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KNOWLEDGE AND TEMPORAL FELICITY IN ALBERT THE GREAT AND ALAN OF LILLE*

INTRODUCTION

“Perfectus” aliquando dicitur aliquis ratione operationis, unde in Gen.: “Noe erat perfectus in generatione sua,” id est respectu eorum qui erant de generatione sua. Aliquando dicitur ratione signi, unde in Evangelio: “Si vis perfectus esse,” id est si vis habere signa perfectionis, “vade, vende omnia” [...]. Dicitur aliquis perfectus ratione viae, unde in Evangelio: “Estote perfecti,” id est habete illam perfectionem quam debetis habere in via. Dicitur ille in quo nihil superfluum, nihil diminutum actu vel natura, ut Deus; unde in praedicta auctoritate legitur: “Sicut Pater vester coelestis perfectus est”. Dicitur ratione consummationis, secundum quam acceptionem illi dicuntur perfecti qui sunt in patria, unde Apostolus: “Tunc evacuabitur quod imperfectum est”.¹

These are some of the explanations of the term “perfectus” given by Alan of Lille in his *Distinctions of Theological Terms*, one of the very first alphabetic distinction collections which were meant to serve as a preaching aid.² Yet it is striking that

*This paper is the result of an interdisciplinary collaboration. Lisa-Maria Knothe as a historian of philosophy is mainly responsible for the passage on Albert the Great, whereas Anne Kathrin Greule, a historian of the Middle Ages, focusses on Alan of Lille. We thank Jörn Müller and Matthias Perkams for encouraging this collaboration and for their helpful comments. We also would like to express our appreciation to the anonymous reviewers whose suggestions helped improve and clarify this manuscript. To Katharina Scheffler go our thanks for correcting our English.

¹ ALANUS AB INSULIS, *Distinctiones dictionum theologialium*, PL 210, 898A–898B.

² Cf. R. HUNTER ROUSE, M.A. ROUSE, “*Statim Invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page,” *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, edited by R.L. Benson, G. Constable, C.D. Lanham, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982, p. 201–225, esp. p. 210–211.

neither wisdom nor knowledge are related to the state of being perfect in the definitions provided by this 12th-century master. However, Alan touches upon this relationship in his other works and, in so doing, comes to some surprising conclusions.

The same holds true for the second philosopher who was also awarded the title of *doctor universalis*: Albert the Great.³ His opinion concerning knowledge, cognition, and perfection is summarised by Henryk Anzulewicz and Caterina Rigo, who write:

Die Ausübung der intellektiven und göttlichen Tätigkeit, der Aufstieg beim Erwerb der *intelligibilia* und der Wissenschaften, die Selbsterkenntnis, die intuitive Erkenntnis und die Vereinigung des Menschen mit der Welt der *substantiae separatae* und mit Gott stellen für Albert die Vollendung des Menschen gemäß dem Intellekt und dem höchsten Status seiner Verwirklichung dar.⁴

Taking these things into consideration, this paper aims to compare two systems⁵ of attaining knowledge and perfection, as developed by the aforementioned *doctores universales*, Alan of Lille and Albert the Great. It is certainly clear that Alan's ideas resemble more closely a mystical platonic model of ascent, whereas in Albert's work the Aristotelian elements gain more importance. However, we would like to shift attention to similarities in their writings. Both of them develop theories of intellectual ascent towards perfection and deification in an earthly lifetime. Moreover, in works of them both we can find elements of cognitive optimism concerning the knowability of God. In Albert's concept, the state of contemplative felicity is of crucial importance. It is usually viewed against the background of Albert's continuous examination of Aristotelian texts and their Arabic commentaries, and explained as an attempt to integrate the philosophical Aristotelian concept of *Eudaimonia* into Christian thought. However, by way of comparison with Alan of Lille, we can likewise observe earlier efforts

³According to Andreas Speer, Alan and Albert are the only medieval scholars bearing this title, see A. SPEER, "Kosmisches Prinzip und Maß menschlichen Handelns: *Natura* bei Alanus ab Insulis," *Mensch und Natur im Mittelalter*, edited by A. Zimmermann, A. Speer, vol. 1, Berlin [et al.]: De Gruyter, 1991, p. 107. Alan is called *doctor universalis* by the late 15th-century writers Hartmann Schedel and Johannes Trithemius. More than a century before, Robert Holkot gave him the cognomen *magnus*, cf. M. BAUMGARTNER, *Die Philosophie des Alanus de Insulis, im Zusammenhange mit den Anschauungen des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Münster: Aschendorff, 1896, p. 2.

⁴H. ANZULEWICZ, C. RIGO, "*Reductio ad esse divinum*: Zur Vollendung des Menschen nach Albertus Magnus," *Ende und Vollendung: Eschatologische Perspektiven im Mittelalter*, edited by J.A. Aertsen, M. Pickavé, (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 29), Berlin [et al.]: De Gruyter, 2002, p. 406. Italics in original.

⁵By "system" we understand in a broad sense a coherent arrangement of interrelated theoretical considerations; we do not refer to modern system theories with their specific definitions, which would be anachronistic.

to conceive of a kind of felicity in this life, which can be reached by one's own intellectual abilities.⁶

Thus, the purpose of this comparison is to give an example of the *longue durée* of 12th-century ideas and approaches, which has been emphasized by experts such as Matthias Perkams or Andreas Speer. Perkams has shown the importance of intellectualist and voluntarist debates of the 12th century for the formation of the *synderesis*-concept.⁷ Moreover, he has demonstrated how Abelard clearly defined religion and philosophy in a way that is very similar to modern approaches.⁸ Speer criticizes that the 12th century is often merely viewed as an unimportant forerunner of the following century, and highlights the fact that 13th-century philosophical achievements are built on the questions raised and the answers given by eminent thinkers of the century before.⁹ This is especially true for the debate about the status of philosophy and theology, which is directly linked to the question of how to attain a certain kind of perfection.¹⁰ It can be seen that Alan and Albert have different approaches to the relationship between

⁶For an overview of the different positions concerning the beatitude of the philosopher in the 13th century see the article by Thomas Ricklin, who also includes the views of William of Conches as a testimony to the high esteem for the philosopher in the 12th century: T. RICKLIN, "Von den *beatiores philosophi* zum *optimus status hominis*: Zur Entradikalisierung der radikalen Aristoteliker," *Geistesleben im 13. Jahrhundert*, edited by J.A. Aertsen, A. Speer, (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 25), Berlin [et al.]: De Gruyter, 2000, p. 217–230.

⁷See M. PERKAMS, "Synderesis, Wille und Vernunft im 12. Jahrhundert: Die Entfaltung moralpsychologischer Grundbegriffe bei Anselm von Laon, Peter Abaelard und Robert von Melun," "Radix totius libertatis". *Zum Verhältnis von Willen und Vernunft in der mittelalterlichen Philosophie*, edited by G. Mensching, (Contradictio, 12), Würzburg, 2011, p. 19–42. Furthermore IDEM, "Bernhard von Clairvaux, Robert von Melun und die Anfänge des mittelalterlichen Voluntarismus," *Vivarium*, vol. 50 (2012), p. 1–32.

⁸Cf. M. PERKAMS, "Pierre Abélard et la philosophie," talk at the conference *Pierre Abélard, génie multiforme*, organised by Institut d'Études Médiévales de l'Institut Catholique de Paris, 29–30.11.2018, forthcoming. We thank Matthias Perkams for sharing his paper with us.

⁹See e.g. A. SPEER, "Das 'Erwachen der Metaphysik': Anmerkungen zu einem Paradigma für das Verständnis des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Metaphysics in the Twelfth Century: On the Relationship among Philosophy, Science and Theology*, edited by M. Lutz-Bachmann, A. Fidora, A. Niederberger, (Textes et Études du Moyen Âge, 19), Turnhout: Brepols, 2004, p. 17–40; IDEM, *Die entdeckte Natur: Untersuchungen zu Begründungsversuchen einer "scientia naturalis" im 12. Jahrhundert*, (Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 45), Leiden: Brill, 1995, p. 1–11. The influence of 12th-century ideas on philosophical-theological positions of the following century was also highlighted by Magdalena Bieniak whose excellent dissertation shows, among other things, how the idea that the human soul is not a person is "deeply rooted in twelfth-century theology"; the same holds true for the debate concerning the ontological status of the soul's rational powers, cf. M. BIENIAK, *The Soul-Body Problem at Paris, ca. 1200–1250: Hugh of St-Cher and his Contemporaries*, (Ancient and Medieval Philosophy 1, 42), Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2010, esp. p. 47–57 and p. 91–118, quotation p. 57.

¹⁰Cf. for this particular aspect e.g. A. SPEER, "Sapientia ordinatur ad contemplari: Philosophie und Theologie im Spannungsfeld der Weisheit bei Albertus Magnus," *Prudentia und*

theology and philosophy. This can be explained by their gradual development as distinct sciences from the late 12th century onwards, which grew in intensity with the reception of the whole *Corpus Aristotelicum*. Whereas Alan treats both disciplines in a vertical hierarchy, Albert conceives them in juxtaposition.¹¹

The reason for having chosen Alan of Lille as an object of comparison to Albert is his popular reception among subsequent generations of scholars, as well as the sheer variety of his works. The unparalleled range of genres and subjects in his writings let him stand out as an extraordinary personality representing in himself major intellectual endeavours of the late 12th century.¹² Alan took an active part in the debates of his time, whether they concerned penitential theology, the combat against heresies or the problem of theological language.¹³

Contemplatio: Ethik und Metaphysik im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Georg Wieland zum 65. Geburtstag, edited by J. Brachtendorf, Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002, p. 199–221, esp. 199–202.

¹¹ See e.g. G. D'ONOFRIO, "Alano di Lilla e la teologia," *Alain de Lille, le docteur universel. Philosophie, théologie et littérature au XII^e siècle: Actes du XI^e colloque international de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale, Paris, 23–25 octobre 2003*, edited by J.-L. Solère, A. Vasiliu, A. Galonnier, (Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale, 12), Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, p. 289–337; A. FIDORA, *Die Wissenschaftstheorie des Dominicus Gundissalinus: Voraussetzungen und Konsequenzen des zweiten Anfangs der aristotelischen Philosophie im 12. Jahrhundert*, (Wissenskultur und gesellschaftlicher Wandel, 6), Berlin: Akademie Verl., 2003, p. 23–76; J.A. AERTSEN, "Mittelalterliche Philosophie: ein unmögliches Projekt?: Zur Wende des Philosophieverständnisses im 13. Jahrhundert," *Geistesleben im 13. Jahrhundert*, edited by J.A. Aertsen, A. Speer, (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 25), Berlin [et al.]: De Gruyter, 2000, p. 12–28; J. MÜLLER, *Natürliche Moral und Philosophische Ethik bei Albertus Magnus*, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. N.F., 59), Münster: Aschendorff, 2001, p. 23. Cf. also for further details about the scientification of theology in the 12th century: M. DREYER, *More mathematicorum: Rezeption und Transformation der antiken Gestalten wissenschaftlichen Wissens im 12. Jahrhundert*, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. N.F., 47), Münster: Aschendorff, 1996, p. 106–224.

¹² Cf. e.g. G. D'ONOFRIO, *Storia del pensiero medievale*, Roma: Città Nuova, 2011, p. 328 ("Il personaggio forse più rappresentativo"). Concerning the question of in how far Alan is a representative theologian, there are divergent views. While J. CHÂTILLON ("La méthode théologique d'Alain de Lille," *Alain de Lille, Gautier de Châtillon, Jakemart Giélée et leur temps: Actes du colloque de Lille, oct. 1978*, edited by H. Roussel, Lille: Presses Univ. de Lille, 1980, p. 47) writes: "Poète et prédicateur, Alain de Lille est aussi un des théologiens les plus représentatifs de la scolastique de la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle," Marcia Colish explicitly — and convincingly — contradicts this opinion: "Jean Châtillon describes him as the most representative scholastic of his day, a judgement hard to sustain. For Alan wrote in a far broader variety of genres than his scholastic compeers and put his personal stamp on them, including the invention and use of his own neologisms. His elaborate philosophical poems, *De planctu naturae* and *Anticlaudianus*, proved to be the swansongs of that scholastic genre" (see M.L. COLISH, "Scholastic Theology at Paris around 1200," *Crossing Boundaries at Medieval Universities*, edited by S.E. Young, [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 36], Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2011, p. 36).

¹³ Due to this wide range of activities, it is even more difficult to assign Alan to any kind of "school" in the Paris academic milieu. Jean Châtillon, e.g., places Alan in the "school" of

One of his major concerns was the question of theology's scientific foundations and its epistemological distinction from other sciences, namely philosophy.¹⁴ Like Albert, Alan invented a system of knowledge leading to perfection and deification, which allows for a comparison between the two.

That Albert was familiar with Alan's writings is obvious. Alan's *Anticlaudianus*, an epos written around 1180¹⁵ which deals with the Seven Liberal Arts and their limits in the process of gaining theological knowledge, was read in schools already shortly after his death. It was summarised in *compendia* and commented upon, for example by Raoul de Longchamp, and later by William of Auxerre.¹⁶ The *Theological Rules* were used by Thomas Aquinas and Roger Bacon, who also quoted Alan's prosimetrum *The Plaint of Nature*.¹⁷ Thomas of

Gilbert of Poitiers, as opposed to a Victorine and an Abaelardian school, see J. CHÂTILLON, "La méthode théologique d'Alain de Lille," p. 48–50. For a general qualification of such attempts cf. footnote 20.

¹⁴For an excellent overview of the different interpretations in current research of Alan's attitude towards sciences and theology cf. M.L. COLISH, "Scholastic Theology," p. 36–42. Cf. furthermore M. DREYER, *More mathematicorum*, p. 142–170 and A. SPEER, "Kosmisches Prinzip," as well as other titles mentioned in footnote 11.

¹⁵Cf. C. HUTCHINGS, "L'*Anticlaudianus* d'Alain de Lille: Étude de chronologie," *Romania*, vol. 50 (1924), p. 1–13.

¹⁶M.-T. D'ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille: Textes inédits, avec une introduction sur sa vie et ses œuvres*, (Études de Philosophie Médiévale, 52), Paris: Vrin, 1965, p. 12; P. OCHSENBEIN, *Studien zum Anticlaudianus des Alanus ab Insulis*, (Europäische Hochschulschriften, 114), Bern – Frankfurt am M.: Herbert Lang, Peter Lang, 1975, p. 11, p. 75–77; IDEM, "Compendium Anticlaudianum," *Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 1 (1980), coll. 2–4. William's commentary is dated for the years 1225–1230, see "Introduction," in GUILLELMUS AUTISSIODORENSIS, *Summa de officiis ecclesiasticis*, ed. F. Fischer, [Kritisch-digitale Erstausgabe], 2007–2013, <http://guillelmus.uni-koeln.de/aux/intro>, (accessed 2019-01-12). The status of the *Anticlaudianus* as a textbook is equally affirmed by Henri d'Andeli's work *La Bataille des VII Arts* (ca. 1237–1250). In this allegoric poem, the *Anticlaudianus* fights next to Martianus Capella, Martial and Seneca in the camp of Grammar and the school of Orléans against the University of Paris and her leader Logic. See B. STARK, "Henri d'Andeli, *La Bataille des VII Arts*: Ein Streit um den Niedergang des Studiums der Grammatik und Rhetorik an der Pariser Universität," *Scientia und ars im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Albert Zimmermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by I. Craemer-Ruegenberg, (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 22), Berlin [et al.]: De Gruyter, 1994, p. 900–917.

¹⁷THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Quaestiones disputate de veritate*, q. 2, a. 3, arg. 11, *Sancti Thomae de Aquino Opera omnia iussu Leonis XIII P. M. edita*, vol. 22, Roma: Editori di San Tommaso, 1975, p. 48: "Praeterea, eadem est comparatio creaturae ad Deum quae puncti ad lineam, unde Trismegistus dixit 'Deus est sphaera intelligibilis cuius centrum est ubique circumferentia veronuscquam', per centrum intelligens creaturam, ut Alanus exponit".

ROGERUS BACON, *Quaestiones supra undecimum prime philosophiae Aristotelis (Metaphysica XII), Primae et Secundae*, ed. R. Steele, (Opera Hactenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi), Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1926, fasc. 7, p. 65–66: "Tertio queritur utrum sunt plures orbes celestes secundum numerum vel secundum speciem. [...] Solutio: ad attendendum primo, nota quod dixit Alanus in libro *De Maximis Theologie*: dixit enim quod in supercelesti scilicet in primo, est unitas; in celesti, scilicet in orbibus alteritas, id est, diversitas accidentalitatis; in <sub>celesti, id

York does not name Alan's *Theological Rules* and his *Sermon about the intelligible sphere* among his sources, but quotes both texts almost verbatim in his *Sapientiale* (between 1250 and 1256).¹⁸ Albert himself made critical use of Alan's *Theological Rules*, as is shown by his statement concerning the authenticity of a book of "Trismegistus".¹⁹ In general, we can observe how Albert consciously refers to the works of 12th-century authors, such as Hugh of St Victor or Gilbert of Poitiers.²⁰

est, in inferioribus, pluralitas, id est, diversitas substantialis numero et specie". IDEM, *Questiones supra libros prime philosophie Aristotelis (Metaphysica I, II, V-X)*, ed. R. Steele, (Opera Hactenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi), Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1930, fasc. 10, p. 61: "Ad aliud, una est potentia activa virtualiter et effective, et congruit ei ut faciat se ubique simul et tota. De potentia passiva non est verum, quia potentia infinita potest jungi virtuti infinite et substantie et essentie infinite, aut non. Si sic, sic potest substantia et essentia cause ubique ex potestate virtutis et potentie, quia .ix^a. *Maxima* Alani, 'prima causa est spera cujus centrum est ubique, circumferentia nusquam'; IDEM, *Opus tertium*, cap. 1, ed. J.S. Brewer, (Opera Hactenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi), London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1859, vol. 1, p. 9: "Sed quia ipsa varietas studio legentium medetur, ut dicit Plinius xiv. Naturalium, et ex ipsa idemptitate, saticietatis matre, animus fastiditus indignatur, ut in libro De Conquestione Naturae, qui est Alani, docetur, et Seneca scribit libro De Copia Verborum, 'quod nihil est jucundum nisi quod reficit varietas', ideo plures auctoritates ad eandem sententiam aliquotiens introducarn". For Bacon's attitude towards philosophy and theology see M. BUBERT, "Roger Bacon als Apologet der profanen Wissenschaft: Die *necessitas* der Artes liberales für die Theologie," *Theologie und Bildung im Mittelalter*, edited by P. Gemeinhardt, T. Georges, (Archa Verbi. Subsidia, 13), Münster: Aschendorff, 2015, p. 423-438.

Alain de Libera even assumes that Alan [i.e. his *Summa "Quoniam Homines"*, which de Libera does not mention explicitly, but see p. 327 in Glorieux's edition,] was an important source for Ulrich of Strasbourg: A. DE LIBERA, *Métaphysique et noétique: Albert le Grand*, (Problèmes et controverses), Paris: J. Vrin, 2005, p. 67.

¹⁸ THOMAS EBORACENSIS, *Sapientiale*, I, 18, ed. F. Hudry, (CCCM, 143 A), Turnholt: Brepols, 1997, 90-94. See below p. 33.

¹⁹ ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Super I Sententiarum*, d. 3, c. 1, a. 4, ed. M. Burger, (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Colon., 29/1), Münster: Aschendorff, 2015, p. 92.52-57: "Ad aliud dicendum quod nescio quis fuit iste Trismegistus, et credo quod liber confictus est. Omnia enim quae dicitur dixisse Trismegistus, inveni in quodam libro Magistri Alani, qui confectus est de quibusdam propositionibus generalibus et supponitur commentum eorundem". In the apparatus, Burger refers to the third rule of Alan of Lille's *Theological Rules*. Cf. also D. PORRECA, "Albertus Magnus and Hermes Trismegistus: An Update," *Mediaeval Studies*, vol. 72 (2010), p. 245-282. Porreca thinks of the invented book as the Liber XXIV philosophorum; cf. also "Introduction," in ALANUS AB INSULIS, *Regulae theologiae*, translation and introduction by A. Niederberger, M. Pahlmeier (Herders Bibliothek der Philosophie des Mittelalters, 20), Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2009, p. 43, henceforth RTh.

²⁰ This is especially the case in his Sentence commentary. Although he sometimes speaks of Gilbert and "sui sequaces" as "Porretani" (cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Super IV Sententiarum*, d. 4, C-D, expositio textus, ed. S.C.A. Borgnet, [Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Paris., 30], Parisiis: Vivès, 1894, 169a) we should be careful to conclude that he perceived the scholars of the 12th century in terms of "schools". He does not, for example, unite the thinkers of St. Victor to a school of "Victorines". The concept of different 12th-century schools of thought, as advanced

However, we do not want to suggest that Albert drew directly on Alan's works. We rather see Alan as an example of 12th-century intellectual achievements and ask ourselves whether considering that tradition might help us to better understand the roots of Albert's ideas of knowledge and perfection²¹. While it is certainly true that Albert's work on Aristotle and his Arabic commentators is of vital importance for his thinking, we nevertheless would like to point to earlier endeavours to enhance the status of the philosopher.

ALBERT THE GREAT

The Dominican Albert the Great was one of the first Latin scholars of the Middle Ages to attempt to combine Christian theories with rediscovered Aristotelian works and their Greco-Arabic reception. Looking at Albert's system, one has to consider it a holistic concept of epistemology and anthropology.²² Albert points to a crucial connection between the ideas of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, book X, and *De anima*, book III. He emphasizes this connection in his

by Grabmann and Landgraf, was specified by Luisa Valente. She argued convincingly that it is impossible to sharply distinguish separate intellectual currents in general, and that only for particular topics we can clearly define the different approaches of diverse groups. See L. VALENTE, *Logique et théologie. Les écoles parisiennes entre 1150 et 1220*, (Collection Sic et Non), Paris: Vrin, 2008, p. 16–33.

²¹For the evolution of intellectual theory in the course of the dissemination of Aristotle's *De anima* in the Latin West in the years ca. 1220 to 1250 see R.A. GAUTHIER, "Le traité *De Anima* et de *potenciis eius* d'un maître ès arts (vers 1225). Introduction et texte critique," *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, vol. 66 (1982), p. 3–55, who also emphasizes the phenomenon of different intellectual traditions (12th century and early Aristotelian reception) coexisting (for critical view of Gauthier's notion of a "first Averroism" see: B.C. BAZÁN, "Was There Ever a 'First Averroism'?", *Geistesleben im 13. Jahrhundert*, edited by J.A. Aertsen, A. Speer, [Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 25], Berlin [et al.]: De Gruyter, 2000, p. 31–53). Building on Gauthier's work, Paola Bernardini shows the attempts of the masters of arts of that time to synthesize the different interpretations of *De anima*, cf. P. BERNARDINI, "Intelletto agente e intelletto possibile in un dibattito alla facoltà di arti (1240–60 ca.)," *Intellect et imagination dans la philosophie médiévale: Actes du XI^e Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale (S.I.E.P.M.), Porto, du 26 au 31 août 2002 = Intellect and imagination in medieval philosophy = Intelecto e imaginação na filosofia medieval*, edited by M.C. da Costa Reis Monteiro Pacheco, J.F. Meirinhos, (Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale, 11), Turnhout: Brepols, 2006, p. 1099–1112.

²²Cf. H. ANZULEWICZ, K. KRAUSE, "Albert der Große und sein holistisches Konzept menschlicher Erkenntnis," *Veritas et subtilitas: Truth and Subtlety in the History of Philosophy, Essays in Memory of Burkhard Mojsisch (1944–2015)*, edited by T. Iremadze, U.R. Jeck, (Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie, 59), Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2018, p. 157–194; N. WINKLER, "Zur Erkenntnislehre Alberts des Großen in seinem *De anima*-Kommentar als systematische Einheit von *sensus*, *abstractio*, *phantasmata*, *intentiones*, *species*, *universalia* und *intellectus*," *Bochumer Philosophisches Jahrbuch für Antike und Mittelalter*, vol. 19 (2016), p. 70–173.

commentaries on both works.²³ In so doing, he presents a lifestyle that leads a human being to his natural perfection without the help of God's grace, and to a condition that can be interpreted as God-like.

In his analysis of the Aristotelian works, especially of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Albert adopts the idea of intellectuality as the final aim (*telos*) of happiness (*eudaimonia*). The so-called *bios theoretikos* is the highest human perfection (*teleia eudaimonia*), which can be attained in an earthly lifetime.²⁴ Albert has to face the difficulty of a traditional Christian concept based on Augustine that stands in contrast to Aristotle. In *De civitate Dei*, Augustine states that as long as humans are mortal, they will be miserable.²⁵ Only in death and in union with God will humankind find its final rest.²⁶ In contrast, happiness in the Aristotelian sense is understood as *bios*, as a way of life, which is realized as a human activity (*energeia*) according to the virtues. This idea stands in direct contradiction to an Augustinian understanding that assumes redemption from misery only posthumously. Therefore, Albert's concern was to establish the argument that substantial happiness is possible in this life, as presented by Aristotle in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, book I and X, and in the *Metaphysics*, book XII. By adopting this Aristotelian idea into his concept of earthly happiness, Albert creates a contrast to previous assumptions of *beatitudo*.²⁷

But how can two forms of *beatitudo*²⁸ be connected? Albert resolves the problem as follows: In his commentary on the sentences of Peter Lombard, he tries

²³ Cf. J. MÜLLER, "Der Einfluss der arabischen Intellektsspekulation auf die Ethik des Albertus Magnus," *Wissen über Grenzen: Arabisches Wissen und Lateinisches Mittelalter*, edited by A. Speer, L. Wegener (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 33), Berlin [et al.]: De Gruyter, 2006, p. 557. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De anima*, I. III, tr. 3, c. 12, ed. C. Stroick, (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Colon., 7/1), Münster: Aschendorff, 1968, p. 222.9–11: "et iste modus et ista coniunctionis causa concordat cum Aristotele X Ethicae."

²⁴ Cf. ARISTOTELES, *Ethica Nicomachea*, X, 7 (1177a15–1778a5), ed. I. Bywater, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 212–215; ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Super Ethica*, I. I, lec. 7, ed. W. Kübel (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Colon., 14/1), Münster: Aschendorff, 1987, p. 33.4–7: "In quantum autem attingit intellectualitatem, sic actus eius est contemplatio, et sic finis eius et optimum est contemplativa felicitas".

²⁵ Cf. AUGUSTINUS, *De Civitate Dei*, IX, 15, ed. B. Dombart, A. Kalb, (CCSL, 47), Turnhout: Brepols, 1955, p. 262: "omnes homines, quamdiu mortales sunt, etiam miseri sint necesse est".

²⁶ Cf. AUGUSTINUS, *Confessiones*, I, 1, ed. L. Verheijen, (CCSL, 27), Turnhout: Brepols, 1987, p. 1: "Tu excitas, ut laudare te delectet, quia fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te".

²⁷ Cf. J. MÜLLER, "*Felicitas civilis und felicitas contemplativa*: Zur Verhältnisbestimmung der beiden aristotelischen Glücksformen in den Ethikkomentaren des Albertus Magnus," *Via Alberti: Texte — Quellen — Interpretationen*, edited by L. Honnefelder, H. Möhle, S. Bullido del Barrio, (Subsidia Albertina, 2), Münster: Aschendorff, 2009, p. 296.

²⁸ In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle describes not only the *bios theoretikos* as a successful way of life. The political lifestyle, the so-called *bios praktikos*, is also an acceptable choice. Albert adopts this concept and focuses explicitly on the so-called *felicitas civilis* and *felicitas contemplativa*

to present his idea of an intellectual felicity by making a division between two forms of happiness:

Beatitudo potest considerari dupliciter, scilicet in essentia, et in ratione beatificantium, quae sunt aliquo modo in ipsa. Si vero in essentia consideratur: tunc duplex est, scilicet creata, et increata. [...] Beatitudo autem creata est illa de qua prius dictum est, tam secundum statum viae, quam secundum patriae.²⁹

The aspect of happiness *in essentia* is crucial for understanding the following explanations.³⁰ Under this category, Albert divides *beatitudo* into a created and an uncreated form.³¹ He thereby leaves space for a highest good which is not identical with God (the uncreated *beatitudo*).³² Furthermore, Albert differentiates between *beatitudo creata* as an earthly lifetime status (*secundum statum perfectionis viae*) and a posthumous state (*secundum statum perfectionis patriae*). This results in two dispositions of human existence in which humankind can attain perfection. Thus, Albert integrates the Aristotelian idea of happiness into Christian thought and is able to avoid contradicting the Augustinian *beatitudo in patria*.³³

The consequence of Albert's approach is that human agency in this world is emphasized and takes on profound significance. It does not only increase the human being's personal responsibility for being perfected, but also leaves greater room for personal activity and the use of one's own intellectual capacities.

After this successful integration of the Aristotelian concept of *Eudaimonia*, Albert deals with two major questions: How can a human being reach intellectual perfection? And how can he finally attain a beatific state? The analysis of these questions will focus on Albert's commentary on *De anima*,³⁴ because it

in his two commentaries on Aristotle's *Ethics*. For Albert, *felicitas civilis* and *felicitas contemplativa* exist in a hierarchical structure. Political happiness is a necessary precondition for the acquisition of contemplative felicity. See J. MÜLLER, "*Felicitas civilis* und *felicitas contemplativa*," p. 308–313. In our discussion, however, we want to concentrate on the contemplative way of life and its integration into Albert's system.

²⁹ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Super IV Sententiarum*, d. 49, a. 7, ed. Borgnet, p. 678b.

³⁰Albert does not explain the disposition *in ratione* in detail here. Since it represents a different kind of beatitude, it seems to refer to a terminological description of *beatitudo*. Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Super IV Sententiarum*, ed. Borgnet, p. 678b.

³¹Albert describes the *increata beatitudo*, basing on Basilus the Great, as a state which is the "prima et vera ac propria beatitudo una". As a good that is God Himself, it represents an unchangeable nature ("incommutabilis natura") and an undisturbed life ("imperturbabilis vita") free from changes and confusion, and full of grace and the treasure of science. See *ibidem*, p. 678b.

³²Cf. J. MÜLLER, "*Felicitas civilis* und *felicitas contemplativa*," p. 296.

³³Cf. J. MÜLLER, *Natürliche Moral und Philosophische Ethik bei Albertus Magnus*, p. 120–131.

³⁴According to H. Anzulewicz, there are three main periods in the development of Albert's intellectual theory which each are represented by the works *De homine* (1242), *De anima* (1254) and finally *De intellectu et intelligibili* (1259), see H. ANZULEWICZ, "Entwicklung und Stellung

presents a clear conceptual structure and deals with the essential elements of learning and intellectual development.

But first of all, another important division should be highlighted: Regarding the possibility of a perfect state in an earthly lifetime, Albert distinguishes between theological and philosophical contemplation in his first commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, called *Super Ethica*. It is striking that Albert does not refer to this distinction in his second commentary on the Stagirite's *Ethics*. In the tenth book of *Super Ethica*, Albert contrasts the peculiarities of philosophical activity to a theological approach:

Dicendum, quod contemplatio theologica in aliquo convenit cum philosophica et in aliquo differt; unde non sunt omnino idem. Convenit enim in hoc quod etiam in theologica est inspectio per intellectum aliquorum spiritualium sine impedimento passionum ex parte subiecti et dubietatis ex parte fidei ordinata ad quiescendum in deo, quod est summa felicitas. Differt autem et in habitu et in fine et in obiecto. In habitu quidem, quia theologica contemplatur per lumen infusum a deo, sed philosophus per habitum sapientiae acquisitum; in fine, quia theologica ponit ultimum finem in contemplatione dei in patria, sed philosophus in visione, quae videtur aliquatenus in via; in obiecto etiam non quantum ad substantiam, sed quantum ad modum, quia philosophus contemplatur deum, secundum quod habet ipsum ut quamdam conclusionem demonstrativam, sed theologus contemplatur ipsum supra rationem et intellectum existentem. Et ideo est diversus modus contemplandi, quia philosophus habet certitudinem demonstrationis, cui innititur, sed theologus innititur primae veritati propter se et non propter rationem, etiamsi habeat ipsam, et ideo theologus miratur, sed non philosophus.³⁵

Initially, both philosopher and theologian have the ability to attain happiness through their individual activities and cognition. But what is so peculiar about the philosophical lifestyle? Albert uses three criteria for distinguishing theological and philosophical contemplation: a) *in habitu*, b) *in fine* and c) *in obiecto*. While a) the *habitus* of the theologian is faith (*fides*) depending on the light of God, the philosopher can rely on wisdom that was acquired by reason and intellect (*ratio et intellectus*). Gaining wisdom has already been characterized as the highest goal and the best activity of the philosopher by Albert. The *contemplatio theologica* is produced by an external act in which God infuses a human being with light (*infusum*). It is characterized by a high degree of passivity because the theologian has to trust in God's help.³⁶ The philosopher, however, realizes

der Intellekttheorie im System des Albertus Magnus," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age*, vol. 70 (2003), p. 165–218.

³⁵ ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Super Ethica*, l. X, lec. 16, c. 6, ed. Kübel, p. 774.80–775.13.

³⁶ Markus Führer has shown that in Albert's thought, humankind is entirely dependent on God's help in the case of mystical vision (*visio mystica*). "We have already seen that he maintains

independently and by his own free will the acquisition of the philosophical contemplation, which can be attained through scientific activity, especially in the theoretical sciences. Moreover, b) the final aim (*in fine*) of theology is a *visio beatifica in patria* relating to the phrase “ordinata ad quiescendum in deo, quod est summa felicitas”. It refers to the Augustinian statement that the soul has to return to God to find its final rest. Conversely, the philosopher has the possibility of a *visio in via*, a contemplation in this earthly lifetime. The last aspect, c) *in obiecto*, which Albert adopts as a distinguishing criterion, refers to the way in which God is the object of knowledge. For the theologian it is a suprarational experience exceeding human intellectual capacities. While gaining knowledge about God, the theologian is astonished by His perfectness; the philosopher, however, has cemented his certitude about God by way of argumentation. But neither in theological nor in philosophical contemplation is humankind able to recognize God entirely in this world.³⁷

Especially in his works dealing with intellectual theory, such as *De anima* or *De natura et origine animae*, Albert focusses on that philosophical lifestyle and its preconditions.³⁸ In the latter, Albert states that in the moment of conception,

that the human intellect, even in its highest capacity, is not capable of illumination by itself. It requires the aid of the uncreated intellect of God. So if the *visio mystica* is an illumination of the intellect, in some way this vision depends on some kind of divine intercession. It cannot be attained by the operation of the human intellect in itself” (M. FÜHRER, “Albert the Great and Mystical Epistemology,” *A Companion to Albert the Great: Theology, Philosophy, and the Sciences*, edited by I.M. Resnick, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2013, p. 146).

³⁷Perfect knowledge about God is impossible under the conditions of *felicitas contemplativa* and *contemplatio theologica*. H. ANZULEWICZ, K. KRAUSE, “Albert der Große und sein holistisches Konzept menschlicher Erkenntnis,” p. 163: “In Bezug auf das Letztziel gibt Albert jedoch eine erste klare Einschränkung vor: Der Mensch ist weder kraft seiner natürlichen Vernunft noch aufgrund einer übernatürlichen Erleuchtung in der Lage, Gottes Wesen zu erfassen. Er kann es bestenfalls berühren.” Cf. J. MÜLLER, *Natürliche Moral und Philosophische Ethik bei Albertus Magnus*, p. 111; ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De homine*, edd. H. Anzulewicz, J.R. Söder, (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Colon., 27/2), Münster: Aschendorff, 2008, p. 406.18–19: “deus et materia prima’, ut dicunt Avicenna et Boethius, ‘perfecto intellectu cognosci non possunt’.”

³⁸A description of the theological ascent, its elements and its relation to philosophy can be found in particular in Albert’s commentaries on Dionysius Areopagita. Cf. for instance ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Super Dionysii Epistulas*, ep. IX, ed. P. Simon (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Colon., 37/2), Münster: Aschendorff, 1978, p. 540.36–44 et 50–53; IDEM, *Super Dionysii Mysticam Theologiam*, c. 1, ed. P. Simon (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Colon., vol. 37/2), Münster: Aschendorff, 1978, p. 453–464. Cf. also M. BURGER, “Albertus Magnus: Möglichkeiten theologischer Gotteserkenntnis,” *Intellect et imagination dans la philosophie médiévale: Actes du XI^e Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale de la Société Internationale pour l’Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale (S.I.E.P.M.), Porto, du 26 au 31 août 2002 = Intellect and imagination in medieval philosophy = Intelecto e imaginação na filosofia medieval*, edited by M.C. da Costa Reis Monteiro Pacheco, J.F. Meirinhos, (Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale, 11), Turnhout: Brepols, 2006, p. 1335–1347; EADEM, “Mystische Theologie,” *Albertus Magnus und sein System*

God gives humans a unique intellectual soul.³⁹ By this event, the new human being is conjoined with God or, philosophically speaking, with the transcendent First Cause. From this starting point, a human being has the chance to become God-like. As so-called *nexus Dei et mundi*, humankind comes from the transcendent origin and is now part of contingency. However, since the rational soul is an image of the divine intellect itself,⁴⁰ its aim is to overcome the inner-worldly conditions and to return to the transcendent origin.⁴¹ Regarding the fact that the First Cause is the *summum bonum*, humankind by nature has a drive to reach God's perfection through its own intellectuality.⁴² But how can this drive

der Wissenschaften: Schlüsseltexte in Übersetzung, Lateinisch-Deutsch, edited by Albertus-Magnus-Institut, Münster: Aschendorff, 2015, p. 445–448; EADEM, "Gotteserkenntnis im Aufstieg bei Albertus Magnus," *Quaestio*, vol. 15 (2015), p. 467–476; M. FÜHRER, "Albert the Great and Mystical Epistemology," p. 137–161. For more details on Albert's theoretical concept of beatific vision in *Quaestio de Visione Dei in Patria, De resurrectione*, his commentary on Lombard's *Sentences* and *Summa Theologiae* see J.P. HERGAN, *St. Albert the Great's Theory of the Beatific Vision*, New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2002, esp. p. 13–93.

³⁹ ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De natura et origine animae*, tr. 1, c. 5, ed. B. Geyer (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Colon., 12), Münster: Aschendorff, 1955, p. 12.70–14.43.

⁴⁰ ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Super Ethica*, l. X, lec. 1, ed. Kübel, p. 708.24–25: "contemplativa felicitas est quaedam imitatio divini intellectus."

⁴¹ Cf. H. ANZULEWICZ, "Albertus Magnus über die *felicitas contemplativa* als die Erfüllung eines natürlichen Strebens nach Wissen," *Quaestio*, vol. 15 (2015), p. 458: "Ursprung, Ziel und Erfüllung des natürlichen Strebens des Menschen nach dem Guten werden jenseits der Kontingenz angenommen, d.h. außerhalb von Zeit, Raum und Materie."; H. ANZULEWICZ, C. RIGO, "*Reductio ad esse divinum*," p. 388–389: "Die gesamte Seinswirklichkeit und der Mensch haben nach Albertus Magnus ihren Ursprung in der transzendenten Ersten Ursache. [...] Das 'Eine' als das Notwendig-Seiende, der transzendente Ursprung und die Erste Ursache der Seinswirklichkeit, erklärt er letztlich theologisch, indem er es mit Gott identifiziert. Dieser Gleichsetzung begegnet man sowohl in philosophischen als auch theologischen Schriften, z.B. in den Kommentaren zum *Corpus Dionysiacum*. [...] Aufgrund der Identität des Ursprungs mit dem Ziel interpretiert er die letzte Vollendung der Allheit als eine kreisförmige Bewegung *ab eodem ad idem*, die in der Rückkehr zum Ursprung (*reductio ad primum fontem*) zum Abschluss kommt."

⁴² Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De natura et origine animae*, tr. 1, c. 6, ed. Greyer, p. 29.51–59: "Haec igitur est natura, qua omnes homines scire desiderant, et cum omne scire ordinetur ad scire divinum, quod est intellectuale sine continuo et tempore, finale desiderium omnis hominis est ad illud sicut ad optimum secundum naturam, eo quod admirabiles delectationes habet huiusmodi scire puritate eius quod intelligitur, et firmitate sapientiae, quae primorum et manifestissimorum est secundum naturam;" H. ANZULEWICZ, "Albertus Magnus über die *felicitas contemplativa*," p. 459: "Sobald das natürliche Verlangen aller Menschen nach Glückseligkeit als das Verlangen nach Wissen begriffen wird, wird es zu einer eminent philosophischen Frage;" *ibidem*, p. 458: "Aus dieser Einsicht lassen sich folgende Schlüsse ziehen: Erstens, die konnaturale Tätigkeit des Menschen ist die Tätigkeit gemäß dem Intellekt; zweitens, die Tätigkeit des Menschen gemäß dem Intellekt stellt seinen Lebensvollzug als Menschen schon hier und jetzt dar, d.h. in der Kontingenz und nicht erst nach dem Tode; drittens, das naturgemäße Gute für den Menschen ist das Gute des Intellekts, welches in der Glückseligkeit besteht, die aus der konnaturalen und durch Affekte ungehinderten Betrachtung des Göttlichen jenseits von Raum und Zeit resultiert."

for perfection be fulfilled? Following Aristotle, Albert states in his commentary on *Metaphysics*: “Omnes igitur homines, per hoc quod sunt homines, per intellectum in specie et natura hominum constituti, naturaliter scire desiderant.”⁴³ As Henryk Anzulewicz and Katja Krause have shown, it represents the first and last principle of human knowledge.⁴⁴ That means that humankind has a natural drive to gain knowledge. In consequence, a human being has the possibility to overcome his own imperfection and the contingent conditions around him.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the final aim and last principle of human striving for knowledge about God can be attained. In order to do so, he has to study and to develop his intellectual abilities. Many elements of learning constitute a crucial role for a successful ascent. In various works of his intellectual theory, and especially in *De anima*, Albert lists, for instance, *doctrina*, *disciplina*, *studium* and *inventio*.⁴⁶ Each didactic method is realized by an activity of the intellect. Thus, Albert’s dictum “Homo solus intellectus est”⁴⁷ — man is intellect only — becomes much more understandable.

Having explained the basics of human intelligence, Albert returns to the questions of how perfection could be attained, and how this perfection is to be understood. Firstly, we will concentrate on the process of gaining perfection, and secondly, we will elaborate on how this perfection is to be understood. As a method of acquiring knowledge, Albert suggests a curricular system of learning which is characterised by increasing abstractness. The final aim of learning is to be no longer dependent on contingency, but humans have to pass through all the stages of learning. It is an intellectual liberation from material conditions as an external stimulus of cognition. In the introduction of his commentary on the Aristotelian *Physics*, Albert states that especially the theoretical sciences,⁴⁸

⁴³ ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Metaphysica*, I, I, tr. 1, c. 4, ed. B. Geyer (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Colon., 16/1), Münster: Aschendorff, 2006, p. 6.80–82.

⁴⁴ H. ANZULEWICZ, K. KRAUSE, “Albert der Große und sein holistisches Konzept menschlicher Erkenntnis,” p. 165.

⁴⁵ Henryk Anzulewicz writes about contingency, the human constitution, and Albert’s holistic concept in various articles. Cf. H. ANZULEWICZ, “Albertus Magnus — Der Denker des Ganzen,” *Wort und Antwort*, vol. 41 (2000), p. 148–154; IDEM, “Zum anthropologischen Aspekt der Kontingenz im System des Albertus Magnus,” *Studia Warmińskie*, vol. 39 (2002), p. 177–195; IDEM, “Vermögenspsychologische Grundlagen kognitiver Leistung des Intellektes nach Albertus Magnus,” *Acta Mediaevalia*, vol. 22 (2009), p. 95–116.

⁴⁶ See for details book III of Albert’s commentary on *De anima*.

⁴⁷ ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De intellectu et intelligibili*, I, tr. un, ed. S.C.A. Borgnet, (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Paris, 9), Parisiis: Vivès, 1890, p. 515b.

⁴⁸ Although Albert’s focus is on the theoretical sciences, he does not neglect practical philosophy. He considers the theoretical sciences as “purer” because they are freer from contingent conditions. Nevertheless, a student of philosophy must also educate himself morally. Especially in his commentary *Super Ethica* Albert discusses the connection between political and intellectual

including physics or natural sciences, mathematics and finally metaphysics, are important for intellectual progress.⁴⁹ Furthermore, in his book *De natura et origine animae*, Albert specifies the order of learning. Physics, in his opinion, helps the student to comprehend everything about time, mathematics about space and finally metaphysics teaches the human being about the intelligible and universal form and, ultimately, about the First Cause, respectively God.⁵⁰ During this process of intellectual ascent, the student is still learning: He is not yet perfect as a human. He still uses his sensory capacities, but he must think in a more and more abstract manner. To achieve this, the student has to follow the order of the mentioned curriculum.

Having taken the first steps of intellectual progress: How does a human being reach the state of intellectual perfection and deification? Based on Aristotle's concept of the agent and the possible intellect in *De anima*, book III, chapter 5,⁵¹ Albert creates an increasingly sophisticated system of intellectual ascent. The so-called *intellectus agens*, the agent intellect as a psychological power, is inherent in humankind. This power has two purposes: The first is to abstract from the sensible forms of perception and imagination, and to make them intelligible.⁵² This means, the sensory form is being disposed of material properties. The *intellectus possibilis*, however, as an essential element of the *anima rationalis* as well, has to be the part that receives the intellectual information. Like the medium in the process of perception, it is the place of the intelligible forms, the so-called *locus intelligibilium*.⁵³ The possible intellect is pure potentiality and illuminated by the light of the *intellectus agens*. In this kind of qualitative change, it gradually leads to an increase in knowledge.

happiness. *Felicitas contemplativa* is based on *felicitas civilis*. Consequently, there would be no immoral wise human. Cf. J. MÜLLER, "*Felicitas civilis* und *felicitas contemplativa*," p. 311.

⁴⁹ Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Physica*, I. I, tr. 1, c. 1, ed. P. Hossfeld (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Colon., 4/1), Münster: Aschendorff, 1987, p. 3.31–41.

⁵⁰ Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De natura et origine animae*, tr. 2, c. 13. The student must learn the three disciplines in the mentioned order to attain the intelligible contents. Metaphysics is the highest form of human life and fulfils the natural striving for knowledge. Alessandra Beccarisi has shown the importance of metaphysics in Albert's theory. However, in her opinion, it is part of a progress in knowledge, not of a progress in human perfection, see A. BECCARISI, "Statuto della metafisica e teoria dell'intelletto nelle opere di Alberto il Grande," *Quaestio*, vol. 5 (2005), p. 391–411, esp. p. 406–411. Cf. also J. MÜLLER, *Natürliche Moral und philosophische Ethik bei Albertus Magnus*, p. 23: "Gerade im 13. Jahrhundert ist die Behandlung der Metaphysik ein Prüfstein dafür, wie mit der Philosophie als eigenständiger Größe umgegangen wird."

⁵¹ Cf. ARISTOTELES, *De anima*, III, 5 (430a10–25), ed. W.D. Ross, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956, p. 72.

⁵² Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De anima*, I. III, tr. 2, c. 19, ed. Stroick, p. 205.64–75.

⁵³ Cf. M.J. TRACEY, "Albert the Great on Possible Intellect as *locus intelligibilium*," *Raum und Raumvorstellungen im Mittelalter*, edited by J.A. Aertsen, A. Speer, (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 25), Berlin [et al.]: De Gruyter, 1997, p. 287–303.

These intellects are linked to each other in a connection called *continuatio*.⁵⁴ Especially in the commentary on *De anima*, Albert states the importance of this connection, which is necessary to know the intelligible contents⁵⁵ and to achieve contemplative perfection and felicity.⁵⁶ If agent and possible intellect work together, they create the so-called speculative intellect (*intellectus speculativus*). The pure potentiality of the possible intellect is now in progress. The speculative intellect is described as a *habitus* being obtained through study and teaching. However, unlike the next intellectual stage, this status can be lost by forgetting.⁵⁷ Moreover, it is the cause of the *continuatio* (“et causa coniunctionis illius est intellectus speculativus”⁵⁸). Finally, in this connection, cognitive content and cognitive being are the same. All material attachments have been removed and pure intelligibility is prevalent. The next step of the ascent is the acquired intellect, the *intellectus adeptus*. It is the end of a person’s educational development, in which the agent intellect completely transforms the possible intellect. The process of studying is now finished. The student is in the same situation as the man in Avicenna’s allegoric example, who wants to return to his home town by cart, which he needs, however, no more after his arrival there.⁵⁹ Now he is an educated person and there is only one task left for him: to approach the divine intellect as far as possible and to think about intelligible contents only. Like the returned man with his cart, the educated person is no longer in need of his sense-based activities.

⁵⁴ Albert takes the concept of *continuatio* from the Great Commentary on *De anima* written by Averroes and modifies it. For more details on the impact of Averroes’ commentary on Albert see for instance N. WINKLER, “Zur Erkenntnislehre Alberts des Großen in seinem *De anima*-Kommentar,” p. 134–142; A. DE LIBERA, *Métaphysique et noétique*, p. 263–328; J. MÜLLER, “Der Einfluss der arabischen Intellektspekulation,” p. 545–568.

⁵⁵ C. STEEL, “Medieval Philosophy: an Impossible Project? Thomas Aquinas and the ‘Averroistic’ Ideal of Happiness,” *Was ist Philosophie im Mittelalter?*, edited by J.A. Aertsen, A. Speer, (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 26), Berlin [et al.]: De Gruyter, 1998, p. 159: “Albert shows that the intellect can come to know the separate substances only through a conjunction with the agent intellect [...]”.

⁵⁶ Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De anima*, l. III, tr. 3, c. 11, ed. Stroick, p. 221.54–60: “Sed intelligere est nostrum opus per intellectum nobis coniunctum; et si fiducia felicitis philosophantis est coniungi intellectui sicut formae, tunc coniungetur ei ita, quod ipso intelligat homo felix in optimo statu suae felicitatis; forma enim est, per quam operamur hoc opus quod nostrum est, in quantum homines sumus”. Ibidem, l. III, tr. 3, c. 12, p. 224.82–87: “Et nos diximus in illa quaestione, quod nobis videbatur, quoniam nobis videtur, quod in hac vita continuatur cum agente formaliter, et tunc per agentem intelligit separata, quia aliter felicitas contemplativa non attingeretur ab homine in hac vita [...]”.

⁵⁷ Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De homine*, edd. Anzulewicz, Söder, p. 428.44–48.

⁵⁸ ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De anima*, l. III, tr. 3, c. 11, ed. Stroick, p. 222.22–23.

⁵⁹ Cf. ibidem, l. III, tr. 2, c. 19, p. 206.49–54.

The student, by having acquired the *intellectus adeptus*, is now a perfected human being which is behaving naturally. Furthermore, in his new state of existence, the student is able to attain self-knowledge. So, he has not only perfected his intellectuality, but also his own intelligibility.⁶⁰ That defines him consequently as somehow similar to God.⁶¹ However, he can only achieve a similarity to God, and not equality. While God thinks Himself without difficulties because He is subject and object at the same time, a student's last striving is always for knowledge of God. But finally, the human being, by thinking about himself and the intelligible things, is now able to act godlike.⁶² This is the point of deification. It is interesting that in *De anima*, Albert mentions a philosopher, namely Hippocrates, as having achieved this status of highest perfection.⁶³ Thereby, Albert wants to glorify the philosophical lifestyle.

⁶⁰Cf. H. ANZULEWICZ, K. KRAUSE, "Albert der Große und sein holistisches Konzept menschlicher Erkenntnis," p. 178–179.

⁶¹ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De anima*, l. III, tr. 3, c. 11, ed. Stroick, p. 222.80–84: "Mirabilis autem et optimus est iste status intellectus sic adepti; per eum enim homo fit similis quodammodo deo, eo quod potest sic operari divina et largiri sibi et aliis intellectus divinos et accipere omnia intellecta quodammodo".

⁶²Ibidem, l. III, tr. 3, c. 11, p. 222.4–9: "Et hoc sic compositum vocatur a Peripateticis intellectus adeptus et divinus; et tunc homo perfectus est ad operandum opus illud quod est opus suum, in quantum est homo, et hoc est opus, quod operatur deus, et hoc est perfecte per seipsum contemplari et intelligere separata."

⁶³Ibidem, l. III, tr. 3, c. 11, p. 223.19–24; cf. L. STURLESE, *Vernunft und Glück: Die Lehre vom "intellectus adeptus" und die mentale Glückseligkeit bei Albert dem Großen*, (Lectio Albertina, 7), Münster: Aschendorff, 2005, p. 12. The fact of Albert choosing Hippocrates as an example of philosophical perfection is interesting. In different works, like *De vegetabilibus*, *De anima*, *Parva Naturalia* and his second commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, the so-called *Ethica*, he occasionally refers to the Greek physician. Furthermore, in his commentary on Aristotle's *Politics*, Albert mentions a legend about Hippocrates. Thereby, he considers him as an outstanding example for coping with corrupted bodily conditions by overcoming them and aiming at virtue. Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Politica*, l. V, c. 9, ed. S.C.A. Borgnet, (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Paris., 8), Parisii: Vivès, 1891, 550b. It can be assumed that Albert had studied medicine in Padua during his education and had come into contact with the *Corpus Hippocraticum*. Cf. for Albert's biography I. CRAEMER-RUEGENBERG, *Albertus Magnus: Völlig überarbeitete, aktualisierte und mit Anmerkungen versehene Neuauflage der Originalausgabe*, edited by H. Anzulewicz, (Dominkanische Quellen und Zeugnisse, 7), Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag GmbH, 2005, p. 14 and 186; M.-A. ARIS, "Albertus Magnus (ca. 1200–1280)," *Lateinische Lehrer Europas: Fünfzehn Portraits von Varro bis Erasmus von Rotterdam*, edited by W. Ax, Köln [et al.]: Böhlau Verlag, 2005, p. 315–316. As a supporter of humoralism, he reveals himself as a reader of Hippocrates and Galen. However, Albert does not give a particular reason for preferring Hippocrates. Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Super II Sententiarum*, d. 13, a. 2, ed. S.C.A. Borgnet, (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Paris., 27), Parisii: Vivès, 1894, p. 247a: "Unde sciendum, quod Augustino in his quae sunt de fide et moribus plusquam Philosophis credendum est, si dissentiant. Sed si de medicina loqueretur, plus ego crederem Galeno, vel Hipocrati: et si de naturis rerum loquatur, credo Aristoteli plus vel alii experto in rerum naturis."

By strengthening the position of philosophy and the philosopher, Albert also adjusts the relation between theology and philosophy.⁶⁴ In general, he considers theology as *scientia affectiva*, which combines both theoretical and practical parts under the aspects of will and intellect.⁶⁵ In his commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, Albert emphasizes that *res* and *signa* as central objects of theology are always scrutinized with regard to God as the *finis beatificans*.⁶⁶ Theology fulfills the criteria of a science, which Albert takes from Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*.⁶⁷ But it is not a philosophical science, since its realm of knowledge is suprarational.⁶⁸ While theology relies on the *habitus fidei* as its evidence,

⁶⁴For more details concerning the relation of theology and philosophy in Albert see J. MÜLLER, *Natürliche Moral und philosophische Ethik bei Albertus Magnus*, p. 22–48, for a summary esp. p. 38–42. For the development in Albert's works see W. SENNER, *Alberts des Großen Verständnis von Theologie und Philosophie*, (Lectio Albertina, 9), Münster: Aschendorff, 2009; M. BURGER, "Das Verhältnis von Philosophie und Theologie in den Dionysius-Kommentaren Alberts des Großen," *Was ist Philosophie im Mittelalter?*, edited by J.A. Aertsen, A. Speer, (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 26), Berlin [et al.]: De Gruyter, 1998, p. 579–586.

⁶⁵Cf. W. SENNER, "Zur Wissenschaftstheorie der Theologie im Sentenzenkommentar Alberts des Großen," *Albertus Magnus, Doctor universalis: 1280/1980*, edited by G. Meyer, A. Zimmermann, (Walberberger Studien. Philosophische Reihe, 6), Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald-Verlag, 1980, p. 335: "*Scientia affectiva* ist also weder als eine ausschließlich theoretische Wissenschaft aufzufassen noch als eine nur praktische; in ihr sind vielmehr beide Aspekte in einer höheren, ganzheitlichen Weise miteinander vereinigt."

⁶⁶Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Super I Sententiarum*, d. 1, c. 1, a. 2, ed. Burger, p. 12.1–8. Later in his *Summa Theologiae*, he emphasizes the practical character of the theology even more. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Summa de mirabili scientia dei I*, tr. 1, q 3, c. 3, edd. D. Seidler, W. Kübel, H.G. Vogels, (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Colon., 34/1), Münster: Aschendorff, 1978, p. 13.58–61: "dicendum, quod in veritate sacra scriptura practica est [...] quia si etiam verum in re fruibili vel utili inquirat, hoc ipsum refert ad affectum".

⁶⁷Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Summa de mirabili scientia dei I*, tr. 1, q. 1, ed. Burger, Simon, Kübel, p. 7.67–69: "secundum quod scientia est acceptio veritatis per certas rationes et immobiles de credibilibus fidei, potest esse et est scientia vera." Here Albert asks the question *An theologia sit scientia*. Cf. M. BURGER, "Das Verhältnis von Philosophie und Theologie in den Dionysius-Kommentaren Alberts des Großen," p. 581–582: "Albert legt somit den aristotelischen Wissenschaftsbegriff zugrunde, modifiziert ihn jedoch im Blick auf das konkrete Anliegen von Theologie. Dabei scheut er sich nicht, die zu behandelnden Themen wiederum mit dem Instrumentarium philosophischer Wissenschaft zu hinterfragen, die theologischen Themen so weit wie möglich vor der Vernunft auszuweisen."

⁶⁸Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Super Dionysium De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, c. 1, ed. M. Burger, P. Simon, W. Kübel, (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Colon., 36/2), Münster: Aschendorff, 1999, p. 1.58–60: "Non tamen [sc. theologia] est scientia philosophica nec reducitur ad aliquam illarum." IDEM, *Summa de mirabili scientia dei I*, tr. 1, q. 2, ed. Seidler, Kübel, Vogels, p. 8.52–54: "Et hoc modo theologia est scientia de his quae hoc modo ad salutem pertinent." Even if the principle of theology lies beyond the human mind, the *habitus fidei* does not contradict reason. Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Super Ethica*, l. I, lec. 13, ed. Kübel, p. 71.81–83: "fides non est contra rationem, quia nulla veritas alii discordat, sed est supra rationem".

philosophy refers to the principles of natural reason (*ratio naturalis*),⁶⁹ which are based on practical experience and the knowledge of the First Principles (*prima principia per se nota*).⁷⁰ By the term “philosophy” Albert understands, on the one hand, philosophy’s specific contents and, on the other hand, its systematic and scientific approach.⁷¹ In this area, a human being can achieve perfection through metaphysics, understood as universal science, in this life by using his *ratio naturalis*. Nevertheless, theology is the highest of all sciences because it goes beyond natural reason.⁷² Consequently, philosophy has an essential, but not salvational part in the human being’s perfection.⁷³ But, by distinguishing *beatitudo creata in via* and *in patria*,⁷⁴ Albert increases the status and range of philosophy.⁷⁵

However, Albert is of the opinion that this intellectual perfection cannot be acquired by everyone. In *De intellectu et intelligibili* and in his commentary on *Metaphysics* he distinguishes between people and their learning capacities depending on affective, physiological and psychological preconditions. There are people who are hindered in their striving for knowledge by their emotional impulses. They possess a so-called *malum ingenium*. However, some human beings are able to follow their natural desire for study and wisdom, and to attain the highest form of knowledge.⁷⁶ In *De natura et origine animae* Albert relates this

⁶⁹ Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De XV Problematibus*, probl. VI, ed. A. Hufnagel, (Alberti Magni Opera Omnia. Ed. Colon., 17/1), Münster: Aschendorff, 1975, p. 38.31: “Philosophi enim est id quod dicit, dicere cum ratione.”

⁷⁰ Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De anima*, l. III, tr. 3, c. 11, ed. Stroick, p. 221.69–86.

⁷¹ Cf. J. MÜLLER, *Natürliche Moral und philosophische Ethik bei Albertus Magnus*, p. 30–37.

⁷² Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Summa de mirabili scientia dei I*, tr. 1, q. 1, ed. Seidler, Kübel, Vogels, p. 6.52–54: “dicendum, quod theologia verissime scientia est et quod plus est sapientia, eo quod per altissimas causas est, quas difficile est homini scire”.

⁷³ Cf. J. MÜLLER, *Natürliche Moral und philosophische Ethik bei Albertus Magnus*, p. 47. M. BURGER, “Das Verhältnis von Philosophie und Theologie in den Dionysius-Kommentaren Alberts des Großen”, p. 585: “Die Theologie, wie sie in der Wissenschaft von den Hierarchien überliefert ist, hat ihre eigenen Themen, die sich nicht notwendig aus philosophischen Prinzipien ableiten lassen, sondern einer Vermittlung durch Offenbarung bedürfen. Die Philosophie wird folgerichtig in ihre Schranken gewiesen, ohne dabei ausdrücklich in die *ancilla*-Funktion zu geraten.”

⁷⁴ See above p. 17.

⁷⁵ Cf. J. MÜLLER, *Natürliche Moral und philosophische Ethik bei Albertus Magnus*, p. 44: “Dieses Verhältnis ist nicht zu fassen als ein Aufeinander-Beziehen zweier für alle Zeiten inhaltlich und methodisch festgelegter bzw. abgesicherter Wissenbestände, sondern als ein dialektischer Prozeß, in dem in der Zuordnung der beiden Größen ihr jeweiliges Selbstverständnis eine Reformulierung findet.”

⁷⁶ But here, too, Albert makes a distinction. Some people do strive for knowledge, but they are captured in the consideration of rhetorical figures and can never ascend to investigate true intelligent contents. Furthermore, some students are only able to deal with physics. Those having a good imagination are interested in the science of mathematics. And finally, those possessing

self-sufficient striving for knowledge and progress in learning to the immortality of the soul.⁷⁷ He states that human beings who neglect intellectual activities will posthumously live in darkness and sorrow because they lack the ability to attain knowledge without their sense capacities. Thus, the acquisition of knowledge and intellectual perfection in this world gains an even more urgent relevance. According to this explanation, Albert's system can be characterized to a certain degree as elitist.⁷⁸ Not all people are able to achieve contemplative felicity for themselves. Only those having access to education get the opportunity. People with lesser capacities can still hope for God's grace.⁷⁹

To sum up, it is clear that the special point of Albert's theory of intellectual perfection is the possibility to attain it during our earthly life. That means that by studying, by dealing with theoretical sciences in the right order, and by gaining higher forms of abstract knowledge, the student acquires the ability to attain a beatific state by his very own choice. When Albert adapts the Aristotelian concept of felicity to Christian philosophy, being a philosopher becomes significant in a new and normative way.⁸⁰ Doing philosophy becomes a legitimate style of living.

While it is certainly true that the impact of Aristotle and his Arabic commentators on Albert's intellectual theory is of vital importance for his system, the corresponding intellectual endeavours of earlier thinkers should nevertheless be highlighted.

a pure and unmixed intellect can deal with divine things. Cf. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Metaphysica*, I, 1, tr. 1, c. 5, ed. Geyer, p. 8.4–33 and I, 1, tr. 1, c. 6, p. 10.18–28; IDEM, *De intellectu et intelligibili*, I, 1, tr. 3, c. 3, ed. Borgnet, p. 501b–502a; H. ANZULEWICZ, K. KRAUSE, "Albert der Große und sein holistisches Konzept menschlicher Erkenntnis," p. 168–169.

⁷⁷ ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De natura et origine anime*, tr. 2, c. 13, ed. Geyer, p. 39.8–12: "Propter quod prae omnibus beati philosophi studentes primo in physicis venerunt postea ad mathematica et ultimo se ad studium divinarum vertentes in eis vitam finiverunt."

⁷⁸ Cf. J. MÜLLER, *Natürliche Moral und philosophische Ethik bei Albertus Magnus*, p. 123.

⁷⁹ Albert's concept, however, not only includes the dimension of the individual human being, but also that of the human species, which is able to become perfect. Aristotle describes in *De anima*, book II, that the vegetative soul is responsible for nutrition and reproduction. It possesses an inherent and a final purpose. According to this, the inherent purpose is related to individual survival, while the final purpose is related to the conservation of the human species in general. This assumption can be made for the intellectual soul as well. Therefore, one can say that the exercise of intellectual activity is not only important for the attainment of *felicitas contemplativa* for one human being, but also for the human species in the first place. Cf. ARISTOTELES, *De anima*, II, 4 (415a14–415b7); B. THOMASSEN, *Metaphysik als Lebensform: Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung der Metaphysik im Metaphysikkommentar Alberts des Großen* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. N.F., 27), Münster: Aschendorff, 1985, p. 134–137.

⁸⁰ Cf. J. MÜLLER, *Natürliche Moral und philosophische Ethik bei Albertus Magnus*, p. 122.

ALAN OF LILLE

As in the case with Albert, we do not have a final and fixed knowledge theory from Alan. His ideas continually evolve and are sometimes adapted to the medium in which they are presented, notably in his sermons.⁸¹ His most comprehensive explanation of knowledge can be found in the *Summa* “*Quoniam Homines*”, probably written around 1170–1180.⁸² In the *Summa*, Alan intended to deal with the Creator, Creation and Recreation in three books, as he states in the prologue, but unfortunately, the most important manuscript of the work ends after the second book.⁸³ A Berlin manuscript from the third quarter of the 13th century, which has been overlooked so far, could include small parts of the third book.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Cf. for the following also M.-T. D’ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille*, p. 178–180. See also L. CATALANI, “Modelli di conoscenza tra Gilberto di Poitiers e Alano di Lille,” *Alain de Lille, le docteur universel. Philosophie, théologie et littérature au XIII^e siècle: Actes du XI^e colloque international de la Société Internationale pour l’Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale, Paris, 23–25 octobre 2003*, edited by J.-L. Solère, A. Vasiliu, A. Galonnier, (Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale, 12), Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, p. 217–245, esp. 237–243, who includes Alan’s main theological works as well as two sermons in his analysis and concludes: “Le riflessioni di Alano sul tema della conoscenza si muovono, dunque, su più livelli e rappresentano bene il modo in cui lo schema epistemologico boeziano fu accolto e rielaborato all’interno degli ambienti porretani [...]” [p. 242].

⁸² It is usually seen as predating the *Theological Rules*, but the *Summa*’s editor Palémon Glorieux might be wrong when dating it as early as to the years between 1155 and 1165, cf. P. GLORIEUX, “La somme *Quoniam homines* d’Alain de Lille,” *Archives d’Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, vol. 20 (1953), p. 116 (henceforth abbreviated as SQH). Marie-Thérèse d’Alverny assumes that the *Summa* must be closer to the other testimonies of Alan’s teaching activities, i.e. the *Anticlaudianus* and the *Theological Rules*, which is why she suggests that it must have been written between 1170 and 1180, see M.-T. D’ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille*, p. 64. Lauge Olaf Nielsen seems to favour a dating of the *Summa* in the 1180s, see L.O. NIELSEN, *Theology and Philosophy in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Gilbert Porreta’s Thinking and the Theological Expositions of the Doctrine of the Incarnation during the Period 1130–1180*, (Acta Theologica Danica, 15), Leiden: Brill, 1982, p. 342–343. We thank Wojciech Wciórka for pointing to this important passage in Nielsen’s book, well-hidden in footnote 227. Concerning the *Theological Rules*, it must be referred to Niederberger’s observation that the *Rules* might be influenced by the *Liber de Causis* and therefore must have been written around 1190, see A. NIEDERBERGER, “Naturphilosophische Prinzipienlehre und Theologie in der *Summa Quoniam homines* des Alain von Lille,” *Metaphysics in the Twelfth Century: On the Relationship among Philosophy, Science and Theology*, edited by M. Lutz-Bachmann, A. Fidora, A. Niederberger, (Textes et Études du Moyen Âge, 19), Turnhout: Brepols, 2004, p. 192.

⁸³ SQH, Lib. II, tract. V, p. 120: “Nos ergo rerum ordini tractatus ordinem conformantes, primo ad creatorem, secundo ad creature creationem, tertio ad eiusdem recreationem styli vertamus officium; et ita nostri operis integritas trina librorum distinctione complebitur”. For the two extant manuscripts see SQH, p. 117–118.

⁸⁴ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. theol. lat. oct. 141, ff. 81ra–83vb; this part of the manuscript (f. 1ra–86vb) could have been written by a writer from

In the *Summa* “*Quoniam Homines*”, Alan sketches a system of knowledge, which combines a state of being or “position,” and a power of mind, a certain science and a state of human development, with each other. As it seems, there is no exact analogy in other 12th-century sources, for Thierry of Chartres, William of Conches, and Isaac of Stella, who could have influenced Alan, all leave out at least one of the mentioned elements. Thierry, in his commentary on Boethius’ *De trinitate*, associates five mental powers with divisions of speculative philosophy.⁸⁵ Boethius himself divides theoretic philosophy into different parts and assigns different methods of treatment to them: the [*pars speculativa*] *naturalis* is treated *rationabiliter*, [*pars*] *mathematica* — *disciplinaliter*, and [*pars*] *theologica* — *intellectualiter*. Taking into account his considerations in the commentary on Porphyry’s *Isagoge*, one could easily associate mental powers with corresponding sciences.⁸⁶ William of Conches, on the other hand, combines a state of being and a state of human development:

Sunt enim duae extases, id est excessus naturae humanae; est enim homo rationalis mortalis. In hoc excedit homo, cum per sapientiam et uirtutem fit immortalis, et tunc est rationalis immortalis. Et hoc est quod inuenitur sapientes homines deificari cum ad hoc quod dei est ascendunt, scilicet quod sunt rationales immortales. Est alia extasis, cum per uitium fit irrationalis, et tunc est irrationalis mortalis quemadmodum brutum animal.⁸⁷

And Isaac of Stella, in his letter treatise *De anima*, draws a connection between a power of mind, a certain science and one of the five elements.⁸⁸ Alexander Fidora summarises the importance of that work as following:

England, see <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31101473> (accessed 2019-02-01).

⁸⁵ See M.-T. D’ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille*, p. 176–177; A. FIDORA, *Die Wissenschaftstheorie des Dominicus Gundissalinus*, p. 50.

⁸⁶ Cf. for this M.-T. D’ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille*, p. 172 and BOETHIUS, *Quomodo trinitas unus Deus ac non tres dii*, cap. 2; edited and translated by H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, S.J. Tester, [Boethius. Theological Tractates. The Consolation of Philosophy] (Loeb Classical Library, 74), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.

⁸⁷ GUILLELMUS DE CONCHIS, *Glosae super Boetium*, lib. 1, in prosam 1, ed. L. Nauta, Turnhout: Brepols, 1999, p. 20; note also *ibidem*: “Quia ergo per philosophiam ascendit homo supra naturam hominis, recte Philosophia Boetio uisa est supra uerticem astitisse”.

⁸⁸ Cf. M.-T. D’ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille*, p. 177; W. BUCHMÜLLER, *Isaak von Étoile: Monastische Theologie im Dialog mit dem Neo-Platonismus des 12. Jahrhunderts*, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. N.F., 80), Münster: Aschendorff, 2016, p. 91–121; C. TROTTMANN, “Isaac de l’Étoile: Les cinq sens et la conversion du sens,” *Les cinq sens au Moyen Âge: Actes des colloques, Centre d’études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, Poitiers, 2012, 2013 et 2014*, edited by É. Palazzo, Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2016, p. 651–666, in particular 660, where Trottmann provides a helpful table. He focuses on the *Epistola de anima* and the sermons.

Die *Epistola de anima* ist damit aufs Ganze gesehen ein bedeutendes auch *philosophisches* Werk, das dokumentiert, wie bereits in der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts, d.h. vor der Kenntnis Avicennas und weiter Teile des Aristoteles, aus einer erkenntnistheoretischen Perspektive neue Wege in der Wissens- und Wissenschaftstheorie angegangen werden.⁸⁹

It is likely that Alan read Isaac's works because he is the first to cite *De spiritu et anima* which Wolfgang Buchmüller now attributes to Isaac.⁹⁰

Alan distinguishes between "apothetic theology," which deals with the Trinity, and "hypothetic theology," which encompasses the natures of angels and human beings. These disciplines are integrated into a system of knowledge right at the beginning of the first book.⁹¹ Following Alan, both types of theology have their origin in mental powers (*potentiae animae*), which he goes on to describe:

Anime enim varie sunt potentie: una que dicitur thesis, scilicet ratio, secundum quam potentiam homo in suo statu consideratur, nec suum statum egreditur quia ea humana et terrena considerat; alia est que extasis nuncupatur, cuius speculatione homo extra se constituitur. Extaseos autem due sunt species: una inferior qua homo infra se est, alia superior qua rapitur supra se. Sed superioris due sunt species: una que dicitur intellectus, qua homo considerat spiritualia, id est angelos et animas; secundum quam homo fit spiritus, et ita supra se fit. Alia est que intelligentia dicitur, qua homo trinitatem intuetur; secundum quam homo fit homo deus, quia per hanc speculationem quodammodo deificatur. Unde et illa speculatio apotheosis, quasi divina censetur. Ex thesi vero nascitur naturalis philosophia que circa terrena vertitur. Ex intellectu, subcelestis sive ypothetica theologia, que circa spirituales creaturas intenditur; unde ypothetica, ab "ypo"

⁸⁹The quote continues: "Isaak beschreitet hier in gewisser Weise den komplementären Weg zu den Chartreser Ansätzen, die ihre erkenntnistheoretischen Überlegungen in der Regel von der Wissens- und Wissenschaftstheorie her konzipieren. Während sich diesen Autoren die Frage nach den Seelenvermögen und der Abstraktion erst ausgehend von der Wissenschaftseinteilung des Boethius stellt, entwickelt Isaak umgekehrt, wie gezeigt, im Rahmen einer Vermögenslehre eine Abstraktionstheorie, die [...] zur Begründung und ansatzweisen Erweiterung der Wissenschaftsklassifikation führt"; see A. FIDORA, "Erkenntnistheoretische Grundlagen der Wissenschaft bei Isaak von Stella: Auf der Suche nach der Metaphysik," *Intellect et imagination dans la philosophie médiévale: Actes du XI^e Congrès International de Philosophie Médiévale de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale (S.I.E.P.M.), Porto, du 26 au 31 août 2002 = Intellect and imagination in medieval philosophy = Intelecto e imaginação na filosofia medieval*, edited by M.C. da Costa Reis Monteiro Pacheco, J.F. Meirinhos, (Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale, 11), Turnhout: Brepols, 2006, p. 966 (italics in original). A combination of mental powers and elements (four, in this case) can also be found in Godfrey of Saint Victor, cf. M.-T. D'ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille*, p. 175.

⁹⁰Cf. W. BUCHMÜLLER, *Isaak von Étoile*, p. 98–121.

⁹¹After the first book Alan writes: "Hec de apothetica theologia, id est supercelesti theologia que circa trinitatem unitatis et circa unitatem trinitatis vertitur dicta sufficiant. Nunc de ypothetica que circa hominum et angelorum naturas vertitur agendum est," see SQH, p. 270.

quod est “sub,” et “thesis” quod est positio, nuncupatur; quia de his que divine auctoritati subposita sunt, in ea agitur. Ex intelligentia vero, supercelestis sive apothetica oritur qua divina considerantur; unde supercelestis sive apothetica, quasi super posita appellatur.⁹²

According to this treatment, reason is the power with the help of which a person reflects upon himself and earthly things. He does not leave his proper status as a human (*homo-homo*). This is why Alan calls the power also “thesis”. It engenders natural philosophy, which encompasses the Liberal Arts, knowledge about the world and nature, and everything that can be the object of rational consideration.⁹³ In a form of higher “extasis,” the person is dragged off (*rapitur supra se*) to consider spiritual things such as angels and souls by means of the intellect, and therefore becomes a *homo-spiritus*. By means of the intelligence, the person has an intuition of the Trinity and turns into a *homo-deus*, as he “somehow” becomes God-like by this kind of speculation.

However, there is also a kind of inferior “extasis,” corresponding to the power of *sensualitas*, which in a sort of transmutation or “metamorphosis” makes the person a human-beast and engenders “love of earthly things” as a science, whereby “science” is probably best understood as the dominant content of a certain knowledge. Probably for the sake of coherence, Alan invents even a second inferior kind of “extasis,” called “evil determination,” which makes man devil-like and produces the “science” — “love of one’s own excellence”.⁹⁴

⁹² SQH, p. 121. Cf. e.g. A. NIEDERBERGER, “Von der Unmöglichkeit der *translatio*, Zur Bestimmung von Philosophie und Theologie als *scientia* bei Alanus ab Insulis,” *“Scientia” und “Disciplina”: Wissenstheorie und Wissenschaftspraxis im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, edited by R. Berndt, A. Fidora, M. Lutz-Bachmann, A. Niederberger, R.M.W. Stammberger, (Erudiri Sapientia, 3), Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002, p. 187–208; G.R. EVANS, *Alan of Lille: The Frontiers of Theology in the Later Twelfth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2008 (= 1983), p. 48; G. D’ONOFRIO, “Alano di Lilla e la teologia,” p. 289–337.

⁹³ Cf. M.-T. D’ALVERNY, “Maître Alain, Nova et Vetera,” *Entretiens sur la Renaissance du 12^e siècle*, edited by M. de Gandillac, (Décades du Centre Culturel International de Cérisy-la-Salle, NS 9), Paris [et al.]: Mouton, 1968, p. 127.

⁹⁴ SQH, p. 121–122: “Inferioris vero extaseos due sunt species: una que dicitur sensualitas, secundum quam per luxuriam, gulositatem et cetera carnalia vitia homo degenerat in adulterinos mores; et hec dicitur metamorphosis, quasi transmutatio, a ‘meta’ quod est ‘trans’ et ‘morfos’ quod est mutatio; secundum quam philosophi dixerunt quosdam mutatos in lupos et porcos, alios in leones. Ex hac surgit scientia que dicitur philogea, quasi amatrix terrenorum, a ‘philos’ quod est amor, et ‘ge’ quod est terra, qua utuntur homines carnales indulgentes terrenorum amor. [122] Alia species extaseos dicitur obstinatio in malitiam, que maxime fit per contemptum et superbiam; per predicta homo fit pecus, quia bestialibus indulget; per reliqua fit homo diabolus; in hoc enim homo maxime imitatur diabolus quia se reddit in malitia obstinatum. Et ex hac surgit philolobia, que est amor proprie excellentie; et dicitur a ‘philos’ quod est amor, et ‘lobos’ quod est iactantia.”

These ideas found their way into the first commentary on the *Anticlaudianus* by Alan's pupil Raoul de Longchamp, composed probably around 1216.⁹⁵ It is interesting that the *Anticlaudianus*-commentator (1225–1230) and author of the *Summa Aurea*, William of Auxerre, also proposes a system that includes negative forms of wisdom. In this regard, William of Auxerre finally influenced Marquard Sprenger.⁹⁶

The question remains, whether there can be a total knowledge of God. The answer is: it depends.⁹⁷ In this life, perfect knowledge of God is possible for humans insofar as they are humans: “quantum ad staturum rationalis creaturae”. Knowing God fully (*plenarie*) is neither possible *in via* nor *in patria*.⁹⁸ The same view is advanced by Albert in his *Commentaries on Dionysus*, where he states that even the blessed only see God's substance (“quia est,” and not “quid est”).⁹⁹

In sum, Alan describes a sequence of different kinds of knowledge, which can be attained by means of a certain science. The ultimate goal of the curricu-

⁹⁵ Cf. M. GRABMANN, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode nach den gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*, vol. 2: *Die scholastische Methode im 12. und beginnenden 13. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1911, p. 48–54.

⁹⁶ See footnote 16.

⁹⁷ This passage about the knowability of God is not entirely clear, as has already been seen by J.M. Parent. The author first quotes authorities that prove the incomprehensibility of God, then he adds arguments by reason which seem to prove the contrary. Parent comments on it: “L'auteur annonce qu'il va dirimer la controverse, mais sa solution ne donne pas entière satisfaction : il ne distingue pas suffisamment compréhensibilité et connaissance, connaissance de Dieu ici-bas et dans la patrie; il paraît opposer foi et connaissance certaine, et refuse presque à la foi le caractère d'une connaissance”, see J.M. PARENT, “Un nouveau témoin de la théologie dionysienne au XIII^e siècle,” *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters: Studien und Texte Martin Grabmann zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres von Freunden und Schülern gewidmet*, edited by A. Lang, J. Lechner, M. Schmaus, (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Supplementband), Münster: Aschendorff, 1935, p. 296.

⁹⁸ SQH, p. 138–139: “Ad hoc dicimus quod alio modo videbitur Deus in futuro quam nunc, et positive intelligendo quomodo tam Pater quam Filius quam Spiritus Sanctus sua natura sit Deus, et tamen sit ipsa natura; quomodo etiam usia est in opifice et tamen opifex est usia; quomodo etiam una essentia sit trium personarum. Sed tamen quomodo hoc est, modo intelligere non possumus; sed tamen credere debemus. [...] Sed in futuro purgabitur omne fermentum sensus et imaginacionis ut sine earum aminiculo ipsum Deum comprehendat. Quod autem Deus dicitur incomprehensibilis, ad tria referendum est: ad staturum presentem in quo comprehendendi non potest; ad alium modum comprehendendi, quia alio modo comprehenditur quam alie res; et ad naturam ipsius Dei, quia plenarie comprehendendi non potest nec in via nec in patria; comprehenditur enim perfecte quantum ad staturum rationalis creature sed non quantum ad staturum ipsius Dei, quia nulla creatura poterit eum comprehendere sicut est et sicut ipse comprehendit se”. For this passage of the SQH cf. also E.C. SWEENEY, *Logic, Theology, and Poetry in Boethius, Abelard, and Alan of Lille: Words in the Absence of Things*, (New Middle Ages), New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 143.

⁹⁹ Cf. M. BURGER, “Albertus Magnus: Möglichkeiten theologischer Gotteserkenntnis,” p. 1338.

lar ascent is the best possible knowledge of God and deification.¹⁰⁰ Just as in Albert's writings, performing reason and philosophy is conceived of as a typical human activity. In contrast to Albert, however, it is by doing theology that humans become God-like, which is a most important categorial difference, and which makes Alan's concept resemble the well-known traditional views.¹⁰¹

At first glance, Alan's model indeed seems to sound like the swan's song on old learning, given its clear distinction between doing philosophy within the limits of human reason on the one hand, and exceeding them by means of rapture towards higher intuition on the other hand. At the same time, it is equally true that the same Alan who sings that swan's song has already climbed upon the shoulders of giants in order to see further, as Andreas Speer once put it.¹⁰² Looking at other parts of his opus, more information can be found about cognitive optimism and temporal felicity. Sermons are especially useful here as a source, because they sometimes help illustrate the practice of theoretical concepts. However, they sometimes might be less coherent in their wording.¹⁰³

The first one we would like to discuss here is the so-called *Sermon about the intelligible sphere*, probably preached after 1177.¹⁰⁴ As its theme, Alan chooses

¹⁰⁰ Alan integrates these ideas into his famous *Theological Rules* as well. Here, his vocabulary is more refined, as he now clearly distinguishes between state of being and mental power. For example, "thesis" as the normal human condition is the basis for the exertion of *ratio*, not a synonym for the latter. See RTh, XCIX, p. 214–215. For the work's reception see *ibidem*, p. 42–44. M.-T. D'ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille*, p. 67 mentions a manuscript which testifies to the lecturing of the *Rules* in Paris.

¹⁰¹ The question remains, how far the person depends on external, divine support in order to reach the higher levels of theological insight, because Alan does not elaborate on the moment of *raptus* here.

¹⁰² A. SPEER, "Kosmisches Prinzip," p. 128.

¹⁰³ Among others, Thomas Marschler has emphasized and shown the research potential of sermons in theological studies, cf. T. MARSCHLER, "*Disputando praedicare*: Zur Präsenz theologischer Systematik in der scholastischen Predigt des 13. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel von Oster-sermones des Odo von Châteauroux († 1273)," *Sacris erudiri*, vol. 44 (2005), p. 447–484, with references to further studies on p. 450.

¹⁰⁴ Edited by M.-T. D'ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille*, p. 295–306, henceforth SSI (= *Sermo de sphaera intelligibili*). There are also translations into Italian and French available: ALANO DI LILLA, *Viaggio della saggezza. Anticlaudianus. Discorso sulla sfera intelligibile*, introduction, translation, notes and apparatus by C. Chiurco, (Il pensiero occidentale), Milano: Bompiani, 2004; ALANUS AB INSULIS, *Règles de théologie suivi de Sermon sur la sphère intelligible*, introduction, translation and notes by F. Hudry, (Sagesses chrétiennes), Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1995. Hudry suggests 1177 as a t.p.q., because the sermon is extant in only one manuscript (Paris, BNF lat. 3572, f. 272v–273r), produced at St Martial in Limoges, the librarian of which was Bernard Itier. Bernard, who entered the monastery in 1177, notes to have heard Alan preaching in the chapter, see ALANUS AB INSULIS, *Règles de théologie*, p. 282. We do not, however, support her theses about Alan of Lille's identity; for a short and appropriate critique cf. e.g. L. WAHLGREN-SMITH, "Review of *Alain de Lille (?): Lettres familières (1167–1170)*," *Speculum*, vol. 81.2 (2006), p. 536–537 and

“Deus est spera intelligibilis cuius centrum ubique, circumferentia nusquam,” and ascribes the statement to the “magnus retor Tullius”.¹⁰⁵ The editor d’Alverny objects that the text — “plein de verve caustique et de fantaisie imaginative” — resembles more closely a lecture of a young master of the Arts than a sermon.¹⁰⁶ However, the two genres are sometimes difficult to distinguish, in particular in a scholarly context in which preaching formed a part of the theological studies, as early as in Alan’s time.¹⁰⁷ It would not be the only unconventional sermon preached by Alan of Lille.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, it would not be uncommon for Alan to deal with a part of his philosophical-theological theory in one of his sermons to

C. GIRAUD, “Review of *Alain de Lille (?): Lettres familières (1167–1170)*,” *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes*, vol. 165/2 (2007), p. 574. For careful analyses of the sermon see L. VALENTE, “Sfera infinita e sfera intellegibile: Immaginazione e conoscenza di Dio nel Libro dei XXIV filosofi e in Alano di Lilla,” *Sphaera: Forma immagine e metafora tra medioevo ed età moderna*, edited by P. Totaro, L. Valente, (Lessico Intellettuale Europeo, 117), Firenze: Olschki, 2012, p. 117–144; A. VASILIU, “L’économie de l’image dans la sphère intelligible (sur un sermon d’Alain de Lille),” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, vol. 41 (1998), p. 257–279 (with identification of Alan’s mainly philosophical sources on p. 263), and O. PRIMAVESI, “Vorsokratiker im lateinischen Mittelalter I: Helinand, Vincenz, der Liber de vita et moribus und die Parvi flores,” *The Presocratics from the Latin Middle Ages to Hermann Diels: Akten der 9. Tagung der Karl-und-Gertrud-Abel-Stiftung vom 5.–7. Oktober 2006 in München*, edited by O. Primavesi, (Philosophie der Antike, 26), Stuttgart: Steiner, 2011, p. 45–110. All authors deal with the question why Alan took “intelligible” as an attribute, instead of “infinite,” as the text of the *Liber XXIV philosophorum* has it.

¹⁰⁵ M.-T. D’ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille*, p. 297. This could be related to superficial knowledge of Cicero’s *De natura deorum*, II, 44–48, ed. O. Plasberg, Lipsiae: Teubner, 1933, p. 66–67. Thomas of York, who made use of Alan’s texts about the sphere (see above p. 13–14), refers directly to Cicero’s philosophical work.

¹⁰⁶ M.-T. D’ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille*, p. 163.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. PETRUS CANTOR, *Verbum abbreviatum*, PL 205, 25: “Quidquid enim ubicunque benedictum est, meum est, inquit Theologus, ad vitiorum singulorum redargutionem, et ad virtutum et morum commendationem, et operum nostrorum directionem, negotiorumque in Ecclesia emergentium decisionem. In tribus igitur consistit exercitium sacrae Scripturae: circa lectionem, disputationem et praedicationem. [...] Praedicatio vero, cui subserviunt priora, quasi tectum est tegens fideles ab aestu, et a turbine vitiorum. Post lectionem igitur sacrae Scripturae, et dubitabilium, per disputationem, inquisitionem, et non prius, praedicandum est; ut sic cortina cortinam trahat, et caetera”. Cf. A. BARTÒLA, “La tecnica della predicazione in due sermoni di Alano di Lilla,” *Studi medievali*, ser. 3a, vol. 27 (1986), p. 616; J. LONGÈRE, *Œuvres oratoires de maîtres parisiens au XII^e siècle: Étude historique et doctrinale*, vol. 1, Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1975, p. 13. For the different occasions of preaching at the later universities see P.B. ROBERTS, “Medieval University Preaching: The Evidence in the Statutes,” *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University. Proceedings of International Symposia at Kalamazoo and New York*, edited by J. Hamesse, B. Mayne Kienzle, D.L. Stoudt, A. Thayer, (Textes et Études du Moyen Âge, 9), Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d’Études Médiévales, 1998, p. 317–328.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. for example the sermons with themes such as *Facilis descensus Avernus, sed revocare gradum* (Vergil, Aen. 6,126) (ed. M.-T. D’ALVERNY, “Variations sur un thème de Virgile dans un sermon d’Alain de Lille,” *Pensée médiévale en Occident: Théologie, magie et autres textes des XII^e–XIII^e siècles*, edited by C. Burnett, [Variorum Collected Studies Series, 511], Aldershot [et al.]:

scholars, for the sermon's theme corresponds to the seventh rule of his *Theological Rules*.¹⁰⁹ According to Vera Rodrigues, Alan sketches in the *Sermon about the intelligible sphere* “les grandes lignes de sa théorie de la connaissance, ainsi que sa conception du réel et du monde”.¹¹⁰

Drawing on Boethius, Alan presents the powers “sense,” “imagination,” “reason” and “intelligence”.¹¹¹ The four powers are compared to the four wheels of a cart, which allows the “noble charioteer,” namely the philosopher (“nobilis auriga philosophus”), to reach eternity. With their help, the human being can attain knowledge of four spheres, i.e. this world, primordial matter, the world-soul and finally God's essence.¹¹² Reason has acquired a higher status here, replacing intellect in its function.

The first two powers, which are associated with matter, correspond to the human soul as human, while the upper two, i.e. reason and intelligence, make the soul spirit-like and God-like.¹¹³ Though the first two powers are necessary to recognize the Creator in temporal things, they still do not bring about eternal

Variorum, 1995, p. 1517–1528) or *Regia solis erat sublimibus alta columnis* (Ovid, *Met.* 2,1) (large parts edited by F. SIRI, “I classici e la sapienza antica nella predicazione di Alano di Lilla,” *L'antichità classica nel pensiero medievale: Atti del convegno della Società Italiana per lo Studio del Pensiero Medievale (S.I.S.P.M.), Trento, 27–29 settembre 2010*, edited by A. Palazzo, (Textes et Études du Moyen Âge, 61), Porto: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 2011, p. 161–169.

¹⁰⁹ See A. VASILIU, “L'économie de l'image,” p. 259; *RTh*, VII, p. 64–65: “Deus est spera intelligibilis, cuius centrum ubique circumferentia nusquam.” For the influence of this particular rule on the *Summa Halensis* (and the *Summa's* further influence on Franciscans and Meister Eckhart) cf. A. BECCARISI, “Noch sint ez allez heidenischer meister wort, die niht enbekanten dan in einem natürliehen lichte': Eckhart e il Liber vigintiquattuor philosophorum,” *Studi sulle fonti di Meister Eckhart*, edited by L. Sturlese, vol. 2, (Dokimion, 37), Fribourg: Academic Press, 2012, p. 73–96.

¹¹⁰ V. RODRIGUES, “Nature et connaissance de la nature dans le *Sermo de sphaera intelligibili* et dans les *Glosae super Trismegistum*,” *Alain de Lille, le docteur universel: Philosophie, théologie et littérature au XII^e siècle: Actes du XI^e colloque international de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale, Paris, 23–25 octobre 2003*, edited by J.-L. Solère, A. Vasiliu, A. Galonnier, (Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale, 12), Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, p. 172.

¹¹¹ His source seems to have been the fifth book of Boethius' *Consolation*, see M.-T. D'ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille*, p. 170. In the *Consolation*, the fourth power is called *intelligentia*, while Alan (according to the one extant manuscript) names it *intellectuitas*, corrected as *intellectualitas* by the editor M.-T. d'Alverny, see M.-T. D'ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille*, p. 299. Cf. also V. RODRIGUES, “Nature et connaissance de la nature,” p. 184–186.

¹¹² Cf. SSI, p. 302.

¹¹³ For this passage cf. also M. AMRI-KILANI, “Connaissance sensitive et rhétorique chez Alain de Lille,” *Alain de Lille, le docteur universel. Philosophie, théologie et littérature au XII^e siècle: Actes du XI^e colloque international de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale, Paris, 23–25 octobre 2003*, edited by J.-L. Solère, A. Vasiliu, A. Galonnier, (Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale, 12), Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, p. 199–200.

life.¹¹⁴ In the condition of a spirit, the person can practice the virtues of natural law and will know everything necessary in worldly wisdom, but should not transgress reason's limits.¹¹⁵ Sense and imagination alone will lead away from the knowledge of God, but reason and intelligence with their corresponding virtues and contents will help achieve that knowledge.¹¹⁶

The following points should be emphasized: For his scholarly audience, Alan describes the intellectual ascent towards perfect theological knowledge as a sequence in which every single step is necessary; there is no sudden illumination which would make the studies of natural philosophy obsolete. This idea of a fixed curriculum is similar to Albert's. There is no negative attitude towards these kinds of studies; rather, only in a combination of full worldly wisdom and theological knowledge, and their corresponding mental powers, will perfection be attained. The natural philosopher can even reach the state of a human-spirit. All in all, this concept offers a way of attaining perfection in this life, in order to finally reach a God-like state, by means of studying natural philosophy and theology.

A similar approach can be found in the sermon on the antiphon *O Sapientia*.¹¹⁷ Like the former, it seems to address a scholarly audience, given the complicated nature of the sermon's content, the warnings against overestimation of one's eloquence and knowledge, and the *captatio benevolentiae*, which expresses a fear of being reproached for superficial knowledge. Here, Alan discusses different kinds of wisdom, beginning with that kind of wisdom which is achieved in an inferior "extasis" through sense and imagination, and which makes the human being a human beast, devoid of reason:

¹¹⁴ SSI, p. 302–303: "Harum rotatum due sunt antecedarie: sensus, ymaginationio, que circa caducorum inferiora umbratilitur volitant, nec ad solium eternorum aspirant. [303] [...] Per sensum et ymaginationem fit anima homo; per rationem fit anima humana spiritus; per intellectu<al>itatem fit anima humana Deus. Per sensum et ymaginationem est circa se; per rationem apud se; per intellectu<al>itatem supra se". Cf. also SQH, p. 139: "Modo enim sensus et imaginatio impediunt intellectum; cogunt enim eum reverti ad comprehendendum qualitatem rerum dum res considerat."

¹¹⁵ SSI, p. 303–4: "Per sensum et ymaginationem indulget anima virtutibus politicis, per rationem phisicis, per intellectualitatem exemplaribus siue noeticis. [...] [304] ascendamus curriculum rationis, non ad sapiendum plus quam oportet in mundane sapientie ebrietate, sed ad sapiendum iuxta quod oportet in sobrietate." Cf. the helpful explanations by M.-T. d'Alverny in note 48, *ibidem*.

¹¹⁶ SSI, p. 306: "Nos igitur, [...] tendamus in circumferentie quietem [God as the intelligible sphere, whose centre is everywhere and its circumference is nowhere]; [...] non per linearem motum sensualitatis, non per retrogradationem ymaginationis, sed per orbicularem motum rationis, ut intellectualitatis ductu, ad diuine circumferentie tranquillitatem perueniamus [...]."

¹¹⁷ We are deeply indebted to Francesco Siri (BNF Paris/ IRHT-CNRS), who is preparing the critical edition of the sermon and was kind enough to share his manuscript with us. All quotations are taken from it.

Ex multis articulis scripture multiplicem concepi esse sapientiam: prima est metamorphoseos, secunda est status phiseos, tertia est apotheoseos, quarta uero ipsa est theos. [...] Prima est dicta metamorphoseos. Est autem metamorphoseos species extasis, cum quis a statu naturali recedens et infra descendens transformatur. [...] Quisquis talis est, nonne est homo pecus? Pecus enim sensu trahitur et imaginatione, expers rationis.

This unusual concept of *sapientia* resembles the idea of science in the *Summa "Quoniam Homines"*.¹¹⁸ One of the *sapientiae* is called *status naturalis* and is acquired by means of sense and reason working together correctly, the former providing sense data, and the latter processing these. It corresponds to humans as human beings (*homo homo*). As a science, it deals with natural philosophy:

Sed est alia sapientia que dicitur status phiseos, idest status naturalis. Duo uero concurrunt ad hanc sapientiam: sensus et ratio. Sensus enim offert materiam, ratio uero discutit oblatam inuestigando causas circa eam [...] Ea sapiens, est homo homo. Homo enim libratur medius inter angelum et animal brutum. Rationem et intellectum communem habet cum angelis, sensum et imaginationem cum brutis. Qui ergo sic utitur sensu ut rationem non reiciat, uel sic utitur ratione ut usum sensuum non contempnat, is uere dicitur homo, quia est in uero statu humano. [...] Hec autem scientia uertitur circa media.

Alan speaks of phenomena of the intermediate area whereby he means the contents of natural philosophy, as defined in his *Summa "Quoniam Homines"*. This kind of science instructs humans and is to be practiced because it prepares the mind for the higher form of wisdom called *apotheosis*.¹¹⁹ It can take place through *raptus* as a state of contemplation. Guided by reason (*ductu rationis*¹²⁰), the human being is full of devotion and love. He adheres to spirit, which is why he can be called a human-spirit. In this sermon, *homo-spiritus* is the highest level, to be equated with *homo-Deus* in Alan's other works. The reason for this change in the wording seems to be related to the general theme of the sermon. As this is "O Sapientia," the divine attribute "wisdom" is dealt with, and as usual it is associated with the Son.¹²¹ It is the incarnated Son who is the *homo-Deus* in this work. The *apotheosis* can also appear in such a way that it elevates

¹¹⁸ See p. 31 in this article.

¹¹⁹ "Hec autem scientia instruit et est indulgenda et ad fugam et ad exercitium: ad fugam nam qui talibus occupantur minus in inanes cogitatus elabuntur, ad exercitium nam talium exercitio animus fit paratior ad illam excellentiorem sapientiam que dicta est apotheoseos".

¹²⁰ Cf. also ALANUS AB INSULIS, *De Planctu Naturae*, Prosa I: "[...] homo sensualitatis deponens segnitiam, directa ratiocinationis aurigatione, coeli penetrauit arcana," quoted after ALANUS AB INSULIS, *De Planctu Naturae — Die Klage der Natur*, ed. J.B. Köhler, (Texte und Studien zur Europäischen Geistesgeschichte. Reihe A, 2), Münster: Aschendorff, 2013, p. 72.

¹²¹ Cf. M. PERKAMS, "The Origins of the Trinitarian Attributes *Potentia, Sapientia, Benignitas*," *Archa Verbi*, vol. 1 (2004), p. 25–41. That Alan directly depends on Hugh of St Victor in this

itself to the Original Cause. It leads to deep insight into God's essence and into the conditions of theological language, but in the end, divine power remains inconceivable:

Apotheosis est species extasis que recedit a naturali statu sursum ascendens. Hec autem uel contemplatur uel anagogizat. Contemplatur, quando quis pessumdatis sensibus immemor terrenorum totus est in deuotione et dilectione deo adherens totus hanelat ad desiderium eternorum. Ad hanc extasim raptus fuit apostolus, cum dicitur *usque ad tertium celum*, idest tertiam uisionem, *raptus fuisse*.¹²² [...] Est quoque apotheosis quedam anagogica que erigitur ad causam originalem, ad quam raptus est Dionisius in ierarchia. Anagoge enim dicitur sursum ductio. Vnde extasis dicitur anagogica, quasi sursum ductiua que uertitur circa causam gignitiuam et superessentialem, negando per proprietatem, sed affirmando per causam. [...]. Est enim [Deus] immensus potestate diuina, quare incomprehensibilis.

We can summarise that in this sermon, Alan interprets the practice of philosophy as a means to achieve knowledge of God. It is a necessary component in the process of human perfection. Complete knowledge of God nevertheless is impossible.

CONCLUSION

This paper began with a negative statement but should end on a positive note. While Alan of Lille did not draw the connection between knowledge and perfection in his dictionary of theological terms quoted at the beginning, he dealt with this subject in his works of speculative theology as well as in his sermons. The ideas which he presents there are not always consistent, as can be seen by the fact that in his sermons, natural philosophy and its corresponding mental power 'reason' are given more relevance in the process of the perfection of the human being than in the *Summa* "*Quoniam Homines*". Albert is indeed much more systematic in his thinking, as he can already draw on Aristotelian intellectual theory, but also his ideas did evolve continually.

However, the purpose of this paper was not to make a point by point comparison of Alan's and Albert's theories of knowledge and perfection, which would only highlight the "shortcomings" of Alan's intellectual theory. Rather,

regard has been shown by D. POIREL, "Alain de Lille, héritier de l'école de Saint-Victor?," *Alain de Lille, le Docteur Universel. Philosophie, Théologie et Littérature au XII^e Siècle: Actes du XI^e Colloque International de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale, Paris, 23–25 Octobre 2003*, edited by J.-L. Solère, A. Vasiliu, A. Galonnier, (Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale, 12), Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, p. 59–82.

¹²²Italics in original.

by contrasting broadly the approaches of a 12th-century thinker with Albert the Great's, we tried to show how similar their problems and ways of finding solutions were, judged by the standards of each time. Three conclusions can be drawn: Firstly, both Alan of Lille and Albert the Great invented systems of knowledge which have their aim in human deification and which are characterised by an obligatory learning curriculum. Secondly, both hold the philosopher and his discipline in high esteem. In Albert's concept, he can even reach the highest form of perfection and come to a beatific state in this life. In Alan's thinking — as explained in the sermons — he is equated with a human-spirit and therefore has at least come closer to the highest form of perfection. So, thirdly and most importantly, we can conclude that there was indeed a 12th-century intellectual endeavour to raise the status of the philosopher and to provide humans with the means to reach perfection in this life. Albert the Great can be viewed as the one to draw the full consequences from these 12th-century predecessors, which should be seen as a further stimulus to his intellectual theory, next to the Greco-Arabic influences.

Consequently, one may ask whether the Averroist debate¹²³ on worldly happiness was really the major influence on Albert's ideas on contemplative felicity and the state of the philosopher. Albert's predecessors in the 12th-century Latin tradition should at least be taken into account as an equally strong factor for the development of his thought. This re-evaluation will offer valuable insights into interrelations in the history of ideas.

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¹²³ For more details about the Averroist debate see for instance: SIGERIUS DE BRABANTIA, *Quaestiones in tertium De anima*, edited, translated and with introduction by M. Perkams, (Herders Bibliothek der Philosophie des Mittelalters, 16), Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2007, esp. p. 11–43; Z. KUKSEWICZ, “The Latin Averroism of the late Thirteenth Century,” *Averroismus im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*, edited by F. Niewöhner, L. Sturlese, Zürich: Spur Verlag, 1994, p. 101–113; L. Sturlese, “L’averroismo nella cultura filosofia tedesca medievale,” *Averroismus im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance*, edited by F. Niewöhner, L. Sturlese, Zürich: Spur Verlag, 1994, p. 114–131.

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KNOWLEDGE AND TEMPORAL FELICITY IN ALBERT THE GREAT AND ALAN OF LILLE

S U M M A R Y

This essay investigates similarities and differences between two systems of attaining knowledge and human perfection as presented by two medieval thinkers of the 12th and 13th century — Alan of Lille and Albert the Great. Both of them develop theories of intellectual ascent which deal with the knowability of God and have their aim in a state of “deification”. Alan and Albert conceive systems which include an obligatory curriculum of learning, each with the help of the available knowledge and methods of his time. Especially the philosopher and his discipline are held in great esteem by both *doctores universales*. In Albert’s concept, the philosopher can reach the highest form of perfection and attain a beatific state in this life. In Alan’s thinking, he is equated with a human-spirit and therefore has come closer to the highest form of perfection. This essay does not want to reject the significant impact of Arabic-Islamic writings and philosophers on Albert in that regard, but wants to highlight the importance of a *longue durée*-perspective, which has been emphasized by Andreas Speer and others. Accordingly, the influence on Albert the Great by intellectual forerunners of the 12th century, like Alan of Lille, should be taken into account.

KEYWORDS: Alan of Lille, Albert the Great, *felicitas contemplativa*, intellectual theory, *intellectus adeptus*, knowledge and perfection, twelfth-century philosophy

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Alan z Lille, Albert Wielki, *felicitas contemplativa*, teoria poznania, *intellectus adeptus*, wiedza i doskonałość, filozofia XII wieku