D

Damasus I (pope), c. 305-384

Pope Damasus I led a colourful life, even by fourth-century standards. He was born in around 305, probably in Rome, and became a deacon under Liberius of Rome. In 355, he was exiled together with Liberius for refusing to support Constantius II's condemnation of Athanasius; but he soon returned and worked with Felix, Liberius' replacement.

On Liberius' death in 366, Damasus was elected to replace him. Unfortunately a dissenting group elected a rival, Ursinus. Damasus responded by hiring a mob to attack Ursinus' church, but even after the three-day street battle left over a hundred people dead, the dispute was not solved and Damasus and Ursinus had to struggle for supremacy for some years.

Damasus was a vehement opponent of Arianism. In 369 he deposed Auxentius of Milan, a leading Homoian, although the deposition existed only on paper and Auxentius remained in place until his death five years later. Damasus opposed the "Pneumatomachi" or "Spirit-fighters" as well, like his contemporary Basil of Caesarea; but Damasus did not trust Basil, perhaps sharing most westerners' suspicion that all easterners were Arians in disguise.

Damasus was an enormously energetic bishop, responsible for the building and restoration of many sites and monuments in Rome. He defended the special primacy of Rome, and was the first to call it the "apostolic see", which he did frequently. He was also the first bishop of Rome to argue that Matthew 16:18 meant that Peter's successors had special authority, although this argument seems to go back at least to Cyprian. Moreover, Damasus was the first Roman bishop to call himself "pontifex maximus", the ancient title of the chief priest of Rome, which since Julius Caesar had been applied to the emperor. Indeed, in his carriage and his feasts, we are told, Damasus cut a figure as splendid as any emperor. Damasus made a special effort to Christianise Rome, and at the same time Latinise Christianity. Not only did he have the liturgies translated into Latin, but he also commissioned his secretary, Jerome, to translate the Bible into that language. The policy was very successful, and was continued after Damasus' death by his successors: it was the first of these, Siricius, who was the first to call himself by the title "pope".

It is also likely that Damasus published an official list of the books of scripture. This has come down under the name of Gelasius I in the "Gelasian Decree" of the sixth century.

Damasus wrote no dogmatic works, but the many poems and epitaphs that he wrote for the martyrs are theologically rich, revealing him as an unoriginal but staunch defender of the Nicene faith. When he died in 384, he was buried with his family, instead of in the papal crypt that he had built, because he did not want to offend the saints with his unworthy presence.

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David of Augsburg, c. 1200-1272

David of Augsburg was a popular spiritual author of the thirteenth century.

The details of David's life are rather sketchy. He was born at Augsburg and probably joined the Franciscans at Regensburg. He taught at the Franciscan school at Magdeburg before going back to Regensburg in the mid-1230s or early 1240s, where he was in charge of the novitiate. In 1250, however, he transferred again – this time to Augsburg, where he continued to oversee the novices while also preaching in the area. His disciple Berthold of Regensburg accompanied him on these missions; both of them were considered among the greatest preachers of the day. They focused, in particular, on preaching to the Waldenses. David remained at Augsburg until his death.

David wrote a considerable amount, although not all of it has been edited, and the authenticity of some of it is doubtful. He wrote several works in German, the first spiritual writer to do so, beating Mechthild of Magdeburg by just a few years. His most important work, however, is *De exterioribus et interioris hominis compositione* (or *De compositione*). Although actually three independent books and two letters, they were

copied together as a single work from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards, and proved enormously popular.

The *De compositione* is addressed to friars, and reflects David's long experience in charge of the novices. The first book covers the discipline of the mendicant life, both inside and outside the convent. Although David recommends the usual attitudes of humility and obedience, he also tells friars to be always pleasant company and never too serious – though neither should they ever behave in an unfitting way. He also advises his readers to avoid women at all times; if they have to deal with women, they should imagine their superior watching them.

The second, longer book is about the inward life. David uses Augustine's notion of the psychological parallels to the Trinity in an innovative way here. Human beings have the image of God in that they have understanding, memory, and will – three faculties in the one soul. But it is up to them to turn all three of these towards God. Only in this way can vice be eradicated and virtue learned. By subjecting the will to God, for example, it escapes the power of vice and becomes free to sin or not to sin – for David thinks that the best freedom is to be able to sin but to choose not to. He then lists the seven cardinal sins, as well as the virtues, with specific advice on how to avoid the former and inculcate the latter.

The third and longest book describes the progress of the spiritual life. Unusually, David recognises seven stages in this progression: fervour, austerity, consolation, temptation, self-control, holiness, and wisdom. First, the soul is excited at embarking on a spiritual journey and is extremely eager; this leads to the practice of austerity. God then rewards this with consolation – the development of the soul's understanding, memory, and will, so that they turn increasingly to him. However, around the corner lies temptation, which tests, instructs, and humbles the soul. David lists many kinds of temptations, together with the best ways to resist them; success in this will produce self-control, the next stage in the

spiritual progression, in which it is easier to resist any temptations whenever they appear. This leads to the state of holiness, in which the soul is truly virtuous. David defines virtue as the alignment of the will in accordance with a correct judgement about what is good and what is bad, and devotes much space to discussing the various virtues and how to acquire them. The book ends with a long discussion of the role of prayer in the spiritual life, together with the various kinds of prayer and how to pray effectively. Prayer can ultimately lead to inebriation and exaltation of the soul, although David has harsh words for those who, caught up by this as an almost physical experience, indulge in a lustful vision of Mary or Jesus.

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David of Dinant, fl. c. 1210

David of Dinant was at the forefront of the dissemination of Aristotelian ideas in Paris at the beginning of the thirteenth century. However, like his contemporary Amalric of Bène, he was accused of pantheism, and the reputation of Aristotle as the supposed source of this heresy suffered as a result.

Even less is known about David's life than that of most heterodox figures of the Middle Ages. He was born in Dinant in what is now Belgium, and trained as a physician in Greece before returning to western Europe in the early years of the thirteenth century. At some point he wrote a medical treatise, *De iuvamento anhelitus*. Upon his return to the west, he seems to have lived in Paris for a while, perhaps lecturing there, before moving to Rome. Here, he was close to the papal curia and to Pope Innocent III himself; he was apparently Innocent's chaplain for a while. He was certainly there in 1206, when Innocent mentioned him in a letter; he was presumably still there in 1210, when his works but not his person were condemned in Paris.

While in Greece, David acquired – in Greek – some of the writings of Aristotle that were beginning to cause a stir in the west, in Latin translation. He translated portions of them into Latin, adding comments and longer passages of his own, using Aristotle's ideas as the basis for more developed philosophical speculations. These texts, known as the *Quaternuli*, were circulated in Paris after he arrived there, and were widely read.

In the *Quaternuli*, David expands upon Aristotle's claim that the soul is the form of the body. He argues that the soul could not exist without the body, since all of its faculties depend upon the body in some way. For example, knowledge is impossible without sense impressions. In fact, the soul and the body can actually be identified. The soul is "made" of mind, just as the body is "made" of matter; there is only one mind, out of which all souls are made, just as there is only one matter, out of which all bodies are made. But mind and matter are both perfectly passive, and there is nothing to differentiate them from each other. They are therefore the same thing. David goes so far as to suggest that they are also identical with God; thus, the three basic kinds of "stuff" from which the world is constituted – mind, matter, and

God – are all one and the same. Each individual human being is therefore a sort of manifestation of God and the world.

In 1210, the synod of Paris convened to try to stamp out the interest in Aristotle which was pervading the university there, together with the heretical opinions which, in the opinion of the authorities, this interest was breeding. The synod condemned Amalric of Bène; it also condemned David's *Quaternuli* and anyone found in possession of a copy.

The date and circumstances of David's death are unknown, but his name was tied to that of Amalric of Bène for much of the thirteenth century as a representative of heretical pantheism.

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Didymus the Blind, 313-398

Didymus the Blind was one of the most prodigious biblical commentators of the fourth century. However, he later came to be regarded as heterodox because of his Origenist tendencies, and most of his output has been lost.

Didymus was born in around 313, and spent his whole life in Alexandria, where Athanasius made him head of the catechetical school. He became blind at the age of 4, but did not let that prevent him from becoming proficient in all branches of learning. Jerome (*De viris illustribus* 109) even claims that he mastered geometry. According to Sozomen (*Historia ecclesiastica* III 15), Didymus achieved his great learning not only through his exceptional memory but also by inventing engraved letters with which he could read by touch. His reputation as a great teacher meant that people flocked to hear him, and his disciples included Evagrius Ponticus, Jerome, and Rufinus. His admirers were fond of contrasting Didymus' physical blindness with his spiritual sight: Jerome called him "Didymus the Sighted", and according to Sozomen, Antony of Egypt told him not to be disheartened at being unable to see, which rats and mice can do, when he possessed the vision of angels.

Didymus was a disciple of Origen, following him closely in most matters. He was especially known for his biblical commentaries, which used allegorical exegesis, but he also seems to have agreed with Origen on matters of doctrine, including the pre-existence of souls and universal salvation. He wrote against the Arians, although he seems to have played little part in the controversy, and died peacefully in 398.

After the condemnation of Origenism at the second council of Constantinople in 553, Didymus fell under the same veil of suspicion, and most of his works were destroyed. The lucky discovery of a sheaf of seventh-century manuscripts near Cairo in 1941 means that several of his commentaries are known, but the only dogmatic writings to survive are *De Spiritu Sancto* (in Jerome's Latin translation) and *De Trinitate*. The latter was considered orthodox, despite its author's Origenism, and features the slogan "three *hypostaseis*, one *ousia*", later the bedrock of the Cappadocian doctrine of the Trinity, and a formula which Didymus may have invented.

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Dionysius of Alexandria, "the Great", d. 265
Dionysius was one of the leading personalities of the church in the middle of the third century. He should not be confused with the geographer Dionysius Periegetes, who also lived in Alexandria and may have been his contemporary.

Since Dionysius is said to have lived to old age, his birth was probably shortly before the turn of the third century. He was a pupil of Origen's at the catechetical school of Alexandria, and when Origen's pupil Heraclas became bishop he took over the school himself. At Heraclas' death in 247, Dionysius became bishop of Alexandria.

His reign was a troubled one: in 249 there were major anti-Christian riots in Alexandria, and the following year the Decian persecution erupted. Dionysius initially survived when the soldiers who sought to arrest him never thought of going to his house, where he was awaiting their arrival. When he was finally caught, he was rescued, against his will, by his supporters and taken to a secure location. Like Athanasius after him, he directed the church whilst in hiding for some years.

Like his master Origen, Dionysius was a formidable scholar. On one occasion he is said to have debated, single-handedly, with thirty heretics, and won them all over one by one. Most striking is his work on the book of Revelation. Like Origen, he did not believe that this book described literal events that were going to happen, but he supported this view in a different way. Origen had simply interpreted most of the imagery allegorically, as Tyconius would also later do. Dionysius argued instead that Revelation was not the work of the author of the Gospel and letters of John, and should therefore not be considered canonical. His argument was especially remarkable for his pioneering use of "modern" critical methods, such as a careful comparison of the vocabulary and style of Revelation with that of the Johannine writings.

He also played a major role in the controversies of the time, reflected in his prominence in books VI and VII of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*. He strongly supported Cornelius of Rome against

the schism of Novatian, and wrote to Stephen opposing his views on rebaptism. He became embroiled in controversy with Dionysius of Rome, who received reports that the bishop of Alexandria taught that the Son was created by the Father. The latter responded that in fact he believed in the unity of the Father and the Son, just as the ray of light is one with the sun; and he further defended not only Origen's doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son but also the use of the term *homoousios* to describe their relation. However, his Trinitarianism was still markedly subordinationist, and a century later the Arians cited it in support of their own theology. Athanasius' *De sententia Dionysii*, which seeks to reinterpret his illustrious predecessor in a Nicene fashion, is the primary source for his theology.

Dionysius probably died in 265, shortly after the synod which condemned Paul of Samosata, which his old age had prevented him from attending.

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Dominic de Guzman, c. 1174-1221

Dominic de Guzman was one of the greatest and most dedicated preachers of the Middle Ages. Although he wrote nothing, he made a huge mark on the history of theology by founding the Dominican order.

Dominic was born to a noble family in Caleruega, near Osma. He was educated first by his uncle, a priest at the nearby town of Gumiel de Izán, and then at the cathedral school of Palencia. Here he acquired a reputation not only for academic talent but for charity: during a famine, he sold all his possessions, even his books, to help feed the poor.

In around 1196 the bishop of Osma, Martin Basan, invited Dominic to join the cathedral chapter, which had just been reformed to follow the Rule of St Augustine. Dominic helped to carry out the reforms, aided by a close study of the *Collationes* of John Cassian. By 1201 he was sub-prior of the chapter.

In 1203, Dominic accompanied the new bishop, Diego Acebes, on a diplomatic mission to Denmark for the king of Castille. On the way they passed through southwest France, where Dominic saw how extensive Catharism had become. We are told that the owner of one inn where they stayed was a Cathar, and that Dominic stayed up all night debating with him until he had converted him to Catholicism. He made another journey in 1205, during which he encountered the Cumans, a Germanic pagan tribe. On the way back, he and Diego took a detour to Rome, to ask Innocent III for permission to preach to the Cathars and the Cumans. Permission was refused, and in 1206 the bishop and his assistant returned home, stopping off at first Citeaux and then Montpellier. Here they met the Cistercians who had been charged with preaching against the Cathars. Diego argued that the mission would proceed far more effectively if the missionaries gave up their worldly possessions and travelled through the region as poor, popular preachers, just like the Cathars themselves. The monks agreed, and the bishop and his companions began to preach throughout the region. Permission was sought from Innocent III to continue this work, and this time he agreed. The preachers had great success at Servian, the first town where they engaged in a formal disputation with the Cathar leaders, but less in Beziers and Carcassonne. At the end of 1206, they founded a convent at Prouille for young women who had converted from Catharism, and this became their headquarters. They had some success in winning converts from not just

Catharism but the Waldenses too, with Durandus of Osca, a companion of Valdes himself, one of their highest-profile converts.

Diego died at the end of 1207, and the mission faltered. Most of the Cistercians left the following year as a Crusade was announced against the Cathars and war engulfed the region. Dominic stayed on, however, and the mission gradually grew again under his leadership. It was now more informal, however, and the "Brothers" who joined were not under any official charge or obligation. In 1215, Dominic and his companions moved to Toulouse, which had recently been conquered by the Crusaders. Here, they founded a new house and a new order, which was approved by Fulk, the bishop of Toulouse. They wore the white habit and black cloak which Dominic had worn as an Augustinian at Osma, and they dedicated themselves to travelling on foot, preaching as they went. Dominic and Fulk then went to Rome, where the fourth Lateran council was being held, to ask Innocent III to approve their community. The pope told them to return home, draw up a *Rule*, and come back again. They returned to Toulouse, but revolution there against Catholic rule delayed Dominic, and by the time he came back to Rome the next year Innocent III had died and been replaced by Honorius III. However, Honorius recognised the new group, and the Order of Preachers, or Dominican Order, was officially created. Dominic was able to persuade the pope to recognise the Dominicans as an order specifically of *preachers* rather than simply a group of Augustinians who happened to preach. This meant that although, being Augustinians, they were not breaking the decree of the fourth Lateran council that no new religious orders were to be founded, that is in effect what they were.

Dominic quickly became convinced that the members of his order were called to preach not simply in southwest France but throughout Europe, wherever there was heresy or paganism. Returning to Toulouse in 1217, he set about splitting up the community and sending its members to other cities in Spain, France, and Italy. Dominic also believed that it was essential that they become experts in theology if they were to preach it to others. Several of the friars were therefore sent to Paris, to study and found a house there. However, they encountered opposition, not least because most poverty-stricken mendicant preachers at this time were Waldenses or members of other heterodox groups, and so the friars were often suspected of heresy. Dominic therefore returned to Rome, where Honorius III issued bulls ordering bishops to receive and help the friars in their work. Dominic spent much of his time in Rome after this point, working closely with the curia, and also engaged in charitable projects in the city, such as helping to reform the nunneries there. He was close to the pope and many members of the curia, especially Cardinal Ugolino, the future Pope Gregory IX. At around this time he met Francis of Assisi, who was visiting Rome to preach to the curia. Dominic also travelled through Italy, France, and Spain, visiting the new foundations.

In 1218, a house was established in Bologna. Reginald of Orleans, who had joined the order after hearing Dominic preaching in Rome, was put in charge. This house grew quickly and Dominic decided to make it the headquarters of the whole order. Here, a wealthy noblewoman named Diana d'Andalò joined the movement, founding the first Dominican convent for women. Here, too, in 1220, Dominic convened the first general chapter of the order. The order resolved to live exclusively off charitable donations, and to use all the resources it had in training and sending out preachers. We are told that, during this period, land was donated to the order; Dominic took the deeds to the land and tore them up. Dominic also continued his policy of splitting up the community as soon as it reached a certain size: this time he ordered many of the friars in Bologna to move to Lombardy and found new communities there to combat the Cathars. Dominic himself travelled and preached throughout this region in late 1220.

The following year, Dominic returned to

Bologna for the second general chapter of the order. By now there were twenty-five priories throughout Europe, and many more were about to be founded. The Cumans and the Bosnian Bogomils were particularly high priorities. Provinces were established throughout Europe, even where there were as yet no Dominican priories, in order to lay the organisational framework for future missions. This done, Dominic preached in Lombardy again, before returning to Bologna later that year, where, exhausted by his work, he died in August.

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Donatus of Carthage, d. c. 355

As the leader of the Donatist church, Donatus of Carthage was the most prominent and charismatic Christian leader in north Africa in the first half of the fourth century.

Donatus seems to have come from Casae Nigrae, in the Numidian plains, where he was active in the church before the outbreak of the schism with which he would be associated. This occurred in 311, when Mensurius, the bishop of Carthage, died. The local clergy elected a new bishop, Caecilius, but the bishops of Numidia objected. Not only was it traditional for the Numidian bishops to consecrate the bishop of Carthage, but one of the bishops who did consecrate Caecilius, Felix of Aptonga, had been a *traditor*. He had handed over copies of the scriptures to imperial agents during the recent Great Persecution of Diocletian. The Numidian bishops argued that this meant that he had no power as a bishop, and that the consecration of Caecilius was invalid. They accordingly elected their own candidate, Majorinus, in opposition to him.

Donatus was among the Numidian clerics who supported Majorinus and who appealed to the emperor Constantine to recognise him, and not Caecilius, as bishop of Carthage. Unfortunately for them, Constantine not only recognised Caecilius but gave financial support to his backers. Shortly after this, perhaps in 313, Majorinus died, and Donatus was elected as his successor. Almost immediately, Donatus and his supporters travelled to Rome, where Miltiades, the bishop, had been ordered to investigate the schism. The hearing found in favour of Caecilius, and Donatus was condemned. He and his supporters appealed to Constantine, and subsequent synods were held at Arles in 314 and Milan in 316, but these merely confirmed Miltiades' judgement.

However, Donatus refused to accept this. He had enormous support throughout Numidia, especially the southern region where he came from, which was rural and culturally Berber, unlike the much more Romanised Carthage. He also gained

great support in 317, when Constantine tired of trying to resolve the schism by diplomatic means and ordered the Donatist churches to be closed. Caecilius took control of troops in Carthage, with disastrous results: Donatists were massacred, and opinion swung even more firmly against Caecilius and towards Donatus.

Partly as a result of this, the Donatist church became enormously successful within a few years. This success was also partly due to Donatus' own activities, travelling throughout the whole province of Africa preaching and raising support for his cause. He seems to have been extremely successful, due in large part to his own charisma. His eloquence seems to have remained a by-word for decades after his death, since Augustine testifies to it, as well as to the enthusiastic reactions he received from the crowds. Even in Augustine's day, people in Africa would swear by Donatus' "white hairs" (Augustine, *Enarratio in Psalmos* 10 5), and he was popularly regarded as a miracle-worker. If the reports in hostile writers such as Augustine and Optatus are correct, then Donatus wielded autocratic power over his church, whose members were more insulted by criticism of Donatus than they were by blasphemy against Christ. He certainly took an active interest in the Donatist church throughout Africa, and wrote frequently to his bishops and clergy. All of this suggests that Donatus' style of churchmanship was similar to other autocratic African bishops, such as Cyprian of Carthage or Athanasius of Alexandria. Indeed, he was so dominant that we know virtually nothing of any non-Donatist bishops of Carthage between the 320s and the 340s.

However, little is known of the details of Donatus' work during this period, or how he governed the church at Carthage, except that he seems to have had a reputation as a reformer and opponent of heresy. He seems also to have regarded himself as a prophet, and there are hints that he performed solitary religious rituals. We also know that he called a major council in Carthage to consider the problem of whether to rebaptise people who converted from Caecilius'

church to Donatus' own. Donatus believed that they should be, since only the true church could perform baptisms, but many of his bishops felt that this discouraged conversions. Eventually the more moderate party won out, indicating that despite his reputation for arrogance, Donatus was able to compromise. However, we do not know when this council occurred.

In addition to his letters, Donatus wrote a number of works, which are all lost. They included writings unconnected to the schism, including one on the Holy Spirit or the Trinity. Perhaps more important were his treatises attacking the followers of Caecilius and defending his own church's hostility to the state. Donatus seems to have retained the traditional view of African Christianity, which was that the church was intrinsically at odds with the state. On this view, the conversion of Constantine changed nothing. The emperor's attempts to suppress the Donatists proved that the state was still hostile to the church, even though it might pretend to be Christian, and Caecilius' actions proved that Christians who allied themselves to the state had abandoned the true faith. Donatus was willing to accept that since most churches outside Africa recognised Caecilius, and not himself, as the bishop of Carthage, this meant that the true church was found almost exclusively in Africa.

Nevertheless, Donatus seems to have hoped for imperial recognition of his own status and of his church. In around 346, he asked the emperor Constans to recognise him as the bishop of Carthage. Evidently the Donatist church had become so well established that he thought the time was ripe to have the case against him re-assessed. Constans responded by sending two notaries, Paul and Macarius, to Carthage to distribute funds to all the churches, and also presumably to investigate the situation. However, they showed favouritism to Gratus, Caecilius' successor, from the outset. Many people in Carthage and the surrounding area seem to have felt that they were imperial agents, out to persecute the Donatists, and mobs formed to assault them. Macarius

ordered troops to attack them, and once again there were massacres, including one at Braga, where the Donatist bishop, also called Donatus, was killed in his own church together with his supporters. Macarius then outlawed the Donatist church and arrested some of its bishops, whom he had flogged in public. Donatus himself and the other leaders of the church were arrested and exiled, and the Donatist church largely collapsed throughout north Africa.

Donatus spent his exile probably in Gaul or Spain, where he died a few years later. In Africa, those who remained faithful to his cause regarded him as a martyr. In 362, after Julian became emperor and ordered all exiled bishops to return home, the Donatist church suddenly became restored to its previous strength as entire congregations reverted from Catholicism. The Donatists continued to revere Donatus, and the church remained extremely strong until the fifth century – although it is uncertain to what extent, if at all, it managed to displace the Catholic church throughout the region.

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Duns Scotus, John, c. 1266-1308

John Duns Scotus was the last great thinker of thirteenth-century scholastic theology. His extremely penetrating but difficult approach earned him the title of "Subtle Doctor", and the tradition of Scotism that he founded would, in the centuries to come, act as an important antagonist to Thomism.

Life:

Given his subsequent importance in both philosophy and theology, surprisingly little is known about Scotus' life. Unlike his namesake, John Scotus Eriugena, Scotus was almost certainly Scottish, being born in Duns. He was educated in Oxford, where he lived with the Franciscans. At some point he became a Franciscan himself and was ordained in 1291. He began writing at Oxford: during this period he produced the "parva logicalia" or "little works on logic", that is, several sets of *quaestiones* on logic. He also wrote *quaestiones* on Aristotle's *De anima* and *Metaphysics*, probably during this period. Scotus' notes on his Oxford lectures on the first three books of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* also survive.

In perhaps 1301, Scotus left Oxford for Paris, where he continued to lecture on the *Sententiae*. He would have been too late to hear the lectures of Richard of Middleton, although Richard seems to have been an important influence on his work. In 1303 he probably took part in the disputation between Gonsalvus of Spain and Meister Eckhart. Later that year, however, academics and friars at the university were all asked, individually, to support King Philip the Fair's campaign against Pope Boniface VIII; about half of the Franciscans did, but Scotus was among those who did not. The dissident friars were expelled from France. It is not known where Scotus went, but he probably returned to Oxford. The following year, following the death of Boniface VIII and the end of hostilities, he was allowed back to Paris, where he resumed his teaching.

While at Paris, Scotus wrote most of his important works, including the *Collationes*, the texts of lectures or conferences held on a series of theological topics, *Quodlibetal quaestiones*, and *De primo principio*, on natural theology. However, his most significant work was the *Ordinatio*, a revision of his Oxford lectures on the *Sententiae*. He apparently began this work in Oxford, wrote most of it at Paris, and then left it unfinished when he moved to Cologne. The *Ordinatio* thus overlaps in content with some of his other writings. Writings of less certain authenticity include part of the *Theoremata*, and a series of *reportationes*, that is, students' notes on his lectures.

In 1305, Scotus became a master of theology. But within a year or two, he moved to Cologne to teach there – possibly at the request of his order, which sometimes transferred its theologians away from Paris to teach the other friars. He died there not long after.

Thought:
Scotus' thought can be seen in two main ways – as a running commentary on the views of his predecessors, especially Thomas Aquinas and Henry of Ghent, both of whom he criticises on many points; or as a coherent and positive system by itself. "Scotism", as it developed after Scotus' death, often seems to have been more like the first – a collection of rather disparate doctrines, in each case disagreeing with Thomism. Scotus himself, however, is perhaps better viewed in the second way, though always taking into account his place in the debates of his time.

Individuation and universals: Scotus' strictly philosophical views are among the most significant elements of his thought. One of his most important theories is that of the "formal distinction". Two objects can be "formally distinct" even when they are not "really distinct"; to be really distinct is to two different things. For example, a substance and its qualities are really distinct. But formal distinction is also not the same as being exactly the same thing known under different names, like the morning and evening star. It occurs where the two objects cannot exist independently of each other but can still be genuinely distinguished.

Scotus uses the concept of "formal distinction" in his theory of individuation, which is related to his account of universals. He argues that a universal is simply a nature which is instantiated a number of times. A "nature" is, in itself, neither universal nor particular; it is simply a description. If there are several objects answering to that description, it is a universal. Universals therefore cannot exist apart from particulars, but natures (considered as neither universal nor particular) are logically prior to particulars. What, then, causes a nature to be instantiated? In particular, what makes something *this* thing of that nature and not a different thing? Scotus rejects Roger Marston's claim that individuation is part of a thing's nature, for then the same nature could not be shared by different things; he also rejects Henry of Ghent's contention that individuation requires no explanation. Most importantly, he rejects Aquinas' argument that different objects of the same kind are distinguished by their matter, because it simply raises the question – what distinguishes the different bits of matter? Scotus concludes that there is a positive quality of objects that makes them different from other objects – something distinct from both form and matter, which he sometimes calls "haecceity" or "thisness". An substance's haecceity is really identical with its nature (since neither can exist without the other) but formally distinct from it. It is also intrinsically unknowable, because knowledge is of universals; but God understands haecceities – at least actual ones, and perhaps possible ones too.

Scotus also rejects the unicity thesis, associated with Aquinas but rejected by a number of other philosophers, especially Robert Kilwardby and John Pecham, according to which each substance has only one form. For Scotus, a human being has at least two forms – one which explains its physical structure and one which explains its

functions as a living thing. This allows him to conclude that the body of Christ after death is identical to the body of Christ in life, something that Aquinas' theory seems to preclude.

Possibility and the existence of God: Scotus is one of the pioneers of modal logic, that is, the logic of necessity and possibility. He seems to have developed his theory throughout his career, and never produced a really explicit account of it. However, his basic insight is that a claim can be true and possibly false (in a certain sense of "possibly") at one and the same time. That is, something that is true now might not have been true at all. This is sometimes called a synchronic notion of possibility, to distinguish it from the simpler diachronic version, according to which possibility always refers to the future: something is true now, but it might stop being true at some later time. Synchronic possibility considers not how things might later turn out, but how they might have been in the first place; it thus allows a distinction between events or things that are contingent in themselves and those that are necessary or impossible. If something is now the case but could potentially not have been the case at all, then it is contingent, whereas if it could not have failed to be the case, then it is necessary. To put it another way, Scotus removes from the notion of possibility the notion of change. On the diachronic view, for things to be different from how they are, they have to change. On the synchronic view, for things to be different from how they are, they need only have been that way to start with.

Normally, Scotus thinks in terms of what God could bring about: a possible situation is one which God could cause. More generally, to say that something could exist is to say that something else could bring it into existence (perhaps atemporally – that is, something else could make it the case that it has always existed). This is reflected in Scotus' version of the ontological argument for God's existence. He rejects the famous version by Anselm of Canterbury, at least in the form in which Anselm presented it: he argues that God's existence cannot be known intuitively. He does, however, think that God's nature makes it impossible for him not to exist, but he focuses on the quality of being uncaused. If God did not exist in reality, then he both *could* exist (because his concept involves no contradiction) and *couldn't* exist (because nothing could cause him to exist, since he is by nature uncaused). That is absurd, so in fact God must exist. The argument seems to trade on the ambiguity of "could": in modern modal terms, the hypothetically non-existent God "could" exist in a different sense from the way in which he "could not" exist. But for Scotus, they are largely indistinguishable: to say that God could exist is to say that something could bring him into existence.

In some places, by contrast, Scotus seems to go beyond this and consider what he calls "logical possibility". It is not certain that he means by this what modern philosophers do, namely the notion of being intrinsically possible irrespective of cause: on this view, to say that a state of affairs is logically possible is to say that it could have existed, or that there is no inherent contradiction in its concept. Scotus' notion of possibility described above implies that internal consistency is necessary for possibility, but this more modern sense implies that it is sufficient. Whether Scotus does actually cross over to this sense in some passages is a matter of some controversy.

God and the Trinity: For Scotus, the most fundamental attribute of God is his infinity. He conceives this in a positive way, not simply as the absence of limits – for if something lacks limits, there must be some positive feature about it that explains why it has no limits. Scotus agrees with Aquinas that God is simple, but he does not agree that this simplicity is his most fundamental attribute, because it can be derived from his infinity, but his infinity cannot be derived from his simplicity. According to Scotus, if something infinite has parts, its parts must also be infinite, because otherwise there could be something

larger (ie, a thing with the same number of parts, but infinite). But an infinite part is impossible, because nothing can be greater than something infinite, and therefore an infinite thing must be simple.

Moreover, although Scotus agrees with Aquinas that the divine simplicity means not having parts, he disagrees with the claim that God's essence is identical to his existence, and that the divine attributes are all identical to each other and to God. Scotus rejects the existence/essence distinction for everything, so God is no different from other things on that score. As for the divine attributes, Scotus argues that they are all formally distinct, though really identical.

Aquinas believed that although some truths, such as God's existence, can be proven, others, such as God's Trinitarian nature, cannot be proven, and can be known only through revelation. Scotus denies this, insisting instead that the Trinity can be proven as certainly as many things in metaphysics. He rejects the arguments for the Trinity given by Richard of St Victor and Bonaventure, according to which a divine person, being intrinsically loving and self-giving, must extend its nature to further divine persons; in Scotus' eyes, this assumes that such a communication of natures is possible, but that cannot be shown.

Scotus' argument instead revolves around the notion of divine productions. He argues that to be a producer is not an imperfection, and that to possess any quality perfectly is to possess it necessarily. God is a producer, since he produces the world; however, since he has all qualities perfectly, he must therefore be a producer by necessity. But in that case he must produce something internally, as well as produce the world externally, since the world's existence is contingent and therefore is not enough to explain the fact that God is *necessarily* a producer. There are two kinds of production – by nature and by will – and Scotus argues that precisely these two occur in God. However, what is produced within God cannot have any essence other than the divine, since there is no distinction of essence

within God. Therefore, the two productions within God produce two divine persons.

Religious language: Aquinas distinguished between three ways in which language works: univocally, equivocally, and by analogy; and he argued that words that are used of both God and creatures operate in the third of these ways. Henry of Ghent adopted a similar theory, as applied to concepts rather than to words. Scotus, however, denies that analogy is a distinct category at all. He argues that, where words or terms are used in an analogous way, the meaning actually boils down to univocity. For example, to call Richard I "lion-hearted" is clearly not to use language univocally, since Richard did not literally have a lion's heart. However, the term disguises, as it were, a concept which is indeed used univocally, namely courage. Both Richard and lions are courageous, and in virtue of this, "lion-hearted" can be applied to Richard in an analogous way. But the analogy works only if "courage" can be applied to both of them univocally. In other words, analogy depends upon hidden univocity, without which it would simply be equivocation.

Scotus concludes that, although terms and concepts can be used analogously of God and creatures, when analysed, they must involve univocity. If we say that God is good, "good" must mean exactly the same thing as it does when we call creatures good – either that, or both concepts are complex, and contain elements in common that are identical. In fact, Scotus thinks that most terms, when applied to creatures, have overtones of limitation, but when applied to God, have overtones of infinity. For example, our wisdom is limited, but God's is infinite. The concepts are therefore not used univocally – but this is because they are complex. If limitation is removed from the one and infinity from the other, they will both be identical.

Free will and sin: Scotus is one of the most important defenders of the concept of contra-causal freedom. He argues that the will is a "free power", contrasted with a "natural power" such

as the intellect. Natural powers are determined – for example, the intellect can draw only the conclusions that it does draw, given the circumstances. But free powers are not. The will retains the power to choose both what it actually does choose and what it does not, right up to the moment when it makes its choice, and there is nothing else that determines which one it does choose. To put it another way, although there are certain necessary conditions for any act of the will, there are never any sufficient ones; the will always retains the power not to choose at all. Like Matthew of Aquasparta, then, Scotus rejects Aquinas' view that the seat of indeterminacy lies in the reason, and that the will always follows the directions of reason.

This strongly libertarian understanding of the will is linked to Scotus' correspondingly weak sense of sin, especially original sin. For Scotus, sin is not an intrinsic state of the soul – it is an extrinsic state, its relation to God. That is, to be in a state of sin is to be condemned by God for what you have done. Sin does not exist as a sort of infection or corruption in the soul. Similarly, Scotus rejects a strongly Augustinian, quasi-physical notion of original sin (like that of Henry of Ghent) as a hereditary contagion. Rather, original sin is simply the lack of "original justice", a state of tranquillity that God graciously bestowed on Adam. This basically forensic approach to sin means that Scotus also has a basically forensic approach to salvation, which he conceives in terms mainly drawn from Anselm of Canterbury (although he rejects Anselm's claim that the incarnation was necessary).

Mariology: One of the most influential elements of Scotus' thought at the popular level is his understanding of Mary, especially her immaculate conception. In response to Aquinas' objection that, if Mary were sinless, she would not have needed to be saved, Scotus argues that Mary's sinlessness (achieved through her immaculate conception) was itself made possible only by the retroactive application of the benefits of Christ's death.

Scotus' defence of the doctrine of Mary's sinlessness, and especially the immaculate conception, earned him the title "Marian Doctor" to go alongside the more common "Subtle Doctor".

Influence:
Scotus seems to have ardent followers both within his lifetime and immediately afterwards. The authenticity of some of his works is hard to determine, given that his followers quickly tried to edit and in some cases complete them within a few years of his death. However, although Scotism persisted for as long as Thomism, it was never as large a school within Catholic thought – indeed, the word "dunce", meaning idiot, came from the name Duns Scotus, since the Scotists were thought stupid in some quarters for their rejection of Thomism. No doubt his early death and failure to produce a masterwork to match Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*, as well as the very difficult nature of his writing, contributed to this. Even more than Aquinas, he was very much a philosopher even when engaged in theology; but this approach would also be reflected in the ever more technical nature of subsequent scholastic thought, from Ockham to Suárez.

Philosophically, Scotus' theories of individuation and universals were extremely influential, being invariably discussed even by philosophers who disagreed with them. His moderate nominalism and especially his nascent modal logic were very influential on Leibniz, who developed much more elaborate versions of both in the seventeenth century. Theologically, Scotus was perhaps even more influential, especially in his legalistic understanding of salvation, and his emphasis on Mary and the immaculate conception.

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Dunstan of Canterbury, 909-988

Dunstan of Canterbury was a major figure in the rebuilding and reformation of the monasteries in the period after the conflicts between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes. His stature in life is reflected in the number of early *Lives* of him – two within a few years of his death, others by William of Malmesbury and Eadmer of Canterbury, and even an Icelandic saga.

Dunstan was born in Baltonsborough in Somerset, to a noble family related to the ruling house of Wessex. He was educated at Glastonbury, at this time already a place of pilgrimage, whose library attracted scholars from Ireland and elsewhere. He immersed himself in religious works – especially those of Bede – and also became an accomplished painter, harpist, and metal-worker. Dunstan is traditionally honoured as the inventor of the Aeolian harp, but in fact it seems not to have existed before the seventeenth century.

In 923, Dunstan's uncle Athelm became archbishop of Canterbury, and the family moved up in the world. Two years later, Athelm crowned their relation Athelstan king of Wessex. Athelstan was an enormously successful king, who consolidated the successes of his grandfather, Alfred the Great, to become the first real king

of England, and waged brilliant campaigns against rebels in York, Northumbria, the Danes, and more or less anyone else who threatened his hegemony over England. The rather other-worldly Dunstan seems not to have fitted in well at the court, where the other young men bullied him. After Athelm died in 925, Dunstan's star waned and he returned to Glastonbury.

Another relative, Alphege, became bishop of Winchester in around 933 and set about trying to persuade Dunstan to become a monk. Dunstan resisted fiercely (citing the charms of his girlfriend), but after a serious illness he changed his mind and became a monk in 936. Although he often visited Winchester, he still spent most of his time at Glastonbury. Here he was encouraged by Aethelfleda, a widow living as a hermit near the church.

In 939 Dunstan returned to the court, now under Athelstan's brother, King Edmund, who unexpectedly made him abbot of Glastonbury soon after. As abbot, Dunstan rebuilt the monastery and extended the already renowned library, all the while striving to follow the Rule of Benedict as closely as possible. Of particular interest from this period of reform is the peculiar manuscript known as *Saint Dunstan's classbook*, a compilation of learned treatises (including Ovid, and written partly in Welsh). The book dates from the time of Dunstan and is apparently written in his own hand. This book, together with other manuscripts and compilations from Glastonbury at the time, testifies to Dunstan's scholarship and his determination to improve standards of learning. He was equally keen to improve artistic and calligraphic standards as well. The *Classbook* features line drawings, including a self-portrait of Dunstan kneeling at the foot of Christ; and the scriptorium was one of the first in England to use continental Carolingian minuscule.

In 955 Dunstan fell out with another king, this time Edwy, after an incident at his inaugural banquet. Dunstan was exiled to Ghent. Edwy alienated many of his subjects, and in 957 those in Northumbria and Mercia swore allegiance to his brother Edgar instead. Edgar recalled Dunstan, compensated him for his unjust exile, and appointed him bishop – apparently without a see. In 959, Edwy died and Edgar became undisputed sole king of England. He dismissed the recently appointed archbishop of Canterbury, Byrhthelm, and replaced him with Dunstan. The two worked closely together for many years. Dunstan acted as Edgar's adviser and confirmed most of his royal decrees. Edgar was an important law-giver in English history, and his laws formed much of the basis of the legislation of subsequent Anglo-Saxon kings. It was also Dunstan who compiled the form of Edgar's coronation, which has been followed for the coronation of English monarchs ever since.

Like Dunstan, Edgar was keen to reform and revitalise the monasteries of England, which had still not recovered from the devastation of the wars with the Danes. The two were helped in their endeavours by a number of allies whom Dunstan nurtured within the church. One was Ethelwold, who had been a friend at Glastonbury and whom he made bishop of Winchester in 963, and who was a zealous monastic reformer. Another was Oswald of Worcester, later archbishop of York. These and others, under Dunstan's guidance, revitalised many monasteries that had lain empty for years, and founded many more.

In around 970, a council was held at Winchester to regulate all of these newly thriving monasteries. Monks from Fleury, Ghent, and Corbie all attended to offer advice from the continental monastic reform movement. The council produced the *Regularis concordia*, a rule for life in all the Benedictine monasteries in England

Dunstan was archbishop of Canterbury for 28 years, one of the longest periods of tenure of any archbishop of Canterbury. As such he was a pivotal figure in the rebuilding of England in the tenth century in his scholarship, his close relationship with the king, and his zeal for monastic reform. He was regarded as a saint very soon after his death in 988.

Some have believed Dunstan to have been an

alchemist, perhaps partly because of the mystical associations of Glastonbury. John Dee said he had discovered alchemical vials at Glastonbury that had belonged to St Dunstan, and in his day a treatise on the philosopher's stone was circulated under the saint's name.

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Durandus of Troarn, c. 1012-1089

Durandus of Troarn participated in the eleventh-century debate over the Eucharist revolving around Berengar of Tours' views.

He was born near Evreux, and as a child was presented to the monastery of Mont-Sainte-Cathérine and of Saint-Vandrille.

Durandus' most important contribution to his day was *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini*, written to oppose the doctrines of Berengar of Tours. The realist understanding of the Eucharist that it defends is essentially drawn from the ninth-century theologian Paschasius Radbertus. Like Radbertus, Durandus insists that, after consecration, the elements literally become the body and blood of Christ, numerically identical to the body and blood of the historical Jesus. Much of his argument revolves around the interpretation of texts from the Bible and the fathers, many of which Durandus is the first to use in this context. Augustine is a particular authority, and, like Guitmund of Aversa, Durandus is at some pains to interpret Augustine in an anti-Berengar way. Where this is impossible, he is willing to regard Augustine as simply wrong.

Durandus also wrote a poem, some of it lost, opposing Berengar's views.

Shortly after Durandus began writing against Berengar, William of Normandy, made him abbot of his new monastery at Troarn, where he remained until his death.

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