

# Hugh of St.-Cher's Use of Stephen Langton

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*Summary.* This paper compares the doctrine of the fear of God as it is found in Stephen Langton's *Quaestiones theologiae* and *Epistle Commentary* and Hugh of St.-Cher's *Sentence Commentary* and *Postilla super bibliam*. It shows that Hugh probably used Langton's biblical commentary, while he may have known Langton's theological positions through William of Auxerre's *Summa Auvea*. Besides this Hugh used sources not available to Langton or to William, like positions from the *De fide orth.* by John Damascene, which he could find in Alexander of Hales' *Gloss on the Sentences* or in the *Quaestiones theologiae* of ms. Douai, B. M., 434.

Historians<sup>1</sup> have been struck by the similarity of the careers of Stephen Langton († 1228) and Hugh of St.-Cher, O.P. († 1263). Each of them composed a continuous commentary on almost all the biblical books, commented on Peter the Lombard's *Sentences* and Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, payed great attention to the text of the biblical books<sup>2</sup> by creating biblical concordances, disputed theological *quaestiones*, and preached. Each of them was an important figure in ecclesiastical government, and each died as a cardinal. Each of them, finally, executed his literary production according to the three exercises of *lectio*, *disputatio*, and *praedicatio* which had been proposed as the parts of the theological enterprise by Peter the Chanter († 1197).<sup>3</sup> The parallels between the careers and literary works of these two mediaeval "prelates" have led historians to suppose a direct influence of the elder (Stephen) on the younger (Hugh),<sup>4</sup> while the fact that only a fraction of their literary production has been edited has hindered modern scholars from a systematic study of the similarities and differences between them.

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\* I owe special thanks to Dr. Russell Friedman for his labour to make my text readable English.

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1 E.g. Smalley 1985: 143; Dahan 1985: 131.

2 Cf. Smalley 1983: 267.

3 Cf. *Verbum abbreviatum*, I (PL 205, 25). Cf. Quinto 1989: 89-90.

4 See below, footnotes 26 and 27.

We will start with a general comparison of the works of our authors and in so doing we will call to mind once again the triadic division of mediaeval theology proposed by the Chanter, using this to help guide us through this sometimes obscure *silva magna*. Let us look at the following schema, based on Kaeppli's repertoire of Dominican writers and on my own inquiry into Stephen's literary production:<sup>5</sup>

Stephen Langton, Arch. of Canterbury, Card. tit. S. Chrisogoni († 1228)

Hugh of St.-Cher OP, Card. tit. S. Sabinae († 1263)

**Lectio**

– Commentary on Lombard's *Sentences* (ed. Landgraf 1952; c. 1200-1220)

– Commentary on Lombard's *Sentences* (uned.; c. 1231-1232)

– Commentary on Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (in progress - M. J. Clark<sup>6</sup>)

– Commentary on Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (in progress - A. I. Lehtinen)

– Commentary on most of the books of the Bible. No sure attribution for the Psalms and the Gospels.

– *Postilla in uniuersum uetus et nouum testamentum* (edited: 8 vols. *in-folio*<sup>7</sup>)

For Paul's Epistles, commentary through Lombard's *Magna Glossatura*<sup>8</sup>  
Edited:

Ruth (Lacombe-Smalley 1930: 86-126)  
Chronicles (*I-II Paralipomena*) (Saltman 1978)

– Reordination of biblical books and their subdivision in chapters - Collection of variant readings are attested in commentaries and in the *Quaestiones*

– *Correctorium bibliae*<sup>9</sup>

– Pastoral concordances<sup>10</sup> of biblical texts and glosses:

– Verbal concordances of the scriptures<sup>11</sup>

– *Summa de diuersis*<sup>12</sup> (partial ed. Quinto forthcoming, Appendix 1)

– *Distinctiones*<sup>13</sup>

– *Interpretatio nominum hebraicorum*<sup>14</sup>

– “*De uitando consortio, consilio, colloquio et exemplo malorum*” (doubtful)<sup>15</sup>

– “*Summa magistri Stephani de Langedon Archiepiscopi de uiciis et uirtutibus*” (ms. Cardiff, Central Public Library, 3833, ff. 150<sup>ra</sup>- 164<sup>ra</sup>; doubtful<sup>16</sup>; ed. in progress - B. Tarbuck)

**Disputatio**– *Summa quaestionum theologiae*

Partly in ms. Douai 434 (among others) Partial ed. (Ebbesen-Mortensen 1985; Quinto 1992)

– *Quaestiones uariae*Chiefly in ms. Douai 434<sup>17</sup>  
Partial ed. (Stegmüller<sup>18</sup>, Torrell 1977)*Tractatus super missam* (enormously diffused - old and modern editions<sup>19</sup>)**Praedicatio**– Sermons (part. ed.: *PL* 190: 407-424; Roberts 1980<sup>21</sup>)– Sermons<sup>20</sup>**Works issued in connection with ecclesiastical duties**

– Epistles (ed. Major 1950)

– *Constitutiones Oxonienses*<sup>22</sup>– Hymns and didactic poems  
*aliaque plura ...*

– Epistles

– *Declarationes*<sup>23</sup>

5 Cf. Kaeppli-Panella 1970-1993, ii: 269-281 (nos 1983-1994), with the additions to be found in vol. iv: 124-126; Landgraf 1973: 175-177; Quinto 1994: 30-166.

6 For an updated list of mss, see Quinto 1994: 35.

7 About eds., see Kaeppli-Panella 1970-1993, ii: 275. Please note that “Hugh” (for explanation of the quotation marks, see the last paragraph of this article) very probably wrote a double postill on each book of the Bible. According to Beryl Smalley (1979: 250), his “*Postilla super Totam Bibliam* survives in two versions, a longer and a shorter. The longer is printed in early editions”. As a matter of fact, this is not completely true, at least for the commentary on the Apocalypse, whose two versions exist in print: in this case, the shorter one (“*Aser pinguis*”) is that printed in the *Postill* editions, while the longer (“*Vidit Iacob*”) was printed among the works of Thomas Aquinas (e. g. Fiaccadori, Parma. 1852-72: xxiii, 325-511; Vivès, Paris. 1871-80: xxxi, 469-661; xxxii, 1-86). Cf. Lerner 1985: 164 and note 21.

8 Extracts can be read in Balduccelli 1951: 209-225; Quinto 1992: 113-119.

9 See Kaeppli-Panella 1970-1993, ii: 273.

10 Cf. Quinto 1995a: 121-122 (and note 8); Quinto 1996: 293-294.

11 Cf. Rouse & Rouse 1974; Rouse & Rouse 1984.

12 Cf. Quinto 1994: 77-90; Quinto 1996: 302-361 and Quinto forthcoming.

13 A list of these *Distinctiones* can be found in Quinto 1994: 62-71.

14 Cf. Quinto 1994: 33-34.

15 Text to be found in ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library 1954 (Bodley 631), ff. 1-183<sup>r</sup>; cf. Quinto 1994: 35-36. List of the chapters in Quinto forthcoming, Appendix 2.2.

16 Cf. Quinto forthcoming, note 60.

17 For a list of the questions, see Appendix III, below.

18 Cf. Hugo de S. Caro, *Questio de beneficiis ecclesiasticis*.

So, the short commentary on the Lombard by Stephen Langton, which Landgraf calls “the first *Sentence* commentary of early scholasticism”,<sup>24</sup> is edited, while the long commentary by Hugh is on the whole unedited. Although it is short, Langton’s *Sentences* commentary is not easily readable, and doesn’t seem to be a work of his youth. Its editor, Artur M. Landgraf, found it hard to date with any precision. Nevertheless, he thought that it could hardly have been written before the beginning of the thirteenth century nor after 1222 (when Peter of Corbeil died).<sup>25</sup> Since after 1213, or at least 1215, Langton appears to have been very busy with political and ecclesiastic duties, I would consider it reasonable to date the completion of this work to within the first fifteen years of the thirteenth century. In any case, this *Sentences* commentary contains numerous references to the other main theological works by Stephen, namely the *Quaestiones theologiae* and the Commentary on St. Paul. As for Hugh’s *Sentences* commentary, we know that it had at least two redactions, but it seems to have been finished in 1231-1232.

With regard to their Biblical commentaries, all who have compared Stephen’s and Hugh’s commentaries on the different biblical books, like Msgr. Landgraf for the Pauline epistles<sup>26</sup> and Avrom Saltman for *Chronicles*, maintain that Hugh’s commentaries are not much more than updated abridgments of those by Stephen, so that it is possible to claim, for instance, that “Hugh compiled his commentary on *Chronicles* with a manuscript of Langton at his side”.<sup>27</sup> I have gone through the whole of Stephen and Hugh’s edited commentaries on *Paralipomena* (*Chronicles*) and *Ruth*, and was able to slightly correct previous statements.<sup>28</sup>

19 Cf. Kaeppli-Panella 1970-1993, ii: 276-280.

20 Cf. Schneyer 1969-1990, ii: 758-785; Kaeppli-Panella 1970-1993, ii: 280; iv: 125.

21 Cf. Roberts 1968; for a list of published sermons, see Quinto 1994: 31.

22 Cf. Quinto 1994: 41.

23 Cf. Kaeppli-Panella 1970-1993, ii: 280.

24 Landgraf 1939; Id. 1973: 169.

25 Landgraf 1952: XVIII.

26 Landgraf 1973: 170: “Le *Commentaire* paulinien d’Hugues de Saint-Cher [...] est entièrement imprégné du texte du *Commentaire* de Langton”.

27 Saltman 1978: 45.

28 Cf. Quinto forthcoming.

Further, while preparing this paper, I went through the *Epistles* commentaries of Stephen and Hugh, comparing the exegesis of three different passages: *Romans* 8, 15; *First Epistle of John* 4, 18 (which I transcribed in Copenhagen);<sup>29</sup> and the 13th chapter of the *First Epistle to the Corinthians* (using the Langton text edited by Balduccelli). In all these texts, I did not find the strict dependence of Hugh on Stephen which the claims of earlier scholars had led me to expect.

This is even more interesting given that it is based on examination of the *Epistles* commentaries. In fact, we have good reasons to think that the *Epistles* commentary is the work on which Stephen spent the most energy. It was disseminated widely, and despite its length it is preserved in quite a large number of manuscripts. This is probably because in this work Langton produced quite an effective tool, which overshadowed earlier *Epistles* commentaries. For proof of this claim, consider the following three facts.

First, compared to that written by Peter the Lombard, Langton's commentary covers all of the *Epistles*, i.e. not only the letters by St. Paul, but also the Catholic Epistles.

Second, Langton's commentary includes all the information provided by Peter, because it does not comment directly on the New Testament text, but through the *Magna glossatura* of Peter himself, explaining all of its lemmas.

Third, Langton's commentary makes use of the result of the most up-to-date theological debate, since it refers to the main points discussed in his *Quaestiones theologiae. As disputator* Stephen had gathered together many different biblical passages, arranged them topically, and tried to discover a theological position which could tie them all together. In the *Epistles* commentary, on the other hand, Langton makes use of the solutions defended in the disputation, but he arranges them as a commentary on and clarification of the text. The views held throughout the commentary correspond well to those expressed in the *Quaestiones*; in fact, among Langton's works, this one seems to be the best one to consult on specific points of doctrine. Nevertheless, despite being probably the best example of an *Epistle* commentary to be found "on the market", Langton's work was *not* chosen by Hugh as his model: in fact it was just one source among many. Let us examine

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29 Quinto 1992: 113-119.

this claim by analyzing a particular theological position of our authors.

When I was a guest of IGL in 1992, I made a modest contribution to the rediscovery of Langton by publishing – with the help of the people in Copenhagen – three out of some 200 of Langton’s *Quaestiones*. Although this is only a small part of Langton’s work, the editions are based on all known manuscripts, and thus I was able to clear up some of the textual problems associated with this work of Langton. The three *Quaestiones* which I published deal with the problem of the fear of God. I now want to investigate whether Hugh of St.-Cher could have known this text of Langton’s.

In his *Quaestiones* Stephen Langton distinguishes six kinds of fear in an introductory first paragraph:<sup>30</sup>

timor	{	naturalis humanus mundanus seruilis initialis filialis
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In the text of the Lombard, however, there are actually only four kinds:<sup>31</sup>

timor	{	humanus seruilis initialis filialis
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Although twelfth-century authors elaborated divisions of the concept of fear in various ways,<sup>32</sup> Stephen’s position is quite original and distinctive. After the introduction in which Stephen defines the six different kinds of fear, he begins a discussion of the three kinds of fear which can be considered gifts of the Holy Ghost, i.e. *timor seruilis*, *initialis*, and *filialis*.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*: 124-125.

<sup>31</sup> Petrus Lombardus, *Sent.* III, d. 34, c. 4 (ii: 192-193).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Quinto 1995b: 46-52.

This way of dealing with the subject is typical of another work, namely the *Summa aurea* of William of Auxerre, written probably in the early 1220s. Textual comparison can quite easily prove that Langton's *Quaestiones* are one of the direct sources of Auxerre's work. Very strict dependence on William's *Summa* can be found, in turn, in the *Summa* of the first Dominican master at Paris, Roland of Cremona, written about 1232.<sup>33</sup>

As we have seen, Hugh of St.-Cher also wrote some *Quaestiones theologiae*, of which 38 are preserved, chiefly in ms. Douai 434, vols. I & II. Not one of these questions deals with fear. We must then turn to Hugh's *Sentences* commentary, where, in the commentary on distinction 34 of the third book, we find a long treatment of the problem of fear (and of some other gifts of the Holy Ghost). Here, we note a curious situation: we find again the "Langtonian" schema of the *Summa aurea*, and it can be proved that Hugh's commentary is effectively based on this work.<sup>34</sup> But, between the *declaratio terminorum* and the discussion of *timor seruilis*, *initialis* and *filiialis* in Hugh's text there is an item without precedent in either Langton or in the *Summa aurea*, namely the suggestion of an alternative division of fear into six kinds:<sup>35</sup>

timor	{	segnities
		uerecundia
		erubescencia
		admiratio
		stupor
		agonia

<sup>33</sup> Cf. lib. III, capp. CCC-CCCIX (ed. Cortesi 1962: 849-893). The dependence of Roland on Hugh, which was asserted by Landgraf (1973: 178), needs to be investigated further. On the relationship of literary dependence among Langton's *Quaestiones*, William's *Summa*, Hugh's *Commentary*, and the other works of early scholasticism quoted here, please see Appendix II at the end of this paper.

<sup>34</sup> I suspect a further source to be the *Summa Theologiae* of Prepositinus of Cremona († 1210). Cf. the text published in Quinto 1992: 108-112.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the text in Appendix I to this article. Cf. Hugo, *Postilla in ad Rom.* 8, 15 (vii: 47').

This division of fear will have great influence in the thirteenth century. It originates from the treatise *De fide orthodoxa* by John Damascene (II, 15, PG 94, 932).<sup>36</sup> It will give a lot of trouble to scholastic theologians<sup>37</sup> – not least to Thomas Aquinas<sup>38</sup> – in their attempts to harmonize it with the previous division of fear into six (or four) kinds. The solution given by Hugh is not particularly nuanced,<sup>39</sup> since he simply tries to reduce the second division to the first, by means of identifying:

<sup>36</sup> John Damascene, *De fide orth.* cap. 29 (ed. Kotter 1973: 81; versio Burgundionis, ed. Buytaert 1955: 121-122) *verbatim* from Nemesii Emesen. *De nat. hom.*, cap. 20 (PG 40, 688-689; ed. Morani 1987: 81 [cap. 21]; tr. lat. Burgundionis, ed. Verbeke-Moncho 1975: 103, lin. 32-43 [cap. 20]). Damascene and Nemesius were translated independently into Latin, each one at least twice (*De fide orth.*: Cerebanus, then Burgundio; *De nat. hom.*: Alfanus of Salerno, then Burgundio; Nemesius and Damascene are concurrently quoted by Albert the Great and Aquinas with attribution to “Gregorius Nyssenus”, which probably originated in a corrupted ms. Cf. Quinto 1995b: 50). In the *Summa aurea* edition, the passage from John Damascene is quoted as supporting the division of fear into *naturalis, humanus, mundanus, servilis, initialis, filialis*, but it clearly has nothing to do with it (cf. *Summa aurea*, III, 31, 1 [vol. 3-2: 602, *adp. fontium*]).

<sup>37</sup> E.g. Guiard of Laon, *Quaestio de timore* from ms. Douai 434, I, f. 14<sup>b</sup>, art. IV (ed. Quinto 1995b: 78-79; probably to be dated before 1228); Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in Sent.* III, 34, n° 19 (ed. 1954: 415-416) and n° 44 (431-432) (this gloss is to be dated 1225-1227); *Summa Halesiana*, pars III, inq. I, tract. II, quaest. II, tit. III, cap. I (§ 665, Alexander of Hales, *Summa*, iv: 1051-1053), which here copies *ad verbum* from John of La Rochelle, *De donis*, ms. Padova, Biblioteca Antoniana, 152 (Scaff. VIII), f. 133<sup>b</sup>; Albert the Great, *De bono*, tract. III, quaest. V, art. 2 (ed. Colon. 1951: 201-202; 206); an influence of the Damascene passage is probably to be seen also in Albert’s *Postilla super Isaiam* XI, 3 (ed. Colon. 1952: 173-175); Bonaventura, *In III Sent.* d. 34, p. II, dub. 3 (iii: 769-770).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *In III Sent.*, d. 26, q. 1, a. 3 co; *De ver.*, q. 26, a. 4, ag. 7 et ad 7<sup>um</sup>; *S. th. I<sup>a</sup>-II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 41, a. 4, with shorter references in *In III Sent.*, d. 34, q. 2 a. 1 b, ag. 6; *S. th. II<sup>a</sup>-II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 19, a. 2, ag. 1. In *De ver.* q. 26, a. 4, ag. 3, Thomas quotes the *De nat. hom.* attributing it to Gregorius Nyssenus, just as Albert had done in *De bono*, tract. III, quaest. V, art. 2 (ed. Colon. 1951: 201<sup>81-85</sup>; 206<sup>45-48</sup>). Cf. Quinto 1995b: 56-57.

<sup>39</sup> More congruous seems the solution of Hugh himself that we find in *Postilla in ad Rom.* 8, 15: “[...] dicunt quod Joan. Dam. loquitur de passionibus, et referuntur ad timorem naturalem” (vii: 47<sup>v</sup>). Cf. *Summa Hales.* III, § 665: “Timor accipitur [...] uno modo ut solum nominet passionem [...] Secundum autem quod [...] est sexmembris diuisio Damasceni” (iv: 1052). Note that the solution was already in the *De donis* of John of La Rochelle.



<i>segnities, erubescencia</i>	with	<i>naturalis uel humanus uel seruilis timor</i>
<i>agonia</i>	with	<i>mundanus timor</i>
<i>uerecundia, stupor, admiratio</i>	with	<i>filiatis timor</i>

What is interesting here is not the subtlety of Hugh's solution, but his theological sources: the use of John Damascene cannot come from Langton's *quaestio* (probably composed before 1200). Nor is Damascene's division of fear to be found in William's *Summa aurea* (early 1220s); nor in Philip the Chancellor's *Summa de bono* (1225-1228); nor in Roland of Cremona's *Summa*; nor in the works of William of Auvergne (as far as I know them). On the other hand, it can be found in Alexander of Hales' *Glossa in Sententias*, written probably (for the third book) in the late 1220s, as well as in several of the 572 *Quaestiones theologiae* of ms. Douai 434 composed around 1228. Further, it is to be found in the *Summa Halesiana* and in the *De donis* of John of La Rochelle, which surely is a source for the discussion of fear in the Franciscan *Summa*.<sup>40</sup>

Turning now to Hugh's discussion of fear as it is found in his commentary on *Epistles*, we note:

1. Hugh introduces his discussion of fear by commenting on the same verses with which Stephen introduced his own discussion.

2. Instead of copying Langton's discussion, Hugh borrows from his own *Commentary on the Sentences*.

3. In doing this, he also introduces the subdivision of fear which originates from John Damascene. In this way, Hugh creates a new model for the discussion of this problem, which will have great influence, at least until the time of Thomas Aquinas.

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From this example, we can determine something of Hugh's attitude towards his theological sources. While depending on his model for the framework of his treatment, Hugh tries to bring

<sup>40</sup> See above, notes 37 and 39. In *Quaestio* 209 from ms. Douai, B. M., 434 (Anonymi *De timore naturali*; ed. Quinto 1995b: 84-86) Damascene's definition of fear is quoted from *De fide orth.* cap. 67 (versio Burgundionis, ed. Buytaert 1955: 265-266).

into his commentary updated theological information. The *Quaestiones theologiae* of Stephen Langton still remain an important background source;<sup>41</sup> but as his principal source, Hugh makes use of more systematic reference works, such as William's *Summa aurea*, trying indeed to update it with more recent discussion, such as can be found in the *Quaestiones* literature.

We can conclude that by the late 1220s, the *Quaestiones theologiae* of Stephen Langton no longer represented the most effective tool for systematic theology. On the other hand, Stephen's commentaries on the *Bible*, and particularly those on the *Epistles*, still did. Thus, his commentaries were still consulted, while the *Quaestiones theologiae* were already overshadowed by more systematic – though less original – theological syntheses, such as William's *Summa aurea* and Prepositinus' *Summa theologiae*. We can further suggest that Stephen would have been satisfied with his own destiny: he shared the attitude of those theologians of the twelfth century, e.g. Peter the Chanter, who considered the *disputatio* as just a sort of training for biblical exegesis and preaching. Hugh of St.-Cher was a man of the new century, who probably could complete much of what Stephen had begun: thanks to the teamwork which was possible in Dominican houses, he could put his name to the verbal concordance of the Scriptures, the *Correctorium* of the Bible, and the continued exposition of the sacred text known as *Postilla*. This last work is firmly based on the best results of Langton's work, and so, because it had a wide manuscript circulation and eventually was printed, it has transmitted those results to the late- and the post-medieval periods, attesting to the continuity of the exegetical tradition. Moreover, we can see how the path of exegesis and that of systematic theology begin to part ways after this point in time, the latter being progressively more influenced by philosophy.

A point that is worth emphasizing here, is how Dominican teamwork can explain some of the characteristics of Hugh's works, particularly of the very long biblical *Postilla*. As Robert E. Lerner<sup>42</sup> (and Beryl Smalley<sup>43</sup> before him) have noted, we should very probably put Hugh's name in quotation marks in front of some of "his" *Pos-*

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41 This conclusion also applies to the case of prophecy as studied by Jean-Pierre Torrell, cf. Torrell 1977: 137-40 and 147.

42 Lerner 1985: 181-183.

43 Smalley 1983: xiii.

*tills*: what goes under “Hugh’s” name is the product of quite a large Dominican team, and the attitude of the “author” toward “his” sources can change radically from one part of the commentary to another. So, claims about Hugh’s dependence on Stephen for the content of his exegesis must be checked case by case, and we must be very careful, because – like the devil cast out by Jesus (Mk 5, 9) – our cardinal can say: “My name is Legion, for we are many...”.

## Appendix I

Hugonis de Sancto Caro *Commentum in Sententias Petri Lombardi*, l. III, dist. XXXIV<sup>44</sup>

Timor naturalis bonus. Hic fuit in christo: quilibet enim naturaliter timet mortem. Humanus malus, quo timetur afflictio corporis. Mundanus malus, quo timetur amissio rerum. Seruilis bonus, quia eo caritas introducitur. Inicialis bonus, quia cum imperfecta caritate habetur. Filialis bonus siue castus siue amabilis: hic permanet in eternum quoad usum reuerentiae.

*Et quia de timore etcetera.*<sup>45</sup> Ad euidenciam eorum que de timore dicenda sunt, notandum quod vi sunt species timoris, scilicet naturalis, humanus, mundanus, seruilis, inicialis, filialis, qui et sanctus et castus aliquando uocatur.<sup>46</sup>

Naturalis timor est quo quilibet timet naturaliter nocium nature. Iste timor nec est bonus nec est malus, nec actus eius meritorius uel demeritorius, quia non subest libero arbitrio, et dicitur ‘naturalis’ non a natura instituta set destituta: est enim pena pro peccato priorum parentum inflictata et in nobis originaliter contracta.<sup>47</sup> Hoc timore timuit christus naturaliter mori, sicut dicit

<sup>44</sup> *Textum codicis* Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. III 174 (2785), f. 159-161<sup>v</sup> in *tabulis luce depictis legi, quas Fr. Bertrandus G. Guyot OP de Collegio editorum operum S. Thomae Aquinatis (Cryptaeferratae prope Romam locato) mihi benigne transmisit.*

<sup>45</sup> Petr. Lomb., *Sent.* III, 34, 4 (vol. ii: 192).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Hugonis *Postillam in I Joh.* 4, 18 (vii: 354); *In Ps.* 18, 10 (ii: 42); *In Ps.* 127, 1 (ii: 329), ubi septem distinguuntur timores, quorum “septimus est timor reuerentiae”.

<sup>47</sup> naturaliter ... contracta: cf. Praepos., *Summa*, II, *de donis* (Quinto 1992: 112<sup>136-137</sup>).

Marcus xxiiii:<sup>48</sup> Cepit Iesus pauere et tedere. Et oritur timor iste ex naturali, quo quilibet naturaliter sibi utile amat.

Timor humanus, quando<que> sumitur communiter, id est 'timor hominis', et sic complectitur omnem timorem – sic non est species; quandoque stricte, prout scilicet sonat in uicium, et sic accipitur hic. Est autem timor humanus per quem quis nimis timet pelli sue, id est plus debito. Et est hic timor uicium, id est malus habitus mentis. Et eius actus peccatum est: eius peccatum quandoque est mortale, quandoque ueniale. Iste timor nascitur ex nimio amore presentis uite, qui amor similiter malus est, et quandoque mortalis quandoque uenialis. Mortalis quando eque uel plus deo diligit quis uitam presentem, id est prius peccaret mortaliter quam perderet uitam suam; uenialis est quando plus iusto diligit uitam suam <tamen citra> deum, id est quando prius faceret ueniale peccatum quam permetteret se occidi, set non mortale. Igitur ex amore mortali timor mortalis, ex ueniali uenialis oritur.

Timor mundanus est quo quis nimis timet rebus suis, et nascitur similiter ex nimio amore rerum temporalium penitus eodem modo quo dictum est de humano.

Timor initialis est quo quis timet gehennam et offensam dei siue separationem a deo, unde habet quasi duos oculos, unum ad penam, alterum ad deum, et hic est principalior.

Timor seruilis est quo quis propter gehennam timet [159<sup>rb</sup>] principaliter peccare, et propter hoc cauet a peccato.

Timor filialis est quo quis timet separationem a deo uel offensam dei principaliter.

Primus timor communis est omni homini et est a deo. II<sup>us</sup> et tertius non est a spiritu sancto. III<sup>us</sup> est a spiritu sancto set non cum spiritu sancto. V<sup>us</sup> (initialis) et vi<sup>us</sup> sunt a spiritu sancto et cum spiritu sancto.

Hic autem nomine 'spiritus' non tantum persona increata que est tertia in trinitate intelligitur, set etiam caritas intelligitur ex qua triplex timor, scilicet seruilis, in quantum cessare facit a peccato, initialis, filialis.

De primis tribus, cum non sint dona spiritus sancti, ad presens dimittimus, de aliis tribus aliquid dicturi.

48 Rectius Mc. 14, 33.

SET prius uidetur quod plures sint species timoris quam predictae vi. Dicit enim Damascenus<sup>49</sup> quod timor in sex diuiditur species, scilicet segnitiam, uerecundiam, erubescenciam, admirationem, stuporem, agoniam, et ponit descriptionem cuiuslibet: segnitias est timor future operationis; erubescencia timor est in expectatione conuitii, et dicit quod optima est hec passio; hec de futuro esse patet; uerecundia est timor in turpi actione, et de hac dicit: hec passio inseparabilis est ad salutem, quasi diceret, “sine uerecundia non potest esse salus”; admiratio est timor ex magna ymaginatione, stupor est timor ex inconsueta ymaginatione, agonia est timor per casum scilicet per<sup>50</sup> infortunium. Constat autem quod isti timores non sunt timores preassignati, nec sunt in illis uel econtrario. Ergo plures sunt timores quam vi.

Item Augustinus in enche<ridio>: “pudor est timor displicendi”, et constat quod hic timor nec in primis nec in secundis timoribus continetur, et ita uidetur quod viii genera timorum sint.

Item queritur quare erubescencia dicatur optima et uerecundia inseparabilis ad salutem potius quam alie.

Item spes et timor sunt quasi opposita, quia spes est de futuro bono, timor de futuro malo; set spes est unica uirtus in specie, ergo timor debet esse tantum unus.

Item Augustinus assignat tantum iii<sup>or</sup> genera timorum, ut patet in littera, Beda autem tantum tria,<sup>51</sup> et ita alter est superfluum, uel alter diminutus.<sup>52</sup>

SOLUTIO. Ad primum dicimus quod vi sunt genera timoris tantum, que primo assignata sunt, quod probatur hoc modo. Timor est fuga mali, sicut dicit Augustinus, sicut amor appetitus boni; et sicut triplex bonum est, scilicet bonum delectabile, expediens et honestum, ita triplex est malum, scilicet tristabile, dampnosum et indecens. Item malum tristabile duplex est, scilicet temporale et eternum. Item tristabile temporale duplex est, scilicet naturale, quod omnibus naturaliter tristabile est ut mors, et innaturale [159<sup>va</sup>], quod non omnibus inest set alicui. Igitur fuga mali trista-

49 *De fide orth.* cap. 29 (PG 94, 932; versio Burgundionis, ed. Buytaert 1955: 121-122). Cf. Hugonis *Postillam in ad Rom.* 8, 15 (vii: 47<sup>n</sup>).

50 per *coni.*: et *ms.* Cf. ed. Buytaert 1955: 122<sup>10</sup>.

51 Cf. Petr. Lomb., *Sent.* III, 34, 4, n. 2 (vol. ii: 193<sup>19-22</sup>).

52 Cf. Bonavent. *In III Sent.* d. 34, p. II, dub. 3: “Attende quod hic quatuor distinguuntur timores, cum supra Beda dixerit, duos esse: ex hoc enim uidetur, quod Magister sit superfluum, vel Beda diminutus” (iii: 769).

bilis temporalis naturalis timor <naturalis, fuga mali tristabilis temporalis innaturalis timor> humanus est; fuga uero mali tristabilis eterni timor seruilis, et sic respectu mali tristabilis sumitur triplex timor. Item malum dampnosum aut est eternum – et fuga huius mali proprie timor est in malis – aut temporale, et fuga eius est timor mundanus. Et ita respectu mali dampnosi sumitur duplex timor. Respectu uero mali indecentis<sup>53</sup> sumitur timor reuerentie, qui est timor filialis: bonus enim filius fugit malum quia indecens est [...].

Ad id autem quod obicitur de diuisione Damasceni, dicendum est quod ille diuisiones sese inuicem comprehendunt, quia circa idem sunt: segnities enim non timet operationem nisi quia putat tristabile; erubescencia similiter timet conuitium quia tristabile; uerecundia similiter timet turpem actionem quia indecens, agonia casum vel infortunium quia dampnosum, et ita segnities <et> erubescencia reducuntur ad naturalem uel humanum uel seruilem timorem, uerecundia ad filialem, agonia ad mundanum; stupor uero <et> admiratio similiter ad filialem in quantum timor filialis reuerentia est nichil aliud quam resilitio in propriam paruitatem considerata magnitudine <dei>, et inde est stupor et admiratio, propter considerate rei magnitudinem proprie, et sic patet solutio ad primum. [... *ad secundum, tertium, quartum omittuntur* ...].

Ad ultimum dicimus quod Beda sub timore seruili comprehendit initialem. Hec de timore in communi sufficiunt.

Post hec dicendum est de speciebus timoris, et primo de seruili, circa quem tria principaliter queruntur: primum est utrum sit donum spiritus sancti, secundum qualiter differat ab aliis, tertium est de usu eius [...].

[160<sup>va</sup>] Tertio queritur de timore initiali, circa quem tria principaliter queruntur: primo quare dicatur initialis, secundo de augmento eius, tertio utrum sit idem cum filiali.

[160<sup>vb</sup>] Quarto queritur de timore filiali, de quo tria principaliter queruntur: primum est de unitate eius; secundum de differentia eius ad initialem timorem; tertium si perfectus timet penas eternas.

[161<sup>va</sup>] *Sequitur de pietate.*

53 indecentis *coni.*: indeceptis *ms.*

## Appendix II

The goal of this appendix is to marshal some evidence in support of the claim that Hugh may have known Langton's theological positions through William of Auxerre's *Summa aurea*, while William when writing his *Summa* used Langton's *Quaestiones* directly. I will also show that it is likely that William's *Summa aurea* is the direct source for both Hugh of St.-Cher's *Commentary* and Roland of Cremona's *Summa*. Consider:

1) Langton's *Quaestiones* have the earliest date of composition (cf. Quinto 1994: 132-136);

2) Langton's *Quaestiones* are the fruit of actual disputation (cf. Quinto 1994: 145-156), while the other texts mentioned are the result of redactional work based on written sources composed by other authors, who are often referred to merely as *quidam* (cf. e. g. Cortesi 1962: 855, § 27 = *Summa aurea* iii, ii: 603<sup>66</sup>-604<sup>72</sup>);

3) When we limit our discussion to the treatment of *timor filialis*, the text of William's *Summa* is closer to that of ms. K (Chartres, B. M., 430, ff. 76<sup>ra</sup>-78<sup>va</sup>) than to that of any other ms. of Langton's *Quaestiones* (Langton, Q. 96, ed. Quinto 1992: 124-153). For this reason, we can assume that William had at hand one ms. belonging to family e, which is represented by the surviving mss. K and D (Douai, B. M., 434, vol. ii, ff. 41<sup>va</sup>-42<sup>va</sup>; cf. Quinto 1992: 85, note 22); these mss. clearly belong to one family because they are the only two in which q. 97 does not follow q. 96. William's use of an e-ms. could also explain why *Summa aurea*, III, tr. 31, cc. I-V (ed. Ribaillier 1980-1987: iii,ii: 601-617) bears similarity to the *Quaestiones*, while chs. VI-VII (*ibid.*: 617-631) does not.

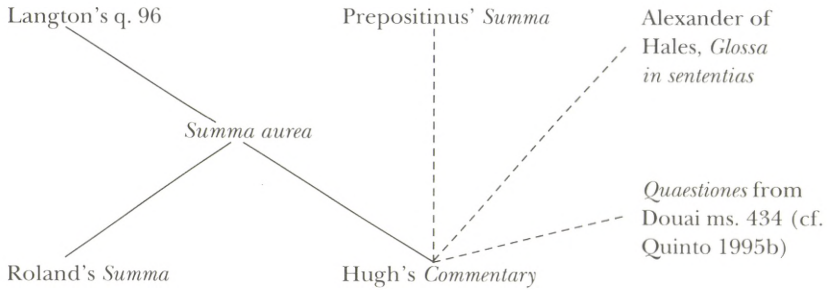
4) The text of Hugh presented above evidently depends on William's *Summa* and reproduces the "Langtonian" division of fear in six kinds;

5) The same can be said for Roland's *Summa* in which, in spite of having developed William's doctrine and sometimes having criticized his solutions, Roland depends on the *Summa aurea* for the organization of the whole treatise about fear (*Summa aurea* III, tr. 31 = Roland's *Summa*, chapters CCC-CCCIX);

6) The similarities between Roland and Hugh can be better explained, *for the parts here studied*, by assuming that both works depend on William's *Summa*, rather than by the hypothesis of a direct influence of Hugh on Roland (Landgraf 1973: 178; cf. Torrell 1977: 102-103, note 32. I do not exclude the possibility that a dif-

ferent situation obtains in other parts of their works). In fact, if Roland had relied on Hugh, we could not explain why he omitted a discussion of the six kinds of fear according to John Damascene, since he explored the problem of fear as passion at some length, devoting two extra paragraphs to *timor naturalis* (cf. Cortesi 1962: 851).

For these reasons, the literary relationship among the works which we are studying can be represented as follows:



### Appendix III

Numbers of the questions in Hugh of St.-Cher's *Quaestiones variae* according to the catalogue established in Glorieux 1938.

Vol. I:

1	26	Questio de specie, modo et ordine
2	27	De iuramento
3	28	De fide (continues in q. 129)
4	31	De contrariis donorum sancti spiritus
5	35	De frui et uti
6	36	De peccato in spiritum sanctum
7	118	De diuisione peccatorum
8	129	(continuation of q. 28)
9	234	(De scandalo)
10	261	De matrimonio
11	263	De anima (ed. Lottin 1932)
12	264	De prescientia dei
13	268	De sacramentis in communi
14	269	De baptismo
15	270	De dotibus corporis
16	271	De dotibus animae
17	285	Utrum anima ita sit in toto corpore quod in qualibet eius parte
18	290	Utrum pater et filius diligant se spiritu sancto



## Vol. II:

- 19 427 De fraterna correctione  
 20 428 De penitentia  
 21 429 Item de penitentia  
 22 430 De confessione  
 23 431 De restitutione  
 24 432 Item de restitutione  
 25 433 Item de restitutione  
 26 470 De superbia  
 27 471 De inani gloria  
 28 472 De invidia  
 29 473 De ira  
 30 474 De avaritia  
 31 475 De accidia  
 32 476 De beneficiis (Utrum liceat simpliciter recipere vel retinere plura beneficia)  
 33 477 De iudicio temerario  
 34 478 De gula et luxuria  
 35 479 De luxuria  
 36 480 De raptu Pauli  
 37 481 De prophetia (ed. Torrell 1977)  
 38 — De caractere, in ms. Praha, Univ. knihovna, IV. D. 13, f. 110<sup>v</sup>.

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