rapidly transforming and potentially divided foundation whose future direction was solely in his hands. Perhaps the writing of classroom-style dialogues, intended to be relevant to the 'study of sacred scripture', was part of Anselm's vision for Bec, a vision which at least some over-hasty transcribers, who had begun to circulate the dialogues in the wrong order, actively wished to propagate.[29]

In much scholarship, these dialogues have been a 'happy hunting ground' for scholars interested in Anselm's dialectical skills, his use of modal concepts or his take on theodicy.[30] Philosophically-driven interpretations demonstrate persuasively that

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[27] *De Humanis Moribus,* 79, 69.
[28] Jean-Hervé Foulon, 'The Foundation and Early History of Bec', *Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec,* 32.
[29] SIII, *DV, Praefatio:* 173.2.
[30] Evans, *Anselm and Talking about God* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 86; see Mary-Rose Barral, 'Truth and justice in the mind of Anselm', *Les Mutations socio-culturelles*, 571-582; Richard Campbell, 'Freedom as Keeping the Truth: The Anselmian Tradition', *Anselm Studies*, 2 (1988), 297-318; Tomas Ekenberg, 'Free Will and Free Action in Anselm of Canterbury', *History of Philosophy Quarterly*, 22 (2005), 301-318; J. Quillet, 'Volonté et liberté dans le *De libertate arbitrii* de S Anselme de Cantorbéry', *Aosta, Bec and Canterbury*, 247-255; G. Stanley Kane, 'Anselm's Definition of Freedom', *Religious Studies,* 9 (1973), 297-306, and *Anselm's Doctrine of Freedom and the Will* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1981).

Bec's new abbot remained a dialectician.[31] Along with the fourth dialogue, *De Grammatico* (not included in this study, since Anselm himself excluded it from his trilogy) these were philosophical teaching texts, aimed at guiding his students down the logical pathways which he himself had blazed.[32] Many other scholars, especially those seeking to affirm the underlying unity of his corpus, have examined the dialogues listening specifically for their theological heartbeat.[33] In the opinion of Jean-Robert Pouchet, the search for truth upon which the dialogues' *magister* and *disciplus* embark was more than an exercise in argumentation; it was an Augustinian mystic's search for the vision of the divine.[34] Even those who would not go as far as Pouchet observe the theological function of the dialogues' logical format. For Sweeney, these 'philosophical' works are 'theological' in the sense that they are 'tied up with the specifically Christian account of the human condition'.[35]

Yet the sense in which these dialogues 'pertain to the study of sacred scripture', as Anselm confidently asserts in the trilogy's preface, has proved much more contentious. The dialogues do not offer exegetical interpretations of scriptural passages, explore allegorical or spiritual meanings in scriptural texts, or undertake any other conventional form of scriptural study. The actual number of visible scriptural quotations is sparse. Simone Tonini was so struck by this conundrum that he believed that a now-lost dialogue expressly dealing with scriptural study must have

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[31] Examples include Rogers, *Anselm on Freedom* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); and *Freedom and Self-Creation: Anselmian Libertarianism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Simo Knuuttila, 'Anselm on Modality' *Cambridge Companion to Anselm,* 111-131; Sandra Visser and Thomas Williams, 'Anselm on Truth', *Cambridge Companion to Anselm*, 204–121; Jeffrey E. Brower, 'Anselm on Ethics', *Cambridge Companion to Anselm*, 222–56; William Wood, 'Anselm of Canterbury on the fall of the devil: the hard problem, the harder problem, and a new formal model of the first sin', *Religious Studies*, 52 (2016), 223–245.
[32] Evans, *Talking about God,* 77.
[33] Many such studies appear in Jean Pouilloux (ed.), *Les mutations socio-culturelles.*
[34] Pouchet, *La rectitudo chez Saint Anselme.*
[35] Sweeney, *Desire for the Word*, 240.

accompanied the others in the sequence.[36] Given the relatively small number of biblical citations, Jean Châtillon observed, the dialogues' alleged relevance to scriptural study is, at the very least, 'surprising'.[37] Châtillon is able to view these works as attempts at scriptural commentary only by interpreting 'commentary' in the broadest possible terms. Anselm's dialogues pertain to scriptural study, Châtillon claims, in the sense that the concepts of truth, freedom and sin are primarily biblical themes, and Anselm would 'never have dreamt' of wresting them from their scriptural foundations.[38] For Helen Lang, the dialogues' link to the sacred text lies in the extremely general common interest in 'reason's participation in the relationship to God', and in the prompting of the will to action which both the dialogues and the scriptures are intended to inspire.[39]

For scholars such as Pouchet and Michel Corbin, the dialogues are works of scriptural interpretation in a stricter sense.[40] According to Pouchet, *De Veritate* represents an extended commentary on the eighth chapter of John, Anselm's '*inspiration primordiale'* for his themes of *veritas* and *libertas*.[41] When it comes to the status of the dialogues' biblical citations, Sweeney's conclusion chimes with Pouchet's. Anselm's citations are not 'afterthoughts or proof texts', but the very stimuli which '[give] rise to Anselm's extended reflection'.[42] Others consider the method rather than the subject-matter to be pertinent to the scholar of scripture. Working through the dialogues, Evans suggests, should train the reader in the logical and grammatical skills needed in

[36] Simone Tonini, 'La Scrittura nelle opere sistematiche di S. Anselmo', *Analecta anselmiana* 2 (1970), 57–116.
[37] Châtillon, 'Saint Anselme et l'Écriture', 436.
[38] *Ibid.,* 437.
[39] Lang, 'Anselm's Use of Scripture and His Theory of Signs', 443–456.
[40] Pouchet, *La rectitudo chez Saint Anselme;* Michel Corbin, 'Se Tenir dans la Vérité', *Les mutations socio-culturelles,* 649-665.
[41] Pouchet, 'Lecteur de Saint Jean', 457.
[42] Sweeney, *Desire for the Word,* 181.

understanding the Bible's meaning: 'Anselm is encouraging the student to develop habits of study which will stand him in good stead whenever he reads the Bible'.[43]

The thematic links between the dialogues, and Anselm's insistence that they should be read as a trilogy in the correct order, suggests a continuation of authorial intent which justifies viewing all three together. A rough sketch of their content clearly exhibits these central themes. In *De Veritate,* the dialogue between the *magister* and *disciplus* opens by querying whether the truth which is predicated of things in the world is the same truth predicated of God, since 'we believe that God is truth' (*deum veritatem esse credimus*).[44] The dialogue-partners then embark upon a search for the definition of truth, affirming that statements, thoughts, wills, actions, passive events and sensations can all be said to be true or untrue. The truth of things is received, with their being, from the Supreme Truth, and so they are true when they conform with what they ought to be. Truth is therefore defined as *rectitudo,* which the interlocutors consider synonymous with justice. But justice can only properly be predicated of a rational will; therefore, justice is defined as *rectitudo*-of-will kept for its own sake.

De Libertate Arbitrii takes up the theme of *rectitudo*-of-will by probing into the nature of human and angelic choice. The *magister* argues that Adam and Satan were 'enslaved' by sin, but only because they willingly enslaved themselves, since no amount of temptation or coercion could make a person will unwillingly. Having 'freely' abandoned *rectitudo*-of-will without any coercion, Adam and Satan retained the 'freedom', or ability, to keep that *rectitudo*, but no longer possessed any *rectitudo* to keep. A will which has retained *rectitudo,* on the other hand, is the freest of all, since, like God, such a person is supremely incapable of being persuaded to sin. Freedom of

[43] Evans, *Talking about God,* 80.
[44] SI, *DV,* 1:176.4.

choice is therefore defined as the ability to retain *rectitudo*-of-will for its own sake. But the will's freedom also entails the capacity for self-initiated, uncoerced action, which could be used to discard its *rectitudo.* Once that *rectitudo* is willingly abandoned, only God's grace can restore it.

De Casu Diaboli then examines the theme of culpability for lost *rectitudo.* How can the devil be culpable for not 'standing firm in the truth' when he did not have the perseverance to do so? The *magister* argues that the devil did not receive perseverance, not because God did not give it, but because the devil did not persist in his will to receive it. The devil abandoned *rectitudo,* then, when he preferred to will something else – likeness to God – rather than persevere. The interlocutors then plumb the source of this errant will, picturing all the apparatus for willing which the angels received on their creation. Satan is culpable, they conclude, because while God gives the will (*instrumentum*) and the ability to will (*usus*), the actual willing is the responsibility of the creature. Once *rectitudo* has been abandoned, it is not only the will-to-abandon which is blameworthy, but the resultant lack of *rectitudo* in a soul which ought to possess it.

8.3. *Cur Deus homo: 'quidquid in novo veterique testamento continetur probatum'.*

Anselm's most characteristic contribution to Christian soteriology was the product of the turbulent years following his appointment as archbishop of Canterbury in 1093. Despite the fruitful contact with his friend and fellow Bec monk Gilbert Crispin, abbot of Westminster, who consulted Anselm on his own *Disputatio Iudei et Christiani* composed in the early 1090s*,* the decade was a period of upheaval for the new archbishop.[45]

[45] See Southern, 'St Anselm and Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (1954), 78-115; and Abulafia and Evans (eds.), 'Introduction', *The Works of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster* (London: Published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press, 1986), xxvii-xxx.

Having finally reached a stalemate with King William II after what Eadmer presents as four years of intermittent conflict, Anselm went into voluntary exile in 1097 with his half-finished *Cur Deus homo,* travelling first to Lyon and then to Rome, and attending the Council of Bari where he presented his arguments in defence of the *filioque* at Pope Urban II's request. The rift with William II having been widened by Urban's renewed bans on lay investiture and homage to laymen at his Easter Council of 1098, the archbishop remained in exile, and managed to finish his two-volume work on the logic behind the Incarnation in the peace and quiet of a hilltop above Capua.[46] The dialogue's interlocutors, no longer the anonymous *magister* and *disciplus* but now the real-life Anselm and Boso, perhaps witness to Anselm's sense of uprootedness. Boso was clearly a valued monastic colleague, whose philosophical conversation Anselm missed so much that he summoned him to Canterbury in 1094 and again 1106.[47]

For Richard Southern, this period in Anselm's life represented a shift in emphasis from the internal discussions of his cloistered circle to theological encounters with the outside world, perhaps even with real Jewish or Muslim objections to Christianity.[48] Yet Anselm thought his dialogue sufficiently suited to monastic meditation to supplement it in 1099/1100 with a devotional counterpart, the *Meditatio redemptionis humanae.*[49] In transposing into prayer what the dialogue had discovered by dialectic, he was perhaps stirred by a similar enthusiasm to that which prompted the *Proslogion*'s composition, hopeful that his intellectual breakthrough would incite other would-be contemplatives to translate its tenets into praise.

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[46] *VA* II.30, 107.
[47] *Ep.* 174, I.333-334; Southern, *Portrait,* 202; 367-368.
[48] Southern, *Portrait,* 198-199. The likelihood of any engagement with real Jewish interlocutors has been called into question: Abulafia, 'St Anselm and Those Outside the Church,' in *Christians and Jews in Dispute: Disputational Literature and the Rise of Anti- Judaism in the West* (*c. 1000–1150*) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 131–148; *Christians and Jews,* 44-45.
[49] *VA* II.44, 122.

The text which he produced has become (in)famous for inaugurating a new 'satisfaction' account of the logic of Christian salvation. Recent history has seen much scholarly consternation at what has traditionally been taken as the *Cur Deus homo'*s dominant metaphor, the repayment of a debt of honour. Whilst Colin Gunton does note that 'Anselm does not put all of his eggs in the basket of satisfaction', he nonetheless concludes that 'the main metaphor [of debt] does dominate to the exclusion of almost everything else'.[50] Indeed, many standard secondary summaries of the history of atonement collect any subsequent theories which employ legal or economic imagery under an 'Anselmian' umbrella. Although the centrality of the alleged 'feudal' roots of Anselm's theory have been nuanced in recent readings of *Cur Deus homo*, Anselmian satisfaction is still presented as the archetype for all law-court models of the drama of redemption.[51] Rather than any of the other theories of atonement – recapitulatory, sacrificial, exemplarist, kenotic, or the *Christus victor* account championed by Gustav Aulén – Anselm's name, yoked with Calvin's and other reformers', most commonly graces those theories which have a notably 'juridical' flavour.[52] These accounts grouped under the 'Anselmian' banner tend to share certain features: an 'objective' character, privileging the 'external' moral mechanics of God's justice over a 'subjective' interior transformation of the sinner; a 'juridical' or 'commercial' 'transaction' whereby the

[50] Colin E. Gunton, *The Actuality of Atonement: a study of metaphor, rationality and the Christian tradition* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988), 93.
[51] Nicholas Cohen, 'Feudal Imagery or Christian Tradition? A Defense of the Rationale for Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*', *The Saint Anselm Journal* 2 (2004), 22-29; David L. Whidden III, 'The Alleged Feudalism of Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* and the Benedictine Concepts of Obedience, Honor, and Order', *Nova & Vetera, English Edition* 9.4 (2011), 1055-1087.
[52] Gustav Aulén, *Christus Victor: an historical study of the three main types of the idea of the atonement,* trans. A.G. Hebert (London: SPCK, 1931). Görge K. Hasselhoff, 'Anselm bei Johannes Calvin und Karl Barth: Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede der Rezeptionsweise', in *Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109) Philosophical Theology and Ethics,* ed. Roberto Hofmeister Pich, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 197-228; Robert B. Strimple, 'St Anselm's Cur Deus Homo and John Calvin's Doctrine of the Atonement', in *Aosta, Bec and Canterbury*, 348-360. For a more sympathetic reading, see Paul Dafydd Jones, 'Barth and Anselm: God, Christ and the Atonement', *International Journal of Systematic Theology,* 12:3 (2010), 257-282.

Father's forgiveness of sinners is conditional upon the prior repayment of a debt; and a Godhead under the self-constraining obligation for internal consistency.[53] For Eleonore Stump, whose recent book pits Anselm's atonement against Aquinas's, 'Anselmian' theories are distinguishable as those in which the 'chief obstacle' to redemption lies in God himself.[54]

It is as the standard-bearer of this 'Anselmian' model that Anselm himself, directly or indirectly, has faced much modern criticism. 'Perhaps no other theologian', writes Katherine Sonderegger, 'was so honoured in his day and rebuked in ours'.[55] The charges laid against him include introducing 'distorting, idolatrous features' into conceptions of the divine, promoting an impersonal transactional exchange which was 'the epitome of legalism, rationalism, crucicentrism', and 'stunting' redemption's effects to the placating of God's effrontery rather than the 'healing of the human personality'.[56] The common (fallacious) elision of satisfaction and penal substitution has laid Anselm open to the charge of promoting a God whose lordly touchiness can only be soothed by violence, a kyriarchal image particularly abhorrent to many feminist theologians.[57] Despite adopting Anselm's dialogic style for her recent book, Elizabeth Johnson deems his theological model no longer fit for purpose.[58] The efforts of his defenders

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[53] Dietrich Weiderkehr, *Belief in Redemption,* trans. Jeremy Moiser (London: J. Knox Press, 1979); Paul S. Fiddes, *Past Event and Present Salvation: the Christian idea of atonement* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1989). Both Weiderkehr and Fiddes cite Anselm as a representative of an 'objective' atonement.
[54] Eleonore Stump, *Atonement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 21.
[55] Katherine Sonderegger, 'Anselmian Atonement', *T&T Clark Companion to Atonement,* ed. Adam J. Johnson (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017), 175.
[56] Summaries of these critiques are found in Weiderkehr, *Belief in Redemption,* 40; Fiddes, *Past Event and Present Salvation,* 99; and Stephen R. Holmes, 'The Upholding of Beauty: A Reading of Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*', *Scottish Journal of Theology,* 54 (2011), 190.
[57] See especially Beverley W. Harrison and Carter Heyward, 'Pain and Pleasure: Avoiding the Confusions of Christian Tradition in Feminist Theory,' in *Christianity, Patriarchy and Abuse: a feminist critique*, ed. Joanne Carlson Brown and Carole R. Bohn (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1989), 148-173; Carlson Brown and Rebecca Parker, 'For God So Loved the World?' in *Christianity, Patriarchy and Abuse,* 1-30. Cf. Flora A. Keshgegian, 'The Scandal of the Cross: Revisiting Anselm and his Feminist Critics', *Anglican Theological Review*, 82 (2000), 475-92.
[58] Elizabeth A. Johnson, *Creation and the Cross: The Mercy of God for a Planet in Peril* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2018).

notwithstanding (among whom he could count Hans Urs von Balthasar and David Bentley Hart) many agree with Stump that the 'Anselmian' model's legalistic preoccupation with satisfying divine justice rather than with meaningfully remedying the effects of sin renders it 'unsalvagable'.[59] It is the paying of a debt of honour, then, and the conviction that this constitutes the *Cur Deus homo'*s primary metaphor, which has been the focus of most of its modern critics.

Anselm opens his first book by stating its aims. His argument will both refute the objections of unbelievers who reject Christianity's alleged irrationality, and encourage believers by displaying their faith's rational intelligibility.[60] The first book, purportedly conducting its investigations having 'removed' Christ from the equation, will demonstrate that humanity cannot be saved without a God-Man.[61] Once the interlocutors, Anselm and Boso, have decided on the terms of the dialogue, Boso argues that redemption could not entail a liberation from the devil, as in many classical accounts, since the devil can have no legitimate rights over humankind. The two then establish that for God to forgive sin without satisfaction would be unfitting, as it would not restore the cosmic order which Adam's sin had disfigured. Since that order can only be re-established by restoring to God the honour 'stolen' from him when Adam sinned, Adam's descendants are obliged to render to God something which will restore that honour and outweigh the demerit of the original theft. This arrangement is described by Anselm as 'satisfaction' (*satisfactio*). Either satisfaction or punishment must follow from

[59] Stump, *Atonement,* 37; Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord,* II.211-259; David Bentley Hart, 'A gift exceeding every debt'. For Balthasar's perspective on Anselm, see Emery de Gaál Gyulai, 'The Rediscovery of Anselm's Appeal to Beauty in Hans Urs Von Balthasar's Theology', in *Anselm of Canterbury and His Legacy*, 318-340; and Glenn W. Olsen, 'Hans Urs Von Balthasar and the Rehabilitation of St Anselm's Doctrine of the Atonement', *Scottish Journal of Theology,* 34:1 (1981): 49-61. For beauty and 'fittingness' as the *Cur Deus Homo'*s structural foundations, see Holmes, 'The Upholding of Beauty'; Hogg, *The Beauty of Theology,* 89-124; Roberto J. De La Noval, 'Anselmian apocatastasis: the fitting necessity of universal salvation in St Anselm's Cur Deus Homo', *Scottish Journal of Theology,* 71.2 (2018), 142-158.
[60] SII, *CDH,* I.1:47.8-11.
[61] SII, *CDH, Praefatio:* 42.11-12.

sin, but the price for satisfaction, owing to the gravity of sin, requires the rendering of a gift greater in value than everything in creation. Humans owe this gift, Anselm argues, but are unable to pay it. God is the only one able to pay it, and so only a God-Man is both liable and able to render satisfaction.

The second book aims to show how this satisfaction did in fact take place. Since it was God's intention that human nature achieve happiness and immortality, it is unfitting for the purpose of humanity's creation to be frustrated. Anselm attempts to demonstrate why the various details of Christ's life and Passion – his birth from a virgin woman, his divinity, the nature of his death and the value of his life - were suited to achieving the redemption which must occur in order for humanity to attain the purpose of its creation. Since the laying down of his life represents a gift of greater value than the gravity of all sin, and since Christ did not owe that gift, nor was his death required of him, such a gift merits a reward. All that belongs to the Father already belongs to the Son, so the reward is given instead to Christ's fellow humans. Interspersed with this argument are important ruminations on necessity, freedom and the population of the heavenly city, all designed to demonstrate that Christ's free gift of his life was exactly what was required to secure humanity's reconciliation.

Biblical phrases appear sporadically in the dialogue, with many chapters proceeding with no visible signs of scriptural quotation. The occasional proof-text is raised by one or the other of the interlocutors, and the odd biblically-inspired interjection colours their language ('*Benedictus Deus*' - 'Blessed be God!').[62] Early in the first book, a constellation of related verses, seemingly suggesting Christ's death to be at the Father's compelling, is mustered by Boso.[63] Anselm tackles texts individually using

[62] SII, *CDH,* II.6:101.20.
[63] SII, *CDH,* I.8-10.

unremarkable exegetical strategies, matching the verse to another biblical text thought to exhibit the same pattern, or applying a logical principle which qualifies the verse's apparent surface meaning. Despite the dialogue's having been conducted '*remoto Christo'*, the dialogue-partners in the final chapter celebrate the fact that the Revealed Bible's veracity is 'proved' by their arguments. As well as convincing those who recognise none, or only part, of Christian scripture, Boso claims that 'whatever is contained in the Old and New Testaments is proved by the one solution to the question which we have proposed'.[64]

The *signa* which arise in the *Proslogion,* the three dialogues and the *Cur Deus homo,* like those in the prayers and meditations, concern particular theological themes. They have therefore been grouped according to these themes, and, once again, addressed in four separate chapters. The first chapter contains the *signa* concerning sin, expressing Anselm's consistent identification of sin as an entrapment in misperception. The second chapter, evoking the seeker's approach to God, characterises that search as a longing for the light of Christ. The *signa* in the third and fourth chapters distinguish two senses of satisfaction. The first sense, understanding 'satisfaction' as satisfying the demands of a multipartite schema of redemption, is witnessed by the third chapter's set of *signa.* The second sense, understanding 'satisfaction' as fulfilling the desires of the soul, is witnessed by the fourth chapter's *signa* of satiety and abundance. By shining a light on the scriptural *signa* in Anselm's writings, not only does his monastic reception of the Revealed Bible stand out from the text, but new dimensions of his thought come into focus, uncovering fresh aspects of his conceptions of sin, the search for God, and the process of redemption.

[64] SII, *CDH,* II.22:133.4-5.

9. Sin: Entrapment in misperception

9.1. *Servus peccati*

The *signum* of the *servus peccati* was firmly stamped onto Anselm's devotional works. Its presence in his prayers and meditations evoked dual aspects of slavery - both the passive incarceration and paralysis of bondage, and the active servitude to the dominion of vice. These two aspects of slavery were encapsulated in two scriptural extracts: John 8:34 (or perhaps Romans 6:17;20) evoked active service to evil, and Psalm 77:39 the impossibility of self-liberation. Anselm's Prayer to Nicholas twinned them together:

> You had learned that whoever sins is the slave of sin (John 8:34/Romans 6:17;20) – and you committed sin that you might become the slave of such wickedness? You knew that the spirit goes forth and does not return (Psalm 77:39) - and you threw yourself in the irremediable abyss of sin without end?[1]

By intertwining the language of slavery with images of oppressive burdens and the 'weight' of the Pauline *corpus mortis* (Romans 6:16-18), Anselm's *signum* depicted the sinner's plight as a kind of incapacity, restricting the soul's free movement, and the sinner's liberation as the 'baptismal' new birth of which monastic obedience was the extension. Yet this incapacity and entrapment would persist if the monk continued to lie '*per tonsuram*', remaining enslaved to worldly pleasures and the dictates of his *voluntas propria* beneath an outer show of obedience. The particularly monastic danger which this *signum* evoked also entailed a noetic element: part of the 'enslaved' monk's entrapment was an inability to appreciate fully the gravity of his plight and to respond

[1] SIII, *O*14, 59.121-124.

with appropriate contrition, failing to grasp the truth of his situation and act in accordance with the way things truly are.

This noetic aspect of slavery to sin surfaces in Anselm's *Proslogion.* Echoes of the language of servitude, incarceration and bondage appear at strategic points in the text, particularly at the junctures which evoke failed spiritual perception. In the *Proslogion*'s first chapter, the meditator laments his senses' inability to perceive God's presence:

> What is this anxious servant (*servus*) of yours to do, loving you and long cast away from your face? He pants after the sight of you, and is exceedingly far from your face. He desires to approach you, and the place where you live is inaccessible. He longs to find you, and does not know where you are. He yearns to seek you, yet he does not know your face.[2]

Blame for this impotence is laid at Adam's feet: 'why did [Adam] not guard for us what we so gravely lack, when he could have easily done so?'.[3] As the meditator mourns Adam's lost capacity to perceive God, images of burial, death and the abyss familiar from the prayers and meditations intersect the vocabulary of blindness and exile:

> For what reason did he [Adam] shut us off from the light and lead us into darkness? Why did he snatch away life and inflict death? We are wretched, expelled from that place and impelled to this one! Precipitated from that place and buried in this one! (*Unde præcipitati, quo obruti!*) In exile from our homeland and from the vision of God, [thrust] into our blindness.[4]

This lament ends with a psalmic plea for liberation from the non-perception which feels so much like burdensome incarceration, once more using the term *'incurvatus',* being bowed down as if under a weight:

> Lord, bowed down (*incurvatus*), I cannot look anywhere but downwards; raise me up that I might stand up straight. My iniquities have covered over my head, (Psalm 35:7) and weigh me down like a heavy burden. Extricate me, unburden me, lest the pit of my sins shut its mouth upon me (Psalm 68:16).[5]

[2] SI, *P,* 1:98.8-12.
[3] SI, *P,* 1:98.25-99.1.
[4] SI, *P*, 1:99.2-5.
[5] SI, *P*, 1:100.4-7.

By evoking the Augustinian notion of *incurvatus in se,* being turned in on oneself, Anselm leaves the reader in no doubt that the weight of sin is the cause of this failure in spiritual sight. The *Proslogion* opens, then, by sketching the conundrum which will prove the driving-force of the meditation: how are humans to perceive God when their inability to do so makes him seem absent? The fact that this sketch is shot through with traces of the *servus peccati signum* suggests that for Anselm, the fact that God's existence and omnipresence can fail to be obvious is not primarily an intellectual issue. Its roots lie in something more fundamental, in an entrapment akin to servitude to sin.

The *Proslogion* then goes on to unfurl the famous *unum argumentum* identifying the impossibility of the non-existence of 'that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought'. Having ascertained that 'that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought' must exist in reality as well as in the mind, the *Proslogion* proceeds to apply this formula to untangle the seeming incongruities in God's attributes – his non-bodily perceptiveness, his sinless omnipotence, his compassionate impassibility, and his merciful justice. Having found that 'that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought' must be perfect and powerful, compassionate and impassable, merciful and just, the meditator stops to survey the ground covered, and finds that despite these discoveries, the senses are as numb to God's reality as ever.[6] Once again, the language of incarceration and oblivion returns, as the meditator's soul is

> both obscured by its smallness and overcome by your immensity. Truly it is both restricted by its anguish and conquered by your greatness.[7]

In the face of this continued insensibility, a further conclusion hits the meditator: God is greater than thought itself. 'Vanquished', 'overwhelmed' and 'confounded', the soul

[6] SI, *P*, 14:111-112.
[7] SI, *P*, 14:112.3-5.

denied apprehension of God 'whirls (*versatur*) in its darkness and wretchedness', its spiritual senses smothered to the savour of the divine.[8] There is no explicit reference to the precise phrase '*servus peccati*' amid this description of numbed sense, but the state Anselm describes is strikingly reminiscent of the *servus peccati*'s entrapment. In particular, it recalls the claustrophobia of the worldly monk's bondage to divided loyalties, and his incapacity to respond fully to the spiritual realities he claims to believe.

If the central chapters of the *Proslogion* depict the captivity of the meditator trapped in non-perception, its closing passages portray the liberty (of both will and body) into which he can hope to be released. The meditator concludes that an inability to apprehend God in his entirety need not be an obstacle to the search for him. Humans can participate in the *summum bonum* through the use of lesser goods which foreshadow their full heavenly consummation. This future enjoyment is evoked by a patchwork of sensory (and psalmic) images, and is partly imagined as the unfettered liberty of a rightly-directed will whose nature is never unsuited to what it desires:

> Oh, he who enjoys this good: what manner of thing will be his, and what shall not be his! Surely he shall have whatever he wants, and will not want what is not for him.[9]

Not only the freedom of will from disordered willing, but also a bodily liberty uninhibited by worldly weight appears among the joys for which the *Proslogion*'s finale holds out hope. Alongside the fulfilment of all desire for harmony, beauty, health and friendship is 'the liberty of the body':

> If [you desire] swiftness or strength, or the liberty of the body which nothing can oppose, they will be like the angels of God (Matthew 22:30), because what is sown a natural body will rise a

[8] SI, *P*, 16:112.26; *P*, 17:113.9.
[9] SI, *P,* 25:118.12-13.

> spiritual body (1 Corinthians 15:44), in power, of course, not in nature.[10]

The images of burdens and restrictions which accompanied those junctures in which the non-apparent deity appeared to elude spiritual and intellectual apprehension give way to a vision of liberty which is imagined as an unbinding both of body and of soul. The *corpus mortis* of the prayers and meditations does not make an explicit appearance, but the promise of bodily freedom from an unnamed weight hints that Anselm could be drawing on the same scriptural repertoire.

Although the *Proslogion*'s language only skirts around the edges of this *signum*, the interplay between slavery and liberty serves to transpose the finding of the *unum argumentum* into the same key as the monastic supplicants' struggle to respond fittingly to the presence of sin and worldliness despite their second 'baptismal' immersion. Far from a bold dialectical proof swaddled in inoffensive devotional garb, the *Proslogion* merges intellectual and spiritual frustration, as Anselm rehearses once more the plight of the monk whose efforts are hamstrung by an unnamed incapacity, and whose interior disposition remains out of sync with what his monastic profession proclaims him to be. The sense of alienation from a full appreciation of reality, whose emotive force in the prayers and meditations came couched in the scriptural language of servitude, manifests itself also in the distressing fact that God's existence can fail to be as immediately apparent as befits the metaphysical truth. The solution to this entrapment in non-perception, moreover, is not to be found in the conclusion of a logical syllogism, but in the eventual 'unbinding' towards which Anselm's argument directs him: a release of the will, the body and the burdened, benighted intellect into the God to whom his *unum argumentum* points.

[10] SI, *P*, 25:118.20-23.

In Anselm's three dialogues, by contrast, explicit references to the *servus peccati signum* abound.[11] A mention of the *signum* even launches the argument of *De Libertate Arbitrii*. In the first chapter, the *magister* and *disciplus* establish that the 'power' or 'ability' (*potentia*) to sin is not essential to freedom – if it were, not even God would be free – but is rather something extraneous to the will which actually diminishes its freedom.[12] Yet the *disciplus* is not satisfied: where did this alien potentiality for sin come from? He couches his question in the familiar Johannine phrase:

> There is something else about this power to sin which disturbs me. For someone who is able to sin is able to be the slave of sin, since he who sins is a slave to sin (*qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati*). However, someone who can be a slave to sin is able to be mastered by sin. Therefore, how can [human] nature have been created free, when it had the kind of free will which could be mastered by sin?[13]

The *magister* comments that, just as a rich person is able freely to enslave themselves to a pauper, though not compelled to do so, so sin could master the first human, not because of sin's inherent ability to dominate, but because of the human's free decision to be enslaved.[14] The *disciplus* then enquires whether human wills could still truly be called free 'after they made themselves slaves to sin'. The *magister* explains that, 'although they subjected themselves to sin',

> nonetheless they did not extinguish in themselves their natural freedom of will; but they were able to bring it about that that they might not have the power to use that freedom without another grace different from that which they had at first.[15]

Here, slavery to sin results in an atrophied ability to make use of a natural power. To clarify this point, Anselm outlines two aspects of the will: the instrument-for-willing

[11] Evans observes that the argument in *De Libertate Arbitrii* 'might almost be said to amount to a detailed exposition of this single text': Evans, *New Generation,* 27.
[12] SI, *De Libertate Arbitrii,* 1:207-209. Hereafter *DLA.*
[13] SI, *DLA,* 2:209.22-26.
[14] SI, *DLA,* 2:209.210.
[15] SI, *DLA*, 3:210.28-30.

(*instrumentum volendi*) and the use of that instrument (*usus instrumenti*).[16] The will's freedom is found in its capacity to use this instrument uninhibited. In order to do this, the will needs two features: the instrument's total inviolability by external powers (meaning that nothing outside a person's will can encroach upon its ability for self-initiated action, not even extreme threats or temptation), and that instrument's ability to retain *rectitudo* for *rectitudo*'s sake.[17] 'Nothing is freer than an upright will', the *magister* declares, 'from which no external power can remove its *rectitudo*'.[18] However, the will is only able to retain *rectitudo* when it is actually in possession of *rectitudo.* It becomes enslaved through the fatal decision to abandon *rectitudo,* rendering the *instrumentum* incapable of carrying out its task. What Anselm describes as 'servitude to sin' is the impotence into which this relinquishing of *rectitudo* plunges the will. Like the rich man freely deciding to enslave himself to a pauper, the will employs its aseity to place itself in a situation in which its activity and its purpose will inevitably be frustrated.

The apparent implacability of the enslaved will's impotence is evoked using the same combination of texts found in the Prayer to Nicholas, with John 8:34/Romans 6:17;20 and Psalm 77:39 representing respectively the sinner's powerlessness and the impossibility of self-rescue:

> Therefore, the rational nature always has free choice, because it always has the power of keeping the *rectitudo* of will for the sake of *rectitudo* itself, even though sometimes with difficulty. But when the free will abandons *rectitudo* out of the difficulty of keeping it, it serves sin thereafter out of the impossibility of restoring itself. In this way, therefore, it becomes a wind that departs and does not

[16] Anselm's later work, *De Concordia,* elaborates on the subdivision of the will, distinguishing between the 'instrument', the 'disposition' and the 'use'. SII, *DC,* III.11:278-284.
[17] A similar distinction is made in Visser and Williams, 'Anselm's Account of Freedom', *Cambridge Companion to Anselm,* 179-203.
[18] SI, *DLA*, 9:221.18-19.

> return (Psalm 77:39), since he who sins is a slave to sin (John 8:34/Romans 6:17;20).[19]

This dual servitude persists until a fresh gift of *rectitudo* is given them:

> Thus just as no will, before it had *rectitudo*, could get it without God's giving it, so after it has deserted what was received, it cannot get it back again except by God's gift.[20]

Just like in the Prayer to Nicholas, the *servus peccati* has two dimensions: along with the conscious decision to inhibit the right use of one's freedom, whereby the will voluntarily renders itself unable to carry out its task, the sinner is trapped by the irrevocability of that servitude, from which, without a gift of grace, there is no hope for escape. The *disciplus* summarises:

> I see that it is greatly true what you say about slavery - that the person who sins is a slave to sin - and about the impossibility of regaining *rectitudo* once it has been deserted, unless it is given back by the one who gave it in the first place; and that all to whom it is given ought ceaselessly to take care that they always keep it.[21]

Even the *signum*'s associations with spiritual death are hinted at. The interlocutors note gravely that giving the gift of *rectitudo* for the second time would be more miraculous even than resurrection from the dead:

> And I judge it a greater miracle when God gives back to a will the *rectitudo* it deserted than when he gives back to a dead man the life he lost.[22]

The effect of this *signum* in *De Libertate Arbitrii* is to streamline the state of slavery to a single cause - the lack of *rectitudo* – and its effects. The absence of *rectitudo* is what functionally obstructs the correct use of the will even when the will's 'power' to retain the now-lost *rectitudo* remains untouched;

> This slavery is nothing other than a powerlessness to avoid sin. For whether we call it a powerlessness to return to *rectitudo* or a

[19] SI, *DLA,* 10:222.5-10.
[20] SI, *DLA*, 10:222.10-12.
[21] SI, *DLA,* 10:222.20-23.
[22] SI, *DLA*, 10:222.13-14.

> powerlessness to recover *rectitudo* or have it again, a person is a slave to sin on no account but that. Since they cannot return to *rectitudo* nor recover it nor have it again, it is impossible not to sin. However, when they have that *rectitudo*, they do not have the inability to avoid sin. Hence when a person has that *rectitudo*, they are not a slave to sin.[23]

As Anselm elaborates using an example of sight and blindness. Someone may have the ability to see a mountain, but they cannot do so if there is something blocking their vision; so too this lack of *rectitudo* in the will acts like a hindrance or obstruction:

> For in the same way that when the sun is absent we still have the visual capacities to see it when it becomes present; so also, when the *rectitudo* of will is absent from us, we have within us nevertheless an aptitude for thinking and willing by which we could keep [*rectitudo*] for its own sake, were we to have it. And just as when nothing is lacking for us to see the sun except the sun's presence, and we only lack that power which the sun creates in us by virtue of its presence; in the same way, when this *rectitudo* is absent we have that powerlessness which it creates in us by virtue of its absence. Thus, a human always has free choice, but is not always a slave to sin; [they are only slaves to sin] when they do not have *rectitudo* of will.[24]

Here, the *servus peccati signum* encompasses both the impotence of frustrated agency and an association with restricted vision.

This frustration not only finds echoes in the *Proslogion'*s meditator's inability to perceive the obviousness of God's existence. The monastic readers of *De Libertate Arbitrii* and the *Proslogion* would perhaps have recognised a major theme in Cassian's *Conferences,* that is, the spiritual blindness which obstructs the ability to discern the right path. Monks who do not fully renounce their worldly lives, but only seek to gain more status and wealth within the coenobium, have 'become blind leaders of the blind'.[25] Even though Anselm does not use the Gospel image of the eye as the 'lamp' of

[23] SI, *DLA,* 12:223.26-224.3.
[24] SI, *DLA*, 12:224.9-22.
[25] Cassian, *Conferences,* 4.20.2, 169.

the body, his analogy of servitude as visual impairment does seem to echo Cassian's comments on the virtue of discretion:

> [The eye] sees and casts light on all a person's thoughts and actions and discerns everything that must be done. But if this [eye] is evil in a person – that is, if it has not been fortified by true judgement and knowledge or has been deceived by some error and presumption – it makes our whole body darkness – that is, it obscures all the clarity of our mind and also our actions, wrapping them in the blindness of vice and the darkness of confusion.[26]

For monastic readers, imagining the frustration of the soul's inhibited agency as an obscured clarity of the inner eye would perhaps have provided a thread linking Anselm's various references to the *servus peccati* together. The spiritual entrapment of the prayers and meditations, woven into the *Proslogion'*s evocation of atrophied intellectual perception, is identified in *De Libertate Arbitrii* with the incapacity of a will which has wilfully discarded *rectitudo,* and whose effects are felt as a kind of blindness*.* Thus, although Anselm's dialogues appear focused upon narrowly ethical questions, the *servus peccati signum* is able to evoke what this crucial lack of *rectitudo* means in the lives of those who suffer from it: the darkness, powerlessness, obstruction and confusion which accompanies the sense of being thwarted in some essential capacity which humans ought to be able to use uninhibited.

Where the *signum* appears in the *Cur Deus homo,* Anselm's use of *servus peccati* reinforces its connection with a limiting of the soul's free movement and the impossibility of unaided escape. The *signum* features pivotally in Boso's argument against the classical soteriological models which envisage human redemption as a release from the devil's legitimate captivity. Early in the first book, Boso, ventriloquizing

[26] *Ibid.,* 2.2.5-6, 85-86.

the 'unbelievers', voices scepticism at the notion that redemption comprises a liberation from hostile powers:

> It is truly amazing that we call liberation a 'redemption'. For (so they say to us), 'in what captivity, or in what prison, or in whose power were you held, from which God could not liberate you except by redeeming you with such great effort and, in the end, by his own blood?'[27]

When called upon to describe the 'prison' in which sinners are incarcerated, Christians are accustomed, says Boso, to answer in terms of the devil's power:

> To which we say, 'he redeemed us from our sin and from his own wrath and from hell and from the power of the devil, whom he came himself to vanquish for us because we could not, and recovered the kingdom of heaven for us, and he did all of this in this way to show how much he loves us.'[28]

The standard answer, citing the devil's jurisdiction over humanity which, in killing the innocent Christ, Satan unwittingly overreached, is not satisfactory to Boso. Just because humans deserve to be tormented, he reasons, it does not follow that the devil has the right to torment them.

Boso then turns to Paul's reference to the 'handwriting of the decree' (1 Corinthians 2:14) which authorities including Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, Leo and Gregory had imagined to be a legitimate legal bond held by the devil which Christ's death succeeded in nullifying.[29] Boso disputes this interpretation. The decree was not drawn up by the devil, he argues, but by God. The contents of the decree, complete with its twin extracts from John 8:34/Romans 6:17;20 and Psalm 77:39, comprise nothing other than the *signum* of *servus peccati,* stipulated by God himself:

> For by the just judgement of God, the decree was confirmed as if in handwriting, so that a person who freely sinned would not be able to avoid either sin or the punishment of sin. For that person is a

[27] SII, *CDH,* I.6:53.5-8.
[28] SII, *CDH,* I.6:53.8-54.1.
[29] SII, *CDH,* I.7:58.1-6. For early Christian conceptions of atonement as the discharging of a bond, see Gary A. Anderson, *Sin: a History* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2009), 113-132.

> wind that departs and does not return (Psalm 77:39), and whoever who sins is a slave to sin (John 8:34/Romans 6:17;20), nor should one who sins be let off unpunished, unless mercy spares the sinner and frees and leads the sinner back.[30]

The 'prison' in which sinners find themselves is not the devil's just dominion, but the inescapability of divinely-ordained cause-and-effect.

Boso's alleged refutation of the *Christus victor* model of atonement is significantly nuanced by this deployment of the *servus peccati signum.* When Boso relates the objections of unbelievers to the concept of imprisonment, his answer does not dispute the spiritual reality of such incarceration. Rather, he shifts the definition of imprisonment; by replacing a classical vision of the devil's domination with Anselm's notion of *servus peccati,* he can assert that it is owing to God's ordinance, and not to the devil's rights, that unaided humans should find this prison inescapable. In contrast to the prevailing scholarly opinion, then, the *Cur Deus homo* is by no means an outright rejection of the notion that redemption from sin entails liberation from slavery. When the reader is attuned to Anselm's *signa,* it is clear that the slavery and captivity remain vital elements of his conception of sin.

The *signum* of the *servus peccati* thus plays a decisive role in marking out the dimensions of sin in Anselm's writings. The *signum*'s presence in the prayers and meditations had linked the biblical image of 'slavery to sin' with the blindness, darkness and obscurity of an obstructed spiritual capacity, in which sinners labouring under the 'dominion' of sin could neither free themselves from their plight nor fully appreciate its gravity. In the *Proslogion,* as in the prayers and meditations, the biblical words carry associations with a claustrophobic inability to perceive the true state of affairs, which *De Libertate Arbitrii* identifies more technically as the absence of *rectitudo* which

[30] SII, *CDH,* I.7:58.7-59.1.

atrophies the will's capabilities. The seeming inextricability of the sinner's predicament is mobilised by Boso to nuance received soteriological opinions, locking the sinner in to the consequences of sin, not by the rights of the devil, but by the ordinance of God. Indeed, although the *signum* appears no-where else in *Cur Deus homo,* it has major implications if Anselm's readers are supposed to recognize it from its previous instantiations. If the consequences of sin, from which God has ordained there should be no evasion, entail an entrapment in non-perception and the will's frustration, then surely any liberation from this slavery should be a liberation from precisely those entrapments, restoring to the will its *rectitudo* and to the spiritual senses their sight. Anselm's *signum* of the *servus peccati* and its strategic inclusion in his arguments is not only critical in establishing the necessity of divinely-initiated reconciliation, it also outlines the specific kind of restoration – indeed, of liberation - which that reconciliation would need to achieve.

Furthermore, the *signum'*s recurrence across multiple authorial projects hints that, for Anselm, the same extract from the Revealed Bible can straddle prayer, rational meditation, intellectual discovery and logical dialogue. The problem of 'slavery to sin' dogs the *Proslogion*'s seeker and the dialogues' sinner no less than the prayers' supplicant, and each project's differing aims and methods explore the same scriptural conundrum: the mysterious interior obstruction which makes the omnipresent God appear absent, his undeniable existence seem dubitable, and the will's inalienable freedom encounter restriction. Each work views the *signum* through a different lens - what is prayerfully lamented in one part of Anselm's corpus is logically unpicked in another – with each new aspect adding depth to the others. The resulting picture of sin combines the technical explanation (the absence of *rectitudo* from the will), the experience of its effects (the frustration of the intellect, the affections and the spiritual

senses), and the theological coordinates (with created humankind's full flourishing only possible in possession of righteousness). It is the *signum* of the *servus peccati* which enables the whole picture to come into focus, like the creation of a three-dimensional image from the layering of different coloured prints.

9.2. *In peccato conceptus et natus*

In the prayers and meditations, the *signum in peccato conceptus et natus* had appeared as an oblique reference to a pre-baptismal state created by the 'wounds' of humanity's 'first parents' (*animam a parentibus vulneratam*).[31] The phrase from the penitential *Miserere* Psalm served to parallel Adam's sin with the even direr prospect of the baptised individual voluntarily repeating it. The same *signum* occurs at a critical juncture of the *Proslogion,* acting, as it did in the prayers and meditations, as an identification-marker for the original sin into which the meditator is 'conceived and born'. It appears at the same central axis where the vocabulary of slavery recurs: the point in the fourteenth to the eighteenth chapters at which the meditator realises that he is still unable to apprehend God, despite the intellectual ground he has already covered.

Having employed his newly-discovered logical formula to establish that 'that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought' must be just as well as merciful, the meditator faces the limits of how far his thought can reach. The mysterious source of this merciful justice is the 'inaccessible light' of God's goodness; yet, unsure whether the 'light' and 'truth' which has accompanied his intellectual discoveries really is the God

[31] SIII, *O*8, 27.25.

who was originally sought, the meditator is forced to admit that although the fullness of God surrounds him, he is still unable to perceive it:

> Thus far you lie hidden, Lord, from my soul, in your light and blessedness, and thus far [my soul] whirls in its darkness and wretchedness.[32]

The problem, the meditator acknowledges, is not the absence of God, but the dullness of the spiritual senses:

> For [my soul] looks around and cannot see your beauty. It listens and does not hear your harmony. It smells and does not perceive your fragrance. It tastes, and does not recognise your savour. It touches, and does not feel your softness.[33]

As the language of the *servus peccati signum* makes clear, sin is the cause of this dullness: 'the senses of my soul are stiffened, are stupefied, are obstructed by the ancient languor of sin'.[34] Specifically, the meditator goes on to hint, this sensory buffering is connected with the sin inherited from Adam, which he evokes in extracts from Psalm 50:7 and Romans 5:12:

> Yet once again, behold turbulence (Jeremiah 14:19), once again I meet with grief and sadness (Psalm 114:3) when I sought joy and gladness! I hoped that my soul would be filled, and behold it is overwhelmed with need! I longed to eat, and behold I hunger all the more! I tried to mount up to the light of God, and fell back into my own darkness. Or, rather, I did not fall into it, but I feel myself to be wrapped in it. I fell before my mother conceived me (Psalm 50:7). Surely, in this I was born, with this shroud I was born. Surely, we all fell once in him in whom all sinned (Romans 5:12).[35]

The pre-personal sin of human nature in Adam is what is sending the meditator's personal search awry. The meditator is barred from finding beatitude because that beatitude had long ago been lost by his first parent.

> In him, who could easily keep hold of it, but wickedly lost it for himself and for us, we lost that which we did not know how to seek

[32] SI, *P,* 17:113.8-9.
[33] SI, *P,* 17:113.9-12.
[34] SI, *P*, 17:113.14-15.
[35] SI, *P*, 18:113.18-114.6.

> when we willed to, and which we did not find when we sought, and when we found that which we did not seek.[36]

Confronted with an obstacle which obscures both the search and the object sought, the meditator can only plead with the God he is seeking to 'cleanse, heal, focus, enlighten the eye of my mind, so that it might see you', before embarking on the rest of his meditation.[37] The baptismal connotations of cleansing and healing serve to solidify the recapitulatory parallels that this *signum* conveys; this time, however, it is Adam's banishment from the sight and the knowledge of God which the meditator dreads to replicate.

The linking of Psalm 50:7 and Romans 5:12 – a connection which Anselm may have taken from Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* – surfaces again in the *Cur Deus homo*.[38] When Boso enquires how Christ, a sinless human, could be born from a mother who was 'conceived and born in sin', Anselm's response lays the blame with Adam, 'in whom all have sinned':

> For although the conception of this man was pure and without the sin of carnal pleasure, nonetheless the virgin herself from whom he was taken was conceived in iniquities and her mother bore her in sin (Psalm 50:7), and she was born with original sin, since she sinned in Adam, in whom all have sinned (Romans 5:12).[39]

Where it appeared in the *Proslogion,* the *signum* resounded like a scriptural death-knell tolling the deadening effect of Adamic inheritance on intellection and perception. In the *Cur Deus homo,* however, the *signum* appears in considerably more hopeful a guise. The plight of the first Adam, in Anselm's mind, is what necessitates the mission of the second. At the opening of the *Cur Deus homo*'s first book, Anselm responds to the seeming incongruity of the Incarnation with a panoply of recapitulation images

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[36] SI, *P*, 18:114.6-8.
[37] SI, *P*, 18:114.11-13.
[38] Augustine, *Enarrationes,* Psalm 50, 10.50-52, II.419.
[39] SII, *CDH,* II.16:116.20-24.

depicting the 'wisdom' and 'beauty' of this redemption, central to which is the logic of Romans 5:[40]

> For it was proper that just as it was by the disobedience of a man that death entered the human race, so by the obedience of a man, life should be restored (Romans 5:19). And in the same way that the sin which was the cause of our condemnation was first committed by a woman, so the author of our justice and salvation should be born of a woman. And that the devil, who by the taste of a tree persuaded the man to sin, so by the Passion of a tree (which he inflicted) should by a man be vanquished.[41]

Anselm considers it part of the beauty of God's ordinance that if 'all sinned' in Adam, all could be restored by a second Adam by retracing and correcting the first Adam's missteps.

Indeed, the only other instance of this *signum*'s appearance in the *Cur Deus homo* is found precisely amid the poetic vocabulary of recapitulation. Near the end of the first book, where Anselm is demonstrating the impossibility of any other human being able to retrieve humanity from its predicament, he notes that the means by which the cosmic disorder is restored needs to retrace the exact path which led to its disordering. Since being conquered by the devil was unworthy of humanity, humanity must right the wrong by conquering the devil. Not only that, but since humanity was conquered easily when it was strong and immortal, it must conquer the devil with difficulty, in weakness and death. 'That', Anselm says, 'it cannot do, for as long as, from the wound of the first sin, [humanity] is conceived and born in sin'.[42] A person 'conceived and born in sin' is unsuitable, on Anselm's account, for performing the kind of redemptive recapitulation which the sinner's plight demands. The fact that sin's undoing demands exactly the sort of recapitulation whose 'inexpressible beauty' (*inenarrabilem pulchritudinem*) Anselm

[40] The Irenaean resonances of this passage are difficult to miss. See Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 3.22.5, III.104-105.
[41] SII, *CDH,* I.3:51.5-11.
[42] SII, *CDH,* I.22:90.23-24.

had sketched at the *Cur Deus homo'*s opening, and the fact that this cannot be accomplished by the descendants of the first Adam, only sets the stage, with the aid of Anselm's *signum,* for the second Adam to do so.[43]

The concept of being *in peccato conceptus et natus,* with the Pauline reference to Adam occasionally accompanying it, clearly signified the parallel between original sin and its potential to be voluntarily reiterated. The *signum'*s presence at the central axis of the *Proslogion* leaves the reader in no doubt of the effects of such sin: the stultifying of the meditator's search for God, and the numbing of his powers of spiritual perception. The penitential nature of the Psalm serves not only to erect a structure which mirrors personal with pre-personal sin, but also to relate that sin directly to the success or failure of spiritual-intellectual endeavour. Yet, like the *servus peccati,* the *signum* of *in peccato conceptus et natus* maps out sin's effects in a way which unfurls the blueprint for their remedy. The *signum*'s focus on Adam as the originator of the sinner's calamity spotlights the recapitulatory logic which will supply the cure. The intractability of Adamic human nature's plight only more precisely showcases in the *Cur Deus homo* the exact remedy the second Adam was perfectly suited to bestow.

Once again, Anselm's scriptural *signum* straddles various authorial projects. Where the *servus peccati* had seen different lenses trained upon a particular biblical theme, the *signum* of *in peccato conceptus et natus* sketches out a certain logical structure, one which can be glimpsed in both devotional meditation and theological dialogue, and which Anselm clearly took to be derived from the Revealed Bible. Using the *signum* to look back to where humanity had come from - Adam's fall from Paradise – is what supplies the pattern for where humanity could go: either towards a woeful

[43] SII, *CDH,* I.3:51.11-12.

reiteration of that first disobedience, or towards the meticulous recapitulation which would correct it.

9.3. *Dixit insipiens in corde suo*

Nowhere in the prayers and meditations does Anselm cite the opening phrase of Psalms 13 and 52, 'the fool says in his heart, there is no God'. Yet the heart, its fullness and its speech was a recurring motif weaving through a number of *signa* in the prayers and meditations. In *Dominus illuminatio mea,* the saints' ability to see God was implicitly linked to their purity of heart: 'blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God' (Matthew 5:8). Purity of heart and revelatory speech were also intertwined in *eructavit cor meum bonum verbum*, as prophetic words to 'erupted' from Stephen's heart like oil from a crushed olive. It was purity of heart, moreover, which Cassian considered the 'principal *scopos*' of the monastic life and the essential monastic virtue.[44] While the heart's speech is less evident in the dialogues and the *Cur Deus homo,* it occupies a central place in the *Proslogion* in articulating sin's effect on the integrity of thought. Comprising a cluster of words, phrases and images from the Revealed Bible, and carrying traceable monastic associations, it can be considered something like a *signum* in its own right, and one which Anselm uses to cast scriptural light on the foolishness of the psalmic fool.

'Therefore, Lord, who gives understanding to faith', the meditator begins the *Proslogion*'s famous second chapter, 'grant that I might understand, as much as you know to be expedient for me, that you exist, as we believe, and that you are what we believe you to be'.[45]

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[44] Cassian, *Conferences*, 1.4.3, 43; I.7.2, 46.
[45] SI, *P*, 2:101.3-4.

> And we believe that you are something than which nothing greater can be thought. Can there, then, be no such nature, since 'the fool says in his heart there is no God' (*dixit insipiens in corde suo: non est deus*)?[46]

Anselm introduces his argument by relating the utterance of a fool's heart. The phrase reproduces the first line (and title) of Psalms 13 and 52, and for a Benedictine, who would have sung these lines at least twice weekly, it would have been natural to follow the Psalms' opening line with its continuation:

> 'they are corrupt, and are become abominable in their ways: there is none that doth good, no not one. The Lord hath looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there be any that understand and seek God' (*ut videat si est intelligens, aut requirens Deum*).[47]

The Psalm depicting the Lord's gaze ranging over humanity's corruption in the search for one who 'understands' and 'seeks God' would doubtless have chimed with Anselm's Benedictine readers. The *Regula Benedicti* insists in several places that monastic life must proceed from the knowledge that nothing is hidden from God and his angels. The awareness of God's continual gaze is an early step on the path to saintliness, marking the first degree of humility.[48] 'To know for certain that God sees you everywhere' is one of the tools of good works which the monk must perfect in the workshop of the monastery.[49] Where the psalmic fool first makes his appearance in the *Proslogion,* then, his designation as one who lacks the most basic monastic virtue, the fear of God born of a knowledge of his omnipercipience, would have contrasted him with those *intelligens* and *requirens Deum* that the *Proslogion'*s meditator is attempting to emulate.

Anselm may have also encountered the psalmic fool in patristic commentaries on the Psalms. For Augustine, the fool was more short-sighted even than 'profane and

[46] SI, *P,* 2:101.4-7.
[47] *RB* 18.5, 212-213; 394.
[48] *RB* 7.10-13; 19-24, 192-195.
[49] *RB* 4.49, 182-185.

abominable philosophers' (among whom, perhaps, he counted his former self) who, for all their errors, at least acknowledge some sort of divinity.[50] Pride, corruption and soul-blindness shroud the intellect of Augustine's fool in ignorance. Cassiodorus's fool is a Jewish fool, who, on beholding the incarnate God, declares that God is not to be found there.[51] Anselm's fool, however, is foolish in that he does not really comprehend the meaning of his own utterance:

> But surely this same fool, when he hears what I say- 'something than which nothing greater can be thought' – understands what he hears; and what he understands is in his intellect, even if he does not understand ['fully realise' or 'acknowledge'] that it is.[52]

What the fool fails to grasp is that it is impossible to think of 'that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought' existing only in the mind, and not in reality too. Indeed, as Anselm's third chapter elaborates, 'that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought' exists so firmly that 'it cannot be thought not to be'. Everything which is not God can be thought not to exist; God is the only being whose non-existence is impossible to imagine. Identifying God with 'that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought' actually instantiates this impossibility in language.[53]

Yet if God's non-existence in reality is unthinkable, 'how did [the fool] say in his heart what he could not think?'.[54] How can the fool defy what is 'so readily available to the rational mind' 'if not that he is stupid and a fool?'.[55] What the fool does not realise, on Anselm's account, is that he is trying to utter the syllabic sounds of words, the *vox,* without penetration (or 'understanding') of those words' proper sense. Only a fool could parrot the words *Deus non est* 'either without any meaning or in a way foreign to the

[50] Augustine, *Enarrationes,* Psalm 13, 2.2, I.175.
[51] Cassiodorus, *Expositio,* Psalm 13.24, I.150.
[52] SI, *P*, 2:101.1-18; 102.1-3.
[53] SI, *P,* 3:102-103.
[54] SI, *P,* 4:103.14-16.
[55] SI, *P,* 3:103.10-11.

meaning' without absorbing the fullness of what those words truly mean.[56] If the fool's heart would cease uncritically issuing nonsensical words and penetrate through to their implications, he would have to acknowledge that he is thinking what strictly cannot be thought:

> For God is that than which nothing greater can be thought. Whoever understands this well, certainly understands that God exists, so that they cannot think that God does not exist. Thus, the person who understands in this way that God exists cannot think of God not existing.[57]

The reason this novel employment of a Psalm incipit be considered a *signum,* rather than simply a one-off biblical reference launching a logical argument, is that the 'heart' and its 'speech' carries crucial associations for Anselm, without which the *Proslogion* argument cannot properly be contextualised. Before the *Proslogion*'s meditator can begin his quest, his first task is to 'enter into the inner room of [his] mind', and 'close the door' in order to allow his 'heart' to speak:

> Now then, little man, flee your trifling occupations, leave behind your tumultuous thoughts for a while. Cast off your heavy cares now, and set aside your wearisome busyness. Be empty a little while before God, and rest for a little while in him. Enter into the inner room of your mind (*intra in cubiculum mentis tuae*) (Matthew 6:6), exclude everything apart from God and that which helps you to seek him, and, with the door closed (*clauso ostio*), seek him. Say now, my whole heart, say now to God: 'I seek your face, your face, Lord, do I seek' (Psalm 26:8).[58]

The appeal to enter into an inner chamber and close the door in prayer is taken from Jesus' exhortation in Matthew 6:6, in which Christ urges his disciples, in contrast to the 'hypocrites' who pray publically and ostentatiously, to seek the intimacy of a hidden communion with a hidden God:

[56] SI, *P*, 4:104.1-2.
[57] SI, *P,* 4:104.2-4.
[58] SI, *P,* 1:97.4-10.

> But whenever you pray, go into your room (*intra in cubiculum tuum*) and shut the door, and pray to your Father who is in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you (NRSV).

Directly after this exhortation to privacy and the avoidance of dual motives, Jesus tells his listeners to avoid loquacious display, a command which the *Regula Benedicti* identifies with 'purity of heart' in its short chapter on 'reverence in prayer':

> We must know that God regards our purity of heart and tears of compunction, not our many words (*non multiloquio*). Prayer should therefore be short and pure, unless perhaps it is prolonged under the inspiration of divine grace.[59]

Entry into the 'inner chamber' of the heart should be characterised by integrity rather than hypocrisy, and the heart's speech by purity and brevity rather than display.

Guarding the integrity of the '*cubiculum*' of the heart was a staple of monastic and contemplative prayer.[60] 'Our bedroom is our heart', Augustine writes,

> for there we toss and turn if we have a bad conscience, but there, if our conscience is easy, we find rest. Any of us who love this bedroom of the heart must be sure that what we do there is good, and so it is in this bedroom of the heart that our Lord Jesus Christ commands us to pray: Go into your private room and shut the door.[61]

The 'shutting of the door', explains Augustine, is the exclusion of worldly priorities from the heart's deepest motivations.[62] Augustine urges his listeners to 'make every effort, then, to clean the bedroom of our heart, and make it a place where we find peace'.[63] For the author of the *Regula Magistri,* the sixth-century contemporary of the *Regula Benedicti,* the heart issues a channel directly to the mouth: 'the soul echoes in us what the heart has conceived and produced' by way of the 'door of the mouth', bringing it 'by

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[59] *RB* 20.3-4, 216-217.
[60] Vanderputten, 'The Mind as Cell and the Body as Cloister: Abbatial Leadership and the Issue of Stability in the Early Eleventh Century', in *Innovationen durch Deuten und Gestalten. Klöster im Mittelalter zwischen Jenseits und Welt,* ed. Gert Melville, Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter (Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2014), 105-126.
[61] Augustine, *Enarrationes*, Psalm 35, 5.4-7, II.74.
[62] *Ibid*.
[63] *Ibid*., Psalm 35.5.39, II.75.

means of the tongue to the birth of speech'.[64] The way to preserve the interior purity requisite of monastic life, the author claims, is to fasten the door of the mouth with its lock, 'the teeth, which it closes to depraved speech'.[65] Cassian goes further; not only should the door of the heart's '*cubiculum*' be closed against all external prides and pleasures, but it should also refuse admittance to stray thoughts and distractions which interfere with total attention to God in prayer:

> We pray in our room when we withdraw our hearts completely from the clatter of every thought and concern and disclose our prayers to the Lord in secret and, as it were, intimately. We pray with the door shut when, with closed lips and in total silence, we pray to the searcher not of voices but of hearts.[66]

The *Proslogion's* exhortation to banish interference - 'flee your trifling occupations, leave behind your tumultuous thoughts for a while… exclude everything apart from God and that which helps you to seek him' – constitutes a call to mental steadfastness which Cassian considered essential to the monk's calling. Only 'when the mind has been established in tranquillity and has been freed from the bonds of every fleshly passion, and the heart's attention is unwaveringly fastened upon the one and highest good', can the heart begin to speak.[67]

When the meditator's heart does speak in the opening chapter of the *Proslogion*, it voices its lament in an unmistakably scriptural tenor. In the face of his inability to enter God's unapproachable dwelling, a torrent of scriptural language floods the meditator's expression, each phrase a miniature diptych of lost paradise and present perdition:

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[64] *Regula Magistri,* ed. Adalbert de Vogüé as *La Règle du Maître,* SC 105, 106 (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1964), trans. Luke Eberle as *The Rule of the Master* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1977), 8.10, 125.
[65] *Ibid.,* 8.19-21, 126.
[66] Cassian, *Conferences,* 9.35.1-2, 353.
[67] *Ibid.,* 9.6.5, 334.

> I sought the good (Psalm 121:9) and behold, turbulence! (Jeremiah 14:19). I strove towards God, but I have offended him in myself. I sought peace in the secret parts of myself (*in secreto meo*), and have found sorrow and tribulation (Psalm 114:3) in my innermost self (*in intimis meis*). I wanted to laugh with the joy of my mind, and I am forced to roar with the groaning of my heart (Psalm 37:9). I hoped for joy, and behold, my sighs come thick and fast![68]

Like the hearts of the saints in the prayers and meditations, which overflow with biblical words of mercy, the heart as the organ of spiritual (and notably scriptural) speech is something to be guarded from hypocrisy, distraction and interference. The heart could only issue pure speech when buffered by the discipline and protection which the monastic life should, in theory, supply.

The psalmic extract *Dixit insipiens in corde suo,* and its presence at the head of Anselm's argument, should not be shorn of these associations. To speak from the heart, for Anselm, entails a particular kind of speech. It is the heart which utters its desire to see God's face and bewails its inability to do so. The floodgates of scriptural utterance can only open if the other doors of the heart are closed, keeping the lure of distractions and double motives outside its thresholds. The fool's foolishness lies in preferring the sound to the spirit of the words he speaks, the triviality of lightweight, sense-sapped noise over true substance. His sin, then, is not merely one of intellectual laziness; it is the disinclination to guard the thresholds of his heart from distraction, and focus wholly on the implications of its words.

Anselm's *signum* of the heart's speech, then, stands at the centre of his famous *unum argumentum,* not because the psalmic reference supplied a useful straw man, but because a 'pure' heart and a clear vision of reality go hand in hand. Had the fool learned from the *Proslogion*'s meditator, entering into his inner chamber, banishing all worldly

[68] SI, *P,* 1:99.10-14.

distractions and training his concentration exclusively on contemplation, he would have prepared his heart to speak out of a place of spiritual integration. Or, had he cultivated the purity of Stephen in Anselm's prayers, his heart would have issued scriptural words of faith, born from the vision of God which the 'pure in heart' are promised, rather than the flaccid words devoid of meaning which issue from mental and spiritual ill-discipline. These observations serve to locate the *Proslogion'*s fool and his utterance firmly within monastic coordinates. Anselm's dialectical proof, however logically innovative, contains the monastic imperative that a pure heart, cultivation of which was the monastery's 'principal *scopos*', should issue integrated spiritual speech.

These three *signa,* reaching from Anselm's monastic life of scriptural reception into the broader arena of his thought, witness to his consistent impression of sin as a kind of obstruction, restriction, frustration or incapacitated interior activity. Whether it is rendering the sinner incapable of using his *instrumentum volendi,* obstructing the *Proslogion'*s meditator's vision by dulling his senses, or numbing the fool to the implications of his interior words, the full and free flexing of humanity's potential is forestalled by a force which feels like enslavement, manifests itself in intellectual disintegration, and can be traced to a cause predating conception and birth. The crucial conjunction between interior and exterior, whose disintegration Anselm considered so inimical to monastic life, is rearticulated in all of these examples: the one enslaved by sin, the one conceived and born in sin, and the fool who declares God's non-existence in his heart all suffer from an incapacity to perceive or to react appropriately to the true spiritual state of affairs.

The portrayals of sin entailed by all three *signa* also contain hints to sin's remedy. The precise depiction of the slave's captivity proffered by the *servus peccati*

signum sketches out the contours of liberation. The specifically Adamic predicament of being *in peccato conceptus et natus* anticipates a second Adam's mission. The disintegration between the fool's heart and the implications of its speech, and his inability to grasp the (literal) undeniability of God's existence is implicitly contrasted with the monastic meditator's heart, overflowing with scriptural speech and struggling to perceive what his senses find imperceptible. In two of the three cases, the *signum* acts as something like a fixed point of referral, persisting across different genres and authorial projects. Returning to the *signum* allows Anselm to ruminate upon the same spiritual phenomenon from several angles – dialectical, devotional and dialogical – using parts of the Revealed Bible which had their own biographies in the life of a Benedictine.

10. Seeking: longing for Christ's light

The *signa* in the prayers and meditations evoking the search for knowledge of God combined the epistemic theme of illumination with Christ as the 'light' and 'salvation' (*Dominus illuminatio mea*) whose 'face' (*vultum tuum requiro*) the psalmist seeks (Psalm 26:1; 8). In the *Proslogion,* the *signum vultum tuum requiro,* along with its liturgical associations of illumination and conversion, reappears with undeniable force. This time, the *signum* also intertwines with other recurring motifs – the enlightening of the eyes (Psalm 12:4) and the 'sending forth' of light and truth (Psalm 42:3) – to frame the *Proslogion's* search for God as a longing for the light of Christ.

10.1. *Vultum tuum requiro*

The *Proslogion* opens with the same psalmic plea for the sight of God's face as populated the prayers and meditations:

> Enter into the inner room of your mind (Matthew 6:6) exclude everything apart from God and that which helps you to seek him, and, with the door closed, seek him. Say now, my whole heart, say now to God: 'I seek your face; your face, Lord, do I seek' (Psalm 26:8).[1]

Anselm's choice of words – once more the Roman Psalter's *'vultum*' rather than the Vulgate's '*faciem'* – matches exactly the phrasing, as well as the liturgical tenor, of the *signum*'s appearance in his Prayer to Christ. As mentioned above, biblical longings for the 'face of God' tended to characterise penitential seasons, the darkness of Advent and Lent, which presaged the great liturgical dawnings of Christ at Christmas and Easter.[2]

[1] SI, *P,* 1:97.5-10.
[2] *CS,* 97; 172. See above p. 167.

This *signum* of conversion at the *Proslogion's* opening may well have evoked once more the periods of penitence, fasting and expectation by which a monastic community performed its yearning for the revelation of Christ's light.

This call to conversion, so familiar from the prayers and meditations, is particularly tangible in the *Proslogion's* first chapter. Anselm's opening lines – 'So now, Lord my God, teach my heart where and how to seek you, where and how to find you' - are distinctly reminiscent of the beginning of Augustine's *Confessions*:[3]

> Lord, I would seek you, calling upon you…How shall I call upon my God, my God and Lord? Surely when I call on him, I am calling on him to come into me. But what place is there in me where my God can enter into me?...Lord my God, is there any room in me which can contain you?[4]

As Anselm's meditator continues, he overlays the search for the face of God with images of exile and separation:

> Lord, if you are not here, where am I to seek you in your absence? But if you are everywhere, why do I not see your presence?...Then by what signs, by what aspect am I to seek you? I have never seen you, Lord my God, nor have I studied your face. What is he to do, Lord most high, what is this, your distant exile, to do? What is this anxious servant of yours to do, loving you and long cast away from your face (Psalm 50:13)? He pants after the sight of you, and is exceedingly far from your face…He yearns to seek you, yet he does not know your face.[5]

Threading echoes of Augustine's *Confessions* into the *signum's* liturgical associations with penitential longing serves to contextualise this language of banishment and exile. The meditator's inability to perceive the divine light is not a symptom of God's great distance, but rather a prompt to the conversion which must accompany any search for *vultum Dei.*

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[3] SI, *P,* 1:98.1-2
[4] Augustine, *Confessiones* ed. Martin Skutella, revised by H. Juergens and W. Schaub, CCSL 27 (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1981), trans. Henry Chadwick as *Confessions,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), I.1.1-2.2, 5.
[5] SI, *P,* 1:98.2-12.

Evocations of penitence multiply as the meditator begs not to be 'cast away from your face' (*proiectus a facie tua*). By way of this recognisable nod to Psalm 50:13 (*ne projicias me a facie tua*) Anselm ensures that the *Proslogion's* tone is set by the words of the *Miserere,* the pre-eminent Psalm of penance. Indeed, Psalm 50:13 may also have carried associations of illumination. Both Augustine and Cassiodorus interpret the psalmist's plea not to be 'cast away from [God's] face' as a cry for enlightenment as well as an acknowledgement of guilt; for Cassiodorus, the psalmist cries out in the knowledge that 'soundness of mind and illumination of wisdom came from [God's] face'.[6] The *signum vultum tuum requiro,* and its presence at the *Proslogion's* opening, thereby serves to locate the meditator in a very similar position to the supplicant of the prayers and meditations. Both are identified as sinners, spiritual senses numbed, whose 'turning' to God is not yet complete. Anselm's *Proslogion* begins not by laying out a logical puzzle to be solved, but by evoking a penitential journey to be travelled, a Lenten purification to be undergone, which will accustom the meditator's eyes to the light of God's face.

10.2. *Vultum tuum requiro* and *illumina oculos meos*

As the *Proslogion* continues, the meditator pours out his longing for illumination in a torrent of scriptural expressions:

> And Lord, how long? How long, Lord, will you forget us, how long will you turn away your face from us? (Psalm 6:4, Psalm 12:1) When will you gaze upon us and listen to us? When will you enlighten our eyes (*illuminabis oculos nostros,* Psalm 12:4) and show us your face? (Psalm 79:4; 8) When will you bring us back to you? Look on us, Lord, hear us, enlighten us, show us yourself. Bring us back to you, so that things may be well with us, without which things are so bad. Have mercy on our efforts and labours to approach you, which achieve nothing without you. Summon us,

[6] Augustine, *Enarrationes*, Psalm 50, 16.1-15, II.424; Cassiodorus, *Expositio*, Psalm 50.405-407, I.503-504.

> help us. (Psalm 78:9) I pray, Lord, that I might not sigh with desperation, but breathe with hope. I pray, Lord - my heart is embittered by your desolation; sweeten it by your consolation. I pray, Lord, that as I begin to seek you hungry, I may not finish empty of you.[7]

The plea taken from Psalm 12:4 to 'enlighten my eyes' (*Illumina oculos meos*) may have been another phrase recognisable from the Advent season.[8] Anselm's monastic readers would certainly have been able to follow it with its continuation, '…that I never sleep in death' (*ne umquam obdormiam in morte*). In the *Proslogion*'s opening chapter, this cry for the enlightenment of the eyes is interwoven with the Lenten laments, 'how long' (*usquequo*) and 'help us' (*adiuva nos*), which enhance its penitential texture.[9] Indeed, the phrase *usquequo,* repeated several times in the *Proslogion,* features not only as the opening (and title) of Psalm 12, but also in Psalm 6, one of the seven penitential Psalms. Followers of Lanfranc's schema would have sung this phrase several times each day, and with especial fervour on Good Friday and Holy Saturday.[10] The 'enlightenment' of the 'eyes' for which the *Proslogion'*s meditator longs may well have been weighted with powerful recollections of the weeks and days presaging Christ's resurrection.

Indeed, for Augustine and Cassiodorus, the psalmic cry *usquequo* voices an expressly Christological hope. In Cassiodorus's commentary on Psalm 6:4, God's seeming delay in appearing to those who yearn for his coming is intended that their 'recovery of health can be acknowledged as more precious'.[11] For Augustine, the 'how long' of Psalm 12 refers to a 'spiritual understanding' of Christ: '"How long", [the psalmist] complains, "will you put me off from spiritually understanding Christ, who is

[7] SI, *P,* 1:99.15-100.1.
[8] *CS*, 72.
[9] *CS,* 169-170.
[10] Lanfranc, *Constitutions,* 61; 66.
[11] Cassiodorus, *Expositio*, Psalm 6.161, I.94.

the Wisdom of God and the true end of every intention of the soul?"'.[12] The psalmist's plea encapsulates the purifying suffering of those who long for a full vision of Christ but 'whose spiritual eyes are not yet pure'.[13] On Cassiodorus's account, the delay only serves to heighten desire; 'such a complaint strikes the souls of the faithful, so that they both ever long for heavenly things and have enduring trust in the Lord's promise'.[14] The pleas for enlightenment at the *Proslogion*'s opening, then, entail more than the sense of alienation provoked by the spiritual senses' failed perception. They represent a specifically Christological longing, the desire of the faithful Christian whose vision is not yet fully purified.

This plea to '*illumina oculos meos*' surfaces once more in the central chapters of the *Proslogion.* Here, the meditator surveys what his search has yielded, and finds himself still shrouded in non-perception. This time, the darkness is owing not to the absence of light, but rather to the abundance of it. Not only is God that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought, the meditator concludes, he is greater than thought itself:

> Truly, Lord, this is the light inaccessible in which you dwell (1 Timothy 6:16). For truly there is nothing else which can penetrate it and see through to you there.[15]

It is the superabundance of God's presence which now confounds the eyes of the mortal heart:

> Truly I do not see it, because it is too much for me; and nonetheless whatever I see, I see through it, just as a weak eye sees something by the light of the sun, which it cannot gaze at directly. My intellect cannot gaze at it. It shines too brightly, it cannot grasp it, nor can the eye of my soul bear to strain for too long at it. It is dazzled by

[12] Augustine, *Enarrationes,* Psalm 12, 1.2, I.173.
[13] *Ibid.,* Psalm 12, 1.7, I.174.
[14] Cassiodorus, *Expositio*, Psalm 12.39, I.146.
[15] SI, *P,* 16:112.20-21.

> the brightness, vanquished by the fullness, overwhelmed by the immensity, confounded by the size.[16]

Yet the obstacles to spiritual perception which the meditator lamented at the *Proslogion*'s opening seem not to have been removed. Unimpeded vision appears as remote as ever:

> Oh supreme and inaccessible light, full and blessed truth, you are so far from me, and I am so close to you! You are remote from my view, and I am present in your view! You are totally present everywhere, and yet I cannot see you. In you I live and move and am (Acts 17:28), and I cannot approach you. You are in me and around me, and I do not perceive you.[17]

It is at this point that the meditator returns to the same *signa, vultum tuum requiro* and *illumina oculos meos,* with which the *Proslogion* began:

> I sought your face, your face, Lord, do I seek; do not turn your face from me (*vultum tuum, domine, requiram*, Psalm 26:8)…Cleanse, heal, focus, enlighten the eye of my mind (*illumina oculum mentis meae*, Psalm 12:4), so that it might see you. May my soul recover its strength and strain towards you once again with its whole intellect, Lord.[18]

The junctures in Anselm's *Proslogion* at which the meditator laments his spiritual non-perception are thus accompanied by the very *signa* which link the longing for theological vision with the necessity of 'turning' towards God's illuminating presence. The fact that these *signa* were especially prevalent in Anselm's Prayer to Christ establishes Christ himself as the goal of the *Proslogion*'s quest. Like the long mortifications of Lent, the darkness of spiritual non-perception pricks the penitent meditator with desire for the dawning of a specifically Christological, and not merely cerebral, light.

[16] SI, *P,* 16:112.21-27.
[17] SI, *P,* 16:112.27-113.4.
[18] SI, *P,* 18:114.9-13

10.3. *Vultum tuum requiro* and *emitte lucem et veritatem tuam*

The Christological nature of the light which the meditator seeks turns out to be pivotal to the *Proslogion*. The psalmic appeals of 'how long' are accompanied by cries of 'where?'; where can God be found, how can he be reached, and by what means can the soul approach an 'inaccessible light':

> So now, Lord my God, teach my heart where and how to seek you, where and how to find you. Lord, if you are not here, where am I to seek you in your absence? But if you are everywhere, why do I not see your presence? Yet surely you live in light inaccessible (1 Timothy 6:16). But where is this inaccessible light? And how might I approach this inaccessible light?[19]

The reference to the 'inaccessible light' of God's dwelling-place is taken from 1 Timothy 6:16, and seems not to appear anywhere else in Anselm's corpus. As the meditator longs to be led into this dwelling-place, he ponders what (or who) will be the intermediary to guide him there:

> Or who will lead me and bring me into it, so that I might see you in it? Then by what signs, by what aspect am I to seek you? I have never seen you, Lord my God, nor have I studied your face. What is he to do, Lord most high, what is this, your distant exile, to do? What is this anxious servant of yours to do, loving you and long cast away from your face (Psalm 50:13)? He pants after the sight of you, and is exceedingly far from your face. He longs to approach you, but your dwelling-place is inaccessible. He desires to find you, yet he does not know where you are.[20]

As the *Proslogion*'s search for the 'inaccessible light' continues, so too does the subtle evocation of some intermediate figure to make that light accessible. In the ninth chapter, the meditator considers whether or not the mysterious co-existence of mercy and justice in God constitutes the 'inaccessible light' of God's dwelling:

> Is it that your goodness is incomprehensible and lies hidden in the inaccessible light in which you dwell (*in luce inaccessibili quam inhabitas*)?[21]

[19] SI, *P,* 1:98.1-5.
[20] SI, *P,* 1:98.5-11.
[21] SI, *P,* 9:107.4-5.

Perhaps these mysterious depths of goodness, expansive enough to encompass both perfect justice and perfect mercy, constitute the longed-for dwelling-place of God. 'Have you found, my soul, what you were seeking?', the meditator asks:

> You were seeking God, and you have found him who is the supreme among everything, him than whom nothing greater can be thought; and who himself is life, light, wisdom, goodness, eternal beatitude and blessed eternity; and who is everywhere and always.[22]

Yet the meditator's glimpse of this dwelling-place is characterised not by clarity of vision but by darkness:

> Lord my God, my creator and re-creator, tell my longing soul what else you are other than what it has seen, so that it may see purely what it desires. [My soul] strains to see more, but sees nothing beyond what it has seen apart from darkness; or rather, it does *not* see darkness, for there is no darkness in you, but it sees nothing beyond what it is possible to see as a result of its own darkness.[23]

The biblical assurance that 'God is light, and in him there is no darkness at all' (1 John 1:5) finds the meditator at an aporia, forced to suspect the revelations he has thus far discovered.

It is at this point that the *Proslogion* weaves another psalmic phrase into the search for *vultum tuum.* The meditator, though faced once more with sensory obscurity, is convinced that in the conclusions he has reached so far, he has certainly seen both 'light' and 'truth':

> Can it be that [my soul] has not found the one whom it found to be light and truth? For how has it understood [what it previously discovered], except by seeing light and truth? Or how could it understand anything at all about you except by your light and your truth (*lucem tuam et veritatem tuam*)?[24]

[22] SI, *P,* 14:111.8-11
[23] SI, *P,* 14:111.22-112.1.
[24] SI, *P,* 14:111.16-18.

Having pleaded for some mediatory figure to 'lead' him into the 'inaccessible light', the meditator now recognises that the 'light' and the 'truth' that he has found must be that very intermediary: 'If therefore [my soul] saw light and truth, it saw you. If it did not see you, it did not see light nor truth.'[25]

The phrase '*lucem tuam et veritatem tuam'* belongs to Psalm 42:3: 'Send forth thy light and thy truth: they have conducted me, and brought me unto thy holy hill, and into thy tabernacles'. A portion of this Psalm, '*introibo ad altare Dei',* was recited as an introit as the priest processed to the altar at the start of the mass, and the specific invocation of God's 'light and truth' could have been known to Anselm from the liturgy of Passion Sunday, or from Tuesday's Lauds, sung at the dawning of the day.[26] Indeed, the paradox of seeing and not-seeing which is inherent in the mass – of perceiving Christ's body in the Eucharistic bread by faith, but only hidden in a sacramental, visible invisibility – seems to chime with the meditator's conundrum:

> Or was it both 'truth and light' which it saw, and nonetheless did not see you, because it saw you in a certain [indirect] way, but did not see you as you are?[27]

This 'light' and 'truth', then, so crucial to verifying the intellectual journey the *Proslogion*'s meditator has travelled, are identified as Christ. As Augustine notes in his commentary on Psalm 42, 'light' and 'truth' constitute two names for 'one Christ…he is light and he is truth'. 'Sent forth' from the Father in his incarnational mission, it is Christ who, in his sacramental presence, has 'already brought us to his holy mountain and into his tents'.[28] Christ is not only the goal of the *Proslogion*'s meditation, but also the illuminating, mediating presence which invisibly guides its progress. What the

[25] SI, *P,* 14:111.18-20.
[26] *CS,* 119-120. *RB* 13.5, 208-209.
[27] SI, *P,* 14:111.20-21.
[28] Augustine, *Enarrationes,* Psalm 42, 4.5-15, II.258-259.

meditator has seen, he has seen by the light of Christ, just as it is by Christ's mediation that the priest approaches the altar, and by Christ's body and blood that a path to the Father is opened up.

The final chapter of the *Proslogion* sheds the penitential garb of its opening in jubilation at the 'light' and 'truth' whose presence it has uncovered. In the opinion of Anselm Stolz, the effusion of joy at the *Proslogion'*s close indicates that Anselm's meditator has 'attained his goal', and that 'the hidden God reveals himself'.[29] Yet Anselm weaves one more thread into the tapestry of *signa* to create a far subtler drama of visibility and invisibility. As the meditator rejoices at the degree to which earthly goods will be surpassed by the enjoyment of the *summum bonum,* he does so using the words of 1 Corinthians 2:9:

> Oh, he who enjoys this good: what manner of thing will be his, and what shall not be his! Surely he shall have whatever he wants, and will not want what is not for him. For there will be goods of body and soul the likes of which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived (1 Corinthians 2:9).[30]

It is the present non-seeing of heavenly joy which characterises the *Proslogion*'s final chapter, punctuated by the unseeing eye, the unhearing ear and the unconceiving heart of 1 Corinthians 2:9:

> But surely this is that joy in which your elect rejoice, which no eye has seen, no ear has heard, nor has arisen in the heart of man. Therefore I have not yet expressed or imagined, Lord, how much those blessed ones of yours rejoice. Surely they will rejoice as much as they love, will love as much as they know. How much will they know you then, Lord, and how much will they love you? Surely, no eye has seen, no ear has heard, nor has it arisen in the heart of man, how much they will know and love you in that life.[31]

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[29] Stolz, 'Anselm's Theology in the *Proslogion', The Many-Faced Argument*, 191; Schufreider argues that the *unum argumentum* constitutes Anselm's bold attempt to 'create his own image of God': *Confessions of a Rational Mystic,* 300.
[30] SI, *P,* 15:118.12-15.
[31] SI, *P,* 16:121.6-13.

Anselm would have known the reference to that which 'no eye has seen' as Paul's description of his mystical ascent - his transportation to the 'third heaven', and the visions of which he was unable subsequently to speak – which became a staple means to describe the monk's union with God.[32] Anselm's Benedictine readers would also have called to mind the presence of 1 Corinthians 2:9 in the *Regula,* where it carried resonances of Christ's future return and the eschatological dimension of the monk's vocation.[33] The repeated Pauline phrase is not a celebration of vision but of non-vision, but a non-vision which evinces the presence of God in a yet more mysterious way.

The *signa* carried over from the prayers and meditations, and the new strands they accumulate in the *Proslogion,* serve to mark out some of the essential coordinates of Anselm's theological investigation. At the opening, it is conversion, the light of *vultum tuum* and the illumination of *oculos meos*, which the meditator seeks, therewith to dispel the sensory numbness which makes the presence of the omnipresent God so incongruously imperceptible. The fool, by contrast, remains stubbornly shrouded in his inability to see what ought to be the most visible reality there is. The Christological *lux et veritas,* which has shone upon the meditator's efforts, is trustworthy in its illumination because it is Christ himself, the mediating agent in the *Proslogion'*s search as well as its final goal. Yet this revelation does not actually cause the *Proslogion* to result in vision, because it is the invisibility of what 'the eye has not seen' which the meditator ends by contemplating. Despite the unveiling of the *unum argumentum,* the *Proslogion'*s meditator goes from lamenting his incapacity of vision to celebrating it as a cause for hope.

[32] Cassian, *Conferences,* 12.12.6-7, 451.
[33] *RB* 4.75-8, 186-187.

These coordinates can prompt a renewed appreciation of Anselm's *unum argumentum,* and his identification of God with 'that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought'. Thinking of God as that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought offers a way of making God's existence, which ought to be supremely evident, impossible not to 'see'.[34] Anselm's formula in a certain sense 'makes visible' the necessity of God's existence at the same time as affirming that God cannot be captured by the eye of the mind. It acts as a sort of verbal/logical icon, where God's visibility and his invisibility can be contemplated in a single point.[35]

The *signa's* Christological nature also has an important bearing on the *Proslogion's* enterprise, and, more generally, on Anselm's conception of the search for theological knowledge. As the light which initiates the meditation (*illumina oculos meos*), the light which the meditator seeks (*vultum tuum requiram*), and the light which illumines the path to God's presence, (*emitte lucem tuam*), Christ's presence is integral to the quest for understanding. This not only frames the project of theological *intelligere* in terms of visionary and revelatory, rather than purely technical and deductive, modes of understanding. It also enfolds theological knowledge into the monastic narrative of conversion and illumination, and affirms the presence of Christ as both the means to this luminous transparency and also its end, in intellectual speculation no less than in prayer.

Perhaps, by allowing *signa* from his prayers and meditations to reach into the *Proslogion,* Anselm himself intended the parallels between the two to be felt. The *Proslogion's* status as a meditation (or, rather, an 'alloquium', as the soul speaks not to

[34] This perspective is similar to Eileen Sweeney's*: Desire for the Word,* 147-174.
[35] In this way, the *Proslogion's* argument could be thought of as a rational equivalent of the 'performative icons' which Bissera Pentcheva describes: Bissera V. Pencheva, 'The Performative Icon', *The Art Bulletin*, 88:4 (2006), 631-655. Gregory Schufreider also uses the word 'icon' in this way: *Confessions of a rational mystic,* 283.

itself but to God) is thereby all the more concretely solidified.[36] Moreover, the fact that these *signa* appear not as ornamental devotional language, but reach to the heart of the *Proslogion*'s argument and intention, militates against the view that the work's meditative genre acted as a cloak to obscure its rationalistic innovativeness. Anselm's most celebrated text is no sleight of hand, but a genuine prayer, in which intellectual and spiritual revelation are both mediated by the light of Christ's presence.

[36] McCord Adams, 'Praying the *Proslogion*: Anselm's Theological Method', 18.

11. Satisfaction 1: satisfying redemption's demands

The *signa* in Anselm's prayers and meditations established the kenotic trajectory of recapitulation as a central aspect both of Christ's redemptive action and of the redemptive power of humility and obedience in a monastic community. Yet Anselm's concern with humility extended beyond his devotional writings. The material preserved by his disciples bears witness that the monastic ascent-by-descent was something Anselm took to heart. Among the *similitudines* collected after his death are his own versions of the steps of humility.[1] Anselm's *gradus* are more streamlined than Benedict's – seven steps, rather that the *Regula'*s twelve – and one version revolves solely around the totalization of self-abasement:

> The first stage of humility is that each one knows himself to be contemptible. And because there are certain persons who know themselves to be contemptible but do not grieve for it, the second is to grieve the fact that he is contemptible. Because there are others who grieve that they are contemptible but do not want to admit it, the third is to confess oneself to be contemptible. But because on the other hand there are some who confess themselves to be contemptible but do not want to be believed to be so, the fourth is to convince [others] that they are contemptible. Because there are some who are contemptible and who want to be believed so, but do not want to be said to be so, the fifth is to endure being said to be contemptible. But because those who endure it but nonetheless do not want to endure being treated as contemptible, the sixth is to endure being treated contemptibly. But since these are those who are unwilling to endure it, the seventh stage is to love to be treated contemptibly.[2]

[1] *De Humanis Moribus,* 101-108, 81; 109, 81-82; *Liber ex dictis beati Anselmi,* 1, 110-116.
[2] *De Humanis Moribus,* 101-108. 81. My translation.

The gradual permeation of the sense of unworthiness, moving concentrically, like Benedict's steps, from private, interior conviction to its increasingly public and exterior manifestation, was Anselm's route to 'perfection of thought'.[3]

In the prayers and meditations, the pattern of abasement-followed-by-ascent was identified by the *signa* of *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* and *bonus pastor,* connected intimately with the spiritual authority of the abbot in overseeing the various liturgical and disciplinary processes of *satisfactio* in his monastery. Its trajectory was interwoven with two other *signa,* Christ's 'obedience unto death' (*obediens usque ad mortem*) and his laying-down of his life (*ego pono animam meam*). While the phrase '*qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur'* is not found in the *Cur Deus homo,* the pattern which it points to, and the two *signa* which accompanied it in the prayers and meditations, once more intertwine to construct a powerful and multipartite schema of redemption.

11.1. *Qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur,* and *obediens usque ad mortem*

Where the theme of abasement-and-ascent surfaces in the *Cur Deus homo,* it is yoked once again to the kenotic Philippian hymn (Philippians 2:6-11). It is God's apparent self-humbling which furnishes the dialogue's opening paradox. Speaking as an 'unbeliever', Boso presents the conundrum of how a wise and powerful God would choose to humiliate himself, enter a woman's womb, and endure 'weariness, hunger, thirst, beatings, and suffer death on a cross between thieves', and 'many other things which do not seem to be appropriate to God'.[4] This abasement, however, not only appears unworthy of God to undertake, but also unworthy of the Father to command. Boso's questions in the *Cur Deus homo* swiftly turn to Christ's apparent lack of freedom. How

[3] *Ibid.*
[4] SII, *CDH,* I.3:50.24-28.

could the Father be considered powerful or wise if human reconciliation could only be accomplished by the death of an innocent?

> For if he could not save sinners in another way other than by condemning a just man, where is his omnipotence? If he could have done it but did not want to, how are we to defend his wisdom and justice?[5]

Anselm's reply that the Son freely chose such a death does not satisfy Boso:

> Even if it was not unwilling, since he consented to the will of the Father, nonetheless [the Father] seems in a certain way to have forced him by ordering it.[6]

It is here that Boso cites the Philippian *signum* as a proof-text in support of his position. Boso recites a litany of evidence from the Revealed Bible, including Christ's obedience '*usque ad mortem*', which seem to witness that the Father compelled the Son to die:

> For it is said that Christ humbled himself and was made obedient to the Father even unto death, death on a cross; for which reason God has also exalted him, (Philippians 2:8-9) and that he learned obedience from what he suffered (Hebrews 5:8), and that the Father did not spare his own son but gave him up for us (Romans 8:32). And also the Son says, I did not come to do my own will, but the will of him who sent me (John 6:38). And approaching his Passion he says, as the Father has commanded me, so I do (John 14:31). And elsewhere, shall I not drink the cup which my Father has given me? (John 18:11). And again, Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me, but not what I will, but what you will (Matthew 26:39). And, Father, if it is not possible for this cup to pass from me unless I drink from it, may your will be done (Matthew 26:42). It seems in all these things Christ was more compelled by obedience than enduring death by a will freely disposed to it.[7]

Anselm responds by drawing a distinction between 'what [Christ] did because obedience required it' and 'what happened to him because he preserved obedience and

[5] SII, *CDH,* I.8:60.8-10.
[6] SII, *CDH,* I.8:60.15-16.
[7] SII, *CDH,* I.8:60.16-61.2.

not because obedience required it'.[8] Christ's faithfulness in holding on to 'truth' and 'justice' was what caused his persecution, and this faithfulness, Anselm explains, is required by all humans in obedience to their creator. Christ did not die because the Father commanded his death, but because, by virtue of his humanity, he owed the obedience to the Father which all humans owe. Since Christ never sinned, and death is only required of sinners, the Father could not justly require Christ's life of him, but the 'obedience to preserve justice' was so firmly kept by Christ 'that he incurred death because of it'.[9] It is only in this indirect sense, Anselm says, that the scriptural texts Boso quotes can be thought to imply the Father's commanding Christ's death:

> Therefore, as his father commanded, so he did (John 14:31), and the cup which he gave, he drank (John 18:11), and he was made obedient to the Father unto death (*obediens usque ad mortem*) and he learned obedience by what he suffered (Hebrews 5:8); that is, [he learned] the extent to which obedience was to be kept.[10]

In Anselm's reply to Boso's position, the kenotic trajectory of *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* is presented as a characteristic feature of scriptural expression. To respond to his interlocutor, Anselm sets about demonstrating that the seeming incongruence between these biblical texts and his insistence on Christ's freedom actually masks a deeper consonance which scripture itself manifests. Perhaps following Augustine's advice in *De Doctrina Christiana* to use one scriptural text as the interpretative key to another, Anselm quotes Psalm 109:7 ('He will drink from the stream by the path; therefore he will lift up his head'), to demonstrate that Christ's self-humbling is not the necessary condition for his exaltation, but rather that abasement-followed-by-exaltation is a pattern which God himself favours:

> But when the apostle said 'he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, death on a cross', he followed it with 'for that

[8] SII, *CDH,* I.9:61.8-10.
[9] SII, *CDH,* I.9:62.6-8.
[10] SII, *CDH,* I.9:62.10-13.

> reason God has exalted him and given him the name which is above every name' - which is similar to what David said, 'He shall drink from the stream by the path: therefore he will lift up his head' (Psalm 109:7). This does not mean that he could by no means have arrived at this exaltation except by that 'obedience unto death', and that this exaltation is nothing other than a reward for that obedience, for before he suffered, he said that everything had been given to him by the Father and everything of the Father's was his.[11]

Just as someone may decide to do one thing by means of another, and be bound by nothing other than their own decision, so too the Philippian hymn, in Anselm's mind, merely details God's free decision that the reconciliation of humanity should happen by means of Christ's obedience, and by none other:

> …because he, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, arranged it that in no other way than by death would his celestial omnipotence be shown to the world. Indeed, it was arranged that it happen by no other way than by that death; since it is so, it is not incongruous to say that it was because of that death that it is so.[12]

In the sense that the Father preferred to make the Son a casualty to humanity's salvation than to see the human race not saved at all, the Father did indirectly will Christ's death, since by willing that particular end, he also willed those particular means:[13]

> because he does not will the world to be saved in any other way, except by a man performing such a great feat as I have said…This is why [Christ] did as his Father commanded (John 14:31), and drank the cup his Father gave (John 18:11), and was obedient unto death (*obediens usque ad mortem*).[14]

Boso's proof texts, Anselm insists, should be read in the light of the principle that following abasement with exaltation is God's preferred means of reconciliation. Anselm takes this to be a principle, expressed by the Philippian *signum,* which should be used to qualify other scriptural passages which appear to imply something different. Not only is

[11] SII, *CDH,* I.9:62.16-23.
[12] SII, *CDH,* I.9:62.23-27.
[13] SII, *CDH,* I.9:64.3-6.
[14] SII, *CDH,* I.9:64.7-11.

this *signum* thereby made to occupy a positions of primacy over the other texts Boso lists. The kenotic trajectory which it encapsulates was, for Anselm, embedded in revelation as a typical feature of scriptural rationale.

The *signum's* privileged place, along with its frequent recurrence, in this section of the *Cur Deus homo* also serves to affirm the centrality of Christ's obedience in the redemptive economy. This obedience, however, is presented as ultimate freedom. The Father's ordinance that humanity should be reconciled by no other means than the abasement and exaltation of Christ is something which Christ absorbs along with the 'good will' the Father gives him:

> By way of the good will by which the Son willed to die for the salvation of the world, it can also be rightly understood that the Father gave him the command (though not by force) and the cup of his Passion (John 14:31; John 18:11), and did not spare him but gave him up for us and willed his death; and because the Son himself was obedient unto death (*obediens usque ad mortem*) and learned obedience by what he suffered (Hebrews 5:8).[15]

Anselm has already argued in *De Libertate Arbitrii* that a 'good will' – that is, a will which retains its original *rectitudo* – is a free will. When this good will, stipulating abasement-and-ascent to be the Father's preferred means of reconciliation, is 'freely received and lovingly retained' by Christ, Christ not only demonstrates the essence of obedience, but also the essence of freedom.

> For in this way the Son, having freely and unswervingly received this will from the Father by preserving it, was made obedient unto death (*obediens usque ad mortem*) and learned obedience by what he suffered; that is, he learned how great was the thing which must be brought about by obedience. For this is simple and true obedience: when a rational nature freely preserves, without necessity, the will which it has received from God.[16]

Christ was *'obediens usque ad mortem',* then, whilst also remaining supremely free.

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[15] SII, *CDH,* I.10:64.14-18.
[16] SII, *CDH,* I.10:65.14-19.

To monastic readers, the correlation of perfect obedience and perfect freedom must have struck a chord. Mending by obedience the damage caused by disobedience was the avowed purpose of Benedictine life and practice: 'the labour of obedience will bring you back to him from whom you drifted through the sloth of disobedience'.[17] Christ's obedience and his freedom, so Anselm suggests, is rooted in his acceptance of the 'good will' of the Father, and this 'good will' includes the principle that humanity should be redeemed by no other means than his abasement and exaltation. If the archetype for the monastic pattern of *obediens usque ad mortem* is Christ himself, then Anselm's argument suggests that monks, like Christ, can find their freedom as well as their obedience in accepting this trajectory as God's preferred route to redemption. Moreover, since the monastic structures of ritual humility and *satisfactio* mirror this very trajectory, Anselm's *signum* hints that monastic life itself is an embodied articulation of Christoform obedience and freedom. Anselm's interpretative strategy, taking this *signum*'s descending arc a summary of God's preferred means of atonement, not only establishes this maxim as a guiding hermeneutical principle embedded in scripture. It also presents the interiorisation of this trajectory of redemptive self-abasement as an acceptance of God's redemptive economy, and that acceptance as an imitation of Christ's perfectly free obedience. The *signa* which underpin the practical blueprint of monastic life thus mirror a crucial aspect of Anselm's vision of redemption.

11.2. *Qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* and *ego pono animam meam*

The pattern encapsulated by *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur,* and its Christoform expression in *obediens usque ad mortem*, are thus identified in the *Cur Deus homo*'s first

[17] *RB* Prologue.1, 157.

book as God's own preferred redemptive sequence. In the second book, Anselm rearticulates the *signum* of *ego pono animam meam* (Christ's avowal to lay down his life for his friends and take it up again, found in John 10:17-18) to clarify exactly why this pattern turns out to be salvific. Having established at the end of the first book that it is impossible for humanity to be reconciled apart from by a God-Man, the second book explores why Christ's death was expressly suited to achieve that reconciliation. As Anselm's argument makes clear, Christ's obedience was an act of freedom. Indeed, Anselm goes on to references Christ's agony in Gethsemane to underscore the freedom, rather than the necessity, of his choice:

> However, he said that it was not possible for the cup to pass from him unless he drank it (John 18:11), not because it was not possible to avoid death if he so wished, but because – as it is said – he unswervingly willed that suffering death was preferable to the world's not being saved. However, he said these words in order to teach the human race that its salvation was not possible except by his death, not in order to show that he could not by any means have avoided death.[18]

The crucial factor, for Anselm, is that Christ could have avoided death had he willed it. As his arguments in *De Libertate Arbitrii* had implied, freedom has two aspects: the retaining of *rectitudo* for its own sake, and the will's autonomy of self-initiated action independent from coercion.[19] Christ's freedom is therefore not only found in his retaining of the Father's 'good will', but also in his autonomy from external compulsion. Anselm takes the Johannine *signum* of the laying-down and taking-up of Christ's life, along with a reference from Isaiah, as the indicator of this second aspect of freedom:

> For he was omnipotent, and it is written of him that he was offered up because he willed it (Isaiah 53:7). And he himself says 'I lay down my life, and I will take it up again. No-one takes it from me, but I lay it down of my own accord. I have the power to lay it down and I have the power to take it up again' (John 10:18). Therefore,

[18] SII, *CDH,* I.10:65.29-66.4.
[19] Above p. 253.

> that which he does by his own power and will is not at all rightly said to have been done by compulsion.[20]

Since Christ did not sin, the argument goes, he owed no death to God. 'Therefore', Anselm insists in the words of the *signum,* 'he is able to lay down his life and take it up again' (John 10:18). This freedom from coercion obtains no matter what the efficient cause of his death:

> Therefore, he is able, if he wills, never to die, and able to die and rise again. But whether he lays down his life (*animam suam ponat*) with no-one else causing it or with someone else causing, it does not make any difference to his power.[21]

Christ's freedom, summed up in the *signum* of the laying-down and taking-up of life, is essential, on Anselm's account, because it is precisely this uncoerced laying-down and taking-up which supplies a surplus of merit. In order to make satisfaction, Anselm's argument states, a member of Adam's race needs to give God a gift which is great enough in value to outweigh all of sin's demerit. Since even the slightest transgression of God's will is tantamount to willing the destruction of multiple universes, the gift which would outweigh this debt must be greater than the whole of creation.[22] This gift, moreover, can only count as a gift if it does not comprise something which was already owing to God in the first place. The obedience referred to in the *Cur Deus homo*'s first book, entailing the preservation of the will's justice, is not sufficient by itself, 'for all rational creatures owe this obedience to God'.[23] Anselm refers to the giving of this gift as a 'laying down'; in order to make satisfaction, a member of Adam's race 'will lay himself down (or something that is his) for the honour of God in such a way that it was not owing'.[24]

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[20] SII, *CDH,* I.10:66.8-13.
[21] SII, *CDH,* II.11:110.3-5.
[22] SII, *CDH,* II.21:88-89.
[23] SII, *CDH,* II.11:110.27-28.
[24] SII, *CDH,* II.11:110.22-23.

> Let us see if perhaps this giving is the giving of his life or the laying down of his life (*ponere animam suam*), or the handing over of himself to death for the honour of God. God does not require this from him out of any obligation, since because there was never any sin in him, his death was not owing, as we have said.[25]

There can be no greater gift, Anselm states, than to 'lay down' one's life for the sake of God's honour. It is therefore crucial that whoever makes satisfaction should be in a position to lay down his life if he choose, and have the power to take it up again if he wills it.

The God-Man's aseity is crucial, moreover, because the free gift he gives is meritorious on account of its gratuity. A gift which is given in such unprompted kindness deserves a reward, but Christ, who declared that everything that belonged to the Father was his (John 16:15), has no need of such gift. Deciding that it is unfitting for such a meritorious gift to go unrewarded, Anselm and Boso alight on the perfect recipients:

> To whom will he more fittingly assign the fruit and reward of his death than to those for whose salvation (as the reason of truth has taught us) he became human, and to whom (as we have said), he gave an example by his death of dying according to justice? Indeed, to be imitators of him is pointless if it does not mean being participators in his merits. Or whom will he more justly make heirs of the reward of which he has no need, and of the overflowing of his plenitude, other than his parents and brothers, whom he sees wasting away with the poverty, owing such great debts in deep misery, so that what they owe for sin might be remitted and they might be given what, because of their sins, they lack?[26]

Anselm's argument can only result in human reconciliation because Christ's freedom from external coercion, summed up, via the *signum* of *ego pono animam meam,* in his ability to lay down and take up his life, resulted in excess merit which ought not go unclaimed.

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[25] SII, *CDH,* II.11:111.1-4.
[26] SII, *CDH,* II.19:130.28-131.2.

The pattern of *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur*, whose monastic contours were clearly visible in the prayers and meditations, is here employed via the related *signa* of *obediens usque ad mortem* and *ego pono animam meam* to encapsulate positions which form crucial elements of Anselm's soteriology. Christ's obedience *usque ad mortem* is taken to indicate God's decision that the sequence of abasement-followed-by-exaltation should be the only means by which humanity can be saved. The pattern of *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* is not only fixed as the Father's will, but its reception by the Son's will is taken to be the very definition of obedience and freedom. By incorporating the laying-down and taking-up of Christ's life, Anselm builds another wing into his soteriological complex: the merit which results from Christ's uncompelled, self-initiated and gratuitous gift. Once more, Christ's freedom is crucial – not, this time, the freedom of retaining the 'good will' of the Father, but the freedom of uncoerced aseity. Christ's gift of his life can only be meritorious if the pattern of *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* is something he is free *not* to perform, something he does not out of obligation but out of choice. Only then can the God-Man's gift be meritorious, going beyond the obligations of obedience which God requires of all human creatures. The two kinds of freedom which Anselm's *signa* help him to establish allow Christ to effect two redemptive actions: the uncoerced obedience which unties the knot of Adam's disobedience, and the gift of his life, whose gratuity results in an overflow of unclaimed merit.

11.3. *Recti corde*

The heart, as the locus of conversion, the organ of spiritual speech, and the seat of the soul's 'purity', featured in several *signa* in the prayers and meditations. The words issuing from the heart of the fool had also launched the *Proslogion*'s argument, anchoring it in the monastic priority of integrated speech. References to the heart

return in *De Veritate* and *Cur Deus homo,* this time taking the form of allusions to the 'upright in heart'. Although the phrase *recti corde* does not feature verbatim in the prayers and meditations, its acts in these dialogues like a *signum* in its own right, indicating a group of people whose identity shapes a significant aspect of Anselm's conception of redemption.

The 'upright in heart' is a psalmic phrase, occurring numerous times in the Psalter (Psalms 7:11, 10:2, 31:11, 35:11, 63:11, 94:15 and 96:11). Anselm will certainly have known it from his weekly round of psalmody, but the *recti corde* may have carried particular associations with the saints, martyrs and apostles.[27] 'Upright in heart' was a liturgical expression most commonly used for the feasts of holy individuals. Psalm 31:11 ('Be glad in the Lord and rejoice, O righteous, and shout for joy, all you upright in heart', NRSV) appears in the *Carmina Scripturarum* as an offertory for the common of several martyrs, and as an antiphon for the feast of All Saints.[28] Psalm 63:11 ('The just shall rejoice in the Lord, and shall hope in him: and all the upright in heart shall be praised') is listed in the *Carmina Scripturarum* and in the Bec missal as an introit for the feast of an individual martyr, while Psalm 96:11 ('Light dawns for the righteous, and joy for the upright in heart', NRSV) appears in the *Carmina Scripturarum* as an antiphon for the common of apostles, and in the *Consuetudines Beccenses* as an antiphon used in the octave of an apostle's feast, in the common of martyrs, and in the feasts of Ss Thomas and James.[29] Liturgically speaking, it is perfectly plausible that the psalmic *recti corde* was synonymous in Anselm's mind with the communion of saints.

[27] The *Regula* lists Psalm 35 for Monday's Lauds, and Psalm 64 for Wednesday's: *RB* 13.4; 13.6, 208-209.
[28] *CS,* 105.
[29] *Ibid.,* 146; 199; *BM,* 231; *CB,* 134, 239, 228, 246.

In *De Veritate,* Anselm makes clear that the 'upright in heart' does indeed comprise a specific category of people. The phrase is among the small handful of scriptural references to appear in the trio of philosophical dialogues.[30] During the course of *De Veritate,* Anselm argues that retaining *rectitudo* of will is the definition of justice and the guarantor of freedom. So much space is devoted to the will's *rectitudo* and the implications of its presence or absence that his insertion of the scriptural *recti corde* almost goes unnoticed; yet Anselm's argument includes the assertion that those who retain the *rectitudo* of will are the very same as those the psalmist describes as 'upright in heart'. As the *magister* explains in *De Veritate,* 'upright in heart' and 'upright in will' should be considered synonymous:

> the just are sometimes called 'upright of heart', that is, upright of will; sometimes 'upright' without the addition of 'heart', because nothing is understood by this 'righteous person' other than someone who has an upright will. For example, 'all the upright in heart glory' (Psalm 31:11) and 'the upright shall see and rejoice' (Psalm 106:42).[31]

In equating scriptural 'uprightness of heart' with justice, Anselm follows Cassiodorus's lead, who does the same thing in his exposition on Psalm 31:

> Every just man rejoices in the Lord; every man rejoicing in the Lord is of upright heart: so every just man is of upright heart.[32]

This identification of the psalmic *recti corde* with the preservation of the will's *rectitudo* endured to the very end of his literary career. In *De Concordia,* written to extend some of the themes left untreated in the dialogues, Anselm argues the same thing, this time citing 'David' as his authority for this association:

> Sacred authority often points out that justice is *rectitudo* of will. One example may suffice to demonstrate this. For when David said 'The Lord will not cast off his people, neither will he forsake his

[30] Helen Lang argues that its significance lies in its evocation of the will, which the dialogues are designed to point in the direction of conversion. Lang, 'Anselm's use of Scripture and his theory of signs', 443-456.
[31] SI, *DV,* 12:196.20-24.
[32] Cassiodorus, *Expositio,* Psalm 31.306, I.312.

> inheritance, until justice be turned into judgement' (Psalm 93:14-15) he asked, in order to teach us what justice is, 'and who is the just person?'. To which he answered himself, 'all who are upright of heart', that is, upright of will.[33]

The rationale, Anselm explains in *De Concordia*, is that neither the heart's faith nor the heart's understanding is complete without the right use of the will; 'therefore we rightly understand David to have said that the "upright of heart" are upright of will'.[34] These *recti corde,* by implication, are the polar opposites of the *servi peccati:* the former have preserved the *rectitudo* of their wills, and the latter have thrown it away.

In *Cur Deus homo,* moreover, the *signum* of *recti corde* explicitly links this psalmic 'uprightness in heart' to the process of salvation. The *Cur Deus homo's* first book outlines Anselm's theory that satisfaction, the rendering to God of something greater in value than the demerit of sin, is a necessary component in redemption. Anselm articulates this using that language of debt (*debitum*), and it is this which has caused his atonement model to be envisaged primarily as a commercial or juridical transaction. However, when Anselm refers to the 'debt' which sinful humans owe to God, he does so explicitly evoking the *recti corde*. Having constructed the argument of the *Cur Deus homo* to outline the debt of honour which humans alone cannot repay, Anselm clarifies what exactly this debt entails:

> The will of every rational creature ought to be subordinate to the will of God…this is the debt which angel and man owe to God - no-one sins who pays it, and everyone who has not paid it sins. This is the justice or *rectitudo* of will which makes someone just, or upright in heart (*quae iustos facit sive rectos corde*), that is, in will.[35]

The 'debt' which ought to be offered in honour to God is defined simply as the will's retained *rectitudo,* identified with submission to the will of God, the preservation of

[33] SII, *DC,* III.2:264.28-265.5.
[34] SII, *DC,* III.2:265.12-13.
[35] SII, *CDH,* I.11:68.12-16.

which gives the psalmic *recti corde* their 'uprightness'. 'This', Anselm states, 'is the sole and total honour which we owe to God, and which God requires of us':[36]

> Whoever does not give God this debt of honour steals from God what is his, and dishonours God: this is what it means to sin. For as long as he does not return what he stole, he remains in guilt.[37]

To make satisfaction, then, is to become 'upright in heart', honouring God by preserving the *rectitudo* which the will ought to have:

> Therefore, in this way everyone who sins ought to repay to God the honour he stole; and this is the satisfaction which every sinner ought to pay to God.[38]

Even though the psalmic reference is almost too slight to notice, the *recti corde* occupies a central place in Anselm's view of what it means to pay a 'debt of honour' to God. 'Uprightness of heart' takes on a clear technical meaning in *De Veritate,* which Anselm retained in his *De Concordia* of several decades later. Intertwined with the *signum'*s liturgical overtones, recalling the commemoration of the saints, martyrs and apostles, this technical vision of the will's *rectitudo* is woven into Anselm's conception of satisfaction to present salvation, saintliness and the paying of the 'debt' as one and the same thing. Moreover, since the heart and its purity stood at the centre of the monastery's *scopos,* using this phrase as a *signum* enables Anselm to situate this crucial aspect of redemption firmly in monastic territory. Uprightness, purity and *rectitudo* of heart is what God requires, what the saints possess, and what monks aspire to preserve.

Anselm's soteriology has almost exclusively been examined in terms of an economic or juridical metaphor of debt and recompense. Yet a detailed examination of the scriptural *signa* in Anselm's writings reveals a conceptual architecture of much

[36] SII, *CDH,* I.11:68.16-19.
[37] SII, *CDH,* I.11:68.19-22.
[38] SII, *CDH,* I.11:68.29-69.2.

greater complexity. The first *signa, qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur* and *obediens usque ad mortem,* encompass the notion of abasement-followed-by-ascent, bringing with them all the associations of ritual humility which belonged to monastic *satisfactio.* These *signa* alone already carry reconciliatory overtones, associated with the redressing of faults in a monastic community. In the *Cur Deus homo,* Anselm reveals his conviction that this sequence is not only encrypted into scripture, used as an hermeneutical principle for interpreting other scriptural passages, but also constitutes the Father's favoured means of redemption. This pattern traces the arc of recapitulation: Christ, the second Adam, travels the path of the first Adam and corrects his missteps. It is according to the logic of recapitulation, too, that Christ's obedience is so important to Anselm. When Jesus receives the Father's will as his own, he undoes by obedience the damage done by Adam's disobedience. The new 'head' of the human race preserves in his will the 'good will' given him by the Father, thereby maintaining the *rectitudo* of will which humanity's first 'head' sinfully discarded. Moreover, this retaining of *rectitudo* is what Anselm identifies, by evoking the *recti corde,* as the 'honour' which humans owe to God. Through his obedience and the preserving of his *rectitudo,* Christ not only recapitulates Adam's sin, but also pays on his behalf the 'debt of honour' (and maintaining his 'uprightness-of-heart') which Adam ought to have paid. Thus far, Jesus's actions are salvific because they are recapitulatory, and they pay the 'honour' which humanity owes to God by supplying the *rectitudo* which Adam's descendants lack.

Yet this recapitulation is not quite enough to make full satisfaction, because Christ is only doing what Adam ought to have done all along. Satisfaction, on Anselm's account, requires not only that the head of the human race render the honour requisite to God (through obedience and the maintaining of *rectitudo*), but also something extra, to outweigh the demerit of originally failing to do so. The scriptural *signum* of *ego pono*

animam meam supplies exactly this 'extra'. The 'laying down' of Christ's life is not only the rendering of a gift greater in merit than sin is in demerit; it is also something not required of him, since Christ lived without sin. Moreover, the fact that this *signum* is carried over from the prayers and meditations draws the scriptural connection between the 'laying down' of life and the gift of love: 'greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends' (John 15:13). Just as the 'debt' which the saint pays in Anselm's second Prayer to John the Evangelist is one of love, so it is Christ's love which supplies the surplus of merit which is redistributed to his human brothers and sisters. No feudal or legal analogy is strictly necessary to explain the salvific efficacy of this model. Satisfaction demands a recapitulation to right the cosmic wrongs created by sin, and salvation is achieved by the free gift of merit spilling out from the abundance of Christ's love.[39]

The scriptural *signa* which Anselm deploys in his ruminations on redemption reveal a multipartite structure far more complex than the simple model of debt-repayment. Indeed, when light is shone through the prism of these *signa,* it is not financial or juridical themes which appear, but rather monastic ones. The God-Man's obedience and humility pictures the kenotic descent in which monks must participate in order to unite their wills with the ordinance of God. This participation supplies the lost interior *rectitudo* which must be restored in order for that redemption to be complete, associated explicitly with the 'uprightness of heart' which the saints exhibit and to which monastic purity aspires. Rather than representing satisfaction as an objective transaction taking place between Father and Son, these *signa* weave the demands of satisfaction directly into the daily lives of the monks among Anselm's readership. The

[39] This conclusion chimes with David Bentley Hart's perspective, though not reached by the same means: Bentley Hart, 'A Gift Exceeding Every Debt', 344-345; 348-349.

scriptural *signa* thus attest to the instrumental value of the monastic life for performing the recapitulations – imitating Christ's obedience in monastic humility, and preserving uprightness of heart in monastic prayer - which the God-Man's satisfaction made possible.

12. Satisfaction 2: satisfying the soul's desire

12.1. *Fons vivum*

The *signa* of overflowing fountains and overflowing hearts populated the prayers and meditations' vision of saintliness. Anselm adopted the psalmic image of the 'living fountain' (*fons vivum*), whose baptismal connotations carried deep Christological connotations. His prayers had depicted the saints as conduits of this fountain; the saints' beatitude, channelling Christ's own mercy, overspills to inundate sinners, filling their hunger and neediness with plenitude. In his second Prayer to John the Evangelist, moreover, the notion of sinners being blessed by the saints' superfluity was conflated with the saints paying their own 'debt' of love to God in gratitude for the grace granted to them. The image of the overflowing fountain thus bore a redemptive aspect, as salvation was pictured as a sweeping-up of sinners into the torrent of mutual love between the Father and the Son.

Where the *signum* of the *fons vivum* surfaces in the *Proslogion,* it does so at the hinge of the meditator's quest. Having discovered that 'that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought' cannot exist only in the mind, the meditator proceeds to demonstrate how seemingly-opposed divine attributes – omnipotence and sinlessness, compassion and impassibility - are able to be predicated of God simultaneously. When he turns his attention finally to the mystery of God's mercy and justice, the meditator uses the *Proslogion's* formula as an interpretative maxim, concluding that since it is better to be just than it is to be not-just, and better to be merciful than to be not-merciful, then that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought must be both just and merciful. But how, the meditator asks, if God does 'nothing which is not just', can he be

'good to both the good and the evil'?[1] The mysterious coexistence of mercy and justice in God appears to the meditator as a burst of unapproachable radiance, but the heart of that mystery is likened to a flood issuing from a hidden fountain: 'Truly in the deepest and most secret parts of your goodness lies hidden a fount whence a river of mercy flows'.[2]

With this brief evocation of a hidden *fons,* the meditator pictures God's justice and his mercy – his repaying of evil with evil and his repaying of evil with good - flowing equally mysteriously from the depths of God's goodness like water from an unseen source. Yet what appears to be two separate streams is in fact one pure river issuing from a *ratio* belonging to God alone:

> Oh the depths of your goodness, God! The source of your mercy is both visible and yet not fully taken in. Where the river flows from is discernible, and yet the fount whence it springs is not perceived. For you are both kind to those who sin against you out of the plenitude of your goodness, and the reason why this is the case lies hidden in the depths of your goodness.[3]

Immediately following this image of the overflowing fountain, the *Proslogion* erupts in praise of God's goodness in the language of richness and abundance so familiar from the prayers and meditations:

> Oh mercy, whence such opulent sweetness and such sweet opulence overflows to us! Oh immensity of the goodness of God, with what affection ought you be loved by sinners! For you save the just whom justice commends, and you liberate those whom justice condemns – the former by the aid of their deserts and the latter in spite of their deserts; the former by recognising the good which you have given them, and the latter by ignoring the evil which you hate.[4]

[1] SI, *P,* 9:106.19-107.3.
[2] SI, *P,* 9:107.5-6.
[3] SI, *P,* 9:107.14-18.
[4] SI, *P,* 9:107.22-26.

Just as the supplicant in the prayers and meditations craves the overflow of the saints' sanctity, so the *Proslogion*'s meditator begs for the gift of comprehension, asking that the fount of God's mercy might spill over onto him:

> Oh immense goodness, which thus exceeds all understanding, may that mercy which precedes from such opulence come over me! May that which flows out of you flow into me! Spare me by way of kindness, do not punish me by way of justice! For even if it is difficult to understand how your mercy is not apart from your justice, it is nonetheless necessary to believe it, because by no means is your justice opposed to that which overflows from your goodness, which is nothing without justice, or rather, which truly harmonises with justice.[5]

Using the image of an overflowing fountain to suggest the hidden mystery of God seems to have been a staple of Anselm's theological imagination.[6] Indeed, Anselm's *Similitudes* include a metaphor of a fountain with telling similarities to the *Proslogion's* mysterious *fons.* Whilst inveighing against human *voluntas propria,* the *similitudo* states that 'just as the will of God is a fountain and the origin of all goods, so humans' *voluntas propria* is the beginning of all evil'.[7] He expands the metaphor to include the fountain's issue; human self-will issues countless streams and rivulets, sometimes conjoining and sometimes fanning away from each other, which are the 'diverse and innumerable vices' flowing from the will's source.[8] In contrast to the 'diverse and innumerable rivers' which spring chaotically from the sinful *voluntas propria,* part of the joy experienced by the *Proslogion*'s meditator seems to be found in the unity of the river which flows from the 'hidden fountain' of God's goodness, whence justice and mercy gush in a single stream. At this point in the *Proslogion* the *signum* of the *fons vivum* hints at the

[5] SI, *P,* 9:107.26-108.5.
[6] Streams, rivers and lakes were among Anselm's favourite analogies for the Trinity. SII, *DIV,* 13:31-32; SII, *De Processione Spiritus Sancti,* 9:203-205.
[7] *De Humanis Moribus,* 8, 41.
[8] *Ibid.,* 9, 41.

discovery of God's simplicity, which enlightens the meditator's reason even as it confounds it.

The Christological connotations of the *fons vivum,* suggested by its function in the prayers and meditations, once more reveal Christ's guiding hand at the heart of the *Proslogion'*s quest. The deepest source of God's goodness may remain a mystery, but the human mind can nonetheless access the concepts of mercy and justice which issue from it, even if it cannot grasp how it is that they flow in unity. Like the 'light' and 'truth' visible to the meditator, indicating the 'inaccessible light' which remains invisible, the stream issuing from the *fons* supplies an intermediary by which the meditator can be led to an unseeing contemplation of its source. The presence of this *signum,* however fleeting, bears significant implications for the way in which the *Proslogion* is to be read. Like the *signa* of illumination and conversion, the *fons vivum* establishes Christ's presence as integral to the search for theological understanding. Moreover, the language of overflowing plenitude – 'O mercy, whence such opulent sweetness and such sweet opulence overflowed to us!' – strikingly reminiscent of the supplicant in the prayers and meditations, frames the *Proslogion's* pursuit in similar terms. The 'satisfaction' of the philosophical seeker's intellectual thirst and the catechumens' arrival at the baptismal font are clearly concepts which, for Anselm, are not too far removed.

12.2. *Ut gaudium sit plenum*

The *signum* of *ut gaudium sit plenum,* where it appeared in the prayers and meditations, situated the supplicant's desire for satiety – the 'asking', 'seeking' and 'knocking' of spiritual longing – in the context of a promised fulfilment. The longed-for union, spiritual, sacramental and spousal, was envisaged as a state already enjoyed by the

saints, for whom Jesus's promise of 'fullness of joy' had come to fruition. In the *Proslogion,* the *signum* of *ut gaudium sit plenum* appears hard upon the heels of the meditator's realisation that God is greater than thought itself. God so superabundantly exceeds human conceptions of existence, the meditator marvels, that the intellect threatens to be vanquished altogether. Yet it is the identification of God as the *summum bonum,* the supreme Good in whose simplicity all other divine attributes are encompassed, which prompts the meditator to 'stir up and rouse [his] whole intellect' in order to ponder 'what kind of good this is and how great it is'.[9] By contemplating the joy found in lesser goods, the meditator can gain a foretaste of the joy to be found in the Good in which they all participate:

> Why then do you wander among many things, little man, seeking goods for your soul and body? Love the one good, in whom all goods reside, and that will be enough. Desire the simple good, which is all good, and you will be satisfied.[10]

Upon this realisation, a torrent of scriptural extracts (referenced several times in this study) inundates the *Proslogion*'s closing chapters. Each biblical phrase conjures a desire whose fulfilment will be found in God himself:

> If you love beauty: the just shall shine like the sun (Matthew 13:43). If swiftness or strength, or the liberty of the body which nothing can oppose, they will be like the angels of God (Matthew 22:30) because what is sown a natural body will rise a spiritual body (1 Corinthians 15:44) in power, of course, not in nature. If a long and healthy life, here is safe eternity and eternal safety, because the just shall live forever (Wisdom 5:16) and the salvation of the just is from the Lord (Psalm 36:39).[11]

Among this litany of goods, evocative of the prayers and meditations, is a thirst which will be quenched and a hunger which shall be satisfied:

> If [you desire] satiety, they shall be satiated when the glory of God appears (Psalm 16:15). If inebriation, they shall be inebriated by

[9] SI, *P,* 24:117.25-26.
[10] SI, *P,* 25:118.15-17.
[11] SI, *P,* 25:118.20-25.

> the plenty of God's house (Psalm 35:9). If melody, here the chorus of angels sings to God without end. If any pleasure whatsoever which is not unclean but clean: God shall make them drink of the torrent of his pleasure (Psalm 35:9).[12]

Rather than satiety being followed by hunger, as it had done with Adam, now hunger is followed by satiety, and 'asking' is followed by 'receiving'. It is this reversal of Adam's calamity which constitutes the 'fullness of joy':

> My God and my Lord, my hope and the joy of my heart, tell my soul if this is the joy of which you spoke through your Son, 'ask and you shall receive, that your joy may be full' (John 16:24). For I have found a full joy – more than full. Indeed, with a full heart, a full mind, a full soul, with one's entire person full of this joy, still there will be joy beyond measure left over.[13]

The scriptural references which accompany the evocation of *ut gaudium sit plenum* bind this longed-for 'fullness of joy' yet more closely with the experience of the saints. Psalm 36:39 ('the salvation of the just is from the Lord'), Matthew 13:43 ('the just shall shine like the sun'), and Wisdom 5:16 ('the just shall live forever'), all appear in the *Carmina Scripturarum* as antiphons for the common of martyrs, with Matthew 13:43 also listed for the common of apostles.[14] In the Bec Missal, Matthew 13:43 and Wisdom 3:1 ('the souls of the just are in the hand of God') appear once more in the common of martyrs, and Matthew 13:43 and Wisdom 5:16 also feature in the liturgy for All Saints.[15] Indeed, the liturgical evocations of the saints, martyrs and apostles with which Anselm closes the *Proslogion* chime with his reference to the Gospel parable of the faithful servant 'entering into' the rest of heaven:

> Say, Lord, tell your servant in the depths of his heart if this is the joy in which your [other] servant entered, the one who entered into the joy of his Lord (Matthew 25:21).[16]

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[12] SI, *P,* 25:118.25-119.3.
[13] SI, *P,* 26:120.23-121.3.
[14] *CS,* 113; 394; 280.
[15] *BM,* 228; 235-236; 394; 281.
[16] SI, *P,* 26:121.4-6.

Moreover, the joy which the meditator hopes for will flow so copiously at its final consummation that its abundance cannot be restricted to one soul, but necessarily spills over to others:

> And since the degree that each one loves another is the degree to which he rejoices in his good; so just as in that perfect happiness each one will love God more, without comparison, than himself and all the others with him, in the same way he will rejoice inestimably more over the happiness of God than over his own or all the others'. But if they love God in this way, with their whole heart, whole mind, whole soul (Deuteronomy 6:5; Matthew 22:37/Mark 12:30), so that the whole heart, the whole mind, the whole soul still do not sufficiently do justice to his love: surely they will rejoice in this way with their whole heart, whole mind, whole soul, so that the whole heart, whole mind and whole soul is not sufficient for the fullness of joy.[17]

Just like the inaccessible light of God's dwelling, which was too bright to sustain vision, and the radical fullness of his existence, which the exceeded the limits of human imaginations, so even the joy for which the Christian can hope surpasses the capacity of the mortal soul to contain. The liturgical resonances of Anselm's scriptural phrases serve to point the *Proslogion'*s meditator towards the state in which this surfeit of divine presence could be sustained: the eschatological hope of heaven, pictured in the communion of saints.

Yet this fullness of joy for which the would-be saint hungers is also, for Anselm, a fullness of theological knowledge. The meditator at the *Proslogion*'s close is still left with the hunger and thirst with which he began, but rather than being a cause for despair, this is only the spur to a holier and purer kind of desire. To be hungry, thirsty and needy, as Augustine observes, is a state of blessedness in this life, since it sharpens the appetite for heavenly joys:

> We should not be too fond of plentiful nourishment in this world. This is the place for thirst; we shall be fully satisfied

[17] SI, *P,* 25:120.13-20.

> elsewhere…We shall not slake that thirst, nor be fully satisfied, until this life is over and we reach what God has promised.[18]

The angels, moreover, experience this heavenly satiety as a fullness of knowledge:

> The angels are not thirsty, as we are now; they are not hungry, as we are; for they enjoy the total satisfaction of truth, light and immortal wisdom.[19]

For Anselm no less than Augustine, the *plenum gaudium* for which the Christian can hope is bound up with the knowledge of God:

> I pray, God, that I might know you, love you, so that I might rejoice in you. And if I cannot come to that fullness in this life, may I progress in these days until I come to that fullness. May the knowledge of you progress in me here, and come to its fullness there; may my love of you grow here, and there be full, so that this joy of mine here may be in great hope, and there in the fullness of reality.[20]

Just as the meditator's hunger and desire are converted into causes for rejoicing, so too is the meditator's lack of complete theological understanding. Having sought to understand by believing, he encountered a truth so absolute that it effectively eluded him. Intellectual hunger has only been sharpened. The *Proslogion* ends, as it began, with a hungry seeker's request, but this time, via the *signum* of *ut gaudium sit plenum,* in the eschatological hope of the fullness of joy:

> Lord, through your Son you command, or rather advise, us to ask, and you promise we shall receive, that our joy may be full. I ask, Lord, what you advise through our wonderful counsellor; may I receive what you promise through your truth, that my joy may be full. True God, I ask that I might receive, so that my joy may be full. In the meantime, may my mind meditate on it, may my tongue speak of it. May my heart love it, may my mouth talk of it. May my soul hunger for it, my flesh thirst for it, my whole substance long for it, until I enter into the joy of my Lord, who is God, three and one, blessed forever, Amen.[21]

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[18] Augustine, *Enarrationes,* Psalm 62, 3.12-13; Psalm 62, 6.8, III.231-233.
[19] *Ibid.,* Psalm 62, 6.10, III.233.
[20] SII, *P,* 26:121.14-18.
[21] SII, *P,* 26:121.18-122.2.

This *signum* of promised future satiety thus serves to ensure that the *Proslogion*'s conclusion is open-ended. Far from having definitively established a rational knowledge of God, or even climbed to the pinnacle of mystical insight, Anselm's meditator is directed in the final chapters towards the true end of his search: the full 'tasting' of God's presence in the communion of saints. The *signum* of *ut gaudium sit plenum,* then, firmly locates the fulfilment of theological knowledge in the saintliness which is promised to those who 'ask', 'seek' and 'knock' with their 'whole heart', 'whole mind' and 'whole soul'. The *unum argumentum,* for all its innovation, is not the end of Anselm's search; its logical coherence simply points the meditator more directly towards that search's ultimate end.

To analyse Anselm's writings attuned to his scriptural *signa* is to witness many of those *signa* bursting the boundaries of Anselm's strictly devotional writing to populate his most famous theological works. As Anselm addresses the issues of sin, seeking, salvation and saintliness, even across different authorial styles and purposes, he does so often by making recourse to the same bank of scriptural *signa*, born from his monastic reception of the Revealed Bible. In his *Proslogion,* his dialogues and his *Cur Deus homo,* there also appear new clusters of words, phrases and images, which mirror in form, rather than in content, their counterparts in the prayers and meditations. These new *signa, dixit insipiens in corde suo,* and *recti corde,* revolve around the heart, whose purity constituted an essential goal of monastic life and devotion. It would require a considerable stretch of credulity to suppose that Anselm would have been insensible of these parallels himself. The scriptural *signa* he carried from one authorial project to the next would have been part of the furniture of his imagination.

When these scriptural *signa* are allowed to stand out from Anselm's texts like braille from a page, they present the scholar with a richer, more textured theological narrative to read. The *Proslogion,* sharing so many *signa* with the prayers and meditations, emerges as a reflection on spiritual truth-telling. Anselm's *signa* describing the effects of sin – the frustrated interior activity and obstructed capacity to grasp spiritual realities – pinpoint the reason for the fool's denial of the world's most undeniable truth. The fool's heart can utter the impossible only because it is as yet unconverted to (monastic) purity, and the meditator, too, struggles to lay hold of the illumination which frees his own benighted intellect from the grip of disintegration, of saying one thing and meaning another (the hallmark of the monk who lies *per tonsuram*). Discovering that it is impossible to claim coherently that 'that-than-which-nothing-greater-can-be-thought' does not exist, the meditator alights upon a verbal icon which pictures perfectly the desired integration between the way things are and the way they appear to be: it is a phrase which encapsulates the absurdity of disintegration by making present, by itself, the fact that God's existence ought to be impossible to deny. The *unum argumentum* demands the kind of monastic consonance between heart and lips which the *Regula Benedicti* requires of the psalmody.[22]

The *Proslogion's signa* also dissolve the imagined barrier between intellectual and spiritual knowledge. The sight of God which the meditator seeks does not warrant hard distinctions between the two kinds of understanding, as if they constituted two separate pathways to different locations. The meditator's rational proof is no less rational for being granted him by the light of Christ's presence, whose 'light' and 'truth' mediates his search. The conclusion of that search, moreover, is not a conclusion at all,

[22] *RB* 19.7, 217.

despite the discovery of the *unum argumentum's* formula, because the ultimate destination of the seeker, and the fulfilment of his spiritual-intellectual desires, lies in the 'tasting' of God's presence in heaven with the saints. None of these observations militates against the genuine philosophical triumph which Anselm's argument represents, or the genuine intellectual thrill which its discovery afforded him. It merely affirms what the simplest interpretation of the *Proslogion* suggests: that for Anselm, spiritual and intellectual knowledge, like the dialectic and devotion in his text, were thoroughly enmeshed, and that both would attain their fulfilment in the heavenly knowledge belonging to the communion of saints. Pitting one against the other, as some modern scholarship is inclined to do, constitutes a battle which the *Proslogion* itself does not support.

Reading the *signa* in the *Cur Deus homo,* moreover, uncovers a soteriological landscape in which Anselm's notorious metaphor of debt and recompense shrinks alongside the scriptural motifs of recapitulation and merit. The debt metaphor does not disappear – satisfaction, and the rendering to God of a gift greater than the original offense, is still a crucial aspect of reconciliation – but the kenotic resonances of the Philippian hymn and their associations with monastic obedience served to establish recapitulation as an essential wing of Anselm's atonement structure. That Jesus retraces the first Adam's fall and corrects by obedience the damage caused by disobedience, unbinding the enslavement which (despite Boso's interjection) is still a very real effect of sin, and restoring the lost *rectitudo* which frustrates the flourishing of Adam's descendants, is essential to humanity's reconciliation, and the restoration of the cosmos to its original Edenic order. Yet the fact that Christ gives his life to accomplish this, when no such gift of love was demanded of him, results not only in the 'extra' honour required to outweigh sin's dishonour, but also in an overflow of merit, which, like the *fons vivum,*

spills over from Christ's reward to inundate a needy humanity. Although Anselm does not say so explicitly, the remainder of the picture is easily filled with his *signa* from the philosophical dialogues. Through baptism into Christ, the new Adam, sinners can have restored to them the *rectitudo* of their wills (or, as Anselm puts it, the 'uprightness' of their 'hearts'), the preservation of which, like the *recti corde,* can see them numbered among the saints. Amongst this rich redemptive tapestry, a narrowly juridical economy overseen by a God barred from forgiveness by the demands of his own justice is nowhere to be seen. Anselm's soteriology does indeed require satisfaction, but his scriptural *signa* bear witness that that satisfaction also demands the recapitulative restoration of the cosmos, and the overflowing of Christ's meritorious love which sweeps up sinners into his own reward.

When the scriptural presence in Anselm's writings is allowed to stand out, then, some of the starkness of Anselm's most famous theological contributions is softened. *Ratio* does not obliterate *fides,* nor *fides ratio,* in the *Proslogion*'s argument; the two genuinely intermingle. Boso does not reject the notion of the sinner's enslavement, only the notion that the devil has a right to enslave. Anselm does not replace older soteriological models with one which exclusively foregrounds the repayment of a debt; he rearranges the traditional furniture of redemptive motifs according to the *satisfactio* which he surely learned from the cloister. Not only is the edge of 'scandal' slightly blunted in his arguments, but also the solitary heroism of their author. The *signa* witness Anselm not as a lone genius blazing his intellectual trail, 'God and man face to face'.[23] The landscape of his thought is populated with members of monastic and heavenly communities; his theological investigations moved between the parameters of

[23] Southern, *Making of the Middle Ages*, 236.

the cloister, containing those striving for purity of heart, and the choirs of heaven, containing those who had attained it. For all the affective passion and personal fervour in Anselm's search for theological truths, it was never an individualistic enterprise. Saints, demons, and particularly his monastic readers and confreres, supplied both the coordinates and the company for the journey to understanding from faith.

13. Conclusion

The curious presence (and absence) of scripture in Anselm's most celebrated works posed the initial conundrum which this study set out to solve. Launching his famous philosophical proof with a reference to the Psalms, describing three almost quotation-free dialogues as 'pertaining to the study of sacred scripture', and purporting to 'prove everything which is contained in the Old and New Testaments' whilst having 'removed' Christ from the proceedings, Anselm's seeming ambivalence regarding scripture's role in his arguments prompted a closer scrutiny of what exactly scripture was to Anselm, and its place in his thought and writings. Probing these questions, it was hoped, would supply fresh insights into his most significant works: what was the purpose of these writings in Anselm's mind? What was their relationship with scriptural authority? How did they contribute to Anselm's programme of *fides quaerens intellectum*? The untangling of these puzzles held out the prospect of reassessing Anselm's traditional place in the history of Christian thought. On the cusp of the twelfth century's intellectual renewal, amid the emerging claims of *ratio* and *fides,* where exactly did Anselm stand?

To gauge the kinds of attitudes Anselm would have held towards biblical material, and to alight upon a conceptualisation of scripture which he would have recognised, this study turned first to the monastery and its liturgy. Monastic life, as Richard Southern argued exactly thirty years ago, formed the backbone of Anselm's thought. Although Anselm entered Bec relatively late in life, it was his monastic conversion which consistently determined the way he saw himself, even late into his archiepiscopal career; in the words which he advised Gundulf of Rochester to adopt, 'I

am a Christian, I am a *monk*, I am a bishop'.[1] His thought had been moulded inside the monastery's spaces - scriptorium, chapter house, refectory, church – and it was within this decidedly monastic architecture that his engagements with scripture took place.[2]

Monastic spaces, and the scripture encountered within them, were oriented towards the sacred space of the church. Examination of Anselm's liturgical environs reveals a community returning again and again to the church, like an incoming tide, to carry out the essential monastic *opus* of performing the narrative of salvation. Just as this performance required certain ritual objects set aside for the purpose – albs, candles, incense, books – it also required a scriptural language, consecrated, as it were, for liturgical use. The words of the Revealed Bible constituted the appropriate verbal material out of which the community's worship was constructed. The scriptural texts encountered in other locations within the monastery's precinct - copied and corrected in the scriptorium, pondered in the cell and memorised in the cloister – would return with the monks to the choir, drawn out of the scriptural storehouse of phrases, motifs and images like objects from the sacristy. The Revealed Bible's words were studied, then, in order to be sung, and, as Benedict urged, 'sung wisely' (*psallite sapienter*), as befitted God's preferred language for articulating his own divine narrative.[3]

The monastery's worship, which leant meaning and purpose to all the other scriptural encounters within its precincts, was directed towards a God of inescapable immanence. Cognizance of God's omniscience was the monk's first step towards humility, and God's presence, made sacramentally tangible in the Eucharist, would have been the first thing 'tasted' each day.[4] As a priest, Anselm would have known scripture's

[1] *Ep.* 314, III.18. My emphasis.
[2] For the monastery as a spatial entity, see Leonie V. Hicks, 'The Use of Space and the Religious Life at Le Bec', in *Companion to the Abbey of Le Bec,* 278-306.
[3] *RB* 19.4, 217.
[4] RB 7.26-27, 195.

illocutionary power to bring about this sacramental presence, as the words of consecration at the apex of the liturgy were spoken as if by Christ himself. Just as the monastic spaces which played host to the monks' encounters with scripture were oriented towards the liturgical activities which took place in the church, so those liturgical activities themselves were oriented towards a continual awareness of the presence of God whose sacramental immanence was there for the 'tasting'.

Anselm would have known the Revealed Bible as the divinely-appointed raw material for fashioning the monastery's performance of the narrative of salvation; it was a verbal bank of images from which selections were made according to each day's liturgical requirements. Just as discrimination was required in selecting scripture for the monastery's liturgical spaces, so too for the inner 'space' of the soul. Like the monastic community returning throughout the day to the same introits and versicles ('God, come to my assistance; Lord, make haste to help me'), the monk following Cassian's injunction to use scriptural phrases as talismans for combatting temptation, distraction and attack would return again and again to particular portions of the Revealed Bible embedded in his mind. Anselm's writings even include his own agricultural analogy for this process: the 'seeds' which sprang miraculously from the hearts of the biblical authors should be planted in one's own heart, there to be cultivated, harvested and consumed for the 'feeding of the soul'.[5] Like the consecrated space of the monastery church, so too the monk's heart, when made 'pure' through the banishment of all distraction, could see its worship constructed from select scriptural phrases to which the monk periodically returned. To allow scriptural seeds to take root in one's soul in the hope of a spiritual 'tasting' would thus ensure consonance between

[5] SII, *DC*, III.6:271.23-26.

internal and external spheres, so that the monks' 'minds are in harmony with our voices'.[6]

This study has demonstrated that close scrutiny of Anselm's devotional works - the collection of texts which most closely represent his monastic life - seems to reveal just this dynamic. Key clusters of the Revealed Bible's words, phrases and images recur again and again throughout his prayers and meditations, witnessing to their reception in his monastic prayer. Isolating these *signa,* as this study aimed to do, demonstrates their centrality in characterising Anselm's depictions of some fundamental theological concepts: sin, seeking God, making satisfaction and searching satiety. Yet the impact of these *signa* reaches further than this. Anselm seems to use *signa* to evoke particular kinds of affect: the sense of binding and entrapment, of disharmony and frustration, and the hunger, thirst and spousal desire which ought to characterise the supplicant's search for God. They evoke certain experiences familiar to Anselm's monastic readers, like the redemptive trajectory of ascent-by-descent, as well as other truths exceeding natural vision, such as the superabundant plenitude bursting from the love of God and his saints. By selecting the Revealed Bible's language to express these concepts, encapsulated in scriptural identification-markers, Anselm is able to signpost not only the affects which the supplicant should experience, but also the unseen spiritual truths which account for them. For example, introducing the scriptural *signum* of '*servus peccati',* with all its accompanying connotations, allows Anselm both to describe the sense of incarceration which the sinner should experience and also, simultaneously, to identify the biblical notion of sin as the theological fact which accounts for that experience. In this way, the *signa* serve to lead the supplicant directly from a

[6] *RB* 19.7, 217.

description of the affect to an explanation of its unseen cause. For monks struggling to connect their mundane experience of community discipline to its theological meaning, the *signa* could simultaneously evoke the familiar trajectory of monastic satisfaction and identify the Christological archetype which rendered that pattern salvific. Contemplating the *signa* could enable the prayers' supplicant to take in the affects which he could 'see', and their theological foundations which he could not, both in a single glance.

The effect of Anselm's scriptural *signa* is thus to heal the breach between what is perceived to be the case and the true spiritual state of affairs. The dislocation of these two spheres - between the way things appear and the way they really are – was particularly perilous to a monk in Anselm's view. Anselm's supplicant frequently laments his failure to grasp the realities of his situation, for the monk who does not match his outward conduct with an interior appreciation of its spiritual import is lying '*per tonsuram',* and is truly no monk at all. It is this fatal disjuncture which Anselm's scriptural *signa* serve to mend. In the *signa,* the monk can view both the sphere of his own perception and the sphere of true theological reality converging in a single point, leaving no room for any severance between appearance and fact. Scripture is thus the medium not only for making 'visible' the unseen theological truths which underpin the monk's daily life, allowing the supplicant to 'see behind' what he is doing on a terrestrial level to its import in the order of redemption; it also serves to reintegrate the disconnect between the monk's perception and the true theological state of affairs, enabling him to grasp the spiritual realities whose full appreciation can threaten to elude him.

The fact that Anselm's *signa* lead the monk towards grasping a specific set of spiritual realities – namely sin, seeking God, satisfaction and the desire for satiety –

signals the distinctively monastic nature of this reintegration. Healing the damage of sin, cleansing the seeker's vision through conversion, reversing by obedience the disobedience of Adam and granting a foretaste of future union with God are precisely what the monastery was there to achieve. Anselm thus mobilises scriptural *signa* to further the purpose of monastic life. Like the monastery, the *signa* serve to 'turn' (*conversio*) the monk from perceptible to imperceptible realities, and lead him from terrestrial vision to a more holistic comprehension of divine order. By way of the *signa,* then, uniting affective experience with its theological cause, the supplicant can begin to 'taste' more fully the truth of those realities confessed by faith. This process, crucially, was a monastic process, the horizon of the monk's earthly vision reaching to touch the horizon of God's truth, with scripture, like the monastery, providing the meeting-point between the two.

If the scriptural *signa* in Anselm's devotional works reflect his monastic environs, they also serve as the context in which his other theological investigations took place. Indeed, this study's scrutiny of Anselm's *Proslogion,* his dialogues *De Veritate, De Libertate Arbitrii* and *De Casu Diaboli,* and *Cur Deus homo* established that despite the differences between each authorial project, Anselm's *signa* remain remarkably constant. Sin is consistently evoked using the language of *servus peccati* and *in peccato conceptus et natus,* the search for theological knowledge is regularly described as an enlightening (*dominus illuminatio mea*), and the process of redemption is constructed with the aid of the 'satisfaction' motifs, *qui se humiliaverit, exaltabitur, fons vivum* and *ut gaudium sit plenum.* The *signa* in these works occur with varying degrees of intensity, sometimes setting the scene for the discussion, as does the fool's utterance in the *Proslogion,* sometimes appearing only fleetingly, like the language of slavery in the *Cur Deus homo,* and sometimes recurring as an anchoring concept, like the

notions of servitude and rectitude in the three dialogues. Yet despite the difference in their force and frequency, the presence of these *signa* in Anselm's writings offer important responses to some of the existing theories surrounding his use of scripture.

First, the hypothesis that the differences in Anselm's scriptural usage between one work and the next was determined primarily by the requirements of each genre he adopted can no longer be supported. Whilst the *Proslogion*'s *signa* do much to connect the work with his prayers and meditations, it is not the case that the presence or absence of scripture in each text can be fully explained by reference to its genre, since the same scriptural *signa* appear across multiple authorial projects. Neither can Anselm's scriptural usage be considered merely a strategy to signal his orthodoxy to his potential detractors, or a devotional cloak to obfuscate his innovative rationalism. This would require scripture to function merely on an ornamental level, whereas the *signa* which this study has unearthed could not be added or subtracted so lightly. Removing them would result in significantly different texts, not just stylistically, but on the level of their theological content. Thirdly, these *signa,* however frequently deployed, do not support the notion that Anselm's monastic environs caused scriptural language to flow into his expression in a 'spontaneous effusion', indiscriminately and unchecked.[7] Anselm clearly carried a mental depository of scriptural material from which he made careful and deliberate selections.

Moreover, identifying these *signa* at certain junctures in Anselm's texts throws into sharper relief the absence of *signa* in other parts of those same texts. The *Proslogion,* the three dialogues and the *Cur Deus homo* all include swathes of writing where no scriptural *signa* can be identified at all. This combination of scriptural absence

[7] Ward, 'Introduction', *Prayers and Meditations,* 27.

with precise instances of specific scriptural presence reveals something of how Anselm must have conceptualised the place of his various theological projects in relation to monastic meditation. Works such as the *Cur Deus homo* and the dialogues on truth, freedom and the fall of the devil are not explicitly devotional, but they were nonetheless tethered to monastic prayer by the scriptural *signa* which they shared with it. These observations offer a fresh perspective on the relationship between the various parts of Anselm's corpus. Anselm's works are not to be viewed in isolation, differentiated by their separate authorial goals, but rather together, as a body of works sharing vital (scriptural) points of connection. Anselm was no occasionalist; if common scriptural *signa* bound these texts together, then his approach to scripture must be seen as something broadly constant, not fluctuating from text to text according to each work's desired purpose.

Furthermore, a new degree of consistency is uncovered in Anselm's own statements concerning his authorial projects. The embedding of a dialectical proof within the meditative journey of 'someone trying to raise his mind to the contemplation of God and seeking to understand what he believes' seems not at all incongruous, since both prayer and proof are tethered to monastic worship by visible scriptural bonds. Describing three logical dialogues as 'pertaining to the study of sacred scripture' is revealed to be perfectly apt, since it is the scriptural *signa* in those dialogues which draw the logician back to the holy purpose of his study. And the rather grandiose claim at the close of the *Cur Deus homo* to have 'proved whatever is contained in the Old and New Testaments' is not at all at odds with a *reductio ad absurdum* 'removal' of Christ from the argument, since the *signa* which help to drive the argument point towards the very realities which, in Anselm's view, the Old and New Testaments profess. Ultimately, this study demonstrates that Anselm's corpus does not represent multiple scholarly

enterprises, but one. Like the various spaces within the monastery precinct oriented towards the church, Anselm's theological writings took their meaning and purpose from the prayer which should rise harmoniously from both the choir and the heart. And like the scriptural texts carried from the scriptorium, the cell and the cloister to the church, the *signa* in Anselm's works periodically draw his monastic readers back from their logical endeavours to the ultimate holy purpose of those endeavours.

This study's investigation into Anselm's scriptural *signa* thus offers an answer to the initial conundrum concerning the place scripture occupied in Anselm's thought and the role it played in his writings. To begin with his writings: if Anselm's devotional works show the 'seeds' of scriptural words and images being planted in the mind through monastic prayer, the presence of *signa* in his works of theological investigation witness their crop being 'harvested' to the enrichment of rational enquiry. When the same *signa* from the prayers and meditations are replicated in these other works, the concepts which they carry, along with all their devotional and liturgical associations, are examined afresh in their logical dimensions. The sense of incarceration and bondage evoked by the image of the *servus peccati* in the prayers and meditations is reframed as it takes on a technical aspect in the dialogues, explained as the absence of *rectitudo* in the will. Familiar spiritual phenomena are viewed through a philosophical lens, and enter into Anselm's soteriology as concepts expanded by the awareness of their place in his logical scheme. The technical explication of the *servus peccati* thus delineates exactly the kind of slavery which Christ's satisfaction must unfetter, and the saintliness of the *recti corde* highlights the very *rectitudo* which Christ's merit must restore.

The impact of this in Anselm's writing is to enable the monk to view the various aspects of theological reality as a connected and harmonious whole. Like the vanishing-point in a painting, which allows an otherwise two-dimensional image to be seen in

three dimensions, the *signa* planted in his theological investigations allow Anselm to showcase the multi-dimensionality of the truths he is trying to explore. As the affective truths experienced in prayer are coupled with the philosophical insights supplied by dialectic and the theo-logical requirements of Anselm's multipartite soteriology, the monk embarking upon the path of rational inquiry finds himself in a three-dimensional space, constructed by the harmony that exists between all of these planes of knowledge. It is the scriptural *signa* in Anselm's writings which aid the monk in perceiving not only the integration between the various levels of discourse which his monastic education employed, but also the harmonious interdependence of those discourses within the intelligible structure of the created order.

In terms of scripture's place in Anselm's thought, the *signa* demonstrate the fundamental preparatory role played by monastic rumination as a prerequisite for intellectual endeavour. The insights gleaned in his feats of rational enquiry could not be 'harvested' had they not first spread their roots in monastic prayer. Where Southern argued more generally for the centrality of Anselm's monastic life to the workings of his mind, this study details specific instances in which key elements of Anselm's thought can be seen stretching back to the insights arrived at via monastic prayer. It is thus possible to outline how exactly scripture functioned in Anselm's thought: like the bells summoning the monks to return to the church at intervals throughout the day, the *signa* draw the readers back to the mending of the breach between appearance and reality, 'turning' them periodically to this healing of the spiritual sight. It is this continual 'conversion', reintegrating the monk's vision with the way things truly are, which disposes him to embark upon his feats of rational inquiry with his spiritual perception better prepared. Scripture, in Anselm's thought, thus acts as a mechanism for attuning the monastic seeker to perceive the connectedness between the various dimensions of

truth in the divine order - a capacity which was a prerequisite of undertaking with boldness the kind of investigations which Anselm's works represent.

It is in this sense that the scriptural *signa* uncovered in this study help to construct a more detailed picture of the movement from *fides* to *intellectum* in Anselm's mind. Without the continual healing of the spiritual vision which the scriptural *signa* help to effect, the monk remains disintegrated, unable to perceive the harmony which unites all discourses in a single superstructure. The scripture planted as *signa* in monastic prayer is the pathway leading from a mere verbalisation of Christian doctrines to a real, integrated and multi-dimensional grasping of their truth in all its facets. Or, in the language of Anselm's agricultural metaphor, the seeds' crop is 'harvested' in rational enquiry in order to enable a fuller 'tasting' of the truth of what is believed. The sacramental overtones in this 'tasting' orients Anselm's vision of 'understanding', like the monastery's architecture, towards the church, the location set aside for the liturgical honouring of God's presence. When Anselm's conception of '*intellectum'* is thus seen to be fundamentally directed towards the site of God's sacramental immanence, it becomes clear that God's existence needs no 'proving' by the cerebral affirmation of a syllogism's logical soundness. Rather, the planting, cultivating and harvesting of scriptural seeds is geared towards 'tasting' more fully the presence of a God whose immanence ought to be literally beyond doubt.

When it comes to the dynamics of *fides* and *ratio,* between whose competing claims Anselm is so often situated, this conception of '*intellectum'* reminiscent of Eucharistic eating effectively dissolves the bifurcation. Anselm's scriptural *signa* indicate the steps he took, both prayerful and philosophical, to grasp theological truth in all its multidimensionality. The reintegration of spiritual vision brought about in monastic scriptural rumination is what disposes the monk to undertake theological

investigations, but both the devotional seeds and their intellectual harvesting were oriented towards a full, holistic 'tasting' of the truth, which encompasses all the levels on which humans are able to know. Anselm was therefore a monastic thinker, for whom scripture united all paths of knowledge in pursuit of an apprehension of the immanence of God. The youthful dream which Anselm related to Eadmer offers one final image of scripture's place in this process. As the young Anselm climbed the mountain to the court of the great king, he observed labourers carelessly gathering grain on the mountainside. The reason he found God alone at the mountain's peak is that God's household had been 'sent…to collect the harvest'.[8] It is in God's presence, moreover, at the summit of his climb, that Anselm is given a taste of the 'whitest of bread'.[9] Anselm's writings demonstrate the fruitfulness of harvesting scriptural seeds diligently on the uphill journey towards theological knowledge. It was Anselm's belief that learning to labour assiduously in the gleaning of scriptural nourishment would see the monastic climber rewarded with a 'tasting' of God's presence at the mountain's peak.

[8] *VA,* I.2, 5-6.
[9] *VA,* I.2, 5.

Appendix: Latin text

PART I: Scripture in Anselm's world

2. Methodology: what scripture is and where to find it

68. SIII, *Meditatio redemptionis humanae,* 84.8-11.
Gusta bonitatem redemptoris tui, accendere in amorem salvatoris tui. Mande favum verborum, suge plus quam mellitum saporem, gluti salubrem dulcorem. Mande cogitando, suge intelligendo, gluti amando et gaudendo. Laetare mandendo, gratulare sugendo, iucundare glutiendo.

70. SII, *CDH,* II.19:131.7-10.
Quemadmodum autem sit ad tantae gratiae participationem accedendum et quomodo sub illa vivendum, nos ubique sacra scriptura docet, quae super solidam veritatem, quam deo adiuvante aliquatenus perspeximus, velut super firmum fundamentum fundata est.

71. SII, *CDH,* I.18:82.8-10.
Certus enim sum, si quid dico quod sacrae scripturae absque dubio contradicat, quia falsum est; nec illud tenere volo si cognovero.

72. SII, *DC* III.6:271.26-28.
Siquidem nihil utiliter ad salutem spiritualem predicamus, quod sacra scriptura spiritus sancti miraculo foecundata non protulerit, aut intra se non contineat.

73. SII, *DC,* III.6:272.1-4.
Si enim aperta ratione colligitur, et illa ex nulla parte contradicit – quoniam ipsa sicut nulli adversatur veritati, ita nulli favet falsitati -: hoc ipso quia non negat quod ratione dicitur, eius auctoritate suscipitur.

74. SII, *DC,* III.6:272.4-6.
At si ipsa nostro sensui indubitanter repugnat: quamvis nobis ratio nostra videtur inexpugnabilis, nulla tamen veritate fulciri credenda est.

75. SII, *DC,* III.6:272.6-7.
Sic itaque sacra scriptura omnis veritatis quam ratio colligit auctoritatem continet, cum illam aut aperte affirmat aut nullatenus negat.

76. SI, *M, Prologus:* 7.7-8.
Quatenus auctoritate scripturae penitus nihil in ea…

77. SII, *DIV*, 2:11.5-7.
Huic homini non est respondendum auctoritate sacrae scripturae, quia aut ei non credit aut eam perverso sensui interpretatur. Quid enim apertius dicit scriptura sacra, quam quia deus unus et solus est?

79. SII, *DIV*, 1:9.20-24.
Cumque omnes ut cautissime ad sacrae paginate quaestiones accedant, sint commonendi: illi utique nostri temporis dialectici, immo dialecticae haeretici, qui non nisi flatum vocis putant universals esse substantias, et qui colorem non aliud queunt intelligere quam corpus, nec sapientiam hominis aliud quam animam, prorsus a spiritualium quaestionum disputatione sunt exsufflandi.

80. SII, *DIV*, 1:10.1-4.
In eorum quippe ratio, quae et princeps et iudex debet omnium esse quae sunt in homine, sic in imaginationibus corporalibus obvoluta, it ex eis se non possit evolvere, nec ab ipsis ea quae ipsa sola et pura contemplari debet, valeat discernere.

84. SII, *DIV*, 1:8.7-8.
Prius ergo fide mundandum est cor, sicut dicitur de deo: 'fide mundans corda eorum'.

85. SII, *DIV*, 1:8.8-12.
Et prius per praeceptorum domini custodiam illuminandi sunt oculi, quia 'praeceptum domini lucidum, illuminans oculos'; et prius per humilem oboedientiam testimoniorum dei debemus fieri parvuli, ut discamus sapientiam quam dat 'testimonium domini fidele, sapientiam praestans parvulis'.

86. SII, *DIV*, 1:8.14-15.
Prius inquam ea quae carnis sunt postponentes secundum spiritum vivamus, quam profunda fidei diiudicando discutiamus.

87. SII, *DIV*, 1:8.19-9:4.
Verum enim est quia quanto opulentius nutrimur in sacra scriptura ex iis quae per oboedientiam pascunt, tanto subtilius provehimur ad ea quae per intellectum satiant. Frustra quippe conantur dicere: 'super omnes docentes me intellexi', qui proferre non audit: 'quia testimonia tua meditatio mea est'. Et menaciter pronuntiat: 'super senes intellexi', cui non est familiare quod sequitur: 'quia mandata tua quaesivi'.

88. SII, *DIV*, 1:9.5-8.
Nimirum hoc ipsum quod dico: 'qui non crediderit, non intelliget'. Nam qui non crediderit, non experietur; et qui expertus non fuerit, non cognoscet. Quantum enim rei auditum supera experientia, tantum vincit audientis cognitionem experientus scientia.

89. SII, *DC,* III.6:271.20-23.
Sicut ergo deus in principio per miraculum fecit frumentum, et alia de terra nascentia ad alimentum hominum sine cultore et seminibus: ita sine humana doctrina mirabiliter fecit corda prophetarum et apostolorum necnon et evangelia, foecunda salutaribus seminibus…

90. SII, *DC*, III.6:271.23-26.
…unde accipimus quidquid salubriter in 'agricultura dei' ad alimentum animarum seminamus, sicut non nisi de primus terrae seminibus habemus, quod ad nutrimentum corporum propagamus.

PART II: Scriptural *signa* in Anselm's prayers and meditations

3: The works in question

10. SIII, *Orationes sive Meditationes, Prologus*: 3.2-5.
Orationes sive meditationes quae scripturae sunt…non sunt legendae in tumult, sed in quiete, nec cursim et velociter, sed paulatim cum intenta et morosa meditatione.

12. SIII, *Orationes sive Meditationes, Prologus:* 3.5-8.
Nec debet intendere lector ut quamlibet earum totam perlegat, sed quantum sentit sibi deo adiuvante valere ad accendendum affectum orandi, vel quantum illum delectat.

4. *Confiteor*: sin in the prayers and meditations

1. SIII, *O*16, 64.13-15.
Ego, inquam, miserabiliter in profundum vitiorum praecipitatus, ego nimio pondere criminum gravatus, ego in obscuro carcere peccatorum a memetipso detrusus, et in torporis tenebris obvolutus.

2. SIII, *O*17, 68.8-9.
Ego scilicet inutilis persona, nullis bonis ornata, sed profunda ignorantia tenebrata, innumeris vitiis deformata, immensis peccatis onerata…

3. SIII, *O*14, 58.83-91.
Quid sunt ista, deus, quid sunt ista, quae sic animam meam obtenebrant et gravant, claudunt et ligant? Forsan haec sunt peccata mea, immo vere haec sunt peccata mea…Hinc est ille carcer et vincula, hinc sunt illae tenebrae et pondera.

4. SIII, *O*10, 35.59-64.
Dum vocatis in foveam vestram, quasi facilem reditum per paenitentiae dolorem monstratis; cum vero praecipitatis, praecipitatum obruitis, obrutum obcaecatis, occaecatum obduratis, obdurato omnem exitum obturatis; et sic miserum vestrum deceptum, captivatum, ligatum facitis desperare, tacere et insensibilem velut perditum dei et oblitum dei iacere…

9. *De Humanis Moribus,* 84, 73.30.
Unus enim eorum, quia eum minus diligit, cum arboris suae fructus fuerit matures, collegit fertque inde domino suo quantum sibi visum fuerit.

10. *De Humanis Moribus,* 84, 73.32-33.
Alius vero dominum adeo amat, ut ad eum veniens arborem ipsam sic ei offerat…

11. *De Humanis Moribus,* 84, 74.1-4.
Cuius igitur horum obsequium domino illi magis videtur acceptum? An illius qui quando quantumque voluerit dat ei de fructu propriae arboris? Immo magis illius, qui arborem totam dat ei cum fructu.

13. SIII, *Med* 1, 76.4-11.
Terret me vita mea. Namque diligenter discussa apparet mihi aut peccatum aut sterilitas fere tota vita mea. Et si quid fructus in ea videtur, sic est aut simulatum aut imperfectum aut aliquo modo corruptum, ut possit aut non placere aut displicere deo. Ergo o peccator, vita tua, non iam fere tota, sed certe tota, aut in peccato est et damnabilis, aut infructuosa et contemptibilis. Sed quid separo infructuosam a damnabili? Utique si est infructuosa, est et damnabilis. Constat enim et verum est quod veritas dixit: 'Omnis arbor quae non facit fructum bonum, excidetur et in ignem mittetur'.

14. SIII, *Med* 1, 77.23-27.
Anima sterilis, quid agis? Quid torpes, anima peccatrix? Dies iudicii venit. 'Iuxta est dies domini magnus, iuxta et velox nimis'; 'dies irae dies illa, dies tribulationis et angustiae, dies calamitatis et miseriae, dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nebulae et turbinis, dies tubae et clangoris'. O 'vox diei domini amara!'

15. SIII, *Med* 1 77.27-28.
Quid dormitas, anima tepida et digna evomi, quid dormitas?

16. SIII, *Med 1*, 77-78.38-46.
O lignum aridum et inutile, aeternis ignibus dignum, quid respondebis in illa die, cum exigetur a te usque ad ictum oculi omne tempus vivendi tibi impensum, qualiter fuerit a te expensum?

19. SIII, *Med 1*, 78.51-57.
Inutilis peccator, an non sufficiunt tibi haec ad immanem rugitum? An non sufficiunt ad eliciendum sanguinem et medullas in lacrimas? Vae mirabilis duritia, ad quam confringendam leves sunt tam graves mallei! O insensibilis torpor, ad quem concitandum sunt obtunsi tam acuti aculei! Pro letalis sopor, ad quem excitandum raucum est tam terrificum tonitruum! Peccator inutilis, satis haec tibi debent esse ad continuandum luctum; sufficere tibi possunt ad sorbendas iuges lacrimas.

20. SIII, *O*16, 65.19-21.
Impetra mihi compunctionem pietatis, lacrimas humilitatis, patriae caelestis desiderium, terreni exilii fastidium, paenitentiae amaritudinem, aeterni cruciatus timorem.

21. SIII, *Med* 1, 77.27-29.
Qui non expergiscitur, qui non tremit ad tantum tonitruum, non dormit, sed mortuus est.

23. SIII, *O*10, 36.85-90.
Iesu, deus, et tu, apostole eius, huic fidei peccator me vestro monitu credo, in hanc me iacto…fide coram vobis me obvolvo, ut possim latere inquisitores et exactores peccatorum meorum, et tui, deus, districti iudicii percussionem.

24. SIII, *O*10, 36.92-97.
Sed heu, ecce occurrit et aliud grave malum. Sperabam me per fidem spem obtinere, et ecce video nec fidem me tenere. Putabam me in hac fide esse obvolutum, et cognosco

me ab illa exutum. Confidebam me in illa latitare, et sentio me ab illa exulare. 'Fides' enim 'sine operibus mortua est'; fides vero mortua fides non est. Qui ergo mortuam fidem habet, fidem non habet.

25. SIII, *O*10, 35.97-100.
Vae, foecunditas malorum operum prohibebat me spem habere, et sterilitas bonorum operum probat me fide carere. Vae mala agenti, vae bona negligenti! Sicut enim necesse est in malis operibus deo displicere, ita impossibile est sine fide, quae sine bonis operibus nulla est, deo placere.

26. SIII, *O*10, 36.101-105.
Immo si 'iustus ex fide vivit': qui fidem non habet, mortuus est. Sed si sterilis bonorum mortuus est: fertilis malorum quam magis mortuus est? Nam si 'arbor quae non facit fructum bonum', exciditur ut arida: quae facit fructum malum, utique eradicatur ut noxia. Mors haec non carnis est, sed animae.

27. SIII, *Med* 1, 77.30-32.
Arbor infructuosa, ubi sunt fructus tui? Arbor digna securi et igne, digna succidi et succendi, qui sunt fructus tui? Utique spinae pungentes et amara peccata.

28. SIII, *Med 2,* 80.10-11.
Utique non iam benignum sponsum virginitatis meae, sed terribilem iudicem immunditiae meae.

29. SIII, *Med* 2, 80.14-19.
Quam misera sors flagitiosi hominis, cui et bonum et malum pariter sunt in tormentum! Torquet enim me mala conscientia et cruciatus eius, in quibus timeo me arsurum; torquet me bonae conscientiae et praemiorum eius memoria, quae scio me perdidisse nec amplius recuperaturum. Vae miserum perdere, dolendum perdere, id perdere irrecuperabiliter quod servari debet interminabiliter! Heu inconsolabile perdere, quod non solum est damnosum bonorum, sed insuper est lucrosum tormentorum!

30. SIII, *O*10, 34.17-22.
Omnes etiam spiritus boni et mali coram deo accusant me cum eo. Boni, quia deo debent aequitatem; mali, quia meam servant iniquitatem. Boni, quia testantur veritatem quam considerant; mali, quia quaerunt poenam meam quam desiderant. Ipsi quoque iudicant in hoc meam nequitiam, quia sciunt me debere damnari secundum iustitiam. Heu, quot iudices, quot accusatores super unum miserum!

31. SIII, *Med* 1, 78.66-67.
qui mihi bonum pro malo reddidit, cui ego malum pro bono…Heu me, heu me, cui peccavi!

33. SIII, *O*13, 50.19-51.29.
Ecce enim astat reus ante tremendum iudicem. Accusatur multis et magnis offensis. Convincitur teste propria conscientia et testibus oculis ipsius iudicis. Bona non egit quae male actis compenset…Carcer irremeabilis apertus. In carcere immania tormenta disposita. Tortores parati, ut data sententia damnatum ad tormenta rapiant. Tormenta sine fine, sine intervallo, sine temperamento. Tortores horribiles qui numqam

lassescunt, qui numquam miserentur. Timor reum turbat, conscientia confundit, cogitationes increpant, fugere non licet. Sic stat suspensus ad gravissimam sententiam.

34. SIII, *O*14, 58.92-96.
Peccata mea, cui me servatis in his vinculis et hoc carcere, sub his tenebris et hoc pondere? Cui nisi districto iudici et tortoribus vestris et tormentis aeternis? Cui nisi carceri inferni et vinculis sempiternis? Cui nisi caligini perpetuae noctis et ponderi indesinentis mortis? Certe his malis me servatis, ad haec mala me trahitis.

35. SIII, *O*14, 58.96-98.
Certe in his ero obvolutus, si prius a vobis non ero solutus. Vere horum illiberabilis servus ero, si liber a vobis prius non ero.

36. SIII, *O*14, 59.121-123.
Didiceras quoniam 'qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati'; et ut tanti mali servus esses, peccatum fecisti? Sciebas quia es 'spiritus vadens et non rediens'; et in peccati abyssum irremeabilem et sine fundo te iecisti?

37. SIII, *O*15, 63.51-52; *O*9 30.4-5; *O*9 33.89-93.
solve vincula eius, sana vulnera eius. Libera eam de miseria regni peccatorum et introduc eam in beatitudinem regni caelorum…

38. SIII, *Med* 3, 88.129-131.
Ecce, anima Christiana, haec est virtus salvationis tuae, haec est causa libertatis tuae, hoc est pretium redemptionis tuae. Captiva eras, sed hoc modo es redempta. Ancilla eras, et sic es liberata.

41. SIII, *O*9, 32.61-66.
ecce ego pauperrimus et infimus homuncio, multis et gravibus aerumnarum circumdatus angustiis…coram te exhibeo animam meam nervis virtutum dissolutam, catenis vitiorum ligatam, pondere peccatorum aggravatam, delictorum sordibus foedatam, discissam vulneribus daemonum, putridam et foetidam ulceribus criminum, his et aliis gravibus malis quae melius me vides obrutam, oppressam, circumdatam, obvolutam...

43. SIII, *O*13, 54.124-126.
Non enim gravabunt eos amplius pondera carnis, non eos affligent dolores corruptionis. Non impugnabunt stimuli tentationum, non terrebit conscientia peccatorum.

46. SIII, *O*10, 35.47-48.
Infelix homuncio, ad quid devenit oratio tua, quo evanuit spes et fiducia tua?

47. SIII, *O*10, 37.122-125.
Nam etsi nondum sum traditus morti torquenti, iam tamen dimissus sum morti illam attrahenti. Nam licet nondum sim detrusus in carcerem tormentorum, tamen iam sum conclusus in fovea peccatorum.

48. SIII, *O*13, 54.132-136.
Discordat quippe miserabiliter anima mea cum copulata sibi carne mea, quam sequi non vult nec potest sine timore, relinquere non audet nec valet sine dolore, trahere eam post se vult et nequit vel cum labore. 'Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius?'

49. SIII, *O*13, 54.137-140.
Precor, o beate Stephane, precor, compatere tu misero mihi indigenti, qui congaudeo tibi beato, licet non indigenti. Liberet me 'de corpore mortis huius' tuis meritis gratia dei per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum…

52. SIII, *O*15, 63.32-36.
Ecce beate Benedicte…Ecce bonum monachum, qui sic mortificatis vitiis et voluptatibus carnis, sic fervet et vivit solis virtutibus! Immo ecce falsum monachum, cui sic extinctis virtutibus, sic turba dominatur vitiorum, premit moles peccatorum!

56. SIII, *O*15, 62.12-14.
Vitam namque sanctae conversationis, quam promisi nomine et habitu monachi, profiteor; sed ab hac vita longe exulando, mentiri deo et angelis et hominibus ipsa mea conscientia convincor.

57. SIII, *O*15, 63.39-43.
Heu dolor, o 'angustiae', quae 'mihi sunt undique'! Si enim summum regem meum et bonum magistrum meum et professionem factam nego: mors mihi est. Si autem eorum militem et discipulum et monachum me profiteor: cum vita me arguat mendacii, iudicium mihi est.

58. SIII, *O*11, 43.40-50.
Heu nomen execrandum omni rei, nomen inimici dei!...Angustiae: convincit me inimicum dei rei veritas, et prohibet confiteri horroris immanitas…O vos misericordes amici dei, miseremini tam indigenti per illam misericordiam, quam vobis fecit deus. Succurrite, ne me obvolvat ira dei cum inimicis eius. Nolo, detestor, execror esse vel dici inimicus eius, licet confitear me peccatorem eius.

59. SIII, *O*17, 68.13-20.
Magister enim vocor, sed esse nescio. Pastor nominor, sed esse nequeo. Abbas dicor, sed non sum. Vident enim me sedere ubi sedet abbas, sed ego video me non facere quod facit abbas. Aspiciunt me praecedere sicut abbatem, sed ego aspicio me non vivere sicut abbatem. Exhibent mihi honores abbatis, sed ego non ostendo illis mores abbatis. Nondum duxi vitam boni laici, et de me expectant quomodo vivant monachi. Quid feci, homuncio, vermis et putredo, quid feci, quid praesumpsi, quid consensi?

60. SIII, *Med* 1, 78.61-62.
Si enim dixero quidquid potero excogitare, nondum ad id quod res est poterit comparari.

67. SIII, *Med* 3, 89.149-156.
Considera quid tibi erat et quid tibi factum sit, et pensa qui hoc tibi fecit, quo amore dignus sit…In tenebris, in lubrico, in descensu super irremeabile chaos inferni eras.

Immensum et quasi plumbeum pondus pendens a collo tuo deorsum te trahebat; onus importabile desuper te premebat; hostes invisibiles te toto conatu impellebant.

68. SIII, *Med* 3, 90.159-170.
Sic eras sine omni auxilio, et nesciebas quia sic conceptus et natus eras. O quid tibi tunc erat, et quo te ista rapiebant! Expavesce memorando, contremisce cogitando.

69. SIII, *O*4, 12.38-41.
Nam quid mihi concipi, nasci, vivere et omnibus huius vitae bonis frui, et postea in infernum descendere? Utique si sic mihi esset, melius mihi erat, si nec conceptus fuissem.

70. SIII, *O*4, 12.52-56.
Fac obsecro, fac ut, sicut me in baptismo mundasti a peccatis, in quibus sum conceptus et natus, ita me remundes ab eis quae contraxi, postquam sum renatus, ut per te ad ea bona perveniam, ad quae homo est creatus…

71. SIII, *O*8, 26.19-23.
Heu me, qualum me feci! Qualis eram, deus; qualem me fecisti, et qualem me iterum feci! In peccatis eram conceptus et natus, sed abluisti me, sed sanctificasti me; et ego peioribus sordidavi me. In necessariis enim tunc natus, nunc sum in spontaneis volutatus. In illis nesciens conceptus, istis volens plenus et opertus.

73. SIII, *O*14, 58.110-111.
Caecus non videt foveam in quam cadit, insanus putat se debere facere quod facit.

74. SIII, *O*15, 62.20-25.
Depravata mens mea ad inutilia et noxia pertractanda velox est et infatigabilis, ad vel cogitanda salubria fastidiosa et immobilis. Obcaecata et distorta anima mea ad praecipitandum et volutandum se in vitiis facilis est et prompta, ad saltem reminiscendum virtutes difficilis et pigra.

75. SIII, *O*8, 27.25-29.
Sanaveras pie deus, animam a parentibus vulneratam, ego impius interfeci sanatam. Exueras, misericors domine, vetustis pannis originalis peccati et indueras me veste innocentiae, promittens alteram incorruptibilitatis; et ego, illa reiecta quam dedisti, operui me sordibus nequitiae; illa despecta quam promisisti, plus elegi dolores aeternae miseriae.

76. SIII, *O*8, 27.31-33.
Reformasti in me amabilem imaginem tuam, et ego superimpressi odibilem imaginem, heu, heu, cuius! Cuius, miser et demens homuncio, cuius imaginem superimpressisti super imaginem dei?

77. SIII, *O*8, 27.34-45.
Sed ille, nulla praecedente delicti vindicta, superbiens peccavit; ego, visa eius poena, contemnens ad peccatum properavi. Ille semel in innocentia constitutus, ego restitutus. Ille contra eum qui se fecit, ego contra eum qui me fecit et refecit. Ille dereliquit deum permittentem, ego fugi deum prosequentem. Ille perstat in malitia deo reprobante, ego

in illam cucurri deo revocante. Ille obduratus ad punientem, ego obturatus ad blandientem. Etsi ambo contra deum: ille contra nec requirentem se, ego contra morientem pro me. O infelix et nimis infelix homuncio, si tamen non omnis recessit humanitas, ubi tanta malitiae incessit immanitas. Ecce, cuius imaginis horrebam horrorem, in multis aspicio me horribiliorem.

5. *Graduale*: seeking God in the prayers and meditations

8. SIII, *O*2, 6.14-15.
Illuminatio mea, tu vides conscientiam meam, quia 'domine, ante te omne desiderium meum'; et tu donas si quid bene vult anima mea.

9. SIII, *O*2, 6.4-13.
Domine Iesu Christe, redemptio mea, misericordia mea, salus mea…Vita mea, finis intentionis meae, etsi nondum merui te tantum quantum debitor sum amare, utique saltem desidero te tantum quantum debeo amare.

10. SIII, *O*7, 18.18.
Te igitur, mater illuminationis cordis mei, te nutrix salutis mentis meae…

12. SIII, *O*19, 73.19-21.
Qui es 'lux vera', illumina caecitatem illorum. Qui es summa veritas, corrige errorem eorum. Qui es vera vita, vivifica animas ipsorum.

14. SIII, *Med* 3, 90.159-160.
O bone, O domine Christe Iesu, sic posito nec petenti nec opinanti ut sol mihi illuxisti, et mihi quomodo eram ostendisti.

15. SIII, *O*2, 6.10-11.
Spes cordis mei, virtus animae meae, auxilium infirmitatis meae, compleat tua potentissima benignitas quod conatur mea tepidissima imbecillitas.

16. SIII, *O*2, 6.14–7.20.
Si bonum est, domine, quod inspiras, immo quia bonum est, ut te velim amare, da quod me facis velle, da ut quantum iubes tantum te merear amare. Laudes et gratias tibi ago pro desiderio quod inspirasti; laudes et preces offero, ne sit mihi donum tuum infructuosum, quod tua sponte dedisti. Perfice quod incepisti, dona quod me benigne praeveniendo immeritum desiderare fecisti.

17. SIII, O2, 9.77-79.
Te volo, te spero, te quaero. 'Tibi dixit cor meum: quaesivi vultum tuum, vultum tuum, domine, requiram; ne avertas faciem tuam a me'.

19. SIII, *O*2, 9.83-86.
Age iam, domine, appare mihi, et consolatus ero. 'Ostende mihi faciem tuam, et salvus ero'. Exhibe praesentiam tuam, et consecutus ero desiderium meum. Revela gloriam tuam, et erit perfectum gaudium meum.

20. SIII, *O*14, 55.20-21; 60.152-153.
Si deus a me faciem suam avertit: quis suam ad me convertit? Sed O tu, domine…quo ivi a spiritu tuo et quo fugi a facie tua?

29. SIII, *O*8, 27.46-49.
Fuge, fuge, tu horribilis nescio quae substantia, fuge te ipsam, exterrita a te ipsa. Sed vae! fugere te non potes. Ne ergo aspicias te, quia non toleras te. Nam si tolerare potes sine doloris horrore, hoc ipsum ne toleres quia tolerare potes.

30. SIII, *O*8, 28.54-58.
Sed ecce peius, si non aspicio me. Nam egomet fallo me. O nimis gravis angustia! Si me inspicio, non tolero me ipsum; si non inspicio, nescio me ipsum. Si me considero, terret me facies mea; si non considero, fallit me damnatio mea. Si me video, horror est intolerabilis; si non video, mors est inevitabilis.

31. SIII, *O*5, 13.25-14.26.
…anhelat moribundus spiritus meus ad tantae benignitatis respectum, sed erubescit ad tanti nitoris conspectum.

32. SIII, *O*5, 14.26-30.
Rogare enim te, domina, desidero, ut miserationis tuae respectu cures plagas et ulcera peccatorum meorum, sed confundor coram te ob foetorem et sordes eorum. Horreo, domina, parere tibi in immunditiis et horroribus meis, ne tu horreas me pro eis, et non possum - vae mihi! - videri sine eis.

33. SIII, *O*8, 28.74-75.
Et certe iuste angitur reus dei inter malum et peius, nimis malus inter nimis malum et nimis malum. Iuste fit, recte fit, iuste iudex meus.

36. SIII, *O*7, 20.56-57.
…tu ostendisti mundo dominum suum et deum suum quem nesciebat, tu visibilem exhibuisti mundo creatorem suum quem prius non videbat…

37. SIII, *O*7, 20.62-63.
Insidiis et oppressionibus daemonum tenebris obvolutus mundus subiacebat, sed sole de te orto illuminatus eorum et laqueos devitat et vires conculcat.

38. SIII, *O*12, 48.103-105.
Anima, anima mea, collige totum affectum tuum et ingere te in aspectum eius. Inclama, ingemina intimo affectu in conspectu eius: 'Vides me'. Alterna ibidem et importune repete: 'Vides me, et vide me'.

39. SIII, *O*12, 48.106-109.
Iohannes, certe vides, vides me. Ergo vide me. Domine, vides me noscendo, vide me miserendo. Vides et scis, vide ut sciam. Vides et scis necessitatem meam, vide ut sciam pietatem tuam. Vide, vide me, quia vides me.

42. SIII, *O*13, 50.6-8.
…adhuc in terris positus tanta sanctitatis luce splenduisti, ut venerabilis vultus tuus angelica dignitate fulgeret; quod tanta cordis munditia nituisti, ut beati oculi tui deum in gloria sua viderent…

6. *Domine, non sum dignus*: redemption in the prayers and meditations

2. SIII, *O*3, 10.9.
Confiteor, domine, quia nimis sum indignus ad eorum tactum accedere.

3. SIII, *O*12, 46.31-33.
Scio, domine, scio et fateor quia ego non sum dignus quem tu diligas, sed certe tu non es indignus quem ego diligam.

4. SIII, *O*7, 24.163-171.
Domine, fili dominae meae, domina, mater domini mei, si ego non sum dignus qui sic debeam vestro amore beatificari, certe vos non estis indigni qui sic, immo plus debeatis amari. Ergo benignissimi, ne sic denegetis mihi petenti id quo me confiteor indignum…Date, inquam, mihi quo sum indignus, ut reddatur vobis quo estis digni.

17. SIII, *O*1, 5.3-4.
Omnipotens deus et misericors pater et bone domine, miserere mihi peccatori.

18. SIII, *O*1, 5.9-6.12.
Ad omnem secundum te actum et cogitatum puram, sobriam, devotam, veracem mentem et efficacem; mandatorum tuorum notitiam, dilectionem, delectationem, facilitatem et effectum. Semper, domine, ad meliora cum humilitate proficere, et numquam deficere.

27. SIII, *O*7, 25.191-193.
Amator et miserator hominum, tu potuisti reos tuos et 'usque ad mortem' amare, et poteris te roganti amorem tui et matris tuae negare?

29. SIII, *O*4, 11.15-19.
Illi te elegerunt, ut per te scelus impietatis suae perpetrarent; ille te elegit, ut per te opus pietatis suae consummaret. Illi ut per te iustum morti traderent, ille ut per te peccatores a morte erueret. Illi ut vitam interficerent, ille ut mortem perimeret.

30. SIII, *O*4, 11.19-23.
Illi ut vivificantem mortificarent, ille ut mortuos vivificaret. Illi insipienter et crudeliter, ille sapienter et misericorditer. Non ergo es, o crux admirabilis, aestimanda secundum intentionem crudelis insipientiae, sed secundum effectum misericordis sapientiae.

31. SIII, *O*4, 12.30-32.
Per te deus dei filius pro nobis voluit 'oboediens' esse patri 'usque ad mortem', 'propter quod' exaltatus accepit 'nomen quod est super omne nomen'.

32. SIII, *Med* 3, 86.59-61.
An aliqua necessitas coegit ut altissimus sic se humiliaret, et omnipotens ad faciendum aliquid tantum laboraret?

33. SIII, *Med* 3, 88.116-118.
Hoc itaque modo 'oboediens' fuit patri 'usque ad mortem'; et 'sicut mandatum dedit' illi 'pater, sic fecit'; et 'calicem quem dedit' illi 'pater' bibit.

36. SIII, *Med* 3, 90.160-164.
Abiecisti plumbum quod deorsum me trahebat; removisti onus quod desuper me premebat; impellentes me reppulisti ac illis te pro me opposuisti. Vocasti me nomine novo quod mihi de nomine tuo dedisti, et incurvatum ad aspectum tuum erexisti dicens: 'Confide, ego te redemi; animam meam pro te dedi'.

37. SIII, *O*3, 10.9-12.
Confiteor, domine, quia nimis sum indignus ad eorum tactum accedere; sed confidens de illa clementia qua pro peccatoribus, ut iusti fierent, animam tuam ponens ea dedisti, et pia hostia patri mactari voluisti: illa praesumo ego peccator, ut per illa iustificer, accipere.

38. SIII, *O*10, 37.132-134.
Domine, Helias et Helisaeus, ut mortuos suscitarent, mortuis se iunxerunt et membra membris, viva mortuis coaptaverunt. Domine, vivi mortuos attactos vivificaverunt, et mortui vivis nil nisi gloriam intulerunt.

39. SIII, *O*10, 38.135-141.
Domine, tu quoque dicis te ipsum 'omnibus omnia factum', 'ut omnes' lucrifacias. Amice dei, exempla aliorum me faciunt praesumere, dicta tua me hortantur confidere. Dicam ergo, domine, dicam: Domine, domine, descende ad mortuum istum, expande te super mortuum istum, fac te non mortuum, sed tamquam mortuum istum. Calefaciat confotus tuae compassionis attactu mortuus iste; revivat tuae potestatis effectu mortuus iste, ut vivus glorificet deum et te mortuus iste.

40. SIII, *O*10, 39.166-171.
…si ille qui de sinu patris exivit portare dolores nostros, et ille qui se cum infirmantibus dicit infirmari, si idcirco despicient dolentem, quia misera est; si ille qui ut mortuas animas suscitaret mortuum se fecit, et ille qui se omnibus omnia factum perhibet, si ob hoc reicient orantem, quia mortua est!

43. SIII, *O*18, 71.3-4.
Dulcis et benigne domine Iesu Christe, qui exhibuisti caritatem qua maiorem nemo habet et cui parem nemo habere potest…

44. SIII, *O*18, 71.4-8.
…qui nihil debebas morti, et tamen piam animam tuam pro servis et peccatoribus tuis posuisti, et pro ipsis interfectoribus tuis orasti ut eos fratres tuos et iustos faceres et reconciliares misericordi patri tuo et tibi; tu, domine, qui tantam caritatem fecisti inimicis tuis, tu ipse caritatem praecepisti amicis tuis.

45. SIII, *O*9, 31.35-40.
Pastor fidelis, converte oculos tuos ad eam et recognosce tibi commissam. Si enim erravit, tamen dominum et pastorem non negavit. Inspice in faciem eius et adverte signum domini tui et eius. Si sub tanto squalore non agnoscis faciem lotam et candidatam in fonte Christi: agnosce vocem confessionis sub nomine Christi, qui ter interrogans, utrum eum amares, tibi ter confitenti dixit: 'Pasce oves meas'.

46. SIII, *O*10, 41.233-235.
Agnosce, mater, filium tuum mortuum vel per signum crucis tuae et per vocem confessionis tuae. Refove pullum tuum, resuscita mortuum tuum, iustifica peccatorem tuum.

57. SIII, *O*9, 30.23-31.28.
Ecce enim ante fidelem pastorem iacet et gemit morbida ovis, coram domino pastoris et ovis. Fugitiva redit, erroris et inoboedientiae veniam petit. Pio et medico pastori morsus luporum et scissuras vulnerum quae errando incurrit et ulcera quae longa incuria nutrivit revelat; et misereri sibi, dum adhuc spiritum trahit, plus miseriam suam coram misericorde pastore expandendo quam obsecrando exorat.

59. SIII, *O*9, 31.34-35.
Lupi iam gustato eius sanguine, expectantes abiciendam in insidiis latent. Inimicus eius 'tamquam leo rugiens circuit, quaerens' eam ut 'devoret'.

60. SIII, *O*15, 62.12-16.
Vitam namque sanctae conversationis, quam promisi nomine et habitu monachi, profiteor; sed ab hac vita longe exulando, mentiri deo et angelis et hominibus ipsa mea conscientia convincor. Adesto, pie pater, adesto supplicanti. Rogo ne abhorreas tam mendosum et tam mendacem, sed attende confitentem et plus quam merear miserare dolentem.

62. SIII, *O*15, 62.20-26.
Perversum namque cor meum ad deploranda perpetrata peccata lapideum est et aridum, ad resistendum vero instantibus molle luteum. Depravata mens mea ad inutilia et noxia pertractanda velox est et infatigabilis, ad vel cogitanda salubria fastidiosa et immobilis. Obcaecata et distorta anima mea ad praecipitandum et volutandum se in vitiis facilis est et prompta, ad saltem reminiscendum virtutes difficilis et pigra.

64. SIII, *O*15, 63.45-46.
Iesu, bone domine, 'vide humilitatem meam et laborem meum, et dimitte universa delicta mea'.

66. SIII, *O*14, 60.142-144.
Nunc vero iudicia dei abyssus, peccata mea abyssus, debita mihi tormenta abyssus. Abyssus iudiciorum super me, abyssus inferni subtus me, abyssus peccatorum in qua sum, et ipsa intra me.

67. SIII, *O*14, 60.149-151.
Quis me in abysso inter abyssos quaeret? Aut peritum dei quis inveniet? Aut quis extra abyssum peccatorum audit clamantem de profundo eorum?

68. SIII, *O*14, 60.152-154.
Sed o tu, domine, 'qui intueris abyssos': quo ivi a spiritu tuo et quo fugi a facie tua? Certe, non ubi adhuc sum abes, quia 'si descendero in infernum, ades'.

69. SIII, *O*14, 60.154-162.
Quis enim nisi tu ad paenitendum movet animam meam, aut to quomodo moves eam, si in abysso sua non vides eam?...Bone deus, omnia haec fecisti in abysso, et non audis clamentem de abysso?

70. SIII, *O*14, 60.165-169.
Bone domine, gratias tibi; vere quaesivisti in abysso perditum tuum et invenisti, quem ita de peccatis suis exterruisti. Per merita sancti Nicolai, dilecti tui, reduc de abysso peccatorum, quem quaesitum invenisti perditum tuum; ne perdas amplius inventum tuum; ne in abysso inferni, ubi nullum invenis, perdas quaesitum et inventum servum tuum.

7. *Accipite et manducate*: the promise of satiety in the prayers and meditations

3. SIII, O12, 45.7-10.
Ecce o opulente tam beatis divitiis et dives tam beata opulentia, ecce aerumnosa sed Christiana anima, pauper et inops harum divitiarum quibus sic opulenter abundas: esuriens accedit ad ostium clementiae tuae, suppliciter mendicans eleemosinam opulentiae tuae…

4. SIII, O12, 45.16-46.19.
Pauper certe est, domine mi, dilecte domini nostri, pauper est anima mea - quod cogor et erubesco confiteri - utriusque dilectionis dei, quia valde infra quam debet diligit deum et multo minus quam eget diligitur a deo.

5. SIII, O12, 46.21-24.
Non sum oblitus hoc dicens, o tu iuste et misericors deus, nec sum ingratus multimodis beneficiis tuae erga me dilectionis ab initio creationis meae, sed donec satietur utraque tua dilectione, semper se pauperem et egenam clamat esuriens anima mea.

6. SIII, O18, 71.19-22.
Tu scis, domine, quia dilectionem quam iubes amo, amorem diligo, caritatem concupisco. Hanc peto, hanc quaero, propter hanc pulsat et clamat hic pauper et mendicus tuus ad ianuam misericordiae tuae.

14. SIII, O5, 14.38-49.
O tu illa pie potens et potenter pia Maria, de qua fons est ortus misericordiae…

15. SIII, O16, 64.3-6.
Sancta Maria Magdalene, quae cum fonte lacrimarum ad fontem misericordiae Christum venisti, de quo ardenter sitiens abundanter es refocillata, per quem peccatrix es iustificata, a quo amarissime dolens dulcissime es consolata.

16. SIII, O12, 49.113-115.
Domine, ante rivum anxiatur siti anima mea, sed non est quod bibat nisi fluat de fonte. Fons misericordiae fluat a te in illum, ut bibam de te in illo.

17. SIII, O12, 49.115-116.
Ad fontem recurro, ultra nequeo. Ne pereat ad fontem vivum anima siccitate. Ne obturetur haustus arenti.

18. SIII, *O*12, 49.117-121.
Audiat satiatus tuus sententiam tuam, et hauriat de illo sitiens tuus clementiam tuam. Dic illi: Iohannes, 'quis tibi videtur proximus illi fuisse qui incidit in latrones?' Responde, beate Iohannes, quod genus humanum respondet de Samaritano suo, gratias illi agens. Responde: 'Qui fecit misericordiam in illum'.

19. SIII, *O*12, 48.86-93.
Dilecte dilector dei Iohannes, qui de te securus in illa mutuae vestrae dilectionis beata plenitudine gloriaris, esto pauperi a te mutuam dei dilectionem mendicanti tanto largior, quanto te sentis in maiori eius abundantia et me vides in maiori indigentia.

20. SIII, *O*13, 53.87-90.
Superbia humilitatem sub cote tribulabat, et odor caritatis inde fragrabat. Caritas ab odio cum petra percutiebatur, et tinnitus pietatis reddebatur. Impietas pietatem lapide premebat, et oleum misericordiae ebulliebat.

21. SIII, *O*13, 52.74-79.
'Domine, ne statuas illis hoc peccatum'. Vir beate, quantam spem donas peccatoribus amicis tuis, cum audiunt te sic fuisse sollicitum pro impiis inimicis tuis! Vas caritatis superundans plenitudine, qua ubertate potabis desiderantes amplecti te intra cor suum, cum sic superfundis eicientes te extra civitatem suam? Cum sic propinas furore anhelis irruentibus in te: quomodo refocillabis timore anhelos fugientes ad te?

22. SIII, *O*13, 53.91-95.
O si umquam merebor de caritate Stephani oleum precibus elicere, quod illi potuerunt lapidibus exprimere! Languida namque est anima mea languore gravissimo, qui non sanatur nisi oleo misericordiae. Utinam vel semel suggerat deo pro me et pro cuncto peccato meo: 'Domine ne statuas' illi 'hoc peccatum'!

23. SIII, *O*13 53.95-104.
Doce me, beata anima beati Stephani, quo sapore iucundabaris, qua satietate aestuabas, cum eructavit cor tuum verbum tam bonum… Dic ergo, beate Stephane, quid intus fovebas, unde mixturam tot suavitatum foras erumpebas.

24. SIII, *O*16, 67.78-79.
Quomodo namque eructabit cor bonum odorem, unde intus non habet saporem?

25. SIII, *O*16, 66.66-71.
Erumpit amantis dulcedo, ut non erumpat flentis amaritudo. Nominat dominus consuetum ancillae nomen, et cognoscit ancilla consuetam domini vocem…O vox delectabilis, o quantum blandimenti, quantum sapuit amoris! Nec brevius nec celerius

hoc exprimi potuit: ‘Scio quae sis et quid velis, ecce me; ne plores, ecce me, quem quaeris'.

26. SIII, *O*16, 66.68-67.76.
Sed quas contritum cor se torquendo prius exprimebat, eas postmodum cor gaudens exultando effundebat. O quam dissimilia sunt: ‘Raboni!’, et: ‘Si tu sustulisti eum, dicito mihi!’ O quam dissona sunt: ‘Tulerunt dominum meum, et nescio ubi posuerunt eum’, et illud: ‘Quia vidi dominum, et haec dixit mihi!’.

30. SIII, *O*16, 65.16-17.
…ego miser rogo te beatam, tenebrosus illuminatam, peccator iustificatam, immundus mundatam.

31. SIII, *O*12, 45.4-10.
Ecce o opulente tam beatis divitiis et dives tam beata opulentia, ecce aerumnosa sed Christiana anima, pauper et inops harum divitiarum quibus sic opulenter abundas: esuriens accedit ad ostium clementiae tuae, suppliciter mendicans eleemosinam opulentiae tuae.

32. SIII, *O*16, 65.17-19.
Memento, benignissima, quid fuisti et quantum misericordia indiguisti, et postula mihi indulgentiam, sicut eam tibi fieri voluisti.

35. SIII, *O*12, 46.38-46.
Sancte Iohannes, dilecte Iesu Christi, domini mei, rogat te servus amici tui, ut propter nomen domini sui, dilectoris tui, impetres illi mutuam dilectionem dei. Impetra, rogo, mihi quatenus sic diligar ab illo, ut et ego digne diligam illum. Certe namque, dilecte dei, si ipse diligit nos propter te, misericordiam nobis impendis; et si nos diligimus illum per te, gratiam illi rependis. Certe, domine, si illum convertis ad nos amandum, facis nos tibi tanti debitores; et si nos accendis ad illum amandum, facis te illi debiti redditorem.

36. SIII, *O*12, 47.61-65.
Ergo beate Iohannes…Fac per vicem dilectionis quam illi debes, ut meam quoque dilectionem cum tua illi solvas, cui pro sola sua non solam tuam, sed multas debes.

37. SIII, *O*12, 47.65-69.
Quippe beate Iohannes, ipsa tua beatitudine es expertus quia, sicut nullus deo priusquam debeat potest tribuere, sic nec plus quam debet valet retribuere. Si ergo quotquot deum amatorem tuum per te diligant, illi non possunt compensari: precor, domine, ne abicias illum qui in illis poscit connumerari.

38. SIII, *O*12, 46.45-46.
Certe, beate, quantumcumque facias ut plures amet, nihil tibi minuis; et quanto facis ut plures illum ament, tanto plus illi retribuis.

39. SIII, *O*12, 46.46-47.48.
Fac ergo, domine, hanc supplici tuo misericordiam, unde et me tibi tanti boni debitorem, et te deo unius animae facias redditorem.

40. SIII, *O*12, 48.83-85.
Ergo o tu deus et tu dilecte eius, nolite vos diligere solis vobis beatis, sed et nobis miseris... Nolite vos soli confruendo claudere tantum bonum intra vos, sed et fluat aliquid super nos, quod diffusum intra nos impinguet et laetificet animas nostras.

42. SIII, *O*14, 56.31-38.
Tantum confidit, domine, de pietate tua creatus et recreatus a te servus tuus, ut a te petere presumat intercessorem reus tuus. Nullus enim me respiciet nisi te iubente, nullus mihi proderit nisi te annuente; et tamen spero ut, quod mihi propter peccata mea negas, propter alicuius tui familiaris merita concedas. Bone, ne te ultorem exhibeas, a quo peto interventorem, si non das pro pane lapidem, pro pisce serpentem, pro ovo scorpionem. Da ergo, domine, mihi intercessorem Nicolaum, illum tuum magnum confessorem, cuius beatum per totum mundum glorificasti nomen.

45. SIII, *O*9, 32.83-33.87.
Heu desperationis amaritudo! Agnosco certe, agnosco hanc esse sententiam iustitiae, non misericordiae. Quis vocavit iustitiam in causam meam? Cum misericordia mihi sermo erat, non cum ea. Panem misericordiae mendicat a te, deus, in tribulatione aerumnosa anima mea: cur lapide iustitiae perstringis ossa eius?

46. SIII, *O*10, 36.85-88.
Iesu, deus, et tu, apostole eius, huic fidei peccator me vestro monitu credo, in hanc me iacto, immo iam olim iactavi. Hac indutus accessi vos oraturus. In hac peto, in hac quaero, in hac pulso, ut peccatori misereamini, tu parcendo, tu intercedendo; tu salvando, tu orando.

47. SIII, *O*18, 71.19-22.
Tu scis, domine, quia dilectionem quam iubes amo, amorem diligo, caritatem concupisco. Hanc peto, hanc quaero, propter hanc pulsat et clamat hic pauper et mendicus tuus ad ianuam misericordiae tuae.

48. SIII, *Med* 3, 91.191-192.
Considera, anima mea, intendite, omnia intima mea, quantum illi debeat tota substantia mea.

49. SIII, *Med* 3, 91.196-197.
Fac precor, domine, me gustare per amorem quod gusto per cognitionem. Sentiam per affectum quod sentio per intellectum.

50. SIII, *Med* 3, 91.203-207.
Peto, quaero, pulso. Qui me facis petere, fac accipere. Das quaerere, da invenire. Doces pulsare, aperi pulsanti. Cui das, si negas petenti? Quis invenit, si quaerens frustratur? Cui aperis, si pulsanti claudis? Quid das non oranti, si amorem tuum negas oranti? A te habeo desiderare, a te habeam impetrare.

51. SIII, *Med* 3, 91.201-203.
Ecce, domine, coram te est cor meum. Conatur, sed per se non potest; fac tu quod ipsum non potest. Admitte me intra cubiculum amoris tui.

53. SIII, *Med* 3, 91.207-211.
Bone, bone domine, ne reicias eam; fame amoris tui languet: refocilla eam. Satiet eam dilectio tua; impinguet eam affectus tuus; impleat eam amor tuus. Occupet me totum et possideat totum…

55. SIII, *O*16, 65.31-37.
Quis enim explicet, o beata sponsa dei…quomodo dicam, cum eius amore flagrans eum ad monumentum quaerendo flebas et flendo quaerebas, quam ineffabiliter, quam amicabiliter te, quam consolari venerat, magis accendebat, cum ipse se celabat videnti et ostendebat non videnti, cum praesens ipse quem quaerebas, quem quaereres et cur fleres quaerebat?

57. SIII, *O*7, 24.155-162.
Magne domine, tu noster maior frater, magna domina, tu nostra melior mater, docete cor meum qua reverentia vos debeat cogitare. Bone tu et bona tu, dulcis tu et dulcis tu, dicite et date animae meae, quo affectu vos memorando de vobis delectetur, delectando iucundetur, iucundando impinguetur. Impinguate et succendite eam vestra dilectione. Vestro continuo amore langueat cor meum, liquefiat anima mea, deficiat caro mea. Utinam sic viscera animae meae dulci fervore vestrae dilectionis exardescant, ut viscera carnis meae exarescant!

58. SIII, *O*2, 9.72-74.
Quid dicam? Quid faciam? Quo vadam? Ubi eum quaeram? Ubi vel quando inveniam? Quem rogabo? Quis nuntiabit dilecto 'quia amore langueo'? 'Defecit gaudium cordis' mei, 'versus est in luctum' risus meus.

59. SIII, *O*2, 9.75-79.
'Defecit caro mea et cor meum, deus cordis mei et pars mea deus in aeternum'. 'Renuit consolari anima mea' nisi de te, dulcedo mea. 'Quid enim mihi est in caelo, et a te quid volui super terram?' Te volo, te spero, te quaero. 'Tibi dixit cor meum: quaesivi vultum tuum, vultum tuum, domine, requiram; ne avertas faciem tuam a me'.

60. SIII, *O*16, 67.82-83.
Da mihi, domine, in hoc exilio panem doloris et lacrimarum, quem esurio super copiam deliciarum.

62. SIII, *O*14, 60.158-166.
Bone domine, tu pulsasti et excitasti eam in abysso delictorum suorum, velut in lecto dormientem. Tu concussisti torpentem, ti sollicitasti negligentem…tu ut peteret intercessorem consuluisti, tu illi eum exhibuisti…Bone domine, gratias tibi; vere quaesivisti in abysso perditum tuum et invenisti…

63. SIII, *O*7, 19.29-38.
Sed quid dicam? Lingua mihi deficit, quia mens non sufficit. Domina, domina, omnia intima mea sollicita sunt, ut tantorum beneficiorum tibi gratias exsolvant, sed nec cogitare possunt dignas, et pudet proferre non dignas. Quid enim digne dicam matri creatoris et salvatoris mei, per cuius sanctitatem peccata mea purgantur, per cuius integritatem mihi incorruptibilitas donatur, per cuius virginitatem anima mea adamatur a domino suo et desponsatur deo suo? Quid, inquam, digne referam genitrici dei et

domini mei, per cuius foecunditatem captivus sum redemptus, per cuius partum de morte aeterna sum exemptus, per cuius prolem perditus sum restitutus et de exilio miseriae in patriam beatitudinis reductus?

64. SIII, *O*7, 21.89-92.
O nimis exaltata, quam sequi conatur affectus animae meae, quo aufugis aciem mentis meae? O pulchra ad intuendum, amabilis ad contemplandum, delectabilis ad amandum, quo evadis capacitatem cordis mei? Praestolare, domina, infirmam animam te sequentem. Ne abscondas te, domina, parum videnti animae te quaerenti. Miserare, domina, animam post te anhelando languentem.

65. SIII, *O*2, 9.88-92.
Quando venies consolator meus quem expecto? O si quando videbo gaudium meum quod desidero! O si 'satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua' quam esurio! O si inebriabor 'ab ubertate domus tuae' ad quam suspiro! Si potabis me 'torrente voluptatis tuae' quam sitio!

66. SIII, *O*2, 9.83-86; 9.93-97.
Age iam, domine, appare mihi, et consolatus ero…Revela gloriam tuam, et erit perfectum gaudium meum…Sint mihi, domine, interim 'lacrimae meae panes die ac nocte' donec dicatur mihi: 'ecce deus tuus'; donec audiam: 'anima, ecce sponsus tuus'. Pasce me interim singultibus meis, pota me interim fletibus meis, refocila me doloribus meis. Veniet interea fortasse redemptor meus, quoniam bonus est; nec tardabit, quia pius est.

68. SIII, *O*13, 53.105-109.
Per has omnes virtutes quibus abundabas, te precor, o caritative Stephane, ora ut caritatis 'adipe et pinguedine repleatur' arida 'anima mea'. Adiuva, ut pane caritatis satietur esuriens anima mea. Fac, ut igne caritatis flagret frigida anima mea…

69. SIII, *O*13, 53.110-111.
O obdormivit! O somnus cum requie, requies cum securitate, securitas cum aeternitate!

70. SIII, *O*13, 54.123-127.
Quanta pace obdormiunt, qui obdormiunt in domino! Non enim gravabunt eos amplius pondera carnis, non eos affligent dolores corruptionis. Non impugnabunt stimuli tentationum, non terrebit conscientia peccatorum. Nulla eos sollicitabit indigentia. Abstersit 'deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis eorum'.

71. SIII, *Med* 3, 88.129-132.
Ecce, anima Christiana, haec est virtus salvationis tuae, haec est causa libertatis tuae, hoc est pretium redemptionis tuae. Captiva eras, sed hoc modo es redempta. Ancilla eras, et sic es liberata. Sic es exul reducta, perdita restituta, et mortua resuscitata.

72. SIII, *Med* 3, 89.132-136.
Hoc mandat, o homo, hoc ruminet, hoc sugat, hoc glutiat cor tuum, cum eiusdem redemptoris tui carnem et sanguinem accipit os tuum. Hoc fac in hac vita cotidianum panem, victum et viaticum tuum, quia per hoc et non nisi per hoc et tu manebis in Christo et Christus in te, et in futura vita erit plenum gaudium tuum.

73. SIII, *Med* 3, 91.196-197.
Fac precor, domine, me gustare per amorem quod gusto per cognitionem. Sentiam per affectum quod sentio per intellectum.

74. SIII, *O*3, 10.15-18.
Fac me, domine, ita ea ore et corde percipere atque fide et affectu sentire, ut per eorum virtutem sic merear complantari similitudini mortis et resurrectionis tuae per veteris hominis mortificationem et novitatem iustae vitae.

75. SIII, *O*2, 7.30-38.
Te sitio, te esurio, te desidero, ad te suspiro, te concupisco. Et sicut pupillus benignissimi patris orbatus praesentia, flens et eiulans, incessanter eius dilectam faciem toto corde amplectitur: sic et ego non quantum debeo, sed quantum queo, memor passionis tuae, memor alaparum tuarum, memor flagellorum, memor crucis, memor vulnerum tuorum, memor qualiter pro me occisus es, qualiter conditus, qualiter sepultus, simul memor gloriosae tuae resurrectionis et admirabilis ascensionis: haec indubitata fide teneo, exilii mei aerumnas defleo, spero tui adventus solam consolationem, ardeo tui vultus gloriosam contemplationem.

PART III: Scriptural *signa* in the *Proslogion,* the three dialogues and *Cur Deus homo*

8.The works in question

23. SI, *P, Prooemium:* 93.20-94.2.
Aestimans igitur quod me gaudebam invenisse, si scriptum est, alicui legenti placiturum: de hoc ipso et de quibusdam aliis sub persona conantis erigere mentem suam ad contemplandam deum et quaerentis intelligere quod credit, subditum scripsi opusculum.

25. SI, *P, Prooemium:* 93.2-10.
Postquam opusculum quoddam velut exemplum meditandi de ratione fidei…coepi mecum quaerere, si forte posset inveniri unum argumentum, quod nullo alio ad se probandum quam se solo indigeret, et solum ad astruendum quia deus vere est, et quia est summum bonum nullo alio indigens, et quo omnia indigent ut sint et ut bene sunt, et quaecumque de divina credimus substantia, sufficeret.

64. SII, *CDH,* II.22:133.4-5.
…et per unius quaestionis quam proposuimus solutionem, quidquid in novo veterique testamento continetur, probatum intelligo.

9. Sin: Entrapment in misperception

1. SIII, *O*14, 59.121-124.
Didiceras quoniam ‘qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati’; et ut tanti mali servus esses, peccatum fecisti? Sciebas quia es ‘spiritus vadens et non rediens’; et in peccati abyssum irremeabilem et sine fundo te iecisti?

2. SI, *P,* 1:98.8-12.
Quid faciet servus tuus anxius amore tui et longe proiectus ‘a facie tua’? Anhelat videre te, et nimis abest illi facies tua. Accedere ad te desiderat, et inaccessibilis est habitatio tua. Invenire te cupit, et nescit locum tuum. Quærere te affectat, et ignorat vultum tuum.

3. SI, *P,* 1:98.25-99.1.
Cur non nobis custodivit cum facile posset, quo tam graviter careremus?

4. SI, *P*, 1:99.2-5.
Quare sic nobis obseravit lucem, et obduxit nos tenebris? Ut quid nobis abstulit vitam, et inflixit mortem? Aerumnosi, unde sumus expulsi, quo sumus impulsi! Unde præcipitati, quo obruti! A patria in exsilium, a visione dei in cæcitatem nostram.

5. SI, *P*, 1:100.4-7.
Domine, incurvatus non possum nisi deorsum aspicere, erige me ut possim sursum intendere. ‘Iniquitates meæ supergressæ caput meum’ obvolvunt me, ‘et sicut onus grave’ gravant me. Evolve me, exonera me, ne ‘urgeat puteus’ earum ‘os suum super me’.

7. SI, *P*, 14:112.3-5.
Utique et obscuratur sua brevitate, et obruitur tua immensitate. Vere et contrahitur angustia sua, et vincitur amplitudine tua.

9. SI, *P,* 25:118.12-13.
O qui hoc bono fruetur: quid illi erit, et quid illi non erit! Certe quidquid volet erit, et quod nolet non erit.

10. SI, *P*, 25:118.20-23.
Si velocitas aut fortitudo, aut libertas corporis cui nihil obsistere possit: ‘erunt similes angelis dei’, quia ‘seminatur corpus animale, et surget corpus spirituale’, potestate utique non natura.

13. SI, *DLA,* 2:209.22-26.
Est et aliud quod in hac potestate peccandi me movet. Qui enim peccare potest, servus potest esse peccati, quoniam ‘qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati’. Qui autem potest servus esse peccati, huic potest dominari peccatum. Quomodo ergo libera facta fuit illa natura, aut cuiusmodi liberum arbitrium illud erat, cui peccatum dominari poterat?

15. SI, *DLA*, 3:210.28-30.
Licet peccato se subdidissent, libertatem tamen arbitrii naturalem in se interimere nequiverunt; sed facere potuerunt, ut iam non sine alia gratia quam erat illa quam prius habuerant, illa libertate uti non valeant.

18. SI, *DLA*, 9:221.18-19.
Cernis itaque nihil liberius recta voluntate, cui nulla vis aliena potest auferre suam rectitudinem.

19. SI, *DLA,* 10:222.5-10.
Semper igitur habet rationalis natura liberum arbitrium, quia semper habet potestatem servandi rectitudinem voluntatis propter ipsam rectitudinem, quamvis aliquando cum difficultate. Sed cum libera voluntas deserit rectitudinem per difficultatem servandi, utique post servit peccato per impossibilitatem per se recuperandi. Sic ergo fit 'spiritus vadens et non rediens', quoniam 'qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati'.

20. SI, *DLA*, 10:222.10-12.
Quippe sicut nulla voluntas, antequam haberet rectitudinem, potuit eam deo non dante capere: ita cum deserit acceptam, non potest eam nisi deo reddente recipere.

21. SI, *DLA,* 10:222.20-23.
Verum valde video quod dicis de servitute, qua 'servus' fit 'peccati 'qui facit peccatum', et de impossibilitate recuperandi desertam rectitudinem, nisi ab eo a quo prius data erat reddatur; et ut illam semper teneant, indesinenter considerandum est omnibus quibus datur.

22. SI, *DLA*, 10:222.13-14.
Et maius miraculum existimo cum deus voluntati desertam reddit rectitudinem, quam cum mortuo vitam reddit amissam.

23. SI, *DLA,* 12:223.26-224.3.
Ista servitus non est nisi impotentia non peccandi. Sive enim dicamus eam impotentiam esse redeundi ad rectitudinem, sive impotentiam recuperandi aut iterum habendi rectitudinem: non ob aliud est homo servus peccati, nisi quoniam per hoc, quia nequit redire ad rectitudinem aut recuperare aut habere illam, non potest non peccare. Cum autem habet eandem rectitudinem, non habet impotentiam non peccandi. Quare quando habet rectitudinem illam, non est servus peccati.

24. SI, *DLA*, 12:224.9-22.
Sicut enim, etiam quando sol abest, habemus in nobis visum quo illum videmus cum adest: sic etiam, quando rectitudo voluntatis nobis deest, habemus tamen in nobis aptitudinem intelligendi et volendi, qua eam possumus servare propter se cum eam habemus. Et sicut quando nobis nihil deest ad videndum solem nisi præsentia eius, tunc solummodo non habemus illam potestatem, quam nobis facit eius præsentia: sic tantummodo quando rectitudo illa nobis deest, tunc habemus illam impotentiam, quam facit nobis eius absentia. Semper igitur habet homo arbitrii libertatem, sed non semper 'servus est peccati', sed quando non habet rectam voluntatem.

27. SII, *CDH,* I.6:53.5-8.
Hoc est quod valde mirantur, quia liberationem hanc redemptionem vocamus. In qua namque - aiunt nobis - captione, aut in quo carcere aut in cuius potestate tenebamini, unde vos deus non potuit liberare, nisi vos tot laboribus et ad ultimum sanguine suo redimeret?

28. SII, *CDH,* I.6:53.8-54.1.
Quibus cum dicimus: redemit nos a peccatis et ab ira sua et de inferno et de potestate diaboli, quem, quia nos non poteramus, ipse pro nobis venit expugnare, et redemit nobis regnum caelorum, et quia haec omnia hoc modo fecit, ostendit quantum nos diligeret…

30. SII, *CDH,* I.7:58.7-59.1.
Iusto namque dei iudicio decretum erat et quasi chirographo confirmatum, ut homo qui sponte peccaverat, nec peccatum nec poenam peccati vitare per se posset. Est enim 'spiritus vadens et non rediens', et 'qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati', nec qui peccat impunitus debet dimitti, nisi misericordia peccatori parcat et eum liberet ac reducat.

32. SI, *P,* 17:113.8-9.
Adhuc lates, domine, animam meam in luce et beatitudine tua, et idcirco versatur illa adhuc in tenebris et miseria sua.

33. SI, *P,* 17:113.9-12.
Circumspicit enim, et non videt pulchritudinem tuam. Auscultat, et non audit harmoniam tuam. Olfacit, et non percipit odorem tuum. Gustat, et non cognoscit saporem tuum. Palpat, et non sentit lenitatem tuam.

34. SI, *P*, 17:113.14-15.
Sed obriguerunt, sed obstupuerunt, sed obstructi sunt sensus animæ meæ vetusto languore peccati.

35. SI, P, 18:113.18-114.6.
Et iterum ecce turbatio, ecce iterum obviat maeror et luctus quaerenti gaudium et laetitiam! Sperabat iam anima mea satietatem, et ecce iterum obritur egestate! Affectabam iam comedere, et ecce magis esurire! Conabar assurgere ad lucem dei, et recidi in tenebras meas. Immo non modo cecidi in eas, sed sentio me involutum in eis. Ante cecidi, quam conciperit me mater mea. Certe in illis conceptus sum, et cum earum obvolutione natus sum. Olim certe in illo omnes cecidimus, in quo omnes peccavimus.

36. SI, *P,* 18:114.6-8.
In illo omnes perdidimus, qui facile tenebat et male sibi et nobis perdidit, quod cum volumus quaerere nescimus, cum quaerimus non invenimus, cum invenimus non est quod quaerimus.

37. SI, *P*, 18:114.11-13.
Munda, sana, acue, 'illumina' oculum mentis meæ, ut intueatur te.

39. SII, *CDH,* II.16:116.20-24.
Nam licet ipsa hominis eiusdem conceptio munda sit et absque carnalis delectationis peccato, virgo tamen ipsa unde assumptus est, 'in iniquitatibus' concepta est, 'et in peccatis concepit' eam 'mater' eius, et cum originali peccato nata est, quoniam et ipsa in Adam peccavit, 'in quo omnes peccaverunt'.

41. SII, *CDH,* I.3:51.5-11.
Oportebat namque ut, sicut per hominis inoboedientiam mors in humanum genus intraverat, ita per hominis oboedientiam vita restitueretur. Et quemadmodum peccatum quod fuit causa nostrae damnationis, initium habuit a femina, sic nostrae iustitiae et salutis auctor nasceretur de femina. Et ut diabolus, qui per gustum ligni quem persuasit hominem vicerat, per passionem ligni quam intulit ab homine vinceretur.

42. SII, *CDH,* I.22:90.23-24.
Quod facere non potest, quamdiu ex vulnere primi peccato concipitur et nascitur in peccato.

45. SI, *P*, 2:101.3-4.
Ergo, domine, qui das fidei intellectum, da mihi, ut quantum scis expedire intelligam, quia es sicut credimus, et hoc es quod credimus.

46. SI, *P,* 2:101.4-7.
Et quidem credimus te esse aliquid quo nihil maius cogitari possit. An ergo non est aliqua talis natura, quia 'dixit insipiens in corde suo: non est deus'?

52. SI, *P*, 2:101.1-18; 102.1-3.
Sed certe ipse idem insipiens, cum audit hoc ipsum quod dico: 'aliquid quo maius nihil cogitari potest', intelligit quod audit; et quod intelligit in intellectu eius est, etiam si non intelligat illud esse.

54. SI, *P,* 4:103.14-16.
Verum quomodo dixit in corde quod cogitare non potuit…?

55. SI, *P,* 3:103.10-11.
Cur itaque 'dixit insipiens in corde suo: non est deus', cum tam in promptu sit rationali menti te maxime omnium esse? Cur, nisi quia stultus et insipiens?

56. SI, *P*, 4:104.1-2.
Nullus quippe intelligens id quod deus est, potest cogitare quia deus non est, licet hæc verba dicat in corde, aut sine ulla aut cum aliqua extranea significatione.

57. SI, *P,* 4:104.2-4.
Deus enim est id quo maius cogitari non potest. Quod qui bene intelligit, utique intelligit id ipsum sic esse, ut nec cogitatione queat non esse. Qui ergo intelligit sic esse deum, nequit eum non esse cogitare.

58. SI, *P,* 1:97.4-10.
Eia nunc, homuncio, fuge paululum occupationes tuas, absconde te modicum a tumultuosis cogitationibus tuis. Abice nunc onerosas curas, et postpone laboriosas distentiones tuas. Vaca aliquantulum deo, et requiesce aliquantulum in eo. 'Intra in cubiculum' mentis tuæ, exclude omnia præter deum et quæ te iuvent ad quærendum eum, et 'clauso ostio' quære eum. Dic nunc, totum 'cor meum', dic nunc deo: 'Quæro vultum tuum; vultum tuum, domine, requiro'.

68. SI, *P,* 1:99.10-14.
'Quæsivi bona', 'et ecce turbatio'! Tendebam in deum, et offendi in me ipsum. Requiem quærebam in secreto meo, et 'tribulationem et dolorem inveni' in intimis meis. Volebam ridere a gaudio mentis meæ, et cogor rugire 'a gemitu cordis mei'. Sperabatur lætitia, et ecce unde densentur suspiria!

10. Seeking: longing for Christ's light

1. SI, *P,* 1:97.5-10.
'Intra in cubiculum' mentis tuæ, exclude omnia præter deum et quæ te iuvent ad quærendum eum, et 'clauso ostio' quære eum. Dic nunc, totum 'cor meum', dic nunc deo: 'Quæro vultum tuum; vultum tuum, domine, requiro'.

3. SI, *P,* 1:98.1-2.
Eia nunc ergo tu, domine deus meus, doce cor meum ubi et quomodo te quærat, ubi et quomodo te inveniat.

5. SI, *P,* 1:98.2-12.
Domine, si hic non es, ubi te quæram absentem? Si autem ubique es, cur non video præsentem?...Deinde quibus signis, qua facie te quæram? Numquam te vidi, domine deus meus, non novi faciem tuam. Quid faciet, altissime domine, quid faciet iste tuus longinquus exsul? Quid faciet servus tuus anxius amore tui et longe proiectus 'a facie tua'? Anhelat videre te, et nimis abest illi facies tua…Quærere te affectat, et ignorat vultum tuum.

7. SI, *P,* 1:99.15-100.1.
Et o 'tu, domine, usquequo'? 'Usquequo, domine, oblivisceris' nos, 'usquequo avertis faciem tuam' a nobis? Quando respicies et exaudies nos? Quando illuminabis oculos nostros, et ostendes nobis 'faciem tuam'? Quando restitues te nobis? Respice, domine, exaudi, illumina nos, ostende nobis teipsum. Restitue te nobis, ut bene sit nobis, sine quo tam male est nobis. Miserare labores et conatus nostros ad te, qui nihil valemus sine te. Invitas nos, 'adiuva nos'. Obsecro, domine, ne desperem suspirando, sed respirem sperando. Obsecro, domine, amaricatum est cor meum sua desolatione, indulca illud tua consolatione. Obsecro, domine, esuriens incepi quærere te, ne desinam ieiunus de te.

15. SI, *P,* 16:112.20-21.
Vere, domine, hæc est lux inaccessibilis, in qua habitas. Vere enim non est aliud quod hanc penetret, ut ibi te pervideat.

16. SI, *P,* 16:112.21-27.
Vere ideo hanc non video, quia nimia mihi est; et tamen quidquid video, per illam video, sicut infirmus oculus quod videt per lucem solis videt, quam in ipso sole nequit aspicere. Non potest intellectus meus ad illam. Nimis fulget, non capit illam, nec suffert oculus animæ meæ diu intendere in illam. Reverberatur fulgore, vincitur amplitudine, obruitur immensitate, confunditur capacitate.

17. SI, *P,* 16:112.27-113.4.
O summa et inaccessibilis lux, o tota et beata veritas, quam longe es a me, qui tam prope tibi sum! Quam remota es a conspectu meo, qui sic præsens sum conspectui tuo! Ubique es tota præsens, et non te video. In te moveor et in te sum, et ad te non possum accedere. Intra me et circa me es, et non te sentio.

18. SI, *P,* 18:114.9-13.
'Quæsivi vultum tuum, vultum tuum, domine, requiram; ne avertas faciem tuam a me'. Releva me de me ad te…Munda, sana, acue, 'illumina' oculum mentis meæ, ut intueatur te. Recolligat vires suas anima mea, et toto intellectu iterum intendat in te, domine.

19. SI, *P,* 1:98.1-5.
Eia nunc ergo tu, domine deus meus, doce cor meum ubi et quomodo te quærat, ubi et quomodo te inveniat. Domine, si hic non es, ubi te quæram absentem? Si autem ubique es, cur non video præsentem? Sed certe habitas 'lucem inaccessibilem'. Et ubi est lux inaccessibilis? Aut quomodo accedam ad lucem inaccessibilem?

20. SI, *P,* 1:98.5-11.
Aut quis me ducet et inducet in illam, ut videam te in illa? Deinde quibus signis, qua facie te quæram? Numquam te vidi, domine deus meus, non novi faciem tuam. Quid faciet, altissime domine, quid faciet iste tuus longinquus exsul? Quid faciet servus tuus anxius amore tui et longe proiectus 'a facie tua'? Anhelat videre te, et nimis abest illi facies tua. Accedere ad te desiderat, et inaccessibilis est habitatio tua. Invenire te cupit, et nescit locum tuum.

21. SI, *P,* 9:107.4-5.
An quia bonitas tua est incomprehensibilis, latet hoc in luce inaccessibili quam inhabitas?

22. SI, *P,* 14:111.8-11
An invenisti, anima mea, quod quærebas? Quærebas deum, et invenisti eum esse quiddam summum omnium, quo nihil melius cogitari potest; et hoc esse ipsam vitam, lucem, sapientiam, bonitatem, æternam beatitudinem et beatam æternitatem; et hoc esse ubique et semper.

23. SI, *P,* 14:111.22-112.1.
Domine deus meus, formator et reformator meus, dic desideranti animæ meæ, quid aliud es, quam quod vidit, ut pure videat, quod desiderat. Intendit se ut plus videat, et nihil videt ultra hoc quod vidit nisi tenebras; immo non videt tenebras, quæ nullæ sunt in te, sed videt se non plus posse videre propter tenebras suas.

24. SI, *P,* 14:111.16-18.
An non invenit, quem invenit esse lucem et veritatem? Quomodo namque intellexit hoc, nisi videndo lucem et veritatem? Aut potuit omnino aliquid intelligere de te, nisi per 'lucem tuam et veritatem tuam'?

25. SI, *P,* 14:111.18-20.
Si ergo vidit lucem et veritatem, vidit te. Si non vidit te, non vidit lucem nec veritatem.

27. SI, *P,* 14:111.20-21.
An et veritas et lux est quod vidit, et tamen nondum te vidit, quia vidit te aliquatenus, sed non vidit te sicuti es?

30. SI, *P,* 15:118.12-15.
O qui hoc bono fruetur: quid illi erit, et quid illi non erit! Certe quidquid volet erit, et quod nolet non erit. Ibi quippe erunt bona corporis et animæ, qualia 'nec oculus vidit nec auris audivit nec cor hominis' cogitavit.

31. SI, *P,* 16:121.6-13.
Sed gaudium illud certe quo gaudebunt electi tui, 'nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit'. Nondum ergo dixi aut cogitavi, domine, quantum gaudebunt illi beati tui. Utique tantum gaudebunt, quantum amabunt; tantum amabunt, quantum cognoscent. Quantum te cognoscent, domine, tunc, et quantum te amabunt? Certe 'nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit' in hac vita, quantum te cognoscent et amabunt in illa vita.

11. Satisfaction 1: satisfying redemption's demands

1. *De Humanis Moribus*, 101-8, 81.
Primus itaque humilitatis gradus est quemque cognoscere contemptibilem se esse. Et quia sunt quidam qui contemptibiles quidem se esse cognoscunt sed inde non dolent, secundus est dolere contemptibilem se esse. Quia vero sunt alii qui se esse contemptibiles dolent sed confiteri nolunt, tertius est confiteri se contemptibilem esse. An quia rursus sunt aliqui qui se esse contemptibiles confitentur sed nolunt ut ita credatur, quartus est persuadere contemptibilem se esse. Verum quia quidam contemptibiles quidem volunt credi sed hoc sibi nolunt dici, quintus est pati ut dicatur contemptibilis. Quod quia quidam patientur sed tamen pati nolunt ut contemptibiliter tractentur, sextus est pati ut contemptibiliter reactetur. Sed quoniam et hoc quidam invite patiuntur, septimus est amare ut contemptibiliter tractetur.
Ubi postquam quis ascenderit, clara est in luce, id est in perfecta sui cognitione. Inter honestas quoque personas, id est virtutes, commoratur, quae omnes hoc humilitatis monte velut aedificum quoddam fundatur. Huius denique humilitatis omnes illi gradus sunt necessarii, sicut a simili perspicue potest videri.

4. SII, *CDH,* I.3:50.24-28.
Obiciunt nobis deridentes simplicitatem nostram infideles quia deo facimus iniuriam et contumeliam, cum eum asserimus in uterum mulieris descendisse, natum esse de femina, lacte et alimentis humanis nutritum crevisse, et ut multa alia taceam quae deo non videntur convenire - lassitudinem, famem, sitim, verbera et inter latrones crucem mortemque sustinuisse.

5. SII, *CDH,* I.8:60.8-10.
Nam si aliter peccatores salvare non potuit quam iustum damnando: ubi est eius omnipotentia? Si vero potuit sed non voluit: quomodo defendemus sapientiam eius atque iustitiam?

6. SII, *CDH,* I.8:60.15-16.
Etiam si non invitum, quoniam voluntati patris consensit, quodam tamen modo illum coegisse videtur praecipiendo.

7. SII, *CDH,* I.8:60.16-61.2.
Dicitur enim quia Christus 'humiliavit se ipsum, factus oboediens' patri 'usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis; propter quod et deus illum exaltavit'; et quia 'didicit oboedientiam ex iis quae passus est'; et quia 'proprio filio non pepercit' pater, 'sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum'. Et idem filius dicit: 'Non veni voluntatem meam facere, sed voluntatem eius qui misit me'. Et iturus ad passionem dicit: 'Sicut mandatum dedit mihi pater, sic facio'. Item: 'Calicem quem dedit mihi pater, non bibam illum?' Et alibi: 'Pater, si possibile est, transeat a me calix iste; verumtamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu'. Et: 'Pater, si non potest hic calix transire, nisi bibam illum, fiat voluntas tua'. In his omnibus plus videtur Christus oboedientia cogente quam spontanea voluntate disponente mortem sustinuisse.

8. SII, *CDH,* I.9:61.8-10.
Ut mihi videtur, non bene discernis inter hoc quod fecit exigente oboedientia, et quod sibi factum, quia servavit oboedientiam, sustinuit non exigente oboedientia.

9. SII, *CDH,* I.9:62.6-8.
Non ergo coegit deus Christum mori, in quo nullum fuit peccatum; sed ipse sponte sustinuit mortem, non per oboedientiam deserendi vitam, sed propter oboedientiam servandi iustitiam, in qua tam fortiter perseveravit, ut inde mortem incurreret.

10. SII, *CDH,* I.9:62.10-13.
Ita ergo, 'sicut mandatum dedit' illi 'pater', sic fecit, et 'calicem, quem dedit', bibit, et 'factus' est 'oboediens' patri 'usque ad mortem', et sic 'didicit ex iis quae passus est oboedientiam', id est, quousque servari debeat oboedientia.

11. SII, *CDH,* I.9:62.16-23.
Quod autem apostolus, cum dixisset: 'humiliavit semetipsum, factus oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis', subdidit: 'propter quod et deus illum exaltavit et donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen' - cui simile est quod David dixit: 'de torrente in via bibit, propterea exaltavit caput' - : non ita dictum est, quasi nullatenus potuisset pervenire ad hanc exaltationem nisi per hanc mortis oboedientiam, et haec exaltatio non nisi in retributionem huius oboedientiae collata sit - prius enim quam pateretur, ipse dixit 'omnia' sibi esse 'tradita' 'a patre', et omnia patris esse sua…

12. SII, *CDH,* I.9:62.23-27.
…sed quoniam ipse cum patre sanctoque spiritu disposuerat se non aliter quam per mortem celsitudinem omnipotentiae suae mundo ostensurum. Quippe quod non nisi per illam mortem fieri dispositum est: cum per illam fit, non incongrue dicitur propter illam fieri.

14. SII, *CDH,* I.9:64.7-11.
Sic igitur voluit pater mortem filii, quia non aliter voluit mundum salvari, nisi homo tam magnum aliquid faceret, ut dixi…Unde ille 'sicut mandatum dedit' illi 'pater, sic' fecit, et 'calicem quem dedit' ei 'pater', bibit 'oboediens usque ad mortem'.

15. SII, *CDH,* I.10:64.14-18.
Potest etiam recte intelligi, quia per illam piam voluntatem, qua voluit filius pro salute mundi mori, 'dedit' illi 'pater', non tamen cogendo, 'mandatum' et 'calicem' passionis, et

‘non pepercit’ illi, ‘sed pro nobis tradidit illum’ et mortem illius voluit; et quia ipse filius ‘oboediens’ fuit ‘usque ad mortem’, et ‘didicit ex iis quae passus est oboedientiam’.

16. SII, *CDH,* I.10:65.14-19.
Hoc etiam modo indeclinabiliter et sponte servando acceptam a patre voluntatem filius ‘factus’ est illi ‘oboediens usque ad mortem’, et ‘didicit ex iis quae passus est oboedientiam’, id est quam magna res facienda sit per oboedientiam. Nam tunc est simplex et vera oboedientia, cum rationalis natura non necessitate, sed sponte servat voluntatem a deo acceptam.

18. SII, *CDH,* I.10:65.29-66.4.
Non autem potuisse calicem transire, nisi biberet illum, dixit, non quia non posset mortem vitare si vellet, sed quoniam - sicut dictum est - mundum erat aliter impossibile salvari; et ipse indeclinabiliter volebat potius mortem pati, quam ut mundus non salvaretur. Idcirco autem illa verba dixit, ut doceret humanum genus aliter salvari non potuisse quam per mortem suam, non ut ostenderet se mortem nequaquam valuisse vitare. Nam quaecumque de illo dicuntur iis quae dicta sunt similia, sic sunt exponenda, ut nulla necessitate, sed libera voluntate mortuus credatur.

20. SII, *CDH,* I.10:66.8-13.
Erat namque omnipotens; et de illo legitur quia ‘oblatus est, quoniam ipse voluit’. Et ipse dicit: ‘Ego pono animam meam, ut iterum sumam eam. Nemo tollit eam a me, sed ego pono eam a me ipso. Potestatem habeo ponendi eam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam’. Quod ergo idem ipse sua potestate et sua voluntate facit, nullatenus ad hoc cogi recte dicitur.

21. SII, *CDH,* II.11:110.3-5.
Poterit igitur numquam mori si volet, et poterit mori et resurgere. Sive autem animam suam ponat nullo alio faciente, sive alius hoc faciat, ut eam ponat ipso permittente, quantum ad potestatem nihil differt.

23. SII, *CDH,* II.11:110.27-28.
Omnis enim rationalis creatura debet hanc oboedientiam deo.

24. SII, *CDH,* II.11:110.22-23.
Sic ergo intelligenda est haec datio, quia aliquo modo ponet se ad honorem dei aut aliquid de se, quomodo debitor non erit.

25. SII, *CDH,* II.11:111.1-4.
Videamus si forte hoc sit dare vitam suam, sive ponere animam suam, sive tradere se ipsum morti ad honorem dei. Hoc enim ex debito non exiget deus ab illo; quoniam namque non erit peccatum in illo, non debebit mori, sicut diximus.

26. SII, *CDH,* II.19:130.28-131.2.
Quibus convenientius fructum et retributionem suae mortis attribuet quam illis, propter quos salvandos, sicut ratio veritatis nos docuit, hominem se fecit, et quibus, ut diximus, moriendo exemplum moriendi propter iustitiam dedit? Frustra quippe imitatores eius erunt, si meriti eius participes non erunt. Aut quos iustius faciet haeredes debiti quo ipse non eget, et exundantiae suae plenitudinis, quam parentes et fratres suos, quos

aspicit tot et tantis debitis obligatos egestate tabescere in profundo miseriarum, ut eis dimittatur quod pro peccatis debent, et detur quo propter peccata carent?

31. SI, *DV,* 12:196.20-24.
Et hinc est quod iusti dicuntur aliquando ‘recti corde', id est recti voluntate; aliquando ‘recti' sine adiectione ‘cordis', quoniam nullus alius intelligitur rectus nisi ille qui rectam habet voluntatem. Ut est illud: ‘Gloriamini omnes recti corde’. Et: ‘Videbunt recti et lætabuntur’.

33. SII, *DC,* III.2:264.28-265.5.
Quod autem iustitia sit rectitudo voluntatis, sacra saepe monstrat auctoritas. Qua de re sufficit unum exemplum proponere. Cum enim dixisset David: ‘non relinquet dominus plebem suam, et haereditatem suam non derelinquet, quoadusque iustitia convertatur in iudicium’: ut doceret nos quid esset iustitia, interrogando ait: ‘Et qui iuxta illam?’. Ad quod ipse sibi respondens ‘omnes’ inquit ‘qui recto sunt corde’ hoc est qui recta sunt voluntate.

34. SII, *DC,* III.2:265.12-13.
Recte igitur intelligimus David dixisse rectos corde rectos voluntate.

35. SII, *CDH,* I.11:68.12-16.
Omnis voluntas rationalis creaturae subiecta debet esse voluntati dei…Hoc est debitum quod debet angelus et homo deo, quod solvendo nullus peccat, et quod omnis qui non solvit peccat. Haec est iustitia sive rectitudo voluntatis, quae iustos facit sive rectos corde, id est voluntate.

36. SII, *CDH,* I.11:68.16-19.
Hic est solus et totus honor, quem debemus deo et a nobis exigit deus.

37. SII, *CDH,* I.11:68.19-22.
Hunc honorem debitum qui deo non reddit, aufert deo quod suum est, et deum exhonorat; et hoc est peccare. Quamdiu autem non solvit quod rapuit, manet in culpa.

38. SII, *CDH,* I.11:68.29-69.2.
Sic ergo debet omnis qui peccat, honorem deo quem rapuit solvere; et haec est satisfactio, quam omnis peccator deo debet facere.

12. Satisfaction 2: satisfying the soul’s desire

1. SI, *P,* 9:106.19-107.3.
Verum malis quomodo parcis, si es totus iustus et summe iustus? Quomodo enim totus et summe iustus facit aliquid non iustum? Aut quæ iustitia est merenti mortem æternam dare vitam sempiternam? Unde ergo, bone deus, bone bonis et malis, unde tibi salvare malos, si hoc non est iustum, et tu non facis aliquid non iustum?

2. SI, *P,* 9:107.5-6.
Vere in altissimo et secretissimo bonitatis tuæ latet fons, unde manat fluvius misericordiæ tuæ.

3. SI, *P,* 9:107.14-18.
O altitudo bonitatis tuæ, deus! et videtur unde sis misericors, et non pervidetur. Cernitur unde flumen manat, et non perspicitur fons unde nascatur. Nam et de plenitudine bonitatis est quia peccatoribus tuis pius es, et in altitudine bonitatis latet qua ratione hoc es.

4. SI, *P,* 9:107.22-26.
O misericordia, de quam opulenta dulcedine et dulci opulentia nobis profluis! O immensitas bonitatis dei, quo affectu amanda es peccatoribus! Justos enim salvas iustitia comitante, istos vero liberas iustitia damnante. Illos meritis adiuvantibus, istos meritis repugnantibus. Illos bona quæ dedisti cognoscendo, istos mala quæ odisti ignoscendo.

5. SI, *P,* 9:107.26-108.5.
O immensa bonitas, quæ sic omnem intellectum excedis, veniat super me misericordia illa, quæ de tanta opulentia tui procedit! Influat in me, quæ profluit de te! Parce per clementiam, ne ulciscaris per iustitiam! Nam etsi difficile sit intelligere, quomodo misericordia tua non absit a tua iustitia, necessarium tamen est credere, quia nequaquam adversatur iustitiæ quod exundat ex bonitate, quæ nulla est sine iustitia, immo vere concordat iustitiæ.

7. *De Humanis Moribus,* 8:41
Sed sicut propria voluntas dei fons est et origio totius boni, ita propria voluntas hominis totius est exordium mali.

8. *De Humanis Moribus,* 9: 41.
Haec enim est velut fons quidam, qui in tria capita dividitur, e quibus rivi diversi et innumerabiles derivantur, qui locis in quibusdam ab invicem seperantur, aliquibus vero duo et duo vel plures pluribus coniunguntur. Ita quoque propria voluntas in genera tria dividitur, e quibus vitia diversa et sine numero nascuntur; quae aliquando in homine sunt disiuncta, quandoque vero duo vel plura coniuncta.

9. SI, *P,* 24:117.25-26.
Excita nunc, anima mea, et erige totum intellectum tuum, et cogita quantum potes, quale et quantum sit illud bonum.

10. SI, *P,* 25:118.15-17.
Cur ergo per multa vagaris, homuncio, quærendo bona animæ tuæ et corporis tui? Ama unum bonum, in quo sunt omnia bona, et sufficit. Desidera simplex bonum, quod est omne bonum, et satis est.

11. SI, *P,* 25:118.20-25.
Si delectat pulchritudo: 'fulgebunt iusti sicut sol'. Si velocitas aut fortitudo, aut libertas corporis cui nihil obsistere possit: 'erunt similes angelis dei', quia 'seminatur corpus animale, et surget corpus spirituale', potestate utique non natura. Si longa et salubris vita: ibi est sana æternitas et æterna sanitas, quia 'iusti in perpetuum vivent' et 'salus iustorum a domino'.

12. SI, *P,* 25:118.25-119.3.
Si satietas: satiabuntur 'cum apparuerit gloria' dei. Si ebrietas: 'inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus' dei. Si melodia: ibi angelorum chori concinunt sine fine deo. Si quælibet non immunda sed munda voluptas: 'torrente voluptatis suæ potabit eos' deus.

13. SI, *P,* 26:120.23-121.3.
Deus meus et dominus meus, spes mea et gaudium cordis mei, dic animæ meæ, si hoc est gaudium de quo nobis dicis per filium tuum: 'petite et accipietis, ut gaudium vestrum sit plenum'. Inveni namque gaudium quoddam plenum, et plus quam plenum. Pleno quippe corde, plena mente, plena anima, pleno toto homine gaudio illo: adhuc supra modum supererit gaudium.

16. SI, *P,* 26:121.4-6.
Dic, domine, dic servo tuo intus in corde suo, si hoc est gaudium, in quod intrabunt servi tui, qui intrabunt 'in gaudium domini' sui.

17. SI, *P,* 25:120.13-20.
Et utique quoniam quantum quisque diligit aliquem, tantum de bono eius gaudet: sicut in illa perfecta felicitate unusquisque plus amabit sine comparatione deum quam se et omnes alios secum, ita plus gaudebit absque existimatione de felicitate dei quam de sua et omnium aliorum secum. Sed si deum sic diligent toto corde, tota mente, tota anima, ut tamen totum cor, tota mens, tota anima non sufficiat dignitati dilectionis: profecto sic gaudebunt toto corde, tota mente, tota anima, ut totum cor, tota mens, tota anima non sufficiat plenitudini gaudii.

20. SII, *P,* 26:121.14-18.
Oro, deus, cognoscam te, amem te, ut gaudeam de te. Et si non possum in hac vita ad plenum, vel proficiam in dies usque dum veniat illud ad plenum. Proficiat hic in me notitia tui, et ibi fiat plena; crescat amor tuus, et ibi sit plenus: ut hic gaudium meum sit in spe magnum, et ibi sit in re plenum.

21. SII, *P,* 26:121.18-122.2.
Domine, per filium tuum iubes immo consulis petere et promittis accipere, 'ut gaudium' nostrum 'plenum sit'. Peto, domine, quod consulis per admirabilem consiliarium nostrum; accipiam quod promittis per veritatem tuam, 'ut gaudium' meum 'plenum sit'. Deus verax, peto accipiam, 'ut gaudium' meum 'plenum sit'. Meditetur interim inde mens mea, loquatur inde lingua mea. Amet illud cor meum, sermocinetur os meum. Esuriat illud anima mea, sitiat caro mea, desideret tota substantia mea, donec intrem 'in gaudium domini' mei, 'qui est' trinus et unus deus 'benedictus in sæcula. Amen'.

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