

from all corporeal things, seeing that in its essence and life it has not been submerged.¹² It separates the corporeal forms from the passions of matter. It also distinguishes from the corporeal forms those which through their own nature are completely incorporeal. Certainly it has itself been separated from the passions of matter and the conditions of corporeal forms. Further, sense is satisfied with particular objects alone, whereas the familiar objects of the intellect are the universal and everlasting reasons of things. With these it could never become familiar unless it were in a peculiar way similar to them. In this way, intellect shows itself, also, to be absolute and everlasting.

Finally, we say this especially because it [intellect] reaches reasons of such a kind through certain species which it both makes and receives itself. These must necessarily be unconditioned by the passions of matter, otherwise they could not refer to those reasons and ideas. Furthermore, unless intellect itself were free from the passions of matter, it could neither create species of this kind nor receive them in this way.

THE MIND IS MUCH BETTER ABLE THAN SENSE TO
ATTAIN ITS DESIRED END

Reason is certainly peculiar to us. God has not bestowed it upon the beasts, otherwise he would have given¹³ them discourse which is, as it were, the messenger of reason. [He also would have given them] the hand, the minister and instrument of reason. [If the beasts possessed reason,] we would also have seen in them some indications of deliberation and of versatility. On the contrary, we now observe that they never act except in so far as they are driven by a natural impulse toward a necessity of nature. Thus all spiders weave their webs in a similar manner; they neither learn to weave nor become more proficient through practice, no matter how long. Lastly, if the beasts possessed reason, definite indications and works of religion manifest to all would have appeared among them. Where intellect is present, in-

12. [See above, n. 9.]

13. [For *desisse* read *desister*.]

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tellect which is, as it were, a kind of eye turned toward the intelligible light, there also the intelligible light which is God shines and is honored and loved and worshipped.

As intellect is more perfect than sense, man is more perfect than the brutes. Because of this very thing, he is more perfect: he has a characteristic not shared by the beasts. Thus on account of his intelligence alone man is judged to be more perfect, especially since, by means of the function of intelligence, he approaches the infinite perfection which is God, through love, thought, and worship. Moreover, the special perfection of each thing consists in the possession of its appropriate end. The attainment of this end is easier and more abundant in proportion to the richness of the innate perfection of that thing; for where that formal perfection which is innate from the beginning is more strong, at that very place final perfection, according to the order of nature, is granted more easily, more abundantly, and with greater felicity, for the latter [final perfection] obeys the former [formal perfection] yet does not result from its obedience. From this we conclude that reason can attain its wished-for and appropriate end more easily than sense; man, more easily than the beasts.

THE IMMORTAL SOUL IS ALWAYS MISERABLE IN ITS MORTAL BODY

We know by experience that the beast in us, that is, sense, most often attains its end and good. This is the case, for instance, when sense, so far as pertains to itself, is entirely satisfied with the attainment of its adequate object. We do not, however, know by experience that the man in us, that is, reason, attains its desired end. On the contrary, when sense itself, in the greatest delights of the body, is as much satisfied as is possible to it, reason is still violently agitated and agitates sense. If it chooses to obey the senses, it always makes a conjecture about something; it invents new delights; it continually seeks something further. I know not what. If, on the other hand, it strives to resist the senses, it renders life laborious. Therefore, in both cases reason not only is unhappy but also entirely disturbs the happiness of sense itself. Yet if

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reason tames sense, and concentrates itself in itself, then, driven by nature, it searches eagerly for the reasons and causes of things. In this search it often finds what it does not want, or does not find what it does want, or, by chance, does not understand as much as it desires and is able to. Truly, reason is always uncertain, vacillating and distressed; and since it is nowhere at rest while thus affected, it certainly never gains possession of its desired end or permits sense to take possession of its proper end which is already present.

Nothing indeed can be imagined more unreasonable than that man, who through reason is the most perfect of all animals, nay, of all things under heaven, most perfect, I say, with regard to that formal perfection which is bestowed upon us from the beginning, that man, also through reason, should be the least perfect of all with regard to that final perfection for the sake of which the first perfection is given. This seems to be that most unfortunate Prometheus. Instructed by the divine wisdom of Pallas, he gained possession of the heavenly fire, that is, reason. Because of this very possession, on the highest peak of the mountain, that is, at the very height of contemplation, he is rightly judged most miserable of all, for he is made wretched by the continual gnawing of the most ravenous of vultures, that is, by the torment of inquiry. This will be the case, until the time comes when he is carried back to that same place from which he received the fire, so that, just as he is now urged on to seek the whole by that one beam of celestial light, he will then be entirely filled with the whole light.

MAN, THE MORE LABORIOUSLY HE FOLLOWS HAPPINESS WHEN HE IS PLACED OUTSIDE HIS NATURAL CONDITION, THE MORE EASILY HE REACHES IT WHEN RESTORED TO THAT NATURAL CONDITION

The reasons we previously offered for the facility with which human happiness may be attained plainly seemed to show the truth itself according to a certain natural order. For what reason then is so much difficulty, as experience teaches, placed in the

way of our strivings, so that we seem to be rolling the great stone of Sisyphus up the steep slopes of the mountain? What wonder? We seek the highest summits of Mount Olympus. We inhabit the abyss of the lowest valley. We are weighted down by the burden of a most troublesome body. Panting toward the steep places, we often slide back to a sudden precipice because of this burden itself and because of the overhanging rocks on both sides. Moreover, from one side as many dangers and obstacles as possible detain us, while from the other the harmful blandishments of certain meadows delay us. Thus, alas, outside the sublime fatherland, we, unhappy people, are confined to the lowest places, where nothing presents itself which is not exceedingly difficult, where nothing happens which is not lamentable.

How, then, shall we reply to a contradiction of this kind? On the one hand, the argument promised the greatest ease; on the other, experience shows in an equal degree, the greatest difficulty. Only the law of Moses will solve this conflict for us. Indeed, we have been placed outside the order of first nature, and —O sorrow!—live and suffer contrary to the order of nature. The more easily the first man was able to receive happiness when in the beginning he was entirely devoted to God, the more easily he has lost ease itself when thereafter he turned against God. Therefore, the greater the difficulty with which all the descendants of the first parent receive blessedness when placed outside the order of nature, the greater the ease with which they would receive it if restored to that very order.

What do the philosophers say to these things? Certainly the Magi, followers of Zoroaster and Hostanes, assert something similar. They say that, because of a certain old disease of the human mind, everything that is very unhealthy and difficult befalls us; but, if anyone should restore the soul to its previous condition, then immediately all will be set in order. Neither does the opinion of the Pythagoreans and Platonists disagree with this. They say that the soul is manifestly afflicted in the sensible world by so many ills because, seduced by an excessive desire for sen-

sible goods, it has imprudently lost the goods of the intelligible world. The Peripatetics perhaps will say that man wanders from his appropriate end more than the brutes because he is moved by free will. For this reason, as he makes use of various conjectures in deliberating, man subsequently strays on this side or on that side. The irrational animal, on the contrary, is not led by its own will but is directed to the end appropriate for it by the very providence of nature, which never strays, just as the arrow is directed to the target. However, since our error and violation of duty result not from a defect of nature but rather from the variety of the opinions of reason and the divergence of resolution from the straight way, they by no means destroy the natural power but rather throw the will into turmoil. Just as, even when an element is situated outside its proper location, its power and natural inclination toward that natural place are preserved together with its nature, in so far as it is able at some time to return to its own region; so, they think, even after man has wandered from the right way, the natural power remains to him of returning first to the path, then to the end.

Finally, the most precise investigations of the theologians briefly sum up the whole matter in the following way. There can be no inclination toward any motion greater than the moving power. Since the inclination of the soul is clearly directed toward the infinite, it undoubtedly depends solely upon the infinite. If, on the contrary, the inclination of the soul had resulted immediately from some limited cause which moved the soul besides God, then it would also have been directed in like measure to a limited end. The reason for this is that, however much the power of moving were infinite in its infinite origin, it would be limited in a subsequent cause which is limited. Motion follows the quality of the most immediate rather than of the remote moving power. The mover which alone turns the soul toward the infinite is therefore none other than infinite power itself. This power, conformably with the free nature of the will, moves

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the mind in a certain manner which is in the highest degree free toward the paths to be chosen; while conformably with the infinite power of the moving cause, it urges the mind toward the desired end, so much so that the mind cannot fail to strive after that end. If motion of this kind could not reach the end to which it is directed, certainly none could. Where infinite power is active, in that very place infinite wisdom and goodness rule. This power, moreover, neither moves anything in vain nor denies to anything a good which that thing could and should receive. Accordingly, since man, on the one hand, because of the use of reason and contemplation, comes much nearer to the blessed angels than do the brutes, and, on the other hand, because of divine worship, comes much nearer than they to God, the fountain of blessedness, it is necessary that he can at some time be much more blessed than they in the possession of his desired end. This is necessary in order that he who is more similar to the celestial beings, both because of the ardor of the will and because of the light of intelligence, may be, in like manner, more similar to them in happiness of life, for the power and excellence of thinking and will-ing originate from the power of life.

Now, in the body the soul is truly far more miserable, both because of the weakness and infirmity of the body itself and its want of all things and because of the continual anxiety of the mind; therefore, the more laborious it is for the celestial and immortal soul continually to follow its happiness, while fallen into an intemperate earthly destructible body, the more easily it obtains it when it is either free from the body or in a temperate immortal celestial body. The natural end itself, moreover, seems to exist only in a natural condition. The condition of the everlasting soul which seems to be in the highest degree natural is that it should continue to live in its own body made everlasting. Therefore, it is concluded by necessary reasoning that the immortality and brightness of the soul can and must at some time shine forth into its own body and that, in this condition alone, the highest

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blessedness of man is indeed perfected. Certainly, this doctrine of the prophets and theologians is confirmed by the Persian wise men and by the Hermetic and the Platonic philosophers.

THE MIND WHICH HAS ATTAINED BLESSEDNESS NEVER LOSES IT

When, indeed, the soul attains the infinite end, it certainly attains it without end, for it attains it in the same manner in which it is influenced, drawn along, and led by it [the end]. If the soul has been able at some time to rise up again to immensity from a certain finite condition infinitely distant from immensity, then certainly it can remain infinitely steadfast in immensity itself. This must indeed be true, for the same infinite power which attracted the soul to itself from afar will, when close by, hold it fast within itself with indescribable power. Finally, in the infinite good nothing evil can be imagined, and whatever good can be imagined or desired is most abundantly found there. Therefore, at that place [shall be found] eternal life and the brightest light of knowledge, rest without change, a positive condition free from privation, tranquil and secure possession of all good, and everywhere perfect joy.

THE END OF FIVE QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE MIND

IV

GIOVANNI PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA

Translated by ELIZABETH LIVERMORE FORBES

to be from that time on, this seems to contradict Aristotle's intention completely. First, for everything incorruptible is ungenerated, *De caelo* I, text 125,⁸⁸ where he proves their convertibility. But by what is conceded the intellectual soul is incorruptible, hence ungenerated, hence it never began, which is the opposite of what is conceded. But to this it is replied by denying the last consequence, "hence it never began"; it follows only that it never began through true generation. But this obviously contradicts the text, as I have already noted when I was expounding that passage. For Aristotle says, "I call ungenerated what is, and of what it was never true to say that it was not." If then the intellectual soul is ungenerated as the Philosopher says there, it never was true to say that it was not. For, as he expressly shows, he means that that is generated not only which has true causes of its generation but whatever begins to be, in whatever way it begins, which he means to be convertible with the corruptible taken proportionally; and thus he takes the ungenerated and the incorruptible. Moreover, it is remarkable that Aristotle should adduce so many and such strong arguments for proving their convertibility and should never have excepted the intellectual soul. Certainly he would have given great cause for erring.

Moreover, what he says further, that souls remain after death, although Aristotle makes no mention of them, seems exceedingly improbable, since Aristotle, so diligent an examiner of nature in the *Poetics*, the *Rhetoric*, and other works, would have been so diligent yet negligent in so important a thing.

Further, because in *Ethics* I⁸⁹ he seems to assert no happiness after death; nay, what is more, St. Thomas, in *Ethics* III, lecture 1,⁹⁰ on the text "That anyone ought to choose death rather than commit a great crime," as if doubtful as to how Aristotle affirms this, says that Aristotle said this because after death glory remains, or because he judged it better to persist in that virtuous activity for a short time than to live long in vicious activity. Now

88. i 12, 282 b 5 ff.
89. Cf. chap. 11.

90. Lectio 2 (ed. Fretté, XXV, 325).

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if St. Thomas believes that Aristotle upheld immortality, none of these causes would be fitting. For it would at once be clear: because of a future state. Whence the Blessed Thomas rather wondered why, since Aristotle holds that after death there is nothing, he wants anyone to prefer to die rather than to live in evil ways. For he himself also in the *Exposition of the Apostles' Creed*⁹¹ says of the resurrection of the flesh: "that unless we expect to rise again, a man ought to commit any crime rather than to die." Further, as has been said, it would be strange that Aristotle should have made no mention of such a state after death, nor have promised to explain it, which is contrary to his custom. Moreover, he ought either to have asserted resurrection, or to have contrived Pythagorean fables, or to have left such very noble beings without any function; all of which seem very far from the Philosopher. However, these things have been said not to contradict so great a philosopher (for what is a flea against an elephant?) but from desire of learning. Whence, etc.

CHAPTER IX

IN WHICH IS SET FORTH A FIFTH WAY, NAMELY, THAT THE SAME ESSENCE OF THE SOUL IS MORTAL AND IMMORTAL BUT UNQUALIFIEDLY MORTAL AND RELATIVELY IMMORTAL

Since therefore the first way, asserting that the intellectual soul is distinct in existence from the sensitive in mortals, has been refuted in all its modes; and the second, asserting that intellectual and sensitive are the same in existence, and that this soul is unqualifiedly immortal and relatively mortal, is exceedingly doubtful and does not seem to agree with Aristotle, it remains to assert the last way, which, holding that the sensitive in man is identified with the intellectual, maintains that this soul is essentially and truly mortal but relatively immortal.

91. *Opusculum* vii. In *symbolum apostolorum expositio*, chap. 14 (ed. Fretté, XXVII, 226).

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And that we may proceed in due order, we shall speak according to those five propositions in the previous chapter. And the first we concede unqualifiedly, that the intellective and the sensitive in man are identified in existence. But we are at variance on the second, because we assert that such a soul is truly and unqualifiedly mortal, but relatively and improperly speaking immortal. For evidence of this it must be known and thoroughly committed to memory in this matter, that all cognition in some fashion abstracts from matter. For, as the Commentator says, *De anima* iii, comment 5,⁹² matter hinders cognition; and this is to be seen in the senses, which do not know according to real qualities but according to their intentions; whence in *De anima* ii⁹³ it is said that the property of each sense is to be receptive of species without matter. Therefore, three modes of cognition are found in the universe, corresponding to three modes of separation from matter. For there are some things which are totally separated from matter and hence in their knowing neither need a body as subject nor as object. For their knowing is not received in any body, since they are not in a body, nor are they moved by any body, since they are unmoved movers. And these are the separated substances which we call Intellects or Intelligences, in which is discovered neither discursive thought, nor composition, nor any motion. But there are some things which, although they know not through sensible qualities but through their species, which assume some manner of immateriality, for they are both said to be without matter and are spiritual; yet because they are the lowest in the genus of knowing things and are exceedingly material, they hence need the body for their operations both as subject and as object. For such cognitions are both received in an organ, whence also they represent only singulars, and are moved by some corporeal thing. And these are all the sensitive powers, although some of them are more spiritual and some less, as the Commentator says (*De anima* iii, comment 6,⁹⁴ and *De sensu et sensato*⁹⁵).

92. *Op. cit.*, fol. 96^v.

93. ii 12, 424 a 17 ff.

94. *Op. cit.*, fol. 106^v-7.

95. *Cf. Opera Aristotelis*, Vol. VII, fols. 150^r ff.

Now since nature proceeds in orderly fashion, as is said in *Physica* viii⁹⁶ between these two extremes, of not needing a body as subject or as object, and of needing a body as subject and object, there is a mean, which is neither totally abstracted nor totally immersed. Whence, since it is impossible for anything to need a body as subject and not as object, as is obvious, it remains that such an intermediary does not need the body as subject but as object. Now this is the human intellect, which by all the ancients and moderns or almost all is held to be halfway between things abstract and things not abstract, that is, between the Intelligences and the sensitive level, below the Intelligences and above the sensitive. Whence it is said also in the Psalm, "Thou hast made him a little less than the angels."⁹⁷ And a little further on, "Thou hast established him above the works of thy hands, the sheep and the oxen," etc. And this way of knowing is that of which Aristotle spoke, in *De anima* i, text 12: "If knowing is either imagination or not without imagination, it is impossible for it to exist without a body."⁹⁸ And when in *De anima* iii he declared that knowing is not imagination, since it is not through an organ, and it cannot be without imagination,⁹⁹ and in the same book, texts 29 and 39: "The soul does not know at all without some phantasm."¹⁰⁰ Hence the human soul does not need an organ as subject but as object.

Now, according to Aristotle and Plato, it is fitting that there be souls corresponding to all these levels of cognition. Hence, at least according to Aristotle, any knowing thing is the act of a physical and organic body, though each kind in a different way. For Intelligences are not the acts of bodies as Intelligences, since in their knowing and desiring they in no wise need a body. But in so far as they actuate and move the heavenly bodies, they are souls and are the acts of a physical and organic body. For a star is an organ of the heavens, in *De caelo* ii,¹⁰¹ and in *Metaphysica*

96. viii 1, 252 a 11-12.

99. *Cf.* iii 3, 427 b 14 ff., and 4, 429 a 26-27.

97. *Ps.* 8:6 ff.

100. iii 7, 431 a 16-17.

98. i 1, 403 a 8-9.

101. *Cf.* ii 12, 292 b 25 ff.

xii, text 48,¹⁰² the whole sphere exists for the sake of the star. Hence the Intelligences actuate a physical and organic body; and, as such, they need the body as object. But, in thus actuating and moving, they receive nothing from the body but only give to it. The sensitive soul, moreover, is unqualifiedly the act of a physical and organic body, because it both needs the body as subject, since it performs its office only in an organ, and needs the body as object. But the mean, which is the human intellect, is in none of its operations wholly freed from the body or wholly immersed in it, whence it will not need the body as subject but will as object. And thus in a fashion halfway between abstract things and things not abstract it will be the act of an organic body. For Intelligences as Intelligences are not souls, because as such they are no wise dependent on a body but in so far as they move the heavenly bodies. But the human intellect in all its operations is the act of an organic body, since it always depends on the body as object.

There is also a difference in the way an Intelligence and a human intellect depend on an organ, because the human soul receives and is completed by a bodily object when it is moved by it, but an Intelligence receives nothing from a heavenly body but only gives. Moreover, the human intellect differs from the sensitive power in its way of depending on the body, because the sensitive depends subjectively and objectively, but the human intellect objectively only. And thus in a fashion halfway between the material and the immaterial the human intellect is the act of an organic body.

Wherefore heavenly things, men and beasts are not animated in the same way, since their souls are not in the same way the acts of a physical and organic body, as has been seen. Hence Alexander in his *Paraphrase of the De anima* said that an Intelligence is rather equivocally called the soul of a heaven, and the heaven an animated being.¹⁰³ With this, Averroes seems also to

102. Cf. xii 8, 1074 a 1 ff.

103. This passage is probably quoted from Averroes. It cannot be verified in Alexander's *De anima* (*Scripta Minora*, ed. I. Bruns, Part I [Berlin, 1887], in *Supplementum Aristotelicum*, Vol. II).

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agree in *De substantia orbis*.¹⁰⁴ But beasts are properly called animals, as is the common usage. But men are called animals in an intermediate manner.

Nor is it to be pretended that, with Aristotle, this way of knowing of the human intellect is accidental to it, that is, being moved by an object and not needing a subject; not only because a single thing has but a single essential way of operating but also because just as the way of the sensitive is never transformed into the way of the Intelligence or of the human intellect, nor the way of the Intelligence into the way of the human intellect or of the sensitive; so equally the human way of understanding does not seem capable of transformation into the way of the Intelligence. This would be the case if it knew without needing the body as subject and object. This is also confirmed, because then a nature would be transformed into another nature, since its essential operations would also be transformed.

Further, by no natural mark can the human intellect be known to have any other way of knowing, as we understand from experience, because we always need some phantasm. Whence it is concluded that this way of knowing by phantasms is essential to man.

From these considerations we must now syllogize the principal conclusion we are seeking—that the human soul is unqualifiedly material and relatively immaterial. And, first, the prosyllogism is divided as follows: The human intellect is immaterial and material, as is shown by the above reasons. But it does not partake of these equally; nor is it more immaterial than material, as has been proved in the preceding chapter. Hence it is more material than immaterial and will thus be unqualifiedly material and relatively immaterial.

Secondly, it is essential to the intellect to know by means of phantasms, as has been demonstrated, and is clear from the definition of the soul, as the act of a physical and organic body; whence in all its operations it needs an organ. But what knows

104. Cf. chap. 2 (in *Joannis de Janduno in libros Aristotelis de coelo et mundo quaestiones* [Venice, 1564], fol. 50).

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in this way is necessarily inseparable; hence the human intellect is mortal. The minor is evident not only from Aristotle's words: "If knowing is imagination or not without imagination, it is impossible for it to be separated"; but also, if it were separable, it would either not have any operation, and would thus be functionless, or it would have one and would operate without phantasms, which is contrary to the demonstrated major.

And again this is confirmed as follows: Since Aristotle did not posit any Intelligence without a body, as in *Metaphysica* xii,¹⁰⁵ he maintains that the number of Intelligences corresponds to the number of spheres; much less, therefore, can he posit the human intellect without a body, since it is far less abstracted than an Intelligence. Indeed, if the world is eternal, as Aristotle believed, infinitely infinite forms exist actually without a body. This seems ridiculous according to Aristotle. Whence the human soul, according to Aristotle, must be declared to be absolutely mortal. But since it is halfway between what is unqualifiedly abstracted and what is immersed in matter, it partakes in some fashion of immortality, which its essential operation also shows. For it does not depend on the body as subject, in which it agrees with the Intelligences and differs from the beasts; and it needs the body as object, in which it agrees with the beasts. Whence it is mortal.

For a complete understanding of what has been said it is necessary to know what it is to need an organ as subject and as object and what it is not to need them. To need an organ as subject, then, is to be received in the body in a manner both quantitative and corporeal so as to be received with extension. In this way we say all organic powers receive and perform their functions, as the eye in seeing and the ear in hearing, for vision is in the eye and in an extensive manner. Whence not to be in an organ, or not to need it subjectively, is either not to be in the body or not to be in it in a quantitative manner. Whence we say that the intellect does not need the body as subject in its know-

105. Cf. xii 8, 1073 a 30 ff.

ing, not because knowing is in no wise in the body, since if the intellect is in the body it cannot be that its immanent operation is not in it in some fashion. For where the subject is, there must be the accident of the subject. But knowing is said not to be in an organ and in the body only in so far as it is not in it in a quantitative and corporeal manner. Wherefore the intellect can reflect upon itself, think discursively, and comprehend universals, which organic and extended powers cannot do at all. But all this comes from the essence of the intellect, since as intellect it is not dependent on matter or on quantity. But if the human intellect depends on matter, this is as it is joined to sense; whence as intellect it is accidentally dependent on matter and on quantity. Wherefore its operation also is no more abstracted than its essence. For, unless the intellect possessed something that could exist by itself without matter, its knowing could not be exercised except in a quantitative and corporeal way.

But although the human intellect, as has been considered, does not use quantity in knowing, nevertheless, since it is joined to sense, it cannot be released entirely from matter and quantity, since it never knows without a phantasm, as Aristotle says in *De anima* iii: "The soul does not know at all without a phantasm."¹⁰⁶ Hence it thus needs the body as object. Nor can it know a universal unqualifiedly but always sees the universal in the singular, as everyone can observe in himself. For in all cognition, however far abstracted, we form some bodily image. On this account the human intellect does not know itself first and directly; and it composes and thinks discursively, whence its knowing is in succession and time. The complete opposite of this occurs in the Intelligences, which are utterly freed from matter. The intellect, then, existing thus halfway between the material and the immaterial, is neither completely here and now nor completely released from here and now. Wherefore its operation is neither completely universal nor completely par-

106. iii 7, 431 a 16-17.

ticular; it is neither completely subjected to time nor completely removed from time.

Yet nature proceeds duly and in orderly fashion, so that it arrives at its ends from first things by way of those in between. For Intelligences, since they are unqualifiedly abstracted, in knowing no wise need the body as subject or as object; wherefore they know nature absolutely, first knowing themselves by a simple intuition; wherefore they are released from time and from succession. But the sensitive powers, since they are immersed in matter, know only singulars, not reflecting on themselves or thinking discursively. But the human intellect, just as it is a mean in its existence, so also is it in its operations, as has already been said. Whence the things received in it are known neither wholly in potentiality nor wholly in actuality. Hence it is clear what it is to need the body as subject and as object and not to need them, what things need them and what do not, and in what manner.

Further, it must be known that those who assert that the human soul is immortal and multiplied say that from the fact that it is of an immaterial nature it is a self-subsistent individual (*hoc aliquid per se subsistens*). Whence it can also exist and function without a body, and, when it so exists separated, it possesses none of the powers of the soul save intellect and will, just like the Intelligences. Hence it possesses none of the sensitive or vegetative powers, except as in their very remote beginning. But since it is the lowest of abstracted substances, besides that way of being it possesses another: for it can also be that by virtue of which something exists (*quo aliquid*). Whence it can truly inform a body and because of its imperfection be numbered according to the number of bodies; and it assumes all the sensitive and vegetative powers, whence it exercises them through organs and in so doing becomes perishable. Yet although thus united to the body it may possess intellect and will, still it has not the power to exercise them freely, since without a bodily instrument, at least as object, it cannot perform their functions. The

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opposite of this occurs in separation, since it can go forth in act entirely apart from any bodily organ.

But there is another opinion that judges these things to be absurdities and contrary to the principles of philosophy: that the same thing should be a self-subsistent individual and also that by which an individual is distinguished, as having disparate ways of operating; that separated way of being proved by neither argument nor experience but held quite arbitrarily; the now having sensitive and vegetative powers and now relinquishing them, knowing in one way when joined, in another when separated; joined for an exceedingly short time, separated for infinity, unless we imagine the transmigration of souls into bodies; that it has begun and will never cease to be, now assuming a body and now getting rid of it, as the vulgar say of vampires; and, when it is separated from the body, it ceases to be actually the act of a body, whence it is either nowhere, or if somewhere, how did it get there? For either by alteration, or by motion in place. Not by alteration, as is obvious; neither by motion in place, since, in *Physica* vi,¹⁰⁷ what is indivisible cannot move in place. But if it is asserted to be nowhere, what then, according to Aristotle, prevents the positing of some Intelligences also which do not move spheres? And that infinitely infinite multitude will be posited nor can it be known whether it be without function or operate, unless something fictitious or arbitrary be posited. And whereas an actual infinity of material things cannot be, in which multiplication is clear and even necessary, in immaterial things, in which multiplication is not necessary, nor is distinction in the same species possible, an actually infinite multitude is here posited.

Wherefore, since all these things seem to be irrational and foreign to Aristotle, it seems more rational that the human soul, since it is the highest and most perfect of material forms, is truly that by virtue of which something is an individual, and in no wise is truly itself an individual. Whence it is truly a form be-

107. Cf. vi 10, 241 a 26.

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ginning with and ceasing to be with the body, nor can it in any way operate or exist without the body; and it possesses only a single way of being or operating. Whence also it can be multiplied, since that is truly the principle of multiplying in the same species. Nor are souls actually infinite, but only potentially, like other material things. And the soul possesses powers that are organic and unqualifiedly material, those of the sensitive and the vegetative soul. But since it is the noblest of material things and lies at the boundary of immaterial things, it savors somewhat of immateriality, but not unqualifiedly. Whence it possesses intellect and will, in which it agrees with the gods; but rather imperfectly and equivocally, since the gods themselves are completely abstracted from matter, while it knows always with matter, since it knows with phantasms, with succession, with time, with discursiveness, with obscurity. Whence in us intellect and will are not truly immaterial things but relatively and to a slight extent. Whence it ought to be called more truly reason than intellect. For, so to speak, it is not intellect but the trace and shadow of intellect. What is said in *Metaphysica* ii:¹⁰⁸ bears witness to this: "As the eye of the owl is to the light of the sun, so is our intellect to what is most clear in nature," though Averroes interpreted the passage wrongly. And as the moon is of the nature of earth, as Aristotle says in *De animalibus*,¹⁰⁹ so is the human soul of the nature of Intelligence. But in the moon earth is present only according to its properties, not according to its essence; whence knowing is also in the human soul according to the participation of property and not of essence.

Now all this agrees with nature, which proceeds by degrees. For vegetable things possess something of a soul, since they operate in themselves, though very materially, since they do not perform their functions except through first qualities, and their operations are limited to material being. Then come animals

108. ii 1, 993 b 9 ff.

109. Cf. Averroes, Commentary on the *De coelo* (*Opera Aristotelis*, Vol. V, fol. 137). Cf. also *De generatione animalium* iii 11, 76; b 22.

having only touch and taste and an indeterminate imagination. After them are animals which arrive at such perfection that they are thought to have intellect. For many operate like craftsmen, as by building houses; many like citizens, as bees; many have almost all the moral virtues, as is shown in the *De historiis animalium*, in which marvelous things are set down which would be too long to recount. Indeed, almost an infinite number of men seem to have less intellect than many beasts. There is also posited the cogitative power among the sensitive powers. What ought we to say about its excellence when, according to the Commentator, *De anima* ii, comment 60,¹¹⁰ it knows individuals under ten categories, and particular reason is posited by all? Nay, Homer, Galen, and many excellent men thought it to be intellect itself. But if we ascend a little, we shall place the human intellect immediately above the cogitative and below immaterial things, partaking of both, so that it clearly does not need the body as subject in the way already set forth and needs it as object, which manner is essential to it and inseparable. Whence it must be placed absolutely among material forms. Witness the fact that it belongs only to mortals, unless we imagine, like the ancients, that men become gods and are carried up to heaven; all of which Aristotle thought fables, in *Metaphysica* iii and xii,¹¹¹ and devised by the laws for the advantage of men.

Nothing unfitting seems therefore to follow from this position; it all agrees with reason and experience, it maintains nothing mythical, nothing depending on Faith. But if anything seems to contradict this way, as that when the soul is in warm and cold matter, how is it that it does not itself assume those qualities, and in its operation not employ any organ and not receive universals?—these and similar rather slight things surely create no less difficulty against the earlier position, since that also admits that form is in matter. But if anyone says that neither opinion is true, but rather that of Averroes, certainly for me whoever imagines

110. *Op. cit.*, Vol. VII, fol. 58.

111. Cf. iii 4, 1000 a 18–19, and xii 8, 1074 b 3 ff.

that opinion has a very powerful imagination, and I believe painters have never contrived a finer monster than this monster; besides, it is contrary to Aristotle, as has been demonstrated above.

Wherefore this position just set forth seems to me the most probable of all and closest to Aristotle's view. From all of which it is obvious that many things said by Aristotle about the intellect seem mutually contradictory, when they really are not at all. For he says at times that it is material and mixed, or not separable, but at times that it is immaterial and separable. For in the definition of the soul it is said that it is the act of an organic body; but at times it is said that it is not the act of any body. These seem indeed contradictory. Whence different men have turned into different paths, and some think that Aristotle did not understand himself. But from what has been said everything is plain, nor is there any contradiction. For the intellect, absolutely and as intellect, is entirely unmix'd and separate. But the human intellect retains both, for it is separated from the body as subject but is not separated as object. Moreover, intellect as intellect is in no wise the act of an organic body, since the Intelligences do not need any organ in knowing, though they do in moving. But the human intellect as human is the act of an organic body as object, and thus it is not separated. But not as subject, and thus it is separated. Whence there is no contradiction.

Moreover, in the third proposition, that the soul is truly the form of man, it seems that it is far better preserved by this way than by the former. For, as we said, it is extremely difficult to imagine that a single thing existing by itself is truly a form. Whence Gregory of Nyssa, as St. Thomas reports,¹¹² when he saw Aristotle say that the soul is the act of the body, said that Aristotle believed that the human soul is corruptible, since a form existing by itself cannot truly be the act of an organic body. Indeed, some say that Gregory of Nazianzus also thought this about Aristotle.

112. *Summa contra Gentiles*, Book ii, chap. 79.