mes of A HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY now available in to Books:

me 1

rts I & II-Greece & Rome

me 2 Mediaeval Philosophy

rt I - Augustine to Bonaventure

rt II - Albert the Great to Duns Scotus

me 3 Late Mediaeval and Renaissance Philosophy

rt I - Ockham to the Speculative Mystics

rt II - The Revival of Platonism to Suárez

me 4 Modern Philosophy escartes to Leibniz

me 5 Modern Philosophy - The British Philosophers

irt I - Hobbes to Paley

rt II - Berkeley to Hume

me 6 Modern Philosophy

art I - The French Enlightenment to Kant

ırt II – Kant

me 7 Modern Philosophy

nt I - Fichte to Hegel

at II - Schopenhauer to Nietzsche

me 8 Modern Philosophy - Bentham to Russell

rt I-British Empiricism and the Idealist Movement in Great Britain

ut II - Idealism in America, The Pragmatist Movement The Revolt against Idealism

me o Modern Philosophy - Maine de Biran to Sartre

ut I - The Revolution to Henri Bergson

irt II - Bergson to Sartre

A History of Philosophy

VOLUME II

Mediaeval Philosophy

PART II

Albert the Great to Duns Scotus

by Frederick Copleston, S.J.



IMAGE BOOKS
A Division of Doubleday & Company, Inc.
Garden City, New York

lectual, sensitive and vegetative activities are formally and objectively distinct; but they are formalities of the one rational soul of man. This one rational soul is, therefore, not only the principle of man's rational cognition, but it is also the principle of his sensitive activity and of his life. It gives esse vivum, and it is the formal principle by which the organism is a living organism:6 it is the substantial form of man.7 The soul is, therefore, a part of man, and it is only improperly that it can be called subsistent, since it is part of a substance rather than a substance by itself; it is the composite being, soul and body, which is a per se unum.8 The soul in the state of separation from the body is not, properly speaking, a person.9 The soul perfects the body only when the latter is properly disposed for it, and this soul has an aptitude for this body. This means, says Scotus, 10 that the soul cannot be individuated by the matter it informs, since the soul, that is, a particular soul, is infused into a body, and the creation of that soul is logically prior to its union with the body.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Scotus differs also from St. Thomas in holding that the rational soul does not confer esse simpliciter, but rather esse vivum and esse sensitivum: there is, as already mentioned, a form of corporeity. If the rational soul were to confer esse simpliciter on man, man could not really be said to die. Death involves the corruption of the 'entity' of man, and this implies that both soul and body have a reality of their own, that the being of man as man is his being as a compositum, not his being as a soul. If the soul conferred esse simpliciter and there were no other form in the body, the separation of soul from body would not mean a corruption of the being of man as man. For death to take place, man must have a being as compositum, a being distinct from that of his component parts, taken separately or together, for it is this being of man as a compositum which is corrupted at death. Moreover, St. Thomas, according to Scotus, contradicts himself. 'Elsewhere he says that the state of the soul in the body is more perfect than its state outside the body, since it is a part of the compositum'; yet at the same time he asserts that the soul confers, and therefore possesses, esse simpliciter, and that it is not less perfect merely by the fact that it does not communicate that esse to any thing other than itself. 'According to you the soul possesses the same esse totally in a state of separation which it possessed when united with the body . . . therefore it is in no way more imperfect by the fact that it does not communicate that esse to the body.'11

The soul is united to the body for the perfection of the whole man, who consists of soul and body. According to St. Thomas,12 the soul is united to the body for the good of the soul. The soul is naturally dependent on the senses for its cognition, the conversio ad phantasma being natural to it,13 and therefore the soul is united to the body for the soul's good, in order that it may operate according to its nature. For Scotus, however, as we have already seen, the direction of the human intellect towards material things and its de facto dependence on the senses originate not so much in the nature of the human reason as such as in the present state of the soul, its condition in the body as wayfarer (with the alternative suggestion that sin may possibly be the responsible factor). St. Thomas would object that in this case its union with the body is for the good of the body, not of the soul, and that this is irrational, 'since matter is for the sake of form, and not conversely'. To such an objection Scotus's answer is that the soul is united to the body, not for the good of the body simply, but for the good of the composite being, man. It is man, the composite being, who is the term of the creative act, not soul taken by itself or body taken by itself, and the union of soul and body is effected in order that this composite being may be realised: the union exists, therefore, for the good of the whole man, propter perfectionem totius. The union of soul with body does not take place for the perfection of the body, nor for the perfection of the soul alone, but for the perfection of the whole which consists of these parts; and so although no perfection may accrue to this or that part which it would not have possessed without such a union, the union does not, however, take place in vain, since the perfection of the whole, which is principally intended by nature, could not be had except in that way.'14

3. Of Scotus's idea of human intellectual activity something has already been said in the chapter on knowledge; but a brief discussion must be given of his doctrine concerning the relation of will to intellect, as this has given rise to some misunderstanding concerning his general position.

The intellect is not, like the will, a free power. 'It is not in the power of the intellect to restrain its assent to the truths which it apprehends; for in so far as the truth of principles becomes clear to it from the terms or the truth of conclusions

from principles, in so far must it give its assent on account of its lack of liberty.'15 Thus if the truth of the proposition that the whole is greater than the part becomes clear to the intellect from the realisation of what a whole is and what a part is, or if the truth of the conclusion that Socrates is mortal becomes clear to the intellect from a consideration of the premisses that all men are mortal and that Socrates is a man, then the intellect is not free to withhold its consent to the proposition that the whole is greater than the part or the proposition that Socrates is mortal. The intellect is thus a potentia naturalis.

The will, however, is free, a potentia libera, and it is essentially free, its ratio formalis consisting more in its freedom than its character as appetite.18 It is necessary to distinguish between will in the sense of a natural inclination and will as free, and it is only free will that is will in the proper sense; from which it follows that will is free of its very nature and that God could not, for example, create a rational will which would be naturally incapable of sinning.¹⁷ By an elicited act of his free will, says Scotus, St. Paul willed 'to be dissolved and to be with Christ'; but this elicited act was contrary to his natural 'will', in the sense of natural inclination. 18 The two, therefore, are distinct, and this distinction is of importance when one considers man's desire of happiness or of his last end. The will as natural appetite or inclination to selfperfection necessarily desires happiness above all things, and since happiness or beatitude is, as a matter of concrete fact, to be found in God alone, there is in man a natural inclination to beatitude 'in particular', to God. But it does not follow that the will as free necessarily and perpetually desires the last end, nor that it necessarily elicits a conscious and deliberate act in regard to that object. 19 Scotus protests that he does not mean to imply that the will can choose misery as such or evil as such: 'I do not will beatitude' is not the same as 'I will the opposite of beatitude'; it means that I do not here and now elicit an act in its regard, not that I elicit a choice of its opposite, which cannot be an object of will. If I do elicit an act, however, that is, an act of willing beatitude, that act will be free, since every elicited act of the will is free.²⁰ Moreover, Scotus does not hesitate to draw the conclusion from his doctrine of the essential freedom of the will that the blessed in heaven will and love God freely.21 He rejects, then, the doctrine of St. Thomas that when the sum-

mum bonum is clearly presented, the will chooses and loves it necessarily, and he even goes so far as to say that the blessed retain the power to sin. But when he says this, he does not mean to say any more than that the will as such remains free in heaven, since it is essentially free and heaven does not destroy its freedom: morally speaking, the blessed in heaven not only will not sin, but cannot sin, though this necessity is only secundum quid, proceeding from the 'habit of glory' (habitus gloriae) and the inclination produced in the will, not from a physical determination of the will.²² The will of the blessed is thus morally impeccable, though not physically impeccable. Scotus does not differ from St. Thomas as to the actual fact that the blessed will not sin and he is willing to say that they cannot sin, provided that 'cannot' is not understood in a sense which would imply that the essence of the will is in any way impaired.28

The intellect, then, is a potentia naturalis, the will a potentia libera, and, given Scotus's insistence on liberty as a perfection, his position in the controversy regarding the primacy of intellect over will or of will over intellect cannot be in doubt. Knowledge certainly precedes every elicited act of the will, since the will cannot exercise choice in regard to an entirely unknown object (Scotus was no 'irrationalist'), and it is difficult, he says, though not impossible, for the will not to incline itself to what is finally dictated by the practical reason; but, on the other hand, the will can command the intellect. Scotus does not mean, of course, that the will can command the intellect to assent to propositions which are seen to be false: the will does not add anything to the act of understanding as such,24 nor is it the cause of the intellect's act.25 But the will can co-operate mediately, as an efficient cause, by moving the intellect to attend to this or that intelligible object, to consider this or that argument.26 It follows that 'the will, by commanding the intellect, is a superior cause in respect of its act. But the intellect, if it is the cause of volition (that is, as a partial cause, by supplying the knowledge of the object) is a cause subservient to the will'.27

Scotus gives other reasons for affirming the primacy of the will. The will is more perfect than the intellect since the corruption of the will is worse than the corruption of the intellect; to hate God is worse than not to know God or not to think of God. Again, sin means willing something evil, whereas to think of something evil is not necessarily a sin: it is

only a sin when the will gives some consent to or takes some pleasure in the evil thought of.28 Again, love is a greater good than knowledge, and love resides in the will,29 while it is the will which plays the principal part in final beatitude, uniting the soul with God, possessing and enjoying God. Though both powers, intellect and will, are involved in beatitude, the higher faculty, will, is the more immediate means of union with God. 30 Scotus thus rejected the Thomist doctrine of the primacy of the intellect and of the essence of beatitude and remained true to the tradition of the Augustinian-Franciscan School. It does not seem to be a matter of great moment, indeed, whether one adopts the Thomist or Scotist viewpoint, for both sides agree that beatitude, taken extensive, involves both powers; but it is necessary to explain Scotus's position, in order to show how foolish are accusations of irrationalism and of unmitigated voluntarism.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

4. One might have expected, in view of Scotus's clear teaching, not only that the soul's intellectual activity transcends the powers of sense, but also that it can be proved philosophically to transcend the powers of sense and matter, that he would attempt to demonstrate the immortality of the human soul; but actually he did not believe that this truth can be strictly demonstrated in philosophy, and he criticised the proofs adduced by his predecessors. Of the three propositions, first that the rational soul is the specific form of man, secondly that the soul is immortal, and thirdly that the soul after death will not remain in a perpetual state of separation from the body (that is, that the body will rise again), the first is known by the natural light of reason, the error opposed to it, that of Averroes, being 'not only against the truth of theology, but also against the truth of philosophy' (that is, the Averroistic doctrine is not only against the truth as known by faith, but can also be philosophically refuted). But the other two (propositions) are not sufficiently known by the natural reason, although there are certain probable and persuasive arguments (persuasiones probabiles) for them. For the second, indeed, there are several more probable (arguments); hence the Philosopher seems to have held it magis expresse.' But for the third there are fewer reasons, and consequently the conclusion which follows from those reasons is not thereby sufficiently known through the natural reason.31 Scotus's general position is, therefore, that we can prove philosophically that the rational soul is the specific form

of man; but that we cannot prove demonstratively in philosophy either that the soul is immortal or that the body will rise again. The philosophical arguments for the soul's immortality have greater weight than those for the resurrection of the body, but they are none the less only probable arguments, the a priori arguments, namely those based on the soul's nature, being better than the a posteriori arguments, for example, those based on the need for sanctions in a future life. The soul's immortality may be said to be morally provable, ex inductione, and it is certainly more probable, philosophically speaking, than its opposite; but the arguments adduced for it are not demonstrative and necessary arguments, enjoying absolute certainty.32

As regards the authority of Aristotle, Scotus declares that his opinion is not really clear. 'For he speaks in various ways in different places, and he had different principles, from some of which one opposite (one opinion) seems to follow, from others another. It is probable, then, that he was always doubtful about that conclusion, and at one time he would approach the one side, at another time the other, according as he was treating a matter which harmonised more with one side than with the other.'33 In any case not all the assertions of the philosophers were proved by them by necessary reasons; but frequently they had only some probable persuasions (some probable and persuasive arguments) or the general opinion of preceding philosophers.'34 The authority of Aristotle is, therefore, no certain argument for the soul's immortality.

As to the arguments adduced by St. Thomas and other Christian philosophers, these are not absolutely conclusive. In the Summa Theologica³⁵ St. Thomas argues that the human soul cannot be corrupted per accidens, in virtue of the corruption of the body, since it is a subsistent form, nor can it be corrupted per se, since esse belongs to a subsistent form in such a way that the natural corruption of the form would mean the separation of the form from itself. To this Scotus answers that St. Thomas is begging the question, since he presupposes that the soul of man is a forma per se subsistens, which is the very point which has to be proved. The proposition that the human soul is a form of this kind is accepted as an object of belief, but it is not known by natural reason.36 If it be objected that this criticism is unfair, in view of the fact that St. Thomas has previously devoted an article (2) to showing that the human soul is an incorporeal and subsistent