

1 Medieval philosophy in context

What was it like to do philosophy in the Middle Ages? In this chapter I will try to answer that question by looking at relevant sociopolitical and economic circumstances, specific institutional settings for practicing philosophy, and several competing or cooperating intellectual currents. At the end of the chapter, I will say something about the place of authority in medieval thought, the philosophical sources available to medieval thinkers at different points in the period, and the literary genres into which they put their own ideas.

Briefly, the story runs as follows. What we know as medieval philosophy emerged in the late Roman Empire from a surprisingly complete mutual accommodation of Christian belief and classical thought. It then passed through centuries of dormancy in the West, while at the same time it began afresh in the Islamic world. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries philosophy reemerged in a new Europe, in altered form and against resistance. Then, both augmented and challenged by the work of Islamic and Jewish thinkers, it enjoyed in the thirteenth century a golden age of systematic analysis and speculation corresponding to a new degree of rationalization in politics and society. And finally? The significance of fourteenth-century thought remains contested, despite substantial recent scholarship demonstrating its brilliance. As my narrative ends, therefore, readers will need to move from context to content, acquainting themselves in succeeding chapters with the ideas and arguments on which their own assessment of medieval philosophy, not just the fourteenth century, must depend.

Before beginning, we should notice an obvious but important fact. Medieval thinkers did not know that they were medieval. The expression “Middle Age” (Latin *medium aevum*; thence *medievalis*,

“medieval”) was first used to designate the period between the “ancient” and “modern” worlds in the seventeenth century. In later historical writing and popular consciousness a radical opposition is often posited between the Middle Ages (or “Dark Ages”) and the initial phase of the modern era called, since the nineteenth century, the Renaissance. As we shall see, even the least philosophical of medieval centuries were not wholly benighted, and the relations between medieval and Renaissance thought are a good deal more complex than is suggested by depictions of the latter as a revolutionary enlightenment.

EMERGENCE OF MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE LATE ROMAN EMPIRE

The emergence of medieval philosophy looks surprising not only from a “reason alone” view of philosophy but also in light of a polemic of opposition between Christianity and philosophy dating back to St. Paul’s disparagement of “the wisdom of the world” (specifically, the wisdom sought by Greeks) and his warning against “philosophy and empty deceit” (1 Corinthians 1:20–24, Colossians 2:8). It was an incompatibility that the early north African apologist Tertullian (c. 160–c. 230) celebrated as absolute. His taunting question “What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?” was a challenge to the cognitive commitments of his philosophically minded contemporaries (*On Prescription Against Heretics* 7 [428] 8–10). If today we think of philosophy as requiring complete insulation from the engagements of religious belief, we can imagine ourselves as displaying the same attitude in reverse.

But historically speaking, Tertullian’s conception of a dividing line between religion and philosophy was odd man out. Indeed, when Paul himself was actually confronted with philosophers at the hill of the Areopagus in Athens, he took a conciliatory line, noting agreement between his own preaching and the verses of a Stoic poet (Acts 17:28). In the ancient Mediterranean world, philosophy did not consist of arcane reflection on the nature of what can be known or the value of what must be done, abstracted from the day-to-day business of living in society. It called instead for the engagement of the whole person in striving to know truth and to do good. For philosophers themselves it amounted to an all-absorbing way of life.¹ Indeed, by the second

and third centuries CE, philosophy, as practiced by Stoics, Platonists, and Epicureans, and Christianity, as professed among educated Greek and Roman converts, were beginning to look very much alike. Philosophy had come, in E. R. Dodds's words, "increasingly to *mean* the quest for God."² In such a world, it was easy for a person like Justin (d. 163/67), searching among the philosophers for an answer to the riddle of life, to end up a Christian, and ultimately a martyr. As an apologist for his faith he continued to wear the philosopher's distinctive garb and advertised Christianity as philosophy in the fullest sense of the word (*Dialogue with Trypho* 8 [411] 198b). There was, to be sure, a literature of controversy pitting Christian against pagan thinker, but the sometimes bitter tone of this writing was partly due to the fact that the antagonists were fighting over common intellectual ground. The third-century Christian writers and teachers Clement of Alexandria and his pupil, Origen, and their pagan counterparts Plotinus and his disciple, Porphyry, spoke the same philosophical language, drew from the single conceptual reservoir of emergent Neoplatonism, and even traveled in the same circles.³

Medieval philosophy was born in precisely this intellectual setting. Not by coincidence, these were also the circumstances under which Christianity came to be the official religion of the Roman Empire. It is indeed only a slight exaggeration to characterize the legal conversion initiated in the early fourth century by the emperor Constantine as an epiphenomenon arising out of this more general cultural milieu. The way had already been prepared by the spread of Jewish communities and their religion throughout the Mediterranean, with a corresponding Hellenization of Jewish thought from acquaintance with Greek philosophical ideas. By the third century a common currency of learned discourse flourished among the elite – pagan, Jewish, and Christian. Constantine's contribution was simply to make the Christian variant of this discourse the dominant one, eventually oppressively so, from the fourth century on. But the conceptual apparatus, intellectual inclinations, and interpretative tools that were used in the course of this process were neither specifically Christian nor very new. In other words, the conversion simply ensured that the philosophizing of Christian thinking previously underway should continue apace and come to typify the culture of learning in late Rome. It likewise inaugurated the first of three phases in the career of medieval philosophy.

The style of thinking characteristic of this phase is exemplified in Augustine, the Latin rhetorician turned Christian philosopher and later bishop of Hippo in north Africa until his death in 430. Persuaded, as he later explained in his *Confessions*, by Cicero's "exhortation to philosophy" that he must forsake his life of vanity and promiscuity and devote himself to the internal quest demanded by the love of wisdom, he set out on a path leading by way of knowledge "upwards [away] from earthly delights" to God (*Confessions* III 4 [59]). Here, a crucial direction-setting role fell to "some books of the Platonists translated from Greek into Latin," almost certainly works of the Neoplatonists Plotinus and possibly Porphyry. These writings led Augustine to the conviction that the universe emerged from and inevitably tended back toward a unique principle of good that is itself God, a reality shining above, yet still within, each of us as the eternal light of truth (VII 9–10).⁴ In Augustine's eyes, the further step from Neoplatonism to Christianity was natural, almost inevitable. "Now that I had read the books of the Platonists and had been set by them toward the search for a truth that is incorporeal . . . I seized greedily upon the adorable writing of Your Spirit, and especially upon the apostle Paul" (VII 20–21). From this point of view, Paul's words to the Athenians at the Areopagus were plainly an exhortation to continue in their chosen way of life to the perfection of truth and right behavior laid bare in Christianity (VII 9, referring to Acts 17:28). The philosopher's pursuit of wisdom was therefore not just compatible with Christian teaching. It was received, raised sublime, and rendered fully realizable through God's revelation and grace in Christ.

Christian intellectuals of Augustine's day thus had no doubt that they were following the philosopher's way. Accordingly, they incorporated as much as they could of the classical philosophical heritage, both habits of mind and conceptual content, into their patterns of discourse and way of life. Stoicism and Neoplatonism, the Antique schools that appeared most supportive of previous Christian intellectual and practical commitments, were taken over virtually intact into Christian speculative and moral schemes. For example, Augustine's mentor, the learned and socially eminent bishop Ambrose of Milan, followed Cicero's *On Duties* in writing his guide to the considerable secular as well as religious duties of a bishop. Augustine himself explored the psychological and theological implications of Neoplatonic theories of emanation in his treatise *The Trinity*. And

in one of the most prominent indicators of Christian aspiration to inherit the mantle of Graeco-Roman higher studies, he labored during the last fifteen years of his life to produce in his masterpiece, *The City of God*, proof that Christianity could compete on equal terms with the best that pagan erudition had to offer.⁵

The immediate stimulus for Augustine's historical and transhistorical account of the human condition in *The City of God* was the accusation that abandonment of the old gods of paganism was responsible for the sack of Rome by the Visigoths in 410. When Augustine died, the Vandals were at the gates of Hippo. From the early fifth century the western parts of the empire – modern Italy and Libya to the Atlantic – were increasingly brought under military control of barbarian, largely Germanic, armies, those groups of soldiers and their families referred to in textbooks as tribes. Such Teutonic interlopers established their political preeminence in what Romans taught them to call kingdoms. Their overlordship did not, however, drastically reduce the influence of Roman elites or diminish the importance of Latin culture and Latin learning among the ruling classes. In the early sixth-century Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy, for example, Latin high culture shone as brilliantly as at any point since Cicero.

In this setting, official patronage of philosophical studies led to an emphasis on the purely speculative or theoretical that went beyond Augustine and Ambrose. The prominent senator Boethius, Roman consul and adviser to the Ostrogothic king Theodoric, undertook a complete translation of and commentary on the works of Plato and Aristotle, in the hope of bringing Latin philosophical discourse to a level of sophistication hitherto found only in Greek. His execution in 525 on charges of treason prevented him from advancing beyond the logical works making up Aristotle's *Organon*. Besides these exegetical writings, however, Boethius also left behind a brilliant epitome of Greek wisdom, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, and a few short treatises in which he applied philosophical analysis to questions of theology. This body of work established a lexicon of Latin equivalents for Greek terms and concepts upon which medieval philosophy would draw for another thousand years. Cassiodorus, a Roman of even higher social standing and similarly adviser at the Ostrogothic court, managed a less technically prodigious but perhaps equally influential feat. His *Institutes of Divine and Secular Letters* offers a syllabus for Christian education in which the canon of rhetorical and philosophical classics continued to play a major role.

In the Greek-speaking orbit of the eastern Roman Empire, it was the otherworldly character of late Antique philosophy which came to the fore in the late fifth and sixth centuries. The *Elements of Theology*, written by the Neoplatonist Proclus, head of the Academy founded by Plato in Athens, is an important example. Among Christians, the same mystical tendency, perhaps intensified by contact with the angelology of Hellenized Jewish literature on contemplating the divine, appears in a series of short treatises on subjects such as the divine names and the celestial hierarchy written in Syria or Palestine. Authored by someone plainly beguiled by Proclus's ideas, these works circulated under the name of Dionysius, mentioned in Acts 17:34 as one of those ancient pagans Paul confronted at the Areopagus who was converted by the apostle's words. Under so august an imprimatur, the works of Pseudo-Dionysius rose to a position of great prominence in subsequent Christian traditions of Neoplatonizing mystical theory and practice.⁶

The early centuries following the conversion of the Roman Empire thus witnessed the maturation of a current of Christian speculation in great part continuous with late Antique patterns of thought that either preceded the conversion or were evident after it outside Christian circles. Consequently, this first phase of medieval philosophy responded to some of the concerns of philosophy as practiced today. We can plot it along a historical trajectory connecting the philosophy of classical Greece with that of the modern world.

The situation changed dramatically from the late sixth century on. After Boethius and Cassiodorus, educated discourse in the western part of the empire became less hospitable to the kind of reflection involved in Augustine's vision of Christian life as the successful completion of the philosopher's quest for wisdom. Glimpses of the earlier tradition are found in Spain, politically subject at the time to kingdoms of the Germanic Visigoths. Work continued there in the Latin encyclopedic tradition, into which much of Greek speculation had been poured in the centuries of Rome's greatness. Most renowned in our period are the *Etymologies* of Isidore, bishop of Seville. Elsewhere in the West, attention was devoted increasingly only to narrative, affective, and practical ends. Even writing on solely religious subjects became less theological, in the sense of being less engaged in the systematic examination and exploration of doctrines, and more devotional and inspirational. In the eastern part of the empire, the Emperor Justinian is commonly assumed to have closed the

schools of philosophy in Athens in 529. If there actually was such a closure (the argument has been made that pagan philosophers continued to attract students in Athens after Justinian), it should not be thought of as delivering the deathblow to Graeco-Roman philosophical thought.⁷ Already here, too, “philosophy” even in Christian form, as promoted from Justin to Boethius, was hardly at the center of learned attention any longer.

MONASTIC DISCIPLINE AND SCHOLARSHIP

This brings us to the second part of our story, which runs to the middle of the eleventh century and focuses on the West. From the end of the sixth century the western half of the Mediterranean world suffered a series of profound economic and demographic shocks, which drew it further and further away, commercially, politically and, finally, culturally, from the still vital centers of Roman empire and economy in the Greek-speaking East.⁸ What followed was not the extinction of the classical Latin learning that had nourished the first phase of medieval philosophy, but a narrowing of focus and a redirecting of interest. Already since the fifth century in Gaul, the sixth in Italy, public schools of Latinity and literature had disappeared. Prominent Romans, and Germans who aspired to eminence, learned their letters in the home, perhaps with a private tutor. These were the individuals who carried on what was to remain of literate discourse, as the politics and economy of empire withered away. It was among Christian bishops and in the households or *familiae* of dependents and advisers gathered around them where such learning occasionally rose above an elementary level. Increasingly, however, the tools did not include what previous generations had called philosophy, nor even, among the three fundamental linguistic arts known as the trivium, logic or *dialectica*. What was learned at home was simply grammar, which included familiarity with the classics of Latin prose and poetry, and the rudiments of rhetoric or style. The products composed in the episcopal foyers of higher culture were primarily sermons, accounts of miracles, and history.⁹

Thus began what I have called a period of dormancy for medieval philosophy. With one startling exception, there is little in these centuries we today would identify as “philosophical,” and perhaps more importantly, not much that Augustine or Boethius would have called

philosophy either. Instead, the inspiration and vehicle for learning and literacy lay with a new culture of Latin monasticism. When abstract speculative and analytic thought emerged again in the late eleventh century, however, it emerged in the monastic milieu, which therefore deserves our attention.

By tradition, the origins of Christian monasticism are traced to the heroic founders Antony and Pachomius in early fourth-century Egypt. Some of the desert communities of ascetics that sprang up from these beginnings interacted significantly with the center of Hellenistic learning in Alexandria. Guided by the ideal of Christian philosophy epitomized by Origen, they situated the monk's quest for holiness along the path of the philosopher's pursuit of wisdom.¹⁰ But those currents most influential for early western developments followed another course. Here Antony's search for inner peace and indifference to the world through passionate combat with the demons of temptation and despair provided the model for ascetic discipline. It was a mission at once more practical than speculative and more routinizing than developmental.

In the early fifth century this way of life was introduced into the western Mediterranean on the islands of Lérins, off what is now southern France, and in Marseilles. These areas rapidly became training grounds for monastic discipline in the Latin West, schools of monastic practice and springboards for proselytism into Roman territory to the north and west. They were not, however, schools for letters. As with the contemporary episcopal centers of late Antique erudition, entry into these communities required a minimal foundation in grammar and rhetoric, but the goal here was not to advance Christian scholarship or shape learned Christian sensibilities. Their program thus mirrored even less Augustine's idea of the search for wisdom. The aim was to acquire the habits of the monastic heroes and beat down the desires of the flesh. Besides the Bible, the literature most relevant to the monastic curriculum consisted of saints' lives and homely accounts of monastic virtue, the most famous of which were circulated in various collections as the *Apophthegmata patrum* or *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*.¹¹

It is in this light that we must view the invocation of Psalm 34:12 in the *Rule* of Benedict, written in mid-sixth-century Italy and normative within western monasticism from the ninth century on. There God calls out to his human handiwork: "Who is the man that

will have life, and desires to see good days?" The expected response is to "[lay] aside [one's] own will [so as to] take up the all-powerful and righteous arms of obedience to fight under the true King, the Lord Jesus Christ" ([362] 43). The quest for goodness, already for several centuries defined as the Christian equivalent of the philosopher's way of life, is now interpreted to mean withdrawal behind claustral walls in assumption of a discipline of communal prayer and personal submission to one's abbot. For those willing to follow a directive of this sort, classical figures like Socrates and Plato, or, still closer to home, Augustine and Boethius, no longer provide appropriate exemplars. Ruder, more heroic models step forth, greatest of all the fourth-century Gallo-Roman hermit, Martin of Tours. Tellingly, his lessons for living were transmitted not by means of dialogue, confession, or meditation, but rather in the life of a saint.¹²

Not that the Latin monastic milieu was entirely hostile to more speculative sorts of learning. A tradition of active scholarship originated in Ireland, which had been converted to Christianity in the fifth century, just as Roman military authority was being displaced in the rest of western Europe by Germanic warbands. Here, where the Graeco-Roman social order had never taken root, there arose a Christian learning that depended on the grammatical and rhetorical minimum of the Antique syllabus but which, unlike on the continent, where letters survived in the homes of the elite, was generated entirely within the monastic milieu in which it was applied. By the mid-seventh century this Latin-Irish hybrid of personal mortification and the discipline of Roman letters had been transplanted via missionary activity to northern England. There a cluster of monastic foundations nurtured an efflorescence of literacy in which some of Augustine's intellectual vision reappears. The double monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow yielded the finest fruit of this culture in the prolific writer and virtual type of central medieval monastic scholar, Bede (d. 735). Besides composing biblical commentaries, Bede was, so to speak, an expert on time: he wrote both a history of the English church and a treatise on the esoteric calculations involved in determining the date of Easter.

On the basis of eighth-century English monastic learning, along with a likely infusion from the apparently still uninterrupted cultivation of late Latin higher studies in northern Spain, a remarkable if relatively brief cultural phenomenon arose on the European continent

in the protective shadow of a dynasty of expansionist Frankish kings, Charlemagne and his immediate successors.¹³ In the writings of Carolingian scholars during the late eighth and first three-quarters of the ninth century there breaks to the surface a taste for speculation and inquiry, and an application of the nearly forgotten art of logic. For the first time in the West since the fifth century, theological controversy about specific doctrines engaged the curiosity of intellectuals eager to reason about their faith. The philosophical giant among them, and a sometimes alarming figure for later thinkers to deal with, was John Scottus Eriugena (d. c. 877). Born in Ireland (hence "Eriugena"), he knew Greek and read and translated Pseudo-Dionysius. John's access to the Platonizing mystical tradition provided some of the elements for his *Periphyseon*, a daring speculative vision of "natures" coming from and returning to God.

Yet the exceptional erudition of the Carolingian period was just that, an exception – in Eriugena's case a stunning one. Western monastic culture of the central Middle Ages fostered a learning inclined toward *ascesis*, capable of producing marvelous choreographies of chant, prayer, and liturgy but hardly works of speculative import.¹⁴ We must wait another two centuries for significant philosophizing in the West. Elsewhere the situation was very different.

ISLAM

In 622 the Arab prophet Muhammed fled from his native city of Mecca to the more welcoming Medina, where he began in earnest his ultimately successful mission of bringing to the whole of the Arabian peninsula what he presented as God's final revelation to humankind. Here, at the opposite extremity of the Roman world from Ireland, so important about the same time for the medieval West, there arose in a whirlwind a movement, both religious and profoundly social, that within a century would sweep up much of what remained of the politically integrated parts of the Roman Empire, along with its even more ancient imperial rival, Persia. By the 720s the military and political domain of Islam stretched from Spain in the west through northern Africa, Palestine, Syria, and Arabia, to the Tigris and Euphrates valley, Persia, and the frontiers of India in the east. A core of the eastern Roman Empire was preserved in Greece, the Balkans, and Asia Minor. This was what nowadays is called the Byzantine

Empire, centered on Constantinople. However, the bulk of the lands in which the Christian version of Hellenized learning still retained some vitality fell under a new dispensation.

It is important to note that despite its expansionism and its insistence on absolute submission among believers to the new rule of faith embodied in the Qur'an, the conquering Muslim political elite was not intolerant of either the peoples or the cultures over which it established hegemony. In Syria, for example, late Antique philosophy, as exemplified in the Hellenized Jews of Alexandria, Origen, Porphyry, and even the more mystical Proclus and Pseudo-Dionysius, continued to be promoted among a learned stratum at the top of the dominated society. By the late ninth century this type of literate discourse had established a beachhead within Arabic intellectual circles. Al-Kindi, a sometime resident of the city of the caliphs at Baghdad, is commonly venerated as the father of Arab philosophy, both for his own writings and for the work he encouraged in others. For the next two hundred years, the central period of monasticism in the West, it was preeminently in the Islamic world that the intellectual quest for wisdom persisted and advanced. Here we may place a beginning of the third major phase in the history of medieval philosophy.

Already, with al-Kindi, Muslim interest in Greek philosophy displayed a particular fascination with the works of Aristotle. In this it paralleled a direction Boethius had taken three centuries before, which undoubtedly facilitated the reception of Arabic thought in the West when Boethius's work itself was revived around the end of the eleventh century. But the rapidity with which the Islamic world developed a mastery of the whole Greek heritage and began to chart a path of its own is astounding. The great Persian polymath Ibn Sina (Avicenna, d. 1037) produced the most impressive speculative synthesis since the early Neoplatonists. In its influence on critics and defenders alike, both in Islam and in the West, Ibn Sina's thought easily bears comparison with that of Kant or Hegel in modern times.

In Spain, site of an emirate opposed to Baghdad since the mid-eighth century and then home of the caliphate of Córdoba from 929, a separate flowering of the same extraordinary culture began only slightly later. Here the dynamism of Jewish communities ensured that learned Jews would play a prominent role. The strongly Neoplatonizing *Fountain of Life*, written in Arabic by the eleventh-century

Jewish poet Solomon Ibn Gabirol (Avicbron), was influential among Muslims and also, in Latin translation, in later Christian circles to the north. By the twelfth century the focus had narrowed even more sharply on Aristotle than before, and the interpretative sophistication applied to his works by Spanish intellectuals had taken a qualitative step beyond all earlier treatments. Moses Maimonides, a Jew born and educated in Córdoba but active for many years as a physician in Cairo, pointed the way with his *Guide for the Perplexed*, written, like Gabirol's work, in Arabic. In Ibn Rushd (Averroes), a contemporary Córdovan physician and lawyer who ended his days in Marrakesh in 1198, Muslim scholarship produced a monumental series of commentaries on Aristotle's writings that provided a focus for some of the most important philosophical debates of the following centuries. Later Christian thinkers, for example, would find enunciated in Averroes the challenging ideal of a purely philosophical way of life superior to the way of religious faith.

Taken in its entirety, the evolution of speculative thought in the Muslim world marked a considerable enrichment of the philosophical heritage of late Antiquity. And Arabic achievements in mathematics and natural philosophy, especially astronomy, laid the foundations for later medieval science in the West and ultimately set the stage for the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century.

THE RISE OF THE WEST AND THE REEMERGENCE OF PHILOSOPHY

By the year 1050 the western European territories of the old Latin world had absorbed, Christianized, and politically acculturated Germanic lands all the way to Scandinavia, as well as Slavic regions in central Europe. The West now projected a more formidable presence on the global stage. Here, in the homeland of the monastic learning of Bede and the magnificent Benedictine abbeys of the central Middle Ages, philosophy reawakened. The first stirrings were independent of developments in Islam. We may thus speak of two separate beginnings of the third phase of our story, one in Islam with al-Kindi and his successors, another in Europe with Anselm and Abelard. In the sometimes turbulent confluence of these two currents of thought we shall find some of the major achievements of high-medieval philosophy.

The roots of the western social transformation reach back at least to the tenth century in what would become an economic revolution across medieval Europe. By a combination of technological innovations (including the wheeled plough, horseshoes, and the horse collar) and a reconfiguring of the social structure that was tied to the spread of feudalism and the increased power of feudal lordships, northeastern Europe evolved between 900 and 1100 from a sparsely populated rural landscape of virtually subsistence agriculture to a more complex topography of surplus production, rapidly rising population, emergent towns (or even small cities), and the beginnings of significant markets and commerce.¹⁵

It was this fundamental transformation, from a backward to a dynamic society, that explains the rise of the West in late medieval and early modern times. Internal signs of the new order can be seen in the reinvigoration of royal monarchies in France and England, the appearance of self-governing urban communes in Italy, and reform in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the church, evidenced in a push toward clerical celibacy and greater independence from secular control. Externally, the change announced itself in a more aggressive posture toward Latin Europe's neighbors. The Reconquista – the military expansion of northern Christian principalities into the central and eventually southern heartlands of Muslim Spain – was well underway by mid-eleventh century. In 1054 an increasingly self-assured and uncompromising papacy in Rome excommunicated the patriarch of Constantinople. The schism with Eastern Orthodoxy remains to this day. Most famously, in 1095 there began the first of those massive, and for two hundred years periodic, invasions of western soldiers of fortune and salvation into the Mediterranean east, the Crusades.

The importance of all this for European, indeed for world history, can scarcely be exaggerated. Here lies the origin of what is seen today as western global hegemony, the desirability, inevitability, durability, or even reality of which is hotly debated but which nevertheless seems to haunt the collective consciousness as a sort of pan-ethnic nightmare or dream-come-true.

With regard to philosophy, these events meant the birth of a society in which the learned were free to turn their efforts to analysis and speculation for their own sake, and eventually to that use of pure reason on which philosophy prides itself today. Symptoms of

the new habits of mind, and of a type of literate culture entirely different from any of those described before, first appeared within the very institutions of scholarly activity and literary production most characteristic of western Europe in the central Middle Ages: the monasteries. These had not only been at the vanguard of the preaching, religious devotions, and historical writing of our second medieval period, but had also provided the pedagogical foundation for it. As indicated above, that foundation included grammar and rhetoric but generally not the other linguistic art of Antiquity, logic. Beginning in the eleventh century, some of the most learned monks started to search among the logical texts of Aristotle and Boethius, which were conserved in their libraries, for something they felt was missing from their education.

A powerful voice promoting the fascination with logic was heard at one of the centers for ecclesiastical and spiritual reform, the abbey of Bec in the duchy of Normandy. There the Italian prior Lanfranc, who had previously composed a commentary on the epistles of St. Paul in which he analyzed their logical as well as rhetorical and grammatical structure,¹⁶ took up the challenge to apply the tools of dialectic to matters of religious doctrine currently in dispute. In the controversy and exchange of treatises between Lanfranc and Berengar of Tours over the nature of the Eucharist, the art of logic assumed a place of prominence in the discourse of the literate elite for the first time in Latin western Europe since the Carolingian period. By the end of the eleventh century even more persuasive advocates had begun to be heard, such as the embattled early nominalist, Roscelin, and Anselm of Aosta, who was Lanfranc's successor as prior at Bec and eventually also as the second Norman archbishop of Canterbury.

Medieval speculation achieved a new clarity and rigor in Anselm's writings. The most famous of these among philosophers, the *Proslogion*, sets forth what can be read as a reason-based proof of God. It provided the historical foundation for what later became known as the "ontological argument." The *Proslogion* was originally entitled "Faith Seeking Understanding." Here, in a meditation fully grounded in the Benedictine monastic tradition, reappear the lineaments of Augustine's ideal of a Christian intellectual quest for wisdom. Describing himself as "one who strives to raise his mind to the contemplation of God and seeks to understand what he believes," Anselm insisted, not only that the use of reason did not undermine faith, but

that it was in fact fully appropriate to it. "I am not," he said, "trying, O Lord, to penetrate thy loftiness . . . but I desire in some measure to understand thy truth." His celebrated characterization of the project he was engaged in is this: "I do not seek to understand in order to believe, but I believe in order to understand" (*Proslogion*, preface and ch. 1).¹⁷

This new model for intellectual endeavor revived a form of discourse long absent from the West. It also altered the character of that discourse. With its exceptional emphasis on logic, it infused the erudition of the high Middle Ages with a deeply analytic hue. In his dialogues on such subjects as truth, free will, and the fall of the Devil, even the devout contemplative Anselm can sound more like a late thirteenth-century university master than like the rhetorically molded Augustine. The bent for logic took hold in the late eleventh- and early twelfth-century West at a breathtaking pace. By 1100 it had found a champion at Paris in the person of Peter Abelard, whose brilliance outshone all contemporaries and pointed toward the first significant advances in logical theory since the late Antique Stoics. Twelfth-century thinkers were indeed so much aware of what they were adding to the heritage of Aristotle and Boethius, especially in propositional logic and the theory of terms, that they coined a phrase for the dialectic of their own day, the *logica modernorum* or "logic of the moderns."¹⁸

Such a desire to apply the tools of reason, honed by dialectic, extended to every area of learning. The first signs of the new habits of thought in Berengar and Lanfranc had appeared in discussion of an important but limited theological subject, the sacrament of the Eucharist. With Abelard in the early twelfth century the methodical study of religious belief took flight. Now the full panoply of rational speculation and logical analysis was turned toward understanding the whole range of Christian faith and practice. The result was a virtual reinvention of theology as systematic and in places highly abstract discourse, a marked departure from the memorative and associative meditative habits of the monastic past. Abelard spoke for a new sensibility when he defended his pathbreaking efforts in theology. He explained that he was responding to "students who were asking for human and logical reasons on this subject, and demand[ing] something intelligible rather than [the] mere words" they were fed in

the traditional sacred learning of their day (Abelard, *Historia calamitatum* [152] 78).

The same thirst for reasoned understanding was felt with regard to human conduct and the external world. Abelard's *Ethics* presents an intentions-based explication of moral accountability that commands respect to this day on its philosophical merits. And where previously a minimal natural philosophy centered on astronomy and the calendar had sufficed, along with the rich symbolic interpretations of biblical and literary exegesis, learned minds of the twelfth century began to demand causal explanations of processes and careful categorizing of the properties and types of things. Echoing Abelard on religious thought, Adelard of Bath, an Englishman who led the drive toward new methods of inquiry about externalities, insisted that God had endowed humankind with reason just so that we could ferret out the rules under which the created world operated. Far from undermining a fundamental confidence that God was ultimately responsible for all that was and all that happened, such an understanding revealed the extraordinary providence of a Divinity who chose to work through regular but mediating causation.¹⁹ Indeed, the growing tendency among twelfth-century thinkers to view the cosmos as a rationally ordered structure, amenable to investigation and analysis by the rational mind, has prompted some historians to describe this period as a time of the "Discovery of Nature."²⁰ There can be no doubt that "*natura*" and its Greek equivalent, "*physis*," were increasingly used by Latin scholars both to describe the external world and to indicate the regularities upon which its workings depended.

A convenient way to conceptualize this ordered harmony was readily available in Neoplatonic cosmological texts preserved in monastic libraries. Indeed, the prototype itself could be used: the single work of Plato that had been translated into Latin in the late Empire, his *Timaeus*. The popularity in France of treatises in natural philosophy built upon a Platonizing metaphysics and vision of the universe has encouraged historians to propose that there was a specific School of Chartres, an episcopally supervised center of learning where key writers of such works were to have studied and taught and from which their views were disseminated throughout the Latin West. Though it is no longer fashionable to think of Chartres as the

physical location of a school of this sort, a Platonic worldview did shape most approaches to nature in western Europe in the twelfth century.²¹

A similar inclination also made Latin intellectuals receptive to the vigorous traditions in natural philosophy and mathematics in Islamic territories to the south and east: Spain, southern Italy, and Sicily. The cultivated medical and philosophical circles of Toledo, Córdoba, Valencia, and Seville, where Hebrew, Arabic, and Latin met in a truly multivalent scholarly environment, drew individuals like Adelard from England and Gerard of Cremona from Italy, who steeped themselves in Jewish and Muslim learning and began to translate texts into Latin: firstly the speculative riches from this part of the world and eventually works from the classical Greek and Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean. Southern Italy was also a locus of intense activity, particularly at the centers of medical learning in and around Salerno, where texts were composed that transmitted much of Greek and Islamic natural philosophy to the West.

So radical a shift in educated attitudes and interests, and so massive an infusion of learning from foreign sources, could hardly avoid provoking opposition. At stake was nothing less than the fate of two divergent if not necessarily opposing cultural forms. On the one hand stood the old liturgical, devotional, and meditative routine of the monasteries; on the other, the new thirst for speculation and analysis applied to everything in mind and the world. For some of those committed in spirit to the older rhythms of Latin monastic culture, the relation of Abelard's style of theology to genuine Christian faith was much like the relation of Athens to Jerusalem in the eyes of Tertullian. Prominent among such cultural conservatives was the influential religious reformer and preacher, Bernard of Clairvaux. Spurred on by traditional teachers of sacred studies, he managed the condemnation of some of Abelard's doctrines in 1140 at the ecclesiastical Council of Sens, the second to be called against the great logician become theologian. In a letter to Pope Innocent II, composed for the occasion, Bernard pilloried the pedagogical methods of such a man who, he said, would "[put] forward philosophers with great praise and so [affront] the teachers of the Church, and [prefer] their imaginations and novelties to the doctrine and faith of the Catholic Fathers." Making clear that it was Abelard's method as much as the substance of what he said that brought offense, Bernard alluded to

Abelard's own justification, sure that his antagonist's words would stand as their own condemnation: "I thought it unfitting that the grounds of the faith should be handed over to *human reasonings* for discussion, when, as is agreed, it rests on such a sure and firm foundation" (Letter 189 [23] 89; emphasis added).

Yet for all Bernard's prominence as an institutional reformer and spokesperson for a newly triumphant ecclesiastical hierarchy, his call for a united stand against the novel learning was doomed to failure.²² The enthusiasm for speculative wisdom and an analytical approach to interpretation was too powerful to be suppressed. Already, before Bernard, institutions were developing which nurtured and disseminated the new ways among an ever-widening cohort of logicians and speculative thinkers – indeed, philosophers in both the late Antique and modern senses of the word. By the end of the eleventh century circles of erudition again gathered around prominent bishops, as in the latter centuries of the western Roman Empire, but in an original form. We now find what can legitimately be called cathedral schools, with masters paid by the bishop and students drawn from beyond the resident clergy. A scattering of these schools across France and England became known for intellectual specialties: religious teaching at Laon, grammar and dialectic at Paris, rhetoric at Orleans, Arabic and Greek natural philosophy at Hereford. It was to such educational hotspots that bright minds like Abelard were drawn, and, as in his case, it was in such places that they often began their own teaching careers. At times an individual with a reputation like Abelard's would even offer instruction without seeking formal ecclesiastical sanction, taking on students who paid for their lessons in a sort of private school.

In centers of higher education like these, from cathedral schools to monastic and *ad hoc* private gatherings of students, the whole Antique curriculum was revived, not just grammar and rhetoric, but also of course logic, third of the arts of the trivium, and now the four mathematical arts or quadrivium as well: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Given the burgeoning interest in natural philosophy, indeed in philosophy of any sort, broadly conceived, it comes as no surprise that the educational program at a few of these locales expanded beyond anything offered in late Rome. We begin to see places where inquiry into nearly every area of thought or practice was formally promoted.

At the heart of it all stood logic, now the paradigm for investigation and summary in all fields. Starting with the reading and literal exposition in the classroom of the fundamental texts in a subject, a formal system of question and answer arose, whereby students could both exercise their logical skills in debate and put the words of the authorities under the lens of critical analysis, advancing toward greater comprehensiveness, increasing consistency of exposition, and enhanced clarity of understanding. This classroom method of analysis, debate, and resolution quickly became standard throughout the emerging schools. The major disciplines of high medieval learning started to take shape, crystallizing around the seed of newly composed and soon universally adopted textbooks that were structured as collections of debating points touching on all significant aspects of the subject field.²³ In theology there was the Parisian Peter Lombard's *Sentences* of the mid-twelfth century, in canon law the scarcely earlier *Decretum* of Master Gratian of Bologna, and in logic the numerous commentaries, summaries, and collections of questions associated with various academic factions, particularly at the metropolis of learning in Paris.

RATIONALIZATION IN SOCIETY: POLITICS, RELIGION, AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

From a broader perspective, the explosive advancement of reasoning – that is, the explicit application of logic as both analytic and synthetic tool – into the method of choice for learned discourse was linked to a more general phenomenon of the rationalization of society itself. Rationalization is meant here in the sense of a differentiation of social functions and regularization of the practices by which they were carried out, all accompanied necessarily by increased complexity of institutions – what we would associate today with “bureaucracy.” The two sorts of rationalization, intellectual and social, went hand in hand, for each encouraged and was dependent on the progress of the other. I mentioned above that royal monarchies had risen by the late eleventh century to a position of eminence as instruments of political order in the increasingly prosperous and populous lands of western Europe. The twelfth century saw consolidation of these achievements, to the point where a few kingdoms became by far the dominant political structures, foundations for the

nation-states that would emerge in early modern times. Evidence of the new political reality can be seen in the effective implementation of a "royal peace" over broad swaths of England, France, northern Spain, and southern Italy. In this case, "peace" meant not just a muting of the hostilities that had characterized the competition among feudal lordships during the central Middle Ages, but also the dynamic expansion of royal power to enforce compliance with kingly expectations of acceptable behavior.

The state of the ecclesiastical order was also changing. Controversies over the customary rights of lay rulers to control the appointment of bishops in their domains were increasingly resolved in favor of the church's independence. As archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm had played a part in this in the early twelfth century. A century later, the first article of Magna Carta declared that the king should leave inviolate "the rights and liberties of the English church." By this time, the papacy had become a recognized and effective monarchy in its own right, claiming unique and comprehensive authority as heir to the prince of the apostles, St. Peter. Papal dominion was exercised primarily over officers of the institutional church, first and foremost bishops and abbots, but in the thirteenth century there were also implicit claims to an authority in secular affairs vying with or perhaps even superseding that of kings and emperors.

For lay and ecclesiastical government in this period, the most concrete achievement was the elaboration of a dual system of royal and papal courts. These reached out into localities that had hitherto known only the customary justice of feudal law. They brought the possibility of appeal to monarchical, and thus from a local point of view less lordly and partisan, adjudication within reach of people farther down on the social scale than ever before. Such agency and intervention required funding. Taxation by both lay and ecclesiastical authorities developed rapidly over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with some of the most ingenious innovations being made by the popes. Taxes brought with them the need for administration of collection and expenditure, and so the first real treasuries arose. The most famous of these was the English Exchequer, with written accounting procedures and permanent personnel: in short, a primitive bureaucracy.

Transformation was not limited to officialdom and the upper reaches of society. There was ferment at the popular level, too. From

the late eleventh century this took shape most noticeably in agitation for increased lay participation in religion and the development of novel devotional forms. There was also widespread criticism of the way of life and moral standards prevalent among the clergy. The predictable strain between such grass-roots activism and official efforts at organization and control erupted in accusations of heresy, marks of the first instances of anything that could be characterized as popular or broadly social heresy in western Europe since late Rome.²⁴ By the last decades of the twelfth century parts of southern France, northern Italy, and the Rhineland counted at least two well-developed networks of popular religious communities, the Cathars and the Waldensians, each opposed to the dominance and challenging the authenticity of the established ecclesiastical hierarchy, and each labeled heretical by most secular and clerical officials.

The response from the higher authorities was to erect institutional bulwarks against dispersion of power, either material or ideological. On the ideological side, the popes began in the twelfth century to call the first universal or "ecumenical" church councils since the eighth century, the first ever in western Europe. Such gatherings, which did not of course include representatives of the Orthodox eastern churches, lent support to papal claims to lead a church in which lines of authority coalesced at the top. They also defined acceptable – that is, orthodox – doctrine and constructed an apparatus of discipline. In 1215 at the Fourth Lateran Council in Rome, for instance, Pope Innocent III presided over an assembly of officials from all over Latin Christendom. The result was an authorized statement of the faith that all Christians were required to accept, and a call for personal confession to a priest and reception of the Eucharist at least once each year by all believers. After centuries of relative indifference, these measures showed a serious intent to bring the laity into the churches and in touch at minimum with the rudiments of belief. But the council also issued an unmistakable threat of retribution for dissent. This became explicit in the formal reaffirmation of an injunction delivered by an earlier pope in 1184, which commanded bishops to investigate their dioceses annually for evidence of non-conformity. Here lie the origins of the medieval and early modern Inquisition.²⁵

Measures like these, and the often more brutal steps taken by lay governments to suppress dissent and manufacture at least the

appearance of acquiescence and uniformity, have brought historian R. I. Moore to write of the "formation of a persecuting society" in western Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a view increasingly adopted in recent scholarship on the late medieval and early modern periods.²⁶ In this light, one of the salient institutional accomplishments of ecclesiastical organization in the early thirteenth century, the founding of the first two orders of mendicant or begging friars, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, assumes a profoundly ambiguous character. Wandering among the populace as irreproachably unworldly and impoverished preachers of orthodoxy, the mendicants quickly became assimilated into official mechanisms of education and ecclesiastical discipline. On the educational side, the friars' preaching and teaching was greatly informed by instruction in their own houses of study and at the developing centers of higher learning. On the disciplinary side, Dominicans, followed soon by the Franciscans, assumed a conspicuous role in a centralizing papal inquisition, which was set up during the thirteenth century to circumvent the bishops' yearly inquisitorial forays. This was the broader social context of high medieval philosophy, one fraught with strategies for control and efforts to impose order in a disorderly and protesting world.

The immediate institutional context in which the new learning took place was itself also rationalized. There were a number of models: Italian communes, the new monastic orders, and particularly the growth of merchant and artisan guilds in commercial centers. With these as examples, hitherto unregimented clusters of schools at some of the most prominent sites of educational activity began to consolidate and organize themselves along corporate institutional lines. The impetus for such moves arose from the community of masters (or students!) at each site. The legal basis was the newly revived Roman law concept of a corporation, a group of individuals acting at law as one person. Though steps in this direction must have been taken at places like Paris and Bologna by mid-twelfth century, it is in the thirteenth century that the first documents appear attesting to the existence of these pedagogical monopolies. By then Paris, Bologna, and Oxford were universally accepted producers of higher learning, and at least five more such centers were founded by century's end: Cambridge, Padua, Naples, Toulouse, and Montpellier. By the fourteenth century these institutions were habitually named by one of the synonyms for corporations, "universities."

It was in the universities that the apparatus of advanced education associated with the European high Middle Ages took shape. Within each university, the groups of masters and scholars working in the emergent disciplines organized themselves into faculties, with their own sense of subcorporate identity and their own official seals to ratify documents. Foundational for all other higher studies were the arts, developed out of the traditional trivium and quadrivium but including a more varied selection from what would be thought of today as philosophy and natural science, and giving greatest attention to logic. The Faculty of Arts thus came together at the nucleus of each university and was the faculty from which the majority of matriculating students would receive instruction. Among more advanced studies, for which certification as a Bachelor in Arts would ordinarily be expected as precondition, a classic trio soon established itself: Law, divided into the two major subdisciplines of civil and ecclesiastical or canon law; Medicine; and by the mid-thirteenth century the queen of faculties and most prestigious, Theology. At the same time each faculty began to formalize its curriculum, with required texts and courses, examinations, teaching apprenticeships or bachelorhoods, time limits, and ceremonial certification of accomplishment, the bases for modern academic degrees. Thus grew up an elaborate system for obtaining credentials in fields tailored to complex societal demands. It was, of course, a society swiftly advancing in institutional specialization and hence requiring increasingly technical and differentiated skills of writing and reasoning in government, religion, and, in areas of commercial wealth, even services like medicine. We see here the early stages of professionalization for a growing number of the learned elite in western Europe.

This whole complex underlay the high and late medieval “scholasticism” that constitutes the discursive form for learning and speculation in the western heyday of our third phase of medieval philosophy.

ARISTOTLE AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY SCHOLASTICISM

Perhaps the most significant single event associated with the ripening of this culture, and surely the one attracting most attention in histories of medieval thought, was the assimilation of nearly the complete corpus of Aristotle’s surviving writings. On the material

side, this amounted to the integration into the curriculum, primarily for the Faculty of Arts but also to a considerable degree for Theology, of Aristotle's works beyond the first books of the *Organon*. Driven by an assiduous program of translations, first from Arabic versions but increasingly from the original Greek and frequently subsidized by ecclesiastical or secular officials, late twelfth- and thirteenth-century academics familiarized themselves intimately with the rest of the *Organon* and then with Aristotle's contributions to the natural sciences, followed by his metaphysics almost simultaneously with his ethics, and lastly his politics.

On the formal side, the story has to do with a new paradigm for knowledge. Most critical here were the unpacking and ostensible adoption of Aristotle's prescriptions for cognition of the highest sort: "*epistèmè*" in Greek, "*scientia*" in Latin. For each field of investigation the goal became the identification of basic principles defining "evidently" the essential nature of the subject and then the rigorous deduction, from such principles, of a systematic body of truths concerning the subject's properties. The key to this schema of what high medieval thinkers regularly accepted as the ideal toward which "science" should aspire lay buried in Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*. John of Salisbury, a paragon of twelfth-century erudition, had pointed to this treatise around 1160 as crucial for comprehending "the art of demonstration, which is the most demanding of all forms of reasoning." John complained that the material of the *Posterior Analytics* was "extremely subtle," confessing that in his day "but few mentalities [could] make much headway" in it (*Metalogicon* IV 6 [157] 212). Only toward the second quarter of the thirteenth century did the text receive written commentary and interpretation by Robert Grosseteste, eventual master of theology at Oxford and subsequently bishop of Lincoln.²⁷ Starting with Grosseteste, scholars in all disciplines sought to construe their work as scientific. Even theology was a candidate, at least until the mid-fourteenth century, despite the irksome problem that its first principles would seem to have been received from God by faith rather than grasped as evident in themselves in the present life. "Science" in scholastic eyes thus embraced much more than the natural and mathematical sciences recognized today.

To be sure, much of this Aristotelian content and form was received into a set of broader intellectual commitments that can only

be described as Neoplatonic, including a hierarchical notion of being and a sense of the subordination of material things to, and eventual sublimation into, the immaterial and spiritual. Furthermore, there were able minds critical of many aspects of Aristotle even at the height of his influence, such as Bonaventure and Peter John Olivi. What is called "Aristotelianism" thus took many forms in the scholastic world, none of them pure. With all these qualifications, however, it was largely under Aristotle's tutelage that extraordinary efforts were made during the thirteenth century, even in theology faculties, to establish a body of knowledge to which all rational minds, Christian or not, could be expected to assent. One result was that a great deal of what would now be considered philosophy was done by theologians.

The finest and certainly the most celebrated examples of theological speculation in which extensive philosophizing took place present themselves in the writings of a number of latter thirteenth-century theologians, all of whom taught for at least part of their career at the University of Paris, the jewel in the high medieval theological crown. They range from the Dominican friars Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, through the Franciscans Bonaventure and John Duns Scotus, to the "secular" – that is, still clerical but neither mendicant nor monastic – masters Henry of Ghent and Godfrey of Fontaines. Professional religious thinkers like these, all trained extensively in arts faculties and expert in logic, regarded what they, too, called philosophy – reasoning applied to evidence naturally obtained – as distinctively different from understanding based on truths supernaturally revealed by God. Yet they considered the former sort of thinking to be an important concomitant of the latter. If religion was to attain its full intellectual dignity, theologians had to be conversant with all that the mind could know, no matter what the source. They should never bypass a natural or logical argument when one was available, even for truths that were vouchsafed by revelation. For such intellectuals, philosophy possessed value even within their ecclesiastically sanctioned discipline just because it was theology's handmaiden, *ancilla theologiae*. And since the assistance philosophy provided was more effective the more fully its integrity was preserved in all its natural, nontheological autonomy, the speculation and analysis in which they engaged in the name of philosophy can be read and appreciated by even the most nonreligious rationalist of today.

There were in fact some scholastics, mostly in arts faculties and especially at Paris, who held that philosophy by itself could lead to the heights of truth which the masters of theology considered attainable only in their professionally privileged discourse guided by faith and the teachings of the church. Among such thinkers, most notably the arts masters Siger of Brabant and Boethius of Dacia, the ideal of a philosophical way of life carried on independently of religious institutions reappeared in the West for the first time since the days when pagan philosophers competed with "philosophized" Christians. According to some historians, these philosophers were convinced that the use of "natural reason" by itself would bring the seeker after truth to the wisdom which Origen or Augustine had sought by sublimating the Platonic quest into a striving for Christian contemplation. Unlike Origen or Augustine, they thought that taking into account the unreasoned dictates of faith or the doctrinal prescriptions of orthodoxy would get in the way.²⁸ Here the high medieval scholastics' distinction between philosophical and religious thought subordinated the latter to the former, perhaps even eradicating it altogether.

Not surprisingly, there was a reaction to this often-called Averroism even in the enlightened precincts of the "scientifically" oriented universities. Already in 1210 and 1215 ecclesiastics at Paris had banned public lectures on Aristotle's books of natural philosophy and well-known Arabic works, probably Ibn Sina's above all. These restrictions fell away with the virtual absorption of Aristotle into the academic curriculum by the 1240s. But the radical association of "wisdom" with "pure reason" by arts masters at Paris in the late 1260s and early 1270s, and even the respect such theologians as Albert and Thomas paid to philosophy as self-contained source of truth, led to renewed fears. In 1270, and again more extensively in 1277, the bishop of Paris officially condemned the teaching of a host of propositions, most of which we would consider purely philosophical, that conservative masters of theology viewed as detrimental to Christian faith but circulating freely in the Parisian schools. Aquinas's writings themselves were at least indirectly implicated in the denunciations, a situation brought nearer to the surface in like-minded condemnations by archbishops of Canterbury in 1277, 1284, and 1286.²⁹ Scholars now debate even the short-term effectiveness of these prohibitions, and by the mid-fourteenth century many

masters in arts and theology felt free to debate without regard to any of the lists of proscribed teachings. It was clear, however, that higher studies in religion and philosophy could not coexist without the risk of conflict.

By the end of the thirteenth century a similar but more ominous tug-of-war had started to emerge in circles less sequestered behind the walls of academe, more open to the laity at large. A number of theologians who maintained close ties with devotional communities of literate and semiliterate laity in the Rhineland saw the call to pursue wisdom through reason, not as an injunction to separate philosophy from theology, but as an invitation to see how, by following reason into the depths of the soul, one could come to discover the truth of revelation without recourse to ecclesiastical supervision. The Dominican friars Ulrich of Strassburg, Dietrich of Freiberg, and most famously Meister Eckhart (1260–1327) reached back to the Neoplatonic traditions of Pseudo-Dionysius and the pagans Proclus and Plotinus to reinstitute a program of personal mental enlightenment as the way to a near-beatific encounter with God. The fact that they all, again especially Eckhart, were deeply involved in ministry to the nonclerical populace lent their speculative efforts a resonance markedly different from that of earlier arts masters, such as Siger of Brabant and Boethius of Dacia. Among these first of the Rhineland mystics, we begin to see a startling cross-pollination of learned and popular discourse and the taking root of what can only be called a philosophizing attitude among the ranks of the common people.³⁰ Most intriguingly, it was communities of laywomen, popularly known since the early thirteenth century as “beguines,” that proved most receptive to this kind of thinking and provided inspiration for much of the mystical philosophy of late medieval and early modern Europe.

THE CONTESTED FOURTEENTH CENTURY

In some histories, the culmination of medieval philosophy, or indeed, of all philosophy, is in the thirteenth century. Over the last fifty years, however, scholars attuned to contemporary logic and analytic philosophy have also found much to admire in fourteenth-century thought. The scholastics of this period took as their point of departure the propositional and terminist logic that had begun to be

developed in the time of Abelard, and in the spirit of Abelard they put their results in logic to work in other fields. The new approach, the "*via moderna*," flourished in the universities throughout the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The inception of the *via moderna* is sometimes credited to the brilliant Oxford Franciscan, William of Ockham (d. 1347/48). Ockham is also celebrated – or attacked – for his nominalism, that is, for holding that universals, such as *man* and *red*, are names (*nomina*), not things (*res*). It has been argued that "conceptualism" would be a better label for Ockham's view, but in any case, neither Ockham nor his position on the problem of universals should be regarded as the whole of the *via moderna*. What is clear, however, is that fourteenth-century universities devoted enormous intellectual energy to the investigation of logical puzzles – puzzles involving self-reference, for example – and to games called "obligations," where the aim was to catch an opponent in contradiction as a result of accepting apparently quite consistent premises. Such activities bespeak a preoccupation with the philosophy of language and issues of logical form that makes scholastic discourse of the period seem curiously at home in the world of twentieth-century analytic philosophy. At the same time, there was a bent in the fourteenth century for intense analysis of the nature of quantity and for experimentation with modes of quantitative reasoning in the most disparate academic disciplines, from physics to theology. Leaders here were a group at Oxford called in their own day the "*calculatores*." In their work and in that of such thinkers as the Parisian masters John Buridan and Nicole Oresme, some scholars have discerned foundations for the Scientific Revolution.³¹

The logical acuteness that came to rule the universities in the first part of the fourteenth century gave rise to critical attitudes in metaphysics and theology, a degree of skepticism about the solidity of systems of thought such as those of the previous century. In some cases, it has been argued, psychological analysis of how we think and act replaced metaphysical insight into the intelligible reality of what there is to think about or act for.³² Be that as it may, the status of academic theology as science or wisdom came into question. Faith served as the basis for religion without as much in the way of philosophical preamble as a Thomas Aquinas had thought to provide.

The fourteenth century also saw the bitter fruition, both in action and in theory, of political conflicts inherent in late medieval Christendom. As was mentioned above, by the end of the twelfth century the papacy had achieved monarchical authority over the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The popes were also in a position to exert considerable influence in secular affairs. Innocent III, convener of the Fourth Lateran Council, intervened decisively in such matters on a number of occasions, skillfully managing contests between king and king, as with France against England, or between emperors and imperial electors, as in Germany. In the 1240s, in a remarkable clash between Pope Innocent IV and the German king and Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, the pope called on all Catholic monarchs to join in a crusade against the emperor himself. This initiative proved unsuccessful, but papal diplomacy managed nonetheless to check Frederick's hopes for effective rule over all of Italy and lay the basis for the collapse of the Hohenstaufen dynasty in the early 1250s.

By century's end, however, some kings had amassed an effective power to enforce compliance with their commands that dwarfed the popes' power to withstand them. It took two confrontations between Pope Boniface VIII and the king of France, Philip IV, one involving taxes and the other royal jurisdiction over high ecclesiastical officials, to make the practical state of affairs plain for all to see. But after Boniface's arrest and humiliation at the hands of French mercenaries in 1303 and his subsequent speedy disappearance from the scene, no one in Europe could doubt that what is commonly thought of as "real" power belonged to the lay ruler. For nearly seventy-five years, in fact, the court of the popes was planted just outside the French kingdom, on the banks of the Rhône in Avignon, where it was widely suspected that the French made all the critical decisions in a period described by a scandalized contemporary as the "Babylonian captivity of the church."

On the side of political theory, papal and lay powers each had their defenders. There were also thinkers who attempted to maintain a more or less balanced dualism. Around the close of the thirteenth century, the Parisian theologians Giles of Rome and James of Viterbo composed treatises espousing a view of clerical authority throughout society that has been dubbed "hierocratic," because of the governmental power it ascribes to the priesthood, transcendentally to the pope. In the early fourteenth century a more realistic prescription for the

separation of powers between secular and ecclesiastical monarchs surfaced in the works of witnesses to the recent political events, such as the theologian John of Paris. A radically antihierocratic line was taken in Marsilius of Padua's *Defender of Peace*, completed in 1324, which depicted papal claims to "fullness of power" (*plenitudo potestatis*) in temporal as well as spiritual matters as an overwhelming threat to tranquillity and order. A final medieval contribution on the papalist side came in 1326, with the *Summa on Ecclesiastical Power* of Augustine of Ancona (called Augustinus Triumphus from the sixteenth century). However, the largest body of medieval "political" writing was produced by the same William of Ockham who is traditionally given so much credit or blame for nominalism and the *via moderna*. Ockham believed that the Avignonese pope John XXII had fallen into heresy by officially condemning assertions of the absolute poverty of Christ and the apostles that most Franciscans regarded as accepted Christian truth. He accordingly wrote a massive dialogue on heresy, "especially of the pope." In later works more broadly addressed to questions of ecclesiastical and lay power, Ockham defended the normal independence of each from the other while allowing that departures from the norm – in either direction – were sometimes necessary.

It is easy to exaggerate the radicalism of antihierocratic or anti-authoritarian themes in the thought of a Marsilius or an Ockham. Legal theory and moral philosophy in the preceding centuries contain much that is supportive of individual conscience and natural rights, including the rights of secular and religious communities to take action against their rulers in extreme cases. Students of Thomas Aquinas drew from his thought and from Aristotle's *Politics* a strong interest in a "mixed" constitution as the best form of government, one combining elements of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy.³³ However, when all of these ideas are combined with those of Marsilius and Ockham, and with the theories of sovereignty elaborated by the hierocrats, we have the tumultuous beginnings of modern European political thought.

Before the turn of the century the attentive ear might also discern other signs of change. After decades of terminist logic and nominalist metaphysics, John Wyclif, master of theology at Oxford, brought the counterclaims of realism, never entirely extinguished at any point in the Middle Ages, resoundingly back to center stage. For him, the

common and universal, far from being a matter of mere names, was a higher reality than the individual and particular. In politics, Wyclif drew upon traditional attacks on ecclesiastical wealth and worldliness to advocate the virtual disendowment of the church. This gained him a momentary hearing in royal circles of the 1370s in England. The Peasants' Revolt of 1381 soured aristocratic patrons on Wyclif's ideas, but more seeds for a reordering of society had been sown. Meanwhile, scholasticism itself, or at least the unquestioned dominance of the dialectical and disputatious methods of the high medieval universities, began to show signs of retreat. In England, it has been argued, law replaced theology as the paramount field of study. Men of affairs thus ousted inhabitants of the ivory tower as leaders in the literary culture of the social and ruling elite.³⁴ By then, a new air had been stirring for some time in Italy, a self-consciously antischolastic humanism, convinced that learning and thinking had to be totally reformed for anything of value to emerge.

Yet what did the leader of this movement, Francesco Petrarca, think fitting to carry with him on his ascent of Mount Ventoux, a venture frequently taken as emblematic of the beginning of the Renaissance? Nothing other than the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, the philosophical and spiritual autobiography of the thinker with whom our narrative of medieval philosophy began. Contrary to the image of the Renaissance as anti-Christian, Augustine and other church fathers continued to exert great influence on Petrarca's followers.³⁵ Scholasticism itself survived – the scholastics berated by Renaissance luminaries were more often their own contemporaries than the figures touched on in this chapter – and the tradition of Aquinas in particular had a rebirth in the sixteenth century at Paris and in the Spanish school of Salamanca. These and still later developments are touched on in chapter 13 of this Companion, on the presence of medieval philosophy in later thought. Between this chapter and that one, my colleagues will present the ideas for which I have attempted to provide a setting, the inside story, so to speak, of the philosophy created in the contexts described thus far.

THE PLACE OF AUTHORITY IN MEDIEVAL THOUGHT

Most medieval philosophizing was done in a framework of religious beliefs primarily grounded in acceptance of particular texts as divinely inspired. Jewish, Christian, and Muslim thinkers offered

arguments for accepting the Bible or Qur'an as divine revelation,³⁶ but, once thus accepted, the sacred text acquired an authority transcending human reason. As the utterly reliable source of truth, especially truth about God's nature and purposes, Scripture henceforth served as data or pretheoretical commitment for further reasoning, not, as in much modern thought, as an object of critical – perhaps skeptical – scrutiny.

The difference between medieval and typical modern attitudes toward the authority of Scripture (and toward other authority as well) is real and cannot help but affect our reading of medieval philosophy. It is also a difference that should not be exaggerated. Two points may be made to gain a sensible perspective. The first is that authority, or something like it, plays a role in thinking at any time. No thinker, not even a Descartes, really starts from scratch or, in even the most scientific fields, attempts to provide proof for everything claimed as true. In our own day, reliance on experts is so universal as to be invisible. And the assumption that political or institutional sanction, when invoked, rests upon transparent criteria for consent is more often unexamined, maybe even unjustified, than not. The self-conscious medieval acquiescence in an authoritative voice is therefore not so blindly credulous in comparison with modern habits of thought as might be supposed.

The second point is that medieval reliance on Scripture (or respect for institutions claiming scriptural authorization) provoked thought as well as limiting it. As the word of God, Scripture could not be false, and anything contrary to Scripture could not be true. That said, however, it was no easy matter to decide in particular cases precisely what constituted the truth. Both Bible and Qur'an commonly spoke on several sides of an issue, requiring reconciliation to establish a definitive position. Did the gospel, for instance, require Christians to be pacifists (the common early view) or countenance just wars (as Augustine and others after him argued)? More importantly, most, if not all, of Scripture was subject to interpretation. The formulation by third- and fourth-century church councils of such fundamental dogmas of medieval Christian orthodoxy as the Trinity and Incarnation was the outcome of intense debate about the import of key scriptural passages (a debate, incidentally, in which Greek philosophical ideas made a significant contribution).

In a tradition with roots in classical Greek and Roman strategies for reading the canonic texts of myth and epic, Christian exegetes by

the central Middle Ages recognized four interpretative levels. There was the literal meaning of the words (which could itself be metaphorical, as when physical qualities were ascribed to God), the figural signification where the Hebrew Bible foreshadowed the Christian New Testament, the moral lesson embedded in the letter, and finally the anagogical meaning, presaging wonders to come at the end of time.³⁷ Such a hermeneutics made for extraordinary flexibility in the employment of Scripture as a standard of truth.

A considerable step down from the Bible and the Qur'an, but still of eminent authority, were the writings of authors to whom tradition had granted special prestige. A number of Christian thinkers came to be especially respected as "doctors" or teachers of the church: in the East, Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil, and John Chrysostom; in the West, the four late Roman writers Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great.

With the rise from the eleventh century of institutions of ecclesiastical discipline in western Europe, and the accompanying efforts to enforce dogmatic orthodoxy – a phenomenon anticipated by several centuries in East Rome and various power centers of Islam – it became common to cite pronouncements of the church hierarchy as evidence for truth and falsehood and perilous to gainsay them. There was unique respect for papal authority, especially as exercised in and with church councils but also as expressed in other declarations and mandates. To be sure, no precise theory of papal, episcopal, or conciliar authority gained universal acceptance in our period, even in the West. As dedicated a hierocrat as Augustine of Ancona acknowledged the possibility of papal heresy, a possibility which, as we have seen, Ockham regarded as actualized in John XXII. Nevertheless, about the time the twelfth-century schools start to coalesce, ecclesiastical oversight comes to assume a significant presence even in debates of completely secular import concerning, for example, natural philosophy.

By the time of the fully developed university system of the late thirteenth century, a few renowned "modern" theologians are also accorded almost authoritative status, especially within their own religious orders. Despite disputes over who counted as a veritable doctor, the presumption of truth increasingly clung to the statements of such thinkers as Thomas Aquinas, for Dominicans, and Bonaventure, for Franciscans.

PHILOSOPHICAL SOURCES

In the late Antique philosophical schools, the texts of their founders were regarded with profound respect. This usually remained true in the face of subsequent developments in quite different directions. Early Christian thinkers inherited this sense of reverence, though not without a touch of the countervailing suspicion of pagan thought expressed by Tertullian. Augustine not surprisingly thought of Plato as divinely inspired, even if not illumined with the fullness of Christian truth.

When these philosophical traditions were resurrected in the West in the late eleventh century, old attitudes reemerged. Plato, or any teaching attributable to him, was practically unassailable for most of the twelfth century. In the thirteenth, the secular guide to truth *par excellence* was Aristotle, "the Philosopher." Again, interpretation insured flexibility.

To understand the use of classical philosophy by medieval thinkers (or the use of Islamic and Jewish thought by Latin scholastics), it is vital to know when earlier texts became available to later readers. For the availability of classical texts in Islam, see chapter 4 below. A summary of dates of accessibility in Latin for selected texts is provided in table 1.³⁸

GENRES

Few medieval thinkers fit the modern image of professional philosophers. Accordingly, the philosophically significant ideas of the period are to be found in literary genres unlike the journal articles or systematic treatises of today. Major forms include meditative works, theological treatises, commentaries, compendiums or summaries, and various types of "questions" (which are in some respects rather like journal articles!). I will say something about each of these and a few others.

Meditative or devotional works abound in the Middle Ages. Some are of considerable philosophical interest. Among the earliest is Augustine's *Confessions*, one of the greatest monuments to speculation of all time. Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* provides a classic example from the sixth century. With the return of interest in philosophical thinking in the West in the eleventh century, the

Table 1 *Earliest translations of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic works into Latin*

Author	Work	Translator	Date
Plato	<i>Timaeus</i>	Calcidius	c. 400
Aristotle	<i>Categories</i>	Boethius	c. 510–22
	<i>De interpretatione</i>	Boethius	c. 510–22
	<i>Prior Analytics</i>	Boethius	c. 510–22
	<i>Posterior Analytics</i>	James of Venice	? 1125–50
	<i>Topics</i>	Boethius	c. 510–22
	<i>Sophistical Refutations</i>	Boethius	c. 510–22
	<i>Physics</i>	James of Venice	? 1125–50
	<i>De anima</i>	James of Venice	? 1125–50
	<i>Metaphysics</i> (nearly complete)	Michael Scot	c. 1220–24
	<i>Nicomachean Ethics</i> (complete)	Robert Grosseteste	? 1246–47
	<i>Politics</i>	William of Moerbeke	? 1260
Porphyry	<i>Introduction (Isagoge)</i>	Boethius	c. 510–22
Proclus	<i>Elements of Theology</i>	William of Moerbeke	1268
Anonymous	<i>Liber de causis</i> (drawn from Proclus)	Gerard of Cremona	before 1187
Ps.-Dionysius	<i>Mystical Treatises</i>	Scottus Eriugena	862
Ibn Sina	<i>Metaphysics (Book of Healing IV)</i>	Dominicus Gundisalvi	after 1150
	<i>De anima (Book of Healing III.6)</i>	Ibn Daoud and Dominicus Gundisalvi	after 1152
Ibn Gabirol	<i>Fountain of Life</i>	Iohannes Hispanus and Dominicus Gundisalvi	after 1152
Maimonides	<i>Guide for the Perplexed</i>	Anonymous	c. 1230
Ibn Rushd	<i>Great Commentary on Aristotle's Physics</i>	Michael Scot	c. 1220–35
	<i>Great Commentary on Aristotle's De anima</i>	Michael Scot	c. 1220–24
	<i>Great Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics</i>	Michael Scot	c. 1220–24
	<i>Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics</i>	Herman the German	? 1240

mode revives, Anselm's *Proslogion* and *Monologion* leading the way and Bonaventure's *Mind's Road to God* continuing the tradition for high scholasticism of the thirteenth century.

Theological treatises investigating religious doctrine or combating perceived error were also numerous. They tended to rely heavily on scriptural or other religious authority, but the desire to understand what was believed or to express it clearly often yielded philosophical insights. Again, Augustine established the pattern with his *The Trinity*, and Boethius contributed with a cluster of short works highly influential in shaping the terminology of Latin philosophy for the later, scholastic period. The Carolingians produced writings of this sort, spectacularly in the case of Scottus Eriugena, as did scattered figures in Islam and Judaism. Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed*, for example, retains its prominence up to the present. The universities of the high medieval West proved especially fertile ground for this kind of composition, examples ranging from Grosseteste's thirteenth-century *Hexaëmeron*, a many-sided exploration of the six days of Creation, to the Englishman Thomas Bradwardine's *On God's Cause, Against Pelagius* in the fourteenth century. Despite their immediate focus on dogmatics, all these works turn constantly to philosophy for argument and elucidation.

The ancient tradition of commentaries, particularly on the classics of the philosophical legacy, was continued and further developed in the Middle Ages.³⁹ Boethius made a conspicuous start with his intention of commenting on all of Plato and Aristotle. The commentaries he did achieve, on much of Aristotle's *Organon* and on other logical texts, such as Porphyry's *Introduction*, like his theological treatises set the stage, after centuries of incubation, for the speculative renaissance of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Commentaries on classical philosophical works, and not just in logic, proliferated in western Europe in the twelfth century. More important in the long run were the efforts of Muslim scholars. Ibn Sina's *Book of Healing* can be considered a vast commentary on all of Aristotle. Ibn Rushd took the commentary form to its height. Although he did not escape criticism (Aquinas, with rare bitterness, called him "the Depraver" of Aristotle, not "the Commentator"), his glosses on the Aristotelian corpus dominated the field for hundreds of years, in the Latin West most of all.

From these models sprang a virtual industry of commentary on the philosophical classics among university scholars, not only arts masters like John Buridan, who commented on Aristotle's natural science and ethics in the fourteenth century, but also theologians. Albert the Great introduced the West to the whole range of the Philosopher's thought, and his student Thomas Aquinas at the summit of his career as teacher of sacred doctrine produced detailed expositions of major Aristotelian treatises in logic, metaphysics, and natural and moral philosophy. Some scholastic commentaries, including most of Aquinas's, were "literal": phrase-by-phrase explications of the text. Others were in question form, posing and resolving objections to Aristotle's doctrine and sometimes taking the opportunity to put forward the commentator's own ideas at some length.⁴⁰

By far the greatest number of medieval compositions with significant philosophical content were peculiar to the schools of western Europe in the high Middle Ages, first cathedral centers and then universities. Already in the twelfth century textbooks designed for classroom use were being produced in Italy, France, and England. A prominent type was the compendium (*summa* or *summula*) on logic. The all-time classic in this line was the *Summulae logicales* of the thirteenth-century Dominican, Peter of Spain. The fourteenth century saw many more, from William of Ockham's *Summa totius logicae* to Paul of Venice's numerous handbooks.

The question (*quaestio*), the genre most closely identified with high medieval scholasticism, arose from the classroom exercises that typified pedagogy in the West from the twelfth century on: debate or disputation.⁴¹ Pitting student against student, sometimes master against master, these debates not only honed skills in logic but also served as the principal vehicle for investigating the issues. Abelard's *Sic et non*, a classroom text for theology, opened the way to the literary appropriation of this initially oral technique, and by the thirteenth century all disciplines, from arts to the higher professional studies, including theology, had accepted the disputational form as standard for the written dissemination of ideas. Collections of questions, sometimes drawn from the schoolroom, sometimes from formal debates between masters, sometimes composed privately in the author's study, dominated the Latin scholarly world.

A typical question began with a statement of a problem or thesis, followed by a list of arguments on one side of the issue and another

list in opposition. The core consisted in the determination (*determinatio*). Here the master laid out his considered response. At the end usually came a series of shorter answers to arguments from the initial listings that remained unresolved. From the later thirteenth century onward, more complexly structured questions are not uncommon: the initial sets of arguments may include objections and responses (though not the final responses), and there may be an additional round of arguments at the end (*dubitationes additae*), after the initial or “principal” arguments have been dispatched. Great care is sometimes needed to track the author’s position.

Gatherings of questions drawn from a master’s classroom disputations on a particular topic, in theology most often in conjunction with the required course on Lombard’s *Sentences*, were published – offered for public dissemination by university booksellers – as “ordinary questions” (*quaestiones ordinariae*).⁴² Scotus’s and Ockham’s courses on the *Sentences* are major sources for their philosophical as well as theological ideas. The polished revisions of special magisterial debates where questions were posed from the audience about “anything at all” (*quaestiones quodlibetales*) are our chief source for the ideas of such important thinkers as Godfrey of Fontaines and James of Viterbo and are crucial also for our understanding of Henry of Ghent. In the thirteenth century masters would occasionally design their own compilations for a whole field, even one so vast as theology. They come down to us as *summas*, the most celebrated of which is Aquinas’s *Summa theologiae*. The fourteenth century witnessed the evolution of several kinds of disputation of exceptional formal rigor, for example those associated with the logical puzzles and the “obligations” mentioned above. Each produced a literary subgenre of a specific type.

In all cases, for questions debated in an actual course or academic exercise, what circulated was not always a revision overseen by the master but sometimes a report (*reportatio*) assembled from the notes of someone in the audience. On this and related matters, see chapter 14 in this volume.

There remain three genres about which a few words are required. The Latin and Greek traditions from early on, and eventually the Arab as well, yielded works devoted simply to natural philosophy. They might be compendia, as Isidore’s *Etymologies*, or dialogues, as Adelard’s *Natural Questions*. Arab scholars excelled in astronomy

and optics, and their works in these fields profoundly influenced science and philosophy of the late medieval and early modern West. Collected letters and sermons, the Christian and Jewish equivalent to the orations of the classical golden age, can be mined for nuggets of philosophical speculation from practically any century in our period. Finally, we must not forget polemics, especially those inspired by political strife.⁴³ The evolution of government in the high and late medieval West stimulated exceptional demand for such works, many of which implicate matters of moral and political theory still resonant in the modern world.

NOTES

1. See the compelling recent statement of the case by P. Hadot [406]. There is also his *Philosophy as a Way of Life* [407].
2. E. R. Dodds [402] 92.
3. See *ibid.* 105–8 and P. Brown [66] 90–93.
4. See P. Brown [66] 94–95 on these Platonists and how they influenced Augustine.
5. See *ibid.* 299–307.
6. Proclus, *Elements of Theology* [381]. Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works* [78].
7. See A. Cameron [395] and H. J. Blumenthal [393].
8. See recent work on culture in W. A. Goffart [404] and P. Amory [392], and on economy by way of archaeology, in R. Hodges and D. Whitehouse [409].
9. Still the best introduction to this culture of late-Roman, early medieval Europe is P. Riché [421] 139–210 and 266–90.
10. On this, see O. Chadwick [397].
11. On this culture of early western monasticism, see again P. Riché [421] 100–22 and 290–303.
12. See the perennial favorite among medieval Christian readers, *The Life of St. Martin* by the learned Roman stylist, Sulpicius Severus [427]. On Martin as paradigm for a type of Christian prominence, see P. Brown [394] 106–27.
13. W. Levison [414].
14. As R. W. Southern has observed, by the eleventh century the reality of the Benedictine life for monks at the most prestigious of monastic communities, Cluny, was almost entirely absorbed in the routine of common celebration of services in the choir ([425] 160–64). Still the best description of the intellectual and spiritual inclinations of this monastic

- culture is by J. Leclercq [413]. For a more recent take on the same subject, see M. Carruthers [396]. See also J. Coleman [399]. All of the latter, however, draw heavily on developments after 1100.
15. For an introduction, see L. White Jr.'s classic *Medieval Technology and Social Change* [431].
 16. R. W. Southern [146] 33–35, 40–41.
 17. For Anselm's defense of the employment of reason in theological matters as a way of achieving an "understanding" that is "midway between faith and direct vision," see his letter to Pope Urban II at [138] I (II) 39–41, translated in part by G. Schufreider [144] 240–41.
 18. See for a start, L. M. de Rijk [471] and G. Nuchelmans [468].
 19. Adelard of Bath, *Quaestiones naturales* 1 and 4; trans. R. C. Dales [401] 39–40.
 20. M.-D. Chenu [507] 4–18.
 21. See R. W. Southern's definitive contribution to the debate in [426] 61–85.
 22. Despite his opposition to the new rationalism, Bernard's own writings represent a considerable reorientation of monastic thought toward Augustinian aspirations to wisdom. The presence of these more "philosophical" rhythms in Latin monastic speculation from the twelfth century on is what makes modern studies of western monastic learning – for example, the three mentioned above at the end of note 14 – typically more reliable guides to high than to central medieval monastic sensibilities.
 23. See B. Lawn [412] 10–13.
 24. See R. I. Moore [420].
 25. See selections from the canons of the council in E. Peters [23] 173–78.
 26. R. I. Moore [419].
 27. See S. P. Marrone [200].
 28. A. de Libera [415].
 29. For a start on the enormous literature on the condemnations, begin with R. Hissette [408].
 30. See A. de Libera [416] as well as K. Ruh [423], R. Imbach [410], and in English, B. McGinn [364].
 31. The historiographical story goes back to P. Duhem [510]. For an introduction, see J. Murdoch [528].
 32. E. Gilson [403].
 33. On rights, see B. Tierney [589] and A. S. Brett [572]. On the mixed constitution, see J. M. Blythe [571].
 34. See W. Courtenay [400] 365–68.
 35. C. Trinkaus [429].
 36. See, for example, Augustine, *The Advantage of Believing* [55]; Aquinas, *ScG* I, cc. 3–6; *ST* IIaIIae, q. 2, a. 9, ad 3. The relationship of natural,

philosophical reasoning to revealed truth is a major theme in philosophy in Islam and in medieval Jewish philosophy, as discussed in chapters 4 and 5 below.

37. See H. de Lubac [417] and B. Smalley [424].
38. This table draws heavily upon the compendium in *CHLMP* 74–79. Attributions and dates for the translations of Ibn Sina and Ibn Gabirol rely on A. Rucquoi [422]. The complex and often uncertain history of translations of Greek philosophy in the Islamic world resists tabulation. See D. Gutas [490], C. d’Ancona Costa [476], G. Endress and J. A. Aertsen [168], F. Rosenthal [496], and J. Kraye *et al.* [18] for guidance.
39. See E. Jeuneau in [36] 117–31.
40. For examples of both literal commentary and commentary in question form, see *CT* II.
41. See C. Viola in [36] 11–30.
42. On the various types of scholastic *quaestio*, consult the chapters by B. C. Bazán, J.-G. Bougerol, J. F. Wippel, and J. E. Murdoch in [36] 31–100; B. C. Bazán *et al.* [37]; and O. Weijers [430].
43. For one subtype, see J. Miethke in [36] 193–211.