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Anselm of Canterbury. His influence and reception in Medieval Logic and Theology with a case study on the commentaries on the Sentences in the second half of the 14th century

PhD THESIS ABSTRACT

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Abstract

The current work rests upon the premise that in the Latin medieval world there was an increasing interest for the opus and the thinking of Anselm of Canterbury, which reached its highest point with his reception in the commentaries on the *Sentences* from the second half of the 14th century. The phrase „Latin medieval world" might come as a surprise to those who are not familiar with the broad influence of the Anselmian writings, which have exceeded the borders of Latin-speaking Europe. Demetrius Kydones (c. 1324-c. 1397) is a well-known figure to the historians engaged in the political relations and culture transfer between Byzantium and the West, in the 14th century. His brother, Prochoros, however, does not enjoy the same privilege. Nevertheless, they are both part of a small group of translators that have facilitated the pervasion of the Catholic conceptions of the late 13th and early 14th centuries in the Byzantine culture. Texts that are essential to Thomism, (including *Summa contra gentiles* and *Summa Theologiae),* texts specific to Augustinianism (namely *De Trinitate* or *De libero arbitrio*), and the texts about Dialectics pertaining to Boethius (*De differentiis topicis* and *De hypotheticis syllogismis*), were translated by the two brothers in Greek. In addition to these, Demetrius has also translated the opuscule and the little Anselmian epistle directly related to the disagreement between the Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church: *De processione Spiritus Sancti* and *De sacrificio azymi et fermentati ad Walerrannum episcopum*[1].

The main objectives in this approach were, first, to show that the influence of Anselmian semantology was felt in the configuration of certain theses in terminist logic and, second, to show that the theologians who commented, in the second half of the 14th century, on the Book of *Sentences* by Peter Lombard rediscoverd the writings of Anselm of Canterbury, which led to a new interest in certain aspects of his theological doctrine. The first objective is justified, as recent interpretations in the literature dimmed the ties of filiation between the logical theories of the two centuries, evaluating Anselmian semantics by the anachronistic use of the two distinctions employed by analytic philosophy ever since the early 20th century, meaning and reference. The

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[1] See RYDER (2010), pp. 15-28, especially p. 26.

Anselmian notion *significatio* was identified with meaning, and *appellatio* with reference. Thus, the reconsideration of the semantic theory in *De grammatico* was needed in order to avoid such an inappropriate dichotomy for the Anselmian logical discourse. The second objective is legitimate because of the lack of studies dedicated to the 14th century reception of the Anselmian opus. We have tried to demonstrate that the aforesaid phenomenon occurred because of a doctrinal and semantic common ground, proper to both the 11th and 14th centuries. One of the most important factors in the revival of Anselmian studies among medieval theologians of this era was the need to justify the scientific status of theology. This was a good opportunity for them to dispute over the demonstrable or self-evident nature of the first theological principle, i.e. the existence of God, which has become a mandatory *locus communis* for any theology student who commented on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.

In order to achieve these two major objectives, we have divided the thesis into four chapters, each chapter having its own goal. The first aim was to provide a brief analysis of Anselm's work in order to establish Anselm's place in the history of scholastic philosophy, to detect the Anselmian method of approaching issues in the field of sacred science, and to highlight some concepts that proved to be extremely important for the philosophical theology of the 14th century. A second aim was to demonstrate the importance of Anselmian logical texts and passages (especially the semantological theory elaborated in *De grammatico*; the theory of the propositional meaning, and the hierarchy of truths in *De veritate*) for those theologians who commented on Lombard's book at the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century. This is the reason why Anselm should be given an important place in a future history of medieval logic. The third aim was to show the usefulness, topicality and instrumentalization of Anselmian theology in the commentaries on the *Sentences*, and in this regard we have restricted our analysis to the most remarkable Anselmian contribution in the field of theology, i.e. the argument for the existence of God in *Proslogion*, cc. 2-4. A final goal was to argue that in the 14th century there was a formal element inherent to the commentary on the *Sentences*, which, conjoined with other historical factors, may be an easy criterion in classifying the approaches to the Anselmian texts of this period. The element is the technique of composing the commentaries by *copying verbatim* from other sources, especially from previous *Sentences* commentaries. The historical factors were: a) the rise of nominalism among 14th century theologians, b) the *ad fontes* movement generated by the

Augustinian hermits, and c) the imposition of Anselmian writings as a canon of orthodoxy to be followed in schools and faculties of theology all over Europe.

Chapter 1. The intellectual portrait and work of Anselm of Canterbury.

The task of the first chapter was to present the intellectual portrait of Anselm of Canterbury and to give a brief presentation of his work, emphasizing those concepts that were of interest to the philosophical theology of the 14th century. The outcome of this chapter is the image of a skillful theologian and logician, who, under the influence of the Aristotelian dialectics learned from Boethius's commentaries and logical writings, lays the rational foundations for a future science of theology. Thus, along with Augustine, Anselm is seen by 14th century theologians as the most appropriate authority that can compete in logic and argumentation with Greek and Arab philosophers. His logico-theological doctrines were perceived as the main sources that can generate solutions to the stalemate in which Christian theology found itself when it encountered the influence of the Greek and Arabic philosophy and science.

Chapter 2. Anselm the logician: the reinterpretation, reception and influence of the semantological theory of *De grammatico*.

The second chapter focuses on the re-examination of the semantic doctrine in *De grammatico* by resorting to the most recent interpretations. A significant number of studies, that have as their main object of research the philosophy of language in the work of Anselm of Canterbury, have explained the semantic distinctions exposed in *De grammatico – significatio* and *appellatio –* by using the logico-semantical distinctions of meaning and reference. Besides the fact that this terminological couple has a sinuous history even within the analytic philosophy, where it was sometimes replaced by the denotation/connotation couple, and other times by the intension/extension binomial, thus causing a harmful confusion for philosophical debates, we also consider it responsible for the following issues that obscure the correct understanding of the Anselmian dialogue:

1) The application of this distinction to Anselmian semantics outlines a dichotomy that is not the product of Anselmian thought (and probably not of medieval logic, at least not the one that precedes it, i.e. Boethius's logic);

2) The equivalences between *significatio* and meaning and between *appellatio* and reference did not take into account the career of the term *significatio* in the medieval logical tradition, where it was used as a tool to account for both meaning and reference;

3) And for this reason it missed the meaning of *appellatio* and the purpose for which this semantical distinction was made.

Anselm does not actually define the semantic notions in this dialogue, but the way he used them, the examples given to explain them and the cited sources are cues that they must be connected to the Aristotelian tradition mediated by Boethius's translation of *Categories* and *On interpretation*. From this approach, we could draw the following conclusion: the semantical dichotomy produced by the anachronistic use of logical positivism in interpreting the Anselmian text is avoided by what Boethius meant by *similitudo*. For him, concepts are similitudes of things, and the former abstractly contain the latter, just as objects are *in* the mirror due to the mirrors's ability to receive and transform them into a similarity. In the Boethian use, *significatio* does not strictly coincide with the property of terms to indicate the meaning, but it also covers the area left to the reference by the philosophy of language. Anselm worked with a Boethian model of meaning. But if *significatio* is the means by which Anselmian semantics expresses the unitary relation of words to meaning *and* reference (as hendiadys, i.e. conceptualized things), what would be the reason for a new semantic distinction, *appellatio*? This property of terms is proposed by Anselm in order to build a theory of syntactico-semantic disambiguation or a propositional hermeneutics to solve the problems presented in the first part of the dialogue, raised by the use of a single property of terms, *significatio*. This perspective is favorable to the integration of Anselmian semantology in the history of the theory of supposition, a logical device for the disambiguation of propositional meaning, pleading for its original role. We have also shown that the nominalist theory of connotation, represented by Ockham, found in the theory of paronymy in *De grammatico* and in the theory of predicaments in *Monologion* arguments of authority to certify its nominalist semantics.

Chaptere 3. Anselm the theologian: the reexamination of the "ontological argument" and its medieval reception.

The third chapter considers the reception of the Anselmian argument from P2-P3 in the theological debates of the 13th and 14th centuries and its use in these debates. The Anselmian argument was introduced to the Parisian university by English students who studied and later became masters in the Faculty of Theology in Paris. Its influence ruled the discussions around the scientific status of theology, almost each of the renowned scholastics feeling the need to quote, interpret, and even adapt it to his own scientific model. This chapter establishes the existence of a plural hermeneutical tradition, i.e. of a varieties of readings, due in the first instance to the nature of the argument, then to intermediate readings through secondary (non-source) texts, such as the *Sumptum* or the *Sentences* commentaries of the foregoers. Noteworthy is that these traditions emphasize one aspect of the argument to the detriment of others, so that the end product is a new morphology of the argument, sometimes contrary to the original argument. Following the re-evaluation of the argument in the light of the semantics from *De grammatico*, we resorted to the analysis of medieval traditions of interpretation of the argument, to conclude with the identification of four such traditions: physical, metaphysical, logical, and semantological, of which the semantic tradition is the most faithful to the Anselmian intention. The tradition that comes closest to the Anselmian view is the one that applied to it the semantological analysis. It can be found in the *Sentences* commentary of Robert Holcot and reached its apogee in the second half of the 14th century in the texts of Gregory of Rimini and Hugolino of Orvieto, despite the fact that in the first two cases the attitude is critical, and both Holcot and Rimini rejected the validity of the argument.

Chapter 4. Anselm's reception in post-1344 *Sentences* commentaries.

In the fourth chapter we turned our attention to the actual reception of the Anselmian writings in the commentaries on the *Sentences* of the second half of the 14th century. A first step in this direction is the statistical analysis of the sources specific to the post-1344 *Sentences* commentaries compared to those favored by the commentaries from the previous period. This allowed us to see a tendency of the theologians of the era toward the theological texts before 1200, especially Augustine and Anselm, and a decline of philosophical texts in their preferences. This

observation was reinforced by a historical analysis of the events that favored the reversion to the sources considered standards of doctrinal orthodoxy. Following these steps, we were equipped with the necessary tools to offer a theoretical frame and a historical approach to the ways in which authors related to their sources. Finally, we concluded the research by exemplifying these methods by resorting to the cases of James of Eltville and Conrad of Ebrach.

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