

FLUMEN SAPIENTIAE

STUDI SUL PENSIERO MEDIEVALE

8

Direzione

Irene ZAVATTEO
Università degli Studi di Trento

Comitato scientifico

Luca BIANCHI
Università degli Studi di Milano

Giovanni CATAPANO
Università degli Studi di Padova

Alessandro PALAZZO
Università degli Studi di Trento

Andrea Aldo ROBIGLIO
University of Leuven

Tiziana SUAREZ-NANI
Université de Fribourg

Cecilia TRIFOGLI
All Souls College – University of Oxford

Luisa VALENTE
Sapienza – Università di Roma

Segreteria di redazione

Coralba COLOMBA
Università del Salento

FLUMEN SAPIENTIAE

STUDI SUL PENSIERO MEDIEVALE



La *sapientia* medievale, nella sua molteplicità, fluisce in un unico *flumen* ininterrotto dalla tarda Antichità al Rinascimento. Valorizzando la pluralità di temi e di tradizioni del sapere medievale, la collana contribuisce allo sviluppo degli studi di Storia della filosofia medievale, ospitando lavori monografici, collettivi ed edizioni critiche inerenti alla filosofia e alla teologia medievali.

Le pubblicazioni della collana sono sottoposte anonimamente alla valutazione di almeno due specialisti del settore.

Vai al contenuto multimediale



Volume pubblicato con il contributo del Dipartimento di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Trento e della società LAMPRE S.r.l.

Divine Ideas in Franciscan Thought (XIIIth-XIVth century)

edited by

Jacopo Francesco Falà
Irene Zavattero

Contributors

Stève Bobillier, Alessandro D. Conti, Ernesto Dezza
William Duba, Jacopo Francesco Falà, Marina Fedeli
Alessandro Ghisalberti, Massimiliano Lenzi, Andrea Nannini
Timothy Noone, Roberta Padlina, Chiara Paladini
Davide Riserbato, Riccardo Saccenti, Christopher Schabel
Garrett Smith, Carl A. Vater, Irene Zavattero





Aracne editrice

www.aracneeditrice.it
info@aracneeditrice.it

Copyright © MMXVIII
Gioacchino Onorati editore S.r.l. – unipersonale

www.gioacchinoonoratieditore.it
info@gioacchinoonoratieditore.it

via Vittorio Veneto, 20
00020 Canterano (RM)
(06) 45551463

ISBN 978-88-255-2191-7

*No part of this book may be reproduced
by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche, or any other means,
without publisher's authorization.*

I edition: December 2018

Contents

- xI In Augustine's Footsteps. The Doctrine of Ideas
in Franciscan Thought
Irene Zavattero
- I *Sic bonum cognoscitur et similiter lux*. Divine Ideas in the
First Franciscan Masters (Alexander of Hales and John of
La Rochelle)
Riccardo Saccenti
- 25 La negazione delle idee e l'“oscurantismo” dei filosofi.
Bonaventura critico di Aristotele
Massimiliano Lenzi
- 5I Divine Ideas and Beatific Vision by Peter John Olivi
Stève Bobillier
- 75 The Sources of Scotus's Theory of Divine Ideas
Timothy Noone, Carl A. Vater
Appendix A: Petrus Iohannis Olivi, *In I Sententiarum*, q. 6, ad 16, 91
Appendix B: Petrus de Trabibus, *In I Sententiarum*, d. 35, pars 1, art. 2, 97
- 10I Divine Ideas in the *Collationes oxonienses*
Jacopo Francesco Falà
- 135 Giovanni Duns Scoto e gli *instantia naturae*
Ernesto Dezza

- 161 Le idee divine e la relazione di imitabilità dell'essenza in
Giacomo d'Ascoli
Marina Fedeli
- 177 *Ut induit rationem ideae*. L'essenza divina e l'essere in-
telligibile: identità (e differenza) secondo Guglielmo di
Alnwick
Davide Riserbato
- 203 Exemplar Causality as *similitudo aequivoca* in Peter Auriol
Chiara Paladini
- 239 From Scotus to the *Platonici*: Hugh of Novocastro,
Landulph Caracciolo, and Francis of Meyronnes
William Duba
Appendix A: Hugo de Novocastro, *In primum librum Sententiarum*, d. 36,
qq. 4-6, *William Duba, Roberta Padlina* (edd.), 283
Appendix B: Landulfus Caracciolus, *In primum librum Sententiarum*, dd.
35-36, *William Duba, Christopher Schabel* (edd.), 301
Appendix C: Franciscus de Mayronis, *In primum librum Sententiarum*
[“Reportatio”, *Summa simplicitas*], d. 48, *William Duba* (ed.), 343
- 371 Petrus Thomae on Divine Ideas and Intelligible Being
Garrett Smith
- 401 Le idee divine in Guglielmo di Ockham
Alessandro Ghisalberti
- 427 *Immensa exemplaritas*. La dottrina delle idee nella metafisi-
ca di Giovanni da Ripa. I *Sent.*, d. 35
Andrea Nannini

- 461 Conclusion. Late Medieval Exemplarism: a Philosophical
Assessment
Alessandro D. Conti
- 489 *Index of names*
- 503 *Index of manuscripts*

In Augustine's Footsteps

The Doctrine of Ideas in Franciscan Thought

Introductory Remarks

IRENE ZAVATTERO*

The formulation of the theory of ideas constitutes, according to Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, Plato's highest achievement, that upon which his greatness, and his superiority to Aristotle, is based¹. However, Plato, although he acknowledged the existence of ideas, held them to be eternally distinct from God and not the divine idea itself. To make this doctrine fully acceptable to Christian thought, Augustine's interpretation was necessary: in the *Quaestio de ideis* – number 46 of the *De diversis quaestionibus* 83 – he revises Plato's theory of ideas and says that ideas do not differ in essence from God, but constitute a whole with His essence.

Augustine claims that ideas, understood in the Platonic sense as «the primary forms or permanent reasons of things», are «contained within the divine intelligence»². Their connotation is ontological rather than epistemological and, in the Middle Ages too, they were understood to be ontic principles of objects, until at least the second half of the thirteenth century³.

* Università degli Studi di Trento.

1. Cfr. BONAVENTURA DE BALNEOREGIO, *Collationes in Hexaëmeron*, in PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas (edd.), *Opera omnia*, V, Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, Firenze 1891, VI, pp. 360-361.

2. Cfr. AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, A. Mutzenbecher (ed.), Brepols, Turnhout 1975 (CCSL, 44a), q. 46, 2, p. 71: «Sunt namque ideae principales quaedam formae uel rationes rerum stabiles atque incommutabiles, quae ipsae formatae non sunt ac per hoc aeternae ac semper eodem modo sese habentes, quae diuina intelligentia continentur».

3. Cfr. L. M. DE RIJK, *Un tournant important dans l'usage du mot idea chez Henri de Gand*, in M. FATTORI, M.L. BIANCHI, *Idea. VI Colloquio Internazionale del Lessico*

Ideas are introduced into theological thought in order to explain the rational order which governs creation: since God creates by His free will, the reason which pervades reality is to be attributed to the rationality of God's deliberative act. Creation takes place on the basis of a plan which is not general and abstract, because God possesses the reasons for, or rather, He prefigures, that which He is about to create. For Augustine, therefore, ideas are the examples known by God as eternally existent in his intellect and which He uses to give temporal existence to «all that exists, exists in so far as it participates in Him»⁴.

Medieval exemplarism was informed by these Augustinian positions: ideas are the exemplars on the basis of which God creates the world and guarantees the rational order; God knows Himself not only as universal cause, but also as the agent who precognises in Himself all the reasons of things (ideas). This Augustinian doctrine would always be considered an *auctoritas*, even though it was to be interpreted in many different ways during the Middle Ages, and – from the fourteenth century on – was radically questioned and emptied of all meaning. Divine ideas continued to be acknowledged *propter dicta Augustini*⁵, to the extent that, in the

Intellettuale Europeo (Roma, 5-7 gennaio 1989), Edizioni dell'Ateneo, Roma 1990, pp. 89-98: 91.

4. Cfr. AUGUSTINUS HIPPOCENSIS, *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, q. 46, 2, p. 73: «Quarum participatione fit ut sit quicquid est, quoque modo est».

5. Cfr. FALÀ, *Univocità, statuto delle essenze e scienza divina nelle Collationes oxonienses. Un dibattito nell'ordine minorita inglese agli inizi del XIV secolo*, PhD thesis in "Human Sciences", University of Macerata 2017, p. 329, n. 1059 gives the example of ROBERTUS DE COWTON, *In I Sententiarum*, d. 35, ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. Lat. 2° 114, f. 156ra, in W. HÜBENER, *Idea extra artificem. Zur Revisionsbedürftigkeit von Erwin Panofskys Deutung der mittelalterlichen Kunsttheorie*, in L. GRISEBACH - K. RENGER (hrsg. v.), *Festschrift für Otto von Simson zum 65. Geburtstag*, Propyläen Verlag, Frankfurt-am-Main 1977, pp. 27-52: 50 and also FRANCISCUS DE MAYRONIS, *Conflatus*, Venetiis 1520, d. 47, q. 1, a. 1, f. 133va I: «Ideo videtur aliquibus quod nulla necessitas sit ponendi illas ideas evidens, nobis tamen propter dicta Augustini ponende sunt formaliter in deo, ut patet ex priori deductione».

thirteenth century, the sentence: «Whoever refutes the existence of divine ideas is a heretic, because he is denying the existence of the Son», was coined, based on the *Quaestio de ideis* and Augustine's description of the divine Word as the locus of Ideas⁶.

All medieval philosophers – particularly the Franciscans, due to the pervasive influence of Augustine in this Order – were zealous in their dedication to the sistematising and refining of the Augustinian theory of divine exemplarism. In their efforts, they became increasingly aware of the limits of this doctrine and the threat that some of its aspects posed to the content of the Revelation.

We thought it would be interesting to dedicate a volume to the history of the doctrine of exemplarism as a way of trying to throw new light on two critical issues in medieval theology: «God's knowledge of the world and its creation»⁷. The decision to confine ourselves to the investigation of Franciscan theories is based not only on our intention to approach this doctrine from a fresh perspective –numerous studies have been dedicated to the medieval theories of divine science, of which these ideas are a central part⁸ – but also on the conviction that such an approach would result in interesting historiographical effects⁹. In fact, the articles collected

6. Cfr. FALÀ, *Univocità, statuto delle essenze e scienza divina nelle Collationes oxonienses*, p. 329, n. 1060 in which the passages by William of Auxerre, *Summa Halensis*, Albert the Great, Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas are given.

7. As Alessandro Conti puts it in the conclusion of his contribution to this volume, see p. 482.

8. Cfr. FATTORI, BIANCHI, *Idea. VI Colloquio Internazionale del Lessico Intellettuale Europeo (Roma, 5-7 gennaio 1989)*; J.-C. BARDOUT, O. BOULNOIS (éd. par), *Sur la science divine*, PUF, Paris 2002; O. BOULNOIS, J. SCHMUTZ, J.-L. SOLÈRE (éd. par), *Le contemplateur et les idées. Modèles de la science divine du néoplatonisme au XVIII^e siècle*, Vrin, Paris 2002; L. SILEO, *De rerum ideis. Dio e le cose nel dibattito universitario del tredicesimo secolo*, Urbaniana University Press, Roma 2011.

9. I am indebted to Andrea Nannini and Davide Riserbato for this conviction, they were the first to suggest that we investigate the doctrine of divine ideas in Franciscan thought, showing me novel aspects of the fourteenth century theories. This volume has gradually taken shape, originating in a seminar which took place on 27 October 2016, at the Humanities Department of the University of Trento:

in this volume demonstrate the ways in which Franciscan thought gradually constructed a Platonic tradition, influenced by Augustine, and how the dialogue on this subject between Duns Scotus and Henry of Ghent profoundly changed the thinking of the Franciscan school and finally led to the dismantling of these doctrines in the fourteenth century¹⁰.

Historiography traditionally associates the work of Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, the tireless defender and supporter of exemplarism, with the doctrine of divine ideas. However, the construction and development of the Seraphic doctor's thought is underpinned by a highly sophisticated doctrinal elaboration, contained in the writings of the early Franciscan masters active in Paris, in particular Alexander of Hales (1185-1245) and John of La Rochelle (1200-1245). Riccardo Saccenti's paper «*Sic bonum cognoscitur et similiter lux. Divine Ideas in the First Franciscan Masters (Alexander of Hales and John of La Rochelle)*» (pp. 1-24) deals with these two men, focusing on an analysis of their commentary on Distinction 36 of Book I of the *Sentences* by Pietro Lombardo in which the key points of their conception of divine ideas are revealed. Alexander of Hales recovered the theme of divine ideas as an explanation for the dependence of the multiplicity of substances which make up the world on the unity of God. He claimed that the divine ideas, in their multiplicity within the mind of God, are the cause of the multiplicity of

“La dottrina delle idee nel pensiero francescano del XIII-XIV secolo”. My thanks also to Jacopo F. Falà for his generous, and invaluable, help in bringing this book to fruition.

10. This pattern should not be seen as fixed, since even in the fourteenth century – infrequent and isolated as they may have been – some exemplarists, such as Richard of Conington, could still be found. They were usually followers of Henry of Ghent, as J.F. Falà demonstrates in his contribution to this volume (pp. 370-391), with reference to some English Franciscan contemporaries of Scotus. See, too, A. Nannini's paper on Johannes de Ripa, who rebuilt a spacious metaphysical framework within which he tried not only to reestablish a kind of exemplarism between the divine ideas and created species, but also a kind of exemplarism which linked all created perfections to a primordial, divine perfection, with which they had a relationship of similarity.

res which constitutes the abundance of Creation. The creative act of God coincides with the thought of the ideas in the mind of God, ideas which correspond to the created realities. John of La Rochelle went a step further, and ceased to limit the range of things thinkable by God to ideas which corresponded with actually existent realities. According to John, the term *ydea* stands for the eternal forms of that which is possible, so that the divine ideas introduce in God the conceivability both of what will exist, and of what will not exist, and make the creation of the *res* a step beyond the thinking of ideas which takes place solely in the mind of God. John thus introduces the notion of *scientia Dei* as God's unlimited cognition.

Massimiliano Lenzi's paper «La negazione delle idee e l'«oscurantismo» dei filosofi. Bonaventura critico di Aristotele» (pp. 25-49) deals with Bonaventura's elaboration of a clearly anti-Aristotelean doctrine of divine ideas. Lenzi begins by describing the famous genealogy of error formulated by Bonaventura of Bagnoregio (1217-1274) in the *Collationes in Hexaëmeron* which claims that the main anti-Christian theses of the "philosophers" (the eternal nature of the world, the negation of providence and of divine prescience and ultramundane life, the unity of the intellect, necessitarianism, the mortality of the soul) grew out of the Aristotelian negation of Platonic exemplarism, based on the clearly irreducible relation between Aristotelianism and Christianity. Contextualising this formulation, Lenzi demonstrates the theoretical and textual bases upon which Bonaventura – while aware of certain basic philosophical objections – elaborates a non-anthropomorphic theory of the divine ideas which allows him to restore to God a conscience and an absolute control over the world, while defending His simplicity and metaphysical perfection. After a brief reference to the various appropriation strategies used by Thomas Aquinas – who made Aristotle his main theological tool – Lenzi can then conclude by underlining how Bonaventura reestablishes the image of an Aristotle profoundly different to Aquinas', and perhaps in some ways more historically authentic.

While Bonaventura's anti-Aristotelianism was consonant with the Augustinian structure of Franciscan thought, the criticism of the doctrine of illumination formulated by Peter John Olivi (1248-1298) was not, and, indeed, constituted a rift within it. Stève Bobillier, in «Divine Ideas and Beatific Vision by Peter John Olivi» (pp. 51-73), emphasises that according to Olivi the theory of illumination cannot account for either the absolute liberty of man or the perfect transcendence of God. Nevertheless, divine ideas are real in God and some of the cases of beatific vision analysed by Bobillier allow us to understand how they can be apprehended by the human intellect. In particular, Olivi claims, in Question I,6 of the *Summa*, that the divine ideas are actually present in God, while differing from Him, although not from their unique and simple essence. Through the notion of *ratio realis*, Olivi shows that the ideas can be understood in two ways: according to divine knowledge, in their quiddity; according to the divine will, as actually existent. Fortified by this doctrine, Olivi maintains that the blessed perceive the essence of God directly in its simplicity and in the plurality of its ideas. However, in defence of God's transcendence, he explains that the blessed cannot comprehend the entirety of God's infinity in a single, simple act and that their perception varies, not in intensity but according to the number of ideas perceived. Finally, in order to account for the absolute freedom of man – says Olivi – it must be understood that the blessed, thanks to the reflexive nature of their liberty and consciences, remain absolutely free to choose whether or not they want to cleave to God.

Timothy Noone and Carl A. Vater's chapter «The Sources of Scotus's Theory of Divine Ideas» (pp. 75-99) brings us to the section of the book devoted to the thought of Duns Scotus. This study precedes those by Jacopo Francesco Falà and Garrett Smith because of its focus on the sources of Scotus' analysis, a focus which is clearly demonstrated in the critical edition, given in appendix, of two questions by Olivi and Petrus de Trabibus. Scotus bases his criticism of the notion of imitability – which was, at the time when he was begin-

ning his commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard in Oxford, the theory underpinning the then dominant conception of divine ideas - on the work of Olivi and de Trabibus. According to this theory God knows possible creatures by knowing the ways in which his essence can be imitated. Knowledge of the creature is logically posterior to his knowledge of the relation of imitability. Compared to this dominant theory, the theory of divine ideas that Scotus articulates is both traditional and innovative. It is traditional in that it insists that a relation of imitability is characteristic of a divine idea. It is innovative in that it insists that the relation of imitability is logically posterior to God's direct knowledge of the creature. He offers a series of arguments insisting that it is impossible and unacceptable to hold that God knows possible creatures by means of a relation of imitability. In this chapter, they contend that Scotus's criticisms of the imitability account of divine ideas are influenced by similar criticisms given by Peter John Olivi and Olivi's student Petrus de Trabibus. They show that such influence must be affirmed on the basis of similar arguments, borrowed terms, and Scotus's insistence that his criticisms avoid certain of Olivi's extremes.

Jacopo Francesco Falà's chapter, «Divine Ideas in the *Collationes oxonienses*» (pp. 101-133) also deals with Scotus' doctrine, and particularly the *Collationes oxonienses*, the collection of twenty-six questions on teleological-metaphysical matters that probably dates from the spring of 1301, while Scotus was still studying at Oxford, before he moved to Paris. Falà focuses on Questions 8 and 9 which reveal Henry of Ghent's profound influence on the Franciscan doctrine of divine ideas, at the turn of the thirteenth century. This influence was particularly marked on the function of the *rationes cognoscendi* of the divine ideas, and the latter's ontological status. In the *Collationes oxonienses* – a collection of the oral debates used as teaching exercises in the Franciscan Convent in Oxford – we can identify the currents of a debate within the order, in England, at least. Henry's supporters (probably the majority) opposed those who were trying