

## LECTURE XXV.

ESSAY, LIBERTY. SOUL. GOD. CONCLUSION.

Examination of three important theories which are found in the *Essay on the Human Understanding*; 1st, Theory of Liberty: that it inclines to fatalism. 2d, Theory of the nature of the Soul: that it inclines to materialism. 3d, Theory of the existence of God: that it relies almost exclusively on proofs borrowed from the sensible world.—Recapitulation of all the lectures on the *Essay on the Human Understanding*; Of the merits and defects which have been pointed out.—Of the spirit which has guided this examination of Locke.—Conclusion..... 899

## LECTURE IX.

SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.\*

Scholastic Philosophy.—Its character and its origin.—Division of Scholasticism into three epochs.—First epoch.—Second epoch.—Third epoch. Birth of philosophical independence; quarrel of nominalism and realism, which represent idealism and sensualism in Scholasticism.—John Occam. His partisans and his adversaries.—Decree of the two systems and of Scholasticism.—Mysticism.—Chancellor Gerson. His *Mystic Theology*. Extracts from this work.—Conclusion.

HITHERTO, both in India and in Greece, we have constantly seen philosophy spring from religion; and at the same time we have seen that it springs not from it at once, that a single day is not enough for it to raise itself from the humble submission by which it begins, to the absolute independence in which it terminates. Hitherto we have seen it passing through an epoch, somewhat preparatory, therein trying its forces in the service of a foreign principle, reduced to the modest employment of governing and regulating creeds which it did not establish, in expectation of the moment when it shall be able to search out truth itself at its own risk and peril. Modern philosophy presents the same phenomenon. It is also preceded by an epoch which serves it as an introduction, and, thus to speak, as a vestibule. This epoch is scholasticism. As the middle age is the cradle of modern society, so scholasticism is that of modern philosophy. What the middle age is to the new society, scholasticism is to

\* These outlines of the entire system of Scholastic philosophy need to be strengthened and in some points rectified by study more limited but more solid than may be found in the *Introduction* of a work entitled: *Œuvres inédites d'Abélard*, Paris 1836, in-4. This *Introduction*, with some additions, forms the 3d volume of the *Fragments philosophiques*.



the philosophy of the new times. Now, the middle age is nothing else than the absolute reign of ecclesiastical authority, of which the political powers are only the more or less docile instruments. Scholasticism, or the philosophy of the middle age, could not then be any thing else than the labor of thought in the service of faith, and under the inspection of religious authority.

Such is scholastic philosophy. Its employment is limited, its bounds narrow, its existence precarious, inferior, subordinate. Well! here again philosophy is philosophy; and scarcely has it fortified itself by time, scarcely is the hand which was over it removed, or become less weighty, when philosophy resumes its natural course, and produces again the four different systems which it has already produced both in India and in Greece.

In the absence of chronology we cannot form a precise idea of the epoch corresponding to scholasticism in Indian philosophy. We distinguish the Mimansa school from the Sankhya school. But when did the Mimansa begin? When did the Sankhya begin? We are ignorant of this. Induction leads us to believe that the Mimansa must have preceded the Sankhya; nevertheless facts, in this India where every thing endures so long, where every thing exists in a state of confusion, facts show the Mimansa to be of a recent epoch. Thus Koumarila, the famous Mimansa doctor of whom I have spoken, was of the fourteenth century of our era. In Greece, we know at least when philosophy began; it began six centuries before our era with Thales and Pythagoras. But the epoch which precedes, that of the Mysteries, is covered with profound darkness. What took place between Orpheus and Pythagoras, between Musæus and Thales? How did the human mind go from the sanctuary of the temples to the schools of Ionia and of Greece at large? We know but ill, or rather we do not know at all.

In regard to the middle age we are much more fortunate. We know when scholasticism began, we know when it ceased, and we know its development between these two periods; we know its starting point, its progress, and its end.

When was scholasticism born? That is asking when the middle age was born; for scholasticism is the philosophic expression of the middle age. In order that scholasticism should have existed it was necessary that the middle age should exist, since scholasticism is only the middle age developed in the philosophy appropriate to it. The middle age, or the new society, was conceived, thus to speak, during the first century of the Christian era; but it appeared only with the triumph of its principle, that is, the Christian religion; and the Christian religion arrived at perfect dominion only after having been delivered from all the ruins of the ancient civilization, and after the soil of our Europe, at last secure against further invasions and barbarian devastations, had become more firm and capable of receiving the foundations of the new society which the Church bore in its bosom. Europe and the Church were firmly established only at the time of Charlemagne and by the aid of Charlemagne. Charlemagne is the genius of the middle age; he opens it and he constitutes it. He represents essentially the idea of order: his is above all the spirit of a founder and an organizer. He had more than one task to accomplish, and he was sufficient for all. 1st, It was necessary to establish material order, by putting an end to those invasions of every kind, which, continually agitating Europe, opposed every fixed establishment. So, with one hand Charlemagne arrested the Saracens in the South, and with the other the barbarians of the North, of whom he himself was a descendant, and thus he ceased to be a stranger in Europe; he became a European, a man of the new civilization. 2d, It was necessary to establish moral order. This could not be done except on the basis of the only moral authority of the times, religious authority; so this Charles, whose personality was so strong, did not hesitate to ask a new grant of the crown, which was already on his head, from the pontifical authority. 3d, It was necessary to establish scientific order. It was by the example of Charlemagne that his successors, or his rivals, Charles the Bald and Alfred the Great, everywhere sought the least sparks of ancient culture, in order to rekindle



the flame of science. It was Charlemagne who first opened the schools, *scholæ*.\* These schools were the abodes of science then: thus the science of that time was called *Scholasticism*. Behold the origin of the thing and of the word, and the character of scholasticism is already in its very origin. In fact, where did Charlemagne institute, and where could he institute schools? In places where most instruction still remained, where there was most leisure to acquire, where it was a duty to seek it and spread it abroad; that is, in the Episcopal sees, in the monasteries, in the cloisters, in the convents. Yes, the convents are the cradle of modern philosophy, as the Mysteries have been that of Greek philosophy; and scholasticism is stamped from its origin with an ecclesiastical character.

As you now know its origin, let us see what was its end. Scholasticism ended when the middle age ended; and the middle age ended when ecclesiastical authority ceased to be supreme, when other powers, and particularly political power, without neglecting the just deference and veneration always due to religious power, claimed and conquered its independence. It could not, then, be otherwise than that philosophy which always follows in the train of the great movements of society, should have claimed also its independence and conquered it little by little. I say little by little; for the revolution which caused philosophy to rise from the condition of a servant of theology to that of an independent power, was not accomplished in a day; it began in the fifteenth century but was completed at a later period, and modern philosophy did not really begin, as you know, until Bacon and Descartes.

The two extreme points are then settled; on the one hand the century of Charlemagne, on the other that of Bacon and Descartes, the eighth century and the seventeenth. It now remains to determine what occurred between these two extreme points;

\* See the work of Launoy, *de celebrioribus Scholis a Carolo Magno et post ipsum instauratis*, Paris, 1672. Several times reprinted.

nothing is more simple. What is the commencement of scholasticism? the absolute submission of philosophy to theology. What is the end of scholasticism? the end of this submission and the claim of independence of thought. Then, the middle state of scholasticism must have been a condition between servitude and independence, an alliance wherein theology and philosophy lend to each other mutual support. Hence three distinct periods in scholasticism: 1st, absolute subordination of philosophy to theology; 2d, alliance of philosophy and theology; 3d, commencement of a separation, feeble at first, but which little by little increases, is extended and terminates in the birth of modern philosophy.

The first epoch of scholasticism is nothing else than the employment of philosophy as a simple form based on Christian theology. Theology comprised, with the holy Scriptures, tradition and the holy Fathers, especially the Latin Fathers, for the Greek Fathers were little known out of Constantinople; and among the Latin Fathers, he who represented all the others was Saint Augustine. All the resources of philosophy were reduced to a few ordinary writings, half-literary and half-philosophical, which contained the little knowledge that had escaped barbarism. These were the writings of Mamert,\* of Capella,† of Boëthius,‡ of Cassiodorus,§ of Isidorus,|| of the venerable Bede,¶ He, whom Charlemagne placed at the head of this regeneration of the human mind, Alcuinus,\*\* had at his disposal few other aids than

\* Of Vienna, in Dauphiny, died about 477 A. C. *De Statu Animæ*. Often reprinted.

† Marcién Capella, of Madaura, in Africa, flourished 474. *Satyricon de Nuptiis philologiae et Mercurii, et de VII. Artibus liberalibus*. Often reprinted.

‡ Born in 470; senator of the Gothic king Theodoric, commented on Aristotle, wrote the treatise *de Consolatione philosophiæ* in his prison of Pavia, which he left only to be beheaded. Opera, Basle, 1570, 1 vol. in-fol.

§ Born at Squillace about 480, died in 575. *De Septem Disciplinis*. Opp., 2 vol. in-fol. Rothomag., 1679.

|| Bishop of Seville, died 636. *Originum seu Etymologiarum*, lib. xx. Opp., Romæ, 1796, 7 vol. in-4.

¶ Anglo-Saxon, born 673, died 735. Opp., Cologne, 1612, 8 vol. in-fol.

\*\* Born at York, 726, died 804. Opp., Ratisbonne, 2 vol. in-fol., 1777. He



these, with the *Organum* of Aristotle.\* That this first epoch may be well understood, it is necessary never to separate in the mind Saint Augustine and the *Organum*; hence the grandeur of the theological basis and the poverty of the form. We encounter at this period an order of ideas and even of arguments much superior to these barbarous times; and if we are not aware of its source, we are tempted to admire too much these first essays of the philosophy of the middle age; it is to Christianity and to Saint Augustine that our admiration must be referred. As to the form, it is, as I have said, poor, feeble, uncertain; and this form was then the whole of philosophy.

The masters of scholasticism during this epoch do little else than comment on that beautiful expression of one of them:† "There

had as a pupil Rhabanus Maurus, died Archbishop of Mayence, 856. Opp., 6 vol. in-fol., Colog., 1626. See, on some unpublished writings on dialectics of Rhaban, the *Fragments de Philosophie scholastique*, pp. 104-110, and p. 311.

\* Or rather some of its parts. For, strictly speaking, nothing was then known of the *Organum* except the *Introduction of Porphyry*, the *Categories*, and the *Interpretation*. See the *Fragments de Philosophie scholastique*, p. 70, sqq.

† John Scot, *de Prædestinatione* (Collection of Maugin, vol. 1, p. 103). "Non aliam esse philosophiam aliudve sapientiæ studium, aliamve religionem . . . Quid est de philosophia tractare nisi veræ religionis, qua summa et principalis omnium rerum causa. Deus, et humiliter colitur et rationabiliter investigatur, regulas exponere? Conficitur inde veram esse philosophiam veram religionem, conversimque veram religionem esse veram philosophiam." Alain de Lille, *Alanus de Insulis*, who closes this epoch of scholasticism, speaks like Scot, who begins it. Alain was a monk of Clairvaux, and a pupil of Saint Bernard; he died in 1203. Opp., Antwerpæ, 1 vol. in-fol., 1654. His principal work is entitled: *Ars fidei Catholica*, it is dedicated to Pope Clement III. (B. Pez. *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*, Vol. 1 Col. 475.) Here is the introduction: "Cum nec miraculorum mihi gratia collata est, nec ad vincendas hæreses sufficiat auctoritates inducere, cum illas hæretici aut prorsus respuant aut pervertant, probabiles fidei nostræ rationes, quibus perspicax ingenium vix possit resistere, studiosius adornavi ut qui prophetiæ et Evangelio acquiescere contemnunt, humanis saltem rationibus inducantur, et nunc quasi per speculum contemplantur quod postea demum in perfecta scientia comprehendant. Itaque hoc opus in modum artis compositum, definitiones, distinctiones, propositiones ordinato successu propositionum exhibet." It is divided in five books: 1st, *de uno eodemque trino Deo, qui est una omnium causa*; 2d, *de mundo, deque angelorum et hominum creatione et libero arbitrio*; 3d, *de reparatione hominis lapsi*; 4th, *de Ecclesiæ Sacramen-*

are not two studies, one of philosophy and the other of religion; true philosophy is true religion, and true religion is true philosophy." I will dwell no longer on this point: it is more interesting to show you, in this unity, the progress which appears from age to age, from the eighth until the twelfth century; for it is in this progress that the different traits of these philosophers of the middle age are sketched. If they are alike in their complete submission to the Church, they differ as men, as thinkers, and as belonging to different times. Philosophy to them is only the form of theology, but this form is successively modified and perfected in their hands.

John Scot\* is distinguished by an erudition which has deceived in regard to his originality. He understood the Greek, and translated Denis the Areopagite; and as Denis the Areopagite is a mystic writer who reflects more or less the Alexandrian mysticism, John Scot derived through study of his writings, a multitude of ideas which he scattered throughout his own two works, one on *Predestination and Grace*, the other on the *Division of Beings*. As these ideas did not belong to his own age, they astonished more than they instructed it, and in our times they have dazzled those who knew not their origin.

The true metaphysician of this epoch is Saint Anselm, born at Aosta in Piedmont, Prior and Abbé of Bec in Normandy, and at his death Archbishop of Canterbury.† To him was given the ap-

tis; 5th, *de resurrectione et vita futuri sæculi*. I place these divisions here because they are the ordinary divisions of the theological metaphysics of this epoch.

\* Joannes Scotus Erigena, thus called because he was an Irishman, lived at the Court of Charles the Bald, who protected him; having fallen into disfavor, he returned to England at the invitation of Alfred the Great, and taught at Oxford, where he died in 886. He translated Denis the Areopagite into Latin. His other works are: 1st, *De divina Prædestinatione et Gratia*, in the collection of Maugin, vol. i. p. 103, sqq.; Paris, 1650. 2d, *περί ὁρίων Μεικροῦ*, *de Divisione Naturæ*, lib. v., ed. Th. Gale, Oxford, 1681. Observe especially in this last work, a theory of the Creation (lib. iii. p. 106), by an explanation of a verse of Saint John. Every thing in it is referred to faith: Nesciendo scitur.—Lib. i. p. 25.

† Born 1034, died 1109. Opp., 1 vol. in-fol., 1675. The following works



pellation of the second Saint Augustine. Among his numerous works are two, the titles of which I will at least mention, for the titles indicate their spirit, and reveal, moreover, a remarkable progress. One is a monologue, wherein Saint Anselm supposes an ignorant man who is seeking truth by force of his reason only; a very bold fiction for the eleventh century, and the antecedent of the *Meditations*: it is entitled *Monologium, seu Exemplum Meditandi de ratione fidei*, Monologue, or Example of the manner in which one may account for his faith.\* The second work is called *Proslogium, seu fides quærens intellectum*, Allocution, or the Faith which tries to demonstrate itself. In the first work, Saint Anselm does not suppose himself in possession of the truth, he is seeking it; in the second, he supposes himself in possession of the truth, and he tries to demonstrate it.† The name of Saint

should be designated: *De fide Trinitatis et de incarnatione Verbi*.—*De Veritate, dialogus*.—*De libero Arbitrio, dialogus*.—*Concordia præscientiæ Dei cum libero arbitrio*.—*Meditationes*.—Finally the *Monologium* and the *Proslogium*.

\* *Monologium*.—"Proæfatio . . . Quæcumque autem ibi dixi, sub persona secum sola cogitatione disputantis et investigantis ea quæ prius non animadvertisset, prolata sunt . . . Quæ de Deo necessario credimus, patet quia ea ipsa quislibet, si vel mediocris ingenii fuerit, sola ratione sibi metipsi magna ex parte persuadere possit. Hoc cum multis modis fieri possit, meum modum hic ponam, quem estimo cuique homini esse aptissimum." This mode, this plan, consists in drawing all theological truths from a single point, the essence of God; and the essence of God from the only ideal of beauty, of goodness, of grandeur: which all men possess, and which is the common measure of all that is beautiful, etc. This ideal, this unity must exist, for it is the necessary form of all that exists. Unity is anterior to plurality, and it is its root. "Est ergo aliquid unum, quod, sive essentia sive natura sive substantia dicitur, optimum et maximum est, et summum omnium quæ sunt." This unity is God: Hence Saint Anselm draws, in seventy-nine chapters, the attributes of God, Trinity, Creation, relation of man, as intelligence, to God, in short, entire theology.

† *Proslogium*: "Proæmium. Postquam opusculum quoddam velut exemplum meditandi de ratione fidei, cogentibus me precibus quorundam fratrum, in persona alicujus tacite secum ratiocinando quæ nesciat investigantis, edidi, considerans illud esse multorum concatenatione contextum argumentorum, cœpi necum quærere si forte posset inveniri unum argumentum quod nullo alio aut se probandum quam se solo indegret. . . ." This argument is an abridgment of that of the *Monologium*. The maddest Atheist, *insipiens*, has in his thought an idea of a sovereign good, above which he can conceive no other.

Anselm is attached to the argument, which draws from the idea alone of an absolute *maximum* of greatness, of beauty, of goodness, the demonstration of the existence of its object, which can be only God. Without citing Saint Anselm, whom he did not probably know, Descartes has produced the same argument in the *Meditations*, when, on the simple idea of a perfect being, he establishes the necessity of the existence of that being, that is, God.\* Leibnitz, in taking up the Cartesian argument,† refers it to Saint Anselm; but he was able to go farther back, he had found it in the genius of Christian idealism, and it was worthy of Saint Anselm, of Descartes, and of Leibnitz, to draw it from that source and diffuse it through modern philosophy.

In this rapid review I do not wish silently to pass by Abelard.‡ In this gross and pedantic age Abelard is a sort of beautiful classic spirit. He, too, was the first to apply philosophical criticism to theology, and he established a more liberal school of

This sovereign good cannot exist solely in the thought, for we might conceive a still greater. This we cannot do, therefore this sovereign good exists out of the thought, therefore God exists. The *Proslogium* is composed of twenty-six short chapters; its text is this passage: *Dixit insipiens in corde suo: Non est Deus*. A monk of Marmoutiers, Gaunillon, combated the argument of Saint Anselm in a small work under this title: *Liber pro Insapiente*. Anselm replied to it in his *Liber apologeticus contra Gaunillonem*. I have shown more at length the doctrine of Saint Anselm, especially in what regards nominalism and realism, *Fragments de Philosophie scholastique*, p. 140, etc.

\* See, on the argument of Descartes, 1st Series, *passim*, and in this 2d Series, Lecture 11, of this volume.

† Throughout, and particularly correspondence of Korthold, vol. iv. p. 2.

‡ Born at Palais, near Nantes, in 1079, died in 1142. His works were collected by Amboise, Paris, 1616, in-4. This edition contains, among other works, the Letters of Abelard and Heloise, and the Introduction to Theology. The *Ethica* was printed in the *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus* of B. Pez, vol. iv.; the *Theologia Christiana* and the *Hexameron* in the *Thesaurus anecdot.* of Martino, vol. v. We published in 1836, in-4, his unpublished treatises on dialectics, and the *Sic et non*, with an introduction and notices on different unpublished works of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. We reproduced this introduction and these notices in the *Fragments de Philosophie scholastique*, adding to them a new unpublished treatise of Abelard, *de Intellectibus*.



theological interpretation. A disciple, by turns, of Roscellinus\* and of Guillaume de Champeaux,† he vanquished them both, and introduced a new and afterwards celebrated system, Conceptualism.‡ As a professor his success was prodigious, and it contributed much to the establishment of the University of Paris.§

The school of Abelard was distinguished for refined taste and boldness. John of Salisbury was an enlightened and polished man, whom the grossness of the studies of his times and the jargon of scholasticism|| deeply wounded. Peter the Lombard is commend-

\* On Roscellinus, see *Fragments de Philosophie scholastique*, pp. 57, 119, etc.

† On Guillaume de Champeaux, *ibid.*, pp. 152 and 232.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 224, etc.

§ Permit us to place here the portrait of Abelard, by which we commenced the special work consecrated to this man. *Fragments of Scholastic Philosophy*, p. 2: "Abelard of Palais, near Nantes, after having completed his first studies in his own country, and augmented his knowledge in the schools of different provinces, went to perfect himself at Paris, when from a pupil he soon became the rival of his renowned masters: he ruled, as it were, in dialectics. At a later period, when he mingled theology with philosophy, he attracted such multitudes from all parts of France, and even of Europe, that, as he himself said, the hotels were neither sufficient to contain them, nor the ground to nourish them. Wherever he went, the crowd and bustle followed him; the desert into which he retired became little by little an immense auditory. In philosophy he entered into the greatest quarrel of his times, that of realism and of nominalism, and he created an intermediary system. In theology, he placed himself on the side of the old school of Anselm, which exposed without explaining, and founded what is called rationalism. And he did not shine alone in the school; he moved the Church and the State, he occupied two great councils, he had as an adversary Saint Bernard, and one of his disciples and friends was Arnold of Brescia. Finally, that nothing might be wanting to the singularity of his life and to the popularity of his name, this dialectician, who had eclipsed Roscellinus and Guillaume de Champeaux, this theologian against whom the Bossuet of the twelfth century arose, was handsome, was a poet, and a musician; in his native language he wrote songs which amused scholars and ladies; and as canon of the cathedral, professor of the cloister, he was loved even to the most absolute devotion by that noble creature who loved like Saint Theresa, wrote sometimes like Seneca, and whose grace must have been irresistible, since she charmed Saint Bernard himself. A hero of romance in the Church, a choice spirit in a barbarous period, the chief of a school and almost the martyr of an opinion, all concurred in making Abelard an extraordinary personage." See the work of M. de Remusat, at once so exact and so elegant, *Abelard*, 2 vol., 1845.

|| As may be seen in the *Prolicatius, seu de nugis curialium et vestryis*

able for his skilful and regular exposition.\* He compiled the Fathers of the Church, and attempted what would now be called a concordance of the arguments drawn from these different sources; he put them in such a methodical and convenient form for instruction, that he was the standard in the schools, where he remained during several centuries. It was impossible to go farther than the Lombard with the *Organum* alone. To advance required new aids for the human mind. He found them in the other works of Aristotle, which, until then, had remained unknown to Western Europe.

A great nation, the Arabs, after having subjugated a part of Africa and of Asia, had passed into Spain; they there had founded an empire, which little by little had become civilized; and little by little this civilization had borne its fruits, had had its philosophy. They had encountered everywhere on the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean the Alexandrians and Aristotle; and nothing was better adapted to their genius, which is made up of mystic exaltation and excessive subtilty. Hence the character of the Arabic philosophy, whose most celebrated representatives are Avicenna, a physician and philosopher;† Algazel, whose skepticism serves as a veil or instrument to religious faith;‡ and Averroes, the commentator, another Alexander of Aphrodisia.§ Christians, now and then, went to study in the schools

*philosophorum*, lib. viii. His most important philosophical work is the *Metaphysicus*. Died in 1180. On John of Salisbury as pupil of Abelard, *Fragm. Philos.*, p. 304.

\* Of Navarre, professor of theology at Paris, died in 1164. *Sententiarum libri* iv. Often reprinted; hence his surname of *Magister Sententiarum*.

† Born at Bochara, about 980, died in 1036. Opp., Venet., 1523, 5 vol. in-fol., Basil, 3 vol. in-fol. We have in French the *Logic of Avicenna*, Paris, 1658, in-12.

‡ Of Tus, died in 1127. *Logica et Philosophia*. Al-Gazelis Arabis. Venet., 1506.

§ Born at Cordova, died at Morocco in 1206. His Commentaries on Aristotle, translated into Latin, are in the two editions of Aristotle, Venet., 11 vol. in-fol., 1550-1552, and small in-4, 1560, with an index, 1562. Formerly his commentaries on the logic and rhetoric of Aristotle were published separately, Venet., 1 vol. in-fol., 1522-1523.



of Spain. Gerbert of Aurillac, afterwards Pope under the name of Sylvester II., studied at Cordova and at Seville; he brought thence, in the tenth century, the Arabic figures, and a very extensive knowledge of the philosophy of Aristotle, which he introduced into the monasteries instituted by him in Aurillac, his native country, at Rheims, at Chartres, and at Bobbio. But it was especially the Jews, who, admitted more easily than the Christians to the schools of the Arabs, obtained a knowledge of metaphysics, and of the natural and medical sciences, superior to the knowledge of the West; they translated into Hebrew the Arabic philosophers; these translations were soon reproduced in Latin, and spread throughout Europe. The Jews were at this epoch, if we may so express it, a species of philosophical courtiers between Spain and the West; they themselves produced some distinguished philosophers, and, among others, Moses Maimonides.\* You may judge what a ferment was created in the monasteries of Europe, when instead of some parts of the *Organum*, or even instead of the entire *Organum*, all the works of Aristotle, metaphysical, physical, moral, and political, with Arabic commentaries, penetrated into them. It was thus that towards the first quarter of the thirteenth century, the second epoch of scholasticism was formed.

Three superior men represent this second epoch: Albert the Great, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus.

Albert of Bollstadt,† born at Lavingen in Suabia, was a Domin-

\* Born at Cordova in 1139, died in 1207. *Rabi Mossei Aegyptii dux seu director dubitantium aut perplexorum*, Parisiis, 1520, in-fol. *Canones Ethici*, Amstelod. 1640, in-4.

† I should at least mention here, among other distinguished contemporaries of Albert, Alexander of Hales, of the County of Gloucester, surnamed *Doctor irrefragabilis*, professor of theology in Paris, who died in 1245: *Summa universæ theologiæ*, Colog., 1622, 4 vols.; Guillaume d'Auvergne, Bishop of Paris, died in 1249; several works in theology, among which must be distinguished two treatises, *de Universo* and *de Anima*; Opp., Orleans, 1674, 2 vol. in-fol.; Vincent de Beauvais, a Dominican and preceptor of Saint Louis, who died in 1264; a compilation under the name of *Speculum doctrinale, naturale, historische*; a division of sciences and their end: 1st, the theoretical part, comprising:

ican, and by turns professor of theology at Cologne and at Paris. In 1260 he was named Bishop of Ratisbon, but soon gave up his bishopric to devote himself exclusively to his studies at Cologne, in a convent of his order. He died in 1280. It is doubtful whether he knew the Arabic or even the Greek, but he studied deeply the new translations of Aristotle and his Arabic commentators, who were beginning to be introduced into Europe. Albert was occupied at the same time with theology, morals, politics, mathematics, and physics. He passed, during his times, about Cologne, for a magician. He was called the Great, by his contemporaries, and I am far from objecting to this title. Nevertheless, my superficial reading of some of his numerous writings\* inclines me to believe that, error excepted, he is rather an indefatigable compiler, and thereby great for his age, than an original thinker. He produces upon me the impression of a German scholar of the thirteenth century.

Saint Thomas Aquinas was born rich and of an illustrious family,† who naturally wished to give him a good position in the world. He refused it, and entered quite early into the order of the Dominicans, in order that he might devote himself entirely to philosophy. He carried into his order the same disinterestedness; he constantly refused all dignities, and would consent to be only a professor; but he was an incomparable professor, and was called *Doctor angelicus*, the Angel of the school. He understood the importance of the Arabic and Greek philosophers; he greatly encouraged the translations of their works, and Europe is infinitely

theology, physics, mathematics; 2d, the practical part, comprising: monasties (individual morality), economics, politics; 3d, the mechanical arts; 4th, logic. There is a magnificent edition of Vincent de Beauvais in several vols. in-fol., Argentorati, 1473.

\* Alberti Magni, Opp., ed. P. Jammy; Lyons, 21 vol. in-fol., 1651.

† At Aquino, near Naples, in 1225; studied under Albert at Cologne and at Paris; died in 1274, canonized in 1323. The first complete edition of his works was published at Rome, 1572, 18 vol. in-fol.; it was done by the orders of Sixtus V.; it contains the Commentaries of Cardinal Cajetan; is very correct and neat. Often reprinted at Paris, Lyons, and at Antwerp. The last edition at Venice, 28 vol. in-4, 1775.



indebted to him for all the translations he caused to be made. If Albert was more learned and, above all, better acquainted with the natural sciences, Saint Thomas was a better metaphysician, and, especially, a better moralist. He did not fall into asceticism as did his compatriot, John of Fidenza, otherwise called Saint Bonaventura, who nearly brought theology to mysticism, thereby obtaining the name of *Doctor seraphicus*, the Seraphic Doctor.\* Saint Thomas Aquinas remained faithful to the philosophic spirit. If he submitted reason to the rule of faith, he never misconceived the extent and legitimate authority of our faculties.† The master work of Saint Thomas is the famous summation, *Summa Theologiae*, which is one of the greatest monuments of the human mind in the middle age, and comprehends, with profound metaphysics, an entire system of morality, and even of politics; and that kind of politics too, which is not at all servile. Among other things, you find in it a defence of the Jews, who were then persecuted, and were so serviceable, not only to commerce, but to science. He could not dream of the civil equality of our days; but, as a Christian he recommended humanity in regard to them, even as a matter of policy. Saint Thomas is particularly a great moralist.‡

The English Duns Scotus§ possessed a mind of a healthy and

\* Born in 1221, died in 1274. His most characteristic work is the *Itinerarium mentis ad Deum*, Opp., Rome, 1588-1596, 7 vol. in-fol.

† "Est in his quæ de Deo confitemur, duplex veritatis modus. Quædam namque vera sunt de Deo quæ omnem facultatem humanæ rationis excedunt, ut Deum esse trinum et unum; quædam vero sunt ad quæ etiam ratio naturalis pertingere potest, sicut est Deum esse, Deum esse unum et alia hujusmodi quæ etiam philosophi demonstrative de Deo probaverunt, docti naturalis lumine rationis."—*Summa Cathol. fidei contra Gentiles*, i. 3.

‡ We give some thoughts which betray the metaphysician and the superior moralist: *Summa theol.*, Quæst. 2, Art. 1. "Etiam qui negat veritatem esse, concedit veritatem esse; si enim veritas non est, non verum est non esse veritatem . . . Sed enim Deus est ipsa veritas; ergo veritatem esse verum est." Virtue is a means of faith and of science: *Summa theol.*, Part i. Quæst. 82, Art. 4. "Qualis unusquisque, talis intelligit et talis finis videtur eidem."

§ Born at Dunston in Northumberland, according to others at Duns in Ireland, near 1275, died 1308. Opp., ed. Wadding, Lugd., 12 vol. in-fol., 1639.

powerful cast and uncommon solidity. He occupied himself with physics and mathematics. He wrote a small treatise on astronomy and optics. Less of a moralist than Saint Thomas, he was a greater dialectician. So also he was named by his contemporaries not the Seraphic Doctor, nor Angelic Doctor, but the Subtle Doctor, *Doctor subtilis*.\*

Saint Thomas and Duns Scotus founded two schools, between which the most animated discussions arose on different theological points, the same being also grave philosophical questions.† But

\* I will cite some passages from his commentary on the *Master of Sentences*. He distinguishes two orders of ideas, that of sensational ideas and that of necessary and absolute ideas. The first order of verity may be certain and infallible, 1st, because the sensible world from which it is borrowed is itself changing; 2d, because the mind of man which forms them is also changing, etc.; therefore certain science can proceed from nothing perceived by the senses, although the mind of man may have referred it *quantum cumque per intellectum depuratum fuerit*. Every science exists in absolute ideas. God, *idea divina*, is not directly perceived by man, but indirectly, *non radio directo, sed reflexo*. This thought of Scot reminds us of the celebrated passage of Bacon, *De Aug. Scient.*: "Percutit natura intellectum nostrum radio directo, Deus autem, propter medium inæquale, radio tantum refracto; ipse vero homo sibi metipsum monstratur et exhibetur radio reflexo." In regard to necessary truths, sensation is the occasion and not the cause of them; they rest on the power of the mind which forms them. "Quantum est ad notitiam veritatum necessariarum, intellectus non habet sensus pro causa sed tantum pro occasione. Intellectus equidem non potest habere notitiam simplicem nisi acceptam a sensibus, ille tamen accepta potest simplicia componere virtute sua; et si ex ratione talium simplicium fit complexio evidenter vera, intellectus virtute propria assentiet illi complexioni ut veræ, non virtute sensuum a quibus accipit terminos tantummodo exterius, verbi gratia per visum aut auditum; non enim terminis assentitur ut visis et auditis externis, sed ob rationem eorum perspectam.—Stat in simplici experientia quod ita sit, qui quidem modus sciendi est ultimus, seu infimus gradus cognitionis scientificæ.—Cum sensus externi non cognoscant actus suos proprios, quippe cum nec visus nec auditus se ipsum percipiat, necesse erat ut præter sensus exteriores esset sensus quidam interior communis quo sentiamus nos videre, audire, etc.; hic sensus communis est unus." Very fine things in regard to free will. "Voluntati, in quantum est libera, essentielle est, 1, ut etiam quando producit velle, non repugnet eidem oppositum velle; 2, ut bonitas aliqua objecti cognita non causet necessario assensum voluntatis, cum voluntas libera assentit tam bono majori quam etiam minori; 3, ut voluntatis causa sit ipsa voluntas." The goodness of the human will is in its conformity to that of God.

† Saint Thomas, while he admits the liberty of God, is more struck with