

# THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY

The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Philosophy takes its readers into one of the most exciting periods in the history of philosophy. It spans a millennium of thought extending from Augustine to Thomas Aguinas and beyond. It includes not only the thinkers of the Latin West but also the profound contributions of Islamic and Jewish thinkers such as Avicenna and Maimonides. Leading specialists examine what it was like to do philosophy in the cultures and institutions of the Middle Ages and engage all the areas in which medieval philosophy flourished, including language and logic, the study of God and being, natural philosophy, human nature, morality, and politics. The text is supplemented with chronological charts, biographies of the major thinkers, and a guide to the transmission and translation of medieval texts. The volume will be invaluable for all who are interested in the philosophical thought of this period.



OTHER VOLUMES IN THE SERIES OF CAMBRIDGE COMPANIONS

AQUINAS Edited by Norman Kretzmann and Eleonore Stump

HANNAH ARENDT Edited by Dana VILLA

ARISTOTLE Edited by Jonathan Barnes

AUGUSTINE Edited by Eleonore stump and Norman Kretzmann

BACON Edited by Markku Peltonen

SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR Edited by Claudia Card

DARWIN Edited by Jonathan Hodge and Gregory Radick

DESCARTES Edited by John Cottingham

DUNS SCOTUS Edited by Thomas WILLIAMS

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY Edited by A. A. LONG

FEMINISM IN PHILOSOPHY Edited by MIRANDA FRICKER and JENNIFER HORNSBY

FOUCAULT Edited by GARY GUTTING

FREUD Edited by JEROME NEU

GADAMER Edited by Robert J. Dostal

GALILEO Edited by Peter Machamer

GERMAN IDEALISM Edited by KARL AMERIKS

HABERMAS Edited by STEPHEN K. WHITE

HEGEL Edited by Frederick Beiser

HEIDEGGER Edited by Charles Guignon

HOBBES Edited by Tom Sorell

HUME Edited by DAVID FATE NORTON

HUSSERL Edited by barry smith and david

WOODRUFF SMITH

WILLIAM JAMES Edited by RUTH ANNA PUTNAM

KANT Edited by Paul Guyer

KIERKEGAARD Edited by Alastair Hannay and Gordon Marino

LEIBNIZ Edited by Nicholas Jolley

LEVINAS Edited by simon critchley and

ROBERT BERNASCONI

LOCKE Edited by Vere Chappell

MALEBRANCHE Edited by STEVEN NADLER

MARX Edited by Terrell Carver

MILL Edited by John Skorupski



> NEWTON Edited by I. BERNARD COHEN and GEORGE E. SMITH NIETZSCHE Edited by BERND MAGNUS and KATHLEEN HIGGINS OCKHAM Edited by PAUL VINCENT SPADE PASCAL Edited by Nicholas Hammond PLATO Edited by RICHARD KRAUT PLOTINUS Edited by LLOYD P. GERSON ROUSSEAU Edited by PATRICK RILEY SARTRE Edited by CHRISTINA HOWELLS SCHOPENHAUER Edited by Christopher Janaway THE SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT Edited by ALEXANDER BROADIE SPINOZA Edited by DON GARRETT WITTGENSTEIN Edited by HANS SLUGA and DAVID STERN



The Cambridge Companion to

# MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY

Edited by

A. S. McGrade





PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge, CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011–4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

© Cambridge University Press 2003

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2003

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeface Trump Medieval 10/13 pt. System LATEX 2 [TB]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 0 521 80603 8 hardback ISBN 0 521 00063 7 paperback

The publisher has used its best endeavors to ensure that the URLs for external websites referred to in this book are correct and active at the time of going to press. However, the publisher has no responsibility for the websites and can make no guarantee that a site will remain live or that the content is or will remain appropriate.



# CONTENTS

	Notes on contributors	page xi
	Preface	XV
	Abbreviations and forms of reference	xvii
	Introduction A. S. McGRADE	I
	Entry points	2
	Otherness	3
	What is medieval philosophy?	4
	Going further	7
	A final image: medieval philosophy	
	and freedom	8
Ι	Medieval philosophy in context	10
	STEVEN P. MARRONE	
	Emergence of medieval philosophy in the late	
	Roman Empire	II
	Monastic discipline and scholarship	16
	Islam	19
	The rise of the West and the reemergence of	
	philosophy	21
	Rationalization in society: politics, religion,	
	and educational institutions	28
	Aristotle and thirteenth-century	
	scholasticism	32
	The contested fourteenth century	36
	The place of authority in medieval	
	thought	40
	Philosophical sources	43
	Genres	43
	vii	

© Cambridge University Press



viii

Contents

Cambridge University Press 0521806038 - The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Philosophy Edited by A. S. McGrade Frontmatter More information

51
51
60
73
, 3
73
7.3
77
, ,
81
85
90
92
93
97
7 /
100
108
113
121
122
126

6	Metaphysics: God and being	147
	STEPHEN P. MENN	• ,
	Physical and metaphysical proofs of God	14
	Avicenna's argument and some	
	challenges to it	150
	Essence and existence	Т5.

The limits of reason – Moses Maimonides

A purer Aristotelianism – Gersonides

Jewish-Christian interactions

Only one necessary being?

128

137

141

157



	Contents	ix
	Challenges to essence–existence	
	composition	158
	Challenges about God and esse	160
	Univocity, equivocity, analogy	162
7	Creation and nature EDITH DUDLEY SYLLA	171
	Creation Nature as epiphany: natural philosophy through	173
	the twelfth century	174
	Astronomy and astrology	177
	Scholastic natural philosophy	179
	Interactions of natural philosophy and	
	theology	187
8	Natures: the problem of universals GYULA KLIMA	196
	Exemplarist realism: universals as divine	
	reasons	196
	Common natures, singular existents, active	
	minds	201
	Common terms, singular natures	204
9	Human nature	208
	ROBERT PASNAU	
	Mind and body and soul	208
	Cognition	213
	Will, passion, and action	22 I
	Freedom and immortality	224
10	The moral life BONNIE KENT	231
	Augustine and classical ethics	232
	Happiness and morality	235
	Evil, badness, vice, and sin	243
	Virtues, theological and other	246
ΙΙ	Ultimate goods: happiness, friendship, and bliss JAMES MCEVOY	254
	Augustine and the universal desire for	
	happiness	255



# x Contents

	Boethius: philosophy has its consolations	259
	Thomas Aquinas	261
	Happiness in the intellectual life	266
	Theories of friendship	271
	Happiness and peace at the end of history:	
	Joachim of Fiore	273
12	Political philosophy	276
	ANNABEL S. BRETT	
	The one true city	278
	Reason, nature, and the human good	280
	Election and consent	285
	Hierarchy and grace	288
	History, autonomy, and rights	290
	Conclusion	295
13	Medieval philosophy in later thought	300
	P. J. FITZPATRICK AND JOHN HALDANE	
	The Renaissance and seventeenth century	300
	Current engagements	316
14	Transmission and translation	328
	THOMAS WILLIAMS	
	Channels of transmission	329
	Three case studies	334
	Translating medieval philosophy	338
	Pairs and snares	341
	A word of encouragement	343
	Chronology of philosophers and major events	347
	Biographies of major medieval philosophers	350
	Bibliography	360
	Index	398



### NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

E. J. ASHWORTH is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Waterloo, Canada. She is the author of *Language and Logic in the Post-Medieval Period* and of numerous articles on medieval and early modern language and logic. She has edited the *Tractatus de obligationibus* of Paul of Venice's *Logica magna*. She was editor of the Renaissance section of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* and continues as editor of the on-line version.

ANNABEL S. BRETT is Lecturer in History at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Her work in medieval and early modern political thought includes *Liberty, Right and Nature: Individual Rights in Later Scholastic Thought* and an edition of Ockham's *On the Power of Emperors and Princes*. She is now preparing a translation of Marsilius of Padua's *Defender of Peace*.

IDIT DOBBS-WEINSTEIN is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Vanderbilt University. She is the author of *Maimonides and St. Thomas on the Limits of Reason* and an audio book, *Moses Maimonides and Medieval Jewish Philosophy*, as well as many articles on medieval Jewish philosophy, with a special interest in its relations to medieval Islamic and Christian thought and to the philosophy of Spinoza.

THÉRÈSE-ANNE DRUART is Professor of Philosophy and Director of the Center for Medieval and Byzantine Studies at the Catholic University of America. Her recent publications include "The Human Soul's Individuation and its Survival After the Body's Death: Avicenna on the Causal Relation Between Body and Soul." She is

хi



#### xii Notes on contributors

preparing a section on metaphysics for *The Cambridge Companion* to *Arabic Philosophy* and will be directing a continuing bibliography in medieval Islamic philosophy, theology, and the sciences for the Société Internationale des Sciences et de la Philosophie Arabe et Islamique.

P. J. FITZPATRICK is Emeritus Reader in Philosophy at the University of Durham. His writings include *Birth Regulation and Catholic Belief*, Apologia pro Charles Kingsley, and In Breaking of Bread: The Eucharist and Ritual.

JOHN HALDANE is Professor of Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews, where he is also Senior Fellow of the Centre for Ethics, Philosophy and Public Affairs. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and the Royal Society of Arts. Besides editing and coediting several collections of essays, he has written numerous articles on the history of philosophy, philosophy of mind, metaphysics, and moral philosophy, and is coauthor of *Atheism and Theism* in the Blackwell Great Debates in Philosophy series. He will be Gifford Lecturer in Natural Theology at the University of Aberdeen in 2003/4.

BONNIE KENT is Associate Professor of Philosophy at the University of California, Irvine. Since publishing *Virtues of the Will* she has worked especially on issues of motivation in medieval moral psychology. Her recent essays include "Habits and Virtues," in S. Pope, ed., *The Ethics of Aquinas*, and "Rethinking Moral Dispositions," in T. Williams, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Scotus*.

GYULA KLIMA is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Fordham University. He is the author of *Ars artium: Essays in Philosophical Semantics Medieval and Modern* and numerous articles on medieval logic and metaphysics. He has translated John Buridan's *Summulae de dialectica* and is currently working on a monograph on Buridan's logic and metaphysics.

D. E. LUSCOMBE is a Fellow of the British Academy and Research Professor of Medieval History at the University of Sheffield. He is the author of *The School of Peter Abelard, Peter Abelard's Ethics, Medieval Thought,* and many articles on Abelard and on medieval



#### Notes on contributors

xiii

conceptions of hierarchy. He is joint editor, with J. Riley-Smith, of parts 1 and 2 of volume IV of *The New Cambridge Medieval History* (forthcoming) and is currently completing an edition of the *Letters* of *Peter Abelard and Heloise*.

James Mcevoy is Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the National University of Ireland at Maynooth. His special interests in medieval philosophy include Scottus Eriugena, Thomas Gallan, Robert Grosseteste, and the theme of friendship. He is the author of *Robert Grosseteste* (2002) and of two volumes on theories of friendship in antiquity and in the Christian era, *Sagesses de l'amitié* (1997 and 2002). He is a contributor to the edition of Grosseteste's unedited works and is preparing a book on friendship and associated concepts in the history of philosophy.

A. S. McGrade is Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, the University of Connecticut, and the author of *The Political Thought of William of Ockham*. He has edited, with John Kilcullen, two volumes of Ockham's political writings and, with John Kilcullen and Matthew Kempshall, volume II of *Cambridge Translations of Medieval Philosophical Texts* (on ethics and political philosophy).

JOHN MARENBON is Fellow and Director of Studies in the History of Philosophy, Trinity College, University of Cambridge. He is the author of a two-volume history of medieval philosophy; *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard; Aristotelian Logic, Platonism, and the Context of Early Medieval Philosophy in the West;* and *Boethius*. He is now at work on a new introduction to medieval philosophy (to replace his earlier history) and a study of medieval views of pagans (especially ancient ones).

STEVEN P. MARRONE is Professor of History at Tufts University. His studies of thirteenth-century epistemology include many articles and three monographs, William of Auvergne and Robert Grosseteste: New Ideas of Truth in the Early Thirteenth Century, Truth and Scientific Knowledge in the Thought of Henry of Ghent, and The Light of Thy Countenance: Science and Knowledge of God in the Thirteenth Century.



#### xiv Notes on contributors

STEPHEN P. MENN is Associate Professor of Philosophy at McGill University and works on ancient and medieval philosophy and the history of mathematics. He is the author of *Plato on God as Nous* and *Descartes and Augustine*. He is completing a book manuscript on *The Aim and the Argument of Aristotle's* Metaphysics and is working with Calvin Normore on a book about nominalism and realism.

ROBERT PASNAU is Associate Professor of Philosophy at the University of Colorado and the author of *Theories of Cognition in the Later Middle Ages* and *Thomas Aquinas on Human Nature. A Philosophical Study of* Summa Theologiae 1a 75–89, as well as numerous articles and reviews on topics in late medieval epistemology. He has edited Aquinas's commentary on Aristotle's *De anima* and volume III of *Cambridge Translations of Medieval Philosophical Texts*, on mind and knowledge. He is general editor of the Hackett Aquinas Project, a series of translations, with commentary, of Aquinas's central philosophical texts, and has contributed to that series a volume on Aquinas's treatise on human nature.

EDITH DUDLEY SYLLA is Professor of History at North Carolina State University. She has written extensively on fourteenth-century natural philosophy, especially the work of the Oxford Calculators. She is currently working on Walter Burley's physics and on the origins of mathematical probability, particularly in the work of Jacob Bernouli. Her forthcoming publications include "Business Ethics, Commercial Mathematics, and the Origins of Mathematical Probability" and, with A. Maierù, a short biography of Anneliese Maier.

THOMAS WILLIAMS is Assistant Professor of Philosophy at the University of Iowa. He has translated works by Augustine and Anselm and is now preparing volume v of *Cambridge Translations of Medieval Philosophical Texts*, on philosophical theology. His work on Duns Scotus includes "A Most Methodical Lover? On Scotus's Arbitrary Creator" and the editing of *The Cambridge Companion to Duns Scotus*.



#### **PREFACE**

This book presents one of the most exciting periods in the history of philosophy, a millennium of thought extending from Augustine to Wyclif in the Latin West, from al-Kindi to Ibn Rushd in Islam, and in medieval Jewish communities from Ibn Gabirol to Gersonides. As a Companion, the volume seeks to do more than present authoritative information about its subject. The contributors aim to take their readers as far as possible into medieval philosophy. I explain in the introduction how we hope to achieve this. For now it will be enough to say that we do not assume any prior knowledge of medieval philosophy or the languages in which it was written. We expect that most readers will have had some exposure to contemporary philosophy, but we welcome and hope to assist interested nonphilosophers as well. The volume is meant to be useful in medieval philosophy courses at all levels, but we also have very much in mind those who are approaching medieval philosophy on their own, without access to specialists in the field. We will be delighted if our efforts incite a degree of student agitation for more medieval courses in mainly modernist philosophy departments and if we encourage teachers who skipped or were deprived of the Middle Ages in their own training to offer such courses. It could be a liberating experience for all concerned.

The contributors to this volume have shown great public spirit and enthusiasm for medieval philosophy in setting aside more specialized research in order to make the whole subject accessible to others – not an easy assignment, but, they have found, a rewarding one. I am grateful for their counsel regarding my part in the volume and for their patience and good humor in adjusting their work to suit

χv



#### xvi Preface

the common good (most often by cutting out fine material for which there simply is not room). I am happy to thank the reviewers of an early prospectus for this Companion for highly effective criticism and the following for advice and information given along the way: Donald Baxter, Stephen Lahey, Miri Rubin, Paul V. Spade, Eleonore Stump, John Wippel, and Jack Zupko. My debts to Professor B. J. McGrade are easily borne but boundless. Individual contributors wish to acknowledge the advice or inspiration of Julie Allen, Paul Freedman, Ester Macedo, Mrs C. M. L. Smith, and Katherine Tachau. Final thanks are due to the editorial and production staff of Cambridge University Press, and especially to Hilary Gaskin, who has supported and judiciously overseen the volume from start to finish.

A. S. McGrade



a.

Cambridge University Press 0521806038 - The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Philosophy Edited by A. S. McGrade Frontmatter More information

article

# ABBREVIATIONS AND FORMS OF REFERENCE

For works cited with a number in square brackets (e.g., Kretzmann [41]), a full reference is given in the bibliography.

ad	reply to (ad 1: reply to first objection)
CCAq	The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Aquinas,
	ed. N. Kretzmann and E. Stump (Cambridge, 1993)
CCAug	The Cambridge Companion to Augustine, ed. E.
	Stump and N. Kretzmann (Cambridge, 2001)
CCOck	The Cambridge Companion to Ockham, ed. P. V.
	Spade (Cambridge, 1999)
CCScot	The Cambridge Companion to Duns Scotus, ed. T.
	Williams (Cambridge, 2003)
CH12	A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy,
	ed. P. Dronke (Cambridge, 1988)
CHLMP	The Cambridge History of Later Medieval
	Philosophy, ed. N. Kretzmann et al. (Cambridge,
	1982)
CT I–III	The Cambridge Translations of Medieval
	Philosophical Texts
	I Logic and the Philosophy of Language,
	ed. N. Kretzmann and E. Stump (Cambridge,
	1988)
	II Ethics and Political Philosophy, ed.
	A. S. McGrade, J. Kilcullen, and M. Kempshall
	(Cambridge, 2001)
	III Mind and Knowledge, ed. R. Pasnau
	(Cambridge, 2002)

xvii



## xviii Abbreviations and forms of reference

d. distinction (in textual references)

obj. objection

Ordinatio The text of some or all of a Sentences commentary

put in order for publication by the author, in

contrast with a reportatio

PG Patrologia graeca, ed. J. P. Migne, 162 vols. (Paris,

1857–66) (Greek text with Latin translation)

PL Patrologia latina, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris,

1844-64)

q. question

q. disp. disputed question

quodl. quodlibet

Reportatio The "reported" form of some or all of a Sentences

commentary (see p. 330)

ScG Thomas Aquinas, Summa contra Gentiles

Sent. Peter Lombard, Sententiae in IV libris distinctae

(Four Books of Sentences), 2 vols. (Grottaferrata,

1971–81) or commentary thereon (see p. 28)

ST Thomas Aquinas, Summa theologiae: references are

to the four parts – I, IaIIae (first part of the second part), IIaIIae (second part of the second part), and III

un. unique (e.g., where a question has only one article)