



Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

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**Pedro da Fonseca's *Isagoge Philosophica*
and the Predicables from Boethius to the *Lovanienses***

Promotor: **Prof. Dr. Martin W. F. Stone**

A thesis presented in
fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of doctor in
Philosophy

By

João Madeira

November 2006

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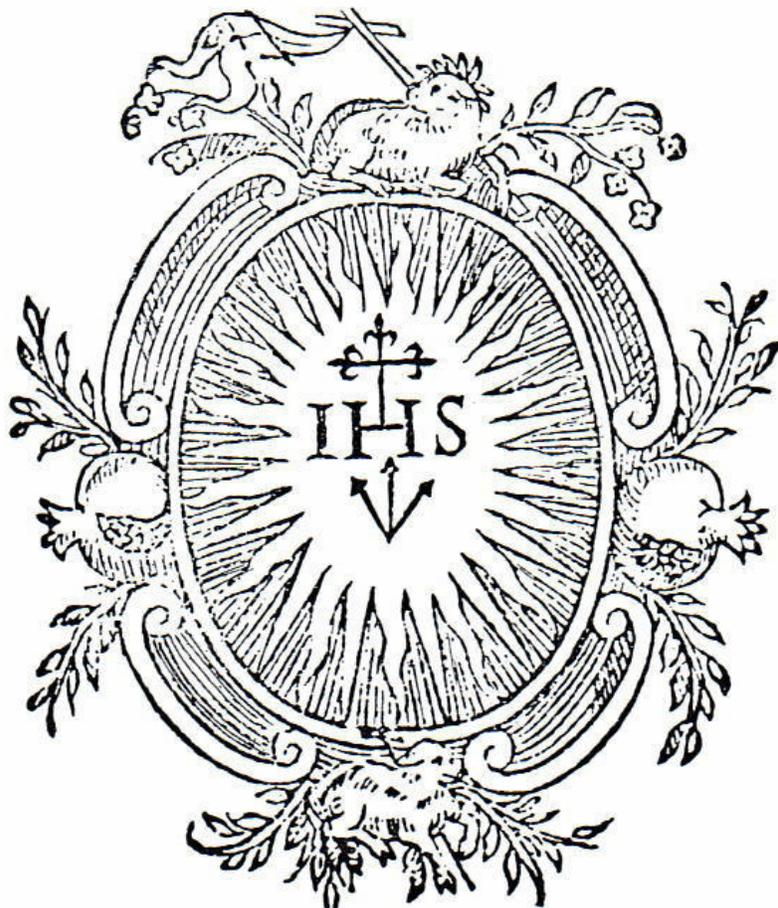
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V

ISAGOGE PHILOSOPHICA.

AUTHORE PETRO
Fonseca Lusitano D. Theologo
Societatis IESV.



OLYSSIPONE.

Apud Antonium Alvarez. Anno Dñi 1591.

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Abbreviations

<i>CMA</i>	Pedro da Fonseca, <i>Commentariorum in libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis</i> . vv. 1-4
<i>ID</i>	Pedro da Fonseca, <i>Institutionum Dialecticarum</i>
<i>IP</i>	Pedro da Fonseca, <i>Isagoge Philosophica</i>
<i>PPI</i>	Averroes, <i>Porphyrii Phoenicei introductio</i>
<i>IIP</i>	Boethius, <i>In Isagogen Porphyrii commentorum editionis secundae</i>
<i>CE&E</i>	Thomas de Vio Cajetan, <i>Commentarium super opusculum De ente et essentia Thomae Aquinatis</i> .
<i>CIPPA</i>	Thomas de Vio Cajetan, <i>Commentaria in Isagogen Porphyrii ad Praedicamenta Aristotelis</i> .
<i>CIPLAD</i>	LOVANIENSES, <i>Commentaria in Isagogen Porphyrii, et in omnes libros Aristotelis de Dialectica(...)</i>
<i>ELPP</i>	William of Ockham, <i>Expositio in librum Porphyrii de Praedicabilibus</i>
<i>QLPI</i>	John Duns Scotus, <i>Quaestiones in librum Porphyrii Isagoge</i>
<i>RPF</i>	<i>Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia</i>

Introduction

Like most philosophers of the sixteenth century, Pedro da Fonseca remains relatively unknown. However, his name will be familiar to those interested in the history of Later Medieval, Renaissance, and Sixteenth century Philosophy. Since biographical and bibliographical data concerning his life and times are scarce in English, a short account of his life and works may prove useful in understanding how Fonseca relates to the historical and intellectual context of his days.

Pedro da Fonseca was born in Cortiçada/Proença-a-Nova, Portugal, in 1528 to a wealthy family.¹ He was the son of Pedro da Fonseca (his namesake) and Helena Dias. In his early years with his parents, he learned some Latin (three or four years on an irregular basis) and, at the age of fourteen, left to study in Coimbra, where he was probably a student under the “masters from Bordeaux.”² He entered the Society of Jesus on 17th March 1548, where he studied another year of Latin and Arts (philosophy), first at Sanfins, in the region of Minho, and then at the College of Arts of Coimbra. Theology was included in the course but he would only receive his doctoral degree some years later from the University of Évora, which like the College of Arts, was in the charge of the Jesuit order.³

¹ This date is uncertain, it is usually considered to be 1528, but it may also have been two years before, since the *Necrológio* composed by Fernão Carvalho to celebrate his death (two weeks after it actually happened) informs that Fonseca was then 73 years old. Also in favour of 1526 is the account that he was 22 when he entered the Society. Cf. Francisco Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, book II, pp. 457; 590-594.

² The “*mestres bordaleses*” as they are known in Portuguese, are those professors brought by André de Gouveia (the first principal of the “Colégio das Artes”) in 1547 to Portugal, where they were responsible for the beginning of the renovation of the philosophical studies. Cf. Mário Brandão *O Colégio das Artes* p. 70. Among those teachers, there was a certain Nicholas Grouchy (c. 1510-1572), who read and explained Aristotle’s logical works in Greek, during the lectures. Cf. Rodrigues, *ibid.*, p. 282.

³ Because Fonseca had joined the Society in its early years, he enjoyed seniority and influence in his native Portuguese province, and due, in part, to his cordial association with the Jesuit General Everard Mercurian, he was elected Assistant of the province at the Third General Congregation in 1573 and had also influence in the Society as a whole. Along the years, Fonseca also felt compelled to comment on the appropriateness or otherwise of certain practices such as affective prayer and had a reputation as a rigorist in the enforcement of a particular ideal of Jesuit life, see Nuno da Silva Gonçalves, “Jesuits in Portugal,” in Thomas McCoog (ed.), *The Mercurian Project. Forming Jesuit Culture, 1573-1580*, St. Louis/Rome, 2004, 715. It is also known that his interests extended to the cultural life of his time with respect to forms of theatre, see Augustin de la Granja, “Un documento inédito contra las comedias en el siglo XVI: Los fundamentos, de P. Pedro de Fonseca,” in: *Homenaje a Camoens*, Granada, 1980, 173-194.

In order to have an idea on why young men were moved to join the Jesuits, one which makes specific reference to the situation in Portugal, see Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise, The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire and Beyond*, Stanford, CA, 1996, 36-39.

His teaching career began with a course of lectures to seventeen students of arts in Coimbra, from 1552 until 1553.⁴ Then, when the College of Arts of Coimbra was given to the Jesuits in 1555, he was immediately assigned the task of lecturing in the third (1555-1557) and in the fourth course (1557-1561),⁵ which he did until 1561. According to the programme of studies of the Jesuits at this time, in the third course (year) the students were taught the third book of the *Physics*, the *De coelo*, the *De generatione*, some of the books of the *Metaphysics*, the *Meteorology*, and at least the first and the second books of the *De anima* of Aristotle. While in the fourth course (first half of the fourth year) the remaining parts of the *De anima*, the *Parva naturalia*, and the remaining parts of the *Metaphysics* were studied.⁶ A successful and charismatic teacher, Fonseca would earn himself the reputation of being “the Portuguese Aristotle.”⁷

When Jerónimo Nadal (1507-1580),⁸ the superior general of the Jesuits, visited Portugal in 1561, he directed the teachers of The College of Arts of Coimbra to prepare commentaries on all the Aristotelian works which would be employed in the teaching of philosophy and theology.

Remarkably, Nadal explained that:

Aristotle should be read in such a way that those parts which he had treated diffusely and which were not of central importance to the *sciencia* were to be followed [not directly in the Aristotelian text but] in textbooks, the meaning of them being explained only. This would allow more time to be devoted to the *Metaphysics*, to the *De generatione*, to the *De anima*, and to the *Parva naturalia*. However, special attention was to be given to the *Metaphysics* which is the most profitable for the [study of] Scholastic theology.⁹

⁴ Cf. Rodrigues *ibid.*, book III, p. 575.

⁵ Cf. João Pereira Gomes, “Os Professores de Filosofia do Colégio das Artes,” *RPF* XI/II, 1955, p. 524.

⁶ Cf. Cassiano Abranches, “Origem dos Comentários à Metafísica de Aristóteles,” *RPF* 2, 1946, p. 51.

⁷ For a detailed account of the historical and philosophical background of Portugal in the sixteenth century and the importance of Fonseca in this context, see A. A. Coxito & M. L. C. Soares, “Pedro da Fonseca.” In P. Calafate, *História do Pensamento Filosófico Português* v. II, *Renascimento e Contra-Reforma*, Lisbon, 2001, pp. 455-502.

⁸ J. Nadal was a Spanish Jesuit of Jewish origin. A man of great culture, he was one of the Jesuits that contributed the most to the spreading of the Ignatian spirit within the Society. Cf. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus: biográfico-temático*, Madrid, 2001, pp. 2793-2796.

⁹ J. Nadal, “Instrucciones Conimbricæ de Cursu Artium Datae,” 1561: “Aristoteles se lea de manera, que muchas partes que él trató difusamente, y no son de importancia para la sciencia, se lean en compendio, diziéndose la substancia solamente dellas, sin se leer la letra, para que quede más tiempo para leer *Metaphysica* y *De Generatione* y *De anima* y *Parvos naturales*, y especialmente la *Metaphysica*, que es lo que más aprovecha para la theologia scholástica”

This statement conformed to the general practice of the Jesuits, namely, to follow Aristotle in all the subjects related to philosophy and Thomas Aquinas in theology. Nadal believed that such commentaries would provide invaluable pedagogical tools, which new printing technology would help to circulate Jesuit ideas and doctrines more efficiently than the circulation of manuscripts could ever do. With the help of such printed material, all the Jesuit colleges would have the same text, and this would guarantee uniformity and orthodoxy in the intellectual apostolate.¹⁰

This important commission was assigned to a group which Pedro da Fonseca was chosen as the head (notice that the works to be given special attention match almost entirely the content of the third and fourth courses in which Fonseca was lecturing). The other members of the commission were Marcos Jorge (1524-1571),¹¹ Cipriano Suárez (1524-1593),¹² and Pero Gómez (1535-1600).¹³ Fonseca's plan was to get hold of the necessary books, receive feedback from the

¹⁰ António Martins, "The *Conimbricenses*" in *Proceedings of the 11th Conference of the SIEPM* (Porto, Aug. 2002) (forthcoming): "According to the most current version of the genesis of these texts, everything would have begun with the instructions given by Jerónimo Nadal in 1561 with the purpose of printing a text that would free the professors and the students from the task of writing everything that the professor dictated in the classes. It was intended in this way that two principal strategic goals would be reached: 1) to significantly alter the teaching and learning process by putting the emphasis on assimilation of contents through the more active methods of interpretation and the discussion of themes; 2) to guarantee with more efficacy the doctrinal unity in the sense of excluding preliminarily that which was judged incompatible with church doctrine."

In the order in which they were published the commentaries were: *Commentarii Collegi Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu in octo libros Physicorum Aristotelis Stagyrtae*, Coimbra, 1592; *Commentarii Collegi Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu in quatuor De Caelo Aristotelis Stagyrtae*, Lisbon, 1592; *Commentarii Collegi Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu in libros Meteorum Aristotelis Stagyrtae*, Lisbon, 1592; *Commentarii Collegi Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu in Parva Naturalia appellantur*, Lisbon, 1592; *In libros Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum apud Conimbricensis Cursus disputationes*, Lisbon, 1593; *Commentarii Collegi Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu in duos libros De Generatione et Corruptione*, Coimbra, 1597; *Commentarii Collegi Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu in tres libros De anima*, Coimbra, 1598; *Commentarii Collegi Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu in universam Dialecticam Aristotelis*, Coimbra, 1606. For useful discussion of the labours and achievements of the Coimbra Jesuits see *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, pp. 923-924; Sommervogel, *ibid.*, v. II, cc. 1272-1278; J. Bacelar Oliveira, *Filosofia escolástica e Curso Conimbricense*, *RPF* 16, 1960, 124-141; António Manuel Martins, "Conimbricenses," in *Logos Enciclopédia Luso-brasileira de Filosofia* v. I, 1112-1126; A. A. Coxito, "O Curso Conimbricense," in Pedro Calafate (ed.), *ibid.*, pp. 503-546; and John P. Doyle (ed.), *The Conimbricenses. Some Questions on Signs*, Milwaukee, 2001, pp. 15-30.

¹¹ Marcos Jorge was a Portuguese Jesuit who taught philosophy (1556-1560) and theology (1561-1566) in Coimbra. Cf. Sommervogel, *ibid.* v. III, cc. 821-822; *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, pp. 2153-2154.

¹² Cipriano Suárez (Soares ou Soarez) was a Spanish Jesuit (of a family of 'conversos,' probably of Jewish origin). He taught rhetoric in Lisbon (1553) and in Coimbra (1555). He obtained his degree of doctor in theology in Évora (1566) and was the rector of the Colégio of Braga (1571-1575). Cf. Sommervogel, *ibid.* v. III, cc. 1331-1338; *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, p. 3593.

¹³ Pedro Gómez was a Spanish Jesuit, who taught philosophy in Coimbra (1556) and worked with Fonseca. He left Coimbra in 1570 to become a missionary, reaching as far as Japan and Macao (China) where he taught theology and wrote textbooks of philosophy and theology. Cf. Sommervogel, *ibid.* v. III, cc. 1555-1557; *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, p. 1774.

teachers concerning any doubts and problems encountered during the courses, and finish the commentaries within two or three years.¹⁴

The resulting commentaries came to be known as the *Cursus Conimbricensis* (Coimbra Commentaries). However, the final work was not to be an accomplishment of Nadal's original commission, for reasons not yet fully disclosed. Nevertheless, this failure has to be put into context, since Fonseca was heavily involved in the affairs of the Jesuit Order, his presence at three general congregations of the Jesuit order attests to that.¹⁵ Fonseca was also associated with the group responsible for the development of the program of studies to be used in all Jesuit colleges. Fonseca was a member of the first commission of 1581 which for reasons unknown never managed to convene a single meeting. A new group of Jesuits was only appointed three

¹⁴ Pedro da Fonseca, "letter to Jerónimo Nadal," Coimbra 14 January 1562: "Y que entre tanto se ventilarían más las materias, excitarían dudas, et declararían más todas las cosas; y que yo le diesse una memoria para encomendar a los maestros y algunos theólogos, que entre tanto hiziesen por apuntar cada uno en su cartapacio las dudas y todo lo demás que en el processo de sus estudios les ocurriessse, que podiessse servir para qualquiera parte del curso, y que yo me diesse entre tanto al scholástico, teniendo siempre advertentia a ver iuntamente cosas que me puedan ayudar, para quando se tomare de propósito; y que escriviessse al P. Adorno que por vía de Venezia comprasse allá los libros que sabe que acá nos faltan, como luégo lo hize, escribiendo V. R. iuntamente al P. Polanco que le diesse allá expedición para ello. Dixo luégo el Padre que se hiziesse assí, y luégo avisar a los de Évora que attendiessen a esto, cada uno en lo que podiessse, parecendo a todos que era este un modo para se hazer cosa de mucho provecho, y que en tanta multitud de libros se pueda leer con gusto. Occurrióme para esto que ya que V. R. me dava mayor parte del assumpto, et repartía el trabajo con el P. Cypriano y con los padres Marcos Jorge y Pero Gómez, sería bueno que los que podemos tomásemos cada día algún tiempo, para cada uno ver cosas que puedan ayudar, y preparar la materia para quando se hiziere: que yo tomasse dos horas, el P. Cypriano una, y el P. Marcos Jorge media, con est continua proportion de tiempo, cada uno conforme a sus occupations, dexando el P. Pero Gómez con las que tiene, porque harto haraa agora en acudirles. Assimismo me parecia que yo fuesse en este tiempo viendo todos los libros de Aristóteles que no tengo vistos y pueden servir (o no tam vistos) apuntando las dudas y buenas expositions con dos o tres graves intérpretes como por cifras, exponiendo uno lugares por otros, etc.; Porque esto es lo que ayudará mas al que toma el principal assumpto; y que el P. Cypriano attendiessse especialmente a las cosas de mathematicas que ay en Aristoteles, como son exemplos de geometría, demonstraciones, lugares que hablan de lo que pertenece a cosmographía, astrología y perspectiva, como ay muchos en los libros de coelo y metéoros; y allende desto hiziesse por traer algo de las theóricas de los planetas al 4º cap. de la sphaera de Sacrobosco que acá se lee, quanto buenamente se pudiessse hazer, y se compadeciessse con el tiempo que se daa a estas cosas. Finalmente que leyessse en Plinio y otros algunos lo que puede servir para materia de metéoros, como de vientos, de origine fontium, etc. passando también las obras de philosophia de Cicero, y apuntando los modos de hablar y tratar que commodamente podemos tomar del; y que el P. Marcos Jorge podría ver algunas questiones (que sabe seren altercadas en el curso) por Scoto y otros que le pareciessse, apuntando brevemente lo que ay de difficultad o de resolución, y leyessse las questiones naturales de Séneca, Alexandro Aphrodiseo, et de alguno otro antiguo que hiziesse al caso. Parecio al Padre mui bien esto; y luégo ordenó que se executasse cada día en el tiempo que tengo dicho. Y cierto, yo creo que aunque esto parecerá, por ventura algún tanto largo, es la meior vía que se puede tomar para se hazer la cosa con exacción y provecho. Y tanto se executaraa meior, quanto com menos hastío, y quedando tiempo para otras occupations que podían interromper, por las necessidades que ay, el hilo de los que luégo se pusiessen totalmente en ello. Creo que a cabo de dos o tres annos, si esto procede deste modo y los otros maestros y theólogos ayudan en lo que tengo dicho, estaraa la materia tan dispuesta, que se haga mui en breve el curso todo, y con ocupación de quasi no más que de una persona. Esto es lo que passa neste negocio."

¹⁵ Fonseca is cited five times in the texts of III, IV, and V General Congregations. In the III General Congregation text he is cited in decree 17; the IV cites the name of Fonseca in decrees 30 and 31; and the V cites him in decrees 1 and 40. Cf. J. Padberg, M. O'Keefe, & J. MacCarthy (ed.s), *For Matters of Greater Moment. The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations*, St. Louis, 1994, p. 745.

years later and their intense and meticulous collective work resulted in the famous *Ratio Studiorum*¹⁶ which dealt with the teaching methods, offices and content of courses to be used in all colleges. As the most important members of the order were deeply involved in the whole process, we can safely assume that Fonseca still played a part in it.

At his own request, Fonseca was relieved of teaching activities in 1562, in order to devote himself to the necessary research and writing of his part of the commentaries¹⁷ on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry and on the *Categories* of Aristotle. However, he still had other responsibilities within the Order. One of his tasks was to write a textbook to be utilised as an introduction to philosophy for use by the students that had just entered the arts course, which was then, as it had been before, a preparation for later studies in the traditional faculties of law, medicine, and theology. The text was the *Institutionum Dialecticarum Libri Octo*, first published in 1564.

Soon after the publication of the *Institutionum*, Fonseca taught speculative theology at the University of Évora for two years. It was also during this period that the controversial theory of the *scientia media*, was taught for the first time.¹⁸ Hence, it is evident that Fonseca's special

¹⁶ The *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu*, which might mean something like 'Method and System of the Studies of the Society of Jesus,' was not the result of the work of the first commission (1581) of which Fonseca was a member. The new commission that was appointed three years later (1584), finished its works in August 1585, but after the scrutiny of the General, his assistants, and the teachers of the Colegio Romano, the whole Jesuit order also studied the document and Fonseca certainly gave his contributions. The final version was published in 1599. Cf. Leonel Franca, *O Método Pedagógico dos Jesuítas*, Rio de Janeiro, 1952, p. 19.

¹⁷ Cf. S. Tavares, "Pedro da Fonseca. Sua Vida e Obra." *RPF*, v. 9, fasc. 4 1953, 344-353; A. M. Martins, "Pedro da Fonseca," *Logos Enciclopédia Luso-brasileira de Filosofia*, 655-665.

¹⁸ It is not possible to deal with the problem of the authorship of this doctrine here, seeing that it is a tricky issue and that both Fonseca and Molina claim its authorship. *CMA* v. 3 book VI, q. 4, s. 8: "Ante annos triginta, quam haec scriberemus, (*scribimus autem anno Domini nonagesimo sexto supra millesimum et quingentesimum*) cum materia de providential divina, et praesdestinatione in publicis lectionibus essemus ingressi multaeque, ac graves difficultates quae in ea occurrunt, se nobis obiicerent, nulla faciliiori via, et ratione putabamus explicari omnes posse, quam constituenda ea distinctione, quam paulo ante fecimus duplicis status eorum contingentium, quae re vera futura sunt, absoluti scilicet, et conditionati, afferendaque certitudine divinae cognitionis circa illa in utroque statu; prius quidem in conditionato, deinde vero in absoluto. Quae distinctio et utriusque certitudinis confirmatio, ita nobis omnium pene obiectarum difficultatum tenebras depellebant, ut nona quaedam lux nostrae mentis oculis oborta videretur."

Luís de Molina, *Concordia*, q. 114, a. 13, disp. 53, ed. Antwerp, 1595, p. 241: "A triginta annis in privatis et publicis disputationibus, a viginti vero in nostris ad primam partem Commentariis eam sub nomine scientiae naturalis idcirco tradiderimus, quod libera in Deo non sit omnemque divinae voluntatis liberum actum antecedit, novissime autem exactius quam antea, sub nomine scientiae mediae (...) eamdem in nostra docuerimus Concordia, nemo sane potest jure id nobis vitio vertere."

As for bibliographical references see F. Annat, *Scientia Media*, Toulouse, 1645; L. De Meyer, *Historia controversiam de divinae gratiae auxiliis*, Brussels, 1715; G. Schneeman, *Controversiarum de divinae gratiae liberique arbitrii concordia initia et progressus*, Freiburg, 1881; J. Rabeneck, "De Vita et Scriptis Ludovici Molina." *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu* 19. Rome, 1950, 75-145; J. C. Lavajo, "Molina e a Universidade de Évora," Irene Borges-Duarte (ed.) *Luís de Molina, regressa a Évora*, Évora, 1997, 99-122; and M. F. Patrício, "A Doutrina da 'Ciência Média': de Pedro da Fonseca a Luís de Molina," *ibid.*, pp. 163-182; J. D'O. Dias, "Liquidação Final de

leave to further his research did not last long, and was cut short because he could not avoid resuming his lectures due to the desperate need of the order for more teachers at that time. On more than one occasion Fonseca complained about the impossibility of reconciling his multiple activities – especially the heavy burden of lecturing – with the writing of the commentaries.¹⁹

In 1567, Fonseca became rector of the College of Arts of Coimbra, an office that he was to hold for two years. Three years later he received a doctorate in theology from the University of Évora. In the meantime, he was also working on his commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. The year 1572 marked his election as one of the Portuguese delegates to the Third General Congregation of the Jesuits, which would take place that year in Rome. During this congregation, Everard Mercurian (1514-1580)²⁰ was chosen to be superior general, and he in turn chose Fonseca as his general assistant²¹ for the Portuguese province.²²

In consequence of new incurred responsibility, Fonseca spent the following ten years in Rome. These years were to be decisive regarding the quality of his future philosophical works. In Rome, he had access to the codices of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, as well as to a vast bibliography which would have been impossible had he stayed in Portugal.²³ When he had already been there for more than four years, he published in 1577 the first volume of his *Commentarium in libros*

uma Controvérsia,” *Verbum*, Rio de Janeiro, 1955, 207-228; S. Tavares, “A Questão Fonseca-Molina. Resposta a uma Crítica,” *RPF* 11-1, 1955, 78-88.

¹⁹ Cf. J. F. Gomes, “Pedro da Fonseca: Sixteenth Century Portuguese Philosopher,” *International Philosophical Quarterly* v. VI, n. 4, 1967, 632-644.

²⁰ Everard Mercurian was a Belgian Jesuit (his family was from Marcourt, hence his Latin name ‘Mercurianus’). His generalate was marked by a rapid growth in the number of Jesuits and in the number of colleges and by an effort of consolidation of the Ignatian spirit and of avoidance of deviations. Cf. *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, pp. 1611-1614; Mario Fois, Everard Mercurian, in: McCoog (ed.), *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture 1573-1580*, 1-34.

²¹ Because of the of the sheer size of the territory of apostolate of the Jesuits, they had to resort to an administrative division. The provinces are formed by a number of professed houses or communities, under the same superior. The assistances are the grouping of provinces due to their geographical proximity, their shared cultural background, or language (in the first general congregations the assistants were chosen based on some provinces or nations. There are also vice-provinces, missions, regions, and districts, but it is not necessary to deal with them now. Cf. *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, pp. 3782-3783.

²² Cf. M. Stone, “Explaining Freedom through the Texts of Aristotle: Pedro da Fonseca S.J. (1528-1599) on liberum arbitrium and his Commentary on the *Metaphysics*.” In G. Frank, & A. Speer (eds.), *Der Aristotelismus in der Frühen Neuzeit nach dem Fall von Konstantinopel - Kontinuität oder Wiederaneignung*. Wolfenbüttel, 2007, p.18.

²³ That is what we can infer from a search in the available online catalogues of Portuguese and Italian libraries, and from P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, especially volume II, 1998, pp. 89-138 (Rome) and pp. 297-418 (Vatican); volume IV, 1989, pp. 445-472 (Portugal); and volume VI, 1992, pp. 560-565 (Rome) and pp. 581-610 (Vatican).

Metaphysicorum Aristotelis Stagiritae. It is worth noticing that it came to light some twenty years before the *Disputationes Metaphysicae* of Suárez.²⁴

Fonseca returned to Portugal in 1582 to become the superior of the St. Roque professed house in Lisbon. Despite the duties specific to this position, he prepared the remaining volumes of his commentary on the *Metaphysics*, which he had then decided would be his starting point of the ‘Coimbra commentaries.’ He had apparently finished (but not published) the commentaries on the *Isagoge* and on the *Categories*, when he took the decision to produce those books on the *Metaphysics*, as it is explained in the preface of his first edition of these texts.²⁵

The second volume of the *Commentarium in libros Metaphysicorum* was published in 1589. From that year until 1592, Fonseca performed the function of visitor of the Portuguese province of the Jesuits. The *Isagoge Philosophica* had its first edition in 1591. In 1593 he was again chosen to be one of the three delegates to the Fifth General Congregation in Rome after which he immediately returned to Portugal and resumed his duties in Lisbon, there staying until his death on 4 November 1599.²⁶

The structure of our presentation bears some relation to the structure of the work of Boethius,²⁷ since he had started his second commentary on the *Isagoge* with a brief discussion of the faculties of the soul, then he presented his answers to Porphyry’s unanswered questions, and finally he commented on each of the sections of Porphyry’s text. Fonseca, however, followed a

²⁴ Francisco Suárez (1548-1617) was a Spanish Jesuit who achieved fame as a jurist, philosopher, and theologian. He studied in Granada and Salamanca. He taught philosophy in Segovia (1571-1573). He taught theology in Valladolid (1574-1575), in Segovia (1575), again in Segovia (1576-1580), in the Collegio Romano (1580-1585), in Alcalá (1585-1593), in Salamanca (1593-1594), in Coimbra (1597), and again in Coimbra (1601-1603). However, he is also well-known for his publications, especially the *Disputationes metaphysicae* (1597), the *De legibus* (1612), and the *De anima* (1621). Cf. Sommervogel, *ibid.* v. VIII, cc. 1661-1688; *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, pp. 3654-3656.

²⁵ Fonseca, “Preface to the second edition” (1574), *ID*, pp. 10-12: “Quod vero attinet ad reliquos Philosophiae commentarios, quos in prima editione, me conscripturum pollicitus sum, non est quod me quisquam iure accuset, quod nihil hactenus ediderim. Vix enim absoluta explicatione Porphyrianae Isagoges, categoriarumque Aristotelis eas res non paucis annis obire coactus sum, quae nihil otii ad scribendum permittebant. Mihi vero tandem aliquando redditus, in eam sententiam sum adductus, ut ante omnia, constituerim libros primae Philosophice enarrare, atque adeo in publicum emittere.”

²⁶ Cf. V. Ribeiro, *Obituários da Igreja e Casa Professa de São Roque da Companhia de Jesus*, Lisbon, 1916, n. 163, p. 36.

²⁷ Boethius, *In Isagogen Porphyrii commentorum editionis secundae*

slightly modified order of exposition and this is the order that will be followed here. The first chapter will present some introductory considerations concerning the reception of Fonseca's *Isagoge Philosophica*, with special emphasis on its content and aims. The second chapter is centred on Fonseca's treatment of the problem of universals. In order to understand the main components of this problem, it is necessary to present in a nutshell the fundamental issues of the nature or essence of particulars, the unity and aptitude to be in several which are peculiar to universals, and the role reserved to the intellect with regard to the origin, place, and existence of universals. There will be a special emphasis on the way Fonseca deals with nominalist, scotist, and Thomist positions on each of these points. This part is centred on the analysis of Fonseca's own texts, which correspond to the content of questions I-V. The third chapter focuses on how Fonseca handles the internal sensitive faculties of the soul, and on the abstraction of the universals from the particulars involved in this process, as Fonseca presents this issues in questions VI-VII. Again, some of the most important ideas are presented, from Aristotle to Fonseca and his fellow Jesuits. This chapter also includes a section on how the intellect, closely assisted by *phantasia*, actually performs this abstraction, which corresponds to question VIII. The fourth chapter starts with a short survey of the recent secondary literature on the *Isagoge*, followed by a short summary of the main characteristics of the commentaries of Boethius, Averroes, Ockham, Cajetan, Scotus, and the *Lovanienses*. This chapter is centred on Fonseca's response to Porphyry's unanswered questions in the *Isagoge* and to all the other issues incidentally raised by the most important authors who commented on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, such as the number of predicables, the relation of universals and particulars, and the main points concerning genus, species, *differentia*, property, and accident. Fonseca's account of all these issues is found in questions IX-XX.

Chapter I – *Docta, Graue, and Controversial*

The fact that there is no modern critical edition of the *Isagoge Philosophica*²⁸ contrasts with the fact that Fonseca's last book went through at least 18 editions until 1623 (plus an edition in 1965); hence it was by all standards a very successful publication. Nevertheless, the history of this success cannot be written without some qualification. The first thing to be observed is that apart from the first edition, it was always printed together with Fonseca's first book, namely, the *Institutionum Dialecticarum*, which was published at least 55 times, from 1564 to 1625. This fact could be interpreted as a sign that the *Isagoge Philosophica* possessed no value on its own, as it would have been considered to be a mere appendix of the *Institutionum Dialecticarum*. On the other hand, because it only appeared in roughly half of the editions, in 17 of the 39 editions of the *Institutionum* that were published between 1592 and 1625, there appears to be room for other interpretations as well.

One possibility is that each time the *Isagoge Philosophica* was published, it was the result of a serious and conscious decision in favour of its intrinsic value. Although it is difficult to trace the motives behind each of those editions, it seems reasonable to assume that, given the considerable costs and efforts involved in publishing them, those responsible were more inclined to parsimony rather than to prodigality. Also to be considered is the reception of the book during that period. Interestingly, those 66 pages were not to remain immune from strong criticism and opposition. And if it is possible to take Pero Luis's²⁹ words, in a letter that he wrote to the Superior General of the Jesuits, at their face value, and not as a consequence of Fonseca's nationality or his position within the Jesuits, this book was regarded by Fonseca's

²⁸ The only extant modern edition of the *Isagoge Philosophica* (1965) has no critical apparatus, but has several imprecisions and even a missing passage: *IP*, p. 126: “[Dividitur autem proprium in generale et speciale,] ac si proprium quidem sumatur (...)” The *Institutionum Dialecticarum* has a very competent semi-critical edition and the *Commentariorum in libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis* has still to receive a modern critical edition (we have news that the critical edition of the first volume is in preparation).

²⁹ Pedro Luis Beuther (1538 or 1539-1602) was a Spanish Jesuit, who taught philosophy in Braga (1561-1564) and Évora (1564-1568). He studied theology in Évora under L. Molina and taught theology in Évora (1575-1576), in Coimbra (1576-1579), and again in Évora (1579-1595). Cf. C. Sommervogel, *ibid.* v. V, c. 185; *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, p. 434.

contemporaries as a fine piece of scholarship, but that the ideas it contained were far from being unanimously accepted among his confreres. Pero Luis writes:

Pedro da Fonseca's *Isagoge* is very learned and profound but to be suitable as a textbook it has this inconvenience that such a text has to be neutral with regard to the themes being discussed, dealing with each opinion, [but Fonseca's *Isagoge*] adheres to particular opinions and opposes the proponents of contrary views. For instance, [Fonseca's *Isagoge*] posits [the existence of universals as] *entia realia* and that the intellect does not cognise in the first place out of singulars.³⁰

Moreover, there is at least another case, since Marcus Hellyer in his *Catholic Physics*³¹ writes:

In 1602 the general sent a number of instructions to the provinces to assess the progress of the implementation of the 1599 *Ratio Studiorum* throughout the Society. To this end, visitors of studies were appointed to examine the schools in their province. One of their tasks was to consult with professors on the question of which authors were to be taught in order to limit philosophy professors' «liberty and license in opinions» and prevent the spread of dangerous opinions. Pedro Ximénez (1554-1633), the visitor of studies for the Austrian province, found that the professors at the college in Graz had begun to use the logic textbook of the Jesuit Pedro da Fonseca but had later returned to the old custom of explicating the *Isagoge* of the Neoplatonic philosopher Porphyry (c. 234-c. 305) because they felt that it was the most suitable text.

Hellyer, who mistakenly thinks that the text in question is Fonseca's *Institutionum Dialecticarum*,³² is referring to the "Letter of Pedro Ximénez,³³ visitor of studies to the Austrian Province, to P. Claudius Acquaviva, *Praepositus generalis* of the Jesuits (18 august 1602)³⁴:"

The *Isagoge* of Porphyry ceased to be explained in [the course of] logic, when the new [*Isagoge Philosophica*] of Fonseca was first proposed by the catalogue [*Ratio studiorum*], but now none is proposed. It seems that the old use of proposing and explaining the *Isagoge* of Porphyry was restored just as it is done in other colleges by the previous agreement. Because [Fonseca's text] is not more suitable than the other, or because the professors agree to do so.³⁵

³⁰ This letter of Pero Luis to the Fifth General of the Society of Jesus C. Acquaviva (1543-1615), is very informative especially when he says that although Fonseca's *Isagoge* is "mui docta y grave," it lacks the necessary neutrality required for a textbook since it is in favour of one particular opinion (realism), and therefore invites opposition from the adepts of the contrary opinion. J. F. Gomes, "Introdução," *ID*, p. LIX, footnote 4. The passage reads: "Lo 3 es que la Isagoge del P. Pero da Fonseca es muy docta y grave pero para servir de texto tiene este inconveniente que el texto ha de ser indiferente en questiones ventiladas y hazerlas in utraque parte y el es parcial en algunas opiniones y assi tiene por contrarios los que fueren de la contraria opinion. Exemplo es que pone entia realia y que intellectus non cognoscit l.^u ex singularia."

³¹ M. Hellyer, *Catholic Physics*, Indiana, 2005, p. 27.

³² Hellyer, *ibid.*, p. 255.

³³ Pedro Ximénez was a Spanish Jesuit, who taught theology in Vienna. He became rector of the colleges of Klagenfurth, Olmutz, Prague, and Gratz. Cf. Sommervogel, *ibid.* v. VIII, cc. 1352-1355.

³⁴ Claudio Acquaviva (1543-1615) was an Italian Jesuit who succeeded E. Mercurian to become the fifth General of the Society, among the several achievements of his generalate, there is the preparation and publication of the *Ratio Studiorum* (1599). Cf. *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, pp. 1614-1621.

³⁵ Monumenta Paedagogica VII, p. 504: "Isagoge Porphyrii desiit in logica explicari, ut aliquando nova Phonseciae in catalogo proponi caepit, nunc autem nulla proponitur. Videtur vetus mos revocandus in usum, ut Porphiriana proponatur et explicetur; quod in aliis collegiis fit veteri consuetudine. Siquidem non est alia accommodatior, vel cui aquiescant professores."

If there were disagreements, we may suppose that whenever a new edition of the *Institutionum Dialecticarum* was published alone,³⁶ it was also a sign of a conscious decision against Fonseca's rather more radical proposals as they were expressed in the *Isagoge Philosophica*. Furthermore, implicit in the foreword of Fonseca's book, there may be traces of the strenuous efforts made by the Jesuit order to produce a useful, updated, and competent series of textbooks and, in this sense, it might provide the key to discovering when, and perhaps even why, Fonseca was relieved of the task of writing and coordinating the abovementioned Coimbra Commentaries.

The complete history of the composition and publication of those commentaries has yet to be written. Among several obscure facts awaiting clarification is the matter of how they were brought to press. As mentioned above, the elaboration of the *Cursus* was first assigned to a commission headed by Pedro da Fonseca, but that group of Jesuit scholars failed to accomplish this appointed task. The first volumes would only appear after some important changes in direction. Those facts related to the publication of this series of textbooks are difficult to determine, both in time and in motivation.³⁷ Fonseca had written in the beginning of the third paragraph of the *Admonitio Lectoris*, which he added to the first edition of the first volume of his famous *Commentariorum in Libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis* (1577), that he was going to write commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge* and on Aristotle's *Categories*.³⁸ However, in the corresponding part of the second volume of those commentaries (1589), namely on the *Philosophiae studioso*, Fonseca says that he was not responsible for the coordination of the whole

³⁶ Editions of the *Institutionum dialecticarum* without the *Isagoge Philosophica*: Venice 1592, 1597, 1602, 1611, and 1615; Tounon 1594; Cologne 1595, 1613, and 1622; Lyon 1597 (*officina jutarum*), 1597 (Claudius Michaellem), 1601, 1606, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1614, 1622, and 1626). For a list of the 53 (our research has identified two other editions which are not listed there) editions of the *Institutionum Dialecticarum*, see J. F. Gomes, "Introdução," *ID*, pp. XXXV-XLVI.

³⁷ The complete history of the whole project 'Cursus Conimbricensis' if it ever sees the daylight will provide an invaluable help to the history of philosophy of that period.

³⁸ *CMA* v. 1, "Admonitio lectoris": "Hoc consilio cum a libro categoriarum Aristotelis, eiusque Porphyriana Isagoge ordiremur, institutaque brevitati studentes, difficile esse experiremur, paucis rebus, ac facilibus (id est propriis eius loci) iis satisfacere, qui et multa, et difficilia de iisdem libris audire soliti essent, nisi lectores reiceremus ad ea, quae iam fusius a nobis scripta essent"

project,³⁹ and that he was not to even write the commentaries on those two works.⁴⁰ Moreover, the foreword of the *Isagoge Philosophica* does not mention the *Cursus Conimbricensis* at all. Instead, Fonseca says that he had composed that text at the request of his fellow Jesuits, seeing that Porphyry's book was found to be faulty, imprecise, and repetitive. As a consequence, it would have been much better to abolish Porphyry from the Christian schools and replace him with an introduction by Fonseca.⁴¹

Furthermore, there is the fact that in the last questions of Fonseca's commentary on the *Metaphysics* V chapter 28 qq. I-XX, he cites and quotes an astonishing wealth of commentaries on the *Isagoge* from a variety of different authors, ranging from Boethius to the *Lovanienses*.⁴² This interest in studying and somehow accounting for the questions raised in the contributions of virtually all the possible readings of Porphyry's book, indicates Fonseca's strong commitment to the study of this text. It would make sense if Fonseca were trying to address the most serious metaphysical problems raised by the text, as a kind of prolegomena⁴³ for his future commentaries on Aristotle's works. Otherwise, this great investment would appear misplaced or, to say at the very least, disproportional.

Additional insight into Fonseca's choice of the themes and their subsequent explanation in his last published book can be gained by looking for signs in Fonseca's own work that could shed light on the historical and philosophical background to the *Isagoge Philosophica*. Also,

³⁹ *CMA* v. 2, "Philosophiae studioso": "Illud vero alterum de cursu Philosophico conscribendo, quod iamdudum video per me perfici non posse; aliorum opera compensatum iri speramus."

⁴⁰ The Conimbricense commentary on the *Physics* was published in 1592, under the direction of Manuel de Góis, therefore, the final decision with regard to the coordination of the whole project may have occurred a short while before or around the time of the publication of Fonseca's second volume of the commentary on the *Metaphysics*, as it was recorded that it took Manuel de Góis only three years to finish the preparation of the volume on the *Physics*. Cf. António Martins, "The *Conimbricenses*" in *Proceedings of the 11th Conference of the SIEPM*, (Porto, 2002) (forthcoming).

⁴¹ *IP*, pp. 6-8: "Mitto complura eius libelli supervacanea esse, aut parum cohaerentia, quaeque lectoribus frustra negotium exhibeant. Qua de causa optarunt nostri, ut alia Isagoge a me conficeretur, et plenior ad doctrinam, et ad veritatem certior, et ad generalem scientiarum usum commodior: unde etiam illud effectum iri sperabant, ut a Christianae Philosophiae scholis perfidi desertoris Christianae fidei liber exploderetur."

⁴² We use this term '*Lovanienses*' to designate the Louvain Arts Masters of the sixteenth century. The text concerned here is *Commentaria In Isagogen Porphyrii, et in omnes Libros Aristotelis de Dialectica, olim maturo consilio, et gravissimis sumptibus venerandae Facultatis Artium in inclita Academia Lovaniensi per dialecticae ac totius philosophiae peritissimos viros composita. Iam vero tertio in commodum ac utilitatem bonorum ingeniorum diligenter recognita, emendata, multis in locis prudenter abbreviata, et ad Argyropoli ac Boetii versiones studio summo accommodata.*

⁴³ Fonseca appears to have been increasingly aware of the fact that because of his particular instances on several themes, the commentaries on the *Metaphysics* should be prepared before the other commentaries. Cf. Martins, *ibid.*

bearing in mind Pero Luis's words, the reason why some Jesuits were uncomfortable with it should be traceable to the ideas themselves. More precisely, in the position Fonseca assumes in relation to some of the contentious issues of that time, namely with regard to the real existence of universals and the *primum cognitum* of the intellect, since in both cases Fonseca would be too close to Scotus and too far away from Aquinas, the nominalists, and others. Our contention is that such assessment misses an important point with regard to Fonseca's real agenda.

In the *Isagoge Philosophica*, Fonseca puts forward a number of interesting ideas. The first there is his attempt to discredit Porphyry on the grounds that he was a heretic and an apostate. This attitude would have placed somebody who defended the necessity of studying Porphyry in an awkward position,⁴⁴ as the person would be endorsing the value of "the book by an open enemy of the faith" (*perfidii desertoris Christianae fidei liber*).⁴⁵ Another marked position is the defence of the existence of universals, not as "real" but as "objective existence," and Fonseca supports his view by re-examining and corroborating Scotus's position, and somehow reconciling it with Aristotle's and Aquinas's theses. Fonseca saw the whole scholastic tradition as being in line with his own conclusions. An illustration of this can be provided by an examination of his opinion on the ontological status of universals, as it is presented in his *Commentaries on the Metaphysics*. First, Fonseca rejects the nominalist position by examining and refuting its basic tenets. Furthermore, he asserts that common natures are *per se*, thus before any activity of the intellect, a unity of precision⁴⁶ and the aptitude to be in several.⁴⁷ Second, that after an act of the intellect, they acquire an objective existence. And third, that in the individuals,

⁴⁴ *IP*, p. 8: "Usque adeo enim exosum erat Porphyrii nomen, cum Arius Christi Ecclesiam petulantius invaderet, ut quo huius sectatoribus maius odium constaretur, iusserit Magnus Constantinus in ea epistola, quam ad Episcopos et populum scripsit, Arianos vocari Porphyrianos"

⁴⁵ *IP*, p. 10.

⁴⁶ *IP*, pp 68-70: "Unitas vero praecisionis idem est, quod indivisio rei universalis non in seipsa, sed in sua particularia, qualis est indivisio animalis in hominem, et bestiam, hominisque in Socratem, et reliquos singulares homines. Dicitur vero praecisionis, quia non convenit rei universali in quocunque statu sumptae (quo pacto ei convenit unitas formalis, quae semper rem comitatur, sive antequam ad sua particularia contrahatur, sive cum iam in eis contracta est, sive postquam est ab illis abstracta, et quasi avulsa per intellectum) sed praecise in eo statu, in quo apta est, ut ad sua particularia descendat, et in ea dividatur ac multiplicetur. Quatenus enim res apta est ut sit in pluribus, in eaque dividatur, et multa dici possit, necdum tamen naturae ordine divisa et multiplicata est; eatenus est indivisa in illa, ac proinde unum quid, hac praecisionis unitate. Alioqui si sumatur ut iam est in suis particularibus, in eisque divisa et numerabilis, iam est multa, et non unum, hoc unitatis genere."

⁴⁷ Fonseca cites Aristotle, *Metaphysics* VII, 13, 1038^b11-12: "*quod aptum est, ut in pluribus insit.*"

they do not have *existentia realis*.⁴⁸ From this particular interpretation of the Scholastic tradition, Fonseca's own view becomes clear. It is based on a distinction between the *modus essendi possibilis* and the *existentia objectiva* or *realis*. Consequently, the common natures *ex se*, before any intellectual abstraction or contraction and before they exist in the individuals, are universals in act and not only in potency.⁴⁹

Furthermore, Fonseca was conscious of the difficulties of this "Realist position" and he tried to corroborate it with two arguments. First, he observed that the *actus essendi in pluribus*, which is the foundation of the predication, does not depend on the intellect because it should precede in nature any activity of the intellect. Consequently, this should also hold for the aptitude or potency to this act. Second, the *modus essendi potentialis* varies from nature to nature. For example, 'animal' cannot be 'stone' nor 'stone' be 'animal.' This diversity of potencies does not come from the abstraction by the intellect, which is the same for all natures. There remains only the nature of things to explain this diversity.⁵⁰

Accordingly, a summary of some of the most important views about the Scholastic debate on universals will be very useful, especially since Fonseca seems to imply that the whole scholastic tradition favours his reading.⁵¹ What is more, because the existing level of research on these authors, although quite rich and vast, is still marked by many divergent views, this presentation will only be concerned with Fonseca's interpretation of them. Moreover, a

⁴⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 995: "(N)aturas communes habere ex se, et ante operationem intellectus et unitatem praecisionis, et aptitudinem, ut sint in pluribus. Quo fit, ut hac ratione tantum sint, ac fiant universales operatione intellectus, quatenus non habent universalitatem actu existentem, nisi obiective in intellectu." (for economy's sake, from this point onwards Fonseca's *Commentariorum in Libros Metaphysicorum* v. 2 will always be cited in this way, i.e., by indicating the number of the column in the Olms reprint of the Cologne edition of 1615).

⁴⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 995: "Est igitur vera germanaque et omnium ut credere par est, veterum Scholasticorum sententia, naturas communes ex se, et ante eam operationem intellectus, qua a suis particularibus abstrahuntur, nempe prius natura, quam in suis particularibus existant, aut contractae in eis sint, esse actu et non potentia tantum universales, tametsi non habent suam universalitatem existentem, nisi cum intellectu sine differentiis contrahentibus obiiiciuntur."

⁵⁰ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 995-996: "Quae sententia etsi ex dictis patet, tamen quoad priorum partem, quae maiorem difficultatem recentioribus ingerit, duobus item argumentis confirmari potest.

Unum est, quia quae conveniunt rebus per operationem intellectus, sunt posteriora iis, quae illis conveniunt ut existunt in rerum natura, sive ut dicitur, a parte rei: sed aptitudo earum, ut sint in pluribus non est posterior, sed prior ipso esse in pluribus, qui est actus conveniens illi a parte rei; non convenit igitur rebus per operationem intellectus: quod si aptitudo essendi in pluribus non convenit rebus per operationem intellectus: ergo nec universalitas, cum in ea posita sit tota universalitatis ratio. Idem argumentum hunc etiam in modum proponi potest. Actus essendi in pluribus, qui est fundamentum praedicationis de pluribus, non pendent ab operatione intellectus, ut omnes fatentur, ergo nec aptitudo, seu universalitas, quae ordine naturae praecedat actum."

⁵¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 995: "Est igitur vera germanaque et omnium ut credere par est, veterum Scholasticorum sententia."

consideration of Fonseca's own model will help to shed light on important philosophical themes, especially with respect to those issues concerning the controversies around universals,⁵² namely, disputes on the unity (and plurality), on the aptitude (nature) of universals to be in several items, and on the role of the intellect (*ratio, conceptus*) with respect to universals.⁵³

Another aspect deserving of our attention is Fonseca's reinterpretation of the theory of abstraction.⁵⁴ Here, he seems to be keen to adopt, as much as possible, Aquinas's account, contrasting and combining it with his view of the theory of the unity of universals, in which he seems to incline towards Scotus's position. Moreover, there is the adjacent issue of the internal senses of the soul. In this regard, Fonseca seems to be willing to add something new to the philosophical debate of this issue, since he proposes a simplified system for theoretical purposes. Consequently, an innovative⁵⁵ discussion on the faculties of the soul can be found in the second set of questions from the second volume of his *Commentaries on the Metaphysics*,⁵⁶ where

⁵² *CMA* v. 2, cc. 949-950: "Haec enim tam celebris gravisque inter praecipuos Philosophiae principes controversia non de rebus ipsis, quae universales cognominantur, absolute sumptis intelligitur: cum apertum sit cohaerere illas in rerum natura; non item de iis, quatenus invicem referuntur relationibus universalitatis et particularitatis: quippe cum constet, non excitari eam quaestionem de illo esse absoluto rerum universalium, quo simul natura sunt cum suis particularibus: sed de eo, quo illis sunt priores aut posteriores, iuxta huius aut illius sententiam. Plato enim creditur existimasse dari res universales ante particularia in rerum natura cum ipsa rerum universalitate, seu communitate, hoc est, ad nullum particulare addictas: ut hominem communem, qui nullus sit ex singulis, sed ex aequo omnes respiciat seiuncta a singulis. Aristoteles autem iudicat, quicquid universale est; ut huiusmodi est, posteriorius esse suis particularibus, nihilque esse a singularibus separatum, nisi operatione intellectus, cuius hoc munus est, ut quae in rebus coniuncta sunt, ipse seiungat ac secernat."

⁵³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 950: "Relatio enim universalis ad particularia duo supponit: alterum est unitas rei, non nominis tantum, sed rationis etiam: alterum aptitudo, ut in multis insit per modum identitatis, ac proinde, ut eo pacto de multis dicatur. Nam, neque unitas sine aptitudine, neque aptitudo sine unitate satis est, ut rem faciat vere ac proprie universalem: siquidem analogae, ut ens, suo modo aptae sunt, ut in multis sint: et singulare quodque, ut Socrates, non tantum nomine, sed sua etiam ratione est unum: nec tamen vel analogae, vel singularia sunt universalis: quod analogis desit vera unitas, et singularibus aptitudo, ut sint in multis, in quibus ipsa videlicet multiplicata sint, et numerari possint, quo pacto aptitudo haec intelligenda est, ut faciat rem universalem, alioqui divinam quoque essentiam universalem cogitaremus, ac proinde genus aut speciem comparatione divinarum personarum. Quanquam eo modo sumi possunt unitas et aptitudo, ut ex utralibet liceat colligere, rem, cui convenit universalem esse."

⁵⁴ Since Boethius's commentaries on the *Isagoge*, a number of points concerning the physiology and the psychology of cognition were often present in the discussions about the universals. Although the basic notions behind these theories remained in the background and did not reach the central floor, for instance, that the way to cognition is paved by the adoption of an abstractive or inductive method. This point will return in chapter two.

⁵⁵ Hopefully, the present thesis will demonstrate that this model is not strictly speaking a creation of Fonseca, since he took great pains to show that it is a faithful rendering of Aristotle's ideas and of the whole Peripatetic tradition.

⁵⁶ That Fonseca was responsible for this move is asserted by the *Coimbra Commentary on the De anima: Commentarii Collegii Conimbricensis S. J. in Tres Libros De anima Aristotelis Stagiritae* (Coimbra: A. Mariz, 1598), book III, chapter iii, question I, art. 3: "Caeterum alia quaedam est opinio, etsi non antiquitati, ut quibusdam videtur, certe veritate magis consentanea, quam praeter alios nostrae aetatis nobiles philosophos, defendit Fonseca 5. *Metaphysicae* c. 28. quaest. 7. sect. 4. asserens duas tantum esse potentias sensitivas internas; sensum communem, et phantasiam. Quae sententia sic tuendam a nobis est; ut dicamus sensum communem fungi iis muneribus, quae illi superius attribuimus: phantasiam vero reliquis omnibus, quae aliis sensibus internis delegabamus. Ita vero esse ex eo

Fonseca provides his own account of the true distinction of the internal sensitive powers.⁵⁷ After stating an account of the number and distinction of those faculties, he concludes that the opinions put forward by his predecessors are flawed and that in fact there is need for only two interior apprehensive potencies inherent to the body, namely the *sensus communis* and the *phantasia*.⁵⁸ Moreover, Fonseca concludes that only *phantasia* closely assists the intellect.⁵⁹ Consequently, he had at his disposal he has a simplified and attractive didactic model.⁶⁰

Fonseca provides the following arguments in support of his account. First, because Aristotle only presents the other faculties in *De anima* book 3 c. 2. However, in the rest of that chapter, when he presents them in more detail and according to custom, the Stagirite does not distinguish *cogitativa*, or *aestimativa*, from *phantasia*. And in *On Memory* Aristotle does not assert that the act or potency of remembering or reminiscing are distinct from the act or potency of *phantasia*, although he remarks that memory and reminiscence are united with a notion of the past. For Fonseca, this cannot constitute a true distinction because it is only a distinction of accidents. Furthermore, even the brutes apprehend things with a notion of future, as by the sight

convincitur, quia nulla ratio cogit plures sensus constituere, ut facile videbit qui ad dilutionem argumentorum, quae plures suadebant, animum attenderit.”

⁵⁷ Traditionally, there are several sensitive faculties operating within the soul. There is the *sensus communis* (some authors refer to it as the “common sense”), which is closely linked with the external senses and which shares with them the spatial-temporal orientation (limitation). The *phantasia* or *imaginatio* is the faculty responsible for restoring the forms and images of the things perceived. The *aestimativa*, or *cogitativa*, or *ratio particularis*, is common to all animals, both humans (in them it is called *cogitativa* or *ratio particularis*) and brutes (it is called *aestimativa*), and it is responsible for what one could call “instinctive” response to prospective benefit or harm. The last type is called *memoria* or *reminiscentia*.

⁵⁸ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1011-1012: “Dicendum igitur, duas tantum esse interiores potentias apprehensivas corpori inhaerentes, sensum videlicet communem et phantasiam (...)”

⁵⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1016: “[U]t sola phantasia proxime intellectui ministret.”

⁶⁰ This model is so attractive that contemporary authors, although unaware of Fonseca’s ideas, are likely to resort to this account of the internal senses when explaining the Aristotelian process of concept formation, from the senses to the possible intellect. That it the case for instance of Dorothea Frede (1992), since she makes the claim that: Cf. Dorothea Frede, “The Cognitive Role of *Phantasia*” in *Essays on Aristotle’s De anima*, 1992, p. 282: “Aristotle does not treat the *phantastike* as a separate faculty of the soul, but regards it as a phenomenon that supervenes on sense-perception.” By “separate faculty” she means that *phantasia* would not be another faculty alongside the twofold division of the soul’s faculties in perception and reason. But she does make a distinction between ‘common sense’ and ‘intellect’ on the one hand and ‘imagination’ on the other, for when she goes on to explain the whole cognitive process she says that: “to answer the question of a positive cognitive function of *phantasia* we have to look beyond [*De anima*] 3.3 and determine what kinds of mental activities, though not performed by perception and reason, are nevertheless necessary for cognition. For it will turn out that there is a wide *gap* between the two, and that at least one of the functions of imagination is to fill that gap.”

Another interesting use of this model can be found in Averroes’s *Middle Commentary on Aristotle’s De Anima*, since Averroes divides the chapters according to “Aristotle’s” division of the soul in common sense, imagination, rational faculty, and appetitive faculty. Thus on the side of the senses of the soul there is just common sense and imagination.(cf. Averroes *Middle Commentary on Aristotle’s De Anima*, Provo, 2002).

of a stick or alternatively of a piece of bread, a dog's reaction will be running or fawning, in anticipation of a future harm or reward, respectively.⁶¹

Second, the intellect and the intellectual memory are one and the same potency which due to the act of preserving the species is called memory and due to its being abundant in acts of understanding (*actum intelligendi*) is said to be intellect.⁶² Third, *phantasia* and *sensus communis* are distinguished in localisation and in function. *Sensus communis* is located in the anterior part of the brain, where it is more humid and where the nerves of all the particular senses reside. *Phantasia*, on the other hand, is in the whole brain, as well as in the cerebellum. However, in the cerebellum, it preserves the *phantasmata* better and it seems to exert its functions more purely and quietly.⁶³ Their functions differ in that the *sensus communis* apprehends, at the same time and together with the external senses, only in the presence of its objects, with the differences of place and time. *Phantasia* is the most distant from the senses, while *sensus communis* cognises only that which is sensed. Moreover, *phantasia* elicits the sensed from the un-sensed, and may even go in both directions, if the process is perfect.⁶⁴

Now, focusing on the role of the intellect, Fonseca makes four observations. He explains how the agent intellect, with the help of *phantasia*, imprints the intelligible species in the possible intellect, which in turn elicits a more universal species from it. As a result, the higher the

⁶¹ CMA v. 2, c. 1012: "Quod si peculiarem librum scripsit *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, non putavit tamen memorandi aut reminiscendi actum aut potentiam ab actu et potentia phantasiae distinctam esse, nisi quatenus absolutam rerum particularium cognitionem (quasi praesentium tamen, vocavit phantasiam, hinc enim phantasia tanquam ab eo, quod apparet, dicta est) eam vero, quae coniuncta est cum cognitione praeterit, appellavit memoriam et reminiscentiam, quod discrimen accidentarium est, veramque potentiarum distinctionem efficere non potest: nisi contendas dandam esse aliam potentiam sensitivam, quae res apprehendat cum differentia futuri, quod ridiculum est: apprehendunt enim vel bruta animantia pleraque sibi vel commoda, vel incommoda cum differentia futuri: ut cum canis praetento pane aut fuste, apprehensoque futuro commodo aut damno, vel adulatur, vel fugit."

⁶² CMA v. 2, c. 1012: "Probatur autem sententia haec de unitate phantasiae, aestimativae, et memoriae ex iis, quae superius, praesertim ad calcem superioris sectionis, diximus: et confirmatur ex iis, quae de intellectu et memoria intellectiva omnes fatemur. Dicimus enim, intellectum et memoriam unam tantum et eandem potentiam esse, quae ab actu servandi species appellatur memoria faecundusque intellectus: ut qui possit, cum opus fuerit, in actum intelligendi prodire: ab ipso autem intelligendi actu dicitur intellectus."

⁶³ CMA v. 2, c. 1012: "Distinguuntur autem sensus communis et phantasia et loco, et officio. Loco quidem, quia sensus communis in anteriori parte magni cerebri collocatus est, ubi abundat humidum, et in quem locum omnium particularium sensuum nervuli, quasi in communem radicem concurrunt: phantasia vero in toto reliquo magno cerebro, et in cerebello inest: tametsi in cerebello melius conservat"

⁶⁴ CMA v. 2, c. 1013: "Officio autem distingui has potentias, luculenter et copiose ostendit Aristoteles secundo capite libri tertii *De anima*, text 136 cuius argumentis haec duo addi possunt. Unum, quod sensus communis praesentia tantum et loco, et tempore, simulque cum sensibus externis apprehendat obiecta: phantasia vero etiam loco distantissima, et cessantibus ante longo tempore sensibus externis. Alterum, quod communis sensus sensata duntaxat, ut externi cognoscat, phantasia vero ex sensatis insensata eliciat, et ex aliis in alia, si perfecta sit, discurrat."

genus is, the less perfect the first abstracted species will be.⁶⁵ Second, he suggests that the agent intellect abstracts only “this” common nature.⁶⁶ Third, after dealing with some difficulties, he concludes that either a very intense *phantasma* or several *phantasmata* are necessary for the abstraction of an intelligible species.⁶⁷ Finally, that it is not the case that a numerically determined or specific *phantasma* is required for the generation of any intelligible species.⁶⁸ From this set of ideas, Fonseca deduces an account of the transition from the material *phantasmata* to the immaterial *species intelligibiles*, preserving at the same time the necessity of the agent intellect (responsible for illuminating the nature) and the true knowledge in the possible intellect (responsible for receiving the universals), solving the problem of the *individua vaga*,⁶⁹ and avoiding the perceived errors of Avicenna and Averroes.

Returning to the last chapter of the *Isagoge Philosophica*, it is interesting to note that Fonseca deals with the consequences of his approach to the Predicables in connection with the Theandric nature of Christ (the fact that Christ is both fully divine and fully human, entails that his nature is divine and human). If this concern is the reason behind his reference to “Theology being studied by the rational method”⁷⁰ he had made in the preface of that book, this would be

⁶⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1029: “Ita patet, qua ratione intellectus utatur phantasia ad primam naturarum communium abstractionem. Dico autem ad primam, quia naturae communes ab intellectu etiam possibili abstrahuntur, sed supposita semper abstractione aliqua facta per intellectum agentem. Nam etsi intellectus agens simul cum phantasia species intelligibiles imprimere potest in possibilem: ipsa tamen possibilis ex acceptis speciebus alias universaliores, et abstrusiores, ut sic dicam, elicere potest: ut ex specie hominis speciem rei subiectae: et omnia, quae quibusque speciebus intelligibilibus repraesentantur, non concrete tantum, sed etiam abstracte concipere.”

⁶⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1032: “Nam, si quaestio est de abstractione per speciem: cum species intelligibilis, quam intellectus agens cum phantasmate efficit, semper concrete repraesentet obiectum, quemadmodum, et ipsum phantasma.”

⁶⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1033-1034: “[T]amen, si vel unum sit intensum (loquor autem de expresso phantasmate et actuali, non de impresso tantum seu habituali) vel certe non brevi transeat, non esse plura necessaria: quemadmodum ut aliquid imprimatur in memoria: non satis est qualiscunque una rei perceptio, sed vel requiruntur plures, vel una intensa diuue continuata.”

⁶⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1034: “Ad quartum, ex iis, quae eodem loco dicta sunt, respondendum est, non esse necessarium ad speciei ullius intelligibilis generationem phantasma determinatum, hoc est, individui determinati: sed satis esse phantasma vagum, quod semper quidem ad speciem naturae genericae, saepe autem ad speciei infimae concurrat. Imo vero, cum individuum vagum magis videatur accedere ad conditionem naturae universalis: aptius fortasse est vagum ad speciem naturae specificae, quam determinatum.”

⁶⁹ A common medieval debated based on Aristotle’s account of individuals as ‘Socrates,’ ‘this man,’ ‘the one coming,’ etc. Socrates is the *individuum signatum* while this man and the one coming are two instantiations of the *individuum vagum*.

⁷⁰ *IP*, p. 6: “Verum ex eo tempore, quo Sacra Theologia via, et ratione tradi coepit, tanta rebus Philosophicis ex assidua Theologorum de rebus maximis, et difficillimis disputatione accessio facta est cognitionis, et scientiae.” The importance of a solid philosophical basis for the study of theology is evident in Fonseca, for instance, in his determination of the object of metaphysics as the *ens commune* of God and the creatures, cf. Matins, *Lógica e Ontologia em Pedro da Fonseca*, pp. 61-101; and in Fonseca’s discussion of the medieval debate of essence and existence, cf. M. S. de Carvalho, “*Inter Philodophos non mediocris contentio*. A propósito de Pedro da Fonseca e do

yet another indication of the undesirable outcome of an inadequate book (Porphyry's *Isagoge*) being taught at an early age, hindering the student's ability to study *Sacra Doctrina*, and the necessity to revise what the main schools of philosophy had produced with respect to Porphyry's text and, at the end of the process, provide an appropriate alternative for that text.

If it is assumed that that disposition had already originated or at least deepened controversy before the text was even published, a careful study of that position, as it was already present in Fonseca's previous works, may also prove greatly helpful. More precisely though, a careful analysis of the last twenty questions of this *Commentariorum* is desirable, seeing that their subject matter coincides with that of the *Isagoge Philosophica*. If Fonseca took sides in an ongoing debate and if his position could somehow be clearly identified, this would also have the advantage of clarifying a minor difficulty posed by the lack of consistency in the way Fonseca is characterised by different authors, in books on the history of philosophy. It could perhaps reveal whether modern commentators have any good reason to characterise Fonseca in terms of "Renaissance Aristotelianism,"⁷¹ "scotism (Platonism),"⁷² or perhaps "Thomism"⁷³ or "humanism,"⁷⁴ or it may show that whatever label one is willing to use, when they are applied to Fonseca, they would have more limitations than advantages.

Before the analysis of Fonseca's texts is made, it is necessary to present a historical and thematic contextualisation. In order to set the background against which Fonseca's ideas can be assessed, the first step is a general reflection on the weight a philosopher may have within a particular philosophical tradition, the second step is a consideration of those questions his allegiances and deep commitments. This can be provided by an analysis of the subject matter in Fonseca's own work, a brief discussion of the labels usually attributed to him, and a summary of

contexto medieval da distinção essência/existência," *Quodlibetaria Mediaevalia. Textos e Estudos*, 7-8, 1995, 529-562.

⁷¹ Cf. A. A. Coxito, "Aspectos Renascentistas da Obra de Pedro da Fonseca," Atas do Simpósio Internacional sobre o VI Centenário da Morte de João de Ruão, Coimbra, 1982, pp. 195-222; E. J. Ashworth, "Fonseca, Pedro da," *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*, p. 314.

⁷² Cf. Custódio A. F. da Silva, *Teses Fundamentais da Gnosiologia de Pedro da Fonseca*, Lisbon, 1959, pp. 118ss

⁷³ Cf. C. Abranches, "A Teoria dos Universais em Pedro da Fonseca." *RPF* 11, 1955, pp. 291-298; F. A. Campos, *Tomismo no Brasil*, São Paulo, 1998; D. F. A. Deusdado, *Filosofia Tomista em Portugal*, Porto, 1978.

⁷⁴ Cf. A. Freire, "Pedro da Fonseca Humanista e Filósofo," *RPF* 50, 1994, 143-153.

his own professed allegiances. In addition to this, we should also survey the authors and works that are explicitly mentioned and quoted in those final twenty questions of the commentary on *Metaphysics V* chapter 28.

1.1. The Importance of a Correct Introduction to Philosophy

We have just presented a short summary of the content of Fonseca's *Isagoge Philosophica*, now it is time to discuss its main aim. If we construe its title at face value it is clear that Fonseca's intention is to provide an 'introduction to philosophy.' As an introductory text, however, Fonseca's text could be regarded by some as very limited in scope, content, and relevance, seeing that as a rule introductory texts are intended to be read by beginners, hence it is not appropriate that they should contain material that is dense, deep, and difficult. Moreover, one tends to be quite complacent towards an introductory text, allowing it to be vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. In fact, several authors have talked about two texts usually read by beginners at the very first stages of their philosophical studies, namely the *Isagoge* and the *Categories*, in precisely these terms. However, we could certainly find compelling reasons to consider an introduction to philosophy as much more than a simple, imperfect step towards the acquisition of knowledge. We could gain precious insight into some historical events like the development of new ideas and approaches to philosophy and to other fields of human culture, since the temporal proximity is a powerful suggestion of direct dependence; we could reach a better understanding of the objectives behind the study of philosophy in general, and of the Arts in the Jesuit colleges in particular; finally, we could use the introduction as the best description of the future philosophical edifice, which would be built following the plan depicted in the introductory text.

The undisputable fact that philosophy and science,⁷⁵ in the seventeenth century, saw some dramatic developments does not foreclose any debate as to whether seventeenth-century philosophers were radically 'innovative' or 'original,' in some unprecedented way. It also does

⁷⁵ The term 'science' is always deserving of some explanation. Here it stands for those activities that any contemporary author would call 'scientific' research.

not rule out the fact that, despite their many important contributions, they followed paths previously trodden.⁷⁶ But was continuity or innovation the most relevant characteristic of this period? The philosophy put forward in the second half of the sixteenth century may hold the key to our understanding of whether modern philosophy is best understood in terms of innovation or in terms of reliance⁷⁷ on previous authors, because it is certainly true that Descartes, Leibniz, Spinoza, et alii, when looking for inspiration and ideas, read and studied to some specific degree Plato, Aristotle, and other Ancient authors, alongside their immediate Scholastic predecessors.⁷⁸

Fonseca's importance in this context and the relevance of the *Isagoge Philosophica* may require some clarification. The first point would be to show some peculiarity in his approach or some characteristic, which being present exclusively in his works, would prove that his books are worth reading, and that an exhaustive study of his philosophy is rewarding and meaningful. Another option would be to attempt to unravel and consider his particular allegiances. This would be done by trying to determine which of the major philosophical traditions Fonseca should be placed in, for example, if one could describe his ideas as "Platonist," or "Aristotelian," or following from "scotism," "Thomism," or "humanist," and provide evidence to support the claim that Fonseca would, in order of importance, have to be ranked high in the tradition to which he belongs. It would be even better if, when assessing his particular legacy, it could be claimed that he was the conduit of a particular tradition, i.e., the channel through which important ideas from the past reached new generations of philosophers.⁷⁹ A third possible way would be to study the

⁷⁶ See, for instance, S. Menn, "The Intellectual Setting" in *The Cambridge History of the Seventeenth Century Philosophy*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 33.

⁷⁷ This term is perhaps not completely felicitous, as some authors claim to be starting from scratch, and others that position themselves in a particular tradition, for example, "Aristotelianism" may not mean quite the same as other authors, who use the same term. Cf. C. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1983. For a good overview of the implications of this plurality of 'Aristotelianisms' for the study of Renaissance and Early Modern Philosophy see M. W. F. Stone, "Aristotelianism and Scholasticism in Early Modern Philosophy," in S. Nadler, *A Companion to Early Modern Philosophy*, Oxford, 2002, pp. 07-24.

⁷⁸ Cf. John Doyle, *The Conimbricenses: Some Questions on Signs*, Milwaukee, 2001, p.20.

⁷⁹ The idea is based on Sten Ebbesen's use of the expression "sifter" to refer to Porphyry's legacy and its ranking in the Aristotelian commentaries' tradition. Cf. S. Ebbesen, "Porphyry's Legacy to Logic: a Reconstruction," In R. Sorabji (ed.), *Aristotle Transformed: The Ancient Commentators and Their Influence*, London, 1990, p. 141. Of course this claim sounds far-fetched in the case of Fonseca, on the other hand, Suárez's *Disputationes metaphysicae* is certainly a good candidate for this title. For example, In J. Gracia's evaluation, Suárez's handling of the 'principle of individuation' is much superior to what any other author before him did and remains, to this day, arguably without parallel. Cf. Jorge Gracia, *Individuation in Scholasticism: the Later Middle Ages and the Counter-Reformation 1150-1650*, Albany, 1994, p. 475. Fonseca's influence on Suárez's metaphysics is well documented by the number of

history of his influence, namely, the frequency with which Fonseca's contemporaries, and the following generations, read his works and how high they rated him in terms of relevance and authority. A fourth and last way would be to claim that the author in question was responsible for building a system. There has to be in this system elements which would confirm its competence and validity, when this system is confronted with the most central issues in philosophy, especially those more often confronted by the major philosophical traditions.

It is clear that all four ways, when applied to Fonseca's legacy, would certainly not be fruitless. Seeing that his work shows some creative and peculiar insights and a more detailed study of his work would corroborate it even further, the effort and time to study his three main books requires no great apology. Moreover, there would be some philosophical traditions in which Fonseca could be inserted.⁸⁰ "Renaissance Aristotelianism," "scotism (Platonism)," perhaps "Thomism" or "humanism," appear to be appropriate for one reason or another. However, one tradition is indeed conspicuous, "Scholasticism", which gained new life in the Iberian Peninsula and was even called "Second Scholasticism." Certainly, Fonseca would undoubtedly occupy one of the highest ranks in order of importance in this tradition.⁸¹ Furthermore, the history of the editions of Fonseca's works, in the last decades of the sixteenth century and first half of the seventeenth, bear witness to their influence, and this would just be the first conclusion of a series of results of the historical research into that particular period.

Concerning the assessment of Fonseca's *Isagoge Philosophica* and the interest it excited among his contemporaries, it is noteworthy that recent scholarship displays certain indifference. The reason for this less than favourable evaluation may come from the fact already mentioned, that in the view of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century editors of Fonseca's books, the *Isagoge Philosophica* was possibly regarded as only an accessory or a kind of appendix to the *Institutionum Dialecticarum*. Moreover, there is another aspect to be considered. It is the fact that

times, i.e., 112 times, Suárez quotes him in that book. In this sense Fonseca and Suárez could be considered as the channel through which metaphysical themes reached the following generations. Cf. E. Elorduy Maurica, "Influjo de Fonseca en Suárez," *RPF* 11-2, 1955, pp. 507-519.

⁸⁰ Any classification would certainly face the first obstacle of the absence of broad consensus on what the most frequent terms stand for.

⁸¹ E. J. Ashworth, *Logic and Language in the Post-medieval Period*, Dordrecht, 1974, p. 19.

the *Conimbricenses* (the group which actually composed and made available for publication the *Cursus Conimbricensis*) had composed the last volume of their commentaries, which was dedicated to the whole of Aristotelian logic in 1606 and, indeed, it deals quite extensively with Porphyry's *Isagoge* (some 111 pages). This seems to be a clear indication that even within the Jesuit order itself, the original intention of Fonseca had failed, namely, banning Porphyry's *Isagoge* from the "pious schools" and replacing it with his own. Nevertheless, if one goes back to the way in which some of the contemporaries of Fonseca regarded the *Isagoge Philosophica*, one finds criticism of Fonseca's partiality in respect to some controversial issues surrounding the discussion of the universals. Some of his fellow Jesuits had complained to their general superior that, by openly taking sides in some controversial issues, Fonseca had displeased some people who held contrary opinions (cf. Pero Luis's words above, p. 8).

On the other hand, there seems to be other evidence which suggests that the *Isagoge Philosophica* has value in and by itself. Fonseca's own words provide sustenance for this view, since he points out that it had been written due to a commission of some sort.⁸² A few lines later he is even more assertive and adds that his book was not composed to be only a mere commentary on Porphyry but a 'real treatise.'⁸³ This would seem to imply that, at least in Fonseca's own mind, the *Isagoge Philosophica* was neither a mere appendix to one of his major works nor a footnote to the themes discussed elsewhere. Furthermore, even though the *Conimbricenses* did comment comprehensively on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, almost half of the editions published of the *Isagoge Philosophica* (8 out of 18) came to light in the years following the publication of the *Conimbricenses'* commentary on the whole of Aristotle's logic, i.e., extending from 1607 to 1623.⁸⁴ Another circumstance that may have played a part in the history

⁸² *IP*, p. 6: "*Qua de causa optarunt nostri, ut alia Isagoge a me conficeretur (...)*"

⁸³ *IP*, p. 8: "*Sic autem, hoc est non iam praeludii more, sed verae institutionis forma hanc Isagogen ex humanae ac divinae Philosophiae observatione composui (...)*"

⁸⁴ Cf. *ID*, p. LXI-LXII, the editions of the *Isagoge Philosophica* were:

"1.—Isagoge / Philosophica. / autore Petro / Fonseca Lusitano D. Theologo / Societatis Jesu / [IHS] / Olyssipone / Apud Antonium Alvarez. Anno Domini 1591. — *Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra*: R — 9-27 e RB — 23-2.

2. —Ingolstadii, 1593. (Referida por SOMMERVOGEL, *ob. cit.*).

3.—Coloniae, apud Gosvinum Cholinum 1594.—*Biblioteca de Leninegrado*.

of this text relates to the ongoing controversy surrounding the Coimbra commentaries. If the current status of research on the Coimbra commentaries is still very sketchy, particularly in what concerns the coordination and composition of the works, it is certain that the task was only finished after many delays and profound changes of the original plan. Whatever the reasons may have been for these delays and changes, the fact is that when Fonseca wrote his *Isagoge Philosophica*, he had been relieved of the commission of coordinating that project. It means that he was not supposed to produce a commentary on any of Aristotle's books (a possible exception would have been the *Metaphysics*, as in fact the *Conimbricenses* did not publish any commentary on it at all). Faced with a real necessity, if one takes his words as corresponding to fact, he had to try a different approach and produce his own 'philosophical introductory text.' This might help to explain why he took this initiative and why both this and the *Conimbricenses' Commentary on the Whole Aristotelian Logic (Commentarii Collegi Conimbricensis Societatis Jesu in universam Dialecticam Aristotelis)* were being published at the same time. Consequently, there seems to be grounds to conclude that the *Isagoge Philosophica* can be regarded as having philosophical importance in its own right. Although republished together with the *Institutionum Dialecticarum* from the second edition onwards, it was intended to be an autonomous text, both in relation to the *Institutionum Dialecticarum*, appearing as it did when it seemed to be necessary and not as a mere appendix, and in its relation to Porphyry's *Isagoge*, as it was republished even after another Jesuit commentary on the latter was already available.

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- 4.—Ingolstadii, ex officina typographica Davidis Sartorii, 1595. — *Biblioteca da Universidade de Tubinga*: Ab 32.
 - 5.—Coloniae, apud Gosvinum Cholinum, 1596.—*Biblioteca de Leninegrado*.
 6. — Wirceburgi, apud Georgeum Fleischmann, 1596. — *Biblioteca Nacional de Viena*: 71. X. 132.
 - 7.—Coloniae, apud Gosvinum Cholinum, 1599.—*Biblioteca da Pontificia Universidade Gregoriana* (Roma): P II 33 G.
 8. — Ingolstadii, ex Typographia Adami Sartorii, 1600. — *Biblioteca Nacional de Roma*: 12. 33. B. 1.
 9. — Ingolstadii, ex Typographeo Adami Sartorii, 1604. — *Biblioteca, da Universidade de Milnster*: S² 939^w
 - 10.—Coloniae, apud Gosvinum Cholinum, 1605.—*Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa*: S.A. 823 P. e S.A. 16680 P.
 11. —Ingolstadii, Ex Typographeo Adami Sartorii, 1607. —*Biblioteca Angelica* (Roma): SS. 5-57.
 - 12.—Leodii, in officina Henrici Hovii, 1608.—*Biblioteca Geralda Universidade de Coimbra*: 2-8-13-17.
 13. — Flexiae, apud Jacobum Reze Typographum Regium, 1609. —*Biblioteca Nacional de Paris*: R. 36178 e 36179.
 14. — Coloniae, apud Petrum Cholinum, 1610. — *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa*: S.A. 15380 P. e S.A. 15383 P. e S.A. 4787 P.
 - 15.—Ingolstadii, Ex Typographeo Adami Sartorii, 1611 —*Biblioteca da Universidade de Munique*: 8.º Philos. 551.
 - 16.—Coloniae, apud Petrum Cholinum, 1611.—*Biblioteca da Pontificia Universidade Gregoriana* (Roma): P II 3
 - 17.—Coloniae, apud Petrum Cholinum, 1616.— *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa*: S.A. 4788 P.
 18. —Coloniae, apud Petrum Cholinum, 1623 — *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa*: S.A. 825 P.”

Finally, we can conclude that if Fonseca had a systematic view of logic, metaphysics, and cognition, and philosophy and its relation to the sciences (especially to theology), since he says that “the most thorough discussion of the common difficulties of the remaining philosophical books is very often sought in the context of the books of the *Metaphysics*,”⁸⁵ this systematic view has to be somehow behind the *Isagoge Philosophica*, both in terms of its content and of its aims. We have already said something about the content and more will be divulged in due course, but now we have to say something about Fonseca’s aims. Although the whole picture will only emerge at the end of this thesis, we can already point to the fact that Fonseca thinks that it would be easier for him to write about the issues that he considered of fundamental importance and easier for the students of philosophy to understand these discussions, if he first explained the “principles and the foundation of the whole philosophy.”⁸⁶

With these elements in mind, we can say that Fonseca’s aims are closely related to the way he understands the central disciplines that form the whole of the philosophical reflection and this can be gathered from the way he committed himself to ideas and authors. Again, this will provide an invaluable insight into several of the most important issues related to the history of philosophy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the manner in which perennial themes in ‘Aristotelian philosophy’ were discussed by Jesuit writers.

1.2. Dialectics (Logic in a Broader Sense), Cognition, and Metaphysics

António Martins in an article dedicated to Fonseca’s metaphysics⁸⁷ begins by saying that “as it is well-known, the most important work of Pedro da Fonseca is his *Commentariorum in libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis*.”⁸⁸ Although we cannot dispute this claim with regard to the

⁸⁵ In the “Preface to the second edition (1574)” of *ID*, pp. 12-14, Fonseca declares: “et ad quos accuratior tractatio communium difficultatum, quae in caeteris Philosophiae libris incidunt saepissime reïciantur, hanc ego mihi ad scribendum, et Philosophiae auditoribus ad intelligendum facillimam viam esse iudicavi, si ea ante omnia exponerem, quibus totius Philosophiae principia, et quasi fundamenta continentur.”

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ A. Martins: “A Metafísica Inacabada de Fonseca,” *RPF* v. 47, 1991, 517-534.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 517: “Como se sabe, a obra mais importante de Pedro da Fonseca são os seus *Comentários à Metafísica de Aristóteles*.”

monumental achievement of this great work, we can at least claim that in the contest for the title of most important work of Fonseca the *Isagoge Philosophica* is another serious candidate. Not only for the reasons we have just presented but also because it represents the perfect opportunity to assess how Fonseca applied his systematic approach to philosophy to the realms of dialectics, cognition, and metaphysics.⁸⁹

Each one of these three areas of Fonseca's philosophy taken separately would require a separate thesis in its own right, as the interest that they have attracted down the centuries has shown. With regard to Fonseca's dialectics,⁹⁰ the recent focus has been on the peculiar elements of his formal logic, the characteristics of the Renaissance logic that can be discovered in his logical works, especially with regard to his emphasis on the topics, and the elements of the traditional logic that he preserved and the way these three elements come together as a whole. Although we cannot address here the important question of why such a superb logician as Fonseca appeared at that moment and at that place, we can safely assume that his skills cannot be

⁸⁹ Although the bibliography on Fonseca (see the corresponding section in the bibliography at the end) is not as vast as our understanding of his importance would require, it is noteworthy that the interest on Fonseca, be it in Coimbra, in Brazil, or even internationally, has been growing in the recent years. A group of competent Portuguese Scholars have in the last years undertaken the task of inserting Fonseca in the broader context of philosophy, here we can mention Miguel B. Pereira, A. A. Coxito, António M. Martins, and Mário S. de Carvalho. In Brazil, this task is being accomplished by Luiz Alberto Cerqueira. On the international level, the most recent attempt is the groundbreaking article by Martin W. F. Stone. See M. B. Pereira, *Ser e Pessoa. Pedro da Fonseca*. Coimbra, 1967; A. A. Coxito & M. L. C. Soares, "Pedro da Fonseca" in P. Calafate (ed.), *ibid.*, pp. 455-502; A. M. Martins, "Pedro da Fonseca" (more on A. M. Martins's publications in the next footnotes); M. S. de Carvalho, "Inter Philosophos non Mediocris Contentio. A propósito de Pedro da Fonseca e do Contexto Medieval da Distinção entre Essência/Existência," *Quodlibetaria Mediaevalia. Textos e Estudos*, 7-8, 1995, 529-562, "Medieval Influences in the Coimbra Commentaries," *Patrística et Mediaevalia*, XX, 1999, 19-37, *A Síntese Frágil — Uma Introdução à Filosofia (da Patrística aos Conimbricenses)* Lisbon, 2002, *O Problema da Habitação — Estudos de (História da) Filosofia*, Lisbon, 2002; L. A. Cerqueira, "A Projeção do Aristotelismo Português no Brasil," in L. A. Cerqueira (org.), *Aristotelismo Antiaristotelismo Ensino de Filosofia*, Rio de Janeiro, 2000, *Filosofia Brasileira — Ontogênese da Consciência de Si*, Petrópolis, 2002; M. W. F. Stone, "Explaining Freedom through the Texts of Aristotle: Pedro da Fonseca S.J.(...)" For an overview of the whole bibliography on Fonseca see J. Madeira, "Bibliografia de e sobre Pedro da Fonseca," in *Revista Filosófica de Coimbra* (forthcoming).

⁹⁰ The most prolific author with regard to the dialectics of Fonseca is E. J. Ashworth who wrote *Language and Logic in the Post-medieval Period*, Dordrecht, 1974, "Andreas Kesler and the Later Theory of Consequence," *Notre Dame Journal of Formal Logic* 14, 1973, 205-214, "Petrus Fonseca and Material Implication," *Notre Dame Journal of Formal Logic* 9, 1968, 227-228, "Petrus Fonseca on Objective Concepts and the Analogy of Being," in P. Easton (ed.), *Logic and the Workings of the Mind*, Atascadero, 1997, 47-63, "Propositional Logic in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Notre Dame Journal of Formal Logic* 9, 1968, 179-192, "Singular Terms and Predication in some Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Thomistic Logicians," *Medieval Theories on Assertive and Non-assertive Language*, Florence, 2004, and "Some Notes on Syllogistic in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Notre Dame Journal of Formal Logic* 11, 1970, 17-33. Other authors who wrote on Fonseca's logic are: M. Uedelhofen "Die Logik Petrus Fonseca's;" A. A. Coxito "Aspectos Renascentistas da Obra de Pedro da Fonseca," "Pedro da Fonseca: a Lógica Tópica," *RPF* v. 38-2, 1982, 450-459, and "Pedro da Fonseca: A Teoria da Suposição e o seu Contexto Escolástico," *Revista Filosófica de Coimbra*, 10, 20 (2001), 285-311; D. Felipe, "Fonseca on Topics," in I. Angelleli & M. Cerezo (eds.), *Studies on the History of Logic*. Berlin/New York, 1996, 44-64; and G. Nuchelmans, *Late-Scholastic and Humanist Theories of Proposition*, Amsterdam, 1980.

explained in terms of his membership with the Jesuits for the simple reason that he is among the very first to teach this subject in the Jesuit colleges, certainly before F. Toledo⁹¹ who taught logic at the Collegio Romano in 1559-60,⁹² hence almost a decade after Fonseca started his teaching career; second, he was recognised by the Jesuits as an accomplished logician because his introduction to dialectics (logic) was the first book on logic published by the Jesuits and was reprinted a great number of times even after his death, being recommended alongside F. Toledo's book of 1574 by the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599; and third, although Fonseca's particular blend of traditional and humanist logic seems to have been original, he certainly had plenty of material at his disposal, with regard to the three *viae* (nominalist, Thomist, and scotist), with a particular emphasis on semantics, hence on what was often perceived as nominalist preoccupations;⁹³ with regard to Ramism and its refutation;⁹⁴ and with regard to some way to reconcile Thomism, scotism and terminism.⁹⁵ Moreover, one should bear in mind that Fonseca studied Arts under humanists, most probably under the *Bordaleses* and certainly under Jesuits who had studied under humanists.

As we have shown above, Fonseca also made contributions to the understanding of human cognition,⁹⁶ in the sense that he revised the way some of the central elements of

⁹¹ Francisco Toledo (1532-1596) was a Spanish Jesuit of Jewish origin. He studied in Salamanca under Domingo de Soto OP where he later taught philosophy (1557-1558). After he entered the Society and was ordained, he taught philosophy (1559-1562) and (1562-1569) in the famous Collegio Romano. Toledo published extensively on philosophy, theology, and exegesis, but aimed at producing textbooks that followed Thomism and avoided the more difficult questions. Cf. Sommervogel, *ibid.* v. VIII, cc. 64-82; *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, pp. 3807-3808.

⁹² W. Wallace, "Jesuit Influences on Galileo's Science" in John W. O'Malley, Gauvin A. Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy (eds.), *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, Toronto, 2005, p 316

⁹³ With respect to this character of the logic in the Iberian Peninsula, see A. A. Coxito, *Lógica, Semântica e Conhecimento na Escolástica Peninsular Pré-renascentista*, Coimbra, 1981.

⁹⁴ We should not forget that the task to dispute against P. Ramus and his ideas was assigned to a Portuguese professor, who eventually left France for Portugal, namely, António de Gouveia (1505-ca. 1566), who wrote among other works *Pro Aristotele Responsio Adversus Petri Rami Calumnias* (1543). See M. L. Xavier, "Para a História da Lógica no Século XVI: Pedro Margalho e António de Gouveia," in P. Calafate, *ibid.*, pp 418-427.

⁹⁵ The very title of Pedro Margalho's *Margalea Logices Utriusque Scholia in Divi Thomae Subtilisque Duns Doctrina ad Nominalium*, which was published in Salamanca in 1520, leaves no doubts that its author thought that these were not entirely irreconcilable tendencies. See M. L. Xavier, *ibid.*, pp 405-418.

⁹⁶ Our bibliographical research discovered so far only two authors who wrote on this subject: D. Martins, "Essência do Saber Filosófico, segundo Pedro da Fonseca," *RPF* v. 9/4, 1953, 396-405 and C. A. F. Silva, "Filosofia do Conhecimento Segundo Pedro da Fonseca," *Filosofia*, Lisbon, 1960, 235-263, 105-126, 200-246 (which is in fact a first version of one of the few books entirely dedicated to Fonseca: C. A. F. Silva, *Teses Fundamentais da Gnosilogia de Pedro da Fonseca*), and the same author also wrote: "Notas sobre o Carácter Gnosiológico da Filosofia de Pedro da Fonseca," *Stutium Generale*, Porto, 1961, 78(1)-78(4), and "Sobre Algumas Teses

Aristotle's psychology had been interpreted up to his time, with special attention to Aquinas's interpretation, and proposed his own account of how Aristotle's works complement each other and form a whole, also in this regard. This aspect of Fonseca's philosophy has attracted little attention recently, but it is our understanding that it will gain more relevance as soon as the other areas of Fonseca's philosophy become better known, because it is an essential part of Fonseca's systematic view, as we trust will become clear in the third chapter.

Another interesting point of Fonseca's contributions to metaphysics,⁹⁷ is the influence he exerted on what can correctly be described as the first complete work of systematic metaphysics after Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, namely, Francisco Suárez *Disputationes Metaphysicae*. Fonseca was the first Jesuit to teach the *Metaphysics* in Coimbra, hence one of the first teachers of this subject in the whole Jesuit order. Moreover, his commentaries seem to have somehow been considered as the volume on the *Metaphysics* of the *Cursus Conimbricensis* even after he was discharged of the project, and despite the fact that due to their depth and difficulty his commentaries were certainly not meant as a textbook to be used by students, because no other attempt was made in this direction.

As for the influence Fonseca exerted on Suárez, this is a question of dispute. Sometimes, when authors discuss Suárez's achievements as a metaphysician, they do not mention Fonseca at

Fundamentais da Metafísica e da Psicologia de Pedro da Fonseca no seu Aspecto Sistemático," *Portugieshe Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft*, Münster, 1960, 6-14.

⁹⁷ For an overview of the reception of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* in the sixteenth century and of the place of Fonseca in the philosophical context see A. Martins, "A Recepção da Metafísica de Aristóteles na Segunda Metade do Século XVI," in L. A. Cerqueira (org.), *ibid.*, 93-109; for the architectonics of the *CMA*, see "A Metafísica Inacabada de Fonseca," which together with his *Lógica e Ontologia em Pedro da Fonseca*, Coimbra, 1994, and "Fonseca e o Objecto da Metafísica de Aristóteles," *RPF* v. 38-2, 1982, 460-465, are among the handful of texts primarily concerned about Fonseca's metaphysics, there also are: M. B. Pereira, *Ser e Pessoa. Pedro da Fonseca*, Coimbra, 1967; C. Abranches, "Origem dos Comentários à Metafísica de Aristóteles de Pedro da Fonseca" *RPF* v. 2, 1946, 42-57, and "Pedro da Fonseca e a sua Obra Metafísica," *Studium Generale* v. 8, Porto, 1961, 39-48; A. M. Alonso, "Metafísica Clássica y Filosofía Actual (Pedro da Fonseca e Leonardo Coimbra)," *Augustinus* v. 19, 1960, 315-327; J. Carvalho, "Pedro da Fonseca, Precursor de Suárez na Renovação Escolástica," *Actas del Primer Congreso Nacional de Filosofía III*, Mendoza, 1950, 1927-1930; R. Ceñal, "Pedro da Fonseca (1528-1599). Su Crítica del Texto de la *Metafísica* de Aristóteles," *Revista de Filosofía* v. 9, 1953, 375-395; K. Gryzenia, *Arystotelizm i Renesans. Filozofia bytu Piotra Fonseki*, Lublin, 1995, and "Walory Dydaktyczne Starej i Nowej Metafizyki," *Seminare*, 21/1, 2005, 05-19; Charles Lohr "Jesuit Aristotelianism and Sixteenth-Century Metaphysics," *Studies in memory of Edwin A. Quain*, New York, 1976, pp. 203-220, and E. E. Maurica, "Influjo de Fonseca en Suárez," *RPF* v. 11-2, 1955, 507-519. However, Martins's *Lógica e Ontologia em Pedro da Fonseca* surpasses by far all the others, both in scholarly level and in general interest.

all;⁹⁸ or else they praise Fonseca's achievement as a philologist as if his commentaries did not deal with the philosophical issues of Aristotle's text, a task later undertaken by Suárez.⁹⁹ Sometimes they even provide sound arguments in order to show Fonseca's originality as a metaphysician, his approach to metaphysics as a central area of investigation, and his palpable influence on Suárez and on the subsequent generations of philosophers. Seeing that ignorance is not just endemic to scholars, there is no need to discuss those authors that do not recognise the ways in which Suárez was influenced by Fonseca's metaphysics. As for those that acknowledge that Fonseca was a superb philologist, translator, and commentator on the *Metaphysics*, they are certainly correct to stress this, however, the recognition of the philosophical content of the *quaestiones* that Fonseca added to his commentaries is indubitable to any competent reader.

The correct stance is of those that show how Suárez was influenced by Fonseca on many levels. We can point to some of these arguments. First, because Fonseca published the first volume of his commentaries some twenty year before Suárez's *Disputationes* and even the second volume of his commentaries appeared ten years before Suárez's work, and this not to mention the third volume, which was only published posthumously but was probably finished by the time Suárez published his *Disputationes*.¹⁰⁰ Second, because although it is right to say that Suárez produced a text in which metaphysics became for the first time an objective, systematic investigation, without being a commentary on Aristotle's text, Fonseca's *quaestiones* are the first successful attempt in this direction.¹⁰¹ Third, because Suárez himself recognised the value, erudition, and competence of Fonseca's work, when he cited it directly some 112 times (7 of which appear in Suárez's 6th Disputation and refer to parts of the questions we are going to study here in detail), and more importantly, when he praised and followed Fonseca in fundamental

⁹⁸ See J. Gallego Salvadores, "La Aparición de las Primeiras Metafísicas en la España del XVI: Diego Mas (1587), Francisco Suárez y Diego de Zuñiga (1597)," *Escritos del Vedat* III, 1973, 91-162.

⁹⁹ See Charles Lohr, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ See A. Martins *Lógica e Ontologia em Pedro da Fonseca* pp. 22-28.

¹⁰¹ See J. Carvalho, "Pedro da Fonseca, Precursor de Suárez na Renovação Escolástica" p 1929.

points such as Fonseca's interpretation of the Aristotelian concept of ἐντελέχεια, on the unity of the object of the *Metaphysics*, all of which play a central role in both authors.¹⁰²

If we take Fonseca's contributions to dialectics, cognition, and metaphysics separately we can already recognise their value. However, if we can demonstrate that Fonseca thinks that dialectics, cognition, and metaphysics can be integrated in a whole his contributions would gain central stage;¹⁰³ hence if we can show how these fields of philosophy can be understood as forming a logical extension of each other, beginning from dialectics and ending in metaphysics, we will confirm Fonseca's systematic approach. The starting point for this demonstration can be the book that became the first of the *Organon*, more precisely, the last sentence of the preface of the *Isagoge*, where Porphyry states that his purpose was to "attempt to show you how the Ancient masters, especially the Peripatetic tradition, treated, in a more logical way, genera and species and the items before us."¹⁰⁴ Porphyry used the term λογικώτερον to make a distinction between the ontological depth of the questions he had just raised and dismissed as belonging to another and more profound disputation, and the clearly more simple approach he intended to adopt in the presentation of the predicables. Moreover, he ascribed this way of proceeding to the Ancient Peripatetics. Boethius, on the other hand, "corrected" Porphyry by saying that the more fitting approach would be "the dialectical way" (*probabiliter*), because that is in fact the most suitable to the task that the *Isagoge* was supposed to accomplish, namely, to provide an introduction to the *Categories* and to philosophy in general, hence the scope of the text could not be merely logical (understood in a narrow sense),¹⁰⁵ but it had to deal with the ontology behind

¹⁰² See E. E. Maurica, "Influjo de Fonseca en Suárez."

¹⁰³ Although our main concern here is not on how these areas of philosophy can be integrated in Aristotle (our concern is in fact what Fonseca has to say about this point), it is certainly interesting to notice that dialectics (especially with regard to the arguments *ex probabilibus*) seems to play a decisive role in complementing the induction of universals from the perception of particulars, in scientific knowledge and in the discovery of the principles of metaphysics. On this point, see D. Modrak, *Aristotle's Theory of Language and Meaning*, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 132-143.

¹⁰⁴ Porphyry, "preface," *Isagoge*: "Illud vero quemadmodum de his ac de propositis probabiliter antiqui tractaverint et horum maxime Peripatetici, tibi nunc tentabo monstrare."

¹⁰⁵ When Fonseca addresses the difficulties related to the *Isagoge*, he points that with regard to genera and species, an approach restricted to the logical realm would not show the true divergence between Plato and Aristotle, because their disagreement stems precisely from their distinctive metaphysical conceptions, i.e., whether the common predicate or universal of objects that have an order of priority is separate from these objects or not. The same point is

the first notions, something that only a study founded on the facts of predication (because something can be predicated either essentially or accidentally) can provide (the *Categories* deal with the kinds of predication), and the *Isagoge* with the ways those kinds can be predicated (predicables). This fact helps to clarify why Fonseca chooses to deal with the metaphysical foundations of universals from the point of view of the facts of predication, since in his opinion, neither the realm of semantics, nor that of physics, taken in isolation, would suffice because neither of them could provide an unequivocal ontological basis for his ideas. But why is ontology fundamental at this stage? Is it necessary to establish the basis for the whole enterprise at the very moment the first notions are being introduced?

The answer can be found in a text that Fonseca mentions many times, namely, *De ente et essentia* which is in fact the only entirely metaphysical work produced by Thomas Aquinas.¹⁰⁶ The Angelic Doctor uses a quotation from Aristotle's *De coelo*¹⁰⁷ to introduce the central theme and purpose of his book, i.e., to offer a correct foundation for philosophy.¹⁰⁸ This passage is mentioned to highlight the usefulness, or indeed, the necessity of a solid basis for future true knowledge.¹⁰⁹ With this promising beginning, this small book, which was the only one of its kind Aquinas was to write, is in line with works like the *Categories* of Aristotle, Porphyry's *Isagoge*,

also made by several authors with regard to the ambiguity present in Plotinus and in other Neoplatonists, for example, A. C. Lloyd, "Genus, Species and Ordered Series in Aristotle," *Phronesis* VII, 1962, pp 84ff.

¹⁰⁶ The frequency with which Fonseca quotes and discusses this text, as well as Cajetan's commentary on it, is no mere coincidence. In fact, Martin Olave in his instruction of 1553, recommended the reading of the *De ente et essentia* as a kind of compendium of the most useful themes in metaphysics, cf. L. Lukács (ed.), *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu I (1540-1556)*, Rome, 1965, p. 178: "In questo tempo [il terz'anno] si legerà la sera quel libello di Santo Thommasso *De ente et essentia* che è come un compendio de lo più utile dela metaphisica."

¹⁰⁷ Aristotle, *De coelo* I, 5, 271^b8-9: "[S]ince the least initial deviation from the truth is multiplied later a thousandfold."

¹⁰⁸ Aquinas, *De ente et essentia*, "prologue": "Quia parvus error in principio magnus est in fine, secundum Philosophum in *I Celi et Mundi*, ens autem et essentia sunt quae primo intellectu concipiuntur, ut dicit Avicenna in principio suae Methaphisicae, ideo ne ex eorum ignorantia errare contingat, ad horum difficultatem aperiendam dicendum est quid nomine essentiae et entis significetur, et quomodo in diversis inveniatur, et quomodo se habeat ad intentiones logicas, scilicet genus, speciem et differentiam."

¹⁰⁹ Cajetan, *CE&E*, p. 2: "Primo reddit auditores benevolos, militatem et necessitatem dicendorum ostendens tali ratione: Omnis errans circa principia omnium intelligibilium magis errabit circa alia: omnis errans circa essentiam et ens errat circa principia omnium intelligibilium: ergo omnis errans circa essentiam et ens magis errabit circa alia. Utile igitur et necessarium est tradere notitiam de essentia et ente ad vitandos multiplices errores, qui ex eorum ignorantia accidunt. Huius rationis maioris subintellectae probatio ponitur in littera sumpta ex *I coeli* text. XXXI II. Minor autem probatur auctoritate Avicennae, *I suae Metaph.* cap. VII. Ad evidentiam maioris et suae probationis scito, quod qui a principium est parvum in quantitate, ideo error in principio parvus appellatur, et qui a principium est magnum in virtute (utpote virtualiter continens omnia principiatia) ideo error in principio parvus, in fine efficitur magnus. Crescit enim error sicut et dilatatur principium in suis principiatis, ut manifeste patet in principio bivii, in quo modica deviatio ad magnam distantiam deducit in processu."

Descartes' *Discours de la Méthode*, all of which intend to provide the most basic notions in order to ensure that the ensuing system would have a solid basis, firmly grounded in a set of true initial concepts. Not surprisingly, neither Aquinas nor any of his followers (except Cajetan) felt the necessity to comment on Porphyry's small book. In this sense, Fonseca's *Isagoge Philosophica* could also be considered as belonging to this tradition. At least with regard to the author's expectations concerning the merits of the text. Moreover, in the *Isagoge Philosophica* the Philosopher of Coimbra explains that "*Totius Dialecticae lineamenta rudi Minerva describuntur,*" and with these words he gives the tone of his book. It concerns the foundations of logic (*dialectica*) in the broadest sense possible, and, at the same time, it is intimately associated with philosophy in the broadest sense possible. It shows his ambitions for his text and sets the stage for the exposition of his ideas.¹¹⁰ Accordingly, the purpose and inspiration of this small book do not seem to require any lengthy explanation apart from those given by Fonseca in that foreword, namely, it was intended to provide another *Isagoge*, since Porphyry's was incomplete and incorrect. Moreover, by providing an introduction to logic, in Fonseca's parlance "for *Dialectics*," he was aiming, in fact, at an introduction to philosophy, which was for the Jesuits and for Fonseca, more than a number of distinct themes but a systematic body of knowledge. Documents coming from the early days of the Jesuit Order attest that they not only believed that a Philosophical synthesis, especially from Thomism and scotism, was possible but also made concrete steps toward achieving such synthesis.¹¹¹ But how does a text live up to this very high expectation? J. O'Malley summarises the eclectic philosophical and theological environment in

¹¹⁰ *IP*, p. 12: "Quocirca exacto primarum institutionum praeludio, quo totius Dialecticae lineamenta rudi, ut aiunt, Minerva describuntur; opus sane est, ut serio iam exerceri cupientibus, post accuratiorem quandam artis Dialecticae constitutionem, quae utiliter a praecetoribus hoc loco ante omnia praemitti solet, mox tradatur expressior aliqua, et ipsius universalis, et vulgatarum eius specierum, Generis, Speciei, Differentiae, Proprii, et Accidentis cognitio: quod nos hac Philosophica Isagoge in gratiam studiosorum Philosophiae facere conabimur."

¹¹¹ L. Lukács (ed.), *ibid.*, "II – P. Hieronymus Nadal, S.I., De studii generalis dispositione et ordine (Anno 1552)," p. 152: "[S]pero enim futurum, Jesu Christo dante, ut ex omnibus scholasticis conficiatur summa theologica quae et quicquid in ipsis est doctrinae contineat, eorum controversias conciliet et factiones thomistarum, scotistarum, nominalium explodat: breviter, puram synceramque theologiam scholasticam tradat, quantum fieri poterit, compendiosissime" This passage shows the Jesuit disposition towards an Unitarian approach to theology, based on the contributions of all the major Scholastic authors and capable of bridging the gaps between apparently irreconcilable positions. Of course that one of the conditions for such a theological synthesis was in fact a philosophical synthesis. And we will see that such philosophical unified approach is at the core of Fonseca's achievements.

which the first companions studied and lived in Paris and in Rome, and hence the environment of the formation of the Society. He points out that the growing influence of Aquinas and the fact that the Jesuits rejected the eclectic programme in favour of a theological synthesis are certainly elements to explain why they chose to follow Aquinas. But there is a lack of apodictic evidence.¹¹² On the other hand, the traces of the philosophical synthesis may be found in Fonseca's philosophical works.

In the *Commentariorum in Libros Metaphysicorum*, book II chapter 3 question 1 section 2, Fonseca shows how he thinks anyone should proceed in the quest for 'knowledge and science': "*viam et rationem tradere, qua facile et sine errore possimus ex cognitis incognita intelligere.*"¹¹³ But what exactly are those "things already known" and how have they been acquired? If on the one hand we cannot simply and directly know the individuals, because as they are infinite in number they escape the limits of the finite human intellect, on the other hand, all cognition has its origin in experience,¹¹⁴ without which the intellect would remain a *tabula rasa*.

Again, in the beginning of the *Isagoge Philosophica*, in the part addressed to students of Philosophy,¹¹⁵ Fonseca reminds his readers that "in matters concerning science and knowledge, much is gained by philosophical and theological enquiry into the most difficult themes." Here again we hear those words of the foreword,¹¹⁶ where he observes that the first and solid notions indispensable for the future studies have to be given in the beginning of the first notions, "*Minerva describuntur,*"¹¹⁷ as he puts it. Therefore, central issues concerning metaphysics and cognition are at stake, which certainly deserve the same diligence and accuracy, and which are the subject of subsequent lengthy discussions.

¹¹² J. W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, pp. 243-283.

¹¹³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 486.

¹¹⁴ This fact underlines one of the paradoxes of an Aristotelian theory of cognition, namely, that in order to cognise we need the particulars to perform the inferential induction, but in the end, what is known is in fact the universals that are exemplified by the particulars. This is also an important point of contention between Plato and Aristotle, because the former posited Recollection as a means to assure the presence of the universals in the mind, while the latter resorted to induction to elicit the universals. With regard to this last point, see Mark Gifford, "Aristotle on Platonic Recollection and the Paradox of Knowing Universals: *Prior Analytics* B. 21 67^a8-30," *Phronesis* XLIV/1, 1999, 1-29.

¹¹⁵ *IP*, p. 6: "Verum ex eo tempore, quo Sacra Theologia via, et ratione tradi coepit, tanta rebus Philosophicis ex assidua Theologorum de rebus maximis, et difficillimis disputatione accessio facta est cognitionis, et scientiae;"

¹¹⁶ *IP*, p. 12.

¹¹⁷ *IP*, *ibid.*

On closer inspection, it becomes clear that the nature and characteristics of the universals is one such theme considered by Fonseca to be of central importance. It had already been given special attention in his first major work, the *Institutionum Dialecticarum*, where he deals with categories and ways something can be predicated in the context of the study of names (terms). It also reappears as the subject of the twenty questions that follow the commentaries on the *Metaphysics*, book 5, chapter 28. And Fonseca returns to it in the *Isagoge Philosophica*.

When Fonseca introduces the discussion of the universals in the *Commentariorum in Libros Metaphysicorum*¹¹⁸ he says that the term ‘universal,’ or, as he puts it “common in the broadest signification” is simply “one (*quid*) that belongs to many.” However, he remarks that according to the philosophers, it usually appears in three main contexts, namely, in relation to causing, to signifying, and to predicating. He explains that universal causes, like the Sun or God, are particular beings. He goes on to say that universal signs, universal concepts, and universal names, as for instance, ‘human nature’ or ‘equine nature’ are also singular things. Nevertheless, only those things that are predicated of several items such as man or horse, commonly taken, are called universals and universal things absolutely.¹¹⁹

In order to follow Fonseca’s approach, the first step is to recall that Aristotle in *De Interpretatione* chapter 7¹²⁰ uses this expression “universal that which is by its nature predicated of a number of things.” But what does exactly ‘be predicated of’ mean in this context? There are some possible answers to this question¹²¹ and among those found in Fonseca’s works we could

¹¹⁸ It does not come after the text of book VII chapter 13 of the *Metaphysics*, as one would expect, where Aristotle deals with the universals, but at the very end of this commentaries on book V (Δ) of the *Metaphysics*. The fact that Avicenna begins his *Metaphysics* V with a discussion of universals is perhaps not a mere coincidence. Furthermore, Fonseca does not place this discussion after book III chapter 4, where Aristotle discusses the existence of something other than particulars, thus universals; nor indeed after book IV chapter 2, where being *qua* being is presented. Fonseca quotes all these passages while developing his line of argumentation, indicating that his choice is the result of a conscious move. Cf. *CMA* v. 2, c. 947. We will return to what may have been the motives behind Fonseca’s insertion of this theme at that particular place when we deal with the universals in chapter one.

¹¹⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 947: “Causae enim universales particularia quaedam sunt entia, ut sol, ut Deus; signa item universalia, ut conceptus universales, et nomina universalia, veluti naturae humanae, aut equinae, res etiam singulares sunt; at ea, quae de pluribus praedicantur, ut homo, ut equus, communiter sumpta, absolute universalia et res universales appellantur, quod nihil singulare in multis numerari possit.”

¹²⁰ Aristotle, *De Interpretatione* 7, 17^a 38ff. Fonseca indicates *De Interpretatione* chapter 5, which is probably a typing mistake.

¹²¹ In a Latin dictionary, one finds, under the entry ‘*praedico*,’ that it means either a) make a public announcement or b) foretell. The first meaning clearly shows that it has the same meaning of ‘category’ in Greek. Cf. C. Lewis; E. A. Andrews; & W. Freund, *Lewis & Short – A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 2002, p. 1416.

point to his *Institutionum Dialecticarum*, book 1 chapter 26,¹²² where he says that “*nomen commune, seu universale est, quod eadem ratione de pluribus praedicatur: ut homo.*” And “*praedicari hoc loco pressius, quam supra, intelligendum est, utpote pro vere affirmari.*” These passages are inserted in a thorough discussion of ‘names’ and they may provide some interesting clues as to why universals seem to be regarded by Fonseca as a highly important philosophical theme. The first point is that, even though ‘to be predicated of’ comes here in a logical context, and in relation to ‘names,’ it seems to have important metaphysical implications.¹²³ In the beginning of the *Categories*, Aristotle talks about ὀνόματα “names” but also about the “definition of being which corresponds to the name.”¹²⁴ And this doubtlessly raises questions concerning “being,” “definition,” their relation, and about the manner in which a definition can “correspond to a being.” If the idea that “names mean things” is also introduced in this place, together with the notion that a thing’s “nature” plays a decisive role in these intricate relations, it becomes increasingly evident why Aquinas, for instance, thinks that it is necessary to talk about “Being and Essence.”¹²⁵ Second, Fonseca talks of “*eadem ratio,*” which he had explained in chapter 19 of the same book as “*nomine ratione intellige mentale rei significatae definitionem, quam nomen significat, iuxta illud Aristotelis, Ratio quam nomen significat, est definitio, mente scilicet fabricata,*”¹²⁶ which has both implications for the ontological status of the universals and implications for a theory of cognition.

¹²² *ID*, p. 74.

¹²³ Fonseca realised that, like in a public accusation, when something is predicated of something else there is more at stake than a simple combination of words. In the case of a public accusation there might be serious consequences, and in the case of predication, together with affirming or denying a predicate of a subject, he suggests that between subject and predicate there exists something else. In the case of the universals there is an *actus essendi in pluribus*, which is independent from the intellect. Cf. *CMA* v. 2 (Book V Ch. XXVIII Q4 and Q5).

¹²⁴ Aristotle, *Categories* 1, 1^a 1-5: “Things are said to be named ‘equivocally’ when, though they have a common name, the definition corresponding with the name differs for each. Thus, a real man and a figure in a picture can both lay claim to the name ‘animal’; yet these are equivocally so named, for, though they have a common name, the definition corresponding with the name differs for each. For should any one define in what sense each is an animal, his definition in the one case will be appropriate to that case only.”

¹²⁵ Aquinas, *De ente et essentia*, p. 19.

¹²⁶ *ID*, p. 58.

Focusing on a notion like ‘*ratio*,’¹²⁷ we see that the existence of such things, could be understood as restricted to the mental realm, and a form of ‘nominalism’ would result, more specifically one of the sort posited by Ockham, since this “definition fabricated by the mind,” or *ratio*, although with a content that may refer somehow to things in the world, was nonetheless restricted to the mental because the ‘name’ and its definition concern things that do not exist outside the mind. Alongside these implications, there are also consequences for a theory of cognition, which would have to be put forward in order to account for the link bridging the gap between sensation, which deals with physical things, and the intellect, which deals with *ratios*.

There are other difficulties that accompany those previously listed. Fonseca often faces the challenge of providing logical and metaphysical notions that were, on the one hand, compatible with the whole of his philosophy, and on the other, fully compatible with the most important theological discussions, like for instance, the Trinitarian nature of God, and the consequent Theandric nature of Christ. Possible incompatibilities were already encountered in book 1 chapter 26 of the *Institutionum Dialecticarum*, where Fonseca contrasts common and singular names. There it is argued that the name “God” is neither common, i.e. universal, nor equivocal. It is not universal, even though it is predicated of each of the three divine persons, because when one uses the word ‘God’ there is only one meaning behind it, namely, “that which nothing greater or more perfect can be thought.” And only by mistake (error) it can be used to refer to stones or pieces of wood. Moreover, coming from the Aristotelian notion of predication,¹²⁸ one finds another central component of the universals, because for Porphyry

¹²⁷ *Ratio* plays the same role in Fonseca as *λογος* plays for Aristotle. As D. W. Hamlyn correct affirms, one of the consequences of this notion is that the entities implied in this context must have some independent status (the context in which Hamlyn makes this remarks is that of the distinction between nouns and verbs, but it could also be extended to the case of predicates). Cf. D. W. Hamlyn, “Aristotle on Predication,” *Phronesis* VI, 1961, p. 110. However, this fact does not immediately imply that predicates have a real existence in the world.

¹²⁸ The importance of Predication, especially because of its close connection with the ubiquitous Aristotelian concern with Substance, cannot be emphasized enough. Predication in Aristotle is the subject of several publications, see among others D. W. Hamlyn *ibid.*; F. A. Lewis, *Substance and Predication in Aristotle*, Cambridge/New York/Port Chester/Melbourne/Sydney, 1991; A. Bäck, *Aristotle’s Theory of Predication*, Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2000; J. M. E. Moravcsik, “Aristotle on Predication,” *The Philosophical Review* 76/1, 1967, 80-96; D. Bostock, “An Aristotelian Theory of Predication?” *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* XXVII, 2004, 141-175; A. Code, “On the Origins of Some Aristotelian Theses about Predication,” in J. Bogen & J. E. Mcguire (eds.), *How Things Are: Studies in Predication and the History of Philosophy and Science*, Dordrecht/Boston/Lancaster, 1985; J. Barnouw, *Propositional Perception: Phantasia, Predication and Sign in Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics*, Lanham, 2002.

something is predicated of something else “according to the customary usage.”¹²⁹ From the fact that there are ways somehow privileged of talking about things¹³⁰ to the conclusion that predication has to take into account the “nature” of the thing predicated is an expected move,¹³¹ because while there are distinct individuals the way one talks about some of them is the same, hence there has to be some thing like the essence that is the same for certain things but different from the essence of other individuals. In this sense, one could not predicate “reptile” of a horse, for example, because there is nothing in the equine nature that would truly be affirmed when the predicate is “reptile.” Consequently, “A horse is a reptile” would not be a meaningful expression. And this “nature” would have to possess a kind of unity completely different from the kind of unity that singular items have. This unity has to be more than only unity in “name,” it has to be a unity in *ratio*. Moreover, this unity has to be fully compatible with the aptitude of the universals “to inhere in many particular items,” as a unity without aptitude or an aptitude without unity do not constitute, strictly speaking, a universal nature.

Now, returning to the nominalist interpretation of the status of universals, which Fonseca addresses it in the second of those twenty questions following his commentary on book 5 chapter 28, he intends to explain it away when he asks whether there are only “universal names” or also “universal things.” He provides arguments to defending the thesis that there are indeed “universal things.” He goes on to show what kind of unity they possess and which aptitude of being in several constitutes them as universals. The following questions raise the issue of their “origin in an activity of the intellect,” how the senses “cooperate” in this process, and the role the *phantasmata* play in it. However, the question is: why did nominalism deserve such an attention when, at least in relation to logic and language, it had died out in Paris some years before?¹³² Perhaps it was because nominalism was still influential in the Spanish and the Portuguese

¹²⁹ Barnes, *Porphyry Introduction*, Oxford, 2003, p. 67.

¹³⁰ Russel Dancy points that this intuition is at the heart of Aristotle’s ontology of predication *per se*. Cf. R. Dancy, “On Some of Aristotle’s Second Thoughts about Substances: Matter,” *The Philosophical Review* 87/3, 1978, p. 372.

¹³¹ D. Modrak, among others, points to Aristotle’s theory of meaning (*De Interpretatione* 1) as indication of Aristotle’s commitment to the existence of a strict correspondence between what is said of some thing, the concept in the mind that is behind what is said, and the object in the world behind that concept. See D. Modrak, *Aristotle’s Theory of Language and Meaning*; D. Charles, *Aristotle on Meaning and Essence*, Oxford, 2000; etc.

¹³² Ashworth, *Logic and Language in the Post-medieval Period*, p. 7.

universities of the period,¹³³ or because there would be some undesirable consequences for the Jesuit “Voluntaristic” theology,¹³⁴ if nominalism was not countered by sound arguments. Perhaps only a better knowledge of the *Isagoge Philosophica* could provide possible answers for this question. Nevertheless, even if it is taken for granted that nominalism had not been a major tendency in the university of Paris after 1520, it would not necessarily mean that the basic philosophical criticisms which the nominalists raised against a Realist position had lost its force.¹³⁵ As for nominalism at the universities of the Iberian Peninsula, there is evidence that it was still in vogue because of the many teachers who had studied in Paris before 1520 and, as they went back to their countries of origin, Portugal and Spain, they brought nominalist ideas with them.¹³⁶

In Coimbra, nominalism although not officially sponsored was somehow present. It is not necessary to point to specific nominalist authors, since it suffices to bear in mind the fact that André de Gouveia and his *Bordelaises* colleagues who took up the Colégio das Artes from 1548 to 1555, were above all humanists, one of the complaints of the humanists was that the “scholastics” based many of their assumptions on terms which were nothing more than grammatical barbarisms, like “*gravitas*” (heaviness), a word improperly derived from the adjective “*grave*” that for them was without any true content. These complaints are reminiscent of the sort of criticism Ockham raised against his predecessors and the charges Lorenzo Valla raised against Aristotle and the Aristotelians. Among other points in common,¹³⁷ there is the fact

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ This expression comes from Stephen Menn’s, “Suárez, Nominalism and Modes,” in K. White, *Spanish Philosophy in the Age of Discovery*, Washington, 1997, p.226. We have reasons to disagree with him, because his whole argument with respect to Fonseca appears to be based on the assumption that there is no clear connection between Fonseca’s *Quaestiones* and Aristotle’s texts that precede them, however, as A. Martins puts it: “Fonseca considers as viable a systematic reconstruction of the central themes in metaphysics starting from Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*” (“Fonseca considera viável uma reconstrução sistemática dos temas centrais da metafísica a partir dos textos de Aristóteles.”) Cf. A. Martins, “A Recepção da Metafísica de Aristóteles na Segunda Metade do Século XVI,” in L. A. Cerqueira (org.), *ibid.*, p. 109. It means that at least in Fonseca’s understanding there was no ‘liberal’ use of authors and ideas but they all have to be checked against the true philosophy, as presented by Aristotle and the Scholastics.

¹³⁵ The fact that nominalism was to “reappear” in Descartes, Leibniz, Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, clearly shows this point. Cf. M. Bolton “Universals, Essences, and Abstract Entities,” in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-century Philosophy*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 185 and U. Thiel, “Individuation,” *ibid.*, pp. 222 and 245.

¹³⁶ Ashworth, *ibid.*

¹³⁷ Although Valla mentioned Ockham among the authors he criticised, it is possible to identify several positions that provide strong reasons to believe that he was influenced by Ockham much more than he was prepared to

that both authors, and those who follow them, devised a much simpler scheme in which the postulation of all “unnecessary” intermediate entities between concepts and things can be abolished, without losing any of the explanatory powers advocated by their opponents. Both authors attempt to restrict themselves to words (usage of terms) and refuse to accept concepts which go behind language.¹³⁸ Although Valla and Ockham focus on dialectical (logical and semantic) matters, they both realised that their criticisms would only reach their targets if they could provide better ontological foundations than those held by their opponents.

However, there are also significant differences between the ‘Ockhamist’ and Valla’s approach to logic and metaphysics. First, there is the authority of Aristotle which the former indisputably accepted, while according to the latter it has to be discredited. Ockham defended his position by saying that he was in fact explaining true Peripatetic teaching which had been perverted by his predecessors. Valla, on the other hand, claimed to have refuted Aristotle’s theories in several fronts and provided his own solutions to the aspects of philosophy in which the Stagirite, in his opinion, had failed. Not all humanist authors had strong affinities with nominalism. An example of a humanist author with clear realist commitments is Rudolf Agricola. His principle that “all things which are said either for or against something fit together and are, so to speak, joined with it by a certain community of nature.”¹³⁹ This passage shows the opinion that the close connection between what is said (and thought) of things, on the one hand, and the way things are in the world, on the other, constitutes a basis for a realist approach to metaphysical entities.

At this point it is perhaps necessary to introduce further nuances, namely, that Realist authors may also have to make concessions to nominalist positions in one or other respect. This is for instance what Stephen Menn¹⁴⁰ claims in his article about Fonseca and Suárez, with respect

acknowledge. Cf. Peter Mack, *Renaissance Argument: Valla and Agricola in the Traditions of Rhetoric and Dialectic*, Leiden, 1993, pp. 92-94.

¹³⁸ Mack, *ibid.*, p 44.

¹³⁹ Agricola, *De Inventione Dialecticae*, p. 9: “omnia quae vel pro re quaque vel contra dicuntur cohaerere et esse cum ea quadam (ut ita dicam) naturae societate coniuncta.”

¹⁴⁰ Menn, *ibid.*, pp 226-256.

to their positions towards voluntarism and modes.¹⁴¹ Menn does not argue that these Jesuit authors are nominalists, in fact, he says that they are “unequivocally” realists.¹⁴² Moreover, Menn defends that although the dependence of Suárez’s *Disputationes Metaphysicae* on Fonseca’s *Commentariorum* is not immediately evident due to their differences in exposition and to some relevant disagreements, he says that “by pursuing some crucial references, and comparing the projects of Fonseca’s *Questions on the Metaphysics* and Suárez’s *Disputations*, we can see that Fonseca was in fact a model for the whole *Disputations*.”¹⁴³ Even though he seems to be correct in these points and in his assessment of Fonseca’s willingness to follow Scotus’s positions,¹⁴⁴ Menn’s opinion that the Jesuits in general, and Fonseca in particular, make “a liberal use” of authors like Aquinas and Scotus, and that because of their Voluntarist commitments, they were forced to “accept some particular nominalist theses,” seems to be false. Menn derives his conclusions based on his belief that “although the *viae* had implications for metaphysics (and for physics and theology), they are originally schools of logic or (as we would say) semantics: the basic issues concern the signification of terms and the truth-conditions of propositions, not real universals or any other question of ‘ontological commitments.’ Ockham does claim that every being is an individual substance or individual quality; but the realist Suárez agrees that every being is really identical with some individual substance or individual quality or individual continuous quantity. This small difference in ontological commitment cannot be what makes the difference between the two *viae*.”¹⁴⁵ In sum, Menn plays down the importance of ontology and highlights the importance of logic, apparently with the aim to show that the problem of universals can be resolved in a purely logical approach.

¹⁴¹ The main issue here is Ockham’s criticism that any real distinction implies that by God’s will the two things really distinct can be made to exist without the other. For example, a quality that is really distinct from a quantity has to be, in principle, able to exist, at least by God’s power, independent from any quantity. The concrete case in question is that of the figure, which according to Aristotle is the fourth species in the category of quality, but which necessarily implies (hence cannot exist without) some extension or continuous quantity that is shaped in that particular way.

¹⁴² Menn, *ibid.*, p 227.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p 244.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, footnote n 5, p 228.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp 229-230.

By defending a restrict logical (or semantic) approach to the disagreements with respect to the theory of predicables (the origin of the dispute between the two *viae*), Menn aligns himself with authors like Averroes, Ockham, and Cajetan, who all defend in their commentaries on the *Isagoge* (more on this point will be presented in the fourth chapter) that it is sufficient to apply a narrower, merely logical understanding of the issues at stake, thus making the *Isagoge* some sort of introduction to logic in a narrow sense. However, Menn's position would be seriously challenged if the basic assumptions of the present thesis, namely, that only a broader approach, which is somehow present in authors like Boethius, Aquinas, Scotus, and the *Lovanienses*, but principally and foremost in Fonseca, can account for all the difficulties implied by a philosophical reading of the *Isagoge*.¹⁴⁶ What Menn sees as "liberal" approach towards Aquinas and Scotus, a commitment to realism, and concessions to nominalism, can be seen (and the present thesis hopes to demonstrate that this is the case of Fonseca's *Isagoge Philosophica*) as indications of an inclusive philosophical system, which aims at solving the discord cause by the sectarian positions in philosophy and consequently in theology.

All in all, the conclusion seems to be that in order to gauge Fonseca's ideas we have to assume that any solid understanding of dialectic (in a broader sense) depends necessarily on a sound ontological basis combined with a coherent account of the way human cognition works. This is the reason why the main components of the philosophical traditions inherited by Fonseca have to be analysed, in order to show how he is able to put forward his solutions to the main difficulties and attempt to provide a consistent philosophical system, which will in turn enable him to address the philosophical problems through recasting of Porphyry's *Isagoge*.

1.3. Fonseca's Allegiances

In the aforementioned *Admonitione lectoris* of his first volume of the *Commentariorum*, Fonseca reveals something of his own method in commenting on the *Metaphysics*. There, Fonseca

¹⁴⁶ The same can be said of the Ancient commentators, since they saw the *Isagoge* as useful for the whole of philosophy. See R. Sorabji, *The Philosophy of the Commentators 200-600 AD. v. 3 Logic & Metaphysics*, London, 2004, p. 31.

pleaded his fidelity to the truth, since its first origin, he recognised, could only have been the ‘First Truth,’ and he added that he was willing to follow whomsoever had most correctly judged the questions that one encounters when reading Aristotle’s text. Moreover, Fonseca made clear that once an author’s opinion, even if it were Aristotle’s, did not correspond to the truth he would depart from him. In sum, for Fonseca there were no final authorities in philosophical matters.¹⁴⁷

Despite the assertiveness of this pledge, it is also interesting to review which authors and which texts Fonseca cites when he is addressing those questions and how he assessed each solution in the light of his own solution. Unsurprisingly, the most quoted author is Aristotle (in total 62 times, but interestingly less than half of the citations are from the *Metaphysics*). Nevertheless, authors like Aquinas, Scotus, Cajetan, Capreolus, Ferrariensis, Galen, Ockham, Francisco Valles (1524-1592),¹⁴⁸ some contemporary authors (*quidem recentiores*),¹⁴⁹ and some others are also often quoted.

It seems that Fonseca’s purpose with the passages he quotes is to introduce and clarify the main issues involved, and explain his own opinions. As a result, it becomes evident that he placed some distance from his own position and those espoused by the nominalist, the scotist, and the Thomist authors of his time. At the same time, he offered elements to corroborate his view that his theories were compatible, to a greater or smaller degree, with Aristotle, Aquinas, Scotus, perhaps even Plato, as he sometimes mentioned that the more serious charges against Plato’s ideas were due to what other authors thought that “Plato had thought.”

¹⁴⁷ *CMA* v. 1, ‘Admonitio Lectoris.’: “Denique in tractandis quaestionibus, quas ipsa occasio lectionis obtulit (quod totum erat nostri iuris) plane liberi fuimus; nec alios auctores tantum, sed ipsum quoque Aristotelem nonnunquam deservimus, aut excusavimus, aut quoquo modo cum eo, quod vetius nobis visum est, conciliavimus, ne aut doctrinae fidei, in qua error nullus esse potest, aut rationi, communique hominum sensui adversaremur. Caeterum, ut in nullius verba doctoris, cum de rebus philosophicis agitur, iurandum putavimus, ita nullius vel inferioris notae Philosophi sententiam reieciimus, quae nobis cum vero maxime consentire videretur; agnoscentes plane, veritatem, a quocunque dicatur, a prima veritate profectam esse. Quin neque nostra placita ita amplexi sumus, ut non quemvis melius sentientem etiam nunc sequi parati simus.”

¹⁴⁸ More biographical data on the personal doctor of Philip II of Spain, who was responsible for the recognition of the Hippocratic medicine, will be given in chapter two.

¹⁴⁹ This general designation, was perhaps an strategy that Fonseca uses to discuss certain ideas without having to ascribe them to a particular author or school. However, this term usually comes in the context of opinions diverging from those put forward by Fonseca. If it is not always possible to know who those authors actually were, it is doubtless an interesting piece of information about ideas in vogue in Fonseca’s time.

Thus, starting from Aristotle, we will follow a brief presentation of other authors and works quoted by Fonseca with regard to his treatment of the problem of universals, of the theory of cognition that corresponds to his approach, and of the main issues raised by an attentive reading of Porphyry's *Isagoge*.

1.4. Aristotle's Passages

Fonseca provides extensive textual support for his ideas. His use of the sources is certainly systematic and coherent. In order to trace the pattern Fonseca follows when citing Aristotle, even though there is inevitably some overlapping, we can divide the passages in four groups. First, we present an overview of the Aristotelian textual support for Fonseca's handling of the universals, both to introduce the discussion and to present the main elements of the Problem. Second, we show how Fonseca uses several references to other passages in the *Metaphysics* in order to highlight their level of mutual dependence. Third, we present some passages where Fonseca makes an effort that is very often attributed to Neoplatonism and to humanism, namely, the attempt to show that despite some divergences Plato and Aristotle do agree in fundamental points (if this is correct and if the Aristotelian Corpus is divided into Platonic early works and Aristotelian mature works, this project would also be of a Unitarian reading of the whole Aristotelian philosophy, but that is the subject for another thesis).¹⁵⁰ Finally, we present the passages of the Aristotelian works Fonseca cites to deal with the main psychological ideas.

In order to introduce the main issues concerning the universals, in the first section of question I, Fonseca anchors his solution to the problem of universals by referring to passages in Aristotle's works, first of the *Metaphysics* (*Metaphysicorum*) book 7 chapter 13 text 45:¹⁵¹ “*quod*

¹⁵⁰ On the success and failures of the Neoplatonist attempt to harmonise Plato and Aristotle, see R. Sorabji, *The Philosophy of the Commentators* v. 3.

¹⁵¹ Aristotle, *Metaphysics* VII, 13, 1038^b8-12: “For it seems impossible that any universal term should be the name of a substance. For firstly the substance of each thing is that which is peculiar to it, which does not belong to anything else; but the universal is common, since that is called universal which is such as to belong to more than one thing.”

aptum est, ut in pluribus insit;” then in *De Interpretatione* chapter 5:¹⁵² “*quod aptum est, ut de pluribus praedicetur.*” These are the definitions he often refers to during the whole exposition. Then he mentions another series of passages: *Posterior Analytics (De posteriori resolutione)* book 1 chapter 8 text 25¹⁵³ and chapter 20 text 39;¹⁵⁴ and *Posterior Analytics* book 2 chapter 17 text 17;¹⁵⁵ and *Parts of Animals (De partibus animalium)* chapter 4.¹⁵⁶ Once again Fonseca turns to the work he is studying more closely and makes reference to: *Metaphysics* book 3 chapter 4 text 6: “*ens, et unum, esse maxime universalis;*”¹⁵⁷ *Metaphysics* book 4 chapter 2 text 5:¹⁵⁸ “*tot esse species unius, quot sunt species entis;*” and *Metaphysics* book 4 chapter 2 text 6:¹⁵⁹ “*ens et unum, non esse universalia, ac eadem in omnibus.*” Next he refers to the *Physics (Physicorum)* book 3 chapter 2 text 3:¹⁶⁰ “*tot esse motus species, quot entis species sunt;*” and *Ethics (Ethicorum)* book 1 chapter 6:¹⁶¹ “*cum bonum aequae atque ens dicatur, constat, non esse quicquam universale, ac unum; Non enim in omnibus praedicamentis, sed in uno tantummodo diceretur.*” Close to the end of the first section of question I, Fonseca also points at *Ethics* book 8

¹⁵² Probably a typing mistake, as in a contemporary edition, it is: Aristotle, *De Interpretatione* 7, 17^a38-17^b1: “Some things are universal, others individual. By the term 'universal' I mean that which is of such a nature as to be predicated of many subjects, by 'individual' that which is not thus predicated. Thus 'man' is a universal, 'Callias' an individual.”

¹⁵³ Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics* I, 8, 75^b22-24: “It is evident too that, if the propositions on which the deduction depends are universal, it is necessary for the conclusion of such a demonstration and of a demonstration *simpliciter* to be eternal too.”

¹⁵⁴ Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics* I, 20, 82^a21-25: “Now it is clear that it is not possible for the terms in between to be indefinitely many if the predications come to a stop downwards and upwards – I mean by upwards, towards the more universal; and by downwards, towards the particular.”

¹⁵⁵ Perhaps: Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics* II, 18 99^b12: “for this explains why the primitive term belongs under the universal...”

¹⁵⁶ Aristotle, *Parts of Animals* I, 3 644^a26-28: “The universal attributes are common; for we call universal those which belong to more than one subject.”

¹⁵⁷ Not found, perhaps: Aristotle, *Metaphysics* III, 4 999^b35 - 1000^a1: “[A]nd by the universal we mean that which is predicable of the individuals.”

¹⁵⁸ Aristotle, *Metaphysics* IV, 2 1003^b33-34: “[A]nd similarly 'one existent man' adds nothing to 'existent man', and that it is obvious that the addition in these cases means the same thing, and unity is nothing apart from being; and if, further, the substance of each thing is one in no merely accidental way, and similarly is from its very nature something that is:—all this being so, there must be exactly as many species of being as of unity.”

¹⁵⁹ Aristotle, *Metaphysics* IV, 2 1005^a8-9: “[E]ven if being or unity is not a universal and the same in every instance or is not separable from the particular instances (as in fact it probably is not; the unity is in some cases that of common reference, in some cases that of serial succession).

¹⁶⁰ It seems to be: Aristotle, *Physics* III, 1, 201^a7-8: “Hence there are as many types of motion or change as there are meanings of the word 'is'.”

¹⁶¹ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* I, 6, 1096^a23-29: “Further, since 'good' has as many senses as 'being' (for it is predicated both in the category of substance, as of God and of reason, and in quality, i.e. of the virtues, and in quantity, i.e. of that which is moderate, and in relation, i.e. of the useful, and in time, i.e. of the right opportunity, and in place, i.e. of the right locality and the like), clearly it cannot be something universally present in all cases and single; for then it could not have been predicated in all the categories but in one only.”

chapter 10;¹⁶² the *Politics (Politicorum)* book 3 chapter 1 text 4,¹⁶³ as he gives the example of the ‘Republic,’ which Aristotle makes a genus of many species; and *De coelo* book 1,¹⁶⁴ where Aristotle makes “*Mundus*” a “*speciem infimam*.”

Other citations of Aristotle in relation to universals are: *De Interpretatione*, chapter 5; *De Posterior Analytics* book 1 chapter 18 text 34 and chapter 20 text 39 and book 2 chapter 18 text 27; *Categories (Predicamentorum)* chapter on substance; book 4 of *Politics* chapter 2; *Sophistical Refutations (Sophisticarum Captionibus)* chapter 1; *Categories*; *Categories* chapter 5; book 2 *Posterior Analytics* chapter 7 text 7; *Posterior Analytics* book 1, chapter 4 text 9; *Parts of Animals* book 1; *Physics* book 1 chapter 1; *Posterior Analytics*, chapter 8 text 25 and chapter 20 text 39; *Posterior Analytics* 1 chapter 5 text 12 and 13; and *De anima* book 1 chapter 1 text 8.

Fonseca cites the *Metaphysics* some 33 times. Quite understandably it is the single Aristotelian work he cites the most. He cites **book I** chapter 1 (two times); **book I** chapter 2 once; **book II** chapter 7 text 24; **book III** chapter 3 text 11 and chapter 6; **book IV** chapter 5 text 21 twice; book **VII** twice without mention of the chapter, and chapter 4 text 14, chapter 6 text 20, chapter 11 text 43, chapter 13 without mention of the text twice, and chapter 13 text 43, chapter 13 text 45 (three times), chapter 14, chapter 14 text 51, chapter 15; **book VIII**, **book VIII** chapter 5 text 50; **book IX** chapter 8 text 13; **book X** chapter 8 text 25, chapter 6 texts 13 and 14, chapter 7 texts 15 and 16, chapter 10 texts 22 and 23, and chapter 13 text 26.

Fonseca explains in which ways Aristotle diverges or “harmonises” with Plato in Question 2 Section 2, as Fonseca recalls that Plato also taught that true knowledge is only

¹⁶² Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* VIII, 10, 1160^a33-36: “The constitutions are monarchy, aristocracy, and thirdly that which is based on a property qualification, which it seems appropriate to call timocratic, though most people are wont to call it polity. The best of these is monarchy, the worst timocracy.”

¹⁶³ Perhaps: Aristotle, *Politics* III, 1, 1274^b39-41: “But a state is composite, like any other whole made up of many parts; these are the citizens, who compose it.”

¹⁶⁴ Citation not found. Perhaps because the spurious work *De Mundo* circulated in many versions at that time, or because of the fact that in *De coelo* Aristotle discusses the possibility that there might be other worlds, although the conclusion is that there are not other worlds. Cf. Aristotle, *De coelo* I, 8, 277^b10-14: “A consideration of these points, then, gives adequate assurance of the truth of our contentions. The same could also be shown with the aid of the discussions which fall under First Philosophy, as well as from the nature of the circular movement, which must be eternal both here and in the other worlds. It is plain, too, from the following considerations that the universe must be one.”

possible if one focus on what is common, not in the infinite variety of individuals.¹⁶⁵ In Question 4 Section 2 Fonseca observes that neither Aristotle nor his first followers disagreed with Plato with respect the fact that universality is a way of being, even though they disagreed when Plato defends that this way of being is an real existence outside the mind.¹⁶⁶ In Question IX Section 1 Fonseca notices that Plato and Aristotle were both concerned with the predicables of sensible substances, only disagreeing whether they exist separately of the sensible substances or not.¹⁶⁷ In Question XVI Section 2 Fonseca observes that Plato and Aristotle agree when they deal with genera and species and when they assert that scientific knowledge (definition, division, and demonstration) of the particulars *qua* particulars is not possible.¹⁶⁸

When he goes on to deal with the internal senses, Fonseca cites: *De anima* book 2 chapter 12 text 121; *On Dreams (De insomniis)*; *De anima* book 3 c 3 text 55; *De anima* book 3, text 161; *On Memory (De memoria et reminiscentia)* chapter 1; *De anima* book 3 chapter 2 text 136; *On Memory*; *De anima* b 3 chapter 2 text 136; and *On Memory* chapter 1. As he goes on to tackle the process of abstraction, Fonseca quotes: *Generation of Animals (De generatione animalium)* c 3 and book 4 c 6; *De anima* b 3 c text 17; *De anima* b 3 text 2; *De anima* b 3 c 2; and *De anima* b 3 c 5.

By using these sources in a specific fashion, a pattern emerges and we may conclude that Fonseca chooses among the hundreds of passages in which ‘universal’ appear in the Aristotelian

¹⁶⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 953: “Denique, *Philosophiae prorsus expertis*, quia philosophia, omnisque scientia, quae proprie hoc nomine censetur, aliquid commune tradit, quod causa sit eorum, quae in multis particularibus quaeruntur.”

¹⁶⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 976: “Aristotelem vero, et veteres Peripateticos idem existimasse, eo argumento probabile est, quia Plato nihil aliud esse dixit, aut dixisse visus est, eam, quam scholastici vocant universalitatem rerum communium, quam modum quandam essendi earum extra singularia in rerum natura. At Aristoteles, eiusque primi sectatores non ea ratione Platonem reprehendunt, quod dixerit, esse modum essendi, sed quod talem modum essendi. Cum existimarent, optimaque ratione sibi persuaderent, nihil esse actu in rerum natura, quod unum, et idem ad essentiam plurium numero eiusdem rationis pertineret, sed solum obiective in intellectu, qui est longe alius essendi modus, quem obiective etiam sequitur indeterminatio ad plura numero rationis eiusdem.”

¹⁶⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1036: “Quod igitur ad primam attinet, illud in primis animadvertendum est, genera et species accipienda in ea esse pro solus generibus et speciebus substantiarum sensibilium; quandoquidem Aristoteles, in ea contra Platonem disputanda de his solis generibus et speciebus loquitur”

¹⁶⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1092: “Quin etiam ex respectu dividendi, definiendi, et demonstrandi ratione, in qua tota disserendi perfectio posita est, idem plane colligitur. Nam apud Philosophos (Arist. 2 *Post cap 15 et i De partibus animalium c 5 et hoc ipso lib c 10 text 17*. D Thoma 10 *Meta lecti 10 et 11*. Porph in *Isagog c. de Specie*. Ioan. Dam. in *sua Logica cap 2 et 3*) infimae species atomae, sive individuae dicuntur, ut saepe videre est apud Aristotelem, quod praecipua divisionis ratio, qua superiora in inferiora dividuntur, in eis consistat, neque ulterius descendendo Platonis iussu progrediatur. Vetuit enim Plato (ut refert *Porph in Isagoge capit de Specie*) sub infimas species descendere non tam propter individuorum infinitatem, quam quia nulla a sub eis perfectionis inaequalitas, dissimilitudoque cernatur, ut non sit cur Philosophus in pluribus individuus percurrencis laborandum existimet.”

Corpus, both as noun and as adjective, those that favoured his views. First, his understanding that universals are in fact somehow present in particulars, since genera and species concern sensible substances primarily, but are not separate in a Platonic manner. Second, Fonseca highlights those passages that show the necessary connection between the acquisition of scientific knowledge (how universals can be elicited or grasped in an inferential way through abstraction), on the one hand, and the notion of ordered series (especially with respect to the definitions of things, made possible by the an analysis of facts of predication), on the other. Finally, Fonseca quoted passages of the most important Aristotelian works in all the main areas, such as the logical works and the physical-psychological-ethical-metaphysical works in order to support his understanding that there was a perfect correspondence between these realms. Fonseca is also very careful to point to passages of the other books¹⁶⁹ of the *Metaphysics* in order to show that also the metaphysical ideas of Aristotle form a whole.

1.5. Citations of Other Authors

“The *Wegestreit* disappeared during the course of the sixteenth century.” With this statement Maarten Hoenen presents the last point of his conclusion of his article on the *Via Antiqua* and *Via Moderna* in the fifteenth century.¹⁷⁰ In fact, as we will briefly present in the fourth chapter, this assessment can be confirmed in the case of the *Lovanienses*. However, it remains to be seen if it can be also applied to Pedro da Fonseca’s works. In order to test this we can resort to the same statistical method we have just used to gauge Fonseca’s knowledge and use of the Aristotelian Corpus. The result may shed some light into whether in Fonseca’s perception the *Via Antiqua* and the *Via Moderna* were still at work in the last decades of the sixteenth century.

¹⁶⁹ Not surprisingly, Fonseca does not cite or quote passages of book Δ of the *Metaphysics*, as these twenty questions come strategically at his commentary on this book, and it is more important to show that other books of the *Metaphysics* agree and complement all that he had said about book Δ .

¹⁷⁰ M. J. F. M. Hoenen, “*Via Antiqua* and *Via Moderna* in the Fifteenth Century: Doctrinal, Institutional, and Church Political Factors in the *Wegestreit*.” In: R. L. Friedman & L. O. Nielsen (eds.), *Medieval Heritage in Early Modern Metaphysics and Modal Logic, 1400-1700*. Dordrecht, p 31.

The first fact that emerges is that the second author Fonseca cites the most is Thomas Aquinas (62 times), and who is always referred to as D. Thomas, where D. stands for *Divus*,¹⁷¹ that is, ‘divine.’ *De ente et essentia* c 4 is the most quoted passage, seven times in total: five from chapter IV;¹⁷² one from chapter III;¹⁷³ and one from chapter V.¹⁷⁴ Other passages are *Quodlibet* 8 § 1 (first to be quoted); pq 1 § 15 pq 03 2 § 5 pq 80 §§1-4 pq 76 § 2 pq 1 85; *Contra gentiles* b 2 c 77 and b 2 c 66; *De potentia* q 5; *De natura generis* s 7; *Opusculum* 41 § 7; *In De anima* 1 lect. 1; opus 43 c 4; *In Metaphysics* 9 c 8; *De veritate*; *De potentia* q 5 art 9; and *Opusculum* 42 which is in fact *De natura generis* chapt 7 q).

The third is Scotus (51 times). He is usually interested in clarifying and explaining Scotus’s position, in order to show that they are consistent and, if appropriately interpreted, mostly correct. The passages are: in second *disputatio* question 1; 7 *Metaphysics* q 18; in *Metaphysics* 1 q 6 and book 7 q 18 and in 2 d 3 q 1; 2 d 3 q and *Metaphysics* 7 q 18; in *Sentences* 2 d 3 q 1; in *Isagoge Porphyrii* q 14; Scotus d 3 q 1; in *Praedicamentis* q 11; and in *Metaphysics* book 9 chapter 8 text 13.

The fourth is Cajetan, who is cited 45 times, twelve of which were from Cajetan’s *Commentaria in de ente et essentia* and apart from one citation from chapter III¹⁷⁵ and one from the last chapter,¹⁷⁶ all the rest is from chapter IV.¹⁷⁷ Contrary to his appreciation of Scotus, Fonseca at times quotes Cajetan with the purpose of rejecting his positions. In Fonseca’s view, Cajetan does not always follow Aquinas, this is more evident in the way Cajetan interprets the purpose of Aquinas’s *De ente et essentia* which is a point we will return to in the fourth chapter. The other passages are from Cajetan’s *Commentary on the Isagoge*, the end of chapter *De genere*; 1 p q 85 art 1 and q 79 art 3; 1 p q 85 article 1; part to q 85 art. 1.

¹⁷¹ C. Lewis; E. A. Andrews; & W. Freund, *Lewis and Short - A Latin Dictionary*, p. 603: “Divus: of or belonging to a deity, divine.”

¹⁷² As this work seems to be central to understand Fonseca’s own exposition, it is perhaps useful to indicated the passages in which it appears which are: *CMA* v. 2, cc. 963, 965, 966 (2), 994

¹⁷³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1072

¹⁷⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1084

¹⁷⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1034

¹⁷⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1129

¹⁷⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 963, 966, 967, 968, 973, 978, 987, 997, 1027, 1068

Interestingly, in fifth place comes Plato, with 26 citations to his name (not to be mistaken with the occurrences of ‘Plato’ as an instance of a particular man, with this meaning there are 31 cases) and “Platonic” is cited once. Of Plato’s works, only the *Cratylō* and the *Sophist* are explicitly mentioned.

Next, there comes Avicenna with 13 citations (almost invariably in the context of opinions to be rejected). The citations are all from his *Metaphysics* book 5 chapter 1. Averroes (the Commentator) also appears 11 times. The passages mentioned are from his commentaries on each of the books of *De anima*, and on the *Metaphysics* books 9, 12, and 13; *in Isagoge*.

Significantly, the term “nominalists” appears 10 times, but only in questions I, II, and IX, and in order to refute their ideas altogether. On the other hand, the term “Scholastics,” which is also cited 10 times, comes usually with a positive connotation. “Thomists” is cited eight times. Galen is also cited eight times, all of them in the context of inaccurate ideas about the faculties of the soul. Albert the Great is cited seven times: *In Porphyrium* chapter 1; *Metaphysics* book 9 chapter 8 text 13; *in De anima* tract 1 chapter 4; *In Praedicamentis*.

Capreolus also appears seven times. Fonseca mentions Capreolus’s commentary on book 3 of the *Sentences* three times. The other passages are: d 5 q 3 art. 3; d 5 7 3; q 3 d 5; in 2 d 3 q 2 (twice). Ferrariensis is cited six times. All of them from 2 *Contra Gentiles* c 77, except one time when he cites *Contra Gentiles* 2 c 66. The term “Peripatetic(s)” appears five times. The term “Thomists” appears four times, the same as Augustine and Franciscus Vallesius. Ockham and Porphyry are explicitly cited three times, the same occurrence as Alensis, and the term “*recentiores*” (scotists or nominalists). Giles, Dionysus, Gabriel Biel, Paulus Soncinas, and Domingo de Soto, all appear twice. Lichetus, Trombeta, Andreas, Gregory of Nyssa, Hervaeus, Heraclitus, Antisthenes, Epicurus, authority of Alexander of Aphrodisias, Vesalius, Zimara, Michel de Palatios, are all cited only once.

From this overview, the conclusion is that while the *viae* still had some relevance for Fonseca, his positions were not beholden to any particular *via*. Fonseca recognises first the authority of Aristotle and then of Aquinas and Scotus, and to a lesser extent of Plato. Moreover,

his attempt to cover virtually all the relevant passages in the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, as well as those works and authors most often read and commented on, clearly indicates a preoccupation with establishing a solid basis for his arguments. On the other hand, if nominalism was completely excluded from Fonseca's ideas, it seems that to characterise him as a 'Peripatetic' (he certainly endorses Aristotle's ideas, but not all the ideas of authors who claim to hold a 'Peripatetic position,' such as Cajetan) but this would not be adequate. The same is also true of the term 'scotist' (he proposes an alternative, 'more correct' interpretation of Scotus, but places a distance between his view and that of the 'followers of Scotus') and the same holds for 'Thomist,' at least as far as the authors of Fonseca's time who professed to be following Aquinas faithfully.

Fonseca's expertise in the difficulties surrounding the *Isagoge* are well documented by the fact that he cites most of, if not all, the commentaries on the *Isagoge* that he could have had access to. A comparison between the commentaries produced by the most emblematic authors of each philosophical tradition and Fonseca's approach would provide the necessary evidence to complete the whole picture of the question of Fonseca's allegiances (his attempt to reconcile the position of the most important Scholastic authors). With this in view, the content of the remaining chapters of our exposition is suggested by the three sets in which those twenty questions can be divided, ranging from the universals to the predicables, with the mediation of a revised and 'perfected' theory of abstraction.

Chapter II – Universals

Fonseca's thorough appreciation of the difficulties that inhere in the problem of universals¹⁷⁸ can be seen in his activities as a writer and teacher. This preoccupation can be traced from his first published book (the *Institutionum Dialecticarum*) through to his last published work (the *Isagoge Philosophica*). This continuity of interest is yet another corroboration of our hypothesis that Fonseca has a systematic view (the same philosophical issue is presented in different contexts in order to show how they are interconnected). Let us see how this can be applied to our study of Fonseca's philosophy. Several authors have undertaken the task of reconciling the apparently discrepant sets of ideas scattered in the Aristotelian corpus in order to arrive at a unified view of the Stagirite's thoughts.¹⁷⁹ This collective effort may be referred to as the 'Peripatetic tradition' and has among its most distinguished exponents the likes of Alexander of Aphrodisias, Boethius, Albert, Aquinas, Scotus, other Scholastic authors, and some humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the version that Fonseca advanced, the 'Peripatetic tradition' is contrasted with the positions that he considered to be philosophically awry, those being the ideas of the Arab philosophers, Ockham, Cajetan, and the anti-aristotelian humanists.

¹⁷⁸ For a useful and fairly complete account of what is at in the recent discussions of the problem of universals, see J. P. Moreland, *Universals*, Chesham, 2001; D. M. Armstrong, *Universals An Opinionated Introduction*, Boulder/San Francisco/London, 1989; A. Quinton, *The Nature of Things*, London/Boston, 1973; Donald C. Williams, "On the Elements of Being: I," *The Review of Metaphysics* 7, 1953, 3-18 and "On the Elements of Being: II," *The Review of Metaphysics* 7, 1953, 171-192.

¹⁷⁹ The main difficulties to be addressed by those that defend a unitarian approach to Aristotelian philosophy derive from the seemingly unbridgeable fact that in the *Organon* there is no mention of 'matter' which is beyond doubt a central concept in the physical-psychological-metaphysical Aristotelian works. A very interesting line of investigation in this respect can be traced back to W. Jaeger's *Aristotle: Fundamentals of the History of His Development*, Oxford, 1948, with the subsequent contributions of R. Dancy, "On Some of Aristotle's Second Thoughts About Substances: Matter;" M. Frede-G. Patzig, *Aristoteles, Metaphysik Z.* 2 vols. Munich, 1988; M. Furth, *Substance, Form and Psyche: An Aristotelian Metaphysics*, Cambridge, 1988; and D. W. Graham, *Aristotle's Two Systems*, Oxford, 1987. Other authors although acknowledging the changes that Aristotle's theories underwent through time, restrict themselves to a particular topic and assume that in that respect, a coherent account can be found in the Aristotelian corpus. See for instance, A. C. Lloyd, "Genus, Species and ordered series in Aristotle," D. Modrak, *Aristotle's Theory of Language and Meaning*. However, some authors deny that Aristotle was ever interested in building a system that would among other things, provide a universal taxonomy, see for instance, Donald Morrison, "The Taxonomical Interpretation of Aristotle's *Categories*: a Criticism." It is not the scope of the present thesis to decide on which approach is the more appropriate for assessing the value and coherence of Aristotle's works. We just want to defend that an Unitarian approach can be used to understand Fonseca's philosophy.

The ideas that define the ‘Peripatetic system’ share a number of common doctrines, namely the view that it is possible to reconcile apparently divergent Aristotelian accounts of logic, psychology, metaphysics, ethics, and theology, as these branches of knowledge are not thought of as unrelated disciplines, but constitute an articulated whole, and by clarifying one branch the whole also gains more clarity.¹⁸⁰ The aim is to find the exact juncture where the branches meet. It seems to be hard to pinpoint a place or a work or a doctrine where this synthesis was or can be achieved,¹⁸¹ perhaps because of the intrinsic ambiguity present in many philosophical texts. And seeing that this ambiguity can be traced all the way back to the Aristotelian texts themselves, it is necessary to point to a way of reading Aristotle that enables a philosopher to claim that the ambiguities are only apparent and that in fact, all the works of Aristotle can be inserted in an ‘improved’ system. As seen in the first chapter, Fonseca cites passages of the main Aristotelian books and relates them with the problems he is dealing with.

On the other hand, there are authors for whom there seems to be no ‘Peripatetic system.’ In general, these authors did not devise any system because they subscribed to positions that go against certain basic tenets of Aristotelian philosophy. A failure to see a ‘system’ in Aristotle is the belief that the Stagirite’s intention was to divide the different philosophical disciplines and deal with them separately, without establishing any relation between one branch of knowledge and another. Therefore, they conclude that the diversity of accounts of the same topic that can be found in different works simply means that Aristotle defended conflicting views, with regard to the same doctrines, for instance, that the ontology behind the logical works was in fact a doctrine different and in crucial points irreconcilable with the ontology behind the physical/psychological/metaphysical works.¹⁸²

Among those places where the divergences between these two groups can be assessed is the commentary tradition focussing on Porphyry’s *Isagoge*. If an author defends a very restrictive

¹⁸⁰ This is not the same as to say that Aristotle’s doctrines did not change over time, it is rather that the changes did not make one part irreconcilable with the other part(s). Cf. A. C. Lloyd, *ibid.*; D. Modrak, *ibid.*; A. Bäck, *ibid.*, F. Lewis, *ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Candidates are predicates-series (A. C. Lloyd, *ibid.*), language and meaning (Modrak, *ibid.*), substance and predication (F. A. Lewis, *ibid.*)

¹⁸² See D. W. Graham, “Two Systems in Aristotle.” *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* VII, 1989, 215-231.

interpretation of the *Isagoge* by claiming that it is an introduction to the *Categories* – which he believes to be a work either metaphysically neutral, or with a different or opposite ontology to that of the *Metaphysics* – he would belong to the group that did not see the unified ‘Peripatetic system’ as a possibility. By contrast, if an author defends a broader role for the *Isagoge*, either by expanding the notion of logic, for instance by calling it ‘dialectics,’ this has clear implications for his understanding of the Aristotelian conception of physics, psychology, and ethics, since such an author would then belong to the group that was able to adumbrate the essential elements of the ‘Peripatetic system.’

But can a discussion of the *Isagoge* illuminate the discussion of a possible system in Fonseca’s works? This answer is complex but not difficult to explain. First and foremost, it has to do with the discussion of the unity of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*. Elements of this discussion are clearly found in Alexander of Aphrodisias *On Metaphysics 5*, but more importantly, in Aquinas’s commentary on book Δ of the *Metaphysics*. Here, discussion centres on the question of the unity of the *Metaphysics* itself. One of the main difficulties in positing such a unity is the puzzling structure and content of book Δ, which is the fifth book in the traditional set of fourteen books that constitute the work.¹⁸³ Because *Metaphysics* V (Δ) is known as the “philosophical lexicon,” some authors defend that it is misplaced, either that it is in a wrong place in the *Metaphysics*, or perhaps that it does not belong there at all. The second difficulty would then be the place of the *Metaphysics* in the Aristotelian Corpus, i.e., whether there is a way of reconciling the doctrines found in this work and the other passages of the *oeuvre* that deal with similar topics. The answer to these difficulties can be found in the surprising fact that Fonseca introduces a treatment of the subject matter of the *Isagoge* (philosophy as a whole) precisely at the end of his commentary on

¹⁸³ The order and unity of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* is still the object of philosophical interest. Among the several relevant contributions to this debate, there is the defence by Alexander of Aphrodisias that such a unity and order can be established from the point of view of book Δ especially with regard to its content and the interrelation it bears with both the preceding as well as the books that follow it. If in some respects it has more a dialectical content, according to Alexander it nonetheless assists greatly Aristotle’s general line of exposition. Again the recent interest is shown by W. Jaeger, but this time also considering the contribution of Aquinas, according to G. Reale. This topic is competently summarised by R. McInerny’s, “The Nature of Book Delta of the *Metaphysics* According to the Commentary of Saint Thomas Aquinas.” In L. P. Gerson (ed.), *Graceful Reason: Essays in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy Presented to Joseph Owens, CSSR*. Toronto, 1983, 331-343; See also the recent editions of Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle Metaphysics 5* (trans. W. E. Dooley), London, 1993, and Aquinas, *Commentary on Aristotle’s Metaphysics* (trans. J. P. Rowan), Notre Dame, 1995.

book V of the *Metaphysics*, and more importantly that in his handling of the this subject, he did present passages of virtually all the remaining books of the *Metaphysics* to corroborate his view, and also pointed to similar passages in the main books of the Aristotelian Corpus and in the commentaries on the *Isagoge* starting from Boethius and the more recent work of the *Lovanienses*. Fonseca's systematic view becomes evident, if we present his ideas.

2.1. Fonseca on Universals

That the world is composed of individual entities is perhaps a primordial notion in metaphysics, but this immediacy is complicated by the fact that entities invariably fall within classes or kinds or types of entities¹⁸⁴ which are not immediately available in the world, but without which the immediacy of the individual entities would remain meaningless. Fonseca's own handling of the problem of universals aimed to provide an account of the central metaphysical notions whereby the contributions of the most important Scholastic authors could be interpreted, and shown to be in harmony with each other, and dissonant views could be identified and rejected. As we have explained how this is related to Fonseca's dialectics in the first chapter, we shall now focus on his *Commentaries on the Metaphysics*, where he asks (see the first question, section 1, following his commentary on book V chapter 7)¹⁸⁵ whether it also belongs to the metaphysician to consider

¹⁸⁴ The mutual dependency of reflections on the individual character of entities and on classes or kinds may be expressed by saying that the difference between the "Problem of Individuation" and the "Problem of Universals" is much more a difference in focus than a difference in content. About the interrelation of these two problems, see Jorge Gracia, *Introduction to the Problem of Individuation in the Early Middle Ages*, especially Chapter I, pp. 17-63.

¹⁸⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 417: "Num ad primum philosophum, an potius ad Dialecticum, an vero ad alium artificem, omnesve, aut nullum, de praedicamentis agere pertineat. Quod autem soli Dialectico hoc munus sit deferendum, his argumentis ostendi videtur. Primum, quia eadem tractatio non pertinet ad diversas disciplinas; at praedicamenta perspicue tractantur a Dialectico, ut patet ex libris praedicamentorum Aristotelis, quem omnes alicuius nominis authores, cum graeci, tum latini, ad etiam arabes faciunt primum librum Dialecticae, sive Logicae. Deinde quia Aristoteles in omnibus pene libris Logicis eandem tractationem ut praemissam supponit (...) Postremo, quia praedicamenta distinguuntur per varios modos praedicandi de primis substantiis, ut hoc ipso loco tradit Aristoteles; unde et Categoriarum, hoc est, praedicationum sive praedicamentorum appellationem acceperunt; praedicationum autem tractationem ad Dialecticum spectare, nemo dubitat.

Quod vero e contrario solus primus Philosophus de praedicamentis agat, ex eo primum probatur, quia solius primi philosophi est tradere generalem divisionem entis, et summis generibus rerum inuentis, ad ea quasi prima capita, omnia, quae quoquo modo sunt, revocare. Deinde, quia modi praedicandi, quibus hoc loco Aristoteles praedicamenta distinguit, fundantur in modis essendi, per quos illa prius natura distinguuntur, quam per modos praedicandi. Quare cum solus primus Philosophus de modis essendi agat, ad eum solum spectabit de praedicamentis agere. Postremo, quia praedicamenta nihil aliud sunt, quam series quaedam generum, specierum et individuorum; at agere de generibus, speciebus, et individuus (quatenus tamen de individuus disputari potest) ad solum Metaphysicum

the *Categories*, as this work seems to belong first and foremost to the realm of logic. Fonseca advances the conclusion that it belongs to both, dialectics and metaphysics, with primacy assigned to metaphysics. Consequently, what is at stake here are his thoughts about the close interrelation of logic and metaphysics and an argument according to which they are mutually dependent providing the foundation of the metaphysical realm. In this manner, Fonseca addresses the question of what “predicament” means by pointing to Porphyry’s and Dexippo’s account that Aristotle took the term *κατηγορία* from a public accusation made in the *ἀγορά*.¹⁸⁶ Hence a predicament implies a certain natural order, which comprises a higher genus and its inferior species.¹⁸⁷ Fonseca understands that this means that under genus there are all those items in which the essence or nature, namely, the genus itself, is contained, that is, only the species and the individuals in which the genus (essence or nature) inheres.

Seeing that the problem of universals is a problem of the ontological status of the universal and the particular natures and their order of priority, it becomes clear that what Aristotle criticised in Plato was not the fact that the latter considered universality a *modus essendi*, but the fact that he ascribed to the universals an *existentia realis* instead of an *existentia objectiva*.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, the history of the problem is also the history of the use of ‘universal’ in philosophical texts, and because the authors to be studied in this context claim present a ‘Peripatetic’ solution, Fonseca’s first step is to recapitulate the many ways in which this term is

specat; sunt enim haec affectiones quaedam entium, quatenus entia sunt, ut ipse Aristoteles ad calcem capit 2 superioris libri, text 6 docet.” And his answer is: *CMA* v. 2, c. 423: “Dicendum igitur, praedicamentorum tractionem et ad primum Philosophum, et ad Dialecticum sive Logicum, alia tamen et alia rationem spectare, ad praecipue ad primum philosophum;”

¹⁸⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 419: “Pro huius quaestionis explicatione adverte id, quod nos praedicamentum dicimus, graecos *κατηγορίας* appellare, quod verbum si Porphyrio et Dexippo credimus, e medio foro in Lyceum transtulit Aristoteles. Nam eum *κατηγορία* publicam accusationem significaret, Aristoteles verbum traduxit ad praedicationem, enuntiationemque alicuius de aliquo.”

¹⁸⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 420: “Potest autem praedicamentum hoc pacto sumptum, communi quadam ratione describi, generis alicuius summi et eorum, quae sub ipso sunt, naturalis dispositio. Nam neque omnia, de quibus disputari potest, sed sola genera, species et individua, aliis etiam quibusdam adiectis conditionibus, iudicarunt Philosophi, per se disponenda esse in praedicamenta (quod merito factum esse in progressu patebit) nec dispositio eorum, quae in praedicamentis ponuntur, est excogitata; sed in rebus inventa. Nam et distinctio superiorum et inferiorum inter se, non est distinctio rationis purae, sed ex natura rei, et ordo, qui hanc distinctionem supponit, non est arbitrius, sed naturalis.”

¹⁸⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 950: “Plato enim creditur existimasse dari res universales ante particularia in rerum natura cum ipsa rerum universalitate, seu communitate, hoc est, ad nullum particulare addictas: ut hominem communem, qui nullus sit ex singulis, sed ex aequo omnes respiciat seiunctus a singulis. Aristoteles autem iudicat, quicquid universale est; ut huiusmodi est, posteriorius esse suis particularibus, nihilque esse a singularibus separatum, nisi operatione intellectus, cuius hoc munus est, ut quae in rebus coniuncta sunt, ipse seiungat ac secernat.”

used in Aristotle, with special attention assigned to those texts that were frequently quoted by other philosophers. Fonseca asserts that although the most general definition of universal is “that which belongs to many items,” in philosophy universal is usually used in three ways: as a universal cause, as a universal sign, and in predication.¹⁸⁹ Seeing that causality does not provide an unambiguous concept of the universal, and that semantics alone is not enough to secure a univocal concept of the term, Fonseca chooses to insert his own definition and history of the concept.¹⁹⁰

Alongside predication, Fonseca points to two further characteristics of universals that deserve further scrutiny, namely, the issue of unity and plurality, and the consequent necessity to posit an aptitude that the universal has so that it can be in several items, while preserving its own unity. Therefore, those passages in Aristotle where the universal is defined as the one “that is apt to be predicated of several items” will provide the basis of Fonseca’s solution.¹⁹¹

Discounting those items from universals which are not univocal¹⁹² and of which the name or nature does not signify one thing, there is a threefold consideration of the items which are truly and simply said to be universals, for just as “a cause” is seen insofar as it is a cause of a thing, so,

¹⁸⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 947: “Universale, seu commune latissima quidem significatione nihil est aliud, quam unum quid ad multa pertinens. Sed tamen apud Philosophos tribus modis potissimum usurpatur: in causando, ut aiunt, in significando, in praedicando.” As we have seen in the introduction, Fonseca explains that causes and signs can also be particular, but predication (to be in or to be said of) is always universal. Moreover, Fonseca may also have in mind, first the discussion of the causative and creative power of Forms, of the One, and of all intelligibles for the Neoplatonists which although more concerned with the transcendental Forms, still found its way in the *Isagoge*, when Porphyry refers to genus as the origin (ἀρχή) of a person’s birth, cf. R. Sorabji, *The Philosophy of the Commentators* v.3, pp 160-163; and secondly that in Aristotle one can grasp the meaning of a term like ‘man’ without any knowledge of the existence or of the essence of the species ‘man,’ cf. D. Charles, *Aristotle on Meaning and Essence* pp 01-19. In both cases, the universal (genus and species respectively) is not univocal.

¹⁹⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 947: “Ex his sola ea, quae ad tertium genus pertinent, absolute, et sine adiectione universalia dicuntur.”

¹⁹¹ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 947-948: “Sed cum illud definiatur 7 libro huius operis cap 13 text 45 *quod aptum est, ut in pluribus insit*: in priori autem libro *De Interpretatione*, capite 5 *quod aptum est, ut de pluribus praedicetur*, et in utraque definitione loco generis subaudiendum sit, unum quid, et nomine et ratione, ut patet ex iis, quae Aristoteles non semel tradit priori lib *De Posteriori Resolutione* c 8 text 25 et c 20 text 39 et 2 lib *Poster.* c 17 text 17 et 1 lib *De Partibus Animalium* c 4 (...) interdum quidem ita late sumitur universale, ut analogia etiam complectatur, ea praesertim quae proportione propria dicuntur, ut eum Aristoteles tertio huius operis libro c 4 text 10 et 4 cap text 6 ait, *Ens, et unum, esse maxime universalia* et 4 lib cap 2 textu 5 *tot esse species unius, quot sunt species entis*, et tertio *Physicorum* cap 2 text 3, *tot esse motus species, quot entis species sunt*, interdum vero ita presse, ut sola univoca comprehendat, veluti in 4 libro huius operis, capit 2 text 6 cum scribit, *Ens et unum, non esse universalia, ac eadem in omnibus*, et primo *Ethicorum* capite sexto, ubi sic ait: *Cum bonum aequae atque ens dicatur, constat, non esse quicquam universale, ac unum; non enim in omnibus praedicamentis, sed in unu tantummodo diceretur.*”

¹⁹² *CMA* v. 2, c. 948: “Ac merito quidem haec sola, si res diligentius expendatur, dicuntur universalia; quia sola univoca proprie dicuntur esse unius rationis. Analogia enim eiusdem quodammodo rationis dici possunt; simpliciter autem et absolute dici non possunt.”

(a) when the efficient equivocal cause is more noble than its effect; (b) when cause and effect are simultaneous in nature and posit or subtract each other; (c) a middle consideration which supposes the first and precedes the second, and this is the proper meaning of cause, as it is cause, and that is how every cause is prior in nature to its effect and the latter depends on the former.¹⁹³

The same happens with the universals. In one way, universals are regarded as perpetual timeless things. In another way, universals and particulars are regarded as mutually dependent. In a third way, as the *ratio* of universality, which is between the other two because it presupposes the first (universal cause) and it is the foundation of the second (mutual relation of universals and particulars). And depending on the way the universal is considered, philosophers found universals in the nature of things (Plato) or only in the mind (Aristotle).¹⁹⁴

In Fonseca's opinion, the whole issue does not hinge on things taken to be universals absolutely, as it is clear that they belong in the nature of things, nor does it concern the relations of universality and particularity. Nor is it the question of the being absolutely of the universal things, which are simultaneous in nature with their particulars. But it concerns whether the universals are prior or posterior to the particulars (both in nature and in cognition). Plato is held to advance the view that universals are prior to particulars in the very nature of things as the universality or the commonalty of universals does not come from any particular item. Aristotle, on the other hand, thought that the universal is posterior to their particulars, and it is not separate

¹⁹³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 949: "Missis ergo iis universalibus, quae univoca non sunt, et quorum nomina naturamve unam haud significant: de iis, quae vere ac simpliciter universalia dicuntur, triplex est consideratio. Nam, ut causa uno modo spectatur quoad esse rei, quae causa dicitur, ut Sol, quatenus Sol, et homo, quatenus homo; quo pacto dicimus, causam efficientem aequivocam nobiliorem esse suo effectui: altero, quoad relationem causae ad effectum; qua ratione dicimus causam et effectum esse simul natura, seseque mutuo ponere, ac tollere: tertio, quoad ipsam causandi rationem, quae est media quaedam consideratio, ut quae summonit prima, et antecedit secundam et est propria acceptio causae, ut causa est: quo pacto dicimus, omnem causam esse priorem natura suo effectui, et at qua effectus pendeat, de qua distinctione primo libro c 7 *quaestione 1 sect 3 et hoc ipso libro, cap 2 quaest 2 sect 2 secundum Divum Thomam quodli 8 art 1 et Scotum in 2 d quaest 1.*"

¹⁹⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 949: "Fusius dicimus: ita res suo modo habet in universalibus. Uno enim modo universalia spectantur quoad esse rerum, quae denominantur universales, ut substantia, quae summum genus dicitur, quatenus substantia est: et animal quod genus est subalternum, quoad ipsum animalis esse: quod pacto universalis dicuntur perpetua, et quae per se ipsa nec gignantur, nec intereant. Altero, quoad relationem universalis ad particulare: qua ratione universale et particulare simul natura sunt, nec alterum sine altero aut esse, aut intelligi potest. Tertio, quoad ipsam universalitatis rationem, quae media est, et ut supponit prima, ita est fundamentus secundae, propriaque et germana consideratio universalis, quatenus universale est: quo pacto sumpto universalis nomine quaerunt Philosophi, cohaereantne universalis in rerum natura, ut Plato sentiebat; an vero in mente solum, ut credit Aristoteles."

from the particulars unless by an activity of the intellect whose function is to separate and discern what is united in things.¹⁹⁵

Consequently, the facts of predication reveal that the relation of the universal to its particulars supposes two things: the unity of the thing, not only of name but also of *ratio*; and the aptitude as it inheres in many items by way of identity, and consequently that is how it ‘is said of several items.’ However, neither unity nor aptitude alone is sufficient to resolve the difficulties, since the solution lies in the way they combine and complement each other.¹⁹⁶ But before tackling these two characteristics of universals (unity and aptitude), Fonseca has to consider whether universals are only terms, because if there is no correspondence between the name and the *ratio*, if the nominalists were right when they say that there are only universal names, then the very ontological foundation of Fonseca’s arguments would be destroyed, that is, there would be no common nature that the several particular items could share.

2.1.1. The Common Nature

At this point, it is necessary to briefly examine the doctrine of essence just in itself, i.e., the nature apart from the universality it has in the human intellect and from the singularity it has in

¹⁹⁵ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 949-950: “Haec enim tam celebris gravisque inter praecipuos Philosophiae principes controversia non de rebus ipsis, quae universales cognominantur, absolute sumptis intelligitur: cum apertum sit cohaerere illas in rerum natura; non item de iis, quatenus invicem referuntur relationibus universalitatis et particularitatis: quippe cum constet, non excitari eam quaestionem de illo esse absoluto rerum universalium, quo simul natura sunt cum suis particularibus: sed de eo, quo illis sunt priores aut posteriores, iuxta huius aut illius sententiam. Plato enim creditur existimasse dari res universales ante particularia in rerum natura cum ipsa rerum universalitate, seu communitate, hoc est, ad nullum particulare addictas: ut hominem communem, qui nullus sit ex singulis, sed ex aequo omnes respiciat seiunctus a singulis. Aristoteles autem iudicat, quicquid universale est; ut huiusmodi est, posteriorius esse suis particularibus, nihilque esse a singularibus separatum, nisi operatione intellectus, cuius hoc munus est, ut quae in rebus coniuncta sunt, ipse seiungat ac secernat.”

¹⁹⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 950: “Relatio enim universalis ad particularia duo supponit: alterum est unitas rei, non nominis tantum, sed rationis etiam; alterum aptitudo, ut in multis insit per modum identitatis, ac proinde, ut eo pacto de multis dicatur. Nam, neque unitas sine aptitudine, neque aptitudo sine unitate satis est, ut rem faciat vere ac proprie universalem: siquidem analogia, ut ens, suo modo apta sunt, ut in multis sint: et singulare quodque, ut Socrates, non tantum nomine, sed sua etiam ratione est unum: nec tamen vel analogia, vel singularia sunt universalia: quod analogis desit vera unitas, et singularibus aptitudo, ut sint in multis, in quibus ipsa videlicet multiplicata sint, et numerari possint, quo pacto aptitudo haec intelligenda est, ut faciat rem universalem, alioqui divinam quoque essentiam universalem cogitarem, ac proinde genus aut speciem comparatione divinarum personarum. Quanquam eo modo sumi possunt unitas et aptitudo, ut ex utralibet liceat colligere, rem, cui convenit universalem esse”

the world. While it is possible to see the origin of this discussion in Avicenna (Owens),¹⁹⁷ or to trace it back to Alexander of Aphrodisias (Tweedale),¹⁹⁸ or even further back to Aristotle himself, it is beyond doubt that in the context of the *Isagoge*, the necessity to posit a nature which is common to individuals of the same species has its origin in the way Boethius addressed Porphyry's three unanswered questions (in his second commentary on the *Isagoge*). This does not mean that the well-argued connections presented by these two hypotheses, which could be called the Avicennian and the Aphrodisian origins, are not valid. In fact, Boethius himself presents his solution as Aphrodisian and seeing that Avicenna probably knew Alexander of Aphrodisias well (at least this can be inferred from the fact that Alexander's questions had been previously translated into Arabic and from some important points in common between Avicenna and Alexander);¹⁹⁹ hence the present approach is perfectly in line with both hypotheses. Both hypotheses have useful elements to our exposition of Fonseca's ideas. Following Tweedale's proposal, we can identify the basic issue as the tension already present in Aristotle between the fact that there are only individuals in the world, whereas the very existence of each individual depends on its being something (that is shared by some other individuals). Alexander's solution is to consider universality as an accidental component of whatever is said to be that something. This would lead to Avicenna's approach to the intelligibility of the form and its capacity to become universal by the abstractive powers of the mind. However, the Avicennian nature (or essence) possesses neither unity nor plurality, only getting to exist as universal in the intellect. And via Avicenna this doctrine reaches Scotus who combines it with the Aristotelian distinction of the levels of unity and sameness to arrive at his theory of the unity less than numerical of the

¹⁹⁷ Joseph Owens, "Common Nature: A Point of Comparison Between Thomistic and Scotistic Metaphysics," *Mediaeval Studies* 19, 1957, 1-14. The dominance of Avicenna's outlook regarding universals on Scotus and on his contemporaries is emphasised by T. Noone 'Universals and Individuation,' in T. Williams (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Duns Scotus*, Cambridge, 2003, 100-128.

¹⁹⁸ Martin Tweedale, "Duns Scotus's Doctrine on Universals and the Aphrodisian Tradition," *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* LXVII/1, 1993, 77-93; See also M. Tweedale, "Alexander of Aphrodisias' Views on Universals." *Phronesis* XXIX/3, 1984, 279-303; and R. W. Sharples, "Alexander of Aphrodisias on Universals: Two Problematic Texts." *Phronesis* L/1, 2005, 43-55. For a more recent and nuanced account of Alexander's deflationary view on universals, see R. Sorabji, *The Philosophy of the Commentators 200-600 AD* v. 3, especially pp. 149-156.

¹⁹⁹ Tweedale, "Duns Scotus (...)" pp 81-82; Boethius, *In Isagogen Porphyrii*, p 164.

common nature.²⁰⁰ On the other hand, Joseph Owens focuses on the fact that common nature as it is present in Avicenna, Aquinas, and Scotus, can be used as a way of comparing and contrasting the metaphysics of the three authors. Avicenna saw the common nature as having being without unity or plurality, while Aquinas posited that the common nature does not have being (hence neither unity), but Scotus ascribes being and unity to the common nature. And these distinct nuances would account for the differences of their metaphysics.²⁰¹ We shall see in this section that Fonseca favours Scotus's doctrine, in the respect of nature, but Fonseca manages to keep these other basic ideas, as it will become clear in the following sections.

As we have observed in the previous section, the starting point for Fonseca's account of universals is the facts of predication. Universal things properly signified by this name are considered in relation to the fact that they either inhere in several items or are said of several items; hence it seems quite obvious that they cannot be only terms, as 'mere names' neither 'inhere in' nor 'are said of' of items, because terms themselves are singular and only by the *ratio* of things, there can be universality. Although an obvious fact, according to Fonseca, this is a difficult topic for philosophers.²⁰² It is very clear in authors like Aristotle, Albert, and Aquinas that there could be no true knowledge (*scientia*) if it did not concern universal things.²⁰³ But the nominalists defended that all *scientias* do not concern universal things, which for them do not exist, but concern common names of things.²⁰⁴ The antecedent for this idea was given by Heraclitus, Antisthenes, and the Epicureans, who believed that singulars are constantly flowing and perishing, and did not conceive anything stable in them. They deprived all science and certain cognition of things of their basic means.²⁰⁵ A radical nominalist position rules out the

²⁰⁰ Tweedale, *ibid.*, p. 77.

²⁰¹ Owens, *ibid.*

²⁰² *CMA* v. 2, c. 951: "Et si ex superiori quaestione facile intelligitur, res, quae nominibus significantur, proprie dici universales, quod eae tantum in pluribus insint, et proprie de pluribus dicantur (nomina enim nec sunt in pluribus, cum singularia quaedam entia sint, nec de pluribus dicuntur, nisi ratione rerum, pro quibus sumuntur) tamen importunum quoddam, Philosophorum genus facit."

²⁰³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 951: "Hos antiqui etiam Scholastici, in quibus sunt Albertus Magnus in Porphyrium, tractatus cap 1 eiusque discipulus D Thomas 1 part quaest 14 artic 15 antiquiores agnoscunt."

²⁰⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 951: "Nominales appellant, quod scientias omnes non de rebus universalibus, quas nullas esse putabant; sed de rerum communibus vocabulis haberi existimarent."

²⁰⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 951: "Occasionem huiusmodi Philosophis dederunt Heraclitus, Antisthenes, et Epicurei, qui cum singularia omnia fluxa et caduca esse crederent, neque in eis stabile quicquam conciperent; scientiam omnem,

commonality of things among themselves, apart from one sort of commonness only in name. Again true cognition in Aristotelian terms²⁰⁶ is based on the universals, that is, on this very commonality.²⁰⁷ Therefore, a radical nominalism would obviously amount to an impossibility of any true cognition.

However, if we assume that there is a nature or essence of things, we can account for the way things can be characterised and it follows that a nature or essence has to be *one* thing,²⁰⁸ hence what can be called ‘common nature’ or perhaps better, ‘common natures’ would have to be one kind of things. On the other hand, common natures have to be able to somehow be shared by their particulars. Therefore, common natures could not have a status of numerical unity, since they are in several, but should have a lesser or even non-existing divisibility in the particulars. In this way, there would be no denial of the possibility of philosophy, which is a consequence of radical nominalism, because the individuals are in no way universals, that is, all the common aspects which are encountered in the individual fall within an order, and, at the same time, the singularised beings oppose each other within the same common inferior species, but the contraries remain differentiated. However, in order to show that there are in fact common natures, one has to show that the nominalist ontology is untenable.²⁰⁹

Fonseca explicitly mentions two nominalist authors: Gabriel Biel and William of Ockham. Although Biel (1425-1495) was not a typical representative of nominalism, his deference to Ockham (especially in the way he wrote his commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard is more a commentary on Ockham’s commentary on the *Sentences* than anything else)

certamque rerum cognitionem de medio tollebant. Quod Nominales ne facerent, scientias omnes, quas negare non ausi sunt; ad nomina communia retulerunt, quod nullam etiam, quemadmodum et illi communem naturam, quae per se stabilis esset, et constans, in singularibus esse arbitarentur: quanquam non negarunt, plurima esse singularia stabilia et perpetua; de quibus, quia singularia essent, et quae haud proprie definiri possent, scientiam quoque proprie haberi noluerunt. *Lege Platonem in fine Cratyli, et Aristotelem 4 libr Metaphys cap 5 text 21.*”

²⁰⁶ Fonseca probably had in mind those words of the *Posterior Analytics*: Cf. Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics* I 1 71^a18-20: “But you can become familiar by being familiar earlier with some things by getting knowledge of the other at the very same time – i.e. of whatever happens to be under the universal of which you have knowledge.”

²⁰⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 953: “Denique, *Philosophiae prorsus expertis*, quia philosophia, omnisque scientia, quae proprie hoc nomine censetur, aliquid commune tradit, quod causa sit eorum, quae in multis particularibus quaeruntur.”

²⁰⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 953: “(U)niversale autem, si proprie loquamur, debeat esse unum quid simpliciter (...)”.

²⁰⁹ As we will see in a moment, Ockham’s nominalism is based on a ontology purportedly derived from the *Organon*, in which primary, non-composite substances are the only entities existing in the world. In the fourth chapter we will see that such an ontology fails when applied to the *Isagoge* and to Aristotle’s theory of predicables.

is the probable reason why Fonseca cites him alongside Ockham. Even if it is taken into account that Biel seems to have been tolerant of realism and to have maintained friendly relations with the humanists of his time, nevertheless, in the passages of his work cited by Fonseca, there is nothing to suggest any attempt on the part of Biel to provide a different answer to the problem of universals from that of his master Ockham.

Ockham, so it seems, rejected realism in general and Scotus's theory in particular, alongside the theory of abstraction that they involved. Instead, he identified the problem of universals exclusively as a logical and semantic problem to be solved by formulating a theory of reference and predication.²¹⁰ Moreover, Ockham held that Aristotle's response to those questions Porphyry raised in the *Isagoge* is precisely the same as his own, namely, that genera, species, and the like are common concepts that exist only in the intellect. He argues against the view that genera and species are mind-independent real universal things that are really distinct from but exist in particulars as part of their essence, because in his view, one could not find a passage where Aristotle says unequivocally that genus and *differentia* as distinct real things or metaphysical constituents that combine to make up the species (cf. *Ordinatio* d. 2 q. 6 nn. 170 ff.), nor where Aristotle holds that an individual substance is a composite (cf. *Ordinatio* d. 2 q. 4 nn. 124-125).

Ockham had already given his solution to the problem (in *Summae Logicae* 1.14-1.25; and in *Ordinatio* d. 2 qq. 4-8), and a full response in a book on logic (Ockham's commentary on the *Isagoge*) would be misplaced, as Porphyry himself acknowledges that he abstained "from those more elevated questions" which belong to another realm,²¹¹ but the attraction they exerted was excessively strong to be ignored and Ockham felt compelled to formulate the questions once more in order to refute the many mistakes committed by his contemporaries who ignored the true

²¹⁰ Ockham's project is ambitious but its feasibility is questionable. Several authors have pointed to this fact and a very clear and concise explanation of the aim and limitations of Ockham's semantic approach can be found in Carlos Steel, "De Semantiek van Abstracte en Concrete Termen Volgens Willem van Ockham," *Tijdschrift voor Filosofie* 4, 1977, 610-623.

²¹¹ *ELPP*, p. 10.

answers.²¹² Although his other arguments may be more extensive and more detailed, in order to understand Fonceca's ideas it is sufficient to analyse Ockham's account of universals in the Commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, and those other passages may be brought in when further clarifications are necessary.

Ockham argues that authority and reason agree that universals are not metaphysical entities but terms. It is at this point that the advances in logic and semantics made since the twelve century manifest themselves (distinction of spoken, written, and mental languages, among others). Mental terms, thoughts or concepts in the mind are natural signs of what they signify: their signification is a direct function of their natures, unrelated to convention and unaffected by it. Moreover, terms either signify things in the world or things resulting from the operation of the human intellect, i.e., concepts. Hence, in Ockham's view, it has to be advanced that there is no such a thing as a universal really existing outside the soul in the individual substances, nor it is concerning the substance or their essence. But the universal is either only in the soul or it is universal by institution in the way this term "animal," and similarly "man," is universal, because it is predicable concerning several items, not *pro se* but *pro rebus* which it signifies.²¹³

Ockham claims that no universal is really existent in the individual substances nor in their essence, is manifestly evident by Aristotle in *Metaphysics* VII,²¹⁴ where he poses this question: is a universal thing a substance? And the answer is that universality does not apply to a substance, nor to some part of a substance. Whence concerning this treatment and determination of substancehood, Aristotle says that no universal is a substance.²¹⁵ Further, Ockham cites *Metaphysics* X,²¹⁶ to show that it is impossible that something universal to be a substance, and the corresponding passage in Averroes (comm. 7) which says that "as it has to be declared in this treatise that it is impossible that some of the universals is a substance is evident that the universal is not a substance." It follows "that as universals are not substances, it is manifest that *ens*

²¹² *ELPP*, pp. 10-11

²¹³ *ELPP*, p. 11

²¹⁴ Aristotle, *Metaphysics* VII, 13, 1038^b35-1039^a03.

²¹⁵ *ELPP*, p. 13.

²¹⁶ Aristotle, *Metaphysics* X, 2, 1053^b16-21.

commune is not a substance existing *extra animam* just as one common is not a substance.” And it follows “that as the universals are not substances, thus neither genera are substances.” And it follows “that substances are not genera, because genera are universals.” from this authority it is evident that universals are not substances, nor parts of substances, since according to several passages in Aristotle, a substance is not composed by non-substances.²¹⁷

Ockham sums up his position by saying that it is clear that universals do not exist except in the mind alone, and not in external things, which in his view is in fact the true opinion of all philosophers, and only because certain of his contemporaries did “not understand the intention of philosophers because of certain statements of the authorities which they did not understand,” that they had actually arrived at the contrary opinion, namely, that there are common natures in things.²¹⁸

Turning to the analysis of the correspondence between Ockham and Gabriel Biel, whose handling of the status of universals is explained in the commentary on the *Sentences* book I, second distinction. First, there is the rejection of a ‘Platonic’ view (Walter Burley’s) that universals are really distinct among themselves and from their individuals (qq. 4-5); second, the rejection of the opinion of those (Scotus’s) who hold a formal distinction of universals from their particulars (q. 6); third, the first positive conclusion is reached, namely, that every single thing outside the mind is particular in every aspect of its constitution and in every way of understanding it, because the intellect cannot modify a thing which is outside it (q. 7);²¹⁹ fourth, the other conclusion is that although milder forms of realism are more probable than extreme realist positions, they are still off the point in comparison to the true twofold opinion, that is, that

²¹⁷ *ELPP*, pp. 13-14.

²¹⁸ *ELPP*, p. 14.

²¹⁹ Gabriel Biel, 1 d 2 q. 07 p. 168: “Responsio Auctoris ad quaestionem: »Nulla res extra animam nec per se nec per aliquod additum reale vel rationis nec qualitercumque consideretur vel intelligatur est universalis«, nisi forte signa ad placitum instituta, quae sunt res singulares, et dicuntur universalis significatione vel praedicatione. Probatur: Quia propter considerationem intellectus res non mutatur. Ideo quidquid realiter est singulare, per nullam considerationem intellectus esse potest universale. Unde universale non est in re nec realiter nec subiective, »nec est pars singularis, respectu cuius est universale, non plus quam vox est pars sui significatis.«”

the universal is a *fictum* and has only objective existence in the mind,²²⁰ but because of the several problems of this opinion, it is somehow weaker than its second formulation, namely, that the universal is the result of a knowing activity of the mind (also a *fictum* in some sense but not in an absolute way), and it is only universal due to the fact that it represents or signifies several particular items outside the mind.²²¹ Seen thus, it is clear that Biel's approach in these passages is 'Ockhamist' and that Fonseca was right in citing him among the *Nominales* whose teachings were to be rejected on the grounds that such views were in flagrant contrast with Fonseca's own opinion, as will become clear in a moment.

Accordingly, Fonseca summarises the arguments that the nominalists²²² give in support of their theses that there are only common universal words standing for singular things. Moreover, Fonseca thinks that he can counter each of them. The arguments are:

1) Nothing is at the same time universal and particular, singulars are not at the same time in many things. Everything in the world is singular, therefore there are no universal things.²²³

Fonseca concedes that everything that exists in the world is singular, but it does not mean that,

²²⁰ Ibid., pp. 170-171: "Primus, quod universale non est res aliqua neque habet esse subiectivum, id est esse reale sive actuale, neque extra animam neque in anima, sed est quoddam fictum ab intellectu habens tantum esse obiectivum in anima, cuius esse non est aliud nisi cogitari vel intelligi ab intellectu. Ad cuius intellectum sic *opinantes* consequenter dicunt quod intellectus noster videns rem aliquam extra fingit in se eius similitudinem, quae talis est in esse obiectivo qualis est res extra, a qua fingitur, in esse subiectivo."

²²¹ Ibid., p. 171: "Secundus modus aequae probabilis est, tenens quod universale est vera res et qualitas existens in mente, quae ex natura sua est significativa rerum extra sicut vox est signum commune plurium ex voluntaria institutione. Et quodlibet tale etiam genus generalissimum, est res realiter existens in anima et accidens animae productum ab anima et res certi generis. Sed est universalis in praedicando et supponendo non pro se, sed aequae pro pluribus singularibus, quibus subordinantur voces ad placitum institutae in significando et scripta et quaecumque signa extra animam." Ibid., p. 180: "Propter illas rationes factas contra opinionem de fictis videtur secunda opinio probabilior, quod universale est conceptus mentis, id est actus cognoscendi, qui est vera qualitas in anima, et res singularis significans univoce plura singularia aequae primo negative naturaliter proprie, quorum singularium est naturalis similitudo non in existendo, sed in repraesentando; propter quod dici potest fictum, similitudo, imago vel pictura rei, etiam obiectam cognitum, sed non seipso, sed mediante alio conceptu reflexo. Est etiam universale vox vel scriptum aut quodcumque aliud signum ex institutione vel voluntario usu significans plura singularia univoce; quod tamen signum est res aliqua singularis. Et sicut conceptus, ita et ipsum solum repraesentative est universale, ita quod esse universale nihil aliud est quam repraesentare vel significare plures res singulares univoce."

²²² *CMA* v. 2, cc. 951-952: "Huius opinionis veterum Scholasticorum realium industria pene iam sepultae, instaurator fuit Guillelmus Ockham Scoti auditor, homo ingeniosus quidem, sed novarum rerum studiosior, qui apud recentiores Nominales tantum auctoritatis obtinuit, ut quasi novam philosophandi viam primus invenerit, venerabilis inceptoris nomen assequutus sit. At cum multa sint apud illum et in primum Sententiarum librum, et in opusculis quibusdam philosophicis, tum etiam apud alios eius sectatores argumenta, quibus sola rerum communia vocabula universalialia esse confirmantur, haec satis erunt loco. *Vide Ockham in 1 d 2 quaest 4 et in 1 parte sua Logica, cap 14 et 15 et quodlib 5 q 12 et 13 Gabr in 1 d 2 q 7 et 8.*"

²²³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 952: "Primum, quia nulla res eadem simul esse potest et universalis et singularis; universalis enim, si ulla est, oportet, ut sit eadem in multis; singularis autem non est eadem in multis; quae contradictionem implicant. Cum igitur res omnes, quae in Mundo sunt, singulares sint, (quicquid enim in rerum natura est, aut est Deus ipse, qui est maxime singularis, aut aliquid factum a Deo, quod singulare etiam sit necesse est, cum omnis actio singulare aliquid terminet) efficitur, ut nulla omnino sit res universalis."

under another aspect, there could not be universal realities surrounding us. Even if individuals like Socrates and Plato, who by themselves are not multipliable in others, are the only way human beings are encountered in the world, essences like man and animal are “accidentally” singulars. Their actual singularity is caused by conditions that are not essential and that is why this fact does not render them incapable of being instantiable in many individuals.²²⁴

2) Everything that is corporeal can be shown by the finger, but no universal thing can be shown in this way, therefore if universals things exist they have to be incorporeal and cannot be in corporeal things.²²⁵ Fonseca, however, affirms that even if only singular things *per se* can be shown by the finger, there are singular things *per accident* that can be pointed by the finger *per accident* and in their singulars.²²⁶ And the universals would be these singular items *per accident*, as they can be ‘numbered,’ for instance pointing to three men.

3) If there are universal things in the nature of things, they do not have a determined time and space, but whatever is in the nature of things does have determined time and space, therefore there are no universal things in the nature of things.²²⁷ Fonseca observes that universal things do not have a determined time and space in themselves, although they have time and space in the

²²⁴ CMA v. 2, cc. 956-957: “Ad primum igitur partis oppositae argumentum dicendum est, res omnes, quae in mundo sunt, re vera esse singulares, quod recte probant Nominales: sed tamen earum quasdam, etsi quatenus existunt in rerum natura, singulares sunt: tamen alia ratione esse universales. Hoc enim interest inter res quae in mundo sunt, quod quaedam sunt singulares per se, ut Socrates, Plato, et caeterae omnes, quae tales sunt ut plures eiusdem rationis dari non possint: quaedam vero singulares per accidens, ut homo, animal, et alia huiusmodi, quorum nihil repugnat dari plura numero eiusdem rationis ac naturae, ut plures homines, et plura animalia. Haec enim, etsi singulatim a Deo fiunt: tamen ea ratione, quae naturae ordine praecedunt sui multiplicationem aut saltem, quatenus concipiuntur sine iis differentiis, quibus multiplicantur (de hoc enim proxime disputandum est) universales sunt ac dicuntur.”

²²⁵ CMA v. 2, c. 952: “Alterum, quia, ut de rebus corporeis loquamur, nulla omnino est, quae digito ostendi non possit. Cum igitur res universales, si ullae sunt, digito desinari nequant, iam enim essent singulares, efficitur, ut nulla res corporea sit universalis. Quod si res universales sunt incorporeae, ergo de rebus corporeis dici non possunt, ac proinde de nullae sunt rerum corporearum universales naturae.”

²²⁶ CMA v. 2, c. 957: “Ad alterum dicendum, etsi omnes res corporeae, quae sunt singulares per se, digito ostendi possunt: tamen quae sunt singulares per accidens, primoque et immediate nominibus communibus significantur, digito ostendi non posse, nisi per accidens et in suis singularibus. Nec recte hinc colliges, eas esse incorporeas, sed non esse ex iis corporeis, quae per se loco et tempore subiectae sunt, ut per seipsas digito designari possint.”

²²⁷ CMA v. 2, c. 952: “Tertium, quia res universalis, si ulla est in rerum natura existens, et quae in multis eadem insit, non est utique certo in loco aut tempore: at quicquid in rerum natura est, certo in loco est, aut in tempore; nisi sit Deus ipse, qui immensitate praesentiae et existentiae suae loco et tempore definiri nequit; nulla est igitur res universalis nisi fortasse Deus; qui tamen, cum de pluribus differentiis non dicatur, universalis existimari nullo modo potest. Caetera subtiliora Nominalium argumenta ex ipsa rerum universalium ratione ducta commodius in aliis quaestionibus de hac materia tractandis afferentur.”

singularity so to speak of their particulars.²²⁸ Again, time and space belong to universals accidentally.

Moreover, the nominalists confirmed their assumptions by maintaining that Aristotle supported the same thesis (*Meta VII c 13*) when he says that “genera and species of substances are not substances”, and therefore they are only names common to many singular substances. Moreover, he wrote in the chapter *De substantia (Categories)* that second substances which he defined as genera and species of the first substances, signify something *quale* which is proper and peculiar of common names. And more plainly, he said in the *Politics IV c 2* that “to discourse about the best statute of the ‘Republic,’ is nothing else than to dispute about its names.” Referring to Monarchy and Aristocracy government of the best, which is said to be a common word for ‘Republic.’²²⁹ Fonseca’s reply is that in fact, Aristotle says that genera and species are not first substances²³⁰ but he certainly does not say in the *Categories* that second substances are *voces* and not things.²³¹

²²⁸ *CMA v. 2, c. 957*: “Ad tertium dicendum, res universales, etsi per sua particularia singulatim accepta certo loco ac temporis addictae sunt: tamen per seipsas in nullo certo esse aut loco, aut tempore. Hoc tamen proprium Dei est, ut per seipsum ac positive in omni loco sit, et in omni tempore, se potius immensitate praesentiae ac durationis suae omnia complectatur et loca, et tempora.”

²²⁹ *CMA v. 2, cc. 952-953*: “Ex autoritate etiam Aristotelis idem conatur ostendere. Tradit enim libro septimo huius operis, capite 13 *genera et species substantiarum non esse substantias*: quod non alia ratione dixisse credunt, nisi quia sunt nomina quemdam multis singularibus substantiis communia. Scribit etiam in libro Praedicamentorum, cap *de substantia*, secundas substantias, quas genera et species primam esse, definierat, significare quale aliquid, quod est nominum communium proprium, et peculiare. Planus idem videtur colligi ex 4 *Politicorum* libro ca 2 ubi sic scribit: *De optimo statu Reip. disserere, nihil est aliud, quam de his nominibus disputare*, nominaverat autem proxime Regnum et Aristocratiam, hoc est, optimarum administrationem, et eam, quae communi vocabulo Respublica dicitur.”

²³⁰ *CMA v. 2, c. 957*: “Quod autem Aristoteles ait libro huius operis septimo, *genera et species substantiarum non esse substantias*; non ea ratione dictum est, quasi putaverit esse mera nomina, sed ea potius, quia accepit nomen substantiarum pro primarum substantiarum, ut sensus sit, genera et species substantiarum non esse per se primo subsistentes in rerum natura, ut Plato credidisse videtur, sed subsistentes in iis ipsis quas nos (ut res habet) primas substantias vocamus.”

²³¹ *CMA v. 2, cc. 957-958*: “Non ideo quoque dixit Aristoteles in *Praedicamentis*, secundas substantias significare quale aliquid, quod crederet esse voces, non res: alioqui non dixisset quoque eodem loco, primas substantias significare hoc aliquid ne videretur sentire, primas substantias non esse res, sed voces, quod est aperte falsum. Ea igitur ratione sic locutus est, quia interdum Philosophi accipiunt nomina rerum pro nominibus nominum: quemadmodum a contario nonnunquam utuntur nominibus nominum pro nominibus rerum, ut in loc ex *Politicis* citato. Sensus ergo prioris loci est; secundas substantias, id est, nomina secundarum substantiarum significare quae aliquid: quo pacto eo loco dicitur, primas substantias, id est, nomina primarum substantiarum significare hoc aliquid. Posterioris autem loci sententia est: de his nominibus, Regni nimirum, et Optimarum potentiae, et caetera: hoc est, de Regno et Optimarum gubernandi ratione, et eius, quae simpliciter Respublica dicitur. Phrasis quoque *Hebraea* est, ut verbum pro rei nomine usurpetur, veluti 2 libr *Regis*, cap 1, *Quod*, inquit, *est verbum? Indica mihi*, id est, quatenus res accidit. Et apud *Lucam*, cap 2, *Videamus*, aiunt, *hoc verbum, quod factum est, quod fecit Dominus, et ostendit nobis*, hoc est, rem hanc a Deo paratam, nobisque renunciatam.”

Another authority who is said to support the nominalist account would be Alexander of Aphrodisias, when he says in *Comm. Meta VII c 19* that “*ens et unum mera esse nomina, quae de rebus praedicantur.*” What would also hold for substance, accident, and the other common attributes of things.”²³² To which Fonseca replies that Alexander said that *ens* and *unum* are mere names insofar as they are analogous terms. If there were only items of this sort and nothing else, the nominalists would be correct, but it does not hold for the univocal items.²³³

In conclusion, Ockham and Biel deny any sort of distinction between the individual and its nature and between natures among themselves, which means that individual substances are not composites of essence and accidents. However, in Fonseca’s view nominalists mistake individuality *per accident* for essential individuality, but if this distinction is made, i.e., that individual characteristics are essentially particular but universals are only accidentally particularised, then nominalism is refuted.

There are also other arguments against nominalism and in favour of the existence of common natures. First, that the nominalists when they deprive all common ground of things *inter se* of their means and say that there are only common words, they in fact oppose the whole philosophical tradition, because Plato says that “not being able to discern the common nature which is the object of any science, is proper of the person deprived of philosophy” and Aristotle (*Meta I c 1*) says that the *ars medica* looks for the common affections of a disease, not to the

²³² CMA v. 2, c. 953: “Accedit Alexandri Aphrodisiei autoritas, quae praecipua est apud Peripateticos Is enim disertis verbis ait in *Commentariis* lib 7 huius operis, cap 19 text 57 *ens et unum mera esse nomina, quae de rebus praedicantur.* Quod idem pari ratione de substantia, de accidente, caeterisque communibus rerum attributis sentiendum.”

²³³ CMA v. 2, c. 958: “Quod denique Alexander ait, *ens et unum esse mera nomina*, sic intelligendum est, quasi dicat, ens et unum (accepto entis nomine, ut existentiam significat non pertinere ad essentias rerum, ut patet ex adiunctis eius loci. Nec mirum, si homo Peripateticus hunc in modum loquatur, cum apud Aristotelem in *Praedicamentis* cap 5, eo quae non praedicantur essentiali praedicatione, sed accidentaria: dicantur praedicari solo nomine: et alibi, omnes definitiones, quae essentialis non sunt, vocentur nominum interpretationes, ut videre licet 2 lib *Posterior.* cap 7 text 7 et 7 huius operis cap 4 text 14.

Responderi quoque posset, propterea ens et unum vocari ab Alexandro eo loco mera nomina, quia nomina entis et unius nihil vere ac simpliciter unum significant, quemadmodum et caetera analogia omnia: ut hac ex parte recte ea coniunxit Aristoteles initio *Praedicamentorum* cum iis, quae sunt casu aequivoca. Non ita sane res habet in univocis, neque enim dici possunt mera et quasi inania vocabula, cum eorum quodque aliquid vere ac simpliciter unum significet: sed prior responsio magis est ad rem, ut merum nomen sumatur pro eo, cui nulla respondet ratio, definitiove essentialis respectu eius, de quo dicitur.”

common names but the common things signified by that name.²³⁴ Second, that even if it is granted that science concerns common names, it would also be necessary to concede that it concerns not only the external name but also the internal concept, because there seems to be no reason to accept one and refuse the other. But it cannot be the assemblage of all concepts which could be formed by all men, because it is an infinite number, but the concept of the common name which cannot be only a common sign but it is a thing common that is said of many singulars. And once it is granted that a science concerns common names in signifying, it also has to be granted that it concerns common things in predicating.²³⁵ Third, that if the name ‘animal’ does not signify everything that ‘man’ is nor everything that ‘beast’ is it signifies something common which is in both of them, namely, the common nature ‘animal.’²³⁶ Fourth, that from the univocal *ratio* of predication it is clear that what is univocally predicated of several things signified by a name is neither the name itself nor the *ratio formalis* that corresponds to the name. For instance one does not say that ‘Socrates’ is a word of a name or a formal concept, which the mind by itself defines ‘man’, it is therefore another thing or nature, which is formally found in all

²³⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 953: “Sed Nominales (quod eorum pace dixerim) dum omnem rerum inter se communionem de medio tollunt, nullamque omnino com alia in natura ulla communi, sed in solis earum communibus vocabulis convenire dicunt: seipsos Philosophorum choro indignos esse ostendeunt. Namque, ut Plato ait in Sophista: omnia ab omnibus secerne, et incontinuum est, et hominis musica imperiti, Philosophiaque prorsus expetis. Incontinuum, dixit, quia nisi particularium inconstantia et infinitas, rara ac certa communium naturarum conditione quali colligetur, dissoluta erit et tumultuaria omnis rerum tractatio: hominis vero musica imperiti, quia, qui communes naturas ex collatione rerum inter se colligere non valet, is plane ineptus est, vel ad ipsarum vocum sonorumque convenientiam percipiendam, in qua tota Musicae artis peritia continetur. Denique, Philosophiae prorsus expertis, quia philosophia, omnisque scientia, quae proprie hoc nomine censetur, aliquid commune tradit, quod causa sit eorum, quae in multis particularibus quaeruntur. Nam, ut Aristoteles 1 lib huius operis, cap 1 recte ait: Ars medica non quaerit, quid prosuit Callia, proprio ac peculiari morbo laboranti, ad quid Callia, aliisque eadem communi aegritudine affectis: quod quidem commune aliquid sit, necesse est: nec sane nomen ullum, sed res communi nomine significata. Itaque, una haec ratio ex ipsa philosophandi ratione sumitur.”

²³⁵ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 953-954: “Altera desumi potest ex adversariorum concessione. Nam, cum illi dicunt, scientiam haberi de nominibus communibus, ut scientiam de animalibus, de animalis nomine, quod omnia animalia significat: non ita sunt mentis inopes, ut velint haberi de hoc tantum nomine externo, aut interno conceptu formali, quem ego nunc formo, aut de eo solo, quem tu crastina die formabis: cum non maior sit ratio, cur habeatur de hoc solo, quam de illo tantum. Nec vero haberi sentient de aggregatione omnium, qui unquam et ab omnibus hominibus formari possunt, cum sint infinita, quae eorum etiam confessione sub scientiam cadere non possunt; sentiant igitur, necesse est, haberi de nomine animalis, quod huic nomini animalis et illi caeterisque similibus commune est. At nomen hoc pacto commune, non solum est commune signum, quod multa significet, sed etiam res communis, quae de multis singularibus dicatur. Cum igitur concedunt, scientiam haberi de nominibus communibus seu universalibus in significando: fateri coguntur haberi de rebus universalibus in praedicando, universalisque non tantum esse nomina communia, sed praecipue res naturasque communes.”

²³⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 954: “Tertia, ex ipsa nominum communium significatione ducitur. Nam, ut in eodem animalis nomine rem expendamus: hoc nomen *animal*, non significat totum id, quod in natura bestiae, cum nihil significet eorum, in quibus homo a bestia distinguitur, ut apertum est, ergo tantum significat naturam aliquam, in qua homo et bestia conveniunt, non est igitur solum animalis nomen universale, sed et natura animalis.”

the other men of whom it is said. It cannot be singular nor can it be the set of singulars.²³⁷ Fifth, that from the *ratio* of defining and demonstrating, it is clear that they do not concern primarily and adequately some particular thing signified by a common name, which corresponds to any thing in the other particular things, nor do they concern the common name itself because neither ‘definition’, which is suitable to common particular things, shows the common nature of their terms, nor ‘demonstration’ shows some property of them. Nor does it concern the whole set of particulars because it is neither suitable to singulars nor is it said of them. It is however made by the universal thing, which equally inheres in singulars, by identity, and is predicated of singulars.²³⁸ Finally, that the very definitions of universal previously given make clear that to have only universal names is not enough. Moreover universal names are signs of universal things (*Sophistical refutations* I c 1) (*De Magistro* c 1). But if it is objected that common names are not taken in a proper sense but figuratively, the reply is that common names are the means by which the predication is made.²³⁹ And these are the reasons why Fonseca thinks that one should not give any credit to the nominalists.²⁴⁰ Since it should be maintained that the correct opinion is the

²³⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 954: “Quarta sumitur ex univoca praedicandi ratione. Quod enim univoce praedicatur de pluribus rebus significatis per nomen, non est proprie nomen ipsum commune, non item ratio ipsa formalis, quae nomini respondet, falso enim dicas, Socratem verbi causa esse ipsum nominis vocabulum, aut conceptum formalem, quo mens apud se hominem definit, est igitur res alia naturave, quae aequae reperitur in omnibus iis, de quibus dicitur. At ea non potest esse singularis, quia quod singulare est, non potest esse in pluribus eo pacto, quo universale in pluribus esse definitur, neque etiam omnia singularia significat simul iuncta, cum aggregatio omnium non dicatur de singulis, est igitur res aliqua universalis, quae in illis sit, et de illis dicitur.”

²³⁸ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 954-955: “Quinta ex ratione definiendi et demonstrandi. Neque enim definitio aut demonstratio primo et adaequate de re ulla particulari significata per nomen commune, quippe cum utraque in alias quoque res particulares conveniat, neque item de ipso communi nomine quia nec definitio, quae pluribus rebus particularibus convenit, declarat naturam communis eorum vocabuli; aut demonstratio ullam eius proprietatem ostendit, nec denique sit de tota particularium aggregatione, cum ea non conveniat singulis, aut de eis dicantur, sit igitur de re universali, quae aequae inest singulis per identitatem, et de singulis praedicatur.”

²³⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 955: “Postrema ex ipsis definitionibus universalis. Nam, cum altera dicat, universale esse id, quod aptum est, ut in pluribus insit, idque per identitatem: altera, quod aptum est, ut praedicetur de pluribus, hoc est, ut in pluribus in esse dicatur (hoc enim est praedicari) nomina autem non insint, aut saltem non sic insunt iis rebus, quas significant: efficitur, ut non nomina si proprie loquendum est, sed res nominibus significatae universalium rationem habeant, tantum abest, ut sola nomina dicenda sint universalialia.”

²⁴⁰ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 955-956: “Patet igitur ex his, nulla ratione audiendos esse Nominales, cum dicunt, sola nomina communia in significando esse universalialia cum potius nullum eorum si proprie loquendum est, sit universale: sed res solae, quae primo iis nominibus significantur. Ut enim iam diximus, nomina communia nec insunt rebus, quas significant, nec de illis praedicantur, seu inesse significantur: sed ea ratione figurate possunt appellari universalialia, quod signa sint eorum quae pluribus insunt, et de pluribus praedicantur, ac pro eis in oratione sumuntur: quo pacto Caesaris statua appellatur Caesar, et pro eo colitur. Id quod etiam Aristoteles non obscure tradit in priori libr *De Sophistarum Captionibus*, cap 1 *Nam, quia res, inquit, in disputationem affere non possumus, nominibus pro rebus, ut signis utimur, quemadmodum ii, qui calculis rationem subducunt.* Egregia profecto similitudo in re proposita. Et enim hi collecta calculorum summa dicunt, eam esse summam pecuniarum, de qua ratiocinantur, qui illam repraesentat: ita ii, qui disputant, sumptis nominibus rerum pro rebus ipsis, quod illas significant, multa verbo tenus dicunt de nominibus rerum (aut potius dicere videntur) quae non nisi rebus significatis conveniunt. Quod si pro rebus

opposite one, namely, a sort of moderate realism in the sense that there is a real basis for universality, although strictly speaking universality is not found in particulars.²⁴¹ And if the universals are real entities then they have to possess some kind of unity.

2.1.2. The Unity of Universals

In the *Isagoge* Porphyry asserts that “by the participation in one species several men are one man” (τοῖς δὲ κατα μέρος ὁ εἶς καὶ κοινὸς πλείους) This phrase raises a number of questions among which there are three that have relevance to our present exposition. If we concentrate on the possibility of man being one thing, i.e., on whether there is a way in which man can be said to have unity, we have to decide whether this is possible and what kind of unity would it be. If we focus, however, on the fact that they are several men, then we have to decide whether they share something in common and how they share it. Finally, if we answer that there is such a unity and that several items are one item by sharing something in common, we have to address the issue of how, when, and by which agency these two states of affairs are possible. In this section we will analyse what Fonseca has to say about the unity of universals. The other two points, namely, the ability of universals to be in several items, and how (when, and by what agency) the universals acquire their unity and their aptitude to be in several items, will be the topics of the two following sections.

It is evident that there is a connection between this passage of the *Isagoge* and the senses of “one” put forward by Aristotle in the *Metaphysics*,²⁴² i.e., one in number, one in species, one

singularibus, et sensibus subiectis, etiamsi coram adsint, necesse est nominibus eorum uti, ut de illes disseramus: quanto magis pro universalibus, quae, ut loco et tempori, ita sensibus subiecta esse nequeunt, ut in disputationem afferantur? Hinc recte Adeodatus apud Augustinum in libr *De Magistro*, cap 1 *Assentior*, inquit, *tibi sermocinari nos omnino non posse, nisi auditis verbis, ad ea referatur animus, quorum ista sunt signa. Lege etiam cap 2 eiusdem operis.*”

²⁴¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 958: “Hoc tamen ex posteriori responsione colligi potest, ea demum ratione fore, ut Nominalium opinio ferenda aliquo modo esset, si omnia nomina communia, quae nos univoca putamus, essent vere analogia. Nam, cum id, quod nomine analogo significatur, abstrahi non possit ab analogatis, ut ex superioris libri cap 2 q 2 sect 4 perspicuum est; ac proinde non sit simpliciter unum, universale autem, si proprie loquamur, debeat esse unum quid simpliciter: non omnino male dicerent illi, sola nomina esse universalia: siquidem analogorum quodque, si non ratione significationis, certe ratione vocis simpliciter unum est.”

²⁴² Aristotle, *Metaphysics* V, 6, 1016^b30-1017^a03.

in genus, and one in proportion (analogical unity). A plausible interpretation of Aristotle's passage is that there are degrees of unity, depending on the number of individuals bearing some sort of sameness (one or several items) and on the level of distinction among them (small, great, or extreme distinction).²⁴³ If it is just one individual that has unity then it is numerical unity; however if there are several individuals with one unity, hence with a small degree of distinction among them then it is specific unity; while if the distinction among them is great it is generic unity; but if the distinction is extreme then there is only an analogical unity among them. While the nominalists accept only this last kind of unity, because they do not accept the existence of common natures, Fonseca's arguments in favour of common natures have several consequences for the status of universals and thus require a different kind of unity, which is in fact distinct from the numerical and formal (both generic and specific) unities traditionally posited by Scholastic authors.

Since Boethius's arguments on unity and plurality in relation to the nature of universals, and Avicenna's "equinity as just equinity," the question of whether universality (identified with the common nature) in itself implies unity or plurality may seem rather inappropriate, because in itself universality would have neither unity nor plurality. However, even if we grant that there are obvious advantages if we can keep this intermediary (perhaps ambiguous) status, the question remains useful, since it may eventually demonstrate that the tasks universality has to perform in fact require unity and plurality. Universality in itself may be abstracted from unity and from plurality, however, unity is a necessary condition for intelligibility and plurality is part of the definition of universals. That is probably why Fonseca introduces his treatment of the unity of universals by saying that in relation to the unity proper of universal things, it will be presupposed that it is certain and doubtlessly true that there is such a unity which is suitable to the universal things insofar as they are universals. If the universals are intelligible in themselves, they have to

²⁴³ For this interpretation and its consequences, see Martin Tweedale, "Duns Scotus's Doctrine on Universals and the Aphrodisian Tradition" pp 90-91. With regard to the ontological implications of Scotus's approach to the kinds of unity, see Peter King, "Duns Scotus on the Common Nature and the Individual Differentia," *Philosophical Topics* 20/2, 1992, 51-76.

possess a peculiar sort of unity. Fonseca points that philosophers agree on this point. On the other hand, what is precisely this kind of unity seems to be a very obscure and difficult issue and by no means discussed by all philosophers.²⁴⁴ But how can the universal nature be suitable to be multiplied in several particulars? Its unity has to be of an especial type, and it needs to be appropriately defined.

There are apparently two options, namely, it could be a formal or a numerical unity. There is a considerable controversy on which of the two is more suitable to the universal nature. It cannot be numerical because this kind of unity is proper of the singulars, as it follows the degree of individuality. On the other hand, it looks as if it is numerical because we enumerate the universals as if they were singulars, for instance when we say that “this genus has four species” and “this species has a thousand individuals.” If the universal natures constitute a number, it seems beyond doubt that their unities are within their numerical properties.²⁴⁵ The same ambiguity surfaces in relation to whether it belongs to the genus of formal. It is indeed formal because the formal unity is proper of the common natures. By contrast, it does not seem to be formal seeing that formal unity is somehow multipliable in its inferiors, but the unity of universal things itself could not be present in the singulars, for otherwise the singulars would be universals.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 959: “Ut igitur rerum universalium unitatem explicemus, videamusque quaenam unitas sit propria rerum universalium, ut universales sunt, et quo pacto intelligenda sit unitas in definitione prima universalium (alii aliter de hac re sentiunt) alterum nobis supponendum est hoc loco, alterum discutiendum. Supponendum quidem ut rem certam et indubitam, esse aliquam unitatem rerum universalium propriam, hoc est, quae solis rebus universalibus, quatenus sunt universales, conveniat: ita ut, nec conveniat rebus per se singularibus, ut Socrati aut Platoni, neque etiam rebus universalibus alia ratione, quam qua universales sunt, in hoc enim nulla est apud Philosophos controversia. Discutiendum vero, quaenam sit ea unitas, quod non solum compertum non est apud omnes, sed etiam obscurum et difficile.”

²⁴⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 959: “Ac cum duplex dici soleat rerum unitas, numeralis una, formalis altera, non parva est ambiguitas, ad utrum genus pertineat ea unitas, quam quaerimus. Nam, quod numeralis esse non debeat, ex eo probatur, quia numeralis unitas, cum sequatur gradum individualem, propria est rerum singularium. Quod vero e contrario numeralis sit, inde constare videtur, quia perinde numeramus universalia atque singularia aequae enim dicimus, hoc genus habere quatuor species numero, atque hanc speciem habere mille numero individua. Quod si naturae quoque universales numerum conficiunt, non dubium videtur, quin unitates earum proprie sint numerales.”

²⁴⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c.959: “Similis est dubitatio, num illa ad generem formalium spectet. Nam, quod sit formalis, ex eo perspicuum videtur, quia ut numeralis dicitur esse propria naturarum communium contra vero non esse formalem, satis hac ratione ostendi videtur, quia unitas formalis est multiplicabilis in inferioribus, quemadmodum et natura, cuius est propria: unitas autem rerum universalium propria multiplicari non debet in inferioribus rei, quae denominatur universalis, alioqui liceret ex ea multiplicata colligere, singularia quoque esse universalia.”

In this context, Fonseca identifies four propositions to be held: 1) The unity proper of universal things is not numerical *simpliciter*, or by which singular things are usually enumerated as men or horse one by one.²⁴⁷ 2) The unity proper of the universal things is not of the genus of formal pure and unmixed in all its extension.²⁴⁸ 3) The unity being sought here belongs to the genus of those that are peculiar of the common things not as it is properly speaking suitable to them *per se*, but insofar as they precede the contraction in their particulars in the order of nature.²⁴⁹ 4) The unity which is the object of this controversy if it has to be recalled in the general division in numerical and formal, can be said to be mixed of formal and numerical. However, it has to be rather called numerical (it is called unity of precision or separation).²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ CMA v. 2, c. 960: “Sit igitur hac in re primum pronunciatum. *Unitatem rerum universalium propriam non esse numeralem simpliciter, sine qua numerantur res omnino singulares, ut homines singuli, aut equi.* Hoc pronunciatum ex eo facile probatur, quia ex huiusmodi unitate non licet colligere rem esse universalem, cum potius natura communes ab hoc genere unitatis habeant ut sint singulares, atque adeo tot numero, quot sunt ipsa per se singularia, quo pacto natura humana, quae in Platone, Socrate et Alcebiade existit, trina est numero, quia ipsi, Plato, Socrates et Alcebiades tres sunt numero.”

²⁴⁸ CMA v. 2, c. 960: “Alterum pronunciatum sit. *Unitatem rerum universalium propriam non esse ex genere formalium, saltem puro, et nonnunquam misto.* Hoc pronunciatum ratione illa recte probatum est, quia unitas formalis multiplicatur in inferioribus cum natura, cuius est unitas, hominis cum homine, et unitas equi cum equo: cum tamen unitas quae propria est rerum universalium, ut universales sunt, multiplicari nequeat in inferioribus rei universalis. Si enim unitas speciei humanae multiplicaretur numero cum humana natura, tot essent species hominum quot individui homines, ipsique homines singuli essent et individui, et individui in inferiores homines. Cum autem dixerim, *saltem puro, et nequaquam misto*, paulo post patebit.”

²⁴⁹ CMA v. 2, cc. 960-961: “Tertium pronunciatum esto. *Eam unitatem, quam quaerimus esse ex genere earum, quae sunt quidem peculiare rerum communium non proprie tamen illis per se conveniunt, nisi quatenus naturae ordine praecedunt contractionem sui ad particularia.* Prima pars huius pronunciatum ex eo constat, quia eiusmodi unitas non debet convenire iis, quae sunt per se singularia: iam enim haec essent universalia, quod fieri non potest. Secunda vero ea ratione probatur, quia unitates quae proprie per se conveniunt rebus, quae denominantur universales, multiplicantur in inferioribus eiusmodi rerum: in quibus tamen multiplicari non potest unitas, de qua agimus. Tertia demum inde perspicua sit, quia unitas quam quaerimus, debet esse indivisa in plura eiusdem nominis et rationis: ut patet ex ipsa universalis definitione nec tamen debet esse pure negativa, cum debeat supponere rem, quae denominatur indivisa. Nec vero debet esse privativa impropria, hoc est, quae supponat quidem subiectum denominatum, sed tamen non supponat aptitudinem illius ad dictam divisionem, hac enim unitate recte dixeris, Socratem esse unum quid, cum sit indivisus, atque adeo indivisibilis in plures Socrates, quem tamen nequaquam dixeris esse rem universalem: sed debet esse privativa propria, nempe supponens aptitudinem rerum communium, nisi quatenus illae praecedunt contractionem sui ad particularia. In eo enim solo statu sibi per se vendicant quasi propriam eam aptitudinem, quam habent, ut sic dividantur veluti animal, quatenus praecedit contractionem sui per rationale et irrationale ad hominem et bestiam: itemque homo quatenus praecedit contractionem sui per differentias individuantes ad particulares homines. Animal enim, ut contractum est per rationale, non habet aptitudinem, ut dividatur in hominem et bestiam, homoque, ut contractus per differentiam Socratis, non habet aptitudinem, ut dividatur in Socratem et Platonem. Animal autem et homo absolute accepta, etsi habent eam aptitudinem: non eam tamen sibi per se vendicant quasi propriam, (alioqui suis inferioribus illam communicerent) sed habent eam per accidens, nempe ratione illius antecessionis, qua sui contractionem multiplicationemque praecedunt. Quod si ita est, ergo unitas, quae huiusmodi aptitudinem supponit, propria esse non potest rerum universalium, nisi quatenus illae naturae ordine praecedunt contractionem sui ad particularia. Ita sit, ut haec sola unitas sive indivisio sit propria rerum universalium, quatenus universales sunt.”

²⁵⁰ CMA v. 2, cc. 961-962: “Quartum pronunciatum sit. *Unitatem, de qua est controversia, (quam nos aliquando, ut a formali distingueremus, praecisionis appellavimus) si ad generalem divisionem unitatis in numeralem et formalem revocanda est, etsi quodammodo mista ex formali et numerali dici potest: tamen numeralem potius appellandam esse.* Cur autem praecisionis dixerimus, illa est ratio: quia non convenit rebus, quae denominantur universales, nisi praecise in eo prioritatis gradu, quo illae praecedunt contractionem sui ad sua particularia. Quod autem quodammodo

Furthermore, a number of objections are raised and answered. First, if the common man by a numerical unity is one then it is one in number. But against it there is the fact that by the definition of universal its unity has to be communicable and thus formal.²⁵¹ And Fonseca responds that the numerical unity which is said to be simply and absolutely numerical is that which follows the degree of individualisation, but the one referred to here is not numerical without addition, but ‘numerical of the common natures.’²⁵²

Moreover, universal things are usually regarded in a threefold way, namely, absolutely, like ‘man’, contracted in their particulars, like ‘this man;’ or abstracted like ‘man’ as conceived by an activity of the intellect. To the first, man insofar as man, there seems to be only one kind of unity, the formal, to the second, this man, there seems to be the formal unity made particular, or numerical, and to the last, ‘abstracted’ man, there seems to be no other kind of unity apart from one from the numerical unities, and of the formal unity.²⁵³ However, Fonseca says that when the

mista dici possit, ea ratione intellige: quia, quatenus convenit solis naturis communibus rationem participat formalis unitatis: naturae enim communes sunt modo suo formae rerum particularium: quatenus autem conficit numerum ipsarum naturarum communium, quem formalis unitas conficere non potest, numeralis quoque rationem habet: formalis enim, cum tam multiplicata sit in rebus particularibus, quam est ipsa natura communis, cuius est propria, certum numerum per se ipsum minime conficit. Quod denique potius numeralis appellanda sit, ut eam ad caput decimumtertium, quaest. 3 sect. 1 appellavimus hac ratione patet. Quia, quemadmodum numeramus particularia, ita numeramus universalia, neque alia unitate, quam praecisionis: cum etiam, quia non est, cur ea unitas negetur esse numeralis, quae est incommunicabilis pluribus. Ut enim communicabilitas seu multiplicabilitas in causa est, cur formalis unitas non dicatur numeralis, ita opposita incommunicabilitas in causa esse debet, cur unitas praecisionis, numeralis appelletur.”

²⁵¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 962: “De re autem ipsa illud primum est obvium. Ex ipsa definitione universalis perspicuum videri res universales, quatenus universales sunt, non aliam unitatem habere, nisi communicabilem, nempe et nomine et ratione, hoc enim modo exponit Aristoteles unum illud quod in definitione intelligitur. Quod si ex definitione universalis non alia unitas colligitur, quam communicabilis seu multiplicabilis unitas, unitas formalis satis est, ut res sit universalis: igitur praeter formalem nulla alia ad eam rem quaerenda est.”

²⁵² *CMA* v. 2, cc. 964-965: “Primum vero de re ipsa hac consideratione solvitur. Cum universale dicitur unum nomine et ratione, non aliam quidem unitatem exprimi, quam formalem, quae communicabilis est cum natura, quae communis denominatur, et cui ipsa per se convenit: sed tamen ex aptitudine essendi in pluribus, quae adiungitur, colligi unitatem quandam incommunicabilem, quam praecisionis appellavimus. Ut enim eiusmodi aptitudo multiplicari non potest, quod patebit, ita neque unitas praecisionis, quae illam sequitur. Cur autem unitas formalis ac multiplicabilis in definitione universalis exprimatur, non autem unitas praecisionis, haec est ratio. Quia per unitatem formalem declaratur, qualis debeat esse natura, cui convenit aptitudo essendi in pluribus, seu ad sui multiplicationem: neque enim fieri potest, ut aliquid multiplicetur, nisi ipsum in se unitas naturae sit. Nam, si non unius sit naturae, sed plurimum, iam non vere multiplicabitur, sed erit multa ipsa, quod in aequivocis et analogis accidit: tametsi analogae, quia unius quodammodo naturae, ac rationis sunt, quodammodo etiam multiplicari dici possunt. At unitas praecisionis non exprimitur in definitione universalis, quia est proprietas universalitatis, quae tota aptitudine essendi in pluribus consistit, neque enim necesse est, ut proprietas rei, quae difinitur, in definitione exprimatur.”

²⁵³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 962-963: “Deinde illud se offert, nullam aliam unitatem, praeter formalem et numeralem rerum singularium propriam, colligi posse ex trina illa consideratione rerum, quae denominantur universales, tam saepe apud D Thomam et alios usurpata: ut earum quaeque spectetur vel absolute, ut homo, quatenus homo: vel contracta in suis particularibus ut homo quatenus hic homo aut ille vel a suis particularibus abstracta, ut homo, quatenus operatione intellectus aut concipitur, aut solum repraesentatur sine differentiis, quibus in suis particularibus

universal is said to be one in name and *ratio*, it expresses the formal unity which is communicable with the common nature.²⁵⁴ Hence, if this argument is correct the unity proper of the universal things is the formal.²⁵⁵ However, Fonseca derives from the ‘aptitude to be in several,’ which is added, an incommunicable unity, which is here called unity of precision.²⁵⁶ It is incommunicable in the sense that it does not go down to its particulars.

contractus erat: quandoquidem prius res contracta est, quam a contrahentibus abstrahatur. Nam homini, quatenus homo est non alia unitas videtur convenire, quam formalis: haec enim sola naturam humanam per se consequitur, et cum ea in particularibus multiplicatur, quemadmodum et caeterae illius proprietates. Quatenus autem hic homo est aut ille, nulla ei alia unitas convenit, nisi vel illa ipsa formalis iam particularis facta, vel numeralis ea, quae propria est huius aut illius individui, veluti Socratis aut Platonis, a qua homo non per se, sed per accidens, sive ratione adiunctae differentiae denominatur unus. Quatenus vero abstractus est, et quasi avulsus a differentiis, quibus in suis particularibus contractus erat, nulla ei datur nova unitas: sed hoc tantum sit per abstractionem, ut liberetur a differentiis contrahentibus et, quod inde sequitur, ab unitatibus numeralibus, quae illas consequuntur, et multiplicatione item sui, formalisque unitatis propriae, quaeque et naturae, et unitatis solitudini, absolutionique, ut sic dicam, restituatur: ubi nullam vides novam unitatem naturae humanae advenire, sed antiquum ut ita loquar, et naturae, et unitatis essendi modum restitui. Abstractio enim nihil confert, sed aufert, nisi ipsam, si velis, nuditatem, veluti in homine, cui indumenta abstrahuntur. Ita sit, ut supervacanea sit unitas illa numeralis, quam praeter formalem et vulgatam numeralem rerum singularium ponimus. Vide *Avicenam 5 sua Metaphysic ca 1 D Thom lib De ente et essentia, cap 4 et quodl 8 art 1 et de Potent q 5 art 9 et opusc 42 quod est de Natura generis, c 7. q Caiet in lib De ente et essentia, c 4 Scot 7 Meth q 18. Lege etiam c in d 8 q 2.*”

²⁵⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 968: “Ex his ergo perspicuum est, quid ad secundum de re ipsa argumentum respondendum sit. Duplex enim unitas convenit naturis communibus absolute consideratis: una formalis, quam naturae ipsae sibi vindicatur per se, suisque inferioribus communicant: altera numeralis earum propria, quam sibi ea ratione praecise retinent, qua contractionem ad sua particularia naturae ordine antecedunt, neque eam suis particularibus impertunt. Atque hanc unitatem plane agnoscit D Thomas in Libello de *Natura Generis*, eamque docet convenire naturis communibus, exceptis iis, quas vocat univocas, non Physice, sed Logice tantum. Ait enim *Opusc 42 capit 7 8 et alibi*, huiusmodi naturas ante omne esse, quod habent in individuis, et in intellectu, habere quasdam unitates, quae cum eis ad inferiora non descendunt: quod idem in eo Libello saepius repetit, additque, eas naturas hoc modo spectatas, non esse entia actu, quia non existunt cum his unitatibus: sed esse essentias, quia possunt existere per sua individua, a quibus alias unitates accipiunt, videlicet numerales rerum per se singularium, sine quibus existere non possunt: quemadmodum nec sine differentiis individuantibus, quas huiusmodi numerales unitates consequuntur. Quae omnia Caietanus (*ut ex loco citato lib De ente et essentia colliges*) videtur aut non legisse, aut non curasse. Rectius sane Iohannes Capreolus d 5 q 3 ar. 3 *ad tertium Sententiarum*, Paulus Soncinas ad librum septimum huius operis q 40. Fatentur enim res, quae denominantur universales, exceptis iis, quas D Thomas loco paulo ante citato excipit (de qua exceptione recte ne adhibeatur, ad cap 8 huius libri nonnihil diximus) vindicare sibi ante omnem existentiam et in rerum natura, et intellectu quasdam unitates, quas suis inferioribus non communicant: proinde eas unitates nunquam existere in rerum natura. Nam, quemadmodum res universales non existunt in rerum natura, nisi, in suis individuis: ita non habent in rerum natura, huiusmodi unitates, quas tamen habent, si, (quod fieri non potest) existerent a suis individuis seiunctae: neque enim tunc coniunctae essent cum differentiis individuantibus quibus multiplicantur. Atque hactenus de secundi argumenti solutione. Rectene autem D Thomas, eiusque omnes sectatores colligant ex proposito Avicennae pronunciato, naturas communes absolute consideratas, ut non sunt particulares, sic non esse universales, immo etiam num Avicenna recte sentiat, qui id perspicue adiungit, inferius discutietur.”

²⁵⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 963: “Demum accedit, quod vel hoc uno argumento perspicue videtur intelligi, unitatem formalem esse propriam rerum universalium, ut universales sunt, si sumatur, non ut multiplicata est in particularibus, neque absolute, sed ut naturae ordine sui contractionem et multiplicationem antecedit: nihil enim omnino ei deesse videtur, quo minus hoc pacto solis universalibus, ut universalia sunt, conveniat. Facit enim sic accepta naturam et unam simpliciter, et hoc pacto non multiplicabilem in plures numero: neque enim dantur plures numero naturae humanae in eo quasi momento, quo unitas eius formalis sui contractionem multiplicationemque antecedit.”

²⁵⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 969: “Ad tertium, quod omnium est difficilimum, dicendum est, quemadmodum natura, quae denominatur universalis, non per se, nec per suam unitatem formalem, sed per unitatem praecisionis additam, est una numero natura inter communes, et certum facit numerum aliis naturis communibus adiuncta, ut homo cum equo, duo numero animalia duntaxat, et cum leone tria; ita quoque ipsam unitatem formalem, quae per se convenit huiusmodi naturis, non per seipsam, sed per suam particularem unitatem praecisionis adiunctam, esse unam numero unitatem formalem inter communes, certumque facere numerum aliis communibus unitatibus formalibus additam.”

All things considered, it is essential to understand that the distinction of three conditions in which the common nature can be considered, namely, absolute, of contraction, and of abstraction hold the key of the problem. The first is the status of the essence, the second of the *existentia realis*, and the third is of the *existentia obiectiva*. However, by talking of possibilities other than the status of *existentia realis* or contraction, we do not mean that the common nature actually exists without the individuating *differentias*, i.e., without their distinctive characteristics, because the existence is posterior, in the order of nature, to such *differentias*. In fact, it seems to be necessarily the case that man is a rational animal, and that Socrates is this particular man (if this man is Socrates), i.e., it was never the case that man was an animal without being a rational being, nor that Socrates was man without individuating characteristics. This should be added to refute Plato's idea that *existentia realis* belongs to the specific nature which would exist without any individual instantiations.²⁵⁷ On the other hand, if universals are numbered it is because they have numerical unity and that is why a man and a horse are two animals and not just one entity. Nevertheless, not all numerical unities can have *existentia realis* and that is why universality is a *modus essendi*, an aptitude or incommunicable potency, which never reaches *existentia realis*

²⁵⁷ CMA v. 2, cc. 965-966: "Alterum autem, exponenda trina illa vulgata naturae communis consideratione diluatur. Quocirca illud notandum est, ex tribus illis statibus, quibus natura communis spectetur, vel absolute, vel ut contracta est, vel ut a contrahentibus abstracta: primum dici solere statum essentiae, secundum existentiae realis, tertium obiectivae: quod partim recte dicitur, partim, ut verum sit, explicatione indiget. Nam quod primum status recte dicatur essentiae, ex eo constat; quia absoluta naturae communis consideratio (dico autem *communis*, non quatenus communis est formaliter, sed quatenus talis est, ut communis et universalis denominari possit) nihil prorsus abmittit, nisi quod ab essentiam rei pertineat: aut tam secundum se, et ante omnem existentiam consequatur: quo pacto homo consideratur ut animal, ut rationis particeps, ut risus capax, etc *vide D Tho in lib. De ente et essentia ca. 4*. Quod item tertius recte appelletur existentiae obiectivae (subaudi in intellectu) perpicuum est: cum abstractio naturae communis ab iis differentiis, quibus contracta est, non fiat nisi per speciem intelligibilem, quia mudata contrahentibus differentiis repraesentatur, aut per conceptum, quo eodem pacto concipitur: his enim modis quaelibet natura commuis intellectui obiici potest, vel habitu scilicet, vel actu. At ut secundus recte dicatur existentiae realis, non sic intelligendum est, quasi natura communis per solam realem existentiam contrahatur: prius enim generica natura contahitur per differentias specificas, imo, et specifica per differentias individuantes, quam realiter eistat: id quod non tantum naturae ordine accidit, sed et temporis. Nam, ex omni aeternitate homo est animal rationis particeps, et Socrates est hic homo: cum tamen eorum realis existentia a certo temporis momento coeperit. Neque enim contractio natura communis facta est existente prius natura communi, et accedente deinde differentia contrahente ad compositionem rei particularis, sive specificae, sive individualis, quo pacto rei naturalis compositio fit ex materia et forma in iis, quae gignuntur et intereunt, sed et ipsorum essentiali ordine, et ante omnem existentiam, cum ab omni aeternitate homo constet natura animalis, et differentia rationis participis, et Socrates natura humana, et peculiari differentia individuante. Si tamen is status propterea dicatur existentiae realis, quia, ut communis natura realiter existat, indiget contactione per differentias individuantes, recte dicitur: et fortasse contra Platonis existimatam sententiam invecta est haec loquendi formula, cum ille sensisse dicatur naturas communes specificas nulla individuante differentia contractas per se ipsas existere."

Therefore, it is necessary to posit some sort of unity typical of universals (unity of precision) and it remains to be explained how their ‘aptitude to be in several’ has to be seen in this context.²⁵⁸

2.1.3. The Aptitude to Be in Several Items

The next point concerns what Fonseca has to say about the universals insofar as they can be in several items, or more specifically, about the aptitude of universals to be in several items. If an author upholds a ‘Peripatetic’ view concerning whether universals exist in act outside the soul, he will endorse the opinion that universals do not subsist outside the individuals; hence he must face the question of how universals can actually exist in several items. Cajetan explains that although this Peripatetic doctrine can be interpreted in different ways,²⁵⁹ his understanding is that it points to a status that is a kind of medium between the universality as a relation of reason (in the intellect) and the thing denominated universal, which is at times outside the intellect, if it is man, cow, or at times only in the intellect, if it is subject, predicate). This status is the proximate basis why a thing may take on that relative denomination (universal as a relation of reason). Consequently, he asserts that the understanding of a thing attributes a relation of universality, because that apt thing is destined to be in many.²⁶⁰

The question is whether the aptitude to be in many items is outside the soul in such a way that, independently of any work of the intellect, a thing is apt and destined to be in many, which is called a universal objectively in act or whether only the thing exists outside the soul, while the aptitude for existing in many is in things through the work of the intellect and because that aptitude fulfils the notion of a universal in act, taking universal objectively, although not

²⁵⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 971: “Sumendum est enim, quatenus significat unitatem formalem, quae etsi non est propria rerum universalium, est tamen necessario requisita ad universalitatem, aptitudinemve essendi in pluribus, quam unitas praecisionis universalium propria consequitur.”

²⁵⁹ *CE&E*, p. 99: “quia haec quaestio diversimode intellecta, diversis modis a philosophis determinata est, in praesentiarum Peripateticam sententiam supponendo, scilicet quod universalia non subsistant extra singularia, declaranda est quomodo intelligatur.”

²⁶⁰ *CE&E*, pp. 99-100: “In nomine universalis tria intelligimus. Primo universalitatem, quae est relatio rationis. Secundo rem; quae denominator universalis ab illa universalitate. Tertio, aptitudinem ad essendum in multis, quae est quid medium inter illa duo, et est fundamentum proximum, quare res suscipiat illam relativam denominationem; ideo enim rei intellectus attribuit relationem universalitatis, quia res illa apta nata est esse in pluribus.”

formally, therefore to ask whether this whole thing, namely, a thing apt and destined to be in many, is found outside the soul, is the same as asking whether a universal objectively in act exists outside the soul.²⁶¹

In order to understand the terms, we can follow Cajetan who explains that just as white is taken in two ways, namely, formally and subjectively, so also universal is taken in two ways, namely, formally and objectively. For the universal cannot be a subject, because universality is in nothing subjectively, since ultimately it is a being of reason. Universal taken formally is universality itself, which is a relation of reason. Universal taken objectively is subdivided into a universal objectively in act and a universal objectively in potency. The universal objectively in act is this whole thing, namely, one thing apt and destined to be in many. A universal objectively in potency is the thing itself formally one, without the addition of its aptitude to be in many. From this it is evident where the difficulty lies, for the question is not the universal taken formally, nor the universal objectively in potency, because there is agreement on these, the doubt is then the existence of the universal objectively in act.²⁶² Cajetan refutes the solution of Scotus, which we will examine in a moment, that the universals must have this aptitude in the particulars, and concludes that aptitude to be in several items belongs to the thing according to the existence it has in the intellect, because this status is only gained when the thing is taken in the condition of

²⁶¹ *CE&E*, p. 100: “Non vertitur in dubium, an illa relatio, quae vocatur universale formaliter sit extra animam; eam enim omnes ab intellectu fieri dicunt. Nec quaeritur, an illa res, quae denominator universalis, quae vocatur universale obiective in potentia, sit extra animam. Communis enim sententia est, quod quandoque res illa est extra animam, quandoque non. Si enim res illa est res realis, puta homo, bos et huiusmodi, ponitur extra animam. Si autem res illa sit ens rationis, non ponitur extra, ut subiectum, praedicatum, propositio, syllogismus, et similia. Sed dubitatio est, an aptitudo ad essendum in multis sit extra animam: ita quod absque omni opere intellectus inveniatur res apta nata esse in multis, quae vocatur universale in actu obiective; an solum extra animam sit res; aptitudo autem ad essendum in multis inest rei per opus intellectus. Et quia aptitudo illa complet rationem universalis in actu, obiective sumendo universale, licet non formaliter: ideo quaerere an extra animam inveniatur totum hoc, scilicet res apta nata esse in pluribus, est quaerere, an sit extra animam universale in actu obiective.”

²⁶² *CE&E*, p. 100: “Et debes scire ad evidentiam terminorum, quod sicut album accipitur dupliciter, scilicet, formaliter et subiective: ita universale accipitur dupliciter, scilicet formaliter et obiective. Subiective enim accipi non potest, eo quod universalitas in nullo subiective cum sit ens rationis. Universale formaliter est ipsa universalitas, quae rationis relatio est. Universale obiective subdividitur in universale obiective in actu, et universale obiective in potentia. Universale obiective in actu est totum hoc, scilicet res una apta nata esse in pluribus. Universale obiective in potentia est res ipsa una formaliter; non adiungendo sibi aptitudinem ad essendum in pluribus. Ex his patet, in quo stat difficultas, et patet in quo quid nominis terminorum in titulo quaestionis positum. Intendimus enim non de universali formaliter, nec de universali obiective in potentia, quia in his convenimus; sed de universali obiective in actu. Propterea cum loquimur de universali in actu absque additione *obiective* intelligi volumus, ne in aequivoco laboremus. Haec de primo.”

solitude that implies the separation of a nature from its individual properties, being a thing only as it is the object of the agent or possible intellect, and therefore in a state of abstraction.²⁶³

Now we have to consider what Scotus would say about this topic. In question 4 of his *Quaestiones in Librum Porphyrii Isagoge*, Scotus touches on the issue of whether the universal is an *ens*, i.e., whether the universal is ‘one item existing’ or not. Since entity and unity are related as transcendental notions, they are, in keeping with standard Scholastic views, concomitant. Hence the nature must enjoy a unity that is proportional to its entity. For Scotus, it seems clear that the nature has an identity that is real but sufficiently indeterminate to be able to be present in a number of supposita in the world. On the other hand, the status of the common nature has to be such that it can be received into a cognitive faculty without losing its identity as a nature because otherwise it would fail to have its proper effect in cognitive activity.²⁶⁴

Fonseca is keen to address the doctrine of the universals’ aptitude to be in several as it is presented by both ‘Thomists’ as well as by ‘scotists,’ since this issue is perceived by him as highly divisive (the apparent disagreement between Cajetan and Scotus is just one example among many others) even more so than that concerning the unity which is proper to those very universals. Moreover, seeing that the aptitude is like the potency to the act of being in several, it is best to first identify the act of being in several items in order to proceed to identify the potency.²⁶⁵

First, what the act of being in several is not. 1) It is not an act of inherence, or real representation, seeing that genera, species, and essential *differentias*, do not inhere in those species or individuals to which they belong, neither is the inherent form predicated of the

²⁶³ *CE&E*, p. 100: “Quoad secundum: Scotus supra VII *Metaph.* quaest. XVI sequendo fundamenta sua: quod scilicet naturam extra animam sequantur unitas formalis et communitas, opinatur rem unam aptam natam esse in pluribus dari extra animam: ad hoc dicit universale in actu esse in rerum natura absque omni opere intellectus. Adducit quoque ad hoc multas rationes, quas in medium afferre esset limites intentionis nostrae excedere; propterea eas afferam, ex quarum solutione reliquarum debilitas innotescit.”

²⁶⁴ Scotus, *Ordinatio* II d. 3 p. 1 q. 4 nn. 76-78 (Vatican edition).

²⁶⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 971: “De aptitudine vero essendi in pluribus, qua universalialia constituuntur, non minor est, quam de unitate controversia: quam ut facilius expediamus, operae pretium sit, ut ante omnia explicemus, a quonam actu essendi in pluribus, qui rerum universalium sit proprius et peculiaris, haec aptitudo dicatur, aptitudo enim omnisque potentia ac actu cognoscitur.”

subjects in which it inheres ('body' is not said to be 'whiteness').²⁶⁶ 2) It is not an act of nature in the *suppositum*, because properties and accidents (fifth predicable), in general, do not inhere in their subjects in this way ('this man' or 'that man' is not 'humanity').²⁶⁷ 3) It is not the *existentia realis* in the particulars, because the universal cannot be predicated of its particulars unless it inheres in them, but genera, species, *differentia*, and property are always predicated of their particulars regardless if they really exist or not.²⁶⁸ The conclusion is that the act of being in several proper and peculiar of the universal things is that act of the whole that is in its parts, not in whichever part nor in any way, but in those items in which it inheres by way of identity. This identity is the condition for the true predication. It is not however, that kind of identity by which two things are identical to each other by the *ratio* of a third, like 'man' and 'horse' are said to be identical in 'animal', but that by which two things are identical by the *ratio* of one another, like 'Socrates' and 'man'.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ CMA v. 2, c. 971: "Atque huiusmodi actum non esse actum cohaerentiae, seu realis informationis, ex eo patet, quia saltem genera, species, et essentialia differentiae non hoc modo insunt speciebus aut individuis, cum ac eorum constitutionem pertineant. Tum etiam, quia formae inhaerentes, ut huiusmodi sunt, non praedicantur de subiectis, quibus inhaerent. Ne enim dixeris, corpus esse albedinem, aut materiam esse formam."

²⁶⁷ CMA v. 2, c. 971: "Non esse etiam actum naturae in supposito, ut humanitatis aut inanimalitatis in Socrate, ex eo constat: quia saltem propria et accidentia quinti praedicabilis non insunt hoc modo suis subiectis, cum ac eorum subsistentiam minime spectent. Tum vero, quia nec natura per modum naturae significata praedicatur de supposito, non enim hic homo aut ille est sua ipsa humanitas aut animalitas, ut patet in Christo Domino."

²⁶⁸ CMA v. 2, c. 972: "Nec vero esse actum existentiae actualis in particularibus, ut quidam existimant, ex eo probari potest: quia, cum nihil universale praedicari possit de suis particularibus, nisi in eis insit, sequeretur ex hac opinione, necessarium esse actualem existentiam praedicatorum in subiectis, ut vera sit de illis affirmatio. Quod plane falsum est in genere, specie, differentia, et proprio, quae sive actu existant in suis particularibus, sive non existant, semper de illis vere affirmantur."

²⁶⁹ CMA v. 2, c. 972: "Ne autem plures essendi modos percurramus, de quibus minus probabiliter dubitari potest: sane actus essendi in pluribus rerum universalium proprius est actus is, quo totum est in partibus, non quibusvis tamen, sed in quibus inest per modum identitatis. Universale enim esse totum respectu eorum, de quibus univarse dicitur, et Aristoteles primo *Physicorum* libro cap 1 tradit (*universale*, inquit, *totum est quoddam, quippe cum multa complectatur ut partes*) et vel ipsa Graeca nomina (τῶν καθόλου, ποιοῦ τῶν καθ' ἡμέρας) satis indicant. Unde et apud Porphyrium in *Isagoge* cap *De specie* genus dicitur totum respectu speciei, et vicissum species pars generis; ipsaque species totum comparatione individuorum, quae vicissim partes speciei dicuntur. Identitatem vero totius universalis cum iis partibus suis, quarum ratione dicitur universale, hoc est, cum suis particularibus, seu partibus subiectis esse necessariam perspicuum est, quia alioqui non de illis diceretur praedicari enim nihil est aliud, quam dicere, hoc est, hoc; quam affirmationem nisi in iis, quae sunt idem, falsam esse nemo dubitat. Denique, cum duplex sit duorum identitas: una, qua utrumque est idem cum altero ratione alicuius tertii, in quo ambo sunt idem, ut homo et equus et in animali; altera, qua utrumque est idem cum altero non ratione alicuius tertii, sed alterum ratione alterius duntaxat, qua nimirum alterum est alterum. Quo pacto Socrates est idem cum homine, quia est homo, et homo idem cum Socrate, quia est Socrates perspicuum est, identitatem universalium cum suis particularibus, non esse prioris generis, sed posterioris. Neque enim ad praedicationem eorum de suis particularibus satis est, si ambo idem sint ratione alicuius tertii (alioqui homo diceretur equus, quia in animali est idem cum equo) sed necesse est, ut num sit alterum. Qualis autem debeat esse huiusmodi identitas, qua unum est alterum, essentialisne, an accidentaria, quidditativa, an, ut sic dicam, qualitativa, necessaria, an contingens, id iam ad distinctionem universalium pertinet, de qua disserendum est breviter, cum de toto universalium genere disputaverimus."

But what is the aptitude to be in several by way of identity? It cannot be some natural potency or faculty, which is a true quality added to things, because in the other categories there are also genera, species, *differentias*, properties, and accidents.²⁷⁰ Cajetan and Scotus say that it is a non-incompatibility (the negation of incompatibility) for being in several. But the first difficulty would be that universals would then be entirely negative, that is, both on the part of the unity and on the part of the aptitude, what seems to be inconvenient.²⁷¹ Fonseca however disagrees since the universals should not always be taken as either only negative or only positive (for instance, *ingenitum*, *immobile*, *infinitum*).²⁷² Moreover, if act and potency belong to the same genus (as Aristotle, Averroes, Alensis, Albert, Aquinas, and others, defended), the act of being in several would also have to be negative, but it is in fact positive.²⁷³ Fonseca, on the other hand, thinks that when the act and potency are said to be in the same genus what is meant is that the potency is reduced to genus and the act to the species.²⁷⁴ Finally, because the incompatibility of

²⁷⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 973: “Non esse porro aptitudinem ad huiusmodi actum essendi in pluribus facultatem seu potentiam aliquam naturalem, quae sit vera qualitas addita rebus, quae denominantur universales, ex eo satis apertum est, quod in praedicamento substantiae, et quantitatis etiam, ac relationis, quatenus ea a praedicamento qualitatis distinguuntur, dantur genera, species et differentiae, quod fieri non posset si res non essent universales, nisi per qualitates adiunctas. Eodemque modo, ut qualitas aliudve accidens sit proprium, aut accidens quinti praedicabilis, non opus est qualitate aliqua adiuncta, sed quodlibet accidens ipsum per se est aptum aut ineptum, ut sit in pluribus per modum identitatis.”

²⁷¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 973: “Cajetanus in libro *De ente et essentia* cap 4 q 3 Scotus 1 *Metaphysicarum* q 6 et libro 7 q 18 et in 2 d 3 q et caeteri fere Scholastici, qui pressius ista tractare videntur, aiunt, hanc aptitudinem esse non repugnantiam, seu negationem repugnantiae essendi in pluribus. Potestque, id confirmari ex aliis aptitudinibus, quae non sunt vere entitates rebus additae. Ut ex aptitudine, quam creaturae ex seipsis habent, ut existant, quae nihil aliud esse dicitur, quam negatio repugnantiae ad existendum, itemque, ex aptitudine, quam ipsae rerum essentiae ad agendum retinebunt, si ab eis divina potestate qualitates activae auferantur. Quod fieri posse haud negandum est. Relinquetur enim (si id fiat) in unaquaque rei essentia e Deo conservata: non potentia quidem ad agendum, quae versit et realis entitas, sed aptitudo quaedam, qua res ex se ad quasdam operationes aptae erunt, quemadmodum ad alias ineptae. Quae aptitudo cum vera entitas esse, non possit, nihil aliud esse videtur, quam negatio repugnantiae ad agendum, ut in homine ad intelligendum aut ridendum.

Huic tamen sententiae illud primum obiici potest, si ea vera est, universalis, quatenus universalis sunt esse penitus negativa. Nam, cum ex parte unitatis negativa sint, si aptitudo etiam essendi in pluribus est negatio, erunt omni ex parte negativa, quod videtur incommodum.”

²⁷² *CMA* v. 2, c. 974: “Solvi quidem haec possent, haud difficile. Primum, quia nihil videbitur, incommodi, si universalis, quatenus talia, non primo nec secundo modum sumpta (quo pacto positiva sunt) sint negativa, pleraque enim entium attributa, de quibus magna a philosophis habetur ratio, in negativis numerantur, ut ingenitum, immobile, infinitum et huiusmodi alia.”

²⁷³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 973: “Deinde, non cohaerere ista cum ea, Aristotelem libro 9 *Metaphysicarum* c 8 text 13 et Aver. Alens. Alber. D Thom. in eum locum, docent, actum et potentiam esse in eodem genere: nam cum actus essendi in pluribus, positivum sit quidam, necesse est, ut aptitudo, quae est potentia ad huiusmodi actum, esset positivum aliquid, non negativum.”

²⁷⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 974: “Secundum, quia cum actus et potentia dicantur esse in eodem genere, nihil aliud significatur, quam potentiam reduci ad genus imo etiam ad speciem actus: neque enim sensus est, idem genus, eandemve speciem praedicari de utroque, cum id aperte sit falsum. Etsi igitur aptitudo essendi in pluribus sit negatio quaedam, actus vero essendi in pluribus sit negatio quaedam, actus vero essendi in pluribus positivum quid. Nihil obstat, quo minus

being in several would be the negation of the aptitude which the individuals have for being in several, then the aptitude of the universal would be the negation of its negation.²⁷⁵ Fonseca once again disagrees because the incompatibility of being in several which denies the aptitude for this act, is not the negation of the aptitude to that.²⁷⁶

In sum, it can be said that this aptitude is a mode of being intrinsic to things said to be universals. And in the same way as singular items, after they have been produced, they cease to be in their causes, universals things likewise when they are not abstracted from the individualising *differentias* cease to have the aptitude to be in several in the mode of ‘existing.’²⁷⁷ This can be confirmed by the negation of the opposite thesis. First, because the aptitude for existing is nothing else than the negation of the incompatibility to existing in several. Second, the aptitude for actions is nothing else than the negation of the incompatibility for this kind of actions. Moreover, all aptitudes are potential modes of being, for existing in the first kind and for acting in the second.²⁷⁸ The aptitude for existing is the same as the possibility of things. The aptitude for acting is not the pure negation of the incompatibility, but the foundation of this

illa adhuc reducatur tanquam potentia quaedam improprie dicta (quam Logicam appellant) ad suum actum, ad quem ordinatur.”

²⁷⁵ CMA v. 2, c. 974: “Denique, cum repugnantia essendi in pluribus nihil aliud esse videatur, quam negatio aptitudinis, quam habent individua, ut sint in pluribus, si aptitudo universalium, ut sint in pluribus, si aptitudo universalium, ut in pluribus insint, negatio talis repugnantiae sit, erit utique ea aptitudo nihil aliud, quam negatio negationis sui ipsius. Quod ridiculum est, nec quid aptitudo ipsa sit, declarat, cum ipsa ad explicationem sui adhibeatur.”

²⁷⁶ CMA v. 2, c. 974: “Tertium, quia repugnantia essendi in pluribus, quam negat aptitudo ad hunc actum, non est negatio aptitudinis ad illum, sed sumendum est nomen repugnantiae pro eo, cui repugnat, ut sit sensu, in Socrate v g esse repugnantiam essendi in pluribus, i e, aliquid, cui repugnat esse in pluribus utpote differentiam aliquam eius individuam, aut quicquid id demum sit, cui primo repugnat Socratem multiplicari. Quo pacto iam vides, non repugnantiam essendi in pluribus non esse negationem negationis sui ipsius, sed negationem positivi quibusdam notioris, per quod non repugnantiae, seu negatio repugnantiae declaratur.”

²⁷⁷ CMA v. 2, cc. 974-975: “Dicere enim possumus, hanc aptitudinem esse modum essendi intrinsecum rebus quae denominantur universales, hoc est, non per aliam entitatem eis convenientem: non tamen esse modum essendi actualem, ut est ipse actus essendi in pluribus, multoque minus eam, quam vocamus actualem existentiam, sive in rerum natura, sive in intellectu, sed esse modum essendi potentialem, ut etiam est modus essendi cuiusque effectus in sua causa. Ac denique non esse modum essendi omnino inseparabilem, ut sunt necessarium esse et contingens, finitum et infinitum; sed modo aliquo separabilem, ut est modus essendi rerum in suis causis. Nam, quemadmodum res singulares, postquam productae sunt, desinunt esse in suis causis (unde et extra suas causas esse dicuntur) ita res, quae denominantur universales, si desinant abstrahi a differentiis individuantibus, desinent quoque habere aptitudinem essendi in pluribus suo modo existentem, nempe obiective, qua sola ratione ea aptitudo existere potest.”

²⁷⁸ CMA v. 2, c. 975: “Confirmari haec sententia potest infirmandis fundamentis oppositae, duobus enim exemplis innitebatur. Uno quod aptitudo, quam re ex se ipsis habent, ut existant, nihil esset aliud, quam negatio repugnantiae ad existendum. Altero, quod illae etiam aptitudines, quae in rebus manerent ad proprias actiones si ab eis divina virtute propriae qualitates activae auferrentur, nihil aliud sint, quam negationes repugnantiae ad eiusmodi actiones. Utrumque enim parum habet verisimilitudinis, potiusque dicendum videtur, has omnes aptitudines esse modos essendi potentiales, priorem quidem ad existendum, posteriores vero ad agendum.”

possibility.²⁷⁹ And the affirmation that the aptitude to be in several is a mode of being potential does not go against what Scotus and Cajetan said about the negation of the incompatibility.²⁸⁰ Moreover, Aristotle and the Ancient Peripatetics did not deny that it was a mode of being (*modus essendi*) but they denied that it was that mode of being proposed by Plato, because there is no actuality in the nature of things that would belong, numerically one and the same, to the essence of several items.²⁸¹

Some of Fonseca's contemporaries, following a particular interpretation of Scotus, concluded that the aptitude to be in several is twofold. There is a remote aptitude which is that of the common nature either limited to only one particular (only this nature limited solely to this particular), or to several particulars (as the common nature limited to 'Socrates,' 'Plato,' and to the other men); there is also a proximate aptitude which is that of the common nature *without* being limited to only one or to several particulars. In this sense it would be possible to make an

²⁷⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 975: "Nam aptitudo ad existendum idem est, quod possibilitas rerum. At possibilitas, cum sit communis necessitati et contingentiae, quae omnium confessione sunt modi essendi, modus etiam essendi, non pura negatio repugnantiae dicenda est. Loquor autem de possibilitate et necessitate, ut de creaturis dicuntur, in quibus vera necessitas nihil aliud est, quam incorruptibilitas, sive modus essendi non obnoxius verae corruptioni, qui modus essendi non repugnat contingentiae. Nam, in Deo nec possibilitas, nec necessitas est purus essendi modus, quemadmodum nec ipsa existentia, sed omnia ista sunt formaliter ipsa divina essentia. Adde etiam, possibilitatem et contingentiam non solum esse puros essendi modos creaturarum, ut de illis dicuntur absolute, sive cum existunt, sive cum non existunt, sed etiam ea peculiari ratione, quatenus nondum existunt. Ut enim dicimus, creaturas, antequam existant, habere quendam modum essendi potentialem in suis causis, quem amittunt, cum primum existunt, et extra illas esse dicuntur. Ita dicere oportet, eas habere quendam alium essendi modum potentialem ex se ipsis, qui esse desinit, cum ei succedit ipsa illarum actualis existentia."

²⁸⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 976: "Atque aptitudinem essendi in pluribus esse modum essendi potentialem, quem *q 3 s 3* diximus, verisimile est, et Scotum, et Caietanum et quicumque alius negatione repugnantiae illam appellavit, aut revera sensit, aut non negasse, quemadmodum omnes fatentur, aptitudinem existendi naturaliter sine subiecto, quae est substantiarum propria, et aptitudinem existendi in subiecto, quae est propria accidentium, non esse ipsas negationes repugnantiae ad sic existendum, sed esse positivos essendi modos, qui huiusmodi negationum fundamenta sunt, et per eas a posteriori explicantur: tametsi non sunt puri essendi modi, quia sunt formaliter ipsae substantiarum et accidentium essentiae, ut ad caput septimum diximus. Quod tamen de aptitudine essendi in pluribus dicere non possumus si enim aptitudo essendi in pluribus, exempli gratia, hominis essent ipsa essentia, seu ipsum, quod quid est hominis: quilibet homo eam aptitudinem haberet, ac proinde Socrates dici posset de pluribus, numero, in quibus esset multiplicabilis. Quod fieri nullo modo potest. Sed vide etiam illa quae ad c 6 q 7 s 2 dicta fuerunt."

²⁸¹ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 976-977: "Aristotelem vero, et veteres Peripateticos idem existimasse, eo argumento probabile est, quia Plato nihil aliud esse dixit, aut dixisse visus est, eam, quam scholastici vocant universalitatem rerum communium, quam modum quendam essendi earum extra singularia in rerum natura. At Aristoteles, eiusque primi sectatores non ea ratione Platonem reprehendunt, quod dixerit, esse modum essendi, sed quod talem modum essendi. Cum existimarent, optimaque ratione sibi persuaderent, nihil esse actu in rerum natura, quod unum, et idem ad essentiam plurium numero eiusdem rationis pertineret, sed solum obiective in intellectu, qui est longe alius essendi modus, quem obiective etiam sequitur indeterminatio ad plura numero rationis eiusdem. Ita patet, quidnam sit aptitudo essendi in pluribus, de qua est controversia. Num autem ea sit duplex, ut nonnulli credunt, nunc disquirendum."

analogy with prime matter.²⁸² They also added that aptitudes of this kind are not diverse *simpliciter*, but one and the same in each particular item. In one ratio it is *impedita* (entangled), that is, insofar as it is determined by an added *differentia*; in another, it is *expedita* (unhampered) or *libera* (free), insofar as no *differentia* was contracted determinately. Should it be true, it would not be so much different from what was said of the divisive and constitutive *differentias*, as they are not diverse *simpliciter*, but only in regard to their function.²⁸³ The whole confirmation of this opinion rests on the thesis that the aptitude to be in several items is suitable *secundum se* and absolutely to the common natures and that it is also equally suitable to the particulars in which the common natures are found, and that is the origin of the *ratio* of the distinction in proximate and remote. However, to Fonseca there is no nature which is denominated common and universal, that has in its particulars, an aptitude to be in several neither proximate nor remote, even if in some of them, it has this aptitude partially so to say.²⁸⁴

However, the proponents of such distinction could press their case further. First, by saying that the nature taken absolutely is predicated of its particulars, that is, it is in them and has in them the aptitude as it is in them.²⁸⁵ Fonseca thinks that it is not true because the determination and indeterminacy of the same thing in the same respect cannot be in the same numerical thing.²⁸⁶ Second, by defending that because either it repugns to the nature absolutely taken to be

²⁸² *CMA* v. 2, c. 977: “Quidem recentiores ex Scoto in 2 d 3 q et 7 *Metaphysicorum* q 18 colligunt, eam esse duplicem, remotam unam, alteram proximam. Remota (ut eam describunt) est aptitudo naturae communis cum determinatione eius, vel ad unum particulare tantum, ut aptitudo naturae solis cum determinatione ad hunc solem. Vel ad plura particularia, ut aptitudo naturae humanae cum determinatione ad Socratem, Platonem, et caeteros.”

²⁸³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 977: “Addunt etiam, huiusmodi aptitudines non esse simpliciter diversas: sed esse unam et eandem in quolibet particulari alia ratione impeditam, alia expeditam, et liberam: impeditam, quatenus natura est determinata per differentiam additam; expeditam, quatenus nulla differentia determinante contracta est; nec multo secus id addicere, atque cum dicimus, differentiam divisivam et constitutivam esse diversas, cum tamen non sint diversae simpliciter, sed officio tantum. Nam una et eadem dicitur divisiva, quatenus refertur ad genus, constitutiva, quatenus ad speciem. Vide Porphyrium in *Isagoge* cap *de differentiis*.”

²⁸⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 977: “Tota huius opinionis confirmatio in eo posita est, ut eius auctores ostendant, aptitudinem essendi in pluribus, quae naturis communibus secundum se, sive absolute acceptis, convenit, convenire etiam eisdem in suis particularibus hinc enim oritur tota ratio distinctionis in proxima et remotam. Quod igitur ita res habeat, quatuor potissimum rationibus probant.”

²⁸⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 978: “Una, quia natura absolute accepta praedicatur de suis particularibus: ergo est in illis; habet igitur in suis particularibus aptitudinem, ut sit in illis.”

²⁸⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 984: “Prima enim negatione illius posterioris consequentiae dissolvitur. *Natura communis absolute accepta est in suis particularibus: ergo habet in illis aptitudinem, ut in eis insit*, si sic intelligatur consequens, ac si apertius dictum esset, *ergo habet in quolibet eorum aptitudinem, ut sit in eis omnibus*, quo pacto argumentatio est ad rem. Quod si sensi sit, *ergo in quolibet eorum habet aptitudinem, ut sit in illo*, verum quidem est consequens, et apta consequentia, sed non conficit institutum.”

in several or it does not repugn. If it did, it will never be in them. But if it does not repugn then it has in them a non incompatibility as it is in them and hence an aptitude to be in several²⁸⁷ By contrast, Fonseca observes that if human nature had in Socrates the aptitude to be in Plato, or in any other individual, some singular nature would be in several by a mode of identity, and this is not possible.²⁸⁸ Third, by asserting that because by one act it is not taken away the aptitude to another act prior to the repugnant act, but it is entangled by it in the nature *subjecta*.²⁸⁹ To which Fonseca replies that either the remote aptitude to be in several (proposed in the previous thesis) is numerically one or numerically several. If it is numerically one then the formal unity would be in all, what is not correct if one considers the implications for the creation and annihilation. But if it is numerically several all the distinction between numerical and formal, proximate and remote, *impedita* and *expedita*, etc, would be compromised.²⁹⁰ Fourth, by saying that because the aptitude

²⁸⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 978: “Altera, quia naturae absolute acceptae repugnat esse in pluribus, vel minime. Si repugnat, numquam in pluribus erit; si non repugnat, ergo habet in illis non repugnantiam, ut sit in illis, ac proinde de aptitudine essendi in pluribus.”

²⁸⁸ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 984-985: “Secunda quoque ratio vitiose concludit. Nam, etsi naturae communi absolute acceptae non repugnat esse in pluribus, inepte tamen colligitur: ergo habet in illis non repugnantiam, ut sit in illis, si sensus sit, (ut esse debet) ergo habet in quolibet eorum non repugnantiam, ut sit in pluribus, atque adeo in illis omnibus transitur enim hoc pacto a ratione habendi absolute ad rationem habendi hic vel ibi. Namque etsi natura absolute accepta habet huiusmodi non repugnantiam (id quod apte colligitur) non habet tamen illam in suis particularibus, nec recte id concluditur, quod tamen concludere oportebat.”

²⁸⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 978: “Tertia, quia per unum actum non tollitur aptitudo ad alium actum priori actui repugnantem, sed impeditur per illam natura subiecta, ne simul subsit posteriori. Quo pacto per formam aquae non tollitur aptitudo huius materiae ad formam ignis, sed impeditur materia, ne simul habeat formam ignis. Et per actum sedendi non tollitur aptitudo Socratis ad standum, sed impeditur Socrates, ne simul stet. Quamvis ergo naturae humanae, quae ex se apta est, ut sit in multis, adveniat determinatio ad Socratem per differentiam Socratis constitutivam. Non tollitur tamen ab ea aptitudo, ut sit in Platone, et quovis alio homine. Tametsi impediatur, ne eadem illa natura, quae est in Socrate, sit etiam in Platone ac caeteris.”

²⁹⁰ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 985-986: “Tertia ratio tribus minimum vitiis laborat.

Primum est, quod supponit aptitudinem essendi pluribus esse simul in Socrate cum determinatione naturae humanae ad illum: quod quidem erat in quaestione, nosque falsum esse ostendimus.

Alterum, quod sumit pro diversis actibus eiusdem aptitudinis naturae humanae determinationem eius ad Socratem et ad Platonem caeterosque homines, cum unus tantum sit actus talis aptitudinis. Nempe esse in pluribus, seu determinatio ad plures homines particulares, atque adeo ad omnes; nisi velis esse diversos partiales unum totalem conficientes. Hinc est, quod D Thomas s 3 p q 2 art 5 agens de assumptione humanae naturae in Christo, ait: *naturam humanam non habere rationem communis speciei, secundum quod est in uno solo individuo, est secundum quod est abstracta ab omni individuo, vel secundum quod est in omnibus individuis*. Nam, quod rectissime id dictum sit, ex eo patet, quia natura humana, quoad aptitudinem non existit, nisi obiective in intellectu abstrahente illam a differentiis contrahentibus. Quoad actum vero non existit in uno solo individuo, sed in omnibus simul. Nec vero est eadem ratio de aptitudine, atque de actu, ut etiam sit partialiter in quolibet, totaliter autem in omnibus simul, quemadmodum actus. Nam, actus huiusmodi aptitudinis ex ratione sua est in particularibus naturae aptae, at ipsa aptitudo ad omnes ex ratione etiam sua antecedit contractionem ad particularia. Unde nec totaliter, nec partialiter in particularibus esse potest. Quanquam etsi eadem esset ratio in aptitudine, atque in actu. Illi tamen non loquuntur de aptitudine partiali, sed totali, quam volunt esse in quolibet.

Tertium vitium est, quod ii, qui ratione proposita utuntur, credunt, determinationem naturae humanae ad Platonem esse actum repugnantem determinationi eius ad Socratem, quod aut falsum est, aut nihil ad rem facit. Nam, si natura humana ab eis sumitur absolute, ut sumenda est, et non, ut facta haec aut illa per differentias individuantes adiectas: falsum est, determinationem eius ad Platonem esse actum repugnantem determinationi ad Socratem. Simul

of the common nature follows its unity, but it could not follow the numerical unity, therefore it has to follow the formal (proximate or remote).²⁹¹ But in fact, to Fonseca, there has to be another incommunicable unity, which follows the contractible nature in an aptitudinal or potential status, in which it precedes its contraction, which is here called unity of precision.²⁹²

Nevertheless, the correct opinion with regard to the aptitude of universals to being in several items is the one usually held by ‘Thomists’ (Fonseca explicitly mentions Cajetan in *De ente et essentia* book c 4 q 6; J. Capreolus book 3 d 5 7 3; Paulus Barbus Soncinas (d. 1494)²⁹³ *Metaphysics* q 40, among others). Moreover, if it is correctly explained, Fonseca thinks that the present view is perhaps not incompatible with Scotus’s, as it will be evident below. Accordingly, Fonseca states that no nature, which may be denominated common and universal, has in its particulars an aptitude to be in several items, either proximate or remote, although in some measure the act of this aptitude is partially present in some of them. And that can be shown in the case of human nature and in whichever other nature.²⁹⁴

enim natura humana est determinata ad singulos per singularum differentias. Unde sit, ut exempla huius materiae primae respectu formarum repugnantium, et huius subiecti completi respectu contrariorum accidentium nihil momenti habeant. Quod si natura humana sumatur, ut est facta haec per differentiam, constitutivam Socratis, quo pacto re vera sumanda est, ut proposita exempla aliquid valeant, et quomodo eam accipi extrema verba argumentationis indicant. Non est ad rem argumentatio agimus enim de aptitudine naturae communis, non de aptitudine naturae singularis. Adde, quod natura humana facta singularis per differentiam Socratis, non solum impeditur, ne sit in Platone, sed etiam inepta redditus, seu carens omni aptitudine, ut sit in alio, praeterquam in Socrate.”

²⁹¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 978: “Quarta, quia cum aptitudo naturae comunis sequatur unitatem aliquam illius, nec tamen sequi possit numeralem. Necessesse est, inquiunt, ut, quoniam unitas formalis cuiusque naturae communis reperitur in quolibet eius particulari, in quolibet etiam reperitur naturae ipsius aptitudo. Ita concludunt, in unoquoque particulari concedendum esse eam aptitudinem, qua natura communis idonea est, ut sit in pluribus, eandemque esse et remotam, et proximam: remotam, quatenus natura contracta est per aliquam differentiam adiectam; proximam, quatenus ab ea differentia, caeterisque contrahentibus est liberata, et expedita.”

²⁹² *CMA* v. 2, c. 986-987: “Quartae extremaeque rationi respondendum est, aptitudinem, quam habet natura communis, ut sit in pluribus sequi formalem unitatem, atque adeo naturam ipsam, non per se tamen, sed in statu potenciali ipsius naturae: seu potius esse statum ipsum potentialem, modumve essendi potentialem naturae, ut supra, *hac ipsa quaestione sectio 2* diximus, coniunctamque esse cum unitate praecisionis, ita tamen, ut non sequatur illam, sed potius praecedat supponit enim unitas praecisionis aptitudinem essendi in pluribus, non aptitudo unitatem, ut ex eodem loco perspicuum est. Itaque hoc modo res habet. Naturam sequitur per se unitas formalis: modum autem essendi potentialem naturae, sive aptitudinem, ut sit in pluribus sequitur unitas praecisionis. Unde non mirum est, si unitas formalis descendat cum natura ad omnia eius particularia; cum tamen impossibile sit unitatem praecisionis cum natura descendere, nec sane alia ratione, nisi quia in modus potentialis aptitudove simul esse non potest cum natura actuata et determinata; iam enim esset actuata et non actuata, determinata et non determinata.”

²⁹³ Italian Dominican philosopher and theologian, from Soncino, Lombardy. Among his writings there are: *Divinum Epitoma quaestionum in IV libros sententiarum a principe Thomistarum Joanne Capreolo Tolesano disputatarum*, (principal edition, Pavia, 1522); *In libros praedicabilium et praedicamentorum expositio* (date and place of edition unknown)

²⁹⁴ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 978-979: “Opposita nihilominus Caietani in libro *De ente et essentia* c 4 q 6 Capreoli lib. 3 d 5 7 3 Soncin *Metaphysic. Quaest. 40 et* aliarum Thomistarum, sententia amplectenda est: cui fortasse non repugnat Scoti opinio, si recte exponatur, ut inferius patebit. Dicimus ergo, nullam naturam, quae communis et universalis

Indeed there is no shortage of authors, who admit numerically one aptitude and numerically one formal unity to be in all men, or rather they are forced to admit the strength of this argument. But many still object to the point regarding the creation and the annihilation. For they indeed reply that a non-existing man can be created, if no one existed before and the last existing man can be annihilated, if no one remains, because creation is not creation out of nothing, but creation out of no previous particular, and destruction is not total and absolute destruction, but destruction of the particular.²⁹⁵ However, this solution implies the existence of human nature apart from any particular man, in a Platonic way. Something that Aristotle rejects in the passage of the *Metaphysics* just quoted, a doctrine that any Peripatetic author has to uphold.

On the other hand, those authors who concede numerically several remote aptitudes of human nature next to the number of particulars, in which the human nature is contained, do not have fewer difficulties either. They have to introduce some unity, which the human nature is said to possess that makes it numerically one universal, and numerically one species. For others it seems to suffice a numerically one intelligible species, and numerically one concept of human nature concisely representing the nature itself, that is, without individuating *differentias*. Indeed they say that a nature thus represented can be said to be numerically universal, and numerically one species by an intelligible species, or by a representing concept.²⁹⁶ However it can be objected

denominetur, habere in suis particularibus aptitudinem, ut sit in pluribus, sive proximam, sive remotam, tametsi in quolibet eorum habeat partialiter (ut sic dicam) actum eius aptitudinis. Id quod in natura humana ad proinde in qualibet alia (...)"

²⁹⁵ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 981-982: "Mira sunt, quae ad hoc argumentum responderi solent. Non desunt enim, qui admittant unam numero aptitudinem, unamque numero unitatem formalem esse in omnibus hominibus, aut potius argumentationis vi admittere cogantur: sed non eodem modo ad id, quod de creatione et annihilatione obiicitur, respondent. Nam, eorum quidam aiunt, posse quidem hominem non existentem creari, si nullus existat; et existentem annihilari, si nullus maneat, at existentibus antea, et post ea remanentibus, non posse. Neque id absurdum esse cum ratio creationis et annihilationis id poscat. Alii non dubitantes, absurda haec esse vel maxima, ad novam creationis et annihilationis explicationem confugiunt. Dicunt enim, creationem non esse productionem rei ex nullo omnino ente, sed ex nullo singulari. Similiterque, annihilationem non esse destructionem existentem in nullum omnino ens, sed in nullum singulare. Quare nihil obsesse, quod nunc novus aliquis homo creetur ex humanitate eadem communi, quae in aliis existebat. Vel quod aliquis ex iis, qui existunt annihilentur, remanente nihilominus in aliis eadem communi, quae sane vel relatu indigna sunt. Lege, si placet Burleum in *Isagogem Porphyrii*, et Capreolum ad *quaestionem tertiam distinctionis quintae libri tertii Sententiarum*, ubi horum nonnulla, sed perperam, Scoti tribuuntur."

²⁹⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 982: "Qui vero plures numero aptitudines remotas naturae humanae concedunt iuxta numerum particularium; in quibus illa continetur, non parum in eo laborant, ut inveniant unitatem aliquam, a qua natura humana dicatur, ac sit unum numero universale, unaque numero species. Nam, alii sibi videntur satisfacere, afferenda una numero specie intelligibili, unove numero conceptu humanae naturae praecise repraesentante naturam ipsam,

that species and concepts cannot be formally given to the human nature unless insofar as they represent it, but what is being represented does not have to be in the same number of what represents it. Indeed it is possible that numerically one thing may be represented by numerically several others, just as numerically one face by numerically several images impressed in numerically several mirrors.²⁹⁷ Therefore, this second opinion can be correct because the nature is numerically one without the individuating *differentias*, although it is represented by numerically several species or concepts. Certainly, the nature precedes the concept and species one has of it.²⁹⁸

A third group of authors do not introduce a numerical unity, nor acknowledge a numerical unity of the intelligible species and common concept of the human nature as numerically one universal, but resort to the formal unity of the human nature itself, which is not multiplied in the particular men, but is taken in common. In fact they say that the human nature does not have to be said to be numerically one universal, and numerically one species from some numerically one unity because this holds only of the singular things. The formal unity is taken in common or absolutely. And that this in reality is the unity of precision that Fonseca defends.²⁹⁹ However if these authors think that this kind of unity can be found in the particular men, they do not consider the issue correctly. For it cannot be conceived that something is numerically one by a unity, which itself is not numerically one, neither formally nor numerically. In fact numerically one

hoc est, sine differentiis individuantibus. Aiunt enim, naturam sic repraesentatam dici posse unum numero universale, et unam numero speciem ab una numero sive specie intelligibili, sive conceptu repraesentante.”

²⁹⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 982: “Sed praesto est, quod contra opponatur: nempe, si non aliunde, quam ab una numero specie intelligibili, unove numero conceptu communi, natura humana dicitur unum numero universale, et una numero species. Cum plures numero sive species intelligibiles, sive conceptus, cum a diversis hominibus tum etiam ab eodem de humana natura formentur, fore, ut natura quoque humana sit plura numero universalis, et plures numero species. Opponi quoque et illud potest, species et conceptus non posse dare formaliter naturae humanae nisi esse repraesentari, et quae illud consequuntur. At, aliquid sit unum numero repraesentatum, non ex uno numero repraesentetur. Veluti una numero facies a pluribus numero imaginibus impressis in diversis numero speculis.”

²⁹⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 982: “Aliunde igitur oportet, ut natura sit unum numero repraesentatum sine differentiis individuantibus quam ab una numero specie aut conceptu. Nempe, ab aliqua una numero unitate ipsius naturae repraesentatae quae nostrum conceptum speciemque praecedat.”

²⁹⁹ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 982-983: “Alii, cum hanc unitatem non inveniunt, fateanturque non satis esse unitatem numeralem speciei intelligibilis conceptusque communis ut natura humana dicatur unum numero universale, recurrunt ad ipsam unitatem formalem naturae humanae, non quidem multiplicatum in suis particularibus, sed in commune sumptam. Dicunt enim, naturam humanam non esse dicendam unum numero universale, unamque numero speciem ab aliqua una numero unitate (hoc enim esse proprium rerum singularium) sed ab unitate formali in commune, seu praecise sumpta. Atque hanc re vera esse unitatem praecisionis, non aliam ullam, quae sit una numero. Et nullo modo multiplicabilis in plures numero, ut nos eam ponimus.”

thing cannot be divided or multiplied in numerically several of the same name and *ratio*. Formal unity would not do either, because neither animal absolutely taken, nor man absolutely taken, can be said to be numerically one universal in all particular men. The universal can only have an incommunicable unity, which follows human nature in its potential or aptitudinal status, in which it precedes its contraction to the particular men and that is precisely what Fonseca calls ‘unity of precision.’³⁰⁰ It is therefore evident that the human nature does not have in any particular man an aptitude to be in several and one to be of this kind of aptitude a distinction between remote and proximate, as one such is numerically suitable to the human nature, before it is contracted to the particular men, just as the unity of precision, which is one such numerically, or rather in its numerical mode. Indeed it ought to be said concerning the other aptitudes and unities of precision of the universal things in respect of their particulars.³⁰¹

Summing up this part, Fonseca’s position can be stated as follows. First, to the potential status that precedes the contraction of the nature in its particulars, corresponds an “incommunicable” unity, which is here called “unity of precision,” which is proper of the universals. Next, in the individual there is no potency to being in several by identity, and it is useless any distinction in proximate and remote, since the nature “precisively” considered has a simple aptitude to be “multiplied” in several items. Third, even though the prime matter can receive diverse forms in succession, while it is the same numerically and, for this reason, when subjected to one form, has the remote potency to receiving other forms, this is not the case of the common nature, because when it is singularised it cannot go from one *differentia* to another nor

³⁰⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 983: “Sed non bene rem considerant. Nam, ne fingi quidem potest, aliquid esse unum numero per unitatem, quae ipsa ex se non sit una numero, sive ex formalibus, sive ex numeralibus. Siquidem unum numero nihil est aliud, quam indivisibile seu immultiplicabile, ut sic dicam, in plura numero eiusdem nominis et rationis. Si ergo animal in commune seu praecise sumptum est unum numero genus, et homo in commune ac praecise sumptus est unam numero species: ab una utique numero unitate utrumque habet, necesse est, ut eo pacto sit unum. At unitas formalis, sive animalis, sive hominis, etiam praecise sumpta, non est una numero, neque ex formalibus, neque ex numeralibus, ut ipsi recte dicunt, ergo nec animal praecise sumptum, nec homo praecise sumptus potest dici unum numero universale, aut una numero natura ex communibus per unitatem formalem etiam praecise sumptam, sed solum per eam unitatem incommunicabilem, quae sequitur quamlibet naturam contrahibilem in statu illo potenciali seu aptitudinali, quo illa sui contractionem antecedit, quam unitatem praecisionis appellamus.”

³⁰¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 983: “Patet igitur ex his, naturam humanam non habere in particulari ullo homine aptitudinem essendi in pluribus, unamque esse huiusmodi aptitudinis distinctionem in remotam et proxima, cum una tantum sit numero conveniens humanae naturae, antequam ad particulares homines contrahatur, quemadmodum et unitas praecisionis, quae una tantum numero est, immo et suo modo numeralis. Quidem dicendum est de caeteris aptitudinibus et unitatibus praecisionis rerum universalium respectu suorum particularium.”

be the subject of successive opposite *differentias*, but it is determined, at the same time and in an equal way, in all its immediate particulars.³⁰² Universals have unity and aptitude to be in several items, but their unity and aptitude are not in the particulars, therefore, in order to serve as the basis for knowledge this unity and this aptitude have to be engendered somehow and this is the reason why some agency that is responsible for this process has to be posited.

2.1.4. The Role of the Intellect

Now that the question of the nature which is the basis for universality has been addressed and main characteristics of universals have been explained, both with regard to their unity and their aptitude to be in several, it is necessary to deal with the role of the intellect because that was the other aspect of the issue that we have referred to in the introductory remarks concerning universals, i.e., that universals involve notions of priority in nature and of priority in cognition. However before we can examine Fonseca's ideas with this issue, it is useful to survey briefly the discussion he inherited.³⁰³

Turning first to Ockham's³⁰⁴ theory of cognition who thinks that when the intellect apprehends a singular thing, it performs within itself a cognition of this singular only.³⁰⁵ This cognition is called a state of mind, and is capable of standing for this singular thing by its very nature. That is to say, the human mind, upon being presented with a singular object and in being aware of it, has what Ockham calls "an intuitive cognition."³⁰⁶ This cognition is a state of mind

³⁰² *CMA* v. 2, c. 984: "Neque item ad rem facit similitudo proposita matariae primae. Namque materia prima, cum una et eadem numero successive subesse possit diversis ac repugnantibus formis. Quandocunque unicarum subiecta est, habet remotam aptitudinem, ut aliis subsit, idque propter dispositiones contrarias dispositionibus aliarum formarum, quas dispositiones expelli oporteret, ut aliae formae inducantur. At natura communis facta singularis non potest transire ab una differentia contrahente in aliam, sive successive subesse oppositis differentis (qua sola ratione fieri posset ut in hoc particulari haberet aptitudinem remotam essendi in aliis) sed simul et aequae determinata est in omnibus suis particularibus immediatis. Nec remotam habere potest aptitudinem, ut sit in aliis, nisi comparetur cum mediatis sive remotis particularibus, ad quae per differentias divisivas immediatorum contrahitur."

³⁰³ As in the other parts of this thesis, we are not so much interested in what Ockham, Scotus, or Aquinas, think about this subject, but in how Fonseca understands the ideas of these authors.

³⁰⁴ For a recent account of this process, see chapter 13 ("Conceptual Empiricism and Direct Realism") of M. M. Adams, *William Ockham* v. 1, Notre Dame (Ind.), 1987, pp. 495-550.

³⁰⁵ Ockham, *Ordinatio* 1 d. 2 q. 4 n. 128

³⁰⁶ The expression "intuitive cognition" is introduced by Scotus to account for the cases in which an intelligible object is present to the intellect, without the production of any species, so that the intellect can have an immediate

which, as such, is proper to its particular object, determinate in all its aspects to it, and is simple. Furthermore – and this is the distinguishing characteristic of intuitive cognition – it is an awareness of the object as existing. Simultaneously with this intuitive cognition, the mind performs an abstractive cognition. This, once again, is unique to the object in question. However, it differs from the intuitive cognition because it is not an awareness of the object as existing.³⁰⁷ Words may be associated with these cognitions and like the cognitions themselves they will be proper names. Nevertheless, they will be conventional and not natural signs. That is to say, they will signify by convention those particular objects to which the cognitions refer by their very nature. Beside this intellectual grasp of a singular thing, the intellect also forms other acts which do not refer to one thing more than to another. Therefore these acts are common and confuse and these are the concepts as well as the terms associated with them that are signs of many things in the world, and therefore are predicable of several items. Such are the universals, both primarily and secondarily. But they are universals only in their signficatory role; for only as such are the concepts naturally fit to be predicated of several items, and the words are fit to perform their role by convention.³⁰⁸ As we have just said, the nominalist approach to the universals requires a considerably more complex epistemology.³⁰⁹

Second, we subvert the chronological order and present Scotus's ontology of universals, namely, of the doctrine that the common nature has a real unity, different from that of Avicenna's

vision of external objects. This 'novelty' on the part of Scotus is designed to the specific theological context of the Beatific Vision. Later on, Ockham would adopt this doctrine and develop it even further. On Scotus's intuitive cognition, see S. Dumont, "Theology as a Science and Duns Scotus's Distinction between Intuitive and Abstractive Cognition," *Speculum* 64, 1989, 579-599; A. Wolter, *The Philosophical Theology of Duns Scotus*, Ithaca/London, 1990, pp 99-122; and more recently R. Pasnau, "Cognition," in T. Williams (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Duns Scotus*. Cambridge, 2003, 285-311. On the debate concerning what precisely is the real doctrine of intuitive cognition defended by Ockham, see P. Bohener, "The Notitia Intuitiva of Non-existents according to William Ockham," M. M. Adams, *William Ockham*, Notre Dame (Ind.), 1987, pp. 501-509; C. Tachau, *Vision and Certitude in the Age of Ockham: Optics, Epistemology and the Foundation of Semantics, 1250-1345*, Leiden, 1988; C. Pannacio, "Intuition, abstraction e la Langage Mental dans la Théorie Occamiste de la Connaissance," *Revue de Métaphysique e Morale* 97/1, 1992, 61-81; and more recently E. Karger, "Ockham's Misunderstood Theory of Intuitive and Abstractive Cognition," In P. V. Spade (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ockham*, Cambridge, 1999, 204-226.

³⁰⁷ Ockham, *Ordinatio* I d. 2 q. 6, n. 152

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, nn. 122-123

³⁰⁹ It is common knowledge that the simplicity on the level of the ontology of the nominalist position has the effect of complicating its epistemology, while the complexity on the level the ontology of the Realist position makes its epistemology relatively easier. For a very useful summary of the interrelation of ontology and epistemology of universals see P. V. Spade, *Five Texts on the Mediaeval Problem of Universals: Porphyry, Boethius, Abelard, Duns Scotus, Ockham*, Indianapolis, 1994, pp vii-xv.

neutral nature, and how the intellect has access to the common nature. In this doctrine, the commonality of the nature is described negatively (*ipsa natura de se est indifferens ad esse in intellectu et in particulari, ac per hoc et ad esse universale et particulare*), yet that description points to a positive feature. The commonality of the nature is not at all universality in the strong sense. Indeed Scotus sharply distinguishes fully-fledged universality from the universality that he sometimes uses as a synonym for commonality.³¹⁰ This becomes clear from the role that Scotus assigns to the nature in cognition, since this nature is the guarantee that what is cognised is not only one's own thoughts. Owing to the fact that it is not of itself a 'this,' the nature is not incompatible with being said of several items as well as being found in several items, and these are the two necessary and jointly sufficient conditions for complete universality. This characteristic of determination and indeterminacy is also important for the possibility of the same nature being found in reality and in the mind.³¹¹

With regard to the last point, some further clarifications are required. Scotus goes into this issue when he discusses whether the universal is intelligible of itself. Since it appears that it is not intelligible of itself, because of the Aristotelian doctrine that "nothing is in the intellect but what was first in the senses;" and seeing that a universal was never in the senses, it would not be intelligible *per se*.³¹² However, in his reply to this argument, Scotus recalls that Aristotle understands this as applying to the primary object of intellect, which is the "what" of a material thing. Alternatively: he understands it in accordance with the sensory nature, that is, as applying to sensible items. And the universal is obviously not the result of a simple activity on the part of the senses.³¹³ Moreover, every passive power presupposes its object in actuality before its operation, since it is from the object that it receives its own actuality, in virtue of which it can operate. But the intellect does not presuppose the universal: it causes the universal, as the Averroes says in his *On De anima* II.³¹⁴ To which, Scotus adds that the possible intellect is a

³¹⁰ Scotus, *Ordinatio* II d. 3 p. 1 q. 2 n. 42

³¹¹ Scotus, *Quaestiones super Libros Metaphysicorum* VII, q. 18, n. 59

³¹² *QLPI*, n 05.01.

³¹³ *QLPI*, n 05.05.

³¹⁴ *QLPI*, n 05.02.

passive power, and it does presuppose the universal, which is its object, but the agent intellect does not presuppose the universal, since it is not a passive power. And the universal is not the object of the agent intellect. Rather, its object is the “what a thing is” in *phantasmata*, and the universal is its end.³¹⁵ Moreover, it can be added that whatever is defined is of itself an object of intellect. Now seeing that the universal is defined by Aristotle, it is certainly an object of the intellect.³¹⁶ The conclusion is that the universal is intelligible of itself, and the reasons why it is so go as follows. The primary object of intellect, “what a thing is,” is understood under the notion of a universal. Now that notion is not essentially identical with the “what a thing is;” rather, it is an accidental mode of the “what a thing is.” Therefore, the intellect can cognise the difference between its primary object and that mode, since it can distinguish between any things that are not essentially the same. But every power that of itself cognises the difference between two things cognises each of the two under its proper notion, according to Aristotle in *De anima II* - that's how he proves that there is a *sensus communis*.³¹⁷ Therefore, the intellect can cognise that mode or notion of a universal of itself and under its proper notion. In this way, by reflection, the intellect cognises itself and its own operation and mode of operation and the other things that are in it.³¹⁸ But where can the universal be found, in the particular or in the intellect? Scotus defends the idea that it is not in the thing, because every accident that is in a thing is either proper or common. If it is proper, it is present in individuals, although not primarily, since a proper accident is present *per se* in the species, and *per se* presupposes that it is present in all. By contrast, if it is common, it is primarily in individuals. So if it were an accident in a thing, it would be primarily in individuals. However, this is not the case for the obvious reason that it would lead to the conclusion that the individuals are universals.³¹⁹ Scotus resorts to a distinction to reply to this argument, namely, that the argument proceeds from the real accident that is

³¹⁵ *QLPI*, n 05.06.

³¹⁶ *QLPI*, n 05.03.

³¹⁷ Aristotle, *De anima II*, 2, 426^b15-23.

³¹⁸ *QLPI*, n 05.04.

³¹⁹ *QLPI*, n 09-11.01.

present in the nature according to material being.³²⁰ In this context, we could just translate the expressions “what” and “what a thing is” by “nature,” with the result that there would be a perfect correspondence between what Scotus is saying and the doctrines professed by Fonseca.

Third, we can briefly refer to the opinion of Cajetan, who affirms that the universal has to be distinguished into the universal as predicated of things and the universal as produced by the intellect. The universal *pro re* is what is predicated of things and as such it is not produced by the intellect. The universal *pro aptitudine* is the condition of the thing, which is predicated, and as such it is made by the intellect. Moreover, the natures called universals do not terminate in place and time and form and matter belong to the quiddity of the universal. However, if things called genera, species, and *differentias* are outside the soul, their universal condition is a work of the intellect.³²¹ This distinction is compatible with Fonseca’s position that there is something at the level of the particular (their nature) which is the basis for the universal that acquires universality by an activity of the intellect.

Now it is time to address what Fonseca has to say about the origin of the universals, and the first question to be asked is whether they are made by an activity of the intellect. One can simply reply that they are not dependent on any activity of the intellect to exist. Or else one can say that they are fully dependent on the intellect to be generated. Fonseca ponders the arguments in favour of the negative response, i.e., the arguments of those who maintain that universals are completely independent of any activity of the intellect. Arguments of this sort are five. First, that even if there were no activities of the intellect at all, men, horse, and dogs would still belong to the same genus, but be divided in three distinct species.³²² And to Fonseca, there is no need to reply to this because it does not talk about the existence of universality but it only aims at showing that commonality and difference of things among themselves do not depend on an

³²⁰ *QLPI*, n 09-11.18

³²¹ *CE&E*, pp. 105-106

³²² *CMA* v. 2, c. 988: “Nulla intellectus operatione opus esse, ut res sint universales, ex eo primum probari potest: quia etsi nulla nunc operatio intellectus esset, adhuc tamen homines inter se specie convenirent: cum caeteris vero animalibus genere: eadem enim omnino esset eorum convenientia et discrimen, atque nunc, cum illa convenire ac differre concipimus. Quinimo ea ratione vere concipimus, illa partim convenire, partim differre inter se, quod nobis etiam nihil de eorum convenientia ac discrimine cogitantibus ita res habeat.”

abstraction by the intellect.³²³ Second, that as ‘man’ is in many before an activity of the intellect takes place, and all aptitude precedes its act, ‘man’ is apt to be in many before and activity of the intellect.³²⁴ This argument correctly concludes that the aptitude to be in several precedes its act, not insofar as the existence goes, but insofar as it is suitable to common natures before the contraction to the particulars.³²⁵ Third, that everything which is suitable to things *per se*, is necessarily suitable to them before an activity of the intellect. It is suitable to man *per se* to be one, as a unity of this kind is its prime property, but the aptitude to be in many is also suitable to man, as there is no incompatibility in the human nature to inhere in many, it is therefore universal before any act of the intellect.³²⁶

Fonseca responds that it is not true that the unity proper to universals is the prime property of things or that it is suitable to things said to be universals *per se*, unless the expression ‘*per se*’ means ‘*non per aliud*.’ In fact the prime property of any common thing is its formal unity.³²⁷ Fourth, that if universal things are made by an activity of the intellect, that is, by species or concepts, in which they are represented without individuating *differentias*, then there would be as many species or concepts of human nature of this kind as there are species of human nature, what cannot be said.³²⁸ This argument is incorrect insofar as it goes from the multitude of representing items to the multitude of the represented, and this was previously shown not to be

³²³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 996: “Ad primum, nihil est quod respondeamus, cum non loquatur de existentia universalitatis, sed hoc tantum nitatur ostendere, communionem et discrimen rerum inter se, non pendere ab intellectus apprehensione.”

³²⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 988: “Deinde, quia cum homo ante operationem intellectus sit in multis, et omnis aptitudo praecedat suum actum, consequens est, ut potiori ratione ante operationem intellectus aptus sit, ut in multis insit: quod est esse universale.”

³²⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 996: “Secundum quoque recte concludit, si velit, aptitudinem essendi in multis praecedere suum actum, non quoad existentiam, sed quatenus naturis communibus ante contractionem convenit.”

³²⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 988: “Tertio, quia omnia, quae per se rebus conveniunt, necessario ac proinde ante omnem operationem intellectus conveniunt, at homini convenit per se esse unum, cum unitas cuiuscunque rei sit prima eius proprietas: convenit etiam aptitudo, ut sint in multis, cum ei nihil repugnet inesse in multis. Est igitur universalis ante omnem intellectus operationem.”

³²⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 996-997: “In tertio illud non est verum, unitatem, quae propria est universalium, esse primam rerum proprietatem, aut per se convenire rebus, quae denominantur universales, nisi verbum, *per se*, idem valeat, atque, *non per aliud*. Prima enim proprietas cuiusque rei communis est unitas eius formalis: haec vero antecedit praecisionis unitatem, quae propria est rei universalis, ut universalis est. Quae quidem praecisionis unitas, ut neque in primo, neque in secundo modo dicendi per se naturis communibus convenit: ita nec convenit per differentias contrahentes, aut intellectum abstrahentem, sed ante omnem contractionem abstractionemque, quod idem dicendum est de aptitudine essendi in multis.”

³²⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 988: “Quarto, quia se per operationem intellectus res fierent universales, id est, per species aut conceptus, quibus repraesentatur sive differentiis individuantibus; quot essent huiusmodi species vel conceptus naturae humanae, tot essent naturae humanae species, quod dici non potest.”

correct.³²⁹ Finally, that because the object precedes the act, and the universal is the object of the intellect, therefore the universal precedes any act of the intellect.³³⁰ The response to this last argument is that it is accepted that the universal is the proper and peculiar object of the intellect, seeing that the universal precedes an act of the intellect in two ways, insofar as the nature of the object thing is concerned, and with regard to the unity of precision and the aptitude to be in many through which the universal precedes the contraction of the nature by the individuating *differentias*. Indeed the nature taken absolutely is what is objected (*obiicitur*) by the intellect, however the unity and the aptitude are the conditions without which the nature is not objected (*obiicitur*) by the intellect. However the universal does not precede an act of the intellect insofar as the existence of the unity and of the aptitude is concerned.³³¹

Fonseca also considers arguments in support of a positive reply, i.e., that universals are dependent on the intellect to exist, which are three. First, that universal things are either *secundum se* or *per se*, or *per accidens*. If they were *secundum se* then ‘universal’ would also have to hold for the individuals because what holds *per se* of the superiors also hold of necessity of the inferiors. Therefore universal things are per accident and not by real existence (what is in fact the case of singulars as they are united to the individuating *differentias*), thus by objective existence.³³² Fonseca replies that it has to be said that indeed universal things are not *per se* in the sense that man or animal do not act or undergo action *per se*, but *per aliud*, that is through the particulars, but it is false to say that they are suitable to common things by accident, that they are

³²⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 997: “Quartum in eo peccat, quod ex multitudine repraesentantium arguit multitudinem repraesentati: quanquam si ex sola repraesentatione re fierent universales, recte colligeret, ut superius 1 4 sect 4 ostentum est.”

³³⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 988: “Postremo, quia obiectum praecedat actum: universale autem est obiectum intellectus, quemadmodum et singulare est obiectum sensus, ut passim Philosophi asserunt, praecedat igitur universale omnem actum intellectus.”

³³¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 997: “Extremae argumentationi concedimus, obiectum proprium et peculiare intellectus, quod est universale, duobus modis praecedere actum intellectus, et quoad naturam rei obiectae, et quoad unitatem praecisionis et aptitudinem essendi in multis, quibus praecedat contractionem naturae per differentias. Natura enim absolute sumpta est id, quod obiicitur, unitas autem et aptitudo est conditio, sine qua non obiicitur. Non praecedat tamen obiectum intellectus actum illius quoad existentiam unitatis et aptitudinis, ut dictum est.”

³³² *CMA* v. 2, c. 989: “Contra vero, rem nullam esse universalem, nisi beneficio intellectus, eo argumento primum probatur, quia aut res sunt universales secundum se, seu (quod idem est) per se: aut per accidens: re autem vera non sunt per se universales, quia cum omnia, quae per se conveniunt superioribus, inferioribus quoque omnibus convenient, ut est Aristotelis *1 Post. cap 5 text 12 et 13*, sententia ab omnibus recepta: singularia etiam, ut Socrates et Plato essent universalia, quod fieri nullo modo potest, cum per se sint singularia: sunt igitur per accidens universales, atque non id eis accidit secundum existentiam realem, cum hoc pacto omnes singulares sint propter coniunctionem, quam habent cum differentiis individuantibus ergo secundum existentiam obiectivam.”

suitable to them either according to real existence or to objective existence, because they can be suitable to them even before any existence at all, be it real or objective.³³³ Second, it can be said that as everything which exists in several things is not one but many things, the universals have to be separated from their individuals, what cannot happen in a separate real existence (in the manner Plato may have thought), therefore they have an objective existence (separate from their distinctive characteristics).³³⁴ Fonseca's response is that it is not necessary that a common thing exist, unless by the abstraction from its particulars, as it has been demonstrated.³³⁵ Third, another difficulty seems to derive from the fact that the universals neither as beings nor as universals are eternal (since this is an attribute of God alone and He is singular in the highest degree). Thus they have to be made somewhere in time, but they cannot be many by a real action, since real actions culminate in singulars, therefore it has to be by an intentional action, what can only be made by the intellect (the only knowing faculty apt to reach the universals).³³⁶ On the other hand, although only God 'is' eternal, many things can be suitable to things *ab aeterno*, for instance, it is suitable *ab aeterno* to things to be universals insofar as they have the potency to be universals *ex se*.³³⁷

³³³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 998: "Ad posteriora vero argumenta, ex dictis fere patet quo pacto respondendum sit. Sed tamen perspicuitatis gratia ad primum dicendum, res non esse per se universales eo modo, quo Aristoteles *primo Metaph c 1 et aliis in locis*, distinguit primum et secundum modum dicendi per se: sed in eo sensu, in quo idem asserit, singularia, ut Socratem et Calliam agere aliquid aut pati per se, id est, non per aliud: universale vero, ut hominem aut animal agere aut pati per accidens, hoc est, per aliud, quod per singularia et agant et patientur. Addendumque falsum esse, quidquid hoc pacto rebus communibus per accidens convenit, convenire illis vel secundum existentiam realem, vel secundum obiectivam: potest enim eis convenire ante omnem existentiam sive realem, sive obiectivam."

³³⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 989: "Deinde, quia cum nulla res, quae habet plura individua, quatenus in eis existit, sit unum aliquid, sed multa aut etiam in ullo rerum habeat aptitudinem, sit in aliis (natura enim humana, quae est in Socrate, per nullam potentiam potest esse in Platone, cum propria sit Socratis: nec ab eo ulla virtute separari possit, ut saltem successive sit in Platone: simul enim luce clarius est in utroque existere non posse) necessario efficitur, ut si universalis esse debet, modo aliquo separetur a suis individuis, ut et una tantum sit, et aequae respiciat omnia sua individua atqui non potest esse separata secundum realem existentiam, ut Plato sinxisse creditur. Est igitur universalis, quatenus est separata secundum existentiam obiectivam, quae rebus sola intellectus operatione conferri potest. Sensus enim nihil separat a conditionibus individuantiibus."

³³⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 998: "Ad secundum dicito, etsi nulla res communis est positive una aut apta, ut sit in pluribus, quatenus existit in suis particularibus: tamen, ut talis sit, id est, ut habeat unam duntaxat numero unitatem, unamque numero aptitudinem ad sui multiplicationem, non esse necesse, ut separetur per intellectum a suis particularibus, cum talis sit prius natura, quam ab illa contrahatur, licet non talis existat, nisi per abstractionem a suis particularibus."

³³⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 989: "Tertio, quia universalialia, nec quatenus talia entia, nec quatenus universalialia, sunt aeterna (solus enim Deus est aeternus, in quo nihil est universale, sed omnia maxime singularialia) sunt igitur aliquando facta universalialia, aut etiam fiunt. At non possunt fieri universalialia actione reali, quae ad sola singularialia terminatur. Fiunt igitur actione intentionali: nec certe alia quam intellectus, qui solus inter facultates ad cognoscendum aptas, ad universalialia terminari potest."

³³⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 998: "Ad tertium dicendum, aeternum esse ac temporale, ad existentiam proprie pertinere, quo pacto nihil est aeternum, nisi Deus: sed tamen multa convenire rebus ab aeterno, nempe omnia, quae de illis necessario praedicantur, etsi nec in primo, nec in secundo modo dicendi per se conveniant. Hoc autem modo convenit rebus communibus ab aeterno esse universales, quatenus ex se potentiam habent: ut per differentias suorum particularium

Confirmation for this position would come from *De anima* I c 1 and also from Averroes's *Comm. De anima* 8.³³⁸ Fonseca does not find it difficult to reply to this argument since in the *De anima* Aristotle talks about the universal insofar as the existence of universality is concerned, what the Commentator explains in the second passage cited (in which way things are made universals in this sense, will have to be explained later on)³³⁹ and Fonseca thinks that none of these points undermines his position, because he agrees that universals are not eternal and that they have objective existence due to the intellect.

The conclusion is that universals are made by an activity of the intellect, that is, common natures not only do not have their universality in their particulars, in truth out of themselves they are not universal at all, but they are only made universal by an activity of the intellect. And the confirmation of this opinion is found in Aquinas's *De ente et essentia* c 4, and in almost all the Ancient scholastics.³⁴⁰ Moreover, Fonseca explains that the texts quoted in connection to the positive response do not present any special difficulty, seeing that Aristotle in the first passage speaks of the universal insofar as the existence of universality, and Averroes explains what Aristotle said in that passage. Furthermore, Scotus's opinion can certainly be interpreted in a way that makes clear that common natures existing in their particulars have an indifference to all their particulars, and it is a positive and contrary indifference, in the sense that they do not undergo in

contrahantur, et in eis multiplicentur. Dicunt tamen universalia secundum existentiam suae universalitatis apud nos, cum naturas communes a differentiis contrahentibus abstrahimus.”

³³⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 990: “Accedit celebre illud Aristotelis pronunciatum in 1 lib *De anima* cap 1 text 8 *Universale, et quicquid aliud communiter praedicatur, aut nihil esse, (si de reali nimirum existentis sit quaestio) aut posterius esse, hoc est, aut habere existentiam actione intellectus abstrahentis naturam quamlibet communem (sic enim intelligunt Aristotelem gravissimi quique Peripatetici ex quibus commentator Averrois in primum De anima commnt. 8 satis tritum illud collegit, scriptumque reliquit, intellectum facere in rebus universalitatem. Sed lege praeter ea quae dicta sunt, eundem Averroem 1 a Metaph comm 4 14 et 28 Albert Magn in 1 lib de Ani tract 1 cap 4 Divum Tho in 1 de Anim lect 1 et alios.”*

³³⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 998: “Ad ea vero, quae ex Aristotele et Commentatore allata sunt, haud difficilis est responsio. Loquitur enim Aristoteles in priori pronunciato de universali quoad existentiam universalitatis, quod Commentator exponit in posteriori.”

³⁴⁰ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 994-995: “Alii oppositam omnino sententiam sequuntur: dicunt enim, naturas communes non solum non habere suam universalitatem in suis particularibus, verum neque ex seipsis esse universales, sed sola operatione intellectus universales effici. Asserunt autem D Thomam, et paene totam Scholasticorum antiquitatem in suae opinionis confirmationem. Divus enim Thomas capite quarto libelli *De ente et essentia*, non tantum asserit, sed etiam probat, naturas communes nec secundum se, nec ut sunt in suis particularibus, sed ut sunt in intellectu, esse universales, et in eo tantum obiective sibi vindicare universalitatem: quod Avicennae etiam et Commentatoris auctoritate confirmat. Idem ex veteribus Scholasticis et priores D Thoma, ut Albertus et Alensis: et posteriores, ut Aegidius et caeteri reales sensisse videtur. Vide Avicen. 5 lib sua Metaph c 1 Aven primo de Ani comm 8 et 12 Meta comm 4 et 3 de Ani. Comm. 18 Albert Mag. in Praedic. Alens. 7 Metaph. in tex 46 Aegid. q 2 prologi et primo Sent. d 19 p 2 Duran. in 1 d 3 q 5 et in 2 d 3 q 7 et alios Sect. praecedenti.”

themselves the determination by the individuating *differentias*. They have an indifference which is in fact prior to the contraction by the *differentias*.³⁴¹ This implies that natures are universal in act and not only in potency, however they only begin to exist in act by an activity of the intellect. Drawing from the Ancient scholastics, it becomes clear that common natures are universal *ex se* and before any activity of the intellect, although they do not have universality in the mode of existence unless when the intellect takes them as its objects, without the contracting *differentias*.³⁴²

In order to provide further confirmation for what has been said, there are in fact two arguments tailored to convince even the most puzzled readers. The first is that what is suitable to things by an activity of the intellect is posterior to those that are suitable to things as they exist in the nature of things, *a parte rei*. However, the aptitude of those that are in several is not posterior, but prior to the being in several, which is the *actus conveniens* to it *a parte rei*. It is not suitable to them by an activity of the intellect, and if the aptitude to be in several is not made by the intellect, neither will be the universality.³⁴³ The second argument is that diverse natures of things also have diverse aptitudes, as they are by mode of identity. The nature of animal does not

³⁴¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 995: “Sed horum opinio, etsi in priori quoque parte nobis probatur, satisque ex iis quae dicta sunt, confirmata relinquitur: posteriori tamen, ut superior (nisi aliter, quam ut sonat exponatur) non placet; est enim ex duabus superioribus quaestionibus perspicuum naturas communes habere ex se, et ante operationem intellectus et unitatem praecisionis, et aptitudinem, ut sint in pluribus. Quo fit, ut hac ratione tantum sint, ac fiant universales operatione intellectus, quatenus non habent universalitatem actu existentem, nisi obiective in intellectu. Atque hoc pacto intelligendos esse Auctores, quos citant, ex eo primum patet. Quia omnia hoc modo apte cohaerent, nullaque repugnancia in tantorum virorum doctrina superest. Deinde, quia facere et fieri ad existentiam referuntur. Unde cum illi dicunt, res fieri universales operationes intellectus, nihil aliud voluisse existimandi sunt, quam quod earum universalitas sola operatione intellectus existere incipia, quandoquidem in rebus particularibus existere non potest, ut in exponenda Scoti sententia diximus. Demum, quia verba quibus hanc quaestionem proponunt, haec fere sunt: Utrum universalis sint extra animam, hoc est, an existant sine operatione intellectus. Tandemque concludunt, ea quidem, quae denominantur universalis, esse extra animam, si sint realia, hoc est, existere realiter, si eorum singularia realiter existunt: at ipsam universalitatem nunquam existere, nisi obiective in intellectu.”

³⁴² *CMA* v. 2, c. 995: “Est igitur vera germanaque et omnium ut credere par est, veterum Scholasticorum sententia, naturas communes ex se, et ante eam operationem intellectus, qua a suis particularibus abstrahuntur, nempe prius natura, quam in suis particularibus existant, aut contractae in eis sint, esse actu et non potentia tantum universales, tametsi non habent suam universalitatem existentem, nisi cum intellectu sine differentiis contrahentibus obiciuntur. Quae sententia etsi ex dictis patet, tamen quoad priorum partem, quae maiorem difficultatem recentioribus ingerit, duobus item argumentis confirmari potest.”

³⁴³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 995-996: “Unum est, quia quae conveniunt rebus per operationem intellectus, sunt posteriora iis, quae illis conveniunt ut existunt in rerum natura, sive ut dicitur, a parte rei: sed aptitudo earum, ut sint in pluribus non est posterior, sed prior ipso esse in pluribus, qui est actus conveniens illi a parte rei; non convenit igitur rebus per operationem intellectus: quod si aptitudo essendi in pluribus non convenit rebus per operationem intellectus: ergo nec universalitas, cum in ea posita sit tota universalitatis ratio. Idem argumentum hunc etiam in modum proponi potest. Actus essendi in pluribus, qui est fundamentum praedicationis de pluribus, non pendet ab operatione intellectus, ut omnes fatentur, ergo nec aptitudo, seu universalitas, quae ordine naturae praecedit actum. *Lege Scot in Isagog Porphyrii q 14 et Caiet ad finem cap de Genere.*”

have an aptitude to be a stone, and vice versa. This aptitude does not come from an activity of the intellect, because the latter abstracts all things in the same way, therefore it has to come from the nature of things.³⁴⁴

In short, the nature that particulars have is prior to any activity of the intellect, but it is not universal in the sense that in the particulars it does not have a fully developed aptitude to be in several items, insofar as it is particularised by the individuating *differentias* and can only be in that particular. This aptitude to be in several comes about by an activity of the intellect which means that universality is only possible by an activity of the intellect. This activity of the intellect is abstraction, which is the denudation of the natures of the individuating *differentias* that they have in the particulars. With these arguments, Fonseca is able to somehow harmonise the views of Ockham, of the Thomists, and of Scotus, because there is no universality in particulars, as Ockham argues, but the nature in the particulars is a real entity as Scotus defends, and the conclusion is that the universals are made by the intellect as the Thomists posit.

2.2. Conclusion

Pedro da Fonseca successfully argues his case in favour of Aristotle's moderate realism, excludes radical Platonism and radical nominalism, and shows that it is possible to reconcile such an approach with the teachings of the principal Scholastic authors, especially Scotus's common nature and Aquinas's understanding of the role of the intellect for the existence of universals. Fonseca's main concern, however, is to provide some clear indication of how his theory of universals can be analysed in terms of the current debate on this issue, as he takes into account issues such as that every item in the world is particular – the fact that a man resembles another man more than he resembles a dog – even before any activity of the intellect; the meaningfulness

³⁴⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 996: “Alterum argumentum est, quia diversae naturae rerum diversas quoque habent aptitudines, ut sint per modum identitatis in his aut illis: natura enim animalis non habet aptitudinem, ut hoc modo sit in lapidibus, sed in animalibus; contraque natura lapidis non est apta, ut sit in animalibus, sed in lapidibus. Cum igitur haec aptitudinum diversitas non proveniat ex operatione intellectus abstrahentis naturas communes a suis particularibus, cum omnes, qualescunque sint, eodem modo abstrahat: perspicuum est eam provenire ex ipsis rerum naturis: eisque convenire praecisa omni operatione intellectus, qua a suis particularibus abstrahantur.”

of language, in connection with predication; the intersubjective character of knowledge, insofar as concepts are predicated of several items and hence cannot be particulars nor a (infinite) set of particulars formed by every act of abstraction of every cogniser in the world; and the validity of induction as the means to bring the common natures from the particulars into the intellect.

Fonseca adheres to the doctrine that universals constitute the proper objects of knowledge (*scientia*), and that the ontology behind the facts of predication shows that universals themselves have their basis in physical particulars, because particulars possess an essence or nature which is similar to other particulars of the same kind but differ from others that have another essence, hence Fonseca preserves the particularity of items in the world and, without acknowledging it, avoids the infinite regress of separate universals. The essence or nature is in a sense common, because as such it is found in the particular items of which it is predicated and in the intellect via abstraction of universals from the particulars.

Fonseca takes the facts of predication to mean that if a thing is predicated of several items, essentially or accidentally, it is due to the fact that it either inheres in them or is said of them. This is because predication reveals a necessary ontological relation that cannot be reduced to a mere relation between words and particular items. In order to demonstrate this basic realism, i.e., that there is a common nature present in several items of an specific kind, Fonseca begins by rejecting a radical nominalism, which for him is a consequence of Ockham's solution to the Porphyry's unanswered questions, both in the beginning of his commentary on the *Isagoge*, in his *Summae logicae*, and in his commentary to the *Sentences* (*Summae Logicae* 1.14-1.25; *Ordinatio* d. 2 qq. 4-8). The same sort of nominalism is also present in Biel's commentary on that passage of the *Sentences*. As Fonseca puts it, this form of nominalism turns those who defend it into "dissonant voices in the choir of philosophers" (*seipsos Philosophorum choro indignos*), because they go against Plato and Aristotle and undermine the very possibility of *scientia* which is the knowledge of universals.

In contrast with Avicenna and with contemporary interpretation of Aquinas, such as that of Owens, Fonseca believes that universals must possess a peculiar unity; hence they are real

entities, as *being* and *one* are concomitant. With this move Fonseca shows his willingness to follow Scotus, for whom such unity which is strictly speaking neither numerical nor formal, is a necessary component of universality. However, Fonseca is led back towards a 'Thomist' position because universals have the aptitude to be in several items which cannot be found in particular items, otherwise particulars would be universals, a point that the critics of realism correctly make. The solution is to accept that universals only possess this aptitude when they are either in a status before they are united to the individual *differentias* or in a status of abstraction when the nature is freed from what makes it individual. The first option, that is, the possibility of a real, separate existence (Platonism), that universals could possess an existence prior or independent of the particular items in which they inhere or are said of, has to be rejected. In fact universals can only inhere or be said of particulars once the particulars already exist. This might seem to beg the question because Fonseca has chosen the facts of predication to build his theory and eventually concludes that although universals have priority in nature, in reality the particular must exist so that the universals can be predicated of them. However, we have to remember that Fonseca's choice for predication is based on the fact that the same *ratio* can be found in an object and in the concept of that object, in the mind. This status is the guarantee that predication expresses a true, ontological relation. Moreover, at the levels of causation and semantics, one does not find a clear, unequivocal ground for a discussion of universality, since neither universal causes nor universal signs are univocally universal. With this move, Fonseca secures the meaningfulness of language, which turns out to be much more than a relation of words based on convention. Language expresses relations that can be true or false insofar as what is said can correspond to what a thing really is or can fail to do so.

With regard to the second possibility, i.e., that universals only have the status of existence in the intellect, Fonseca's view provides the conditions to assert the validity of induction, because the universals are not already given before the scientist begins his or her work. Fonseca also shows that the necessity of an activity of the intellect in order to bring universal into existence does not mean that the intellect creates the nature, because even before any activity of

the intellect, a man is a man and a dog is a dog, that is, a man does not have the aptitude to be a dog even if there is no activity of the intellect at all. With this move, Fonseca secures the intersubjective character of knowledge, because every cogniser has access to the nature and can elicit the universal that corresponds to this nature which will be the same as the universal elicited by every other cogniser and has the ability to classify and recognise new entities, based on the universals that it has already elicited, as it will always be able to identify a dog, a horse, and a man.

Moreover, the intellect is responsible for eliciting the common natures or essences in an indirect or inferential way, when it provides the definitions of items in the world. The existence of universals in the intellect, not as fictitious entities, but as based on the really existing common natures, still leaves two important questions unanswered. The first question concerns the fact that there is a distance between the immaterial intellect, which knows the universals in the first place, and the material particulars, which comprise everything that exist in the world. Their distance, even incompatibility, in nature would render their communication impossible, and consequently, no real knowledge could be advanced by means of induction. But that is not what happens. Hence it is necessary to provide the correct understanding of how cognition takes place. This is the reason why a discussion of the mechanisms of thought is instrumental in this context.

The second question is that although this chapter has shown that Fonseca had his own view, it still does not resolve the problem of the reasons why Fonseca decided to rewrite Porphyry's *Isagoge*. If he had already pondered the several solutions to the problem of universals and presented his own solution, why would Fonseca still feel the need to provide another replacement for Porphyry's text, instead of simply referring any doubts to what he had already written on the subject?

In order to answer these questions, we must reconstruct Fonseca's theory of how the abstraction of the universals from the particulars is performed. And then it is necessary to compare and contrast the way Fonseca deals with the content of the Porphyry's *Isagoge*, namely the five predicables, and contextualise it within the contributions of some of the most relevant

authors whom Fonseca quotes more often. Once again the analysis of Fonseca's own texts is fundamental, especially the remaining questions which follow chapter XXVIII of his *Commentariorum*, that is, questions VI, VII, and VIII, for the functioning of the internal senses, and questions IX to XX for his explanation of the main difficulties in relation to Porphyry's text and the five predicables. Other passages of Fonseca's books may also prove useful, and will be considered whenever necessary.

Chapter III – Internal Senses and Abstraction

In the previous chapter we saw that universals have an objective existence in the intellect which has its foundation in the natures that exist in the particulars, independently of any activity of the intellect. With respect to the access the intellect has to universals, we have to bear in mind that Aristotle precluded the Platonic option of ‘Recollection’ (ἀνάμνησις) or rehearsal of universals³⁴⁵ which would exist in the mind due to the previous contact of the soul with the ‘True Forms,’ because according to him there is no real existence of universals outside the particulars. Consequently, there remains to be explained the important issue of how to go from particulars in the world to universals in the mind. Philosophical psychology enters the picture, in order to provide first an account of the physiology and then of the corresponding theory of cognition.

We already mentioned in the third chapter that Fonseca is keen to adopt a ‘Thomist’ account with regard to the theory of cognition, that is, on how the intellect interacts with the senses in order to cognise things. In this context, Aquinas’s hylomorphism, especially with regard to his position that the human being is a whole composed by material and spiritual components, is of crucial importance.³⁴⁶ As regards the corporeal components, they are necessary to receive the material forms of things, since what is material can only be received in material

³⁴⁵ In order to understand how Aristotle rejects recollection one has to consider the role of inferential induction in his theory of cognition. A full treatment of this issue can be found in M. Gifford, “Aristotle on Platonic Recollection and the Paradox of Knowing Universals: *Prior Analytics* B.21 67^a8-30,” *Phronesis* XLIV/1, 1999, 01-29.

³⁴⁶ The recent debate on whether Aristotelian philosophy of mind is still credible, and more importantly, whether a return to Aristotelian psychology can provide a viable alternative to Cartesian dualism does not apply strictly speaking to Fonseca’s need to rethink the Aristotelian ideas concerning perception and thinking, for the obvious reason that Fonseca belonged to a generation before Descartes. However, there are some elements of the debate that could still be used to clarify Fonseca’s position. The first point is that Myles Burnyeat’s question about the credibility of an Aristotelian accounts of perception and thinking is somehow addressed by Fonseca, insofar as we will see that Fonseca rethinks Aristotle’s ideas after a new physiology of the brain had been developed, using the hylomorphist model and with the aim to provide a view of the whole perceptual system (perception, apperception, and cognition). Nevertheless, the answer Fonseca develops goes against Burnyeat’s conclusion that the Aristotelian conception of the physical is inadequate (if M. Nussbaum and H. Putnam are right in their view of Aristotle then we can say that Fonseca’s acceptance of the hylomorphist approach is a correct choice). But perhaps would be more adequate to say that Fonseca’s view is similar to the remarks made by S. Everson with regard to Aristotle perceptual system, because as we will see what Fonseca find most attractive in Aristotle’s physiology of perception and cognition is its character of integrated whole, which allows the process to start with things in the world, to pass through the senses, both external and internal, and arrive at the intellectual level. See M Burnyeat, “Is an Aristotelian Philosophy of Mind Still Credible? (A Draft),” In M. C. Nussbaum & A. O. Rorty (eds.), *Essays on Aristotle’s De Anima*, Oxford, 1992, 15-26; M. Nussbaum & H. Putnam, “Changing Aristotle’s Mind,” M. C. Nussbaum & A. O. Rorty (eds.), *ibid.*, 27-56; S. M. Cohen, “Hylomorphism and Functionalism,” M. C. Nussbaum & A. O. Rorty (eds.), *ibid.*, 57-73; and S. Everson, *Aristotle on Perception*, Oxford, 1997.

recipients. On the other hand, because universals are not material, they can be received by the intellect which is non-material.³⁴⁷ But exactly how the material and the immaterial interact will become clear presently.

Additionally, this interplay of faculties and their objects could provide a test case to check the consistency of Fonseca's ontological commitments, because as Boethius says, the senses perceive the reality in a confused way, but it is the task of the mind to discern the essential attributes from the accidental ones.³⁴⁸ Furthermore, authors like Avicenna, for instance, needed a faculty like 'estimation' because in his view the common natures were intrinsically non-material but not immaterial, and hence he posited a faculty whose object is non-material but not immaterial, that is, estimation.³⁴⁹ On the other hand, Aquinas defended the opinion that there have to be as many faculties as the necessities of animals require, therefore depending on the functions that are deemed to be essential to the good functioning of the animal's ability to survive, there will be a corresponding number of faculties responsible to those functions.³⁵⁰ Further to that, since Scotus posited a status of real unity to the universals, his account of the internal senses requires a high level of complexity, Ockham however posited a very simple distinction between the categories of substance and quality, because he though he needed just two dimensions, so to speak, the senses and the intellect, responsible for perceiving particular substances and qualities, respectively. If Fonseca is committed to positions similar to those of

³⁴⁷ Aristotelian Philosophy of Mind, especially as Aquinas understood it, has been discussed by several authors, among which the recent and very competent contributions of N. Kretzmann, "Aquinas's Philosophy of Mind," *Philosophical Topics* 20/2, 1992, 77-102, with regard to hylomorphism, intelligible species, and *phantasia*, and E. Stump, "Aquinas on the Mechanisms of Cognition: Sense and *Phantasia*," in R. L. Friedman & S. Ebbesen (eds.), *Medieval Analyses in Language and Cognition*, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 77, Copenhagen, 1999, 377-395, with regard to the way Aquinas's account can be successfully applied to the contemporary understanding of perception. Among those that think that Aquinas's psychology is outdated and incorrect, see A. Kenny, *Essays on the Aristotelian Tradition*, Oxford, 2001.

³⁴⁸ *IIP*, pp. 164-165: "Sed animus cum confusas res permixtasque in se a sensibus cepit, eas propria vi et cogitatione distinguit. Omnes enim huiusmodi res incorporeas in corporibus esse suum habentes sensus cum ipsis nobis corporibus tradit, at vero animus, cui potestas est et disiuncta componere et composita resolvere, quae a sensibus confusa et corporibus coniuncta traduntur ita distinguit ut incorpoream naturam per se ac sine corporibus in quibus est concreta speculetur et videat. Diversae enim proprietates sunt incorporeorum corporibus permixtorum, etsi separentur a corpore."

³⁴⁹ On the logical, physical, and metaphysical implications of Avicenna's estimation, see Deborah L. Black, "Estimation (*Wahm*) in Avicenna: the Logical and Psychological Dimensions."

³⁵⁰ Aquinas [31708] I^a q. 78 a. 4 co.: "Respondeo dicendum quod, cum natura non deficiat in necessariis, oportet esse tot actiones animae sensitivae, quot sufficiant ad vitam animalis perfecti. Et quaecumque harum actionum non possunt reduci in unum principium, requirunt diversas potentias, cum potentia animae nihil aliud sit quam proximum principium operationis animae."

Boethius, Aquinas, and Scotus, his account of internal senses and abstraction has also to be consistent with these authors' positions. However, Fonseca could not simply resort to what Boethius, Aquinas and Scotus had said about the functioning of the internal senses, because although Fonseca believes that these authors are correct they had a different view of human anatomy which doubtlessly influenced the way they explained the ontological status of things and what constraints this posed to human psychology and cognition. Fonseca's task in this respect is to present the true philosophy involved in cognition with the terms and the way more suitable to his times.

On the level of the physiology³⁵¹ of the brain there was an important development when Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564)³⁵² argued in book VII, chapter 6, of his *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543), that it was not true that mental faculties such as memory and *phantasia* were located in different parts of the ventricles of the brain, as his medieval predecessors had thought. This was so in the first instance, because there were four as opposed to three cavities, i.e. there are the right and left main parts and the posterior part of the brain, and the cerebellum.³⁵³ This contrasted with the description of the order of the ventricles (first, middle, and posterior) in a linear disposition, generally attributed to Galen and accepted by all the main medieval authors. Second, Vesalius pointed out that the all his contemporaries denied to apes, dogs, horses, sheep, cattle, and other animals, the most important powers of the soul and attributed to man alone the faculty of reasoning based on the uniqueness of the human brain. Yet in dissecting he noticed that the brains of animals showed little difference in structure from those of humans except in size, therefore, the functions of reason, which distinguished humans from animals, could not be

³⁵¹ It is evident that our current understanding of the anatomy and physiology of the brain poses new challenges to Fonseca's account, because the same charge of inadequacy could be brought against his position. However, this is a topic for future research. What we can do here is to postpone some brief remarks on this respect to the last lines of our conclusion to this chapter.

³⁵² For biographical data about Andries van Wesel also known as Andreas Vesalius Bruxelensis, from his degree of master of arts at Louvain, where he learned Latin and Greek, to his education at the faculty of medicine in Paris, and his teaching career in Louvain and Padua, as well as his major contributions to the study of human anatomy, see A. Wear, "Medicine in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700," in L. I. Conrad; M. Neve; V. Nutton; R. Porter; & A. Wear, *The Western Medical Tradition – 800 BC to AD 1800*, Cambridge, 1995, 273-280.

³⁵³ Vesalius, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, p. 633: "Ventriculorum cerebri numero is ascribitur, qui cerebello dorsalisque medullae communis est, ac quartus etiam dicitur, tres nanque in cerebro ventriculos, Herophilum imitati, collocamus. Ac unum quidem in dextra cerebri parte, alterum in sinistra et tertium in cerebri, seu duorum primorum ventriculorum medio recensemus."

materially located in the ventricles of the brain, but should be attributed instead to God's choice.³⁵⁴

The importance of this fact meant that a substantial part of the discussion concerning the faculties of the soul, that is, the correspondence between function, importance, and distinction of localisation of *phantasia*, memory, cogitation, was irrevocably refuted. The impact of this development can only be understood if we bear in mind that at the heart of the localisation of the internal senses in different parts of the brain, there was the assumption that the internal sense had to follow the same Aristotelian principle that holds for the external senses, namely, that for each particular sense-faculty there must be a corresponding sense-organ. On the other hand, the opinion that human physiology was intrinsically distinct from the physiology of the other animals was not the only feature of this debate. The likes of Avicenna, Averroes, Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas, had much more to say about the internal senses, with the aim of adapting Ancient philosophy and medicine to their general overview. The order of faculties was also supposed to follow an order of the stages of the process of cognition, with the result that the deeper into the brain a faculty was, the higher its importance. The question is of course whether their taxonomies would survive the fall of the conception of the anatomy of the brain they were relied upon. In any event, there was sufficient room for a thorough revision of the whole understanding of the number of the internal senses and their specific tasks. And because the *De anima* was still a well known and often commented upon book, the commentaries written after Vesalius's ground breaking work had been published had necessarily to address these difficulties.

³⁵⁴ Vesalius, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, p. 636: "Hunc itaque in gignendo animali spiritu usum ventriculis ascribere neutiquam vereor, at de principis animae facultatum in cerebro sedibus (quamvis etiam has illi qui hodie theologi vocari gaudent, omnia impune sibi licere arbitrati, assignent) nihil enarrandum duco. Quando omnes quibuscum vivimus, praecipuas principis animae vires simiis, canibus, equis, ovibus, bobus, eiusque generis animantibus penitus adimunt, et ut caeteras taceam, soli homini ratiocinandi facultatem, eamque omnibus quantum ab ipsis capere possum, parem tribuunt: quamvis interim homines nullo sinu illa animalia superare inter dissecandum conspicimus: neque solum numerus idem est, at caetera omnia (si modo molem et temperamenti ad iustitiam integritatem excipias) inter se sint similima. Liceat itaque vel illorum hominum gratia me ab alio ventriculorum usu inquirendo abstinere: neque vel hic Galeni placiti meminisse, qui tertio de Hippocratis et Platonis dogmatibus, medium ventriculum: in libris autem de Partium usu postremum, principalissimum esse docet. Ac proinde Deo rerum omnium opifici hymnos canentes, gratias agemus, quod nobis rationalem animam, quam cum angelis (ut Plato etiam male tractatorum philosophorum haud immemor innuebat) communem habemus, largitus fuerit, cuius beneficio si modo fides adsit, aeterna illa foelicitate fruemur, quando animae sedem ac substantiam non corporum resectione, aut nostra corporeo vinculo obruta ratione inquirere necessarium erit. Nam is qui vera est sapientia, nos non hoc generabili et putrescibili corpore amplius, sed spiritali suoque quam similimo constantes, edocebit."

But the advances in anatomy, especially those provided by a better understanding of the works and ideas of Galen and Hippocrates, are not the only relevant historical element to be considered. Among the Jesuits, Aristotle's *De anima* was also very popular. During Fonseca's lifetime there was the publication not of one but of two different commentaries, namely, Francisco Toledo's *Commentaria una cum Quaestionibus in III libros de anima* Venice (1574) and the *Commentarii collegii conimbricensis S. I. in tres libros de anima Aristotelis Stagiritae* (1598). And that was not all, Fonseca had written a manuscript commentary on I-II *De anima* (1559/60), and perhaps on III *De anima* (XVI cent.),³⁵⁵ and Francisco Suárez's *Commentaria una cum quaestionibus in libros Aristotelis de anima* was published posthumously a few years later (1621).

Several recent scholars have reflected on the Jesuit treatment of the *De anima*. Jesuit psychology has been portrayed as a self-conscious form of Aristotelianism which is mindful of the difficulties inherent to the task of reconciling Aristotle, true (Catholic) philosophy, and natural reason.³⁵⁶ Moreover, Jesuit psychology is analysed in the context of the educational enterprise that became the hallmark of the Jesuit order since its early days, especially with regard to the Jesuit textbooks, with their distinctive commentary style, which also played a central role in the development of the psychological ideas of that period.³⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the Jesuits are described as part of the period called 'Second Scholasticism,' which may be defined as a movement that "grew out of the traditional chairs of metaphysics in *via Thomae* and in *via Scotti*"³⁵⁸ and for this reason it should be taken into account that "a certain withdrawal from the Aristotelian position was obvious,"³⁵⁹ because this movement may have been more interested in rationalising Christian philosophy than in explaining Aristotle. On the other hand, it has been emphasised that a certain character of continuity of the Aristotelian tradition should never be

³⁵⁵ cf. Charles Lohr, *Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries*, p. 741.

³⁵⁶ For more details about this point see Alison Simmons, "Jesuit Aristotelian Education: the *De Anima* Commentaries," "Jesuit Aristotelian Education: the *De Anima* Commentaries," in J. W. O'malley; G. A. Bailey; S. J. Harris; & T. F. Kennedy (eds.), *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, And The Arts 1540-1773*, Toronto, 1999.

³⁵⁷ Simmons Ibid., p 523.

³⁵⁸ Eckhard Kessler, "The Intellectualive Soul." SCHMITT, C. et al. *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*. Cambridge/New York/New Rochelle/Melbourne/Sydney, 1988, p 507.

³⁵⁹ Kessler Ibid., p 508.

underestimated.³⁶⁰ Furthermore, the Jesuits being a nascent order were not limited by the necessity of defending a particular medieval author, and hence could develop new positions of their own.³⁶¹ Although these elements are compiled from approaches that often disagree in their evaluation of the aims of the Jesuits, we can devise some traits of the emerging Jesuit psychology insofar as it emerged in textbooks, as it was expressed in the metaphysical writings of the scholastic authors, as it was committed to Aristotelianism (either a corrupted version or a faithful one), and to Christian theology, and as having a peculiar, creative, and distinctive character.

Of these aspects, the study of Aristotelian psychology for the Jesuit attempts to fulfil their teaching mission seems to have attracted especial attention.³⁶² Moreover, as several Jesuit textbooks dealing with ‘the science of the soul,’ were printed in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the centrality of this area of research for this thesis is evident. However, as far as we can see none of the recent authors who published on Jesuit psychology recently provide the full picture of the interrelation between metaphysics, psychology, and scientific knowledge (theology, for instance). Authors like Alison Simmons and Dennis Des Chene do seem to subscribe to the opinion that the Jesuit approach is an expression of their systematic view of philosophy, however they do not supply any definitive evidence for their reading. We want to offer a reason why this evidence is missing: it is due to their unawareness of one of the first Jesuit contributions to this debate, namely Fonseca’s final questions on *Metaphysics* V (precisely the central subject of the present study). As we have already pointed out, Fonseca highlights the metaphysical basis for his psychology and shows how the major difficulties of the theory of Predicables can be resolved by a correct understanding of the Aristotelian philosophy.

That there was a great interest on the *De anima* is already a sufficient reason for considering useful to see how Pedro da Fonseca articulated his psychological ideas in relation to authors like Aristotle, Galen, Avicenna, and Averroes. How can those authors be read from

³⁶⁰ Again we can observe that A. Simmons is keen to dispute any suggestion that the Jesuit were profoundly heterodox. See Simmons, *ibid.*, pp 534-535.

³⁶¹ Kessler, *ibid.*, p 511.

³⁶² Dennis Des Chene, *Life’s Form: Late Aristotelian Conceptions of the Soul*, Ithaca, 2000.

Fonseca's synthesizing perspective? In order to set his approach in the proper context, we will focus our attention on two aspects of the Aristotelian psychology, namely, the number of internal senses and the theory of abstraction. With regard to the number of powers of the soul, it is necessary to reconstruct the accounts of Boethius, Galen and Francisco Valles, and Suárez and Toledo, because this overview will provide the connection with the psychological elements of the commentary tradition on the *Isagoge* and with the sixteenth-century historical background. In the case of abstraction, however, it suffices to briefly refer to the way Boethius and Aquinas present Aristotle's main doctrines. Although this choice might seem to limit the possibilities for comparison with other authors and traditions, this is not the case, because Fonseca does briefly summarise the other important contributions to these issues, both with regard to their origin in Aristotle and in relation to the main Scholastic authors.

3.1. The Powers of the Soul

In general, according to the late scholastic account there are three sorts of powers to be found in the souls of living bodies. This is the basis for a hierarchical classification of beings in vegetative, animal, and human, due to the fact that the more powers a being has the higher it is considered to be. In order to exemplify this topic, we will follow the way Boethius presents it in his commentary on the *Isagoge*. The obvious reason for this choice is because he presents the connection between the external senses, sensory judgment, and reason, in the context of the natural human desire to cognise. Boethius explains that one of these powers gives the body life, and is the basis of birth, growth and nourishment; another is responsible for sensory judgment; the third supports mental powers and reason. The function of the first is simply the creation, nurturing and feeding of bodies, and it has nothing to do with reason or sensory judgment. This power is possessed by plants, trees, and whatever is rooted to the earth. The second power is composite, consisting of the first power, together with the additional capacity of making varied and complex judgments about things. For every animal which has the power of sensation is also

born, nourished and sustained. But the senses, which are up to five in number, are separate: therefore anything that merely lives, does not thereby sense; whereas anything that can sense must also have the first power of the soul, namely that of being born and nourished.³⁶³ In fact, beings which have sensation not only grasp the forms of things which impinge upon them in the presence of a sensible body, but when they are not sensing, or the sensible things are not there, they still retain images of the forms known by sense; that is, they create a memory, which each animal can retain for a longer or shorter time, depending on its powers. But these images they retain are confused and unclear, so that nothing can be achieved by putting them together and compounding them. Hence, although they can indeed remember to various extents, once the continuity of a memory is broken by forgetfulness they cannot bring it back again or recall it. Such beings have no knowledge at all of the future.³⁶⁴ The third power of the soul, which also embraces the previous two of nourishment and sensation, and uses them as its servants, consists entirely in reason, and is exercised either in an utterly precise conception of things present, or in knowledge of absent things, or in discovering the unknown. This power is unique to the human race; and not only is it responsible for the perfection and clarity of our sensations and images, but in its fully intellectual function it makes the content of our images explicit and definite.³⁶⁵

So, as has been said, this divine nature is not satisfied with knowledge merely of things which come within the scope of the senses, but can also give names to things which cannot be

³⁶³ Boethius, *IIP*, p. 136: “Triplex omnino animae vis in vegetandis corporibus deprehenditur. Quarum una quidem vitam corpori subministrat ut nascendo crescat alendoque subsistat; alia vero sentiendi iudicium praebet; tertia vi mentis et ratione subnixata est. Quarum quidem primae id officium est ut creandis nutriendis alendisque corporibus praesto sit, nullum vero rationis praestet sensusve iudicium. Haec autem est herbarum atque arborum et quicquid terrae radicitus affixum tenetur. Secunda vero composita atque coniuncta est ac primam sibi sumens et in partem constituens varium de rebus capere potest ac multiforme iudicium. Omne enim animal quod sensu viget, idem et nascitur et nutritur et alitur. Sensus vero diversi sunt et usque ad quinarium numerum crescunt. Itaque quicquid tantum alitur non etiam sentit, quicquid vero sentire potest ei prima quoque animae vis, nascendi scilicet atque nutriendi, probatur esse subiecta.”

³⁶⁴ *IIP*, pp. 136-137: “Quibus vero sensus adest non tantum eas rerum capiunt formas quibus sensibili corpore feriuntur praesente, sed abscedente quoque sensu sensibilibusque se positus cognitarum sensu formarum imagines tenent memoriamque conficiunt, et prout quodque animal valet longius breviusque custodit. Sed eas imaginationes confusas atque invidentes sumunt ut nihil ex earum coniunctione ac compositione efficere possint. Atque idcirco meminisse quidem possunt nec aequae omnia, admissa vero oblivione memoriam recolligere ac revocare non possunt. Futuri vero his nulla cognitio est.”

³⁶⁵ *IIP*, p. 137: “Sed vis animae tertia, quae secum priores alendi ac sentiendi trahit hisque velut famulis atque oboedientibus utitur, eadem tota in ratione constituta est aequae vel in rerum praesentium firmissima conceptione vel in absentium intelligentia vel in ignotarum inquisitione versatur. Haec tantum humano generi praesto est, quae non solum sensus imaginationesque perfectas et non inconditas capit sed etiam pleno actu intelligentiae quod imaginatio suggestit, explicat atque confirmat.”

conceived in the imagination or which are not there at all, and it also makes amenable to verbal description that which it grasps by virtue of its intelligence. It is also characteristic of its nature that it searches after the unknown on the basis of what it knows, and it hopes to learn not only whether each thing exists, but also what it is, what it is like, and even why it is so.³⁶⁶ Furthermore, only human nature has been endowed with this power of a three-fold soul. Nor does the power of this soul lack intellectual motivation, since it exercises the power of its own reason in these four ways: either it tries to discover whether something exists, or, if it has decided that it does exist, it wonders what it is. And if it possesses rational knowledge of both of these, it tries to discover what each thing is like and investigates the remaining variations of accidents in it, and when these are known it continues to ask and investigate by reason why it is so.³⁶⁷ Since the whole function of the human mind is either the comprehension of what is present, or the knowledge of what is not there, or the discovery of the unknown, there are two things to which the power of the reasoning mind devotes all its efforts: discovering the natures of things by a sure method of enquiry; knowledge of the objects of subsequent moral behaviour.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁶ *IIP*, p. 137: “Itaque, ut dictum est, huic divinae naturae non ea tantum cognitione sufficiunt quae subiecta sensibus comprehendit, verum etiam et insensibilibus imaginatione concepta et absentibus rebus nomina indere potest, et quod intelligentiae ratione comprehendit vocabulorum quoque positionibus aperit.”

³⁶⁷ *IIP*, pp. 137-138: “Illud quoque ei naturae proprium est, ut per ea quae sibi nota sunt ignota vestiget et non solum unumquodque an sit sed quid sit etiam et quale sit necnon cur sit, optet agnoscere. Quam triplicis animae vim sola, ut dictum est, hominum natura sortita est. Cuius animae vis intelligentiae motibus non caret, quia in his quattuor propriae vim rationis exercet. Aut enim aliquid an sit inquirat aut si esse constiterit, quid sit addubitatur. Quodsi etiam utriusque scientiam ratione possidet, quale sit unumquodque vestigat atque in eo caetera accidentium momenta perquirat, quibus cognitis cur ita sit quaeritur et ratione nihilominus vestigatur.”

³⁶⁸ *IIP*, p. 138: “Cum igitur hic actus sit humani animi ut semper aut in <rerum> praesentium comprehensione aut in absentium intelligentia aut in ignotarum inquisitione atque inventionem versetur, duo sunt in quibus omnem operam vis animae ratiocinantis impendit, unum quidem ut rerum naturas certa inquisitionis ratione cognoscat, alterum vero ut ad scientiam prius veniat quod post gravitas moralis exercent.”

3.1.1. Galen and Francisco Valles

Francisco Valles (1524-1592)³⁶⁹ addresses the question of the number and peculiar functions of the internal senses, or faculties of the soul, as he usually puts it, in his *Controversiarum Medicarum et Philosophicarum*, book II, chapters 22-23. Previously, in book II, Valles dealt with the anatomy and the physiology of the brain, and after discussing the natural faculties, i.e., of acquiring (*trahens*), of retaining (*retinens*), of transforming (*alterans*), and of excreting (*excernens* or *expellens*) in general, he goes on to discuss the animal faculties responsible for retaining (*attinere*) the *notitiae*. His concern is where these retentive faculties should be located in the brain, and what are their peculiar actions and comparing them to the external senses, what are their peculiar instruments.³⁷⁰

He then provides a summary of the Aristotelian account of the five internal senses whose precise number is derived from the different functions that they perform. The first is the *sensus communis*, which brings together the data from the external (peculiar) senses, like when it combines white and sweet. Second, there is the imagination (*phantasia* in Greek), which beginning by the things sensed, combines them and from them arrives at things that cannot exist, like golden mountains or flying cows, but without moving away from the species of the sensed. Third, the *ratio* (also vulgarly known as *aestimatio*), which not only composes but also elicits the species of things from the sensible species, like enmity or hatred and the like, which do not come through the external sense. Fourth, the memory which is responsible for stocking the species and calling them back when the sensible objects are absent. Fifth, the recollection which exceeds

³⁶⁹ Francisco Valles (Vallés) is most probably the greatest Spanish Renaissance physician. He was born in Covarrubias, Spain and studied in several European cities, including Alcalá and Padua, where he met Andreas Vesalius, whom he would later succeed as the personal doctor of Philip II of Spain. He worked most of his professional life in Alcalá, where he taught medicine and became known as ‘the Spanish Galen’ (El Galeno Español) and ‘Valles the Divine’ (El Divino Vallés). Valles published several works on medicine, especially on the works of Hipocrates and Galen, and works on other subjects such as *Philosophia divina*, commentary on Aristotle’s physics, and the very influential *Controversiarum medicarum et philosophicarum*. Cf. E. Ortega & B. Marcos, *Francisco de Valles (El Divino)*. Madrid: Imprenta Clásica Española, 1914.

³⁷⁰ Valles, *Controversiarum Medicarum et Philosophicarum*, p. 70^a: “Quaestiones ad animalium facultatum notitiam attinentes, opportunum est iam attingere. Sunt fero facultates hae duplices. Quaedam in ipso cerebro, quod prima illarum sedem esse diximus, resident, et a medicis retrices appellantur: quaedam peculiare, quae scilicet peculiarium sunt actionum, et peculiaribus instrumentis operantur, ut visus, odoratus, auditus.”

memory since it restores what was known and forgotten by recovering it from the species stored.³⁷¹

Valles re-examines the different activities of the faculties of the soul in order to see if they really differ from each other and to decide whether they are five or not.³⁷² At this point he brings in the ideas of Galen,³⁷³ whose medical theories he is most concerned with. Galen defended his threefold division of the sensitive faculties of the soul³⁷⁴ based on his account of what happens when there is a malfunctioning of the mind, like in the cases of delirium, since the mistakes the mind can make in this case are three, hence the numbers of sensitive faculties should also be three. Either there is problem in cognition, as when somebody thinks that he is seeing flautists in the corner of the house, when in fact there is none; or when the problem is in *ratio*, as when although somebody does not see anything unusual but still reasons in a perverse way; or when the problem is of memory, like somebody who sees a vessel, knows what he is seeing, knows the name, but still fails to remember it. Therefore, the faculties of the soul are the cogitative, the *ratio*, and the memory.³⁷⁵

³⁷¹ Valles, *Controversiarum Medicarum et Philosophicarum*, pp. 70^a-70^b: “Profitentur enim omnes Aristotelici, cum quibus et Avicenna, esse quinque. Sensum communem, imaginationem, quae Graecis phantasia dicitur, rationem, quae existimativa vulgo appellatur, memoriam, et reminiscendi vim. Confirmant suam sententiam, tribuentes his omnibus diversas operationes, nam cum potentiae distinguantur per operationes: constat futurum, si actiones differunt, ut differant et potentiae, sed sensus communis (dicunt) confert res subiectas peculiaribus sensibus, ut quando album cum dulci componit. Imaginatio, ex iis quae sentiuntur incipiens, componendo, ad ea etiam quae impossibilia sunt, procedit: (qua actione, et aureos montes, si lubet, et volantes boves confingimus) tamen a rerum quae sentiuntur speciebus non recedit. Ratio non hoc solum facit: sed ab speciebus sensibilibus etiam rerum species elicit, ut amicitiae, et odii, et aliarum rerum, quae in sensum non veniunt. Memoria retinet species, et res absentes recolat. Reminiscendi vis, quid memoria excidit, ab iis quae retinentur colligens, reducit.”

³⁷² Valles, *Controversiarum Medicarum et Philosophicarum*, p. 70^b: “Videntur vero haec omnia differre, quare, cum quinque modi oper[ati]onum sint, videntur et quinque potentiarum species fore.”

³⁷³ During the sixteenth century, Galen became much better known since several publications of the Greek original texts, several translations (A. Wear talks about 590 different editions of the works of Galen being published between 1500 AD and 1600 AD) and commentaries on his works were published (I do not have any statistics on this but perhaps they have been as numerous as the Latin translations or the Greek texts). See A. Wear, “Medicine in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700.” p. 253.

³⁷⁴ On how Galen was able to reconcile Plato and Hippocrates, in order to preserve the threepartite division of the soul, and on Galen’s method of scientific enquiry applied to psychology (accomplishments and failures) see R. J. Hankinson, “Galen’s Anatomy of the Soul.” pp 197-233 Ibid., “Body and Soul in Galen.” pp 232-258.

³⁷⁵ Valles, *Controversiarum Medicarum et Philosophicarum*, p. 70^b: “Galenus res iam esse dicit, imaginationem, rationem, et memoriam, quas vocavit principem, animi partem ἡγεμονικόν, octavo De Usurpatum capite sexto. Quod probat libello De differentia symptomatum per species phrenitidis, hoc argumento: quacunque recticum facultatum laesa, contingit hominem insanire necessario: quandoquidem princeps animae pars est, ergo tot sunt potentiae, quot laesonum modi, et insaniae sed huius tres tantum sunt species (trifariam enim tantum potest laedi mens: vel quoniam homo errat, in cognitione, ut Theophilus, qui tibicines se videre in domus angulo dicebat, quos videbat nullos; vel quoniam cum, in hoc nihil erret, tamen prave ratiocinatur, ut qui cum vasa vitrea cognosceret et propriorum nominum recordaretur, tamen cognita proiiciebat; vel quoniam laeditur memoria) cum ergo tres tantum sint laesionum modi, constat tres solum esse potentias.”

Avicenna found a way of explaining this division while at the same time keeping his fivefold classification by saying that a malfunction of memory brings with it problems with the faculties of imagination and of recollection, and that therefore within medical theory it was not necessary to posit more than three faculties of the soul. However, Valles remarked that Avicenna does and could not say why he thought necessary to make the distinction between memory, imagination, and recollection after all. Consequently, whatever the opinion of Avicenna might be, Valles endorses Galen's threefold taxonomy, but still positing a fivefold division of activities.³⁷⁶

Moreover, Valles thought that this division in terms of three sensitive faculties could be perfectly reconciled with Aristotle's exposition of the *De anima* and the *On Memory*.³⁷⁷ And since the issue of the number of internal senses had been settled, Valles went on to address in

³⁷⁶ Valles, *Controversiarum Medicarum et Philosophicarum*, p. 70^b: "Avicenna huius argumenti solutionem hanc imaginatus, est, laesionem sensus communis necessario comitari laesionem phantasiae; et laesionem reminiscendi, memoriae; atque proinde medicorum non interesse plurimum quam trium potentiarum meminisse. Sed cur ita fiat, ut semper cum sensu imaginatio, et cum memoria laedatur reminiscendi vis, si diversae sunt facultates; neque dixit, neque potest dicere. Quare hoc etiam argumento est, non inevidenti tres tantum esse has facultates et eas actiones, quae illis tribuuntur non esse quinque, sed tres tantum species, et quinque operationum modos. Nam actio, sensus et actio phantasiae, hoc uno differunt: quod sensus componit sensibilibus species, in praesentia; imaginatio componit has easdem in absentia. Constant vero, ut haec non sit speciei differentia. Quare non sunt duae operationum species, sed eiusdem actionis duo modi. Quocirca unius sunt facultatis. Reminisci praeterea memoriae est ops, cum se reflectit in seipsam. Non enim est memoriae opus, ut multi putant, solum species retinere (ita enim non esset potentia cognoscens, sed servans tantum species) sed memoriae est recordari rerum absentium, ut res sunt actae ergo imaginatio est sensus; et reminisci memoriae ulterior quidam motus, non actio diversa. Quod non tantum Galenum sensisse, sed et Aristotelem monstrabo: quidquid dicat Avicenna. Tertio libro De Anima cap 3 cum de imaginationis essentia multa disputasset Aristoteles ad finem capituli addit. Si igitur nihil aliud praeter imaginationem habet ea quae dicta sunt, sitque id ipsum quod diximus, imaginatio motus profecto fuerit, sensus iam operantis. Quae verba oscitanter omnes praetereunt, constat tamen illis nihil aliud significari, quam imaginationem actionem esse eiusdem potentiae, cuius est sensus actus. Sed hanc eandem potentiam quae sensus est, cum rebus praesentibus operatur, sensum esse, cumque vera componit: cum vero falsa, phantasiam. Memoria, dicente eodem Aristotele libello De memoria et reminiscencia, differt a sensu, quod memoria in absentia rerum operatur cum sensu temporis; phantasia operatur in absentia rerum, sed sine sensu temporis, cum enim lectiones fingimus, aut disputationes ad arbitrium, imaginamur; sed cum disputasse nos heri, legisse nudius tertius cognoscimus, recordamur; quia cum cognitione rerum temporis sensus coniungimus. Reminiscimur memoria se in seipsam reflectente, ergo eiusdem potentiae motus sunt, recordari et reminisci."

³⁷⁷ Valles, *Controversiarum Medicarum et Philosophicarum*, p. 71^a: "Videtur ergo sententia haec Galeni cum verbis Aristotelis plurimum convenire, quae si ut scripsimus intelligatur, nihil videtur habere difficile, saltem ea argumenta, quibus plures esse quam tres, nonnulli contendunt, mihi nullam inferunt difficultatem, videtur aliquanto difficilior, quod Galenus libello secundo De motu musculorum inquit: Pars enim animae quae imaginatur, quaecunque ea sit, haec eadem recordari videtur. Quare si eadem pars imaginatur et recordatur: imaginatio et memoria unica est potentia. Caeterum hoc ita interpretandum est: Videtur imaginandi potentia recordari; quoniam pro ratione imaginationis quae praecessit, subsequitur firma aut debilis recordatio quoniam cum fortis imaginatio fit, insignes impressiones rerum fiunt, quae memoriam deinde firmiter permutant. Differunt tamen recordatio et imaginatio, differentia illa, quam invenit Aristoteles: quod scilicet memoria operatur cum sensu temporis. Sed de numero harum facultatum, haec sunt satis."

chapter 23 the related issue of their localisation in the brain. He was interested in discussing the ventricular localisation of mental faculties.

The commonly accepted opinion among doctors was that the seat of imagination was the frontal ventricle, of *ratio* was the central ventricle, and of memory the posterior ventricle. Avicenna, among others, defended this localisation based on the effects of injury in each of those parts of the brain. However, Valles points that this is not found in Galen. What Galen said was that those three faculties resided in the brain but did not attribute any particular localisation to each of them.³⁷⁸

Interestingly, Valles does seem to know Galen so well that he was able to dismiss a claim that was still made four centuries later (in the twentieth century) by H. Wolfson, and posteriorly challenged by Christopher D. Green,³⁷⁹ that this ventricular localisation came from Galen's works. And that is probably the reason for affirming that those who defended the ventricular localisation could not find another passage to support their opinion apart from Galen's threefold division based on the kinds of delirium. And the argument would be that because the differences in the faculty affected, it was necessary to posit a great diversity in the substance of the brain, which in turn implied that the diverse parts of the brain had diverse compositions and that was why one faculty could be affected while other remained healthy.³⁸⁰ On the other hand, Valles

³⁷⁸ Valles, *Controversiarum Medicarum et Philosophicarum*, pp. 71^a-71^b: "Communis omnium fere medicorum opinio est, imaginationis sedem esse anteriorem cerebri partem; rationis medium ventriculum; memoriae postremum. Aetius sermone secundo Tetrabibli secundi capite secundo ita scripsit: Proinde anteriori cerebri parte laesa, imaginatio solum laeditur; medio vero cerebri ventriculo laeso, ratio pervertitur; posteriore autem circa occipitium parte laesa, perit memoria, et cum ipsa omnino etiam reliquae duae facultates. Haec Aetius, Avicenna Fen prima primi doctrina sexta, capite quinto, eandem hanc sententiam aperte scripsit. Itaque his autoribus censent plerique medicorum, tres facultates, quarum nuper meminimus differre locis, eoque nunc apponenda esse remedia syncipiti, nunc occipiti, nunc medio ventriculo in illarum laesionibus. Sed tamen ego non video, ex quo Galeni loco collegerint hanc locorum differentiam. Esse quidem has facultates in cerebro, e vitiata quacunquē illarum capiti esse apponenda medicamenta, monstrat Galenus multis in locis, quae non paulo antem retulimus. Sed hanc partium cerebri differentiam (quod ego legerim) docet nullibi. Quin potius contrarium videtur deduci ex non multis illius locis. Primum octavo libro de usu partium capite sexto sub unico hoc nomine ἡγεμονικόν comprehendit tres potentias animales, et eas in cerebro dicit residere, nulla particularum cerebri facta distinctione."

³⁷⁹ H. A. Wolfson, *Studies in the History of Philosophy and Religion*, v. 1., Cambridge, 1973, although perhaps somewhat dated, is a "classic" of the discussion of the history of the internal senses. He makes the claim that ventricular theory came from Galen. The reference Wolfson gave in support of this claim was Galen's *On the Affected Parts* (1976, Book III, Chapter 9). Cf. Wolfson, *ibid.* p. 254. This reading Galen is disputed by Christopher D. Green, "Where Did The Ventricular Localization Of Mental Faculties Come From?" *Journal of History of the Behavioral Sciences*, Vol. 39(2), 2003, 134-135.

³⁸⁰ Valles, *Controversiarum Medicarum et Philosophicarum*, p. 71^b: "Adde nullum talem indicationem ad imponendum auxilia desumpsisse Galenum, qualem illi dicunt, ex facultate quae laeditur in phrenitide. Sed

does not think that this distinction in the composition of the brain was necessary, since the diversity of activity of the aforementioned natural faculties is not due or related to a different localisation in the ventricle, therefore the mental faculties also operate in the whole brain, perhaps more in one part than in other, but this does not imply a restriction in their localisation.³⁸¹

3.1.2. Toledo and Suárez

Within the Jesuit order there was also an intense movement of commentary and rereading of the *De anima*, of the *Parva naturalia*, and of the main commentators on these works. As aforementioned, Francisco Toledo and Francisco Suárez had produced their own commentaries and although they were in accord with Fonseca's grouping of the two main theories of the internal senses, namely, Avicenna's classification of the five internal senses, which was somehow the same as that of Albert the Great, and that of Averroes's four senses, also followed by Aquinas, however, Toledo and Suárez arrived at different conclusions from those of Fonseca.

quaecunque phrenitis sit, decimo tertio Methodi capite vigesimo primo, auxilia infundit in futuram coronalem; sumpta indicatio ne a structura membri, quasi ex ipius membri partibus nulla alia indicatio desumi possit. Praeter haec quae quae tanta diversitas est in modo substantiae partium ipsius cerebri? Aut quae tam diversa temperamenta, quae hanc facultatum differentiam persuadeant? Dicitur etiam a Galeno secundo de motu musculorum loco illo, quem improxima quaestione aduximus; si itaque insignes impressiones rerum in imaginotionibus acceperit, conservat perpetuo. Quod ita interpretati sumus Confirmari memoriam, interim dum sit fortis imaginatio, quod non video quomodo fieret, nisi imaginatio et memoria eodem in loco opererentur. Sed dicent qui contrariae opinionis sunt, (illum enim aliud video ab ea opinione forte argumentum) qua ratione in eadem parte possint esse tres facultates, et ut una laedatur aliis illaesis? Illis enim facile est huic quaestioni, qua quaeritur, quomodo laedatur, una illarum, illesis aliis, respondere, dicentibus, cum laeditur sola pars anterior, laeditur sola imaginatio; eum solus ventriculus medius, sola ratio."

³⁸¹ Valles, *Controversiarum Medicarum et Philosophicarum*, pp. 71^b-72^a: "[T]amen nobis qui negamus hanc locorum differentiam, vel saltem non asserimus, ut pote nulla cogente ratione, necesse est facultates has diversis eiusdem partis temperamentis tribuere, ut nihil mirum sit, unam laedi illaesis aliis; quemadmodum in toto ventriculo sunt trahendi, retinendi, alterandi, expellendi virtutes; non tamen quaecunque illarum laesa, laeduntur omnes. Nam alteratio fit calore cum humiditate; retentio et tractio quadam siccitate; expulsio etiam, sed minori, quo fit, ut possit per se quaecunque illarum laedi propria laesione. Sed haec evadent multo clariora ex tractatione de causis symptomatum. Dicent secundo, oportere ex nostra opinione, ut nulla esset ventriculorum cerebri dignitatis differentia nam cum omnes virtutes sint in partibus omnibus; aequae principales videntur fore omnes partes, quod tamen contra Galenum octavo de usu partium, ubi postremum aliis praefert; et tertio de locis partibus capite septimo, ubi ita scripsit: ac primum ipsius instrumentum, tum ad sentiendi actiones omnes, tum ad eas quae a consilio et voluntate prodeunt, spiritum esse, qui in ipsius ventriculis, maximeque potremo continetur quamvis non contemnendus sit medius; perinde quasi non praestantis simus fit, multae enim rationes non adducunt ad hunc, et a duobus anterioribus avertunt. Hoc loco Galenus ultimum reliquis omnibus, et medium duobus anterioribus praefert. Sed neque hoc ex principatu facultatum, quae in hoc aut illo ventriculo resident, fieri puto; quemadmodum illi interpretantur. Sed omnes facultates in toto cerebro operari; minime vero in anterioribus ventriculis, maxime in postremo; in medio, medio modo, quemadmodum est alterandi facultas in toto ventriculo, viget vero maxime in fundo. Sed quando satis diximus de rectorum facultatum sede."

Toledo concludes, against those two interpretations, that there were three internal faculties, namely, *sensus communis*, estimation, and memory, and he claimed that both Aristotle as well as the ancient Greeks agreed with this classification.³⁸² And the different tasks that they performed were to perceive the differences among the various external senses; to perceive the intentions in the absence of the sensible objects; and to retain and preserve the intentions of the two previous senses, respectively.³⁸³ Toledo's commentary on the *De anima* is very concise and do not provide a thorough demonstration of his own thinking (he only presents it as a conclusion based on authoritative arguments). We have already mentioned that the Arabic authors need estimation for very clear reasons, the most important is to deal with objects that are non-material, hence it would be necessary to check whether Toledo's ontology also requires such a faculty.³⁸⁴ If faithfulness to Aristotle is a decisive criterion, this move is certainly very risky, because it rejects a faculty explicitly mentioned by Aristotle (*phantasia*) in order to adhere to one that is absent in Aristotle (of course one can read "estimation" where Aristotle mentions "opining" in *De anima* I, 5, 411^a26 and *De anima* II, 2, 413^b29-31, but these passages do not seem to allow such a strong claim). In the absence of a treatment of Toledo's metaphysics, perhaps it is better to postpone the discussion on whether estimation and memory are the best candidates to perform the tasks that Toledo ascribes to them until they appear in Fonseca's exposition.

³⁸² Toledo, in *Lib. III De anima*, q. 06: "His suppositis sit prima conclusio probabilis. Sensus interiores tantum sunt tres. Haec conclusio est contra praedictas opiniones: puto tamen esse mentem Aristotelis et graecorum omnium, sensus ergo sunt isti: sensus communis, aestimatio, seu imaginatio, et memoria. Unde imaginationem vel phantasiam non separato ab aestimatione, sed eadem (ut puto) virtus est, quae elicit species non sensatas cum ea, quae in absentia obiectorum ipsa percipit, speciesque connectit. Hoc probatur primo autoritate expressa Aristotelis. Nam de phantasia ipsa quod illas imagines percipit, dixit, quod animalia multa per eam agunt, et quod in eis, est id, quod in hominibus est ratio. Cum igitur aestimatio sit, quae operari facit animalia, profecto eadem erit utraque."

³⁸³ Toledo, in *Lib. III De anima*, q. 06: "Secunda conclusio. Harum potentiarum variae sunt operationes. In primis, sensu communi sensata sensum exteriorum, ipsorumque differentias percipimus, praesentibus tamen sensibilibus, seu ad aliquam modicam absentiam: de hoc autem sensu plura diximus superius. Aestimativa duas operationes habet, et non sensatas intentiones percipere, et in absentia obiectorum ipsas percipere. Memoria autem retinet et conservat eas intentiones tam sensatas, quam insensatas."

³⁸⁴ Avicenna's doctrine that "equinity is just equinity" and neither one nor many results in the negation of the materiality of equinity for the obvious reason that if equinity were material, it would have to be either one or many. For a thorough treatment of these points, see Deborah L. Black, "Estimation (*Wahm*) in Avicenna: the Logical and Psychological Dimensions."

In the case of Suárez, the first point to be noticed is that he attributed the view that there were only two internal senses to another author, and not to Fonseca,³⁸⁵ and he rejected this opinion in function of his own conclusion that there was in fact only one internal sense, because *sensus communis* and *phantasia* coincided and the same happened to estimation and memory, and seeing that the two resulting do not constitute separate senses, there was only one internal sense.³⁸⁶ Consequently, if there was any distinction among those senses or faculties it was only one of reason and not a real one.³⁸⁷ It would be interesting to discuss Suárez's position in order to see how he manages to account for the clear distinction of the activities of perception and *phantasia*, especially for the essential role the latter has to play for there to be the possibility of error, since both the senses and the intellect when dealing with their proper objects (in normal circumstances) seem to be infallible. This discussion, however, is outside the scope of our present enquiry.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁵ Suárez, *De anima*, III, d. 08, q. 1: "His suppositis, circa quaestionem propositam variae sunt sententiae: Quidam dicunt et ponunt tantum duos sensus interiores distinctos, diverso tamen modo, nam aliqui volunt sensum communem esse unam potentiam per se, phantasiam vero esse aliam, cum qua identificantur memoria, aestimativa, etc. Ita opinatur Perezus, hoc libro, cap 3, q 1; citat in eam sententiam Turisanum, lib 2 In artem Galeni, comm 17; et Venetus, hic." This information is a direct contradiction of the testimony of the *Conimbricenses* that the authorship of the view that there were only two internal senses is to be attributed to Pedro da Fonseca. However, Suárez's information is difficult to check. Perhaps he is referring to the Salamanca Sebastian Pérez *Commentarii et Disputationes in De anima*, in 1554. Cf. Lohr, *Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: N-Ph* p. 573. Only a careful examination of this text can determine whether this is the case or not.

³⁸⁶ Suárez, *De anima*, III, d. 08, q. 1: "Tertia conclusio ex dictis colligitur: Probabilissimum videtur sensum interiorem tantum esse realiter unum. Haec conclusio, aliis suppositis, est evidens, nam sensus communis et phantasia sunt unum inter se; et similiter aestimativa et memoria inter se; et rursus aestimativa et phantasia inter se. Cogitativa autem, reminiscentia et imaginatio non ponuntur in numero, ut supra, sed tantum significant diversas perfectiones quas iste sensus habet in homine. Et haec, ut arbitror, est sententia Aristotelis, nam imprimis, cap 1 De memoria et reminiscentia, ait phantasma esse affectum sensus communis; et in toto illo capite aperte loquitur de sensu communi et phantasia, immo de tota virtute sentiendi interiori tamquam de uno sensu."

³⁸⁷ Suárez, *De anima*, III, d. 08, q. 1: "Solutio dubii. Quarta conclusio sit nihilominus: Sensus interior est una potentia realiter et formaliter, solum quod distinguitur ratione, secundum quod ad diversos actus comparatur, et inadaequatis conceptibus concipitur. Probatur, quia illa potentia est formaliter una, quae habet unum obiectum formale adaequatum circa quod exerceat quoddam genus actuum; partialia autem obiecta et particulae rationes actuum diversorum non faciunt diversas rationes formales potentiarum sic autem est in proposito; ergo. Et explicatur et confirmatur, nam in parte intellectiva sunt plurima nomina significantia intellectum, ut intellectus, ratio, memoria, intellectus practicus, speculativus, etc., et tamen ibi una est potentia formaliter. Et similiter in voluntate, etc. Item, si illo modo essent potentiae realiter distinguendae, non quattuor, sed plures quam sex essent interiores sensus, nam imaginativa habet distinctum actum a phantasia et potest diverso modo definiri; et idem est de reminiscentia, etc. Quapropter unus est sensus formaliter efficiens hos actus, qui a nobis diversis nominibus nuncupantur, secundum quod ad actus diversos comparatur; et aliae definitiones non sunt adaequatae definitiones illius potentiae, sed potius explicationes quaedam nostri conceptus."

³⁸⁸ For the ambiguous Aristotelian view on the distinction between perception and *phantasia* see Aristotle, *On Dreams* 1, 459^a15-22. But the Aristotelian account does seem to imply a true distinction, cf. S. Everson, *Aristotle on Perception* p 158. That this distinction is a condition for the possibility of error is explained by V. Caston, "Why Aristotle Needs Imagination," *Phronesis* XLI/1, 1996, 20-55.

From this very brief survey we can extract a clear sense of the divergences among the Jesuits (and that not every opinion is equally reconcilable with Aristotle's), even with regard to the authorship of a particular doctrine. A fact that suggests that in order to talk about 'Jesuit psychology' in the sixteenth century, one has to reconstruct the order of exposition and the peculiarities of each account of the basic difficulties. Seeing that Fonseca already supplies a metaphysical and epistemological foundation for his opinions, we can begin with a detailed account of Fonseca's position.

3.1.3. Fonseca on Internal Senses

Fonseca introduces this topic when he asks in question VI whether universals are made by the sole activity of the intellect. He then goes on to link this theme with the conclusion that he had just demonstrated, namely, that universals things are made by abstraction from their particulars. According to this view, there are three issues to be addressed: first, what is "abstraction" and how many are the types of abstraction; second, by what kind are the universals abstracted from their particulars; and finally, by which of the faculties of the soul this abstraction is made. Fonseca adds that this whole disputation would also make evident if the abstracted things undergo any changes due to the process of abstraction.

Fonseca begins by defining what he means by 'to abstract.' In his view, 'to abstract' means "to separate something from something (else) in some way" (*Abstrahere nihil est aliud, quam aliquid ab aliquo modo aliquo separare*) Then, abstraction is presented as being threefold: real abstraction, abstraction of negation, and abstraction of precision (*abstractio, satis erit, si trifarim, quoad rem praesentem attinet, distinguatur: in realem, negationis, et praecisionis*). Real abstraction is when something is abstracted from something else in reality, as gold from earth, and fish from the river. However this does not apply to items that once separated, immediately perish. By the same token, accidents, which are naturally removed from the subject, are not

abstracted from something else in reality, since they cannot “cohere” without their subject.³⁸⁹

Abstraction of negation is when one item is denied of another, what may either be a true abstraction, as when whiteness is denied of a crow, or false, when the same whiteness is denied of a swan.³⁹⁰ Abstraction of precision is then, when out of two connected items, one is apprehended and the other is left behind. As by the sight, the colour of milk is apprehended but its shape is not.³⁹¹ However, according to Fonseca, an object is not abstracted from another by the appetitive faculties, in this kind of abstraction, even if one is distinguished from the other (indeed often, for example, the colour of a thing pleases the appetite, the flavour of which displeases) because things that are desired abstract (*abstrahunt*) themselves from the desiring subject, and “direct” (*trahunt*) it to themselves. He quotes Dionysus who says that *Amor ecstasin facit*, and what is usually said that *Amor plus est ubi amat, quam ubi animat*. And his conclusion is: *appetimus enim res, ut sunt in seipsis; apprehendimus autem, ut illae sunt in nobis*.³⁹² Fonseca cites *De anima* book 2 chapter 12 text 12: *etiam sensus ipsi externi objecta materialia sine materia quodammodo recipiant*, that is, without many material conditions, like for instance, the candidness of snow without its coldness, and the flame of fire without its heat. These are instances where there is abstraction of precision.³⁹³

With respect to the abstraction of the universals from their particulars, Fonseca rules out both the real abstraction and the abstraction of negation. The first because the universals are not completely distinct from their particulars, as fish are from the river, and even if they were made

³⁸⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 999: “Realis abstractio est, cum aliquid ab aliquo re ipsa separamus, quo pacto aurum ab terra, et pisces ex fluvio abstrahimus. Cum autem ea, quae non permanent, non dicantur separati, sed perire: non dicimus, accidentia, quae naturaliter removentur a subiecto, realiter ab eo abstrahi, quae naturaliter sine subiecto cohaerere non possunt.”

³⁹⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 999: “Abstractio negationis est, cum unum de altero negamus, quae proinde aut vera abstractio est, ut cum negamus albedinem de corvo, aut falsa, ut cum eandem negamus de cygno.”

³⁹¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 999: “Abstractio praecisionis tum sit, cum e duobus coniunctis inter se unum apprehendimus, alterum relinquimus: ut cum aspectu apprehendimus colorum lactis non apprehensa eius figura.”

³⁹² *CMA* v. 2, c. 999: “Ratio discriminis est, quia apud nos potentiae apprehensivae accipiunt species a rebus, quas apprehendunt, et per eas quodammodo res ipsas ad se trahunt (hinc enim apprehensivae dicuntur) et appetitivae sunt quaedam quasi instrumenta, quibus res appetitae appetentes ad se trahunt: appetimus enim res, ut sunt in se ipsis: apprehendimus autem, ut illae sunt in nobis.”

³⁹³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 999-1000: “[I]ta ut, quemadmodum Aristoteles lib 2 *De anima* ca 12 text 121, ait etiam sensus ipsi externi obiecta materialia sine materia quodammodo recipiant, hoc est, sine plerisque obiectorum materialibus conditionibus, ut candorem nivis sine frigore, et flammam ignis sine calore.”

completely apart (by divine power, for instance) they would then become particulars.³⁹⁴ The second kind of abstraction is dismissed because the universals are necessarily suitable to their particulars, in the case of genera, species, *differentias*, and properties, even though accidents could be so affirmed and denied of their subjects.³⁹⁵ Fonseca concludes that the universals can only be abstracted from their particulars by the third kind of abstraction, which is also said to be “simple apprehension,” insofar as they are certainly apprehended without any apprehensive *differentias* of the particulars.³⁹⁶ It can be either on the side of the species imprinted (*habitualis*), which represents the object, or on the side of the act of apprehension (*actualis*), and the similarity represented.³⁹⁷

The next step, according to Fonseca is to determine which faculties of the soul are responsible for this abstraction. And he remarks that from what was already explained, it ought to be an apprehensive faculty, as the appetitive faculties had been ruled out. The fact that the external senses provide the first acquaintance of things, and in this sense they are the first access and entrance of the soul,³⁹⁸ does not make them suitable candidates to perform this abstraction. The reasons given are two. First, because what is perceived by the external senses has, from the start, temporal and spatial dimensions attached to it. That is not the case of the universals.³⁹⁹ Second, because the external senses only apprehend things intuitively⁴⁰⁰ (things have to be actually present), while the abstractive perception does not require the presence of the things objected (*obiicitur*).

³⁹⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1000: “(N)ec denique si divina potestate abstrahantur realiter a subiectis, ut intellectus et candor ab hominibus candidis, erunt universalia sed singularia (...)”

³⁹⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1000: “Non abstrahuntur etiam universalia a suis particularibus abstractione negationis vera, se sint ex quatuor prioribus universalium generibus, cum et genera omnia, et species, et differentiae, et propria item necessario suis particularibus conveniant.”

³⁹⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1001: “Ergo superest, ut universalia abstrahantur a suis particularibus abstractione praecisionis, quae simplex quoque apprehensio dicitur, quatenus nimirum apprehenduntur non apprehensis ullis particularium differentiis.”

³⁹⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1001: “Iam vero, cum duplex sit apprehensio simplex, qua repraesentatur obiectum: actualis altera, quae sit per actum apprehendendi, expressamque similitudinem (...)”

³⁹⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1001: “Apprehensivas autem vires sive potentias, quae sunt in primo quasi aditu, et ingressu animae nostrae, esse quinque sensus externos, manifestum est: hi enim sunt, quorum opera prima rerum notitiam percipimus. Unde commune illud Philosophorum proloquium: *nihil esse in intellectu nostro, quod non prius fuerit in sensu*, de sensu externo primum intelligitu.”

³⁹⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1001: “(N)ihil percipitur externo sensu, nisi, ut hic et nunc, hoc est ut addictum certo loco ex tempore: at universale, ut universale est certo tempore aut loco addictum non est (...)”

⁴⁰⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1001: “(S)ensibus externis nihil percipimus, nisi intuitive (...)”

A second kind of apprehensive potency is the *sensus communis*, which is only one in each animal, and the first of the internal senses, as it resides in the first vestibule of the soul, as the doctors say that it is found in the first hollow of the head. Its specific function is to perceive and distinguish the objects and activities of all external senses. Accordingly, it can judge whether it is the same sensible thing, or others, which are perceived by the different senses, for example, if it is the same whiteness or the same sweetness. What no individual external sense *per se* can do. Moreover, it discerns if an animal is more occupied with one sense than another, if it sees more acutely or hears more acutely. This function cannot be performed by any external sense alone, otherwise it would be the arbiter of the others. Even though this last function seems to be an attribute of the intellect, either alone or principally.⁴⁰¹ Being a “common” sense, it perceives *communiter* the differences of all the sensibles. However it cannot operate in the absence of the sensible thing, as it is always simultaneously active with the external sense, thus what it perceives has necessarily a temporal and spatial dimensions.⁴⁰²

The third kind of apprehensive faculty is the *phantasia*, which Fonseca says is generally called *imaginatio*, by those who prefer a Latin word to the Greek. And in his conception, it is more “interior” than the *sensus communis*, and it is said to be located in the second hollow of the brain. The main function of *phantasia* is to preserve the sensible species, and in their absence, compose other species out of them, and divide them in others. Consequently, “procreating” sensible species, as when from the “figures” of different animals, it shapes a third animal, and to

⁴⁰¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1002: “Alterum genus apprehensivarum potentiarum est sensus communis, qui unicus est in quolibet animali, et primus ex internis, in promo etiam interiori animae quasi vestibulo residet, propriamque sedem et ut Medici vocant, cellulam in anteriori capitis parte habet. Huius officium est omnium externorum sensuum obiecta et operationes percipere ac distinguere: itemque iudicare posse sit ne eadem res sensibilis, an diversae, quae a diversis sensibus percipiuntur: ut sitne aliquid idem, an diversum albedo ac dulcedo: quod nec aspectus ipse per se, nec gustatus facere possunt, cum ille solum colorem, hic tantum saporem percipiat: tum etiam discernere, magis ne operetur, animal uno sensu, quam alio, veluti, acutius ne videat, an audiat, quod nec solus aspectus, nec solus auditus; nec uterque simul praestare postest: sed unus alius, qui noverit utriusque operationes, et quasi communis arbiter earum discrimen diiudicet. Quoniam hoc tertium aut solus, aut praecipue videtur facere intellectus.”

⁴⁰² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1002: “Quocirca non dicitur communis hic sensus, quod commune aliquid sensibile a particularibus abstrahat, sed quod communiter omnium sensibilium differentias percipiat. Quod enim nihil commune apprehendat, ex eo patet, quia est quasi centrum externorum sensuum, neque unquam in absentia rei sensibilis operationem habere potest, sed semper simul cum externis sensibus rem, ut his et nunc percipit, hoc est, in eadem rei praesentia et locali, et temporaria.”

“dissect,” member by member, an intact, and produce one after another from another.⁴⁰³ It already divides the senses, and from one it makes many, and yet it does not discern the common natures from the singular *differentias*, nor multiplies the one and the same in several of the same *ratio*. In this sense it always leads to the singulars, as one composes with another or is separated from another.⁴⁰⁴

The fourth genus of apprehensive faculty, that is, the third of the internal senses, is called by philosophers *aestimativa* in the brutes, and *cogitative* and *ratio particularis* in humans, as they distinguish it from the *ratiocinandi facultas* or *intellectus*. They often suppose it to be located in the third hollow. Its particular function in all animals is to perceive the insensed from the sensed, that is, from the species, by which the sensibles *per se* are perceived from the three superior faculties, the species of them, which fall under the sense, to elicit, (the sheep that flee from the figure of the wolf as enemy, and avoid a poisonous herb, what they would not do unless they had elicited the species of enmity and poison, from that shape and that taste respectively). Men instinctively perceive many insensed from the sensed, however they often do it by some *ratio* and discourse.⁴⁰⁵ This faculty, as some say, borders the universals, as the universals are insensed that are abstracted from the sensed particulars. But this is not sufficient. As it is a material faculty inhering in a particular bodily organ, it cannot but perceive the singulars, what also holds for all the sensitive potencies, and this seems to have been evident for all philosophers. (Fonseca says

⁴⁰³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1002-1003: “Tertium genus est phantasia quam plerique imaginationem appellant, cum tamen Graeco phantasiae vocabulo uti malint, qui latine loquuntur. Eaque etiam interior est potentia, quam sensus communis: et, ut dici solet, in secunda cerebri quasi cellula sedem habet. Proprium eius munus est, sensibilium species servare, et in eorum absentia alia ex aliis componere, et in alia dividere: atque adeo alias sensibiles species ex aliis procreare, ut ex diversorum animalium figuris tertium quoddam animal fingere, et unum integrum quasi membratim discernere, et ex alio alia atque alia producere.”

⁴⁰⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1003: “Quanquam vero hic iam sensus dividat, ac ex uno multa faciat, non secernit tamen unquam naturam communem a singularibus differentiis, neque ullam eandem in plures eiusdem rationis multiplicat: sed semper in ipsis singularibus versatur, dum hoc cum illo componit, et hoc ex illo separari, aut quasi nasci ac pullulare apud se fingit.”

⁴⁰⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1003: “Quartum deinde sequitur virium apprehensivarum genus, quod ex internis sensibus est tertium. Aestimativam vocant philosophi in brutis animantibus, in hominibus vero cogitativam, et rationem particularem, ut eam a ratiocinandi facultate, intellectu distinguant: quam etiam in tertia cellula collocandam fere existimant. Huius peculiare officium in omnibus animalibus est, ex sensatis insensata percipere, hoc est ex speciebus, quibus sensibilia per se a superioribus tribus facultatibus percepta sunt, species eorum, quae per se sub sensum non cadunt, elicere: quo pacto oves figura lupi conspecta, illum ut inimicum fugiunt, et degustata herba noxia, eam ut noxiam abiiciunt: quod non facerent, nisi ex speciebus figurae ac saporis inimicitiae ac nocumenti species elicerent. Sed hoc interest inter homines et bruta animantia, quod id ex quodam naturae instinctu, et sine ullo discursu brutis animantibus contingit: homines vero etsi in primis ac repentinis motibus multa insensata ex sensatis naturae instinctu percipiunt: fere tamen ratiocinatione quadam et discursu id faciunt.”

that the Thomists do not reach a more probable conclusion than the idea they have started with).⁴⁰⁶

The fifth kind of apprehensive faculty is *memoria* and *reminiscentia*, which some want to make two different faculties. Some want it to be located in the last hollow or as they call it, the last ventricle. This faculty has the function of storing the insensible species, and to remember by them the species of things, and when they do not occur, to search from those that occur, what they call to *reminisce*. However this faculty cannot abstract the universals, as what it does apprehend is always conjoined with the notion of past, what is not the case of any universal.⁴⁰⁷

Nevertheless, because of the sensitive faculties no other is apprehensive, and as none of the abovementioned is fit to perform the task, it is evident that the abstraction is not made by any sensitive potency. Consequently, in Fonseca's view the abstraction has to be made by the intellect, to which it suffices one apprehensive potency. As the intellect is not fixed to a corporeal organ, there is no incompatibility in relation to apprehending the common nature in its purity, that is, not with any contracting *differentia*, and as it were in the free state that precedes the common nature's contraction in the particulars.⁴⁰⁸ Fonseca rejects that the universals can be experienced in any way by the sensitive faculties, even if some would object that in the case of the *singularia vaga*, there is a possibility of the senses (the sight in this case) apprehending species or genera directly, as one would see an approaching "man" without its singularising

⁴⁰⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1003: "Huic facultati dicat aliquis, posse contingere, ut universalia, quae insensata sunt, a sensatis particularibus abstrahat: sed non ita res habet. Cum enim adhuc sit materialis potentia, hoc est, organo corporeo inhaerens, nihil nisi ut singulare, addictumque singulari materiae percipere potest, quae ratio eadem valet in omnes potentias sensitivas, et ab omnibus philosophis ut communis, et quasi per se nota sententia recipitur. Nisi quod ad eam probendam hoc argumento utuntur. Thomistae, quia principium individuationis singularitatisve est materia signata: quod argumentum id ponit, quod non ab omnibus conceditur, aut saltem non universe verum est, nec magis evidens aut probabile, quam sit id, ad quod probandum assumitur."

⁴⁰⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1003-1004: "Quintum genus est memoria et reminiscentia: quod genus duas facultates complecti nonnulli volunt, eique ultimam cellulam, seu, ut alii vocant, ventriculum attribuunt. Eius particulare munus est insensatas species servare, rerumque per eas meminisse, et, cum non occurrunt, ex aliis, quae occurrunt, investigare, quod reminisci vocant: tametsi hoc in iis etiam, quae sensatae sunt, facultatem hanc efficere plerique asserunt. Non posse autem hanc potentiam universalia abstrahere, cum ex proxime proposita ratione sensibus omnibus communi concluditur: tum vero ea peculiari probatur, quia memoriae ac reminiscentiae apprehensio semper est cum differentia temporis praeteriti: at nihil universale ulli differentiae temporis addictum est."

⁴⁰⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1004: "Cum igitur ex sensitivis potentiis nulla alia sit apprehensiva, perspicuum est ex dictis, abstractionem universalium non fieri a potentia ulla sensitiva, sed a solo intellectu, quae una superest apprehensiva potentia. Nam, cum intellectus organo corporeo non sit affixus, nihil iam repugnat, quo minus apprehendere possit naturam communem, non ut est facta haec aut illa per differentiam contrahentem, sed in sua illa puritate, et quasi libertate, qua contractionem antecedit."

features. According to Fonseca there is a vague and uncertain cognition of the singular, as it is not “man” but “a man” or “an animal.”⁴⁰⁹

Fonseca goes on to discuss, first, whether all the interior senses furnish information to the intellect, or only one, and second, to what purpose does the intellect use the service of the interior senses, in order to undertake its function (abstraction). In the case of the *sensibilia per se*, the *sensus communis* to the intuitive apprehension of the intellect, and *phantasia* to the abstractive. In the case of the insensed, the estimation when it is absolutely, and memory when it is with the *differentia* of past.⁴¹⁰ The second point is that the intellect is wholly in the whole body, thus it is not more close to one internal sense than to another. As indeed even the external senses may seem to closely minister to the intellect.⁴¹¹ However it seems that only the most noble can be a direct minister to the intellect, and this would be the *ratio particularis*, but this is not what Fonseca has in mind, as it will be clear in a moment.

Furthermore, the opinions of Avicenna and Averroes in relation to the number and localisation of the internal senses are assessed. Avicenna, and Albert the Great, and some others, posited that internal senses were equal in number to the external. And they arrived at this number by differentiating *phantasia* from imagination, both in name and in nature and reality. Avicenna assigns to imagination only the conservation of the sensed species, and to *phantasia*, the third in his classification, the cognition by species of this kind. Albert attributes both functions to imagination, and he makes *phantasia* the fourth, and estimation the last and more noble. He ascribes all sorts of species not only of sensed inter se, but also of the non sensed with the sensed,

⁴⁰⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1004: “Quod si quis obiiciat, experientia compertum esse, sensitivas etiam facultates posse apprehendere rem, non ut est haec aut illa, sed ut certae duntaxat speciei aut generis: veluti cum ex loco distante certo conscipimus aliquem venientem esse hominem, nec tamen adhuc cernimus esse Socratem, vel quempiam alium designatum hominem: aut etiam cognoscimus esse animal tantum, dubitantes interim cuius speciei sit animal, facilis est responsio ex iis, quae ad primum librum c 2 q 3 s 8 diximus. Semper enim id sit cum apprehensione differentiae contrahentis, vaga tamen et incerta cognitione. Neque enim abstracte aut hominem, aut animal apprehendimus, sed aliquem hominem, vel aliquod animal, quae singularia vaga dici solent.”

⁴¹⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1005: “Primum, quia nec sensui communi, nec phantasiae quidquam deest, quo minus id facere possit, ille ad intellectus intuitivam apprehensionem, haec ad abstractivam: si modo intellectus apprehendere debeat sensata, hoc est, sensibilia per se. Aestimativa autem, et memoria, cum insensata proponere intellectui possint, haec quidem cum differentia temporis praeteriti, illa absolute: nihil est, quod a proximo intellectus ministerio in proponendis insensatis rebus excludendae sint.”

⁴¹¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1005: “Deinde, quia intellectus, quemadmodum et anima ipsa intellectiva, totus est toto corpore, et totus in qualibet eius parte: hinc enim sit, ut non sit uni parti, ac proinde uni sensui interno propinquior, quam caeteris: adeo, ut vel ipsi externi sensus videantur idonei, ut immediate intellectui ministrare possint.”

and the composition with the sensed.⁴¹² But as they do not bring any distinction of activities, which could not fall under the four internal faculties, it does not seem to Fonseca that he should alter his taxonomy, not even to make the internal equal in number with the external, as the internal being more noble could encompass things in a better way as they were more sparsely aggregated in the less perfect, as numerous well-known examples demonstrate.⁴¹³

Although Averroes' opinion is in a way correct⁴¹⁴ with regard to the number of internal senses, that is, in his fourfold distinction, what he says to justify his choice is not entirely correct, as he posited a quadripartite constitution of the brain, i.e., four hollows or ventricles or indentations of the brain, and this would be the reason for the number of internal senses, each one with a specific localisation in the brain.⁴¹⁵ However, this does not correspond to the physiology of the brain, as it is composed of three parts: two anterior parts, which are perfectly parallel, physically, in power (*vis*), and in nature; and a third, which is located behind both anterior parts, and being smaller in size, receives the usual designation of cerebellum. The latter is as if a "common door" though which the *spiritus animales* transit back and forth. They are produced in the anterior part of the brain, and more pure, are transmitted to the posterior. From there, they go

⁴¹² CMA v. 2, c. 1006: "Avicenna, et Albertus Magnus, alique nonnulli, ne fortasse internos sensus externis pauciores facerent, quinque etiam internos posuerunt, phantasiam ab imaginatione non nomine solo, sed natura et re etiam, ipsa distinguentes. Tametsi in eo dissentiunt, quod Avicenna tribuit imaginationi solam specierum sensatarum conservationem: phantasiae vero, quam tertio loco ponit, cognitionem per huiusmodi species: Albertus vero utrumque tribuit imaginationi: phantasiae vero, quam facit quartum sensum internum, et aestimativa posteriorem nobilioremque ascribit omnimodam specierum non tantum sensatarum inter se, sed etiam non sensatarum cum non sensatis, et cum sensatis compositionem."

⁴¹³ CMA v. 2, c. 1006: "Sed cum hi nullam operationum distinctionem afferant, quae sub quatuor internas iam dictas facultates cadere non possit, non est, cur nobis plures internos sensus praedictis quatuor obtrudant. Nec certe numero externorum iure moveri potuerunt, ut partem ei facerent internorum numerum, cum magis sit rationi consentaneum, ut interiores pauciores sint, quemadmodum et perfectiores: praesertim, cum hoc cernamus in rebus aliis, ut quae sparsim cernuntur in minus perfectis, collecta sint in iis, quae perfectiora sunt, quod plurimus et illustribus patet exemplis."

⁴¹⁴ Later on Fonseca will add that, strictly speaking, there are only two internal senses, as the last three are in fact functions of *phantasia*. The same view is expressed by D. Modrak as she points that Aristotle's general theory of perception consists of the external senses, "the common sense (the joint operation of several special senses), and *phantasia*, which includes the capacities for imaging, dreaming, and remembering" and "*Phantasia* is the psychic faculty through which images (*phantasmata*) are presented, stored, and recalled," cf. Modrak, *Aristotle's Theory of Language and Meaning*, p 223 and p 227, respectively.

⁴¹⁵ CMA v. 2, c. 1007: "Averrois opinio, quae communis in scholis habetur, quadripartitam facit sensuum internorum distinctionem, quam in superiori quaestione securi sumus. Ex eius assertoribus, qui minus considerate rem explicant, rationem huius numeri reddunt ex quatuor supradictis cellulis, seu ventriculis, seu sinibus cerebri, ut tot sint facultates interni sensus, quot sunt praedictae cellulae."

to all the faculties, both of feeling and of moving. From the physiology (*naturalis dispositio*) in the brain, the interior senses have to be four, corresponding to the two parts of the brain.⁴¹⁶

Aquinas and Averroes, when reflecting on the correct, in a sense, quaternary number of faculties, are correct in thinking that the faculties responsible for apprehending the insensed should have a different place in the brain than those in charge of apprehending the sensed. Thus, they arrive at two genera of internal senses: those that receive easily but do not retain for long, and those that retain long but do not receive easily (analogy of the seal in a soft and hard matter). Thus, in the faculties dealing with the sensed, there is the *sensus communis*, which simultaneously with the external senses perceives its object, and the *phantasia*, which preserves the sensed species for a long period, even when the external sensibles are no longer there. In the same way, in respect of the species of the insensed, they follow the same line of thought, that is, there is the estimation, which easily receives the species of the insensed, and the sensitive memory, which conserves them longer. However, Aquinas and Averroes depart from the truth when they try to account for these two “portions” of each of the brain in terms of the level of humidity, that is, the anterior and more humid is responsible for receiving, and the posterior an less humid is responsible for retaining. The same holds for the cerebellum. Therefore, they conclude (correctly) that the interior senses are four, corresponding (incorrectly) to the two “portions” of the brain, and the two portions of the cerebellum.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1007: “Verum hi cum ipsi etiam externis sensibus pugnant. Cernimus enim, in tres tantum partes divisum esse cerebrum in duas anteriores, quarum altera ad dextram est, ad laevam altera, nec una post alteram collocata, quae etiam vi et natura una atque eadem censetur: et in tertiam, quae post utramque est, utpote in occipite, et a longe minori magnitudine cerebellum a Medicis appellari solet. Nam transitus is ab anteriori parte capitis ad posteriorem, non pars cerebri, sed communis ianua censendum est, qua ultro citroque comeant spiritus animales, quae in anteriori parte fabricantur, et ad posteriorem purores transmittuntur: unde rursus omnibus sentiendi movendique facultatibus communicantur. Itaque si ex partibus cerebri naturali dispositione diversis colligendus est numerus interiorum sensuum, duo potius, quam quatuor colligendi erant.”

⁴¹⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1007-1008: “Qui vero meditatus numerum quaternarium constituunt, in quibus sunt D Thomas, et Averrois, ex eo suam sententiam probant, quia facultates, quae apprehendunt insensata diversae esse debent ab iis, quibus sola sensata apprehendi possunt. Atque hactenus recte. Habentur enim hoc ex fundamento duo genera interiorum sensuum, quae negari non possunt, sed ulterius utrumque genus in totidem alia eo argumento distinguunt: quia, quemadmodum in rebus aliis alia facile suscipiunt, sed non diu renebant, alia contra diu renebant, sed non facile suscipiunt (quod ita accidere impresso sigilli in mollem et durum materiam perspicue ostendit) ita in sensibus interioribus alius constituendus est, qui facile recipiat sensatas species, alius, qui diu retineat: quorum prior est *sensus communis*, qui simul tempore cum sensibus externis suum obiectum percipit, posterior *phantasia*, quae in absentia exteriorum sensibilium sensatas species diu conservat. Totidemque ponendas esse interiores facultates, ad quas insensatorum species pertineant, eodem argumento probant: unam, a qua facile eiusmodi species recipiantur, quam vocamus *aestimativam*: alteram, a qua diu conserventur, quam dicimus *memoriam sensitivam*: proinde

Fonseca gives three reasons why this account is incorrect. First, because the same apprehensive faculty can be responsible, in one part, for receiving more easily, and in another, for retaining more easily (as the heat is better distributed in the inferior ventricle than in the superior). Second, because a difference in intensity or effectiveness do not constitute a difference in function or task, thus “to retain more easily or more difficultly” is not enough to distinguish cognitive potencies, seeing that “more” and “less” point to the same species, and moreover, cognition does not consist in receiving and conserving species, but in using them, therefore there has to be a diversity in the use of the species to account for a diversity of potencies. Finally, because their opinion would correctly distinguish *phantasia* from *sensus communis*, as the latter receives the species solely in the present of the object and does not retain, unless for the briefest time (as Aristotle confirms that it happens in the external senses), while whatever the former receives it preserves it for long. On the other hand, this does not hold for the distinction between memory and estimation, for both receive and retain the species for some period. However estimation is located in the cerebellum, which is less humid or more temperate than the brain itself. Then, because the activity of the estimation requires to things: first, seeing that it elicits the non sensed from the sensed, what in man is often mediated by the discourse, it has to retain the sensed species for long; second, if it does not retain the species of the sensed and non sensed for long, as in the case of the *sensus communis*, this function has to be fulfilled by the memory, which stores the species, and it would then furnish them to the estimation, maximally diminishing the dignity of the estimation. And this is an undesirable consequence.⁴¹⁸

priorem cerebri partem, quam diximus duas illas maiores, dextram et sinistram connecti, in duas quasi portiones divisam esse volunt, in priorem, quae magis humida est, et suscipiendis speciebus aptior, et in posteriorem, quae retinendis est magis idonea. Eodemque modo cerebellum in humidiorum partem, quae prior sit et in minus humidam, quae posterior, distinguendum existimant. Ita efficitur, ut etiam hi auctores ex distinctione subiecti quadripartitam interiorum sensuum distinctionem suo modo constituent: cum ex varia dispositione partium, et eius, quae simpliciter cerebrum dicitur, et eius, quae cerebellum appellatur, eorum numerum colligant.”

⁴¹⁸ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1008-1009: “Sed neque hi recte suam sententiam videntur statuere. Primum, quia una et eadem facultas apprehensiva potest in una parte subiecti totalis facilius recipere, et in alia facilius retinere: quemadmodum idem calor melius digerit in imo ventriculi, quam in summo. Deinde, quia facilius et difficilius retinere non videntur esse munera et officia, quae satis sint ad distinguendas potentias cognitivas: tum quia magis minus ad eandem speciem spectant: tum vel maxime, quia cognitio non in receptione, aut conservatione specierum, sed in earum usu consistit: ut diversitate usus seu operis, non ex facilitate et difficultate recipiendi et retinendi formas, quibus potentiae utuntur, earum distinctio colligenda sit. Postremo, quia, si horum opinio sic accipiatur, ut alii sensus interiores recipiant species, sed non retineant, alii et recipiant, et retineant: recte quidem isto modo, tametsi ex

Fonseca rejects the opinion usually attributed to Galen on the number and functions of the internal senses. In order to do this he follows the way Galen is interpreted by Francisco Valles. According to Vallesius (as Fonseca calls him) Galen's threefold classification of the internal senses is built upon the three possible kinds of delirium. First, it is possible to err in the cognition, i.e., in the simple apprehension, as when somebody sees something in a particular place at a particular time and the others looking at the same time to the same place do not see anything; second, one may reason improperly, going from the appearance of the object to its proper name, but being unable to infer their names if they are thrown away; finally, in memory. According to Valles, these three faculties are not restricted to different compartments of the brain, but operate in the whole brain. However, they work more perfectly in the cerebellum because there the more pure spirits are.⁴¹⁹

The problem with this account is that he does not distinguish *ratio* or intellect from estimation. Thus, he is not correct if *phantasia* is not distinguished from *sensus communis*, and memory is as if a different potency from *ratio* or estimation, and from *phantasia*, as if he

accidenti, colligetur distinctio phantasiae a sensu communi: quod hic recipiat species in sola praesentia obiecti, nec eas illo absente retineat, nisi forte ad tempus brevissimum (quod etiam teste Aristotelem in sensibus externis accidere diximus) illa autem et recipiat, et diu conservet: at distinctio memoriae ab aestimativa colligi non poterit. Nam, non solum memoria, sed aestimativa etiam et recipit, et diu retinet species: tum quia ponitur in parte minus humida, quam sit ea, in qua ponitur phantasia, quae ab eis in priore parte cerebelli collocatur, quod totum maiorem siccitatem, seu temperatiorem humiditatem habet, quam totum magnum cerebrum, in cuius posteriori parte phantasiam ponunt, tum etiam, quia operatio aestimativae id manifeste indicat duobus argumentis: uno, quia aestimativa, cum ex sensatis speciebus non sensatis eliciat, idque in hominibus saepe fiat per discursum quendam, saltem sensatas species diu apud se retineat, necesse est. Altero, quia, si non retineret species et sensatas, et non sensatas, nisi, cum primum res obiectas apprehendit: quemadmodum sensus communis: reliquae deinde operationes, quibus obiectae res apprehenduntur, et ex aliis in alias discurrunt, ad memoriam pertinent, apud quam species servantur: aut certe aestimativa id faceret repetitis suo modo a memoria speciebus, quas ad eam quodammodo transmittit, se (ut rem, qualis esset, declarem) genitis identidem novis speciebus in aestimativa ex iis, quae servantur in memoria, cum hae potentiae ponantur in diversis partibus cerebelli. At haec et absurda sunt, et aestimativae dignitati quam maxime derogant.”

⁴¹⁹ CMA v. 2, c. 1009: “Galenus in libro de differentiis ca 3 symptomatum, ut eum interpretatur Franciscus Vallesius, vir sane doctus nec solum de Medicinae arte ac peritia, sed de nobiliori quoque Philosophia benemeritus, tres tantum ponit facultates apprehensivas interiores, Phantasiam, (quam non facit diversam a sensu communi) Rationem, et Memoriam. Quem sequitur Nyssenius Gregorius libro quarto de Viribus animae. Hunc vero numerum facultatum probat Galenus ex tribus speciebus phrenitidis. *Tribus enim*, inquit, *modis tantum contingit laedi mentem*, hoc est, sensus interiores (praeter hos enim nullam ipse aliam interiorem animae rationalis apprehensivam facultatem, posuit, ut qui impie mortalem fecit.) *Nam aut homo errat in cognitione*, id est, in simplici apprehensione, quo pacto Theophilus putabat, se in angulo domus videre tibicines quos nullos videbat, *aut prave ratiocinatur*, cum nec cognitione, nec memoria quiquam erret, ut is, qui vasa vitrea cum cognosceret, propriorumque nominum recordaretur? Tamen proiciebat, non inde colligens factum iri, *aut demum memoria*. Addit Vallesius, his tribus facultatibus non diversas cellulas, aut cerebri totius partes, sed totum cerebrum attribuendum: tametsi omnes, ut Galenus docet, perfectius operentur in ea parte, quae cerebellum vocatur, in qua puriores iam sunt spiritus.”

defended the same with Aristotle or he said the same with *ratio* agreeing.⁴²⁰ In *De anima* book 3 c 3, Aristotle teaches in great detail that *phantasia* is different from any other sense, not only from the sensitive senses, but also from the *sensus communis*, which discerns the *differentias* of all the sensitive. And this is in accord with *ratio* as well, seeing that these faculties require the presence of the object.⁴²¹ Valles points that Galen interpreted the last part of this chapter of *De anima* as meaning that *phantasia* related to the *sensus communis* as act to potency.⁴²² And he points that this passage was understood⁴²³ as signifying that the activity of *phantasia* is received in the *sensus communis*, but it is caused from it just as from an agent imprinting the species in the *phantasia* itself. And this interpretation would in accordance with an accepted definition of the Commentator,⁴²⁴ in which he says that the *sensus communis* is included without which the particulars (sensitive senses) do not operate. The *sensus communis*, moved by the particulars (having received the *phantasmata* of the external sensibles), moves the *phantasia* (imprinting the *phantasmata* in the latter).

However, neither does it correspond to Aristotle's view nor to reason. Aristotle's view is, according to *On Memory* c 1, that memory, *phantasia*, and estimation are located in the same "part of the soul,"⁴²⁵ that is, they belong to one and the same faculty. Moreover, Aristotle, when referring to the ministry of the internal senses to the intellect, always calls their species *phantasmata*. And even Galen himself in *De muscularum motu*⁴²⁶ identifies memory and *phantasia*. Reason does not support Galen's distinction because the same potency in charge of

⁴²⁰ CMA v. 2, c. 1010: "Sed ut mittamus errorem Galeni: rationem intellectumve ab aestimandi facultate non distinguuntis; certe si phantasiam a sensu communi non discevit, et memoriam quasi diversam potentiam ratione seu aestimativa et a phantasia distinxit, non est, cur defendatur quasi idem cum Aristotele senserit, aut rationi consentanea dixerit."

⁴²¹ CMA v. 2, c. 1010: "Aristotelem perspicue docere, imaginationem hoc est, imaginandi operationem recipi in sensu communi tanquam actum in sua potentia."

⁴²² In Fonseca's translation: CMA v. 2, c. 1010: "*Si igitur nihil aliud praeter imaginationem habent ea, quae dicta sunt, sitque id ipsum, quod diximus: imaginatio motus profecto fuerit sensus iam operantis.*"

⁴²³ Another possible translation is given: CMA v. 2, c. 1010: "*Phantasia motus fuerit a sensu iam operante, seu facto in actu.*"

⁴²⁴ CMA v. 2, c. 1010: "*Imaginatio est motus factus a sensu secundum actum.*"

⁴²⁵ Aristotle, *On Memory*, 1, 450^a21-25: "Accordingly if asked, of which among the parts of the soul memory is a function, we reply: manifestly of that part to which 'presentation' appertains; and all objects capable of being presented (viz. aistheta) are immediately and properly objects of memory, while those (viz. noeta) which necessarily involve (but only involve) presentation are objects of memory incidentally."

⁴²⁶ Fonseca quotes the passage: CMA v. 2, c. 1011: "*Pars enim, inquit, quae imaginatur quaecunque ea sit, eadem recordari videtur.*"

eliciting the non sensed from the sensed, has also to cognise the latter and retain the former, and compose a third from them, as lion as an enemy and bread as salutary, what leads to the conclusion that *phantasia* and estimation are one and the same potency. And if it is the same faculty responsible for retaining the sensed and the insensed, also one and the same is the faculty responsible for discoursing and inquiring from the remembered to arrive at the forgotten, what is to reminisce. Thus, it is evident that memory and *phantasia* are not distinguished from cogitative or *ratio particularis*.⁴²⁷

Fonseca goes on to provide his own account of the true distinction of the internal senses. He concludes that there are only two interior apprehensive potencies inherent to the body, namely the *sensus communis* and *phantasia*.⁴²⁸ He also infers that only *phantasia* closely ministers to the intellect. Fonseca corroborates his conclusion with the following arguments. First, because Aristotle only presents the other faculties in *De anima* book 3 c 2. On the other hand, where he presents them in more detail and according to the custom, he does not distinguish cogitative, or estimation, from *phantasia*. And in the *On Memory* (Fonseca was not sure if this book was written by Aristotle) he does not assert that the act or potency of remembering or reminiscing are distinct from the act or potency of *phantasia*, unless by a remark that memory and reminiscence are united with a notion of past. But this cannot constitute a true distinction because it is only a distinction of accidents. Furthermore, even the brutes apprehend things with a notion of future, as by the sight of a stick or alternatively of a piece of bread, a dog's reaction will be running or fawning, in anticipation of a future harm or reward, respectively.⁴²⁹ Second,

⁴²⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1011: "Non esse autem eandem facultatum distinctionem rationi consuetaneam, ex eo primum patet, quia, quae potentia elicit species insensatas a sensatis, eadem debet per utrasque cognoscere, et utrasque retinere, ex utrisque etiam aliquid tertium componere, ut Leonem inimicum, et panis usum salubrem. Quae consideratio phantasiam et aestimativam unam et eandem esse potentiam, manifeste arguit. Quae item facultas species cum sensatas tum etiam insensatas conservat, eadem ex re una, cuius recordatur, ad aliam, cuius oblita est, inquirendo discurrit, quod est reminisci. Ex quo argumento perspicuum sit, non esse memoriam et phantasiam diversam potentiam a cogitativa, ratione particulari, cuius est omnis huiusmodi discursus."

⁴²⁸ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1011-1012: "Dicendum igitur, duas tantum esse interiores potentias apprehensivas corpori inhaerentes, sensum videlicet communem et phantasiam (...)"

⁴²⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1012: "Quod si peculiarem librum scripsit *De Memoria et Reminiscencia*, non putavit tamen memorandi aut reminiscendi actum aut potentiam ab actu et potentia phantasiae distinctam esse, nisi quatenus absolutam rerum particularium cognitionem (quasi praesentium tamen, vocavit phantasiam, (hinc enim phantasia tanquam ab eo, quod apparet, dicta est) eam vero, quae coniuncta est cum cognitione praeterit, appellavit memoriam et reminiscenciam, quod discrimen accidentarium est, veramque potentialium distinctionem efficere non potest: nisi

the intellect and the intellectual memory are one and the same potency, which from the act of preserving the species is called memory, and the fecund intellect, which can, when necessary, be abundant in act of understanding (*intelligendi*), therefore it is said to be *intellectus*. Third, *phantasia* and *sensus communis* are distinguished in localisation and in function. The *sensus communis* is located in the anterior part of the brain, where it is more humid and where the nerves of all the particular senses are. *Phantasia*, on the other hand, is in the whole brain, as well as in the cerebellum. However, in the cerebellum, it preserves better the *phantasmata* and it seems to exert its functions more purely and quietly. Their functions differ in that the *sensus communis* apprehends, at the same time and together with the external senses, only in the presence of its objects, with the *differentias* of place and time. *Phantasia* is the most distant from the senses. *Sensus communis* cognises only the sensed, but *phantasia* elicits the sensed from the insensed, and may even go in both directions, if it is perfect.⁴³⁰

There are some other difficulties. First, how to refute Galen's threefold division, based on the three kinds of mental illnesses. Second, how is it possible to have an excellent faculty of imagining (*phantasia*) and a bad of judging (estimation), and vice versa? How to interpret Aristotle's *On Memory*, where he says that "the *phantasma* of the *sensus communis* is an affection" and that "to imagine, and to remember are passions or affections of the first sensitive faculty"? Finally, what can be brought to *ratio* from acts and objects, if potencies are distinguished from acts, as "to judge concerning the activities or the exterior senses," "to compose the sensed," "to elicit the insensed," and "to recollect," all of them differ in species?⁴³¹

contendas dandam esse aliam potentiam sensitivam, quae res apprehendat cum differentia futuri, quod ridiculum est: apprehendunt enim vel bruta animantia pleraque sibi vel commoda, vel incommoda cum differentia futuri: ut cum canis praetento pane aut fuste, apprehensoque futuro commodo aut damno, vel adulatur, vel fugit."

⁴³⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1013: "Officio autem distingui has potentias, luculenter et copiose ostendit Aristoteles secundo capite libri tertii *De anima*, text 136 cuius argumentis haec duo addi possunt. Unum, quod *sensus communis* praesentia tantum et loco, et tempore, simulque cum sensibus externis apprehendat obiecta: *phantasia* vero etiam loco distantissima, et cessantibus ante longo tempore sensibus externis. Alterum, quod *communis sensus* sensata duntaxat, ut externi cognoscat, *phantasia* vero ex sensatis insensata eliciat, et ex aliis in alia, si perfecta sit, discurrat."

⁴³¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1013: "Sed quid ad Galeni argumentum illud de triplice specie phrenitidis, ex quo triplex *sensus* interior colligi videbatur? Quid ad experientiam, quam habemus de plerisque qui imaginandi facultatem habent optimam, pessimam vero iudicandi, aut contra: an non hinc *phantasiae* et *aestimativae* distinctio concluditur? Quid etiam ad id, quod plerique valent memoria, iudicio vero et aestimatione rerum sunt pene destituti, aut contra? An non hoc memoriae ab aestimandi facultate distinctionem aperte agruit?"

To the first, he answers that the conclusion is false, as even if it is granted that there are only three kinds of delirium, it would suffice to posit a distinction of species of activities, belonging to one and the same potency, as someone may judge correctly concerning one matter and incorrectly concerning another (due, for instance, to diversity in disposition), without any necessity to posit two distinct faculties of the intellect (just on this account). And the same holds for the other internal faculties.⁴³² The second and the third receive the same reply. There is a diversity within the brain, which makes it sometimes more suited to imagining, or to remembering, than to judging, or vice versa. Besides, possible distortions are often due to improper disposition or appetite.⁴³³ The third is explained away by clarifying the meaning of Aristotle's passage, which says that "the *phantasma* is effectively caused by the operative *sensus communis*," he says that in the *De anima* it is affirmed that *phantasia* is made by an act of the operative sense, which means by the *phantasma* impressed, at the same time, with some external sense. The term "first sensitive faculty" appears to refer to *phantasia* itself, as it is the principal sensitive potency, therefore it is by the *phantasmata* impressed by this potency that "to remember," and "to imagine," and "to estimate" take place.⁴³⁴ Finally, potencies are not distinguished by their acts or objects, as in fact the same potency may have different acts in

⁴³² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1014: "Dicimus ad haec primum argumentum negatione consequentiae dissolvi. Nam, etsi tres sint species phrenitidis, non est tamen necesse, ut tres quoque sint speciei interiorum potentiarum, quae laedantur: satis enim ad summum est, si colligatur tres esse species operationum unius eiusdemque potentiae, quae laeditur, potest enim eadem potentia recte habere, quoad unam speciem operationis, et non quoad aliam: immo etiam, quoad unum obiectum, et non, quoad aliud, etiamsi utraque operatio sic eiusdem speciei: quo pacto plerique felici sunt ingenio, sed nullo pene iudicio, aut contra; alii recte iudicant in una materia, et perversae in alia, aut e contrario: quae omnia ad unam et eandem intellectus facultatem pertinere dicimus qui ratione diversarum dispositionum vel suarum, vel sensuum, vel appetitus non eodem modo se habet circa unam, ac circa aliam operationem aut materiam."

⁴³³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1014: "Secundum et tertium ex eodem fundamento refutantur. Alique enim dispositio cerebri est, quae plus serviat actibus imaginandi, aut memorandi, quam iudicandi et contra: iam etsi perversitas iudicii saepe oritur ex parva dispositione appetitus, quasi inferne illud trahentis ad id, quod cupit."

⁴³⁴ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1014-1015: "Quartum sic diluendum. Aristotelis sententiam eo loco esse, *phantasma* causari effective a sensu communi operante, quod saepe alias docuerat: verba autem illa, *communis sensus affectionem esse*, hoc pacto esse exponenda. A communi sensu proficisci, ac per speciem ab eo impressas effici: quo pacto libro tertio *De anima* cap tertio, text 161, *phantasia*, seu *phantasiae* operatio dicitur fieri a sensu actu operante, quia sit per *phantasma* impressum a sensu operante simul cum aliquo externo sensu. Nomine vero primi sensitivi, etsi videatur posse intelligi ipsa *phantasia*, quae, ut diximus, est praecipua potentia sensitiva, cum nulla sit magis interna, tamen dicendum est, intelligendum esse ipsum sensum communem. Aristoteles enim distinguit eo loco sensum a *phantasia*: nec vocat sensum, sive sensitivum, nisi eam facultatem, quae in praesentia tantum sensibilia percipit: unde fit, ut nomine primi sensitivi intelligat praecipuum sensum, ac proinde communem et universalem sensum, sine quo particulares nihil percipiunt. Dicuntur ergo imaginari et memorari esse passiones primi sensitivi, quia fiunt per *phantasmata* impressa a primo sensitivo, aut etiam (quod supplendum est) per *phantasmata* ab eis elicit: quod addiderim propter *phantasmata* rerum non sensatarum, seu non sensibilibus per se, quae *phantasmata* ab aestimandi facultate ex sensorum *phantasmatis* eliciuntur."

species, as the sight “sees” different colours in species. However, this would not go as far as to necessarily imply that there would be only “one potency” and diverse acts, in relation to the sensitive faculties, as there are certainly five external senses. The intellect is only directly changed by the *phantasmata*, which are imprinted in it by *phantasia*.⁴³⁵

There are now enough elements to dilute the main problems associated with this account of the internal senses. First, that the *sensus communis* cannot be the close minister to the intellect, as the intellect is not immediately “changed” neither by the external senses, nor by *sensus communis*, but only by *phantasia*. They are certainly all involved in the intuitive cognition, but only *phantasia* immediately.⁴³⁶ Second, that the immediacy of the potency does not imply an immediacy of ministry. In fact, many faculties work in the “immediate presence” of others, what does not mean that one is ministering to the other. External senses and *sensus communis* are all “present” to the intellect, what does not imply that they are immediate ministers to it.⁴³⁷ Third, that by positing a single faculty, instead of three (or four), that is, estimation (cogitative), memory, and *phantasia*, it is provided an appropriate response to the necessity of a more outstanding sensitive faculty (more distant from the external senses and more close to the intellect). If there is only one, it is certainly the best possible option.⁴³⁸ Fourth, that this does not

⁴³⁵ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1015-1016: “Quod autem obiiciebatur cum ex intelligibili obiecto, una tantum in nobis intellectus species colligatur, unam quoque tantum speciem sensus interioris ex obiecto sensibili colligendam esse: hoc modo diluendum est. Si vim haberet hoc argumentum, fore, ut non tantum ex interioribus facultatibus, sed etiam absolute una sola species sensus colligenda esset. Nunc autem, cum apertae sint quinque species sensuum exteriorum (nisi quis ito ineptiat, ut velit, unum tantum esse in animali sensum, qui per quinque sensori, quasi per quinque fenestras sentiat: contra quam puerilem fere quorundam opinione, non est, quod in Prima Philosophia disputetur) propterea unus tantum specie in nobis intellectus colligitur: quia unus tantum modus est intelligendi apud nos, unusque modus, quo intellectus noster ab intelligibili immutetur. Non immutatur enim nisi a phantasmatibus immediate; quorum ministerio ei imprimuntur species intelligibiles, nec nisi phantasia simul operante intelligit. Sensus vero non solum externi sed etiam interni varie immutantur et operantur, ut ex dictis perspicuum est.”

⁴³⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1016: “Primum autem illud, quod initio quaestionis proponebatur: nihil deesse communi sensui, quo minus intellectui immediate ministret: inficiatione diluendum est: deest enim immediatio immutationis. Intellectus enim etiam ad intuitivam cognitionem non immutatur, proxime a sensu communi; quemadmodum neque ab externis sensibus, sed phantasia: concurrentibus tamen simul et communi sensu; et externo aliquo, eo scilicet, quo percipitur id, quod intellectus intuitive cognoscit.”

⁴³⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1016-1017: “Secundum etiam nullas habet vires: nihil enim facit immediatio praesentiae ad immediationem ministerii. Multae enim facultates coniunctae sunt reali ac immediata praesentia, quarum aliae alii non ministrant, ut tactus et aspectus. Quanquam ergo et *sensus communis* et quilibet externorum sensuum immediate sint praesentes intellectui: quemadmodum et animae intellectivae, quae tota cum intellectu est in qualibet corporis particula: non indo tamen sequitur, eos immediate intellectui ministrare.”

⁴³⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1017: “Ad tertium dicendum est, consentaneum rationi esse, ut facultas quae proxime intellectui ministrat, sit et praecipua inter sensitivas, et quam remotissima ab externis sensibus, qui sunt velut primi ianitores intellectus. Atque hoc ipsum est, quod ingerit in hac re difficultatem, si aestimativa seu (ut in nobis vocatur) cogitativa, et memoria sint duae facultates: prior enim praestantissima est, sed non remotissima ab externis sensibus,

mean that the terms “estimation” and “memory” have to be abandoned altogether. As “potency,” according to Aquinas, can have two meanings, i.e., the principle of activity, which is very often present in the writings of philosophers, and a certain property of some potency. In this last meaning it is possible to talk about three potencies, while in the first meaning implies the existence of only one potency. Fifth, that estimation (in brutes) or cogitative, also known as *ratio particularis* (in men), is distinct from the faculty of ratiocinate (intellect), as it directly (borders the instinct of nature) elicits “enmity” and “poison” from the shape of a wolf or the taste of a poisonous herb, what men, differently from brutes, also do by way of discourse. As it is still a material faculty, that is, it still inheres in a bodily organ, it cannot perceive but the singulars. Seeing that memory or reminiscence cannot abstract the universals, as they always perceive with the *differentia* of past, and no universal is united to any *differentia* of time. Therefore, even if they are considered as several internal faculties, only *phantasia* is involved in the abstraction of universals.⁴³⁹ Again, the *singularia vaga* do not refute what has been said, as the external senses, and for that matter also *sensus communis*, always perceive with contracting *differentias*, even if by a vague and uncertain cognition, namely, without being able to recognise “Socrates” in the approaching man, or to classify the approaching unknown animal.

posterior vero remotissima, sed non praestantissima. At si non sunt duae sed inter se et cum phantasia una tantum facultas, ut ostensum est: nihil iam superest difficultatis; cum et praestantissima sit inter sensitivas, et ab externis sensibus ita remota, ut nulla sit alia remotior.”

⁴³⁹ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1017-1018: “Sed ut rem apertius declaremus, animadvertendum est, phantasiam, aestimativam, et memoriam, etsi re ipsa una sunt: potentia tamen eo modo posse dici tres, quo intellectus et memoria intellectiva in duas nonnunquam dividuntur apud D Thomam. Ait enim in quationibus *De Veritate*, nomen potentiae duobus modis posse accipi. Uno, ut significat principium operationis, quo pacto apud philosophos fere sumitur: et hoc modo intellectum et memoriam non esse duas potentias, sed unam, quia unum tantum principium intellectionis. Altero, ut significat certam aliquam alicuius potentiae proprietatem: et hoc modo, quia alia proprietates est posse intelligere, alia posse species intelligibiles retinere: idcirco nonnunquam distingui memoriam intellectivam ab intellectu, ut unam potentiam ab alia. Hoc igitur eodem modo loqui possumus de phantasia, aestimativa, et memoria sensitiva, ut dicamus esse unam, aut tres potentias. Nam si potentia primo modo sumatur, una tantum potentia in his cernitur, quia, ut saepius iam diximus, una et eadem facultas esse debet, quae apprehendat sensata, et eliciat insensata, et in nobis ex aliis alia confingat, et in alia suo modo discurrat. Si vero posteriori, tres imo etiam multo plures potentiae in eis considerantur. Alia enim eiusdem potentiae proprietates est posse apprehendere sensata, ex qua phantasia dicitur: alia elicere insensata, unde appellatur aestimativa: alia species acceptas retinere, ex qua memoria dici potest: tametsi apud Aristotelem hoc nomine vocatur ex proprietate memorandi, hoc est, apprehendendi cum differentia temporis praeteriti, et in nobis dicitur reminiscencia ex proprietate investigandi praeterita ex iis, quae praecesserunt, aut consecuta sunt: cum etiam dicatur cogitativa, nec non ratio particularis ex absolute discursu ex uno particulari in aliud particulare: ex confingendi licentia, quae solis etiam hominibus concessa est, commentatio, aut alio significantiori vocabulo appellari posset.”

So far we have seen that with the advances in the field of medicine, especially with regard to the anatomy and physiology of the brain, it became clear that humans and beasts share a virtually identical composition, with the result that whichever peculiar faculties the humans may have such faculties cannot be posited on the assumption of any privileged bodily feature, because such distinctively human bodily feature could not be found. With Boethius we learn that Aristotle's psychology is an essential part of the commentary tradition on the *Isagoge*, because it explains why a classification of living beings is based on a hierarchy of faculties, which has as its higher point the capacity to reason which is the ability to discover the essences and attributes of things and to discern the best course of action in any given circumstance. Moreover, Francisco Valles successfully proved that those who made use of the authority of Galen as support for their view that there was a correspondence between the number of internal senses and the number of cavities in the brain were wrong. Finally, from the section on Toledo and Suárez, we noted that the Jesuits did not have a unified account of the number of the internal senses, and that in order to put their individual contribution into perspective we have to discover the correct historical sequence of ideas.

Fonseca was aware of the developments in medicine and of their serious consequences for the localisation, hierarchy, and peculiar functions of the internal senses and of the place of Aristotelian psychology in the commentary tradition on the *Isagoge* and began to teach and to comment on the *De anima* years before Toledo and decades before Suárez did. Therefore, his account of the internal senses is of particular interest, since among the Jesuits Fonseca may have been the first to try to assimilate these elements and the first to try to work out their implications for cognition, scientific knowledge, metaphysics, and ethics.

We have just presented how Fonseca understands the functioning of the internal senses, i.e., *sensus communis* and *phantasia*, with especial emphasis to the advantages of his model, insofar as it tries to account for the main Scholastic solutions to the different difficulties and to present an account that preserves the basic doctrines of Aristotle (and Aquinas). And this should suffice for internal senses side of the question, and now we can present the abstraction side of it.

3.2. Abstraction and Cognition

Fonseca's model for the working of the internal senses and the tasks they perform enables us to conclude that all the accounts of the several steps of abstraction hierarchically progressing through the several internal senses can be discarded (for instance, Avicenna's 'degrees of abstraction' and Averroes's 'intention as the bridge between the *cogitativa* and the separate intellect' do not have to be accepted). It is time to turn to considerations about the way the *phantasmata*, because of their characteristics, can be regarded as the suitable basis for the production of the intelligible species, being at the first 'movements' of any intellectual activity. As it was seen above, *phantasia* performs a number of important tasks in the cognitive process.⁴⁴⁰ If perception is the first part of the process of cognising something, and the analogy here is that of the wax that receives the imprint of the ring without its matter,⁴⁴¹ then the *sensus communis* 'judges' what is perceived and combines golden and cold to form the perception of ring, however the second movement takes place when *phantasia* stores this perception to use when the ring is already gone. And because without the ability to store several images simultaneously perception would be only a series of punctual happenings without connection, *phantasia* has the important task of operating the necessary synthesis.

Moreover, *phantasia* closely assists in all thinking. This would be surprising if one were to take the separation between the intellect and body and senses to mean a complete autonomy. But the intellect gets hold of the intelligible forms of all material entities, thus of virtually everything except the mind, through the knowledge of sensibles. And seeing the functions that the intellect performs include discursive thinking about concrete sensible items, that is when *phantasia* becomes indispensable due to the fact that it is behind the connection between the

⁴⁴⁰ As we already mentioned, the essential role of *phantasia* in Aristotelian theory of cognition is noticed by Dorothea Frede, "The Cognitive role of *Phantasia* in Aristotle," a point stressed even further by Victor Caston, "Why Aristotle Needs Imagination," M. Schofield, "Aristotle on the Imagination," In M. C. Nussbaum & A. O. Rorty (eds.), *ibid.*, 249-277; S. Everson, *Aristotle on Perception*, etc. The same can also be said of Aquinas's psychology, as demonstrated by N. Kretzmann, "Aquinas's Philosophy of Mind," with regard to hylomorphism, intelligible species, and *phantasia*, and E. Stump, "Aquinas on the Mechanisms of Cognition: Sense and Phantasia," with regard to the importance of *phantasia* and the fact that Aquinas's ideas can still be useful even in a contemporary debate on perception and cognition.

⁴⁴¹ Aristotle, *De anima* II, 12, 424^a17-24.

intellect and its sensible objects. That *phantasia* is necessary in this context is obvious from the fact that practical reasoning presupposes that the mind can envisage something as good or as bad (what the intellect alone cannot do, because although one can think of bad things, these thoughts do not have the compelling force that the “vision” of the desirable or undesirable has). Moreover, if the knowledge of the essences cannot take place without starting from their appearances, all theoretical thought must rely on the help of *phantasia* to happen at all.⁴⁴²

As we have seen in the last section of the second chapter, there is a close connection between the stance on universals and the role the intellect has to perform in cognition, as the Aristotelian maxim is that knowledge is of universals. In some contexts, it seems that the agent intellect has a very complex and prominent role to play. That is perhaps why some authors prefer to characterise Aquinas’s whole account of sensation and intellection, with the corresponding metaphysical stance on universals that supports it, in terms of “intellectualism,” to contrast it with the lesser role the agent intellect has to perform for authors with more clearly defined Realist commitments, like for instance Scotus. Aquinas takes great pains to show how one can understand or intellectually know anything about the individual, since as sensation provides the access to particulars, but only understanding provides the access to universals. For the same reason, he has no difficulty to show how one ‘perceives’ the individual. The question is then how Fonseca can subscribe to a Realist conception of universal, while defending a Thomist doctrine of abstraction.

Although it is presented in a very condensed way, abstraction also plays an important role in Boethius’s introductory remarks to his second commentary on the *Isagoge*. He brings in this notion in the section where he discusses the demonstration as the result of a process starting from the things naturally known, from similarities, from first principles, from causes and necessities, and from intrinsic properties. Thus from the perspective of the intellect, genera are naturally prior to their species.⁴⁴³ However, from the perspective of perception, that is, from the point of view

⁴⁴² See D. Frede, “The Cognitive role of *Phantasia* in Aristotle,” p. 289.

⁴⁴³ Boethius, *IIP*, p. 157

that the best known should be the most proximate, the order is reverse, since normally first to be encountered is the individual, then the species, and only after those two are known then there is the genus. Hence, this contrasts with the order of nature because what is better known is what is physically less proximate, so to speak.⁴⁴⁴ The outcome of the abstraction is not the same reality as it is outside the mind, but it is also not entirely different from it either, since otherwise it would be either entirely unrelated to the reality or entirely different from it. It is not the same insofar as the distinctive characteristics are not there, but it has its being from the reality itself.⁴⁴⁵ No falsity is derived from the process, in fact, quite the opposite, since only the one who arrives at the concepts of things by analysing and abstracting them from those things in which they exist, is in a position to really discover the truth of things.⁴⁴⁶

In order to briefly summarise Aquinas's contribution to the Peripatetic psychology of cognition, the starting point is a passage in *De ente et essentia*, chapter 3, where Aquinas explains that 'human nature' has in the intellect an existence abstracted from all individual conditions, and that is how a uniform *ratio* corresponding to all individuals in the world can be the condition of the cognition of all men insofar as they are men. The point here is that the condensed statement that follows about the active role of the mind, which according to Averroes, makes universality in things.⁴⁴⁷ This suggests some of Aquinas's view on the whole process, from individuals to concepts. However, with the aim to see the whole picture, it is necessary to address some of these points in more detail.

As seen above, Aquinas posits a common nature which exists in individuals and in the mind but which derive no being from them. Moreover, this common nature is diverse in Socrates and in Plato, because in each of them the common nature is intrinsically united with the individual's matter (hence with its distinctive characteristics), and it only becomes common when seen in abstraction of precision. Consequently, after finding a fixed and immutable nature

⁴⁴⁴ *IIP*, pp. 157-158

⁴⁴⁵ *IIP*, p. 164.

⁴⁴⁶ *IIP*, pp. 166-167.

⁴⁴⁷ Aquinas, *De ente et essentia* chap. III, pp. 28-29.

in things, Aquinas has to explain how it works in knowledge. Again, this is possible because of the role Aquinas attributes to the agent intellect. Aquinas accepts the Aristotelian dictum: “Sensation is of particulars, but understanding of universals.” In fact, for Aquinas, this makes the distinction between sensation and intellection fairly clear. For Aquinas, there is no distinction on the side of reality between the individual and its nature, because there is no real distinction, and there is certainly no formal distinction, since Aquinas does not seem to recognise such notion as a formal distinction. Hence there is only a distinction of reason.⁴⁴⁸ Therefore, when sensation gets through doing its job, the nature preserved in the sense image (*phantasma*) still has its individuating characteristics and for this reason it is not yet common.

What the agent intellect has to do then is to work on the sense image, to separate the common nature from the distinctive characteristics. Just how it does that is a matter of debate. In fact what Aquinas provides is more a framework than an explanation of how the whole process works. The agent intellect operates in a very complex way, preparing the *phantasmata* to be impressed on the possible intellect. So for Aquinas, the agent intellect has two functions to perform. First it must somehow free the common nature from the material condition it still has in the particularized sense image, and then it must, second, imprint that common nature on the possible intellect. For Aquinas the necessity of an agent intellect is a consequence of the Aristotelian notion that the natures of things subsist in particulars in which it is always combined with matter. However, existing in this mode the natures are not intelligible in act because of the immateriality of the intellect, and therefore there is a need to posit a power that can “dematerialise” them in order to bring them from the particulars and make them intelligible species in act, and this is precisely the expected result of the abstraction from the material conditions. Furthermore, the cognising soul is in potentiality to the sensible likenesses and to the intelligible likenesses, and that is the reason why the intellect, which is the power within the soul responsible for understanding, does not have innate species, but it is in potentiality for them.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁸ Aquinas, *Summa contra gentiles*, lib. 1 cap. 26 n. 5

⁴⁴⁹ Aquinas [31961] I^a q. 84 a. 2 co.

However, in a typically Peripatetic context, nothing bodily can make an impression on something non-bodily, thus the sensible species alone is not suited to actually cause cognition.⁴⁵⁰ The agent intellect must perform the task of making *phantasmata* drawn from the senses be actually intelligible (abstraction). Once again, it is evident the fundamental role of sensation (to form the *phantasmata*), but because sensation is not sufficient to reach the possible intellect, the agent intellect must enter the picture as well.⁴⁵¹

That one has to posit *phantasmata* is obvious from the fact that images are indispensable to the thinking activity and to the possibility of communication of one's own thoughts to another person, because what happens in this kind of interaction is that one uses examples in order to suggest which images the other has to form so that the other person finally understands what the first person is thinking. This is derived from the fact that a cognitive capacity is proportionate to that what it cognises. The human intellect, being connected to a body, has as its proper object a quiddity or nature existing in corporeal matter and although is not restricted to what is corporeal but can reach what is beyond the corporeal, it needs sensation and *phantasia* to apprehend the particulars. That is why it turns to the *phantasmata* to examine the universal nature existing in the world.⁴⁵²

In order to cognise, the intellect has to abstract the form from the individual matter that the *phantasmata* represent. This process is twofold, in a first mode it is performed by composition and division, as when something is understood but not as it is in something else nor separated from it (resulting in a fictitious entity); second, it can be performed by way of simple and unconditioned consideration, as when something, which actually exists in another, is understood without considering the other at all (red colour understood without the red apple in which it is found). This second way of abstraction can also be performed at a higher level, when some species are abstracted from common intelligible items, such as being, one, potentiality and

⁴⁵⁰ Aquinas [31954] I^a q. 84 a. 1 ad 1

⁴⁵¹ Aquinas [31991] I^a q. 84 a. 6 co.

⁴⁵² Aquinas [31999] I^a q. 84 a. 7 co.

actuality, and the like.⁴⁵³ As *phantasmata* are likenesses of material things they are also somehow ‘material’ and in this way, as we just said, they would not be intelligible, and that is the reason why Aquinas devises the illumination of *phantasmata* as a way of making them ready to have intelligible concepts abstracted from them. Hence, the agent intellect abstracts intelligible species from the *phantasmata* by taking into consideration the natures of the species without the distinctive characteristics. These likenesses are then the basis to inform the possible intellect (the agent intellect remains linked to the *phantasmata* because it always needs them to perform the abstraction).⁴⁵⁴ The resulting intelligible species are not ‘that which is understood’ but they are ‘that by which it is understood.’ In other words, they are necessary to cognition but they are not the content of cognition, because otherwise the intellect would never arrive at a true *scientia* of things outside the soul, but would only be concerned with its own thoughts, being deprived of all contact with reality,⁴⁵⁵ and fall prey to what Boethius describes as the danger of concluding that everything that is thought is actually true.⁴⁵⁶

In sum, there has to be some sort of correspondence between what is in the mind and what is in the world, because only if such a correspondence exists it will be possible to avoid the risk of confusing what can be thought with what is true, that is, the danger of thinking that because one can certainly think of a flying dragon, and in fact many people in many different culture do think and talk about flying dragons, that there has to be (or at least there was once) a creature which corresponds to this entity. However, this correspondence is complicated by the fact that what is on the world is material and the mind, for Aristotle, is immaterial. The solution is a process of de-materialisation which is in fact the process of abstraction, in which the nature is grasped by the intellect without any of the material conditions that this nature has in the particulars in the world. Now it is necessary to reconstruct how Fonseca presents abstraction and its role in cognition.

⁴⁵³ Aquinas [32017] I^a q. 85 a. 1 ad 1

⁴⁵⁴ Aquinas [32020] I^a q. 85 a. 1 ad 4; and Aquinas [32021] I^a q. 85 a. 1 ad 5

⁴⁵⁵ Aquinas [32026] I^a q. 85 a. 2 co.

⁴⁵⁶ *IIP*, p 138: “Quoniam per imperitiam disputandi quicquid ratiocinatione comprehenderant, hoc in res quoque ipsas evenire arbitrabantur.”

3.2.1. Fonseca on Abstraction and Cognition

With respect to the interaction of intellect and *phantasia* in the abstraction of the universal natures, Fonseca begins by presenting what seems to be uncontroversial (for those subscribing to this theory of abstraction, of course).⁴⁵⁷ First, that the intellect makes use of *phantasia* to produce the intelligible species. Second, that the intellect is divided in agent, which together with *phantasia* imprint the intelligible species, and in passive or possible, which receives the imprinted intelligible species. Third, that the passive intellect can be compared to prime matter, devoid of all intelligible form in its nature. Fourth, that agent intellect and *phantasia* are both indispensable, as the former is the universal cause, and the latter the particular cause, which brings determination as the *phantasma* represents the individual. Thus, *phantasia*, because it is material and inheres in a bodily organ cannot act in the possible intellect, which is immaterial, but serves as an instrument to the agent intellect, which *per se* is not an instrument.⁴⁵⁸

However, some divergences surface at this point. Some authors posit that the intelligible species first imprinted by both, agent intellect and *phantasia*, do not yet represent the natures made universals, but still united with the individuating *differentias*, like in the *phantasmata*. The possible intellect would make this last abstraction of the universal natures. Other authors defend that already the first imprinted intelligible species are devoid of any *differentia* or distinctive characteristic, and that it is due to the excellence of the intellectual nature. In the separate substances, only one common nature and all its particulars are represented. In man, however, the representation of the individuals is supplemented by the sensitive species, but only the common

⁴⁵⁷ For an overview of the status of the doctrine of intelligible species in the Second Scholasticism, see Leen Spruit, *Species Intelligibilis From Perception to Knowledge* v. 2, 1995, pp. 275-307

⁴⁵⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1018: “Omnes seu Peripateticae doctrinae veri sectatores, seu qui tales videri volunt, in hoc conveniunt, ut dicant, intellectum uti phantasia ad primam specierum intelligibilium generationem. Distinguunt enim intellectum in agentem, et patientem sive possibilem: quorum ille simul cum phantasia species intelligibiles imprimat: hic vero impressas accipiat. Intellectum enim possibilem esse veluti materiam primam omnis formae intelligibilis natura sua expertem: agentem vero nullam posse imprimere sine phantasia simul concurrente, quemadmodum nec phantasiam sine intellectu agente. Nam quemadmodum intellectus agens: quia est causa universalis, indiget determinatione phantasiae tanquam causae particularis ad huius, vel illius universalis naturae abstractionem (eius enim naturae communis imprimitur species intelligibilis, ad quam pertinet individuum per phantasma repraesentatum) ita phantasia, quia facultas materialis est, et organo corporeo inhaeret, agere non potest in intellectum possibilem, qui est immaterialis, nisi operae vi intellectus agentis, qui illa ad agendum utitur. Habet enim se phantasia respectu intellectus agentis more instrumenti, quod ad multa opera elevatur ab agente principali, ad quae praestanda neque ipsum per se principale agens, neque ipsum per se instrumentum est idoneum.”

natures are represented in the intelligible species. When the soul is separated from the body, then the singulars are also represented in the intelligible species.⁴⁵⁹

The first position is incompatible with Peripatetic teaching, since Aristotle⁴⁶⁰ and his faithful followers, posit an agent intellect, at the same time elevating *phantasia* to acting in the possible intellect, and the intelligible thing in potency makes the universal in act. And seeing that the sensitive part only perceives the individuals, it is the intellect that makes the universals in act, just as light makes colours visible in act.⁴⁶¹

However, there is no disagreement among those that admit only the intelligible species of the common nature. They use the comparison with the external light that makes the colours visible in act, not only to the eye but also in the illustrated object, thus the agent intellect makes the nature intelligible in act, not only to the possible intellect, but also in the *phantasmata*, by their illustration. Indeed, common natures are first intelligible in the *phantasmata*, just as colours are first visible in the objects, and then in the possible intellect, as colours are visible to the eye second in time. And Thomists and other scholastics after Aquinas, referring to Aquinas's

⁴⁵⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1019: "Sed in hoc iam est discrimen, quod quidam volunt, species intelligibiles primo impressas ab utroque, nondum repraesentare naturas factas universales, sed ut coniunctas adhuc differentiis individuantiis, quo pacto repraesentantur in phantasmatis. Tum vero intellectum possibilem informatum huiusmodi speciebus, ipsum per se, et sine ope intellectus agentis aut phantasiae elicere ex illis alias quasdam, quae iam solas naturas universales referant. Alii vero dicunt, omnes species intelligibiles, sive quae primo imprimuntur ab intellectu agente, sive quas intellectus possibilis ex primo impressis elicit, repraesentare naturas communes nulla repraesentata differentia aliave ulla conditione individuante: idque accidere propter excellentiam intellectualis naturae, quae non admittit species, quarum quaelibet ad unum tantum individuum repraesentandum limitata sit, ut est quaelibet species sensitivae partis. Hac enim de causa in substantiis separatis, quarum intellectus excellentior est et elevatior, unam et eandem speciem intelligibilem repraesentare, et communem aliquam naturam, et omnia eius individua: in hominibus autem per species sensitivae partis supleri individuum repraesentationem, speciebus vero intelligibilibus relinqui solam repraesentationem naturarum communem: cum autem anima a corpore seiungitur, tum ei infundi species intelligibiles similes iis, quae sunt propriae separatarum substantiarum, quibus singularia quoque repraesentantur."

⁴⁶⁰ It is a well known fact that Aristotle himself never used the phrase 'agent intellect'. See, for instance, F. Brentano, "*Nous Poiētikos: Survey of Earlier Interpretations*," M. C. Nussbaum & A. O. Rorty (eds.), *ibid.*, pp. 312-341; L. A. Kosman, "What does the Maker Mind Make?" M. C. Nussbaum & A. O. Rorty (eds.), *ibid.* p. 343. for an overview of this theme in Aristotle's commentators see R. Sorabji, "Aristotle's agent, active or productive intellect," in R. Sorabji, *The Philosophy of the Commentators 200-600. A Sourcebook* v. 1 *Psychology (with Ethics and Religion)*, London, 2004, 102-118.

⁴⁶¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1019: "Ac priores quidem re vera pugnant cum Peripatetica doctrina. Aristoteles enim germanique eius hac in re sectatores, non ea tantum de causa ponunt intellectum agentem, ut elevet phantasiam ad agendum in intellectum possibilem, sed etiam, ut rem intelligibilem potentia faciat actu intelligibilem, hoc est actu universalem. In rebus enim materialibus, quarum sola singularia pars sensitiva percipit, pro eodem accipiunt nomen actu intelligibilis (hoc est solo intellectu perceptibilis) atque actu universalis: et quemadmodum lumen efficit, ut colores, qui actu non apparebant, non solum appareant, sed etiam sine aliis qualitatibus appareant, id est non apparentibus, verbi causa, qualitatibus ad tactum et gustatum pertinentibus, ita volunt intellectum agentem efficere, ut naturae universales, quae explicite non repraesentabantur in sensitiva parte, non solum repraesententur explicite, sed etiam repraesententur sine conditionibus individuantiis, quod est esse actu universales, et actu intelligibiles."

passages, defend that that was the solution preferred by him, namely, that Aquinas affirms that the agent intellect illuminates first the *phantasmata* and afterwards uses them to generate the intelligible species.⁴⁶²

The followers of the second opinion insist that common natures are only made universals in the possible intellect itself, by the imprinted species. And they adjust Aristotle's comparison with the external light in order to maintain that it refers to the impression of species in potency, and not the production of any quality in the *phantasmata*. However this position is inconsistent, as the agent intellect impresses, with the *phantasmata*, the intelligible species in the possible intellect, as a quality by which the *phantasmata* were illuminated, but this leads to difficulties. This quality would have to be either spiritual, which would not be able to be received in the body or in a corporeal accident, or corporeal, which would elevate the corporeal form at acting in the spiritual subject. Both are not acceptable.⁴⁶³

⁴⁶² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1020: "Inter eos autem, qui solas species intelligibiles naturarum communi admittunt, non minima contentio est. Sunt enim, qui adducti proposita luminis externi similitudine, qua in tertio libro *De anima* cap 5 text 18 utitur Aristoteles, velint, quemadmodum lumen externum facit colorem actu visibilem non solum in oculo per speciem in eo impressam, sed etiam in re obiecta per illustrationem coloris, ita intellectum agentem facere naturam actu intelligibilem non solum in intellectu possibili per speciem in eo productam, sed etiam in phantasmate per ipsius phantasmatis illustrationem: imo vero, quemadmodum colores prius sunt actu visibiles in re obiecta, quam in potentia: ita naturas communes prius esse actu intelligibiles in phantasmatibus, quam in intellectu possibili: nisi quod colores possunt esse prius tempore visibiles in re obiecta: naturae autem communes non item prius intelligibiles in phantasmatibus, nisi naturae ordine. Hinc D Thomas 1 part q 80 art 1 ad quartum *Phantasmata*, inquit, *et illuminantur ab intellectu agente, et verum ab eis per virtutem intellectus agentis species intelligibiles abstrahuntur.* Et secundo *Contra Gentes* cap 77 *Actio*, inquit, *intellectus agentis in phantasmate praecedat receptionem intellectus possibilis.* Quibus ex locis aliisque similibus colligunt non modo Thomistae omnes, sed alii quoque post Divum Thomam Scholastici scriptores, non dubium esse ullum quin D Thomas velit, intellectum agentem prius natura illuminare *phantasmata*, quam eis utatur ad specierum intelligibilium generationem: et ut Ferrariensis in posteriorem locum adiungit: *phantasmata* prius natura ab intellectu agente in actu completo constitui, quam cum illo in intellectum agentem possibilem: eo videlicet modo, quo loco res prius saltem natura sunt visibiles in actu completo per lumen, quam cum lumine agent in oculum."

⁴⁶³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1020-1021: "Alii vero, quibus assentior, in ea sunt opinione, ut dicunt, naturas communes non fieri actu intelligibiles universalesve, nisi in ipso intellectu possibili per species in eo impressas: vanamque esse et figmento similem eam illustrationem, qua prius naturae ordine in phantasmatibus obiective intelligibiles fieri dicuntur: similitudinem vero luminis externi, qua utitur Aristoteles, eatenus ad rem propositam accommodandam esse, quatenus spectat ad impressionem speciei in potentia, non etiam ad productionem alicuius qualitatis in phantasmate obiecto. Itaque, etsi lumen externum et ipsum per se illuminat obiectum colorem, et cum colore illuminato producit speciem coloris in oculo: tamen intellectum agentem ita speciem intelligibilem cum phantasmate in intellectu possibilem imprimere, ut qualitatem qua phantasma illustretur, producere non possit id quod vel hoc uno argumento perspicuum fiet. Nam, si qualitas, qua intellectus agens fingitur illustrare *phantasmata*, est spiritualis, non potest illa, ne in transitu quidem (quod perperam Capreolus in 2 d 3 q 2 fieri posse concedit) in corpore, aut corporeo accidente recipi: sin corporalis, quonam pacto aut elevare potest corporalem formam, ut agat in subiectum spirituales: aut efficere, ut quae rem obiectam cum conditionibus individuandis refert, nudam, et ab eis quasi liberam representet? Nulla enim ratio affert potest, cur ipsum per se phantasma, cum eo phantasia utitur, id facere non possit, si corporali qualitati tanta vis tribuitur."

Cajetan makes a further attempt by affirming that the *phantasmata* are only objectively illuminated by the agent intellect. And the common natures would appear in the *phantasmata* without any distinctive characteristic, just as the light of the sun illuminates the medium, without imprinting anything in the colours (object). Even though it is an interesting understanding of illumination, it was not adapted by Cajetan to fit the relation of the agent intellect and the *phantasma*, as he did not posit a medium between them, perhaps because there is in fact none, nor can it be produced.⁴⁶⁴ Cajetan realised that point and affirmed that the agent intellect is just as this middle between the possible intellect and the *phantasmata*, objectively illuminating the *phantasmata*. The analogy here is that of a fire of a furnace produced in an adjoining room.⁴⁶⁵ But if so, the *phantasmata* would always be illuminated by this spiritual light present in the medium, thus also the *phantasmata* of the sleeping person would be illuminated, just as those of the awakened person, and therefore already intelligible in act, a conclusion which Cajetan rejects. Whatever may be the case, the *phantasmata* will always preserve the distinctive characteristics, as it is corporeal and inheres in a bodily organ.⁴⁶⁶ And to affirm that the *phantasmata* only work together with the agent intellect insofar as the common natures are contracted in them and does

⁴⁶⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1021: “Caietanus 1 p q 85 art 1 novam in hac re comminiscitur distinctionem: ait enim intellectum agentem non formaliter, sed obiective illuminare phantasmata, iequae satis esse, ut in eis naturae communes sine conditionibus individuantiis appareant. Quemadmodum si lumen solis solum medium illuminaret, nihilque in obiectum colorem imprimeret. Adhuc enim color appareret, ut apparet non apparentibus aliis quampluribus qualitatibus. Ingeniosa sane ratio illuminationis, si vera esse posset in re, ad quam accommodatur: quod tamen ille non efficit. Oporteret enim medium aliquod intercedere inter intellectum agentem et phantasma, quo illuminato formaliter, sive per qualitatem receptam, illuminaretur phantasma obiective tantum, quemadmodum in colore fieri posse (saltem divina virtute) haud dubitaverim: quod tamen interiectum medium intellectum agentem et phantasma, neque ullum est, nec fingi potest.”

⁴⁶⁵ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1021-1022: “Intellexit Caietanus, hoc sibi obici posse: respondetque intellectum agentem neque in phantasma, neque in medium aliquod qualitatem ullam producere, ut phantasia obiective illuminetur: sed ipsummet agentem intellectum esse veluti medium lumen inter intellectum possibilem et phantasma, quo phantasma obiective illustratur: perinde atque si fingamus, inquit, lucem corporis lucentis non diffundere lumen in medio, sed approximatum colori illum illustrando visibilem reddere. Tametsi non opus est, ut Caietanus fingat exemplum, cum reperiatur in igne parieti fornacis continguo.”

⁴⁶⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1022: “Sed, quo pacto id, quod ait, intellectus agenti accommodetur, non video. Nam, si intellectus agens ipse per se, et sine actione ulla, ut praedictis verbis significatur, est lumen spirituale medium, quo phantasma obiective illuminatur: semper utique phantasma illuminatum erit. Ita fiet, ut phantasma dormientis aequae ac vigilantis sit intelligibile in actu, abstractumque obiective, quod tamen ipse eodem loco negat. Scribit enim phantasma dormientis non esse actu intelligibile, sed cum actu illuminatur. Si vero non sine actione aliqua, ut ex his verbis colligitur, obiective illuminat phantasma; quaero in quid agat illuminando: quidve prius natura per eam actionem producat, quam speciem intelligibilem cum phantasmate sic illuminato gignat? Ait enim, prius naturae ordine phantasma illum nati, quam ab eo cum intellectu agente species intelligibilis producat. Denique quocumque modo intellectus agens obiective illuminet *phantasmata*, sive per ipsum, sive actione aliqua: numquam tamen (ut Ferreriensis 1 *Contra Gentes* cap 77 Caietano obicit) naturam sine conditionibus individuantiis repraesentare poterit, cum sit corporeum, et in organo corporeo sedem habeat.”

not represent the whole individuals, does not seem to solve the problem either, since the *phantasmata* generally endeavour to induce what is similar to them. What confirms their being always united with their distinctive characteristics.⁴⁶⁷

Before presenting his own solution, Fonseca asserts that the illumination of the *phantasmata*, which was said to be indispensable to the abstraction of the common natures, is not made by the production of some quality, which the *phantasmata* themselves would receive, either when they are rendered suitable and apt to act in the possible intellect, or when the common natures appear in them without the *apparentes* distinctive characteristics. Second that they are not made before the production of the intelligible species, and of whatever other quality, that the common natures begin to shine objectively in the *phantasmata*, by the virtue of the agent intellect, without the *relucentes* distinctive characteristics. The *phantasmata* are not elevated to act in the possible intellect, insofar as they represent the common natures of the individuals, nor indeed insofar as the intact individuals are brought back. This elevation is either understood formally in the action itself, or in the order of nature before the action, or in the new union or assumption. But none of these alternatives are suitable.⁴⁶⁸ Thus, the illumination of the *phantasmata* may be understood improperly, and so it could precede the production of the intelligible species both in nature and in time. On the other hand, if it is understood properly, it cannot precede it, neither in nature nor in time. Nevertheless, in nature, it has to precede the activity of the possible intellect.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1023: “Agit enim phantasma secundum ultimum potentiae, quemadmodum et caeterae formae naturales, quae non solum secundum rationes communes, sed etiam secundum totam ipsarum perfectionem sunt formalia agendi principia, et quatenus tales sunt, sibi omnino similes conantur inducere: quo pacto Socratis forma secundum peculiarem ac propriam rationem, perfectionemque est principium generandi sibi similem: et calor huius ignis secundum totam latitudinem gradualem, quam habet, est principium calefaciendi (...)”

⁴⁶⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1025: “(P)rimum quidem, illustrationem phantasmatum, quae necessaria dicitur ad abstractionem naturarum communium, non fieri productione alicuius qualitatis, quae in ipsis phantasmatis recipiatur, sive ut illa idonea et habilia reddantur ad agendum in intellectum possibilem, sive ut in eis appareant naturae communes non apparentibus conditionibus individuantiis. Denique, non fieri per hoc, quod *phantasmata* actu eleventur ad agendum in intellectum possibilem, quatenus repraesentant naturas communes individuorum, non autem quatenus referunt ipsa integra individua: sive ea elevatio intelligatur in ipsa actione formaliter, sive ordine quodam naturae ante actionem, in nova nimirum aliqua unione, assumptione ad agendum. Haec enim omnia dici non posse, ex dictis apertum est.”

⁴⁶⁹ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1025-1026: “Potius ergo dicendum, si illustratio phantasmatum, quae necessaria dicitur ad abstractionem naturarum communium, improprie sumatur: posse illam quidem praecedere non natura tantum, sed etiam tempore specierum intelligibilium productionem: si vero proprie, nec tempore, nec natura posse praecedere: tametsi necessario praecedat naturae ordine operationem intellectus possibilis.”

The demonstration of the first part goes on as follows. If the illustration of the *phantasmata* is seen as an action of the agent intellect, it implies a communication of nobility, which happens to the human *phantasmata*, due to the conjoining of *phantasia* and agent intellect. However, as a family is considered illustrious by being related to the royal family in blood or affinity, why could not the *phantasmata* be illustrious from the very beginning? They are “human” since the very beginning. Thus, possessing the same dignity and superiority as the agent intellect, they could already act in the possible intellect.⁴⁷⁰ Many Thomists interpret Aquinas in this way, namely, that the *phantasmata* are illustrated (radical illumination, i.e., *phantasia* is conjoined with the agent intellect in its root) before they cooperate with the agent intellect to produce the intelligible species. This would explain the difference in species between human and brute *phantasmata*. Aquinas seems to be inclined towards this view.⁴⁷¹ The second point, i.e., that no true action of the agent intellect precedes, either in nature or in time, the illumination of the *phantasmata*, seems to be clear.⁴⁷² Next, the activity of the possible intellect supposes the intelligible form, which is as if the prime matter. What is confirmed by Aristotle in *De anima*, where he says that the intelligible form is itself the intelligible species.⁴⁷³ Then it is clear that the *phantasmata* are illustrated by a true activity of the agent intellect when the intelligible species are first produced. The common natures, which were contracted in the *phantasmata*, begin to be represented abstractly or free from the contracting *differentias*. They are formally in the intelligible species, but objectively in the *phantasmata*, just as the individuals themselves, of which they are the images. The intellect inspects the common natures, not as if they existed

⁴⁷⁰ CMA v. 2, c. 1026: “Prima huius assertionis pars ex eo probatur, quia si illustratio phantasmatum sumatur non pro actione ulla intellectu agentis, sed pro quadam naturali communicatione nobilitatis, quam habent phantasmata humana ex coniunctione phantasiae cum intellectu agente: quo pacto dicimus illustrem familiam, quae cum regia sanguinis aut affinitatis nomine coniuncta est; non dubium, quin *phantasmata* ab ipso eorum ortu sint illustria: habent enim ex eo, quod humana sunt, eam dignitatem et praestantiam, ut cum intellectu agente, cuius proxima ministra est phantasia, in intellectum possibilem agere possint.”

⁴⁷¹ CMA v. 2, c. 1026: “In hanc vero sententiam videtur inclinare D Th 1 p q 85, ad calcem primi articuli, ubi ait, *phantasmata propterea dici illuminari ab intellectu agente, quia sicut pars sensitiva ex coniunctione cum intellectu redditur virtuosior, ita phantasmata ex virtute intellectus agentis efficiuntur apta, ut ex eis species intelligibiles abstrahantur.*”

⁴⁷² CMA v. 2, c. 1026: “Secunda pars ex eo constat, quia nulla omnino vera actio intellectus agentis sive tempore, sive natura praecedit eam, qua ab illo generantur species intelligibiles, ut ex dictis patet.”

⁴⁷³ CMA v. 2, c. 1026: “Tertia vero pars ea ratione confirmatur, quia operatio intellectus possibilis supponit formam intelligibilem, qua operetur, ipse enim ex se quasi materia prima est, ut *lib 3 De anima c text 17* ait Aristoteles, nihilque agere potest, forma autem intelligibilis est ipsa species intelligibilis.”

separately, in a Platonic fashion, but “in” the individuals.⁴⁷⁴ The common natures are not intelligible in act, but they are objectively intelligible, prior to the generation of the intelligible species, in time and in nature. They become intelligible in act and illustrated in act by the light produced from the agent intellect. In this way, they shine without the distinctive characteristics, formally in the possible intellect and objectively in the *phantasmata*.⁴⁷⁵

Cajetan’s opinion is rejected on the grounds that he does not consider the dissimilarities when he uses the way the sensible species works to demonstrate his view on the functioning of the intelligible species. However, in the case of sight the sensible species is already visible in act, without the necessity of any agent sense. The human intellect does not work in this way, but if it did then, as Aquinas warned, there would be no necessity of positing an agent intellect.⁴⁷⁶ Aquinas’s view, however, is said to support Fonseca’s opinion, seeing that he posits an agent intellect, which makes the intelligibles in act, by “undergoing” the act of understanding the common natures. The common nature, which is objectively intelligible in the *phantasmata*, becomes intelligible in act by an action of the agent intellect, and becomes “understood” by an action of the possible intellect. As the generally accepted view that knowledge (*notitia*) is obtained from potency and object confirms.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁴ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1026-1027: “Ex secunda parte huius conclusionis illud manifestum est, tum primum illustrari phantasma vera operatione intellectus agentis, cum primum species intelligibiles producuntur. Namque tum primum naturae, quae in phantasmatis contractae repraesentabantur, incipiunt repraesentari abstractae, et quasi avulsae a differentiis contrahentibus, in ipsis quidem speciebus intelligibilibus formaliter, in phantasmatis autem obiective, quemadmodum et in ipsis individuis, quorum illa sunt in agines. Nam quemadmodum dicimus, intellectum inspicere naturas communes non separatim existentes more Platonico, sed in ipsis earum individuis (...)”

⁴⁷⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1027: “Illud etiam perspicue colligitur, naturas communes non esse actu intelligibiles etiam obiective, ante specierum intelligibilium generationem sive antecessio sumatur secundum tempus, sive secundum naturam. Nam, idem est esse intelligibile actu, atque actu illustratum lumine productum ab intellectu agente: quod lumen dici potest ipsa species intelligibilis. Efficere enim, ut appareat natura communis sine conditionibus individuantes: in intellectu quidem possibili formaliter, in phantasmatis autem obiective.”

⁴⁷⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1028: “Nam, etsi inter ea non minima intercedit similitudo: tamen ex hac parte dissimilitudo magna cernitur, quod sensus, antequam quidquam agat, invenit sensibilia iam facta in actu per lumen externum, unde omnes colligunt, non esse necesse ponere sensum agentem. At intellectus noster, antequam operetur, non invenit naturas materiales, sique proportionatas iam factas intelligibiles in actu: sed necesse est, ut ipse eas faciat actu intelligibiles, quod non aliter praestare potest, quam producendo earum species intelligibiles. Sunt enim hae quoddam quasi lumen ab eo productum, veluti ab insita et nativa luce animae intellectivae, quo lumine universalia a singularibus seunguntur. Qua ex consideratione saepe colligit D Thomas, si universalia re ipsa separata essent a singularibus, ut Plato existimasse creditur, ac proinde naturae communes rerum sensibilibus essent actu intelligibiles in rerum natura, non fuisse necesse ponere intellectum agentem.”

⁴⁷⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1028-1029: “Allata vero D Thomae dicta, etsi non minime Caietano favent, ut illum potestorem aetatem non immerito mutasse sententiam videri possit: tamen in gratiam nostrae communisque sententiae ita exponi possunt, ut, quod D Thomas ait, *actionem intellectus agentis praecedere receptionem intellectus possibilis*, ut intelligatur de actione improprie dicta, iuxta primam assertionis partem, ut communicatio nobilitatis, quam

Although the true abstraction of the common natures is made by the possible intellect, they suppose a first abstraction made by the agent intellect with the help of *phantasia*. The agent intellect imprints, simultaneously with *phantasia*, the intelligible species in the possible intellect, which in turn elicits a more universal and abstruse species from it. Just as from the species “man” it elicits the species “animal.”⁴⁷⁸

The next step is to determine which species are abstracted by the agent intellect. Species of both genera and species? Species of accidents and of substances? Is it enough to have just the *phantasma* of one individual, in order to abstract the common nature? Are the *phantasmata* required to this abstraction only the determined and certain, or also the vague and uncertain? Is the intelligible species immediately generated when several *phantasmata* of the individuals of the same common nature are engendered? Which genus of cause unites the *phantasmata* with the intellect, the genus of efficient cause or another? What has to be responded to Porphyry?⁴⁷⁹ To

intellectus agens suo modo impertit phantasmatis, actio quaedam censeatur, vel de actione, ut consideratione nostra praecedat passionem in eadem specierum intelligibilium generatione. Quod autem scribit, *in anima nostra esse virtutem activam in phantasmata*, satis explicatur verbis sequentibus: *facientem*, inquit, *intelligibilia in actu*. Facit enim vera effectione producendis eorum speciebus intelligibilibus, quarum productione non tantum res, sed ipsa quoque eorum *phantasmata* modo suo fiunt obiective intelligibilia in actu, ut iam explicatum est. Quod vero docet, intellectum pati ab intelligibili, atque adeo, ab intelligibili in actu, ut Caietanus colligit, sic exponi debet iuxta tertiam nostrae assertionis partem: ut patiendi verbum non sumatur pro ipsa receptione speciei, sed pro ipso actu intelligendi, qui etiam auctore Aristotele, *lib 3 De anima text 2* est quoddam pati, causatur enim etiam effective actus intelligendi ab intelligibili in actu et intellectu possibili: siquidem intellectus simul cum specie intelligibili, per quam res est facta intelligibilis in actu, producit actum intelligendi iuxta commune illud philosophorum pronunciatum, *a potentia et obiecto paritur notitia*. Neque aliud D Thomas praedictis verbis docet, quam prius, saltem natura, rem esse intelligibilem in actu quam intellectam: et quatenus est intelligibilis actu, esse obiectum intellectus agentis, quatenus vero est actu intellecta, esse obiectum intellectus possibilis, actionemque intellectus agentis praecedere actionem intellectus possibilis. Denique in eundem sensum accipiendum est id, quod ait *intellectum agentem per phantasmata facta intelligibilia in actu causare scientiam in intellectu possibili*. Intelligit enim nomine scientiae ipsum dicendi actum, habitumque (si placet) consequentem quorum uterque causatur a specie intelligibili per quam phantasma fit intelligibili in actu.”

⁴⁷⁸ CMA v. 2, c. 1029: “Ita patet, qua ratione intellectus utatur phantasia ad primam naturarum communium abstractionem. Dico autem ad primam, quia naturae communes ab intellectu etiam possibili abstrahuntur, sed supposita semper abstractione aliqua facta per intellectum agentem. Nam etsi intellectus agens simul cum phantasia species intelligibiles imprimere potest in possibilem: ipsa tamen possibilis ex acceptis speciebus alias universaliores, et abstrusiores, ut sic dicam, elicere potest: ut ex specie hominis speciem rei subiectae: et omnia, quae quibusque speciebus intelligibilibus repraesentantur, non concrete tantum, sed etiam abstracte concipere.”

⁴⁷⁹ CMA v. 2, cc. 1029-1030: “Sunt tamen nonnulla, quae merito aliquis hoc loco roget. Unum, possitne intellectus agens omnium naturarum communium species abstrahere tam generalium, quam specialium. Alterum, an possit non modo species accidentium, sed etiam substantiarum elicere. Quod si utriusque generis species elicere potest, num quorundam tantum accidentium aut substantiarum, non vero omnium. Tertium, satisne sit phantasma unius individui, ut ex eo species naturae communis abstrahatur, an vero plurimum *phantasmata* sint necessaria. Quartum, cuiusmodi phantasmatum concursus ad abstractionem requiratur, eorumne, quae determinata dicuntur ac certa, an eorum, quae vaga et incerta. Quintum, an tum saltem, cum primum plura genita sunt *phantasmata* individuorum eiusdem naturae communis. Statim gignatur species intelligibilis eius naturae: quidve aliud ultra requiratur. Sextum, in quo genere causae *phantasmata* cum intellectu concurrat, cum in abstractione specierum, tum vero in earum usu, utrum in genere causae efficientis, an in aliquo alio. Septimum, quid ad quaestiones de universalibus naturis a Porphyrio in

the first, Fonseca replies (after pointing to other passages where he treated the same topic) that as in the case of the external senses, the more remote the object the less perfect the species, thus, the higher the genus the less perfect the species abstracted.⁴⁸⁰ To the second, that the agent intellect abstracts only “this” common nature, from the proper *phantasmata* of these individuals, as they are united to the intellect to the production of the intelligible species.⁴⁸¹ Some authors (*recentiores*) defended the opinion that accidents were formally represented by the agent intellect, but substances only connotatively.⁴⁸² The opinion of Averroes is contrary, as he defends that the cogitative (estimation) perceives the individuals of all predicaments. The previous scholastics subscribe to this opinion, among them Aquinas.⁴⁸³ Fonseca’s opinion is that the agent intellect can abstract the intelligible species of the corporeal substances, as well as of all other material beings (as there are *phantasmata* of them all). They are formally represented, and not only connotatively. On the other hand, incorporeal substances and other immaterial beings are

Isagoge in proemio praetermissis respondendum sit, quando hanc de universalibus disputationem libri septimi propriam hoc loco antevertimus.”

⁴⁸⁰ CMA v. 2, c. 1030: “Ac primi dubii solutio, ex iis, quae ad 1 librum c 2 q 2 s 8, disputata sunt perspicua est. Ostendimus enim eo loco, cum nihil est impedimenti primam abstractionem, quae opere intellectus agentis sit, esse speciei infimae: cum vero quid obstata, posse esse generis alicuius vel propinquioris vel remotioris: pro ratione minoris maiorisve impedimenti: ut cum aliquid cernimus ex loco minus magisve distante. Non, quod naturae communiore, quae ex remotiori loco abstrahuntur, effectae, minusque actuales sint: sed quia, cum totum individuum ex quovis loco in sensum agat minorem efficaciam habet ex remotiori, ac proinde minoris perfectionis affectum producit. Reliqua ex eodem loco petenda sunt.”

⁴⁸¹ CMA v. 2, c. 1030: “Secundi explicatio ex eo pendet, possitne phantasia nostra non modo accidentium, sed etiam substantiarum *phantasmata* producere. Illud enim pro regula habendum est, eas tantum naturas communes abstahi ab intellectu agente, quarum individuorum propria *phantasmata* cum eo concurrunt ad specierum intelligibilium productionem.”

⁴⁸² CMA v. 2, cc. 1030-1031: “Plerique recentiores sunt, qui velint, nullum esse phantasma substantiae proprium: sed omnia esse accidentibus et substantiis communia: alio tamen ac alio modo: quod accidentium quidem formaliter, substantiarum autem connotative sint. Verbi causa, phantasma huius albi hanc albedinem formaliter repraesentare, sed hanc nivem connotative: cum enim non repraesentet albedinem, ut abstractam, sed ut concretam huic subiecto, ipsum quoque subiectum innuit. Quocirca, cum nullus sensus sive exterior, sive interior eorum sententia substantiam formaliter percipiat, sed connotative tantum: intellectus vero agens nullam speciem intelligibilem producat, nisi eius naturae, cuius individua formaliter repraesentantur per *phantasmata*: colligunt illi, nullam speciem intelligibilem substantiae ab intellectu, agente produci: aliam vero esse rationem intellectus possibilis, qui ex speciebus intelligibilibus accidentium species substantiae elicere potest: quemadmodum aestimativa non nostra tantum, sed brutorum etiam animalium ex sensatis speciebus sensibilibus insensatas elicere potest. Quanquam eorum nonnulli, ne ab intellectu quidem possibili, dum est in corpore, sensibusque corporis etiam intelligendo obiter utitur, id posse fieri asserunt. Quod idem ex superioribus Scholasticis Scotus in 1 d 3 q 1 senserat argumento consecratae hostiae ad secundum librum cap 1 q 2 s 5 a nobis solutio.”

⁴⁸³ CMA v. 2, c. 1031: “Averrois in secundum librum *De anima com 53 opus 29* in opposita est sententia, quod existimet, ac plane dicat cogitativam, quae nostra aestimativa est, individua omnium praedicamentorum posse percipere: cui veteres Scholastici fere subscribunt. In his est Divus Thomas cum aliis locis, tum vero in quodam opusculo *De Principio Individuationis*, ubi haec ferme scripta inveniuntur: *obiecta per se exteriorum sensuum esse sensibilia accidentia sive propria sive communia, quidditatem vero, naturamve substantiae particularis in particulari neque esse per se obiectum sensus exterioris, cum sit substantia, neque ad intellectum per se pertinere, cum sit particularis: atque hinc effici, ut sit per se obiectum aestimativae nostrae seu cogitativae, quae ex collatione particularium non modo accidentium, sed etiam substantiarum ratio particularis appellatur.*”

connotatively represented but not abstracted by the agent intellect.⁴⁸⁴ To the third, Fonseca responds that several *phantasmata* are necessary to the abstraction of one intelligible species (Aristotle, Aquinas, and Cajetan seem to defend this position).⁴⁸⁵ To the fourth, the response is that it is not necessary a determinate and certain *phantasma* to the generation of any intelligible species, since it is enough a vague *phantasma*. In fact, a vague *phantasma* seems to be even more suited to the species of the specific nature than the determinate.⁴⁸⁶ Fonseca does not seem to find an easy solution of the fifth doubt. If the production of the intelligible species were merely natural, it does not seem to require another thing to happen than the existence of several *phantasmata*, or of one more intense and more long-lasting *phantasma*. However, if this is the case, children before the use of reason and mentally handicap persons would be able to perform it, what is improbable. However it has to be conceded that they perform the first abstraction, but the second abstraction, which is made by the possible intellect does not occur in these cases.⁴⁸⁷ To the sixth, Fonseca responded that the *phantasma* concurs with the agent intellect in the genus

⁴⁸⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1031: “Hoc cum nobis sit vero similius, respondendum existimamus: intellectum agentem abstrahere posse corporearum substantiarum intelligibiles species, omniumque aliorum materialium entium, quod eorum omnium possint esse *phantasmata*. Quibus formaliter repraesententur, et non connotative tantum, ut sunt incorporearum substantiarum, caeterumque entium immaterialium *phantasmata*, quorum proinde entium species per intellectum agentem abstrahi nequeunt.”

⁴⁸⁵ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1033-1034: “Tertium dubium hoc pacto explicatur a D Thoma prima parte q 76 art 2. a diversis phantasmatis abstrahi unam speciem intelligibilem: quod Caietanus in eandem partem ad quaestio 85 art 1 videtur sic exponere, ut sentiat, plura *phantasmata* necessaria esse ad unius speciei generationem: et clarius in secundum *De Posteriori Resolutione* ca. ult. Ubi docet, non sufficere ad eam rem unam cogitativae operationem. Si tamen considerentur ea, quae ad primum huius operis librum scripsimus, dicendum est: etsi fere usu venit, ut ad unius speciei generationem plura *phantasmata* concurrant, aut unum virtute praecedentium praecedentisve alicuius, quo pacto hi auctores intelligi possunt: tamen, si vel unum sit intensum (loquor autem de expresso phantasmate et actuali, non de impresso tantum seu habituali) vel certe non brevi transeat, non esse plura necessaria: quemadmodum ut aliquid imprimatur in memoria: non satis est qualiscunque una rei perceptio, sed vel requiruntur plures, vel una intensa diuve continuata.”

⁴⁸⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1034: “Ad quartum, ex iis, quae eodem loco dicta sunt, respondendum est, non esse necessarium ad speciei ullius intelligibilis generationem phantasma determinatum, hoc est, individui determinati: sed satis esse phantasma vagum, quod semper quidem ad speciem naturae genericae, saepe autem ad speciei infimae concurrat. Imo vero, cum individuum vagum magis videatur accedere ad conditionem naturae universalis: aptius fortasse est vagum ad speciem naturae specificaе, quam determinatum.”

⁴⁸⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1034: “Quinti dubii solutio haud facilis est. Nam cum productio specierum intelligibilium per intellectum agentem sit mere naturalis, ut in primi quoque libri cap 2 q 2 s 4 et q 3 s 4 commentariis diximus, non videtur sane aliud ad eam requiri, quam plurium phantasmatum, uniusve intensioris aut diuturnioris, saepius repetiti praesentia. Et tamen si hoc damus, cum in pueris et amentibus haec inveniantur cum intellectu agente coniuncta: si ea satis sunt, amentibus quoque et pueris nondum ratio ne utentibus abstractio universalium concedenda erit; quod durum et improbabile videtur.”

of the efficient cause. It is explained by the fact that the material agent does not act by its own virtue but by that of the immaterial agent, to which it is subordinated.⁴⁸⁸

3.3. Conclusion

Fonseca's account of the functioning of the internal senses and his consequent discussion of cognition attempts to be both faithful to Aristotle's exposition in the *De anima* and in the *Parva naturalia* and to resolve some of the difficulties that would otherwise threaten the coherence and competency of any theory ranging from perception to knowledge. It is a simplified account in that it only posits the strictly necessary distinctions and the faculties involved in performing these functions. This account is easily reconcilable with the major authors in the Peripatetic tradition, as well as, with modern accounts of the Aristotelian psychology, because as Fonseca observes, the functions traditionally attributed to different faculties are all present in his model, with the only difference that in his account the other internal senses collapse into only two: *sensus communis* and *phantasia*. On the other hand, it is not oversimplified in that it does not blur all the distinctions between the functions nor between the faculties involved, for instance, it does not posit just one faculty responsible for sensation and cognition, or between the agent intellect and the possible intellect, for that matter.

Fonseca's realism is apparent the fact that although the intellect (or the intellects) plays a central role in cognition, he describes the beginning of the process as taking place with the common natures which are in the particulars independently of any intellectual activity, so that the intellect does not have to create them; hence its passive faculty is required. However, it operates

⁴⁸⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1035: "Ad sextum dubium dicendum est, phantasma potius concurrere cum intellectu agente in genere causae efficientis, quam dispositivae, quae ad materialem reducitur in altero enim harum causarum genere retulimus lib 1 c 2 q 3 s 6. Auctores ponere phantasmatum com intellectu agente concursum, nosque merito in prius genus magis inclinavimus: est enim ea sententia et communior, ut eo loco diximus, et rationi magis consentanea: tum quia phantasmata in ea actione concurrunt, et ut causae essentialiter subordinatae, ad quodammodo instrumentaliter determinantes generalem efficientiam intellectus agentis: et ut obiecta moventia, quatenus ipsarum rerum externarum locum subeunt, ut habes apud Aristotelem libr 3 *De anima* cap 5. accedit, quod alterius opinionis auctores ea potissimum de caussa in eam inclinant, ne materiale phantasma in immaterialem intellectum agere admittant: quod vereri non est opus, ubi ponitur, materiale agens virtute propria non agere, sed virtute immaterialis, cui subditur."

with them and changes them somehow, by illuminating them in the *phantasmata*; hence its agent faculty is necessary. Moreover, in Fonseca's model there is no need to posit any sensible faculty responsible for dealing with non-material objects, because common natures are real and material, with the result that a faculty like estimation is not posited. On the other hand, the dualism of the material senses and the immaterial intellect does not mean that they are separated by an unbridgeable gap as *phantasia* can serve as the intermediary; nor that all that is perceived or thought is necessarily true as perception and thought are not the only dimensions to be considered. Fonseca also differs from Ockham insofar as the new model requires at least two other categories, namely, that of 'where' and of 'when,' because *phantasmata* still have the *differentias* of time and space.⁴⁸⁹ While Ockham thinks that he can make do with only two, namely, substance and quality.

As the first level of abstraction is made via the *phantasma*, in which the common nature still has the distinctive characteristics that make it individual, it suffices to have one *phantasma* in order to have access to the nature that is the basis for the species. But because the abstraction of a universal with a broader scope takes place at another level (in the possible intellect), Fonseca can differentiate the abstraction of the species (which can be made even if there is only one intense *phantasma*) from the abstraction of the genus (which require more than one species). We will see in a moment that this fact will be further corroborated when Fonseca decides that it is sufficient to have one individual of a species to preserve that species but it is not enough to have one of its species if a genus is to be preserved.

As we have pointed in a footnote of the introductory remarks to this chapter, with regard to the question of whether Fonseca's theory of cognition is still credible today, we can only point to a future line of enquiry. If we open a book on human neuropsychology, for instance, the *Fundamental of Human Neuropsychology*,⁴⁹⁰ we will notice that on page 3, one talks about the

⁴⁸⁹ In fact it also requires the category of relation, as it will be clear in the next chapter. In another place of his commentaries on the *Metaphysics* (Book V, chapter 7, question 2) Fonseca clearly states that the categories are ten and neither more nor less, but this discussion is outside the scope of the present discussion.

⁴⁹⁰ B. Kolb & I. Q. Whishaw, *Fundamentals of Human Neuropsychology*, New York, 2003.

brain in terms of cerebral cortex (outer layer), two hemispheres (two symmetrical halves), frontal lobe (anterior), parietal lobe (middle), occipital lobe (posterior), and temporal lobe (lateral) and in page 216, there is still mention of cerebellum which is in fact also divided in two halves, but with very specific functions in respect of control of movement but with no mention of imagination. Although it looks as if the vocabulary and basic understanding of the anatomy, physiology, and functions of the brain according to Vesalius have been changed beyond recognition, one could perhaps try to see if these changes are incompatible with the philosophy of the sixteenth century.

Moreover, page 5 reads:

Simply knowing that the brain controls behavior is not enough; the formulation of a complete hypothesis of brain function requires knowing *how* the brain controls behavior. Modern thinking about this question began with René Descartes (1596-1650), a French anatomist and philosopher.

If we take for its face value, then we are forced to conclude that Fonseca's philosophy is definitively outside the picture. However, on page 444 we notice that:

Significant species differences exist in the anatomy and functions of interconnecting hemispheric commissures. Some primitive marsupials do not have a corpus callosum. Some birds, although having interhemispheric commissures, behave as might humans who have no corpus callosum.

Which means that the distinction between beasts and man remains unproblematic only insofar as we can identify clear anatomical differences, but the situation would become more complicated in the case of anatomically close species (which seems to have been the case of the comparison between Neanderthal and modern man, for instance).

Furthermore, there are other philosophical problems, for instance, on page 445:

Many people have written about implications of the split-brain cases to support theories of mind and concepts of individuality. Certainly for dualists, who hold that the brain has a separate corresponding mental representation (the mind), there are compelling reasons to consider that a split-brain person possesses two brains and two minds. For materialists, who hold that behavior is explained as a function of the nervous system, without recourse to mind, the philosophical implications are not so weighty. But, for everyone, there is a challenge to understand how persons with separated hemispheres function in a seemingly integrated way.

And there is even a passage which seems to confirm Fonseca's findings that memory (which is only a different function of *phantasia*), on page 468:

There is growing evidence that no single region of the brain is responsible for all memory and that each region makes a specific contribution.

We cannot pursue this line of research here but we can turn to another, more promising line that is based on what we have explained above. The question of how far Fonseca's view of cognition could still be used as a model nowadays in terms of his adoption of the Aristotelian account via Aquinas's understanding of it. For economy sake we are going to assume that N. Kretzmann⁴⁹¹ is correct in his view that hylomorphism is a central theory in Aquinas's philosophy of mind, that human soul is to be identified with the rational soul; hence that the human soul is the non-material form of the body.

The question is then to enquire whether hylomorphism is a viable theory to describe the relation of mind and body. One way to put it is to describe it as a relation of form or function as being realised in a particular matter.⁴⁹² However, if we take into account that this approach treats life as already given, we need to ask how is it that life emerges, with the result that the Aristotelian framework is lost.⁴⁹³ The result would be either a pure and simple materialism or a sort of dualism traditionally associated with Descartes.

However, if we do not find an approach to perception, cognition, and thought merely in terms of the material components of body (brain) appealing (with the nominalism that it invariably entails), and do not want to posit a complete separation of mind and body, we could think of the Aristotelian matter/form approach as an alternative,⁴⁹⁴ because the reintroduction of form could represent the possibility of resolving the problems that plague materialism reductionism and dualism (for instance, failure to provide a clear distinction between beasts and man; difficulty to avoid the nominalism that is a close ally of materialism; and the inconveniences of double brains/ double minds in cases in which the two halves of the brain are disconnected).

⁴⁹¹ N. Kretzmann, "Aquinas's Philosophy of Mind," 77-102.

⁴⁹² M. Burnyeat, "Is an Aristotelian Philosophy of Mind Still Credible? (A Draft)," p. 15.

⁴⁹³ Burnyeat, *ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴⁹⁴ M. Nussbaum, & H. Putnam, *ibid.*, p. 27.

Moreover, Aristotelian realism has the great advantage of non-reductionism because it posits the explanatory priority of the intentional without losing the sense of the material and organic unity of the intentional with its constitutive matter (hidden reality behind the complexity).⁴⁹⁵

As for Fonseca's theory of cognition, it is entirely compatible with Elenore Stump's defence of Aquinas's process, which starting from the material sensible species formed when the air (medium) transmits the object to the eye; with the *phantasma* that results when the sense organ receives the form of the object without its matter; with the intelligible species that results from the working together of the *phantasia* and the agent intellect; and finally with the concept that is formed in the possible intellect.⁴⁹⁶ She convincingly demonstrates that the several intermediary stages in this theory of cognition are not only correct but also necessary if one is to account for the several ways a person may fail to become aware of or see an object right in front of her eyes.⁴⁹⁷

All in all, it seems that Fonseca's theory of cognition could still be credible if we take the time to consider the modern understanding of human anatomy and the physiology of the brain, with the aim of finding its ontological basis (should there be one). But it is sure that if Aristotle's and Aquinas's theories of cognition are credible, the same will necessarily hold for Fonseca's.

As it has been shown, Fonseca deals with universality, commonality, and particularity (questions I to V), and seeing that by providing an account of how it is possible to bridge the gap between material objects in the world to concepts in the mind (questions VI to VIII), Fonseca completes the picture suggested by Boethius in the beginning of his second commentary on the *Isagoge*, it is now time to address Fonseca's own handling of the difficulties presented by Porphyry's book (questions IX to XX), in order to see if his whole system can be reconciled with the *Isagoge*.

⁴⁹⁵ M. Nussbaum, & H. Putnam, *ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. E. Stump, "Aquinas on the Mechanisms of Cognition: Sense and *Phantasia*," pp. 392-393.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

Chapter IV – Porphyry’s *Isagoge* in the later sixteenth century

Behind the Aristotelian conception of scientific knowledge, lies the idea that reality is an ordered structure, where the essential natures of things provide the grounds for definitions, while the attributes that necessarily belong to those things provide the grounds for demonstrations. Events are understood not in their variability as a process, but rather as things that belong to a whole that can be analysed and reconstructed in thought, insofar as there are fixed essences and their necessary attributes available to the knowing subject in every instance even before she performs any activity.⁴⁹⁸ Ancient and Medieval authors expressed this understanding by saying that science as understood by Aristotle deals with definition, division, demonstration, and argumentation.⁴⁹⁹ Therefore, it is not by chance that this is also the subject matter of Porphyry’s *Isagoge*.

As we pointed out in the first chapter, the developments of philosophy and science in the early modern period can only be correctly assessed if we can establish the background against which they occurred, that is, the status of philosophical and scientific knowledge in the second half of the sixteenth century. Consequently, the reception and evaluation of Porphyry’s text in that period is crucial to our consideration of the context.

While the main characteristic of Porphyry’s small text was always thought to be useful as a simple, accessible, and reliable introduction to the *Categories*, the first book of the *Organon* which in turn is the first set of works of the Aristotelian corpus, the *Isagoge* can also function as a general introduction to the Aristotelian works, as well as to philosophy as whole. However, that is not Fonseca’s assessment of Porphyry’s small book. Perhaps it is adequate to quote his own words:

⁴⁹⁸ For a general overview of how the science of metaphysics is seeing in an Aristotelian context, see C. H. Lohr, “Metaphysics,” in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, p. 537ff.

⁴⁹⁹ This basic understanding that Aristotelian science requires that nature be divided in genera and species, independently of thoughts and concerns of those studying this science, may have been shared by realists and nominalists, and it is a good indication that Fonseca is looking for a common ground to build his system. The agreement between Scotus, Ockham, and other authors on the fundamental tenets of Aristotelian science is stressed by M. Tweedale’s introduction to M. Tweedale (trans. comm.), *Scotus vs. Ockham – A Medieval Dispute over Universals*. v. II *Commentary*. Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter, 1999, pp. 395-397.

Truly, from the time that the Sacred Theology began to be taught by the rational method, in matters concerning knowledge and science much is made of what theologians and philosophers discuss about the highest and most difficult themes. As it is presently clear, Porphyry ignored many things concerning this point; and moreover, it is absolutely necessary that the students examine no fewer aspects that had been less evident to him immediately at the very beginning of the study of the *Categories*. I omit many things of his [Porphyry's] small book because they are superfluous or without coherence, and which needlessly cause trouble to the readers.⁵⁰⁰

A few lines later, Fonseca explains that one of the main aims of his *Isagoge Philosophica* was to keep the qualities of Porphyry's book and to dispose of its limitations:

The second thing is, maintaining as much as possible the words of the philosophers of this age, we [ought to] take everything from Aristotle, or select from the more common and more current views of all schools. Such are many of those which are contained in the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, which in fact he, who is in other respects severely damned by the Fathers, as it were, correctly brought in that little book. And those are taken and used by us only if they are true, and neither useless nor superfluous (such, as a rule, are those contained in the last part of his small book) so as from the unjust possessor we will transfer to our use.⁵⁰¹

These passages leave little doubt that when Fonseca wrote his *Isagoge Philosophica* his opinion was that the *Isagoge* of Porphyry was neither simple, nor accessible, and that it was unreliable. With respect to the first two points, one does not have to go beyond a basic historical depiction of the number of commentaries on Porphyry's text which had been produced up to the sixteenth century, to conclude that Fonseca has a point, since not only the commentaries are legion, but also that the commentaries are, with perhaps a few exceptions, much longer than the *Isagoge* itself. One could hardly expect to be able to reconcile these findings with an opinion that the Porphyry's text is simple and clear.

But is the *Isagoge* a reliable introduction to philosophy? That "a small mistake at the very beginning can lead to dramatic consequences" (*Quia parvus error in principio magnus est in fine*) is attested not only by common wisdom, but also by Aristotle in *De coelo* and Aquinas in the *De ente et essentia*. If there are inconsistencies in an obscure and incomplete text, it seems

⁵⁰⁰ *IP*, p. 6: "Verum ex eo tempore, quo Sacra Theologia via, et ratione tradi coepit, tanta rebus Philosophicis ex assidua Theologorum de rebus maximis, et difficillimis disputatione accessio facta est cognitionis, et scientiae; ut iam diu plane constet, multa illum ea de re latuisse; non pauca etiam ab eo minus perspecta fuisse, quae nostris temporibus iam inde ab ipso Categoriarum vestibulo Philosophiae alumnos necesse est praelibare. Mitto complura eius libelli supervacanea esse, aut parum cohaerentia, quaeque lectoribus frustra negotium exhibeant."

⁵⁰¹ *IP*, p. 16-18: "Alterum est, ut servata communi, ut par est, Philosophorum huius aetatis verborum consuetudine, ex Aristotele, quoad fieri potest, depromamus omnia aut ex communioribus, magisque receptis totius scholae sententiis desumamus; cuiusmodi sunt pleraque eorum, quae in *Isagoge* Porphyrii continentur. Quae vero ille, gravi alioqui Patrum censura damnatus, quasi propria in eo libello attulit, ea nos, si vera sint, et usurpata, neque inutilia, aut supervacanea (qualia sunt fere, quae in posteriori parte eius libelli continentur) tanquam ab iniusto possessore in nostrum usum transferemus."

rather risky to rely on it as an introduction to any important and serious study. This may shed some light on the reasons why Aquinas wrote his own metaphysical introduction and did not even bother to comment on the *Isagoge*. Aquinas's followers adopted the same stance, at least until the very end of the fifteenth century, as is attested by Cajetan's account that to the best of his knowledge no Thomist commentary on Porphyry's text had been produced before he wrote his *Commentaria in Isagogen* in 1497,⁵⁰² two years after he had extensively commented on the *De ente et essentia*. These facts suggest that Porphyry's book was believed to be controversial by the leading figures of the Thomist tradition. We will see in a moment that controversy is also a feature of the recent literature on the *Isagoge*, as well as in the commentary tradition from Boethius to the *Lovanienses*.

The first impression that Porphyry's *Isagoge* has a very clear and simple structure and a very limited ambition may then turn out to be unsustainable. Its subject matter is the five Predicables, i.e., genus, species, *differentia*, property, and accident. It has so to speak two parts, the first one dealing with each of the five predicables individually, and the second with their interrelations, by comparing and contrasting all the possible combinations of each pair of them, with special attention to what they share and to their distinctions. As for the confessed ambition of Porphyry's text, it aims to be a tractable introduction to Aristotle's *Categories*. Nevertheless, a closer look will show that, among other things, the *Isagoge* was perhaps not as Peripatetic as Porphyry claims. Among the many ambiguities in the text, is the fact that genus and species, the first and perhaps the most central predicables, do not seem to be clearly distinguishable (at least not in all their aspects). Another difficulty is that the author seems at times to be more inclined towards 'Platonism' than 'Aristotelianism,' and at other times more conceptualist than realist, and this is an indication that some of his remarks are, to say the least, misleading.

⁵⁰² *CE&E*, p 3: "Expeditis cum divino auxilio his, quae demonstrativae doctrinae necessaria visa sunt, antequam ad altiora coepta me transferam peragenda, rapere tantum temporis descevi, ut Porphyrii ac Aristotelis logicalia principia exponere possim. Non quin ab illustrioribus viris, longo ante tempore, gloriose exposita sint; sed quoniam Thomistarum, et praecipue nostre religionis fratrum, profectui, me totum dedi, nullamque unquam viderim aut audierim lecturam esse, quae communiter his grata videatur, fretus divi Thomae suffragiis, tanto ausus sum me discrimini credere."

Since one of the main hypotheses of our thesis is that Fonseca's *Isagoge Philosophica* was something else, or perhaps better, something 'more ambitious' than a mere commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*; and that Fonseca (in fact, the Jesuits as a whole) had been interested in providing the tools to perform a synthesis of all the different tendencies in theology (nominalism, realism, Thomism), an analysis of what Fonseca has to say about each of the central problems of the text of Porphyry may prove a powerful means to demonstrate that he had in fact commented on all the most relevant topics of the *Isagoge*, and more importantly, that he had taken into account all the nuances behind the different views (nominalist, realist, Thomist) on them.

In order to provide some contextualisation it is necessary present some statistical data with regard to Porphyry's small book and the commentaries to which Fonseca refers in those twenty questions. Fonseca cites Porphyry's text explicitly a number of times, covering virtually all the main divisions of the *Isagoge*, with respect to the three unanswered questions of the preface,⁵⁰³ on the five kinds of predicables,⁵⁰⁴ on genus,⁵⁰⁵ on the relation of genus and species,⁵⁰⁶ on species,⁵⁰⁷ on *differentia* (including Porphyry's error, as we will see later on),⁵⁰⁸ on property,⁵⁰⁹ on accident,⁵¹⁰ and on what the five predicables have in common contrasted with what is peculiar to each one of them.⁵¹¹ Scotus's questions on the *Isagoge* is cited eight times, roughly covering the main sets of questions of his exposition, namely, question 14,⁵¹² questions 12 and 27,⁵¹³ question 8,⁵¹⁴ question 15,⁵¹⁵ question 18,⁵¹⁶ question 27,⁵¹⁷ and question 33.⁵¹⁸ The commentary on the *Isagoge* by Cajetan is cited five times, on genus,⁵¹⁹ on species,⁵²⁰ on the

⁵⁰³ CMA v. 2, cc. 1035-1041.

⁵⁰⁴ CMA v. 2, c. 1053.

⁵⁰⁵ CMA v. 2, c. 972.

⁵⁰⁶ CMA v. 2, c. 1077.

⁵⁰⁷ CMA v. 2, cc. 1075, 1078.

⁵⁰⁸ CMA v. 2, cc. 1101, 1104-1106.

⁵⁰⁹ CMA v. 2, cc. 1112-1119.

⁵¹⁰ CMA v. 2, cc. 1119-1124.

⁵¹¹ CMA v. 2, cc. 966, 1126-1127.

⁵¹² CMA v. 2, c. 996.

⁵¹³ CMA v. 2, c. 1053.

⁵¹⁴ CMA v. 2, c. 1057.

⁵¹⁵ CMA v. 2, cc. 1062 and 1068.

⁵¹⁶ CMA v. 2, c. 1082.

⁵¹⁷ CMA v. 2, c. 1105.

⁵¹⁸ CMA v. 2, c. 1129.

⁵¹⁹ CMA v. 2, c. 996

individuum vagum,⁵²¹ on *differentia*,⁵²² and on property.⁵²³ Albert the Great's commentary is cited four times, namely, tract. 1,⁵²⁴ tract. 2 c. 9,⁵²⁵ species,⁵²⁶ and tract. 1 q. 4.⁵²⁷ Boethius's commentary is explicitly cited three times, on the preface,⁵²⁸ on genus,⁵²⁹ and on species.⁵³⁰ Averroes's commentary is cited two times, on *differentia*⁵³¹ and on accident.⁵³² The commentaries of several other authors are cited two times or just once: Giles of Rome's on genus⁵³³ and on the relation of genus and species;⁵³⁴ Ammonius's on genus⁵³⁵ and on species;⁵³⁶ Walter Burley's on the *Isagoge*⁵³⁷ and on *differentia*;⁵³⁸ the *Lovanienses* on the relation of genus and species;⁵³⁹ Avicenna's on *differentia*;⁵⁴⁰ Simplicius's on genus;⁵⁴¹ Alfarabi's on *differentia*;⁵⁴² Peter Tartaret's q. 2 (on genus);⁵⁴³ and Iamblichus's on genus.⁵⁴⁴

Fonseca does not mention Ockham's commentary on the *Isagoge* at all, but cites Ockham's *Summa Logicae* at the beginning of Question II s. 2, and he refers to it again in Question IX s. 1 (and in fact, to the same passage of *1 p. Logic. c. 14 et 15*), there he also cites Gabriel Biel in *1 d 2 q 7 et 8*, although the omission of Ockham's commentary on the *Isagoge* might be taken as an indication that Fonseca was not interested in Ockham's work or its implications, from what we have explained in the second chapter, it is beyond doubt that Fonseca

⁵²⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1078

⁵²¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1055

⁵²² *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1101 and 1103

⁵²³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1116

⁵²⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 951.

⁵²⁵ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1053 and 1057.

⁵²⁶ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1078 and 1083.

⁵²⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1084.

⁵²⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1030.

⁵²⁹ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1043 and 1057.

⁵³⁰ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1053, 1082, 1084, and 1091.

⁵³¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1101.

⁵³² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1119.

⁵³³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1053.

⁵³⁴ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1082, 1084, and 1100.

⁵³⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1057.

⁵³⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1078.

⁵³⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 982.

⁵³⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1101.

⁵³⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1077.

⁵⁴⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1101.

⁵⁴¹ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1057 and 1059.

⁵⁴² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1101.

⁵⁴³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1057.

⁵⁴⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1059.

was aware and knowledgeable of the nominalist tradition and that he took it into consideration while addressing the main issues at stake in relation to the *Isagoge*.

From this brief survey there is already evidence that Fonseca read and cited the texts likely to be used by Franciscans, Augustinians, and Dominicans, if the focus is on the religious orders, or by scotist, Thomist, and Renaissance Arts Faculty teachers, if the focus is on the particular allegiances. This great variety of authors with their own peculiar positions does not seem to afford us the means of generalising, but one possible way to group them is to follow the lines of the three different sorts of approaches to Porphyry's *Isagoge*. The first group would be that of Boethius, Averroes, Ockham, Peter Tartaret, Cajetan, the *Lovanienses*, and others. Their common feature is a disposition to follow Porphyry's text very closely, either presupposing that their commentaries would be read after the corresponding passages in Porphyry which is the case of Boethius, Ockham, and Cajetan, or offering a rigorous paraphrase of it, as in the case of Averroes.

The second group would be that of Albert, Scotus, and Fonseca. Their common characteristic is that they intend to offer a commentary of the text by addressing the most pressing questions, even though each author had his questions and interests. Such questions are usually derived from specific passages in the text and from the implications of Porphyry's ideas and assumptions.

The third group is that of Avicenna, Alfarabi, Giles of Rome, Walter Burley, among others. Their common feature is that they insert the *Predicables* in their treatment of logic, and their commentaries are not commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* in any strict sense. Even though these authors show signs that they were aware of their debt to Porphyry and that they acknowledge him as the source of their discussions, their commentaries belong to another genre of texts.

We will concentrate on the first two kinds of commentaries on the *Isagoge*. By briefly discussing some important commentators, namely, Boethius, Averroes, Ockham, Cajetan, Scotus, and the *Lovanienses*, we hope to demonstrate that an awareness of the limitations,

inconsistencies, and mistakes of Porphyry's *Isagoge*, on the one hand, and of the necessity to provide a solid basis for a particular stance on matters ranging from dialectics to metaphysics, on the other, were the forces behind the composition of Fonseca's commentaries. We also hope that this section will explain Fonseca's final assessment that the *Isagoge* fails to meet the necessary requirements for a true, simple, and reliable introduction to philosophy (and consequently to theology and to the other sciences). This fact provides sound evidence that Fonseca had his own motive to substitute Porphyry's handling of the predicables with a more accurate and complete text.

While the need for a survey of the recent literature on the *Isagoge* is obvious, our choice of other authors requires some clarification. Boethius's commentaries (specially his second one) are deserving of a detailed examination because most of the philosophers interested in studying Porphyry's text had to rely heavily on his translation and interpretation of the *Isagoge*. And this is an obvious consequence of the fact that they were the only means of "direct" contact with the sources. Furthermore, Averroes's commentary on the *Isagoge*, although not as long and as detailed as Boethius's, has the peculiarity of belonging to another tradition, namely, the tradition of Islamic philosophers. Moreover, it also shows the author's critical approach and in this sense, it is in sharp contrast with the other authors (the same independence in relation to Porphyry seems to be only present in Avicenna's and Fonseca's approaches). Moreover, although references to Ockham's exposition of Porphyry's small book do not appear in Fonseca's text, they certainly provide not only a useful insight into the nominalist position on the problem of universals, but also an indispensable means to test Fonseca's ability to answer to Ockham's objections to the scotist position. In this context Cajetan's commentary also seems to be an invaluable help to understand the kind of questions to which Fonseca wanted to reply. It is perhaps the finest example of a 'Thomist' exposition on the *Isagoge* and it also comes from an author not so distant in time from Fonseca. Scotus's text, which was perhaps the closest in structure to Fonseca's commentary deals with very specific questions in his own way. That is why it has to be treated in a separate section. Finally, before Fonseca's text is analysed, it is

necessary to say something about the commentary produced by the Arts masters of the Louvain University. No specific name is mentioned but in the colophon of the 1568 edition, which was in fact the fourth edition⁵⁴⁵ of that work produced and assumed by the Arts Faculty as a whole, the authors of the commentaries are described as “eminent specialists in dialectics and in the whole philosophy” (*per dialecticae ac totius philosophiae peritissimos viros composita*). Moreover, it is also said that those commentaries prudently abridged the texts and were made in accordance with Argyropulo’s⁵⁴⁶ and Boethius’s versions of the books of the *Organon*.⁵⁴⁷

The subsequent section of this chapter will analyse Fonseca’s questions IX to XX. This will highlight his most important doubts about Porphyry’s small text and about the other commentaries on the *Isagoge*, from Boethius to the *Lovanienses*. Because the logical, metaphysical, and epistemological bases of Fonseca’s thought were studied in the earlier chapters, the resemblances and departures of Fonseca’s approach here will provide a further evidence of his philosophical propense, and perhaps strengthen even more the perception that although he was able to assess and very often assimilate interesting achievements of previous philosophers, he superseded the great Medieval philosophical commentaries and offered an entirely new understanding of the *Isagoge*.

4.0.1. Recent Literature on the *Isagoge*

Apart from its usefulness as an introduction, the *Isagoge* was studied because it provided a starting point for the discussion of the problem of universals with all its implications, and there are plenty of them, as it was already discussed at length in the second chapter. In this context, it

⁵⁴⁵ The other three editions had been published in 1535, 1547, and 1553.

⁵⁴⁶ This reference to John Argyropulo (Constantinople ca. 1410 - Rome 1473), who translated several works of Aristoteles into Latin and was the teacher of Lorenzo de Medici, and to Boethius is already an indication of the fact that these commentaries were inspired by some humanist authors, being at the same time, committed to following the authority of the scholastic authors. Later on in the text they would discuss the humanist ideas of Agricola, as well as refer several times to Cicero, although they refer rather depreciatively to Valla. Aristotle, Porphyry, Boethius, Ammonius, Averroes, etc., are the authorities more often cited.

⁵⁴⁷ *Lovanienses, CIPLAD*, “Colophon”: “Commentaria *In Isagogen Porphyrii*, et in omnes Libros Aristotelis de Dialectica, olim maturo consilio, et gravissimis sumptibus venerandae Facultatis Artium in inclita Academia Lovaniensi per dialecticae ac totius philosophiae peritissimos viros composita. Iam vero tertio in commodum ac utilitatem bonorum ingeniorum diligenter recognita, emendata, multis in locis prudenter abbreviata, et ad Argyropoli ac Boetii versiones studio summo accommodata.”

becomes clear why current readers may still find it a challenge to determine Porphyry's purpose with precision and to resolve the enigma of the Phoenician's stance on the status of universals. Four recent publications, three translations with notes and introductory or commentary remarks, and an article, give the exact measure of the difficulties in and around the *Isagoge*. The publications are: Edward Warren's *Isagoge* (1975); Alain De Libera's *Isagoge* (1998); Jonathan Barnes's *Introduction* (2003); and Christos Evangeliou's "Aristotle's Doctrine of Predicables and Porphyry's *Isagoge*" (1985). These authors disagree on very basic issues, such as the aims of the author, its degree of success, its philosophical affiliation, and whether the *Isagoge* is an introduction to the *Categories*, to the *Topics*, to the *Organon*, or to philosophy in general.

Following the chronological order of their publication, our excursus on the recent analyses of the text can begin with Edward W. Warren's introduction to his English translation of the *Isagoge*. Although some people might object that a book of three decades ago is not a 'recent' publication, this book in particular is of interest and of some actuality for various reasons that will become clear in a moment. In his short introduction, Warren makes some potent claims with regard to the influence and usefulness of the *Isagoge* that may shed light on how to evaluate the important changes that the historians of philosophy identify as the main characteristics of the sixteenth century. Warren explains that those changes were some sort of strong reaction against the "repressive theological-political system that attempted to control inquiry,"⁵⁴⁸ up to that period. This view is somewhat outdated and we have presented in the introduction the view that although the Jesuits had a particular philosophical-theological agenda aiming at agreement and orthodoxy, they stimulated academic enterprises such as the composition of the *cursus philosophicus* as a means to their aims. Moreover, the current consensus about the meaning of seventeenth century achievements seems to have shifted towards a view of continuity of interests and developments

⁵⁴⁸ E. Warren, *Porphyrius Isagoge*, Toronto, 1975, p 19

of philosophy in those years, rather than a view of radical rupture with a previous ‘evil structure.’⁵⁴⁹

Moreover, despite the fact that he acknowledges the direct association of the *Isagoge* with the *Organon*, and particularly with the *Categories* and the *Topics*, Warren defends the view that the scope and implications of the *Isagoge* go much beyond the logical works of Aristotle and has important repercussions to the conceptions of metaphysics and of human understanding, as well as great relevance for epistemology and philosophical psychology.⁵⁵⁰

As an example of the ‘change in metaphor,’ as he calls it, Warren points to changes in the notion of time, from a particular reading of Aristotle (whole/part relations) that had been extant until then to the conception of time (series of linear event) developed during the three subsequent centuries (sixteenth to nineteenth centuries).⁵⁵¹ Warren’s claim is that this can be investigated starting from the “tree of Porphyry,” with its notions like ‘individual,’ ‘singular,’ and ‘particular,’ since these notions “reflect different approaches to space-time objects, and an adequate grasp of these nuances of metaphor is necessary for a firm grasp of the issues as seen by the ancient.”

What Warren means exactly by this is explained in footnote 18:

[T]here are three terms used in the text for individuals and particulars: *ἄτομον*, *ἕκαστον*, and *κατὰ μέρος*. By far the most frequent is *ἄτομον*, uncuttable. *Ἄτομον* is translated by “individual,” *τὸ κατ’ ἕκαστον* “singular,” and *κατὰ μέρος* “particular.” Boethius translates *individuum*, *singulare*, and *particulare*. “Individual” refers to the undivided or indivisible and is usually applied to space-time objects, but the metaphor would allow the term to be applied to God who is both undivided and indivisible. Aristotle, for example, at times uses *ἄτομον* to mean the lowest species. *Ἄτομον* indicates that the integrity and wholeness of the object lies in its cohesiveness but does not necessarily make clear the kind of whole referred to. In its reference to the space-time individual it indicates what can no longer be divided in existence without its destruction. “Singular” involves a linear metaphor of things set side by side, one after another, each having independent existence. “Particular,” on the other hand, connotes the smallest part or division of the circle of being which has independent existence (...) Although an individual is cut or divided into hands, feet, and a head, yet these parts are only parts and are not complete in themselves. The individual, then, is the last complete entity in the chain of being (...)⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁹ Even the ideas of ‘rebels’ like Descartes cannot be understood in isolation, but require a clear understanding of their context, hence that their ideas are inextricably associated with their intellectual setting. Cf. R. Ariew, *Descartes and the Last Scholastics*, Ithaca/London, 1999. An indebtedness that is more evident in figures like M. Mersenne. Cf. P. Dear, *Mersenne and Learning of the Schools*, Ithaca/London, 1988.

⁵⁵⁰ Warren, *ibid.*, pp 18-19.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp 20-21.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, pp 30-31.

Accordingly, Warren's general view is that the *Isagoge*, being as it is an introduction to the Aristotelian theory of predicables is extremely useful not only to theory of knowledge and first philosophy, but also to theology,⁵⁵³ and this coincides with Fonseca's approach in his *Isagoge Philosophica* (cf. the first chapter of the present thesis).

The second text is an article by Christos Evangeliou which was published a decade after Warren's translation. Again, the main focus of the article may be explained in terms of those two issues of the aim and the commitments of Porphyry in his small book. Evangeliou undertook the task of defending Porphyry's reputation from the harsh criticism that it had been suffering in the twentieth century, and his strategy was to show that they were all based on what he identified as incorrect readings of the *Isagoge* and of which book(s) or theory(ies) were the primary targets of the Phoenician philosopher. In fact, several authors have charged Porphyry with the error of misrepresenting Aristotle's ideas, either by 'platonising' him, or for being a nominalist or excessive eclectic, with the consequence that he "muddled" Aristotle's theory of predicables.⁵⁵⁴

Furthermore, Evangeliou's defence of Porphyry is accomplished by explaining Aristotle's doctrine of predicables both in the *Topics* and in the *Categories*. His main findings are (a) that "Aristotle's position is not dogmatic at all,"⁵⁵⁵ meaning that Aristotle does not give a final, definite number and content of the list of predicables, as several authors think he did, instead Aristotle presents a provisional "tentative" list with genus and differentia collapsed into one slot, and this for practical reasons required by the context of the *Topics*;⁵⁵⁶ (b) that the main distinction between Aristotle's and Porphyry's list of predicables is not so much the inclusion of 'species,' but the fact that the differentia is a separate predicable in Porphyry's list;⁵⁵⁷ (c) that the list of the *Topics* is 'exhaustive' with relation to the logically possible combinations of the terms "convertible" and "non-convertible," "essential" and non-essential," that is, if the predication is convertible and essential it is a definition, while if it is convertible but non-essential it is a

⁵⁵³ Ibid., p 18.

⁵⁵⁴ Christos Evangeliou, "Aristotle's Doctrine of the Predicables and Porphyry's *Isagoge*," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 23, 1985, p 16.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., p 18.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., p 19.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., p 20.

property, if it non-convertible but essential it is a genus (or differentia), and if it is neither convertible nor essential it is an accident. And these are all the possible combinations.⁵⁵⁸

After this line was established, Evangeliou tackles the criticisms of David Ross, who thinks that the *Isagoge* is an introduction to the *Topics*, of Ernest Moody, who believes that the *Isagoge* is an introduction to the *Categories*, and of William and Martha Kneale, who take the *Isagoge* to be an introduction to the *Categories* and to logic in general. In any case, Evangeliou posits, the same conclusion can be reached, namely, that these three authors maintained that Porphyry's aim was to introduce Aristotle's list of predicables, and consequently that he failed to do so by producing a different list.⁵⁵⁹

Once he has made that plain, Evangeliou goes on to show the evidences that Porphyry's *Isagoge* is aimed at introducing the five terms, genus, differentia, species, property, and accident, "which are fundamental to the dialectical methods of definition, division, and demonstration. To the extent that Aristotle's philosophy or any other philosophy makes use of these important methods and these predicable terms, Porphyry's treatise can be considered useful for our understanding of them."⁵⁶⁰ The direct evidence is obviously the passages in which Porphyry asserts it clearly, especially the introductory words. As for the indirect evidence, Evangeliou points to the fact that the ancient commentators on Porphyry's text (Ammonius, Elias, and David) were all agreed that this was indeed Porphyry's purpose and none of them treats the *Isagoge* as an introduction to a specific part of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*.⁵⁶¹

Consequently, Porphyry's twentieth-century critics are not correct when they charge him of misrepresentation, because the *Isagoge* does not represent Aristotle's doctrine of predicables.⁵⁶² And Evangeliou concludes his article with an exposition of what is implied by Porphyry's list of predicables and a demonstration that Porphyry was in fact in agreement with a correct reading of Aristotle with respect to his position that "the ultimate subjects of predication

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., pp 20-21.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., pp 22-26.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., p 29.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² Ibid., pp 29-30.

are concrete individual beings of certain kind and only secondarily species, genera, and other abstractions.”⁵⁶³ These last two points would deny Porphyry’s critics of any basis for their claims, because in Evangeliou’s view not only it is not correct to think of the *Isagoge* as an introduction to a particular Aristotelian doctrine, but also is not correct to say that Porphyry introduced something incompatible with Aristotle in his small book. Evangeliou puts forward a vigorous defence of the orthodox Peripatetic character of the *Isagoge*, however we will see that Fonseca gives us every reason to dispute this conclusion.

The third text is the trilingual edition of the *Isagoge*, with the Greek text, the French translation, and Boethius’s Latin version in the footnotes, by Alain De Libera which was published in 1998. De Libera begins his introduction to the *Isagoge* with a brief account of Porphyry’s life and philosophical background.⁵⁶⁴ De Libera goes on to discuss Porphyry’s relation to Plotinus and how this fact would have influenced his personal and philosophical life. He posits that their disagreement was due to a Plotinian/Neoplatonist heavy criticism of Aristotle’s theory of categories. And it is exactly this biographical (hypothesis) that is the first evidence of De Libera’s central claim that the *Isagoge* was in fact an introduction to the *Categories* (both to the book and to the subject matter that it contains).⁵⁶⁵

De Libera highlights the four obstacles that the *Isagoge* poses to a contemporary reader. The first difficulty is that it is not easy to identify the Neoplatonic elements present in the text (one would expect them to be many). Second, the Aristotelian formulae to which Porphyry resorts very often remain for the most part unnoticed. Third, very often Porphyry’s epistemological setting is mistakenly taken for that of the sixth century. Fourth, Porphyry does not speak in the first person and direct references are scarce and vague in his text. In De Libera’s view, by accepting that the *Isagoge* is an introduction to the *Categories* all these difficulties can be solved.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶³ Ibid., pp 32-33.

⁵⁶⁴ Alain De Libera (trans.), *Porphyrius Isagoge*, Paris, 1998, p vii.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., p xii.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., pp xii-xiii.

De Libera proceeds to argue that if at first sight these two works do not seem to have any point of intersection, a closer look will reveal that this impression is false. The *Isagoge* does talk of categories, in fact, it has a very radical interpretation of the issue – the harmony of being – the plurality of senses of “being” according to Aristotle, which has evident anti-stoic implications (the stoics defend the theory that *quid* is the genus of corporeal, incorporeal, and fictitious beings). Moreover, the *Categories* also talks about predicables, although this fact is hidden in most translations, due to an inadequate choice of terms.⁵⁶⁷

In order to read the *Isagoge* today, there is certainly a need for an inventory, at least a brief one, of the themes which are repeated, re-shaped, or perhaps clarified in it. For De Libera the central aim of Porphyry’s text is to lead to a theory of οὐσία, which is also the theme of the kern of chapter five of the *Categories*, insofar as it provides the elements for the understanding of the distinction of first and second substances, and posits all the necessary theses for the construction of a theory of predicables.⁵⁶⁸ The terminology is confusing and often the *Isagoge* is rather associated with the *Topics*, because of the fact that it takes some to its definitions from this other Aristotelian work.⁵⁶⁹

At *Categories* 1^b10-12 (first substances, second substances, universal accidents, particular accidents) Aristotle formulates the general thesis that “because something is predicated of something else as of a subject, everything that is said of the predicable will equally be said of its subject.” which is not the same as to say that something is attributed to the subject. Aristotle uses the example of ‘man’ and ‘animal’ which are both predicated of ‘this man.’⁵⁷⁰ In order to specify this rule, Aristotle does not use the terms ‘genus’ and ‘species’, but it could obviously be expanded in this direction and affirmed that ‘genus is predicated of the species and of all the items of which the species is predicated. The principle can thus be formulated as ‘to be predicated of x as of a subject.’⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., pp xiii-xiv.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., p xiv.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., p xv.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., p xvi.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., p xvii.

De Libera asserts that the fact that Porphyry had to write a long commentary on the *Categories*, which was lost, is proof of its complexity, and the *Isagoge* was his attempt to provide an easy and systematic introduction, with the basic notions and distinctions which are found in the *Categories*.⁵⁷² In order to support this claim, De Libera gives the example of passage 2^b29-31, in which the same vocabulary of the *Isagoge* can be identified. If the French translations are often misleading, Boethius's translation is clear enough, as he says "quae praedicantur..."⁵⁷³

Furthermore, De Libera cites *Categories* chapter V, where the central theses concerning οὐσία are found. After presenting each of those theses, De Libera concludes that same themes, the same vocabulary, and the same epistemological setting is found in the *Isagoge*. Hence, the true continuity between the two works is evident.⁵⁷⁴ In addition, as a supporting argument for his other opinion concerning the other sources of the *Isagoge*, De Libera quotes P. Hadot who says that the *Isagoge* is "un extraordinaire mélange de notions platoniciennes, aristotéliennes et stoïciennes."⁵⁷⁵

De Libera exemplifies with the two elements of stoicism pointed by P. Hadot:

In the definition of accident, where Porphyry implicitly used the Stoic distinction between "fusion" and "juxtaposition" (the accident may be absent without the destruction of its subject because it is not part of the essence).

In the Stoic notion of individual as a "mélange total," that is, the result of an assemblage of several properties and common qualities.

Citing Diogenes Laertius' exposition of Stoic logic, De Libera thinks that he can identify some other elements:

The definition of the most special species as what is "under a genus," since this notion of "being under" (περιέχειν) something.

⁵⁷² Ibid., p xix.

⁵⁷³ Ibid., p xx.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., pp xxii-xxvii.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., p xxvii.

The notion of the most general genus, because it presupposes the Stoic definition of *γενικώτατον*, which according to D. Laertius, is “the supreme genus is that which being a genus is not itself under a genus, for instance, *being*.”

The notion of the most special species itself, which according to D. Laertius is “the last species is that which is a species, but does not have other species, for instance, Socrates.”

The threefold distinction of predication, namely, ‘what is it?’, ‘what sort of thing is it?’ and ‘how is it disposed?’⁵⁷⁶

In relation to the Plotinian influence, De Libera points to the fact that there is a possibility that it was via Plotinus that Porphyry came in contact with the fourfold distinction of genus.⁵⁷⁷

Furthermore, there are also some paradoxes concerning the *Isagoge*. And the first would be the fact that it was most influential due to the questions raised but not answered by Porphyry, which were responsible for opening the theoretical horizon of the “Problem of Universals.”⁵⁷⁸ De Libera’s formulation of those three questions goes as follows: concerning genus and species, the question to know is (1) whether they exist or if they are only pure concepts, (2) if they exist, if they are corporeal or incorporeal, and (3) if the latter, whether they are separate from or only exist in sensible items.⁵⁷⁹ Genus and species, second essences/second substances (Boethius), Platonism vs. Aristotelianism (*De anima*) the universal as a concept “posterior to things in the order of being.”⁵⁸⁰

The ambiguity of the scope of the *Isagoge* is the same as that of the *Categories*.⁵⁸¹ Stoic aspects of the first question would be evident by the fact that stoic ontology makes the *quid* a supreme genus which encompasses the incorporeals, the corporeal and the fictitious.⁵⁸² Although there is room for the hypothesis, there is no real evidence that Porphyry actually mixed Stoicism

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., pp xxviii-xxix.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., p xxx.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., p xxxvi.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., p xxxvii.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., p xliii.

⁵⁸² Ibid., p xlvi.

and Aristotelianism in the *Isagoge*.⁵⁸³ And Boethius in his first commentary on the *Isagoge* seems to have a clear opinion about the issue when he writes that Porphyry did not follow the stoics at all:

*SUNT ENIM ILLA, ut ipse ait, GRAVIORIS TRACTATUS; QUAM DOCTRINAM A PERIPATETICIS ACCEPTAM, id est ab Aristotelicis, SE SEQUI confessus est. Nam Stoici, qui de his quoque rebus tractare voluerunt, non omnino a Porphyrio suscipiuntur, atque ideo ait se a Peripateticis rationem disputationis accipere.*⁵⁸⁴

De Libera also sees room for ascribing a certain conceptualism (nominalism) to Porphyry, based on the fact that his thesis concerning the *Categories*, and by extension concerning the *Isagoge*, with respect to the predicables or universals is not realist, since for him, as for Simplicius, the *Categories* do not talk about things, but about “terms predicated.”⁵⁸⁵ On the other hand, Porphyry’s nominalism is in no way that of Ockham.⁵⁸⁶ In order to clarify his approach, De Libera discusses the term ἐπίνοια, which corresponds to the Latin *intellectus*.⁵⁸⁷ And because the medieval authors interpreted Porphyry’s question in a particular way, they affirmed that genus and species, insofar as they are essences abstracted from material things, are not *ficta*, that is, they are not empty concepts (like the Stoic universal) but true entities fully present in each thing determined by them, and reached the status of universal in thought as a product of abstraction.⁵⁸⁸ De Libera proposes his account of the history of the term *intellectibus* (concept vs. intellect), from Boethius onwards until Albert the Great. Instead of a chronological account, he uses three distinct models, namely, conceptualist, emanatist, and intellectualist.

The conceptualist model, in De Libera’s view, would still be present in Boethius, since for him, “*intellectus* still has a sense of concept, of thought.”⁵⁸⁹ The emanatist (Plotinus and the Neoplatonist tradition) model is present in Albert, for instance, in the passage in question one finds “pure and bare intellect.”⁵⁹⁰ The intellectualist model is found in Avicenna/Averroes *De*

⁵⁸³ Ibid., p lii.

⁵⁸⁴ *IIP*, p 31.

⁵⁸⁵ Alain De Libera (trans.), *Isagoge*, p liii.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., p liv.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., p lv.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid., p lxii.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., p lxiii.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., p lxviii.

anima, and it culminates in the idea of only one intellect.⁵⁹¹ The Neoplatonic solution (Ammonius among others) makes use of the theological Platonic transcendental form, the physical immanent form, and the logical abstracted concept. And this corresponds to the scheme also found in Albert, i.e., universals *ante rem, in re, post rem*.⁵⁹²

Next, De Libera addresses the Aristotelian sources of Porphyry's theory of predicables.⁵⁹³ And these are partly to be found in the *Topics*, where Aristotle lists four predicables, namely, definition, property, genus, and accident. This is different from the five predicables that Porphyry lists, that is, genus, species, differentia, property, and accident. And in order to account for these discrepancies, one possible solution is to say that Aristotle let differentia implicit (101^b18-19) in genus, and that definition was in fact a subdivision of property (the essential of the essence). However the introduction of species shows a complete change in relation to the *Topics*.⁵⁹⁴ This move shows Porphyry's choice for the *Categories* to perform the synthesis between Platonism and Aristotelianism.⁵⁹⁵ De Libera's conclusion is that the system provided by Porphyry is not derived from the *Topics* after all, but from the *Categories*, which does not contain a definition nor a division of the predicables.⁵⁹⁶

Despite what has just been said, De Libera still thinks that the discrepancies between the accounts of genus, property, and accident, in the *Topics* and in the *Isagoge* are minimal. The most important of them is the addition of "but which is always present in the subject" to the definition of accident. This fact was always intriguing to medieval authors.⁵⁹⁷ In De Libera's view, Ockham (p 99, 18-34, especially 30-34), because of his nominalism, reads the *Isagoge* in exactly the opposite way of Porphyry's intention (ontological operation of surpassing the

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., p lxxiii.

⁵⁹² Ibid., p lxxv.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., p xcii.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., p xciii.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid., p xciv.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., p xcvi.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., p ci.

distinction of substance and accident by adding the distinction of universal and particular).⁵⁹⁸

Hence, despite Porphyry's conceptualism ('nominalism') he is certainly not 'ockhamist.'

Turning to the justification of the division of the predicables, De Libera presents the case of the *Topics*, and this would be: if it is coextensive and essential it is a definition; if it is coextensive but non-essential it is property; if it is non-coextensive and essential it is genus; and if it is non-coextensive and non-essential it is accident. De Libera turns once more to the vocabulary of predication used by Porphyry as a support for these theses. And this conclusion is that the first source of Porphyry is Aristotle, the second (probable) is stoicism, and the third (possible) is the mediation of Plotinus. And an example would be $\tau\iota' \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$ (*quid*).⁵⁹⁹

His next step is to analyse the similarity in terminology with the *Sophistical Refutations*.⁶⁰⁰ And in this context he refers to *hoc aliquid, quale, and ad aliquid aliquo modo*. Next, De Libera addresses the issue of the *sufficiencia* of the predicables. The medieval deduction of the system of predicables is not suitable to the crossed dichotomy (presented above) of Aristotle, because it has five instead of four predicables. However, many authors have gone into pains to demonstrate that it is in fact suitable, even if the number five is maintained. For this purpose they make use of the typical distinction of predication *in quid* and *in quale*.⁶⁰¹

In late antiquity, the *Isagoge*, while it was considered as an introduction to the *Categories*, it was also regarded as an introduction to the whole logic. As far as the structure of the commentary is concerned, all Greek and Latin commentators, follow the scheme of a) scope of the text; b) usefulness; c) authenticity; d) place in the order of reading; e) reason for the title; f) part of philosophy to which it belongs; g) division of the chapters (absent in Boethius's original text); h) form of teaching (Elias and David). This structure changes during the middle ages, as the study of Aristotelianism does not pass by the study of Platonism (in fact they introduce logic in general without a study of Porphyry Ancient commentators).⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., p cii.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., p cvii.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., p cxiii.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., p cxxiii.

⁶⁰² Ibid., pp cxxvii-cxxix.

We may infer from this last point that De Libera thinks that from Boethius onwards the study of the *Isagoge* is restricted to the logical realm, because the Metaphysical preoccupations (Platonism or Neoplatonism) brought in by the Ancient commentators had ceased to be a major force behind the commentaries. Should this be the case (De Libera never explicitly affirms anything like that in his text), then he would be at odds with Fonseca's understanding.

De Libera's interpretation is not upheld by J. Barnes, who is the author of the fourth text on the *Isagoge* to deserve attention here. In his *Introduction* (an English translation of the *Isagoge* with a preface, notes, and extensive commentaries on every word of Porphyry's text), which was published in 2003, Barnes denies that the traditional view that the *Isagoge* is an introduction to the *Categories* of Aristotle is correct. He derives this conclusion from a passage in Simplicius where it is said that because logic is the starting-point of philosophy, the *Isagoge* is in fact introducing the whole philosophy. His own words are very clear:

The traditional interpretation is wrong. The *Introduction* is not in the least like the several ancient texts which are genuinely introductions to this or that work. In any case, Porphyry himself indicates for what study the *Introduction* provides preparatory material: not for a study of the *Categories*, but for a study of the theory of predication, and the construction of definitions, and, in general, matters connected with division and with proof (1.3-6). That is to say, Porphyry presents his essay as a preparation for the study of logic. Students of philosophy in late antiquity generally started with logic; and students of platonic philosophy started with Aristotelian logic – and so with Aristotle's *Organon*. The *Categories* was established as the first book of the *Organon*; so that "it is a preface to the whole of philosophy – since it is the starting-point of logic and logic is rightly taken before the whole of philosophy. (Simplicius, *In Cat.* 1.4-6)."⁶⁰³

In another passage, however, Barnes suggests a different line as he says that not only is the text of the *Isagoge* rarely troubled by deep issues⁶⁰⁴ but in fact, it is chiefly concerned with logical matters and therefore "it is an error to hunt for hidden metaphysics beneath every line of the text, but there are [only] one or two passages which appear to tread water too deep for Lady Logic."⁶⁰⁵ As will become clear with the strategy of Ockham in his commentary on the *Isagoge*, this logical approach, based on a peculiar reading of Porphyry's text, characterised the view that the whole problem of universals can be solved through a simplified ontology, even though such

⁶⁰³ J. Barnes, *Introduction*, p. XV

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xii.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37

an ontology may in turn require a much more sophisticated theory of cognition than that provided by the defenders of a more elaborated ontology which is necessary to account for the way the world can be cognised.

This suggestion, namely, that the “pressure-points” of the problem of universals are its ontological and epistemological implications, can be found, among other texts, in Paul V. Spade’s *Five Texts on the Mediaeval Problem of Universals* (1994).⁶⁰⁶ The point here is not whether Barnes thinks that Porphyry took the nominalist position by writing an eminently logical book with a simplified ontology, but it is perhaps the fact that although all the authors (From Boethius onwards) that are studied in this chapter seem to have been aware of these implications. However, it will become clear that none of them, except for Fonseca, gave a full account of both aspects, that is, of the ontological and epistemological requirements for a satisfactory answer to the Problem in their commentaries. In any case, Barnes and Fonseca seem to be on opposite sides when the former affirms that the *Isagoge* is not plagued by difficult questions, while the latter thinks that to resolve the difficulties the first two steps were to deal with the metaphysical status of universals and to give a full, consistent, and complete account of how and by which means the universals can be cognised, as we have presented in the second and the third chapters, respectively. The question then will be how much “pressure” can the *Isagoge* safely contain? If too much hot liquid is put in a small flask the result can be disastrous.

The second concern for Barnes is whether the *Isagoge* is a mere compilation or paraphrase of what other authors had written or said before Porphyry. And his opinion is that this small book came from Porphyry’s own head. His conclusion is that although Porphyry was very learned and sometimes quotes or paraphrases a sentence or two from Aristotle without acknowledging it, and makes tacit allusions to Platonic texts, this was only a sign that he was soaked in Plato and soaked in Aristotle; and the ‘alludes’ to their ideas as an educated Englishman ‘alludes’ to Shakespeare and the Authorised Version.⁶⁰⁷ For sure, the *Isagoge* comes

⁶⁰⁶ P. V. Spade, *Five Texts on the Mediaeval Problem of Universals*, p vi.

⁶⁰⁷ Barnes, *Introduction*, p. XIX.

from the Peripatetic school and its ideas have a Peripatetic origin, and a claim (made by some authors) about a possible “strong” Stoic influence, according to Barnes, is invalid.⁶⁰⁸

As for the reasons to write a commentary on the *Isagoge*, Barnes reminds his readers that the usual reason to write an introduction on a text is the obscurity of the text itself,⁶⁰⁹ but perhaps more importantly, that because the *Isagoge* became a schoolbook the lectures on it usually developed into commentaries,⁶¹⁰ which were later published. Although he does not explicitly say so, one may wonder if Barnes is then suggesting that one should not look for some line of continuity in all those commentaries, since these two reasons, that is, the inherent lack of clarity of the *Isagoge* and principally its status as an ubiquitous schoolbook would be enough to explain why so many commentaries on it have been written and published. Had Barnes been acquainted with Fonseca’s works, he would have to defend his claims against a serious opponent.

However, there would be much more to be said about the commentaries that Barnes produces about the *Isagoge*, since he analyses each passage of Porphyry’s text in great detail, relying principally on the Ancient commentators, namely, Ammonius, Elias, David, and Boethius (in both commentaries). Despite choosing a restricted logical approach to the *Isagoge*, Barnes shows an outstanding scholarship and rigour as far as his knowledge of the Ancient commentators on the *Isagoge* is concerned.

This short survey of the recent literature on the *Isagoge* shows that this small book remains an interesting object of philosophical research and still challenges its readers with many “profound” questions, prompting conflicting or complementary answers.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.: “In any event, the stuff of the *Introduction* comes from the Peripatetic school and the ideas which it contains have a Peripatetic origin (...) Here and there scholars have detected, say, a Stoic term and inferred a Stoic influence. The inference is always invalid, and the detective work usually amateur: some of the words which Porphyry uses had perhaps been introduced into the philosophical domain by Stoic thinkers for Stoic ends; but by Porphyry’s day such immigrants had been thoroughly integrated, their remote origins forgotten.”

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., p. XXIII: “The standard reason, ancient as well as modern, for writing commentaries is that the text is obscure.”

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., p. XXIV: “The *Introduction* became a school-book. That is to say, a master read it with his students, his lectures embroidering the written page.”

4.0.2. Commentary tradition

Now it is time to turn to some of the main authors who commented on Porphyry's book, from the sixth to the sixteenth century, in order to identify the sort of answers they were able to find to the questions they thought that were raised by the *Isagoge*. In his first commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Boethius (475?-524) already shows his proficiency as a philosopher and commentator. In that commentary Boethius explains how philosophy progresses towards the knowledge of God (*sapientia*) through *scientia*, that is, the knowledge of the various *artes*. And it is from God that the human souls receive illumination and the desire to seek wisdom, which can be described as the process by which the mind withdraws again into itself and is guided back to its own purity. This process makes it possible for the mind to discern the truth beyond the bounds of sense perception and to act in purity.⁶¹¹

These evident traces of Neoplatonism may have been the reason why, in the second commentary on Porphyry, Boethius introduces his ideas concerning the soul's powers, which not only give life to the body's animal existence or empower humans with the capacity for feeling, but also set aside the senses in order to reach abstract concepts. The process of abstraction may leave the mind confused by visual images, in the upward ascent the known to the unknown. Nevertheless the reasoning mind has not lost its power to know things as they really are, provide that in the active life there is a moral seriousness as a prerequisite. The mind has the capacity to put together things disjoined and to analyse things composite. By its *speculatio* (which Boethius establishes as the standard translation for the Greek *theoria*) incorporeal nature can be distinguished from bodies in which it exists in the concrete. By abstraction of physical matter we can reach the concept of pure form.⁶¹²

Boethius's first commentary on Porphyry shows no sign of having been written with the intention already in view that one day it would be supplemented by a second text on the same subject. However, the fact is that when writing the second commentary, evidently a few, perhaps

⁶¹¹ E. Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy*, Oxford, 1981, p 131.

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, pp 131-132

five, years later than the first, Boethius conveys the impression that he had meant the first commentary to be only an elementary introduction for beginners, while the second is now intended for more advanced students, and adds verisimilitude to the claim by giving a backward reference, ‘as was said in the first *editio*’, when in fact nothing of the kind is to be found there.⁶¹³ The second commentary does not in actuality make more serious demands on the reader than the earlier effort.⁶¹⁴

Although much of the logic of Porphyry’s *Isagoge* and of Boethius’s commentaries seems to be essentially Peripatetic, whenever metaphysical questions are touched upon then language is used that would be at home within the Platonic tradition. And even the dialectical method present in the reasoning: substance may be either corporeal or incorporeal, body animate or inanimate; animal may be rational or irrational; the rational animal (i.e. being endowed with soul and reason) may be mortal or immortal. Furthermore, the disjunction of mind and matter is important in Boethius’s discussion. He insists with all possible emphasis in the first commentary on Porphyry that nothing corporeal in genus can be placed under an incorporeal species. The discussion of universals in the second commentary turns out to be, surprisingly, more Peripatetic than that in the first, conveying almost an impression of indecisiveness and incoherence. He states Alexander of Aphrodisias’s opinion⁶¹⁵ that universals such as genera and species exist as mental constructs but only in so far as there are concrete particulars independent of our minds, which these universal terms serve to classify and hold together in a unity. But then follows a more Platonic statement that forming universals in the mind by putting things together (*per*

⁶¹³ *IIP*, p 154: “Sed si cui haec pressiora quam expositionis modus postulat videbuntur, eum hoc scire convenit, nos, ut in prima editione dictum est, hanc expositionem nostro reservasse iudicio ut ad intelligentiam simplicem huius libri editio prima sufficiat, ad interiorem vero speculationem confirmatis paene iam scientia nec in singulis vocabulis rerum haerentibus haec posterior colloquatur.”

⁶¹⁴ Chadwick, *ibid.*, p 132.

⁶¹⁵ In the second commentary on the *Isagoge* Boethius explains that he is following Alexander’s opinion and not presenting his own account of the problem, but there seems to be indications that Boethius’s own opinion was not that far from Alexander’s. See Sorabji, *The Philosophy of the Commentators 200-600 AD*. V. 3, pp 159-160.

compositionem) leads to error. The mind needs to proceed by the negative way, by abstraction, thinking away all corporeal nature until it reaches pure form alone.⁶¹⁶

Although both commentaries on the *Isagoge* written by Boethius were popular, and to a certain extent, they complement one another, the choice here is to follow the content of the second commentary in detail, since not only Boethius had in front of him the same Greek original of the *Isagoge* but he also had the same Greek commentary (in fact the same that Ammonius used to compose his own commentary).⁶¹⁷ Moreover, the style and content of the second commentary appear to have influenced the authors being studied in the first section of this chapter directly and this commentary seems to have a more clear connection to Boethius's translation of the *Isagoge* which was the text of the *Isagoge* with which all the authors in this chapter were familiar. Finally, it was the passage of the second commentary where Boethius proposes his solution to the three unanswered questions of Porphyry that started the debate on the problem of universals.

In the third chapter, Boethius's account of abstraction was presented as being twofold. First, there is the abstraction taking place at the level of the substantial likenesses⁶¹⁸ of many individuals that lead to the formation of a thought corresponding to them (species) which in turn also show likenesses that lead to the formation of another concept (genus). Second, there is an abstraction at the level of the singulars, corresponding to a sensible likeness (sensible species) and at the level of the universals, corresponding to an intelligible likeness (intelligible species), which means that at the level of the individuals it remains sensible, but when it is grasped by the intellect it becomes universal. Boethius explains this point by a comparison with a line that is both concave and convex and found in one and the same object. The same happens to genera and

⁶¹⁶ Chadwick, *ibid.*, p 133 (he cites: *IIP*, p 164: "Haec quidem est ad praesens de propositis quaestio, quam nos Alexandro consentientes hac ratiocinatione solvemus. Non enim necesse esse dicimus omnem intellectum qui ex subiecto quidem fit, non tamen ut sese ipsum subiectum habet, falsum et vacuum videri. In his enim solis falsa opinio ac non potius intelligentia est quae per compositionem fiunt. Si enim quis componat atque coniungat intellectu id quod natura iungi non patitur, illud falsum esse nullus ignorat – ut si quis equum atque hominem iungat imaginatione atque effigiet centaurum.").

⁶¹⁷ James Shiel, "Boethius' Commentaries on Aristotle," in R. Sorabji (ed.), *Aristotle Transformed: The Ancient Commentators and Their Influence*, London, 1990, p 362.

⁶¹⁸ What Boethius calls likenesses may also be called natures and in fact second intentions capture the natures of things, and in this sense it can be said that Boethius approach shows a kind of a realist metaphysics. Cf. J. Marenbon, *Boethius*, New York, 2003, p 30.

species as they exist in individuals, but they are thought of as universals, and so they are both singular and universal at the same time, since perceive sensibly in things makes them singular, but when considered in thought they are universal.⁶¹⁹ In this sense, genera and species may be thought of in terms of modes of cognition since they are constructs, but not simply a convenient mental tool, because by constructing them, it is possible to understand reality more fully than when limited to the particulars cognised by the senses.⁶²⁰

Boethius's (second) commentary set the tone for most if not all the subsequent discussions of the problems and difficulties around the *Isagoge* during the middle ages. His understanding that Porphyry's text is an introduction to the *Categories* and to all that it is involved there is clear but also allows for further inquires (after all many authors think that the first book of the *Organon* does not deal exclusively or mainly with logical matters). Boethius also represents an approach that would be followed by almost all the scholastic authors, insofar as he tackles the difficult parts of the text not as fundamental flaws but as points in need of further clarifications, and only rarely says that the *Isagoge* is unnecessarily redundant or vague and incomplete (interestingly Boethius does not explicitly charged Porphyry for these limitations).

There are few bibliographical references⁶²¹ to the commentary on the *Isagoge* by Averroes (1126-1298). The information presented in these few introductory remarks comes from the text itself, but principally from the introduction written by the author of the English translation. In those few lines, it is said that with respect to the method, Averroes' middle commentary on the *Isagoge* is very different from his own epitome on the same book and from the commentaries of Alfarabi and Avicenna, since these last two commentaries differ from one another in various respects, but the one thing that they have in common is that they are not, strictly speaking, commentaries on Porphyry's text. On the other hand, Averroes follows the

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

⁶²⁰ Ibid. p 31.

⁶²¹ The only reference found so far is Christos Evangelou, "The Aristotelianism of Averroes and the Problem of Porphyry's *Isagoge*." *Philosophia* 15-16 (1985-86): 318-331. A text we have been unable to consult.

Isagoge with great care and, at the most, omits occasional lines where the author (Porphyry) had been repetitive, whose interpretation either is restricted to brief remarks that are added to the text, or else remains implicit.

However, Averroes does not hesitate to call attention to mistakes he believes Porphyry made. There are not many such passages, because Averroes considered the book too elementary to raise many serious questions, and in this sense one could say that Averroes considered Porphyry's text as neutral. Besides his critical comments, Averroes makes a number of brief remarks designed to render Porphyry's presentation more precise.

Each new section begins with the expression "he, i.e., Porphyry, said." And what follows is by no means a simple verbatim quotation, but paraphrases the text being cited and incorporates the language of the original in varying degrees. For instance, that passage where Porphyry presents a definition accident as follows: "It is also defined by the following definition: Accident is that which can both exist and not exist in the same thing, or that which is neither genus, *differentia*, species, nor property, and always exist in a subject,"⁶²² prompts Averroes to change Porphyry's wording slightly, with the sole significant omission of the misleading implication that only a single "definition" is being given. He writes:

Accident is *also (in super ipsum)* defined as that which can both exist and not exist in one and the same thing. Or that which is neither genus, nor *differentia*, nor species, nor property, and that is always present in a subject.⁶²³

The words of the translator provide a clear picture of the stance Averroes took with relation to Porphyry's text:

Averroes takes greater liberties with the language of the original and, in addition, weaves explanatory comments into his paraphrase. For example, Aristotle introduced his familiar list of the ten categories, writing: "Of things said without any combination, each signify either substance or quantity or qualification (...)"⁶²⁴ The sentence is reformulated by Averroes as follows: "Simple concepts which are designated by simple expressions necessarily designate one of the ten thing: substance, quantity, quality (...)"⁶²⁵

⁶²² Porphyry, *Isagoge* (?): "Definitur autem sic quoque: accidens est quod contingit eidem esse et non esse, vel quod neque genus neque differentia neque species neque proprium, semper autem est in subiecto subsistens."

⁶²³ Averroes, *PPI*, p. 13^b: "Definiunt in super ipsum accident sic, accidens est quod potuit inesse uni et eidem rei, et non inesse. Vel quod non est genus, nec differentia, neque species, neque proprium: et quod semper sit in subiecto."

⁶²⁴ Aristotle, *Categories* 4, 01^b25-26.

⁶²⁵ *PPI*, pp xvi-xvii.

Averroes begins his commentary on the *Isagoge* by explaining his reasons for writing the work, namely, it was customary to begin an exposition on logic with Porphyry's book.⁶²⁶ And from this remark another position of the Commentator is evident, namely, that the *Isagoge* is concerned with logical matters. His first remark explains that definitions, divisions, and demonstrations use the five predicables.⁶²⁷ However his second remark is already a criticism and correction of Porphyry's handling of the distinction between genus and species, he proposes that Alfarabi's definition of genus be used instead, i.e., "the more general of two general terms that can be given in reply to the question 'what is this thing,' or a definition given by Porphyry himself before, i.e., "that beneath which species is ranked."⁶²⁸ And after some few lines he insists that Porphyry's definition is wanting.⁶²⁹ And he does the same few lines later.⁶³⁰

Averroes adds that since genus and species refer to each other, and since each of the categories has many universals under it, it is clear that each category contains universals that are to be described as both genera and species, genera in relation to what is below them, and species in relation to what is above. They are the intermediary universals which stand between the first and the last universals that are to be found in any single category. The first is the most generic genus and the last the most specific species.⁶³¹ This point just clarifies the text of Porphyry, without adding anything new.

⁶²⁶ *PPI*, p 1^b: "Propositum hui tractatus est exponere ea, quae in introductorio ad scientiam logicam libri Porphyrii continent: propterea quae iam adolevit consuetudo, ut initium librorum logicalium ab ipso summat."

⁶²⁷ *PPI*, p 1^b: "Nulla tamen fiet a nobis consideratio de harum rerum quaesitis non logicalibus, ut est quaesitum illud, quod solet fieri de ipsis generibus et speciebus, utrum scilicet reperiuntur extra intellectum, quemadmodum reperiunt in intellectu, vel tamen in intellectu reperiunt. Et si extra intellectum reperiuntur, quemadmodum reperiuntur in intellectu, quo nam pacto reperiuntur: videlicet utrum sint corporea, vel incorporea Et si incorporea, utrum sint abstracta vel non abstracta. Verum tractabimus de his rebus, quatenus sunt logicae tantum, et faciemus mentionem solum de his, quae a Peripateticis tradita sunt."

⁶²⁸ *PPI*, p 3^b: "Per hoc autem quod dixit, (scilicet Porphyrius) videtur quidem differre genus ab ultima specie, et ideo vera definitio ipsius generis est, quod ex duobus universalibus ipsum sit illud quod universalior est, per quod debet fieri responsio ad interrogationem factam de aliqua re quid sit: ut definivit ipsum Alfarabi, vel quod sit id, sub quo ordinata est species: ut definivit ipsemet paulo ante."

⁶²⁹ *PPI*, p 4^a: "Nos tamen iam diximus, quid diminutionis in hac reperiatur descriptione."

⁶³⁰ *PPI*, p. 6^b: "Ex his ergo, quae dixit Porphyrius, poterit quis intelligere, quae vera definitio ipsius generis, in qua non communicat species media, est secundum quod genus sit illud universale, quod speciem amplectitur, super ipsamque locatum est in eo quod quid est: et non illa, qua descripsit ipsum antea: quam in hoc communicant cum eo species mediae."

⁶³¹ *PPI*, p 6^b: "Cum autem tam genus quam species, unumquodque eorum dicatur in relatione ad alterum ipsorum: et in quodlibet decem praedicamentorum reperiuntur multa universalialia, quorum alterum sub altero locatur: sequitur ergo quod in quolibet eorum reperiuntur universalialia, quae dicuntur genera, et species, genera quidem in relatione ad

Moreover, Averroes posits that, by his examples, Porphyry is talking about substance as a genus of body only according to the view that matter, form, and the separate substances are subsumed under the category of substance. Similarly, he took 'rational' as genus of man according to the view of those who believe that rational is a genus of both man and angel. However, anyone who maintains that their rationality (of men and of angels) is equivocal does not consider it to be a genus. And similarly, for anyone who maintains that the categories are intended only to enumerate the universals of sensible things, the highest genus of the category of substance will be 'body.'⁶³² This is the same strategy used by Ockham, among others, that is, these positions are considered as mere examples, which reflect the opinions of some but which do not necessarily imply an acceptance of them on the part of Phoenician philosopher.

Some lines further, on another remark about a limit of Porphyry's text in the context of the predication of an individual of a single individual, Averroes observes that it is true only of individual accidents, since individual substances are not predicated of anything in a natural way. Consequently the correct description of individual is not "that which is predicable of a single thing," as Porphyry states, but rather "that which is not predicable of several things."⁶³³ Furthermore, Porphyry's definition of species is also flawed as it is necessary for one part but impossible for another part of the species,⁶³⁴ and Averroes goes as far as to change the order of a passage in Porphyry, that on the comparison of genera and existing species⁶³⁵ to reach the conclusion that Porphyry in fact asserted the existence of genera and species outside the mind

ea, quae sunt sub illis species vero in relatione ad ea, quae sunt super illis. Et haec sunt ipsa universalia media, quae inter primum universale existunt in eodem praedicamento."

⁶³² *PPI*, p 7^a: "Scias praeterea quod in hoc exemplo Porphyrius posuit substantiam esse genus ad corpus, iuxta sententiam illorum, qui putant materiam et formam existere in praedicamento substantiae, hoc est substantiarum abstractarum. Identidem posuit rationale ut genus ad hominem, iuxta sententiam illorum, qui opinantur ratiocinium esse genus ad hominem, et ad angelorum. sed apud eos, qui putant quod ratiocinium dicitur aequivoce de ipsis, non est genus. Ita quoque iuxta sententiam ponentium libri praedicamentorum propositum esse narrare universalia rerum sensibilium, genus supremum in praedicamento substantiae erit utique corpus."

⁶³³ *PPI*, p 7^b: "Hoc autem, quod Porphyrius dicit, est verum de individuis accidentium nam individua substantiae de nulla praedicantur rerum usum naturae. Et ideo vera descriptio individuorum est, quod individuum est id, quod non praedicat de pluribus: non id, quod praedicatur de uno, ut ipse descripsit."

⁶³⁴ *PPI*, p 11^a: "In hoc tamen sermone, scilicet Porphyrii, extat aliqua infirmitas."

⁶³⁵ *PPI*, p 18^a: "Debes autem intelligere huiusmodi comparationem, inter genera et species existentem, ea ratione, qua species sunt species, ac genera genera, non ea ratione, qua contingit species fieri genera, et genera species."

because his previous position (genera and species are prior to their individuals) is only true if there are genera and species outside the soul.⁶³⁶

The Commentator makes some concluding remarks as a way of final assessment of the text he had just commented upon. He only undertook this project because of a request from friends who were “keen and eager for theoretical knowledge.” Otherwise he did not think it to be worthwhile. The first reason is that in his eyes the study of the *Isagoge* was not a necessary beginning for the art of logic, belonging either to the *Posterior Analytics*, which deals with demonstrations, or to the *Topics*, which deals with what is generally accepted.⁶³⁷ The second reason is that because what is said in the *Isagoge* is self-explanatory.

Averroes adds that his few comments cover all the necessary points, although he acknowledges that some points invite further reflection but he thought it inadequate to expand on them at that point.⁶³⁸ And this reflects his main position that the issues raised by the *Isagoge* find another (better) exposition somewhere else, that is, in other passages of Aristotle’s logical works. On the whole, the Commentator thought that Porphyry’s text was an incomplete, incorrect, and insufficient introduction to logic.

Fonseca is neither a nominalist nor an ‘Ockhamist.’ This is one of the conclusions of the previous chapters. Ockham produced his *Commentary on Porphyry* but this text is not quoted or even cited by Fonseca. In fact, for all that is currently known, Fonseca might not have been acquainted with this text at all. Why then this section is included in our fourth chapter? The

⁶³⁶ *PPI*, p 18^a: “Sed genus et species sunt priora natura ipsis individuis, neque existunt in individuis. Et hoc, quod dicit Porphyrius est verum, iuxta sententiam ponentium ideas: hoc est, si dantur genera et species extra intellectum.”

⁶³⁷ *PPI*, p 20^a: “Instigatus autem a quibusdam sociis nostris eruditibus, ac de hoc negocio diligentibus, de secta Murgitana, quorum Deus misereatur, ut ea exponerem, ea exposui. Alias enim ego abstinuissem ab huiusmodi expositione, propter duo. Primum, quam non video hoc introductorium esse necessarium pro initio sumendo in hac arte, nam id, quod in eo dicitur de definitionibus harum rerum, si esset demonstrativi generis, tunc esset pars libri demonstrationis. Et si esset generis probabilis, tunc esset pars libri Topicorum. Sed Porphyrius fecit mentionem de his rebus, prout sunt expositiones eorum, quae significant illa notitia: ut fecit et Aristoteles in libro suo: non quod sint eorum definitiones. Et hac ratione non est pars huius artis. Abumazar vero videtur velle quod fit pars eius. Haec itaque est una causa, ob quam recusabam exponere ipsum cum expositione librorum Aristotelis.”

⁶³⁸ *PPI*, p 20^a: “Secunda vero causa erat, qua verba huius viri sunt per se manifesta in hoc introductorio. At, cum desyderarem satisfacere illis quaerentibus antedictis, et afferre eis felicitatis, ut apparet ex eorum maximo desyderio ad ipsas scientias, ideo inductus sum, ut ipsum exponere, et locupletiolem intelligentiam de eo traderem. In quibusdam autem eorum, quae narrantur in hoc tractatu, de his rebus iam fecimus legentes animadvertere in maiori parte eorum. Quaedam vero eorum indigent contemplatione, sed in hoc loco investigatio de his rebus non est nobis concessa.”

reasons are several. First, because it presents in a detailed way Ockham's response to the problem of universals in the context where it first surfaced, namely, in connection with a commentary on the *Isagoge*. Second, because it is a kind of reaction to previous commentaries and to answers produced by authors like Boethius, Abelard, Scotus. Third, because the basic tenets of a nominalist or terminist metaphysics are present but their formulation here seems to be less difficult than that of Ockham's later works.⁶³⁹

The solution to the problem of universals presented by Ockham stems from Abelard's logico-semantic approach⁶⁴⁰ and goes frontally against the solutions presented by Boethius and Scotus. Ockham also makes clear his willingness to subscribe to what he thinks is tradition of the metaphysics of Aristotle and Averroes and to what he judges to be the most reasonable answer to those questions raised by Porphyry.⁶⁴¹

Having a narrower conception of logic and doxasticity (that is, belief) that Aristotle's *Categories*, which is an eminently logical work, Ockham argues that the ten kinds of predication presented by Aristotle are merely logical types of predicates and that Porphyry's text can be expounded without any recourse to metaphysical explanations. As a result Ockham has to read expressions which suggest strong metaphysical content like 'to participate in' (*participare*), 'to be separable' (*sint separabiles*), 'to be augmented or diminished' (*intentionem enim et remissionem suscipit*), and 'to be in' (*inest*) as if they were purely logico-semantic expressions, hence always as 'terms' that can be predicated in one way or in another.⁶⁴²

Moreover, an analysis of one of Ockham's first works can reveal a clear idea of how his philosophical positions developed and especially of how the logical analysis of cognitive language can work as a foundation for metaphysics and theory of knowledge within a nominalist framework. The influence of the *logica moderna*, whose core was provided by the theory of the *suppositio terminorum*, in the development of Ockham's nominalist ontology and the

⁶³⁹ Eike-Henner W. Kluge, "Ockham's Commentary on Porphyry," *Franciscan Studies* 33, pp 171-172.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp 194-195.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p 195.

⁶⁴² *Ibid.*, p 201.

corresponding epistemological empiricism can also be noted.⁶⁴³

As was observed in chapter I, Ockham's rejection of the *universale in re*, firmly carried out in the first chapter of his exposition of Porphyry, is made possible and effective by means of an analysis of general statements, and of their truth conditions, provided by the theory of *suppositio personalis* or of the logic of quantification. The central strategy employed by Ockham is to distinguish between terms used in *suppositio personalis*, as opposed to when they are used in *suppositio materialis* or *simplex* as signs which refer to words or concepts rather than to the things they signify. This enabled Ockham to give a linguistic solution to innumerable problems which had caused great perplexity to scholastic authors, and made them believe that it was necessary to posit metaphysical entities and relations duplicating the logical structure of language. Hence, Ockham's chief concern is to eliminate the ambiguities between discourse about language expressions, and discourse about the things to which such expressions refer when they are used in a meaningful way. In a move that is usual among philosophers, in order to highlight his ideas, Ockham claims that the worst error is to confuse the properties of words with the properties of things, and treat terms of second intention as if they were terms of first intention, and that error is behind all inextricable difficulties and confusions in philosophy.⁶⁴⁴

There are conflicting opinions concerning what Ockham does achieve with his approach to the *Isagoge*. In this context it is perhaps better to quote Moody's own words:

Although Ockham gives very strong expression to his convictions concerning the ontological status of universals, in the first chapter of his commentary on Porphyry, the tone of this work is, in general, calm, deliberate, and free from polemical overtones. Only occasionally does he exhibit impatience with the ambiguity of Porphyry's use of such terms as 'genus', 'property', 'accident', or 'species', involving a systematic confusion between their use as logical terms and their use as designations of extra-linguistic realities; by patient, and sometimes tortuous exegesis of the text, Ockham distinguishes the multiple senses of Porphyry's statements, and manages to construe the treatise as a non-metaphysical analysis of the logical relations of predicate to subject in general propositions. In this early work Ockham apparently pursued his method of philosophical and logical analysis with confidence in its power to resolve the problems with which his contemporaries were concerned, and without the feeling of being misunderstood or

⁶⁴³ E. Moody (ed.), *Expositionis in Libros Artis Logicae Prooemium et Expositio in Librum Porphyrii de Praedicabilibus*. St. Bonaventure (N.Y.), 1965, p xviii. The same author also contributed the corresponding part to Guilelmus de Occam; Ernest Moody; Gedeon Gal; Angelus Gambatese; Stephanus Brown; & Philotheus Boehner, *Expositionis in libros artis logicae prooemium; Expositio in librum Porphyrii de Praedicabilibus; Expositio in librum Praedicamentorum Aristotelis; Expositio in librum Perihermenias Aristotelis*, St. Bonaventure (NY), 1978.

⁶⁴⁴ E. Moody (ed.), *ibid.*, p xviii.

persecuted by jealous rivals at Oxford, which becomes so apparent in his later writings.⁶⁴⁵

This assessment pictures Ockham's commentary as being entirely concerned with logical matters, in sharp contrast with the ambiguous, at times metaphysical Porphyrian text.

Another approach, however, sees many clearly identifiable metaphysical implications to be discovered in Ockham's commentary on the *Isagoge*. As Ockham focus on the individual and on what makes the individual determined and a unity (as opposed to a mere assemblage or collection of parts or properties/accidents), he is in fact ascribing a prominent role to the individual's essence.⁶⁴⁶ The essence of a substantial being (individual) is not subject to augmentation or diminution in any way, hence it characterises the individual in such a way that one may say that the individual, once "it exists, it is entirely determined by its essence."⁶⁴⁷

This absolute essence is the basis of the truth of Porphyry's tree, insofar as it guarantees the absolute and necessary link behind the genus, the species, the specific *differentia*, and the property. Therefore, it provides the *fundamentum in re*, that is, the essence or nature, for the whole Porphyrian theory of predicables.⁶⁴⁸ Consequently, this other approach sees a development from the nominalism of Ockham's outright rejection of the reality of universals, in the first part of his commentary, into a sort of 'Essentialist' realism with regard to the individual in the rest of the commentary, especially from the chapter 'on species' onwards, exposing the fundamental contradictions of Ockham's ontology.⁶⁴⁹

Furthermore, Ockham's prominent role of the individual is the basis for the charge that authors bring against "the Inceptor," namely, that he contributed to the decadence of scholasticism⁶⁵⁰ and provided the background for the development of a voluntaristic theology, which in turn, would condition a part of the theology of the Reformation.⁶⁵¹ Fonseca would reject Ockham's proposals on the grounds that nominalism, i.e., the complete rejection of the reality of

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., p xix.

⁶⁴⁶ Louis Valcke (introd.) in G. D'Occam *Commentaire sur le Livre des Prédicables de Porphyre* p 34.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., pp 35-36.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., p 37.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., pp 45-46.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid., p 07.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., pp 46-48.

universals, destroys the very possibility of theology as a *scientia* (Cf. the second chapter of the present thesis). Obviously, these profound questions concerning the logic, ontology, and theology of Ockham exceed the scope of the present section, whose aim is solely to use Ockham's commentary on the *Isagoge* as another element of the background against which Fonseca's handling of Porphyry's small book can be assessed. Hence it will suffice to see whether a purely logical approach to the text in question is possible, and whether Porphyry can be characterised as some sort of *ante littera* 'nominalist' without any further qualification.

As a conclusion to Ockham's commentary, one may say that he takes great pains to 'read' the *Isagoge* in accordance with his nominalist framework. Very often one finds in the text expressions like "it has to be noticed" (*est notandum*), "it has to be understood" (*intelligendum est*), and "Porphyry wants to say" (*intendit auctor dicere*) which all point to the fact that frequently Porphyry's text does not clearly 'say' what Ockham wants it to say. After all this effort, one may wonder whether the *Isagoge* may be considered nominalist (conceptualist) at all.

Despite the strong resemblance in terms of vocabulary between *De ente et essentia* and the *Isagoge*, Thomas de Vio or Cardinal Cajetan (1469-1534) still felt the necessity to comment on Porphyry's small book.⁶⁵² He observed that his motivation to do so was not because nobody had ever done it before his time but due to the fact that, to his knowledge, there were 'no Thomist work' of this kind.⁶⁵³ His intention was not to discuss or summarise all the previous commentaries by the most famous authors, nor to deal with the difficulties posed by metaphysics or physics. He adds that his plan was to follow the ancients but also to follow Aquinas.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵² So far we have been unable to find any secondary literature on Cajetan *Commentaria in Isagogen Porphyrii ad Praedicamenta Aristotelis*. All that we have is the preface of the 1934 edition written by the editor I. M. Marega, OP, with an account of the life and works of Cajetan.

⁶⁵³ *CE&E*, p 3: "Expeditis cum divino auxilio his, quae demonstrativae doctrinae necessaria visa sunt, antequam ad altiora coepta me transferam peragenda, rapere tantum temporis descevi, ut Porphyrii ac Aristotelis logicalia principia exponere possim. Non quin ab illustrioribus viris, longo ante tempore, gloriose exposita sint; sed quoniam Thomistarum, et praecipue nostre religionis fratrum, profectui, me totum dedi, nullamque unquam viderim aut audierim lecturam esse, quae communiter his grata videatur, fretus divi Thomae suffragiis, tanto ausus sum me discrimini credere."

⁶⁵⁴ *CE&E*, p 3: "Non ea autem mihi cupido inest, ut aliorum dicta, etiam mala, arguere aut illustrium expositorum dicta omnia compilare, vel necessaria respuere aut surripere arroganter velim; sed Antiquorum quondoque, divique Thomae indefesse vestigia sectaturus, eorum nominibus praepositis, ubi aliquid singulare occurrerit, praesens aggredior opus, secundum proprii facultatem ingenii, quae proficua incipientibus Peripateticis videbuntur, diligenter

Following Boethius, Cajetan believes that the *Isagoge* was not so much a part of logic, but a via to the *Categories*,⁶⁵⁵ and he corroborates this opinion with a reference to the information contained in the title.⁶⁵⁶ Moreover, Cajetan's commentary follows the text of the *Isagoge* very closely (from the modern edition of the commentary it is evident that he uses Boethius's translation very closely with just few passages differing from Busse's edition⁶⁵⁷). However, one cannot fail to notice the interesting fact that Cajetan does not write a single word about the second part, namely, the part in which Porphyry compares and contrasts each pair of predicables, a part of the *Isagoge* which as we saw above Fonseca said to be entirely superfluous.

Cajetan's first concern is with the intention, the reasons, and the way of proceeding of the text. The author's intention is twofold. He addresses what had been said by the Ancient authors about the five universals and he avoids to say anything about what belongs to more elevated questions.⁶⁵⁸ The reasons for this work are four. First, because it is necessary to know what genus, species in order to understand the teaching present in the *Categories*. Second, because it is necessary to know this in order to assign the definitions. Third, because it is necessary to the *ars divisiva*. Fourth, because it is necessary for the *ars demonstrativa*.⁶⁵⁹ Cajetan's assessments of

expressurus; unde et abstinendum ab omnibus quaestionibus censui, quibus, metaphysicales aut physicales difficultates cum sint, novitiorum intellectus succumberet."

⁶⁵⁵ *CE&E*, p 4: "[Q]uoniam liber iste non tam pars Logicae, quam via ad *Categories* Aristotelis est, ut eius titulus testatur."

⁶⁵⁶ And it seems that for Cajetan the title was: "*Isagoge* Porphyrii ad *Praedicamenta* Aristotelis." Cf. Cajetan, *CIPPA*, p 4.

⁶⁵⁷ *CE&E*, p viii: "Boëtianam translationem textus Porphyrii a Caietano adhibitam cum editione critica a Busse (*Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca voluminis IV pars I* [Berolini 1887] pp. 25-51) curata contulimus lectionesque variantes alicuius ponderis singulis locis adnotavimus."

⁶⁵⁸ *CE&E*, p 5: "Proponit ergo primo necessitatem dicendorum, inculcans simul intentionem operis et eius causas et modum procedendi. Intentionem quidem dupliciter: et primo quoad exequenda, dicens se aggressurum ea, quae ab Antiquis de genere, specie, differentia, proprio, accidente dicta sunt; secundo quoad repellenda, dicens abstinendum fore ab altioribus quaestionibus."

⁶⁵⁹ *CE&E*, p 5: "Causas autem suscepti laboris quattuor assignat, iuxta numerum eorum, ad quorum notitiam habendam, oportere praecognoscere supradicta dicit. Est ergo prima causa, eo quod necessarium est nosse quid sit genus, quid species etc., ad percipiendam doctrinam traditam in libro *Praedicamentorum* Aristotelis. Secunda autem, eo quod nosse ista est necessarium ad diffinitionum assignationem. Tertia, quia hoc est necessarium ad artem divisivam. Quarta, quia hoc est necessarium ad artem demonstrativam, etc. Necessaria siquidem est horum notitia ad praedicamenta, quoniam praedicamentum integratur ex genere, specie et differentia, tanquam partibus, et habet aliqua propria et aliqua accidentia communia, etc. Ad diffinitivam vero artem, quoniam diffinitio constat ex genere et differentia ut partibus. Species vero est, quae diffinitur. Propria autem magnam partem conferunt ad cognoscendas diffinitiones et saepe loco differentiarum ponuntur. Accidentia autem evitari debent. Incognita autem non nisi casu caventur. Ad divisivam autem artem, quoniam divisio est vel generis in species per differentias, vel subiecti in accidentia propria vel in accidentia communia; vel e contrario accidentis in subiecta, etc. Ad demonstrativam artem, quoniam demonstrationis medium est diffinitio, quae ex genere et differentia constat. Minor autem extremitas

the *Isagoge* is evident by his analysis that its way of proceeding is to treat by an exhaustive and introductory mode, by linking topics with the more simple questions, in order to avoid fastidiousness by its brevity and clarity, so as to illustrate the understanding of the more undeveloped points, and by the facility of the intermediary questions, so that they would slowly move forward to those more difficult and arduous to understand.⁶⁶⁰ Moreover, Cajetan observes that although Averroes thought that the *Isagoge* was neither necessary nor useful,⁶⁶¹ it is very easy to agree with Albert's opinion that its usefulness is due to the fact that Aristotle did not deal with *ars divisiva* nor *ars diffinitiva*, neither in the *Topics* nor elsewhere.⁶⁶²

Of Cajetan's approach to the *Isagoge* one may say that he thought that this text was a competent introduction to logic, and it was so for three main reasons. First, this would explain why he decided to comment on it in the first place (after having commented on *De ente et essentia* extensively) and even claimed that no other Thomist had ever produced such a commentary. Second, the fact that he did not attempt to answer Porphyry's unanswered questions is another evidence that he intended his commentary to concern only logical matters (leaving aside those deep ontological problems behind Porphyry's questions). Third, even his introduction of the *individuum vagum* would gain a new light, because his only concern was the fact that such 'individual' is predicated of several items, hence he was interested in the logical status of the *individuum vagum*, but he completely ignored the huge ontological distinctions between genus (animal), species (man), and the *individuum vagum* ('this man,' 'this animal,' 'this white thing approaching,') etc. Although Fonseca agrees with Cajetan's assessment of the importance of the predicables for scientific knowledge and that the second part of the *Isagoge* is superfluous, Fonseca disagrees with Cajetan in several points, as we will see in a moment.

species est; maior vero proprium, quod de specie concluditur. Accidens autem procul a demonstrationibus incipere oportet."

⁶⁶⁰ *CE&E*, p 6: "Modum vero procedendi aperit, cum se compendiose et introductorio modo tractaturum promittit, et simpliciores quaestiones mediocriter coniectaturum, etc., ut et brevitate incipientium fastidium depellat, et claritate eorum rudes intellectus illustret, et facilitate tum quaestionum tum mediorum, eorundem mentes promoveat paulatim ad difficilia et ardua capessenda."

⁶⁶¹ *CE&E*, p 7: "Averroes autem, in principio suae expositionis putat hunc librum non esse aliquo pacto necessarium, licet utilem (...)"

⁶⁶² *CE&E*, p 7: "Si quis autem Albertum sustinere vult, facile dicere potest, quod alia ratione traduntur illa hic, et alia in *Topics* et quod, sicut Aristoteles non tradidit artem divisivam nec diffinitivam, ita nec haec speciali tractatu dixit."

Although the *Questions on the Isagoge* of Scotus (1266-1308) was most likely produced by its author at an early age,⁶⁶³ it displays many of the central tenets of his philosophy (especially his account of universals, both in terms of their nature and their intelligibility). And there are indications that it was regarded as an important source of scotistic philosophy in the fifteenth century. The commentary on this work produced by John Foxal seems to have enjoyed great popularity and this fact attests to the continuity interest in Scotus's text on the *Isagoge* along the centuries.⁶⁶⁴ Foxal is associated with the defence of the scotistic position in the debate between H. Zomerén and Peter di Rivo concerning divine foreknowledge, contingency, and predestination.⁶⁶⁵ And Foxal's extensive quotations of the text and his occasional identification of Scotus's opponents are not only helpful for establishing the text's wording and sources, but provide witness to there being a continuous tradition of medieval scholarship on Scotus's *Questions on the Isagoge*.⁶⁶⁶

Scotus like all the other authors in this section used Boethius's translation and commentaries on the *Isagoge* as his primary source. Nevertheless, it is only because Scotus has a particular doctrine of how logic deals with predication that he can give an original solution to the difficulties involved in the debate on the predicables and on how the types of predication possess an analogical unity, that is, on how each of them is related somehow to Substance.⁶⁶⁷ His solution goes against many of his contemporaries who professed a strong belief in an univocal unity which encompasses all categories, as the sort of extreme realism that results from this approach causes more problems than provides solutions. Moreover, such a position seems to imply that whatever is 'sayable' constitutes in fact a predicate. However, Scotus could not ignore that being 'sayable' or even being ordered in a genus are not sufficient conditions to be an acceptable predicate, in the context of the Aristotelian theory of predication. Since fictitious entities and

⁶⁶³ Cf. Scotus, "introduction," *Opera Omnia* p xxix: "The vast majority of modern scholars place the logical writings of Scotus early in his life." (Perhaps around 1295).

⁶⁶⁴ Girard Etzkorn, "John Foxal, OFM His life and writings," pp 20-21.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp 19-20.

⁶⁶⁶ Cf. Scotus, *Opera Omnia*, p xxviii.

⁶⁶⁷ Giorgio Pini, *Categories and Logic in Duns Scotus: an Interpretation of Aristotle's Categories in the Late Thirteenth Century*, p. 157.

second intentions can be said and be ordered in genera without however belonging to a category. It is necessary to have an essence of a certain kind. And it is this kind of essence that bridges the gap between the predicables (the ways things can be predicated of other things) and the types of predication, even if these kinds of predication themselves are related to one another by real analogy.⁶⁶⁸

Fonseca's reliance on Scotus's ideas has already been demonstrated in the second chapter. Not only Fonseca goes into pains to expose Scotus's theory of Universals, as opposed to what defended by some of his contemporaries who were considered to be scotists, but Fonseca also cites Scotus among those authoritative opinions in support of his own ideas.

Now it is the moment to briefly study Scotus questions on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, since Fonseca mentions this work several times, namely, question 8 [*An Universale Sit Univocum Ad Quinque Praedicabilia*], question 12 [*Utrum Universalia Sint Tantum Quinque*], question 18 [*Utrum Unum Genus Requirit Multas Species*], question 27 [*An Haec Definitio Sit Conveniens "Differentia Praedicatur De Pluribus Differentibus Specie In Eo Quod Quale"*] (twice), and question 33 [*Utrum Haec Particula "Semper" Sit Necessario In Definitione Proprii*].

The most relevant aspects of these questions will be examined presently, however it is necessary to say a word about the structure and content of Scotus's 36 questions on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, especially with regard to those aspects that are more relevant.

Scotus uses the traditional medieval method of questions, which consisted, roughly speaking, of stating the doubt (*utrum...* or *quid...* or *an...*), presenting the arguments supporting a particular answer (usually introduced by *quod non videtur*, exceptions were questions 11, 18, 22, 29, and 36, where the first part is affirmative), then giving a position against it (in the present case, it was usually Porphyry's opinion, like in questions 6, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35) which in fact leads to the conclusion that he supported Porphyry's ideas almost entirely (exception is question 29), then providing a solution (questions 18 and 36 seem to offer two solutions; and question 27 is unclear, because he offers another

⁶⁶⁸ Pini, *ibid.*, p 161.

author's reply followed by a remark which seems to put forward his own opinion), and finally to each question there are remarks designed to discuss/refute those arguments given in the first part.

With respect to the content, Scotus begins his questions on Porphyry's small book with a discussion of the status of logic⁶⁶⁹ in the hierarchy of knowledge. Question 1 asks whether logic is a *scientia*. His conclusion is that logic is indeed a *scientia* because it derives its conclusions from demonstrations, seeing that it possesses all the conditions necessary to perform demonstrations, namely, a subject and a quality that can be demonstrated of that subject through a middle term, which is the definition.⁶⁷⁰ However, Scotus also acknowledges that there is more to logic than just demonstrations, so the other branch of logic, so to speak, which proceeds from common principles, as opposed to the necessary and proper principles used in demonstrations, is not a *scientia*.⁶⁷¹ The precise status of this second non-scientific branch of logic is not explained.

Moreover, logic is a common science (question 2),⁶⁷² because its subject, which is the syllogism (question 3),⁶⁷³ is at the disposal of the other sciences. This complementarity which points to a broader understanding of logic (as Fonseca's use of the term 'Dialectics' indicates)

⁶⁶⁹ The fact that Scotus makes a distinction between universals as treated in logic and as treated in metaphysics does not mean that there are two independent treatments of universals. In fact, the logical and the metaphysical aspects of universals in Scotus are inextricable. On this issue, see C. Marmo, "Ontology and Semantics in the Logic of Duns Scotus," In U. Eco & C. Marmo (eds.), *On the Medieval Doctrine of Signs*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1989, 143-193; and more recently T. B. Noone, *ibid.*, pp 105-112.

⁶⁷⁰ Scotus, *QLPI*, n 01.06: "Dicendum quod logica est scientia, quia quae docentur in ea demonstratione concluduntur sicut in aliis scientiis; igitur sciuntur, quia: "demonstratio est syllogismus faciens scire". Sunt etiam in logica omnia requisita ad demonstrationem: ut subiectum, passio demonstrabilis de subiecto per medium, quod est definitio."

⁶⁷¹ *QLPI*, n 01.07: "Intelligendum tamen quod logica dupliciter consideratur. Uno modo in quantum est docens, et sic ex necessariis et propriis principiis procedit ad necessarias conclusiones, et est scientia. Alio modo in quantum utimur logica, applicando ad illa in quibus est usus, et sic non est ex propriis sed ex communibus, nec est scientia. Sicut patet in naturalibus ubi Aristoteles ponit rationes logicas quae procedunt ex medio communi et non faciunt scire proprie loquendo."

⁶⁷² *QLPI*, nn 02.03-04: "Dicendum quod scientia dicitur communis a subiecto. Potest igitur intelligi dupliciter: "communis": vel quia subiectum est praedicabile de subiectis aliarum scientiarum; vel quia subiectum eius cadit in usum aliarum scientiarum. Primo modo non est communis logica nisi forte per accidens, si subiectum eius sit applicabile omnibus. Secundo modo est communis."

⁶⁷³ *QLPI*, n 03.20: "Dicendum ergo quod subiectum primum et proprium est syllogismus. Habet enim primam condicionem, quia statim post determinationem de partibus eius in veteri logica, in principio Priorum praemittit eius definitionem. Et secundam, quia in eodem multas passiones de illo ostendit per illam definitionem, ut modum et figuram, in illis de inesse et modo ut habere tres terminos in illo capitulo: "Quoniam igitur in his" per hoc quod est de necessitate accidere conclusioni etc. Et tertiam, quia propter ipsum determinatur de partibus eius, scilicet de incompleto et enuntiatione et integralibus partibus eius subiectivis in libro Priorum et Posteriorum; et de aliis speciebus argumentationis, quia illa reducuntur ad ipsum ut imperfectum ad perfectum; et de syllogismo sophistico, ut de privatione eius, quia eiusdem est cognoscere habitum et privationem. Sic ergo penes eius divisionem et attributa illi patet divisio logicae."

resonates in Fonseca, because Fonseca thinks the relationship of logic and the other sciences, in these terms when he says that:

For while Dialectics rivals the Metaphysics, it nevertheless remains in its own way and sometimes seems to enter the boundaries of the natural sciences. If we indeed explain more freely in this place by expending to *ratio* and origin of the universals, we run the risk of exceeding and assuming the greatest parts which are proper and peculiar of those sciences. However, it is not unfitting but rather useful, and often necessary, [to tackle this discussion here] since a science uses some of their arguments and propositions, with the permission of the others. Some in fact (as some say) request the help of others, and harmoniously co-operate with them, this because, with that in view, a great deal must be yielded to this art, as it usually offers all its conquests to the use of the others, before receiving any help of them.⁶⁷⁴

Scotus goes on to deal with the “universal,” more precisely in its second meaning, that is, when the universal is seen as a form, which stands for the *secundae intentionis, causata ab intellectu et applicabili rebus primae intentionis*, it is way that the logician as such speaks of it.⁶⁷⁵ Although Scotus’s handling of the universals extends from question 4 up to question 12, questions 04 to 06 are of particular interest because Scotus’s first move (question 04) is to ask whether the universal is *ens*, to which he eventually replies that the universal is in fact an entity, because under reason requires that whatever is intelligible has to an entity. Moreover, the intelligible moves the intellect (intellect is a *virtus passiva* cf. *De anima* III).⁶⁷⁶ Therefore, Scotus treatment of universals in the context of the *Isagoge* also requires solid ontological and epistemological approaches.

⁶⁷⁴ *IP*, p 16: “Nam cum Dialectica primae Philosophiae sit aemula, et in eisdem rebus, in quibus illa, suo tamen modo versetur, naturalisque scientiae fines nonnunquam ingredi videatur: si liberius quidem hoc loco in expendenda universalium ratione, generationeque expatiemur, periculum est ne modum excedamus, et pleraque assumamus, quae sunt earum scientiarum propria, et peculiariora. Tametsi incommodum non est, sed utile potius, ac saepe necessarium, ut una scientia aliarum permissu nonnullis earum pronunciatis, et argumentis utatur. Alterius enim (ut quidam ait) altera poscit opem res, et coniurat amice. Id quod huic arti eo magis concedendum est, quod ea una prae caeteris opes suas omnes undecunque conquisitas in aliarum utilitatem refundere soleat.”

⁶⁷⁵ *QLPI*, “Prooemium ad Quaestiones de Universale”: “In speciali quaerendum est de universali. Et quia omnem quaestionem praecedat quid dicitur per nomen, ideo notandum est quod: “universale”, sicut et caetera concreta, sumitur tripliciter. Quandoque pro subiecto, scilicet pro re primae intentionis cui applicatur intentio universalis, et hoc modo universale est primum obiectum intellectus. Quandoque sumitur pro forma, scilicet pro re secundae intentionis, causata ab intellectu et applicabili rebus primae intentionis, et sic loquitur logicus proprie de universali. Tertio modo pro aggregato ex subiecto et forma, et illud est ens per accidens, quia aggregat diversas naturas ex quibus non fit unum per se; et sic non est de consideratione alicuius artificis, quia de ente per accidens, per Aristotelem VI Metaphysicae, nulla est scientia, quia non est definibile. Tantum igitur de caetero fiet sermo de universali secundo modo sumpto.”

⁶⁷⁶ *QLPI*, n 04.06: “Dicendum quod universale est ens, quia sub ratione non-entis nihil intelligitur, quia intelligibile movet intellectum. Cum enim intellectus sit virtus passiva, per Aristotelem III De anima, non operatur nisi moveatur ab obiecto; non-ens non potest movere aliquid, quia movere est entis in actu; igitur nihil intelligitur sub ratione non-entis. Quidquid autem intelligitur, intelligitur sub ratione universalis; igitur illa ratio non est non-ens.”

Moreover, the way Scotus brings in passages from the *Metaphysics* to clarify and support his solutions to several questions is yet another indication of the fact that at least in what concerns Scotus's theory of predicables, it is not possible to establish a purely logical or purely metaphysical approaches, since his ideas for the logical side of universality cannot be fully understood without his notion of common nature and the kind of real unity that it requires. On the other hand, the very definition of universal as what is predicable of several points to the inextricable logical implications of universality.

Apart from the fact that Fonseca quotes important questions of Scotus's text on the *Isagoge*, perhaps the most interesting feature of them is that, except for question 29, Porphyry emerges as the main authority to be followed. Nevertheless, Boethius and Albert also enjoy a significant role in the composition, solution, and explanation of Scotus's questions on the *Isagoge*. In sum, Scotus commentary is based on a broad approach to the themes of the *Isagoge*, based on a solid scholastic tradition, and aims at providing the prolegomena for any scientific inquiry.

The importance of the commentary on the *Isagoge* produced by the *Lovanienses* is not restricted to fact that Fonseca cited and commented on their opinion concerning the relation of genus and species, i.e., whether a genus can still be preserved if there is only one single species under it. Since he also reported that some other authors, whose names Fonseca does not provide, were influenced by the *Lovanienses'* answer to this question. However, their most interesting contribution is perhaps that they did at the level of the *Organon* what the *Conimbricenses* did at the level of the whole philosophy course, namely, an attempt to reconcile the achievements of their contemporary authors with the long and revered tradition of the schools.⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷⁷ J. Papy, "The Reception of Agricola's *De Inventione Dialectica* in the Teaching of Logic at the Louvain Faculty of Arts in the Early Sixteenth Century," in F. Akkerman, A. J. Vanderjagt & A. H. van der Laan (eds.), *Northern Humanism in European Context, 1469-1625. From the 'Adwert Academy' to Ubbo Emmius*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 94, (Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 1999, p. 168: "The initiative of the Louvain faculty of arts is therefore not original but seems to be a late offshoot of this tradition. On the other hand, the Louvain compilation is the work of a number of authors who each contributed the part for which they were most qualified. Because of this origin and the anonymous collection of authors, the Louvain companion strikes the eye as an unbalanced mixture of contributions, some inspired by scholasticism, and others revealing typically humanist tendencies."

This point can also be made in relation to the similarities between the inspiration for Fonseca's *Isagoge Philosophica* and the humanist/scholastic orientation of the *Lovanienses*. It is worth quoting Fonseca's words already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter:

The second thing is, maintaining as much as possible the words of the philosophers of this age, we [ought to] take everything from Aristotle, or select from the more common and more current views of all schools.⁶⁷⁸

In the same text, a few lines before, Fonseca explained the usefulness of the subject matter of the *Isagoge Philosophica*:

Finally, because the cognition of them is also necessary to knowing all the genera of the modes of discourse, which are posed by reason by dividing, defining, demonstrating, and persuading out of arguments valid for the most part. In no place is it more suitable than it can be done before the book of the *Categories*.⁶⁷⁹

The first passage is explicit; it refers to the vocabulary of the "philosophers of this age" and to the "current view of all schools," the only difficulty would be with respect to the identity of these philosophers and to which kind of vocabulary Fonseca is referring. Then the second citation makes it clear that Fonseca had in mind the humanist contributions to logic, because he explicitly points to "persuading out of arguments valid for the most part." The emphasis on the topics and on the kind of arguments on which they rely, a common feature of the *Lovanienses'* commentary and of Fonseca's *Institutionum Dialecticarum*,⁶⁸⁰ indicates the orientation of the

⁶⁷⁸ *IP*, p 16: "Alterum est, ut servata communi, ut par est, Philosophorum huius aetatis verborum consuetudine, ex Aristotele, quoad fieri potest, depromamus omnia aut ex communioribus, magisque receptis totius scholae sentiis desumamus."

⁶⁷⁹ *IP*, p 14: "Denique cum eorum cognitio necessaria quoque sit ad cognoscenda genera omnia modorum disserendi, qui in dividendi, definiendi, demonstrandi, et ex probabilibus suadendi ratione positi sunt; nullo loco id commodius, quam ante Categoriarum librum fieri potuit."

⁶⁸⁰ Fonseca's topics are a good example of how Boethius's (and Cicero's) treatment of the subject was combined with the non-scholastic developments of dialectical reasoning in the sixteenth century. Cf. Donald Felipe, "Fonseca on Topics." pp 44-64. Moreover, this is one aspect of Fonseca's approach that seems to have been relatively uncontroversial among the Jesuits as the volume on Dialectics of the *Conimbricenses*, although published more than forty years after Fonseca's *Institutionum Dialecticarum*, simply acknowledged Fonseca's excellence. After a few very short remarks about the *Topics*, the text abruptly stops and explains: *Conimbricenses in universam Dialecticam* p 749/750: "In altera capitis parte conatur Aristoteles Dialecticarum, iis armis, sive argumentis instituere, quibus ad singulas quaestiones Dialecticas agitandas opus est: in reliquis vero libris armamentaria, hoc est, locos, ex quibus argumenta eruenda sint, exponit, quae omnia, nec uberius, nec utilius, quam factum sit a D. Pedro Fonseca in aureo introductionum libro, tractari possunt: quare ad illum praeceptores remittimus, monemusque, ut si auditores Dialecticos volunt, septimum et octavum introductionum libros in fine primi anni non ommittant." The *Lovanienses'* commentary on the *Topics* is about one third of the size of the whole volume of the Commentaries of 1568 and seeing that they were well acquainted with Cicero, Boethius, and Agricola, among others, any similarities with Fonseca's handling would be much more than coincidences.

whole project, that is, an attempt to combine and complement scholastic and humanist contributions in the field of logic.

Moreover, by positing a tendency towards a more comprehensive approach, instead of the sectarian style (nominalist, scotist, Peripatetic, or humanist) adopted in previous times, which seems to have been also present in some contemporaries of the *Lovanienses*,⁶⁸¹ one may formulate a hypothesis that could help to explain the curious fact that in the first pages of the commentary on the *Isagoge* of 1535 there was a clear rejection of nominalism,⁶⁸² while Scotus is mentioned as one of the authorities.⁶⁸³ Furthermore, traces of an awareness of the deep disagreements between nominalist and realist ontologies are still to be found in the commentaries' edition of 1553. For instance, when they are explaining the passage where Porphyry says that by taking part in one species, several individuals become a unity.⁶⁸⁴ However, the commentaries' edition of 1568 does not explicitly reject nominalism and skips the mention of Scotus as an authority to be followed, in the first pages (differing from the edition of 1535), and silences about the divergent readings of that passage (differing from the edition of 1553). Although the reasons for these changes remain to be investigated,⁶⁸⁵ it would make sense to think of them as proof that towards the end of the sixteenth century, the polemical tone of texts with a marked position began to be substituted by a more inclusive approach to the search for the best possible answers to each question, regardless of the sources from whence they emanated.

⁶⁸¹ The Jesuit orientation towards an inclusive approach that would overcome the controversies provoked by the divergent positions of the followers of Scotus, Ockham, Aquinas, etc., was already mentioned in the introduction.

⁶⁸² Papy, *ibid.*, p. 170

⁶⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁶⁸⁴ *CIPLAD* (1553), p 18: "participatione species plures homines sunt uno homo (...) Hanc suam interpretationem, qui vulgo nominales appellantur Fabro atque Boetio conantur ascribere. Qui vero a rerum studiosa, multiplicatione reales vocari solent, omnia fere, quatenus fieri potest, utique de rebus ipsis interpretantes, eam rem volunt multorum in unam naturam esse collectivam, quae ab intellectu apprehensa, una quidem esse, ea eadem atque indistincta, nata tamen pluribus essentialiter et quiditative communicari, ut humanitas quae species est, singularium hominum est collectiva, quoniam ipsa per intellectum sine conditionibus individui comprehensa, habetur ut una, et nata est seipsam pluribus communicare individuus, aut (ut Alberti verbis utamur) nata est omnibus eiusdem speciei hominibus inesse. Ediverso particulares homines unam speciem in multa dividunt, quia humanitatem (quae modo dicta est una in se) per differentias materiales individuum constituentes, contractam habent."

⁶⁸⁵ As we have suggested in the introduction, the case of the *Lovanienses*, confirms M. Hoenen's assertion that the viae lost their importance towards the end of the sixteenth century. M. Hoenen, "Via Antiqua and Via Moderna in the Fifteenth Century: Doctrinal, Institutional, and Church Political Factors in the *Wegestreit*," p. 31.

Additionally, the very nature of the textbooks seems to confirm this point, because although in many respects aspects of humanist education seems to have indeed triumphed over scholastic education in fifteenth and sixteenth century Europe,⁶⁸⁶ it is also true that at least as far as the study of dialectic is concerned, this triumph did not last more than a few decades (Agricola's text supplanted Peter of Spain as a textbook for a while,⁶⁸⁷ but it was, in turn, replaced by other textbooks, which were undoubtedly influenced by his *De Inventione Dialectica*, but which also looked back to the scholastic authors of the previous centuries for content and support). However, with regard to metaphysics, a quite different analysis is necessary (an expression like "humanist metaphysics" would be used in an entirely different context from that of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries).

Not only is the commentary on the *Isagoge* published by the *Lovanienses* in 1568 the closest in time to the text of Fonseca (1589), but it is also an interesting blend of 'humanist' and 'scholastic' authors in much the same way as Fonseca and the *Conimbricenses* attempted to be. The one clear point of disagreement, as it will become evidence in Fonseca's own reference to it, is the fact that the *Lovanienses* considered that a genus can be preserved even if there is only one of its species left. This position, in which the *Lovanienses* seem to have a unique stance among the authors studied here (the case of Ockham is also curious, since for him genus and species do not exist at all, hence it does not make sense to ask whether they would be preserved or not), certainly has consequences for the order of cognition, because what is more universal is known first, but if genus and species are immediate correlatives, they are known together.

With this survey of contemporary and medieval commentaries on the *Isagoge* we close our introductory remarks. From contemporary commentators we have learned that the *Isagoge* is a complex text, with several layers of difficulty and deeply controversial. From the medieval authors we learn that the *Isagoge* is very useful to the study of logic, metaphysics, and sciences, and that depending on the other commitments a particular author has, his approach to Porphyry's

⁶⁸⁶ See for instance A. Grafton & L. Jardine *From Humanism to the Humanities*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1986, pp. xi-xvi.

⁶⁸⁷ E. J. Ashworth, *Logic and Language in the Post-Medieval Period*, pp 10-20.

text will lead him in a particular direction, and either limit or broaden the results of his analysis and boost or hamper his conclusions.

4.1 The *Isagoge* in Fonseca's Commentaries on the *Metaphysics*

In questions IX-XX, Fonseca addresses the main difficulties raised by the *Isagoge*. With regard to those famous unanswered Porphyrian questions which Fonseca formulates follows: (a) whether genera and species are connected to the nature of things, or placed in sole and bare concepts; (b) whether they are corporeal or deprived of corporeal dimension; and (c) whether they exist in sensible things or outside them, he asserts that after his exposition of the problem of universals these questions can be adequately answered.⁶⁸⁸

In order to answer question (a), Fonseca begins by claiming that the whole issue concerns 'genera and species of sensible substances,'⁶⁸⁹ because this was the contention Aristotle⁶⁹⁰ raised against Plato, and this is also gathered from questions (b) and (c).⁶⁹¹ Moreover, he explains that something can be in the intellect in two ways, namely, subjectively, when the proper subject is not the intellect, but the soul and the intellect intervenes, or objectively, as whatever is cognised by the intellect in act or in disposition is said to exist in the intellect. It has to be considered if genera or species are in the intellect or in concepts (as Porphyry says), which is a *modus essendi*

⁶⁸⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1035: "Cohaerentne, inquam, genera et species in rerum natura, an in solis, nudisque conceptibus posita sint. Sintne corpora, an corporis expertia. Et in rebus sensibilibus, and extra illa existant. Ex iis enim, quae in tota hac disputatione de universalibus dicta sunt, commode explicari possunt."

⁶⁸⁹ It is evident that Fonseca is particularly interested in bringing 'matter' into the picture, since as Aristotle himself remarks that all sensible substances have matter (cf. *Metaphysics* VIII, 1, 1042^a24-25), and this strengthens Fonseca's notion that the *Isagoge* deals with the whole of philosophy, hylomorphism included, and not only with the logical aspects of it. This point is in fact central to demonstrate the unity of the *Metaphysics* see Mary Louise Gill, "*Metaphysics* H 1-5 on Perceptible Substances." Another confirmation is that 'material cause' seems to be the foundation of classification in genera and species, and hence they are meant to be applicable to material substances. Aristotle himself talks of genus and species in terms of matter and form, for instance in the *De Partibus Animalium*. See A. C. Lloyd, "Genus, Species and Ordered Series in Aristotle."

⁶⁹⁰ Libr. 2 *Metaph.* (a typing mistake, because book II has only three chapters, it should be *Metaphysics* book I) c. 7 a text 24, 7 *Metaph.* c. 14 et 15

⁶⁹¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1036: "Quod igitur ad primam attinet, illud in primis animadvertendum est, genera et species accipienda in ea esse pro solis generibus et speciebus substantiarum sensibilium; quandoquidem Aristoteles, in ea contra Platonem disputanda de his solis generibus et speciebus loquitur; et reliqua etiam duae quaestiones, quae de eisdem rebus plane, de quibus primae excitantur, de solis generibus et speciebus substantiarum sensibilium intelliguntur."

common to entities and non-entities.⁶⁹² Seeing that there are items that are only in the intellect and that by themselves cannot exist in the nature of things or cannot be predicated of items that exist, like a centaur,⁶⁹³ and there are those other items that can exist in the nature of things or can be predicated of things that exist, like real entities, negations, and beings of reason.⁶⁹⁴ The question here is whether genera and species are of the first type or of the second.⁶⁹⁵ An important point here is the fact that something can be predicated of things that exist indicates the existence of the predicate as well (cf. chapter I, section on Dialectic).

Heraclitus, Antisthenes, Democritus, the Epicurians, and the nominalists are of the opinion that universals (genera, species, *differentia*, property, accident) are of the first type, that is, that they are fictitious items and do not and cannot exist in reality.⁶⁹⁶ On the other hand, Plato and Aristotle agree that universals truly exist, thus they uphold that universals are of the second type. However they differed in that for Aristotle,⁶⁹⁷ although he posits that they exist in the

⁶⁹² CMA v. 2, c. 1036: “Deinde, cum duobus modis aliquid esse possit in intellectu; uno, subiective, ut dici solet (quanquam intellectus non est proprie subiectum, sed anima, interveniente intellectu); altero, obiective, quo pacto quicquid actu aut habitu cognoscitur a intellectu, dicitur in intellectu existere. Illud etiam considerandum, hoc posteriori modo quaeri, sintne genera et species in intellectu, sive (ut a Porphyrio dicitur) in conceptibus, qui modus existendi entibus, et non entibus communis est.”

⁶⁹³ CMA v. 2, c. 1036: “Denique intelligendum, eorum, quae sunt obiective in intellectu, quaedam esse in solis magisque conceptibus, quaedam non item. Ea dicuntur esse in solis nudisque conceptibus, quae nec formaliter, seu, quatenus talia sunt, existere in rerum natura possunt, nec de rebus existentibus in rerum natura praedicari qualia sunt Centaurus, Hircocervus, et caetera figmenta.”

⁶⁹⁴ CMA v. 2, c. 1036: “Ea vero non esse in solis nudisque conceptibus, quae aut formaliter existere possunt in rerum natura, aut de rebus in rerum natura existentibus praedicari. Quo genere primum complectimur entia realia. Haec enim, quatenus talia sunt, positive existunt in rerum natura. Deinde, negationes, quae velut inhaerent entibus realibus, ut est caecitas, ignoratio, et huiusmodi aliae. Siquidem et hae formaliter, et, quatenus tales sunt existunt in rerum natura. Non tamen positive, ut entia realia, sed negative; ea nimirum ratione, in subiectis suis non existunt formae, quarum sunt privationes. Tertio loco entia rationis, ut esse praedicatum subiectum, et similia.”

⁶⁹⁵ CMA v. 2, c. 1037: “Sensus ergo primae quaestionis est; num genera et species substantiarum sensibilium aliqua ex parte vere existant in rerum natura (nempe aut formaliter, aut ratione rerum, de quibus dicuntur) an hoc tantum esse habeant, quod mente concipiuntur; quasi cum ea percipimus, aussa cogitatione nosmetipsos eludamus; ut cum fingimus Chimeram, Sphingem, ut aliquid simile.”

⁶⁹⁶ CMA v. 2, c. 1037: “Sententia Heracliti, (*lege Plato in fine Cratylly, et Aristoteles 4 Metaph c. 5 text 21*), Antisthenis, Democriti, Epicureorumque ac recentiorum, Nominalium (*Ochami in 1 d 1 q 4 et 1 p Logic c 14 et 15 et quodl 5 q 12 et 12 Gab. in 1 d 2 q 7 et 8*) in hac quaestione est, genera et species, de quibus quaestio intelligitur, atque adeo caetera omnia genera et species, esse in solis nudisque conceptibus. Credunt enim, res universales esse fictitias, conceptusque et nomina universalia significare immediato res singulares. Itaque sentiunt, genera et species nec existere posse in rerum natura, nec dici de veris rebus se solum obici iis conceptibus, quibus confinguntur ab iis, qui ea ponunt; contra quos superius disputatum quaest. 2 est.”

⁶⁹⁷ For instance, when Aristotle says: Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, VII, 14, 1039^a24-32: “It is clear also from these very facts what consequence confronts those who say the Ideas are substances capable of separate existence, and at the same time make the Form consist of the genus and the differentiae. For if the Forms exist and 'animal' is present in 'man' and 'horse', it is either one and the same in number, or different. (In formula it is clearly one; for he who states the formula will go through the formula in either case.) If then there is a 'man-in-himself' who is a 'this' and exists apart, the parts also of which he consists, e.g. 'animal' and 'two-footed', must indicate 'this', and be capable of separate existence, and substances; therefore 'animal', as well as 'man', must be of this sort.”

nature of things, universals never exist apart from their particulars, while Plato defends an existence of universals apart from the particular things of which they are the universals.⁶⁹⁸

Fonseca upholds what he identifies as Aristotle's solution, namely, that genera and species of substances, which are perceived by the senses, are not confined to bare concepts, neither in themselves nor by their commonality. But things which are called by these names, do exist, and insofar as they are such, in the nature of things and that in truth their commonality itself, even if it never exists formally in the nature of things, but only objectively in the intellect, can truly be said of things, which in turn can have true and real existence. Moreover, Fonseca claims that Porphyry himself hints at this solution in the way he formulates the two other questions, because it would make no sense to ask whether genera and species are bodies and all that follows, unless genera and species exist, as Boethius noted in the Porphyry's foreword. Furthermore, because the context of words supposes the affirmative part of the first question in the first part of the second question: and if they exist, he says, if they are bodies or devoid of body.⁶⁹⁹ Although the formulation of questions (a) (b) and (c) take the conditional form, Fonseca seems to have a point as it would be awkward to discuss a possibility (in case one goes on from question (a) to (b) and (c)) which one knows in advance to be unrealistic. If the answer to question (a) is negative, it makes more sense to stop the discussion altogether without raising the remaining two questions.

⁶⁹⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1037: "At vero Plato et Aristoteles communi consensu respondent ea vere existere in rerum natura, neque esse inania cogitata et commenta, ut satis apertum est ea disputatione, quam Aristoteles lib 7 c. 14 et 15 contra Platonem instituit. In qua hoc convenit inter eos, quod uterque ponit genera et species substantiarum sensibilium in rerum natura; hoc autem interest, quod Plato existimat, ea omni ex parte vere existere, hoc est tam ratione rerum, quae dicuntur genera et species, quam ratione communitatis ac indifferentiae. Aristoteles vero ita docet, res, quae dicuntur genera et species constare in rerum natura, ut neget communitatem earum in eisdem existere; ex quo tamen non efficitur, ut earum communitas, seu universalitas existat in solis nudisque conceptibus, cum de veris rebus dici possit."

⁶⁹⁹ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1037-1038: "Itaque respondendum est, genera et species substantiarum, quae sensibus percipiuntur nec ratione rerum, quae genera et species dicuntur, nec ratione communitatis earum esse in solis nudisque conceptibus; sed res, quae his nominibus appellantur, existere formaliter, et, quatenus tales sunt, in rerum natura; ipsam vero earum communitatem, etsi nunquam formaliter existit in rerum natura, sed solum obiective in intellectu, tamen vere dici de rebus, quae veram ac realem existentiam habere possunt. Quam solutionem ipse quoque Porphyrius innuit in adisciendis duabus aliis quaestionibus. Tum, quia frivolum esset quaerere, num genera et species essent corporea, et quae sequuntur, nisi illa esse constaret, ut Boethius in Porphyrii prooemium annotavit. Tum etiam, quia ipse verborum contextus aperte supponit affirmativam partem primae quaestionis in excitanda secunda; et si existant, inquit, corporeane sint, an corporis expertia."

Then the next step is to address the Porphyry's questions (b) and (c). The main concern in relation to (b) whether genera and species exist in matter or not is the ambiguity of the case of genera and species of sensible substances, as with regard to (c), whether genera and species of incorporeal substances and of accidents, there is no room for doubts. Of course, if instead of using 'in bodies' one can also use the term 'corporally' or 'corporeal,' and then it would also concern the genera and species of accidents, which inhere in bodies. Thus the issue is whether genera and species of those bodies existing *per se* which can be perceived by the senses, whether they are indeed 'bodies,' or not.⁷⁰⁰

Plato and Aristotle already disagree in the answer to question (b) (same passage quoted above). Indeed Plato, if Aristotle is correct in ascribing this view to his teacher, held that genera and species of this kind of things are forms devoid of all matter and mutation (change). By contrast, Aristotle estimates that if they did not have matter in *ratio*, they certainly have in reality, since he posited that genera and species do not differ in reality from their individuals. But strictly speaking they only differ in *ratio*, as animal and man differ in *ratio* from Socrates. Fonseca recapitulates that in *ratio* there is no difficulty in positing that they are devoid of matter, as substance, which is their supreme genus, does not have any matter added to it by its definition. And this is the true solution of this question.⁷⁰¹

The third question, i.e., question (c) concerns the inherence of genera and species (of sensible things) in the nature of the things of which they are said to be genera and species, that is, if they are separated from them or in fact they inhere in them. Excluded here are the items devoid

⁷⁰⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1038: "Secundae quaestionis sensus est, num genera et species, quae ex parte formaliter existunt in rerum natura, sint corpora, an corporis expertia, hoc est, constantne materia, an non; quod quidem plane de solis generibus et speciebus substantiarum sensibilibium ambigitur. Nam, de generibus et speciebus tam substantiarum incorporearum, quam accidentium, quis dubitet? Sed versiones, quae pro verbo, *corpora*, habent *corporalia*, aut *corporea*, occasionem dederunt existimandi, de generibus etiam et speciebus accidentium, quae corporibus inhaerent, excitatam fuisse quaestionem. Itaque sensus est, utrum genera et species horum corporum per se existentium, quae sensibus percipimus, sint etiam corpora, nec ne."

⁷⁰¹ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1038-1039: "In hac quaestione iam dissentit Aristoteles locis citatis a Platone. Plato enim si Aristoteli credimus; in ea est sententia, ut putet, genera et species huiusmodi rerum esse formas quasdam omnium materiae ac mutationis expertes. At Aristoteles existimat, ea constare materia si non ratione, certe reipsa. Cum enim credat (id quod est verissimum) genera et species non differre a suis individuis reipsa, sed ratione duntaxat, ut animal et hominem a Socrate; individua autem substantiarum sensibilibium constant materia; quemadmodum et mole corporea, sive trina dimensione; non dubium, quin ea quoque reipsa materia constet. Ratione tamen nil obstat, quo minus aliquod genus huiusmodi substantiarum materiae sit expertis; ut substantia, quae est genus summum, in cuius definitione nulla omnino admittitur materia. Et haec est vera huius quaestionis solutio."

of substance matter, but also the sensible accidents. Therefore, it concerns singular substances, which are perceived by the senses. The term “*insint*” implies the disputed about the inexistence of genera and species in the individuals *per modum identitatis*, as in the definition of universal. Not only the true and proper inherence, such as the accidents have in their subjects. And that is the reason why Porphyry had added “*et circa eas subsistant*,” to point to the inherence of genera and species in their individuals.⁷⁰²

Plato, on the other hand, posits that genera and species of sensible things “are” separated from them (the sensible things). And that is the reason why Fonseca had said that they (genera and species) are completely devoid of matter and change, and it makes clear (nothing that has matter is devoid of matter, or changes and remains unchanged, simultaneously) that they do not inhere in sensible things by way of identity. By contrast, Aristotle not only says that genera and species are not separate from their singulars, but indeed neither are the other universals, as he had taught that the universal is one in several (Post. 1 c 8 text 21⁷⁰³; Post. II c 18⁷⁰⁴) and in the *Parts of Animals* 1 c 4 where he says that “we call universals those which are in several”⁷⁰⁵ and in this work (*Metaphysics* chapter 13 text 45⁷⁰⁶), where he openly rejects Plato’s opinion, as he says that universals are not separated from their singulars.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1039: “Tertiae quaestionis sententia est, utrum genera et species rerum sensibilium, qua ex parte in rerum natura formaliter existunt, seiuncta sint a rebus sensibilibus; quarum comparatione dicuntur genera et species; an vero in eis insint. Quo loco, nomine rerum sensibilium, non solum intelliguntur substantiae materiae expertes, sed neque etiam sensibilia accidentia; cum perspicuum sit, neque ipsa neque ipsorum genera aut species materia constare; sed solum intelliguntur substantiae singulares; quae sensibus percipiuntur. Verbo autem, *insint*, intelligenda est inexistencia generum et specierum in suis individujs per modum identitatis, ut in definitione universalis; non autem vera et propria inhaerentia, qualem habent accidentia in subiectis. Atque hac de causa videtur Porphyrius addidisse verba illa, *et circa eas subsistant*, ne videlicet genera et species proprie inhaerere in suis individujs intelligerentur.”

⁷⁰³ Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics* I, 8 75^b21-23: “It is evident too that, if the propositions on which the deduction depends are universal, it is necessary for the conclusion of such a demonstration and of a demonstration simpliciter to be eternal too.”

⁷⁰⁴ Perhaps: Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics* II, 18 99^b12: “for this explains why the primitive term belongs under the universal(...)”

⁷⁰⁵ Aristotle, *Parts of Animals* I, 3 644^a26-28: “The universal attributes are common; for we call universal those which belong to more than one subject.”

⁷⁰⁶ Aristotle, *Metaphysics* VII, 13 1038^b11-12: “For it seems impossible that any universal term should be the name of a substance. For firstly the substance of each thing is that which is peculiar to it, which does not belong to anything else; but the universal is common, since that is called universal which is such as to belong to more than one thing.”

⁷⁰⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1039: “Ad hanc quaestionem respondet Plato, genera et species rerum sensibilium esse ab eis seiuncta; id quod plane cogitur dicere iuxta superioris quaestionis explicationem. Nam, cum eius sententia sint reipsa omnis materiae ac mutationis expertia; perspicuum est, non inesse ea in rebus sensibilibus per modum identitatis; quandoquidem nihil est, quod idem de re ipsa simul sit materiae et particeps, et expers aut mobile simul aut

Fonseca considers an argument against this solution, namely, that if genera and species of those bodies, which are perceived by the senses, are in reality bodies, this would imply that many bodies existed in one and the same body which is absurd.⁷⁰⁸ In his opinion, this argument does not hold because if genera and species are sometimes called diverse bodies *simpliciter*, they do not differ in reality, but strictly speaking only in *ratio*. Second because in reality, not even *simpliciter* do genera and species differ in number as animal and man are not called two animals,⁷⁰⁹ when they refer to the same being.

A further question would concern the absence, in Porphyry's unanswered questions, of *differentias*, properties, and accidents. In Fonseca's opinion it is because the ancient authors were only in doubt concerning genera and species, and the other three predicables follow the same *ratio*.⁷¹⁰ Fonseca concludes the question by stating that it became clear "what abstraction brings

immobile. Aristoteles vero ait, non solum genera et species non esse seiuncta a suis singularibus, sed ne ulla quidem universalialia. Docet enim, *I Poste. c. 8 text 21 II lib. Post. c. 18 text 27*, universale esse, unum in multis; et *I lib. de Partibus Animalium c. 4*, sic ait; *Universalialia appellamus ea, quae in pluribus sunt*; et lib. huius operis c. 13 text 45, definiens universale, sic scribit; *Universale dicitur, quod aptum est, ut in pluribus insit*; quo loco apertissime impugnat Platonis sententiam, quod dixerit, universalialia a singularibus esse seiuncta."

⁷⁰⁸ *CMA v. 2, cc. 1039-1040*: "Cum hac tamen vera solutione quaestionis videtur hoc argumentum pugnare. Genera et species horum corporum, quae sensibus percipiuntur, re ipsa sunt corpora, ut in solvenda secunda quaestione dictum est. Nunc autem concessimus, ea in his existere, igitur multa corpora simul existunt in eodem loco; quod nulla natura efficere potest. Aut igitur dicendum fuit, genera et species horum corporum, quae cernimus non esse corpora; aut certe in his nequaquam existere."

⁷⁰⁹ *CMA v. 2, c. 1040*: "Hoc argumento victi nonnulli, respondendum ad secundam quaestionem existimant, genera et species horum corporum non esse corpora. Verum, non est, cur quiquam responsionem datam repudiet. Primum, quia id, quod dici solet, nullis naturae viribus fieri posse, ut multa corpora in eodem loco existant, de corporibus re ipsa diversis, ut aqua et oleo intelligendum est. Genera autem et species; etsi quis contendat simpliciter appellanda esse diversa corpora, non sunt tamen re ipsa diversa, ut diximus, sed ratione duntaxat. Deinde, quia nec sunt re vera simpliciter dicenda diversa corpora, cum superiora et inferiora non efficiant numerum secundum nomen alicuius eorum. Neque enim dicas, animal et hominem esse duo animalia, aut duos homines, neque item, hominem et Socratem esse duos homines, aut duos Socrates; et sic de caeteris. Dixi *secundum nomen alicuius eorum*, quia secundum aliud nomen, non dubium est, quin superiora et inferiora possint numerum conficere, ut si dicas, animal et hominem esse duo praedicata, et hominem ac Socratem duo subiecta. Causa vero huius rei est, quia ea, quae numerum efficiunt secundum aliquod nomen, debent esse membra dividenda eius rei, quae primo significatur eo nomine, at superiora et inferiora non sunt membra dividenda alicuius rei, quae in eadem serie collocetur, ut inductione perspicuum est. Atque id, quod de generibus et speciebus substantiarum corporearum dictum est, pari ratione dicendum est de caeteris generibus et speciebus respectu suorum individuorum."

⁷¹⁰ *CMA v. 2, cc. 1040-1041*: "Quod si quis quaerat, cur Porphyrius in his quaestionibus reliquorum universalium mentionem non fecerit, differentiarum, inquam, propriorum et accidentium; non necesse est, causam aliquam quaerere, nisi quia apud veteres de solis generibus et speciebus hae dubitationes agitabantur. Dixerat enim, se traditurum, quae apud maiores de quinque universalium generibus differri solerent; e quibus haec, quia ad altiore scientiam spectabant, consulto praetermissit. Quamquam et illud dici potest, parem esse rationem de differentiis atque de speciebus, quae differentiis complentur; de propriis autem et accidentibus satis esse, nosse, num illa, qua ratione sunt genera et species, existant in rerum natura nec ne, et quae sequuntur. In his quaestionibus non tam habetur ratio communitatum, quam rerum, quae communes appellantur, ut patet ex 2 et 3 q. quae de solis rebus excitantur."

to the universal things,”⁷¹¹ and by that he means that common natures already exist in things, but universality only begins its objective existence when the nature are abstracted by the intellect with the help of the internal senses from the particulars. Therefore, this is a clear statement of the connection of the three chapters of the present thesis, that is, Fonseca’s commitment to a sort of moderate realism (universals gain objective existence in the intellect, but have a solid and independent basis in the commonality of the nature in particular things) which is based on a consistent theory of cognition (abstraction), and allows him to answer the questions (logical, metaphysical, epistemological, ethical, theological) raised in relation to the *Isagoge*.

4.1.1. The Relation of Universals and Particulars

The notions of particularity and universality have appeared in several parts of this thesis and the context of the *Isagoge* provides yet another opportunity to discuss them. This is also the case in Scotus’s commentary, when he deals with the question whether “man is universal” is a *per se* definition,⁷¹² he notices the difficulty that this could not possibly be the case, because otherwise every man would be universal.⁷¹³ In his reply, Scotus elaborates the question further by presenting the reasons why this definition cannot be *per se*, that is, the definition and the item defined are not ordered one to another as the notion of essence requires them to be. For definitions *per se* are fourfold: 1) the definition or a part of the definition is predicated of the item defined; 2) the definition is caused by the *per se* principles of the item defined; 3) the item defined is a sufficient cause of the definition; 4) the item defined is an efficient cause of the definition. And “man is universal” is not *per se* in any of these modes because an item, according

⁷¹¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1041: “Atque hae de quaestionibus iis, quarum explicationem Porphyrius omisit, deque toto genere universalium, qua ratione proprie ac praecipue universalia dicuntur, sint satis. Ex qua tota disputatione perspicuum relinquitur, quid novi rebus universalibus abstractio afferat. Nunc de eisdem, quatenus ad particularia referuntur, quae minus praecipua universalium consideratio est, pauca dicamus.”

⁷¹² *QLPI*, nn 09-11.01-03: “Cui per se inest definitio, et definitum; sed: “homo” per se praedicatur de pluribus differentibus numero; igitur homo per se est species. Item, quod est per se intelligibile est per se universale; homo est per se intelligibile, quia per suum: “quod quid est”, quod est idem sibi. Item, universale convenit homini secundum quod abstrahitur ab omni accidente; igitur non inhaeret ei ut accidens. Antecedens est manifestum, quia homo, ut coniungitur accidentibus, est singulare.”

⁷¹³ *QLPI*, n 09-11.04: ““Per se” praesupponit: “de omni”; igitur si homo est per se universale, omnis homo est universale. Consequens est falsum, igitur et antecedens.”

to its own essence, cannot be both from nature (first intention) and from the intellect (second intention) because these are non-ordered causes, and a composite of the two cannot be the essence either.⁷¹⁴ There are two questions behind this difficulty. First it is the discussion of the universal not being an adequate candidate for substancehood (see for instance, Aristotle's treatment of this topic in *Metaphysics* VII, 13). The second and related point is what was seen in the second chapter, namely, that this discussion is relevant for the notion that universality does not descend to the particulars (universality is not part of the essence of the particulars). Fonseca finds a solution in the notion of unity of precision, which is proper of universals but which is not communicable to the particulars, however, he felt that there is still much room for speculation about the type of relation universals have to their particulars.

Fonseca's exposition of the exact relationship of universals and particulars goes as follows. Although there is a profusion of diverse opinions, Fonseca devises four opinions which are more authoritative.⁷¹⁵ The first opinion says that universals are only related to their particulars insofar as they are conceived as related to them. For example, if one conceives animal as the genus of man and of horse. This seems to be the opinion of Cajetan when he says that "by a relation of reason they are not in act unless when understood [to be so], they do not have another existence apart from being understood."⁷¹⁶ It is derived from the fact that just as a real relation requires a real and peculiar existence, which is distinct from the existence of what it is based on, also the relation of reason requires the formation of a proper and peculiar concept, inasmuch as it cannot be objectified (*obiici*) by the species representing it, if there is no beings of

⁷¹⁴ *QLPI*, n 09-11.28: "Ad tertiam quaestionem dicendum quod tales non sunt per se. Quod patet de primo modo sic: in primo modo praedicatur definitio vel pars definitionis de definito. Impossibile est autem aliquam rem secundae intentionis definire rem primae intentionis, quia tunc illa res secundum suam essentiam partim esset a natura et partim ab intellectu, et ita a diversis causis non ordinatis; quare non esset unum essentialiter. Igitur impossibile est aliquam intentionem primo modo per se praedicari de re. Nec secundo modo, quia non causatur intentio ex per se principiis subiecti. Nec quarto modo, quia res non est causa efficiens intentionis, sed intellectus. Nec universaliter aliquo modo, quia tunc esset natura sufficiens causa talis accidentis. In quocumque igitur esset illa natura, illi inesset accidens, quod falsum est."

⁷¹⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1041: "Multae sunt, variaeque Scholasticorum sententiae de relatione universalium ad sua particularia, quarum probabiliores ad quatuor quasi capita revocari possunt, tanta saepe est in rebus non magni momenti difficultas ac controversia."

⁷¹⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1041: "Sunt, qui dicant, universalia non referri ad particularia, nisi cum concipiuntur referri; ut cum quis concipit animal esse genus respectu hominis, et equi, aut hominem esse speciem respectu Socratis et Platonis. Quae sententia videtur esse Caietani ad I p d Tho q 17 art. 1 *Relatione*, inquit, *rationalis non sunt actu, nisi cum intelligantur, neque habent aliud esse, quam intelligi.*"

reason and proper and peculiar intelligible species by which they are represented.⁷¹⁷ The second view is that of Scotus. It holds that the universals are not only necessary when they are conceived as related to the particulars, but also when the universals are truly affirmed in the mind concerning their particulars, as when any universal thing is predicated of a particular item.⁷¹⁸

A third opinion is that of some of Fonseca's contemporaries (*recentiores*), and according to their view, for universals to be related to their particulars, it seems sufficient to posit that they are apprehended by a simple and minimal comparative concept without the contracting *differentias*. For example, when man is conceived without any distinctive characteristics as man and animal is conceived without any distinctive characteristics as animal.⁷¹⁹ A fourth view is that of those who do not devise a simple and minimal comparative conception of universal things, as they are related to their particulars, but only when an intelligible species is first produced by the agent intellect with the help of *phantasmata*, then the universals are immediately represented by

⁷¹⁷ CMA v. 2, c. 1041: "Ratio pro hac sententia haec videtur praecipua; quia, quemadmodum, ut relatio realis existat, non est satis, si eius fundamentum realiter existat, sed necesse praeterea est, ut ipsa relatio propriam et peculiarem existentiam realem habeat, distinctamque ab existentia fundamenti. Ita etiam, ut relatio rationis existat, non debet esse satis, si eius fundamentum obiective in intellectu existat, sed opus est praeterea, ut ipsa quoque relatio ab intellectu concipiatur propria et peculiari conceptione; quandoquidem non potest obici per speciem repraesentantem, cum entium rationis nullae sint, propriae et peculiare species intelligibiles, quibus repraesententur."

⁷¹⁸ CMA v. 2, cc. 1041-1042: "Alii volunt, ut universalia referantur, non opus quidem esset, ut concipiantur referri, sed tamen requiri, ut mente de suis particularibus vere affirmantur. Quanquam hoc interest, quod eorum quidam satis esse dicunt, si quaelibet res universalis vere affirmetur de uno particulari; alii vero exigunt, ut simul de pluribus dicatur. Hanc sententiam sequitur Scotus in hunc lib q 2 d 4 d 2 q 2 *Falsum*, inquit, *est quod actu reflexo fiat relatio rationis; sic enim primo actu (hoc est, directo) intellectus comparantis hoc ad illud; cum autem reflectitur intelligendo comparisonem ut obiectum, tum non causatur relatio rationis, sed concipitur*. Vide Lichetum in primo d 3 q 7 et in 2 d 1 q prima et secundo principaliter. Hoerveum de secundis intent. quaestio 2 art 3 Vigerium Granatensis suarum instit. c 2 § 2. in Scoti vero sententia eadem sententia videtur esse D Thomas in loco citato primae partis; ubi ait, *relationem rationis esse tantum in apprehensione rationis conferentis unum alteri*; non ait, concipientis ipsam comparisonem, relationemve, sed conferentis. Ex quibus verbis contra superiorem sententiam argumentum colligi potest. Non idem est aliquid esse, atque concipi, nisi id, quod concipitur, sit aliquid mere confictum, sed prius (saltem natura) unumquodque est, quam concipiatur, at relationes universalium ad sua particularia non sunt attributa mere conficta, sed, quae de rebus, quas dicimus reales, vere affirmantur. Ergo prius natura est, eas suo modo esse, quam concipi, sunt autem iam tum cum universalia de suis particularibus praedicantur (aut enim haec praedicantur, ut genera, aut ut species, et c) ergo ut universalia referantur ad sua particularia, non opus est, ut eorum relationes concipiantur, sed satis est, si ipsa de suis particularibus vere affirmantur."

⁷¹⁹ CMA v. 2, c. 1042: "Sunt etiam quibus, ut universalia referantur ad sua particularia, satis esse videtur, si illa simplici et minime comparativo conceptu sine differentiis contrahentibus apprehendantur; ut si homo praecise concipiatur, ut homo, et animal, ut animal. Etiam si nondum attribuantur suis particularibus quae sententia recentiorum fere videtur esse. Eorum ratio haec est. Cum aptitudo essendi in pluribus sit proximum universalitatis fundamentum (sumpto universalitatis nomine pro rationis universalium ad sua particularia) ubi primum ea aptitudo datur statim consequitur universalitatis relatio; ut unaquaeque res universalis iam tum est apta, ut sit in plurius seu indifferens ad omnia sua particularia, cum primum sic concipitur; ergo iam tum refertur ad sua particularia, nec opus est, ut de illis actu affirmetur."

the intelligible species as related to their particulars.⁷²⁰ The basis for this opinion is the same as that of the third opinion, namely, that if the aptitude to be in several items, when it is first given, brings with itself the relation of the universal to its particulars, then the generation of the intelligible species brings with itself the relation of universals to their particulars in its way it makes that the thing which is denominated universal, not only is apprehended with the simple concept but is also represented in the intelligible species. It is indivisible and indifferent to all its particulars. This is the opinion of Aquinas as he explains that “the intention of the universal comes from the abstraction of the intellect.”⁷²¹ What differentiates the two opinions (third and fourth) is that while the former posits that the thing is liberated from its distinctive characteristics only in the concept, the latter defends that both in the concepts and in the species the universals are freed from the individuating characteristics that they possess in the particulars.⁷²²

Furthermore, Aristotle’s Ancient commentators (Fonseca exemplify this point with a quotation from Boethius) called “relations” the aptitudes by which common natures are said to be suited to inhere in several items and are said to be concerning several items.⁷²³ They can be

⁷²⁰ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1042-1043: “Denique sunt, qui ne simplicem quidem et minime comparativam conceptionem rerum universalium desiderant, ut illae ad sua particularia referantur, sed cum primum species aliqua intelligibilis ab intellectu agente cum phantasmate producitur, continuo rem, quae per eam repraesentatur, ad sua particularia referri dicant.”

⁷²¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1043: “Huius opinionis fundamentum idem est, quod superioris. Nam, si aptitudo essendi in pluribus, cum primum datur, mox secum affert rei universalis ad sua particularia relationem; non dubium est, quin ipsa etiam speciei intelligibilis generatio relationem universalium ad sua particularia suo modo efficiat res enim, quae universalis denominatur, non solum, cum simplici conceptu apprehenditur, sed etiam, cum in specie intelligibili repraesentatur, indivisa omnino est, indifferensque omnia sua particularia; innititurque fundamentum hoc ei pronunciatum, quo D Thomas utitur 1 p q 75 art 3 ad primum, cum ait, intentionem universalis provenire ex abstractione intellectus. Si enim ita res habet; ergo non solum per conceptus, sed etiam per species intelligibiles, quibus naturae communes abstrahuntur, consequuntur res universalitatem.”

⁷²² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1043: “Quocirca opinio eorum, qui dicunt, species intelligibiles primo et per se esse rerum singularium, distinxit ab hac sententia superiore, quod ii Auctores credant, solis conceptibus res liberari a conditionibus individuantiis. Qui autem quartam hanc sententiam amplectuntur, volunt et conceptibus, et speciebus ipsis universales naturas ab iis conditionibus exolvi; imo ver, prius natura abstractionem hanc secretionemque fieri per species aliquas ab intellectu agente factas, quam per conceptus elicitos a possibili.”

⁷²³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1043-1044: “Veteres tamen Aristotelis enarratores facilius se ab hac quaestione expediunt. Ipsas enim aptitudines, quibus naturae communes dicuntur aptae, tum, ut insint pluribus tum, ut de pluribus dicantur, relationes vocant. Sic Boethius in *Isagogem Porphyrii ad c de Genere*, in secunda editione accommodate ad artem Dialecticam de universalibus differens, hoc est, de universalibus quatenus praedicabilia sunt, cum dixisset, relationem efficere genus, mox, ne aliquis relationis nomine aliquid aliud intelligeret, quam ipsam aptitudinem ad praedicationem de pluribus, haec subiicit; *Cum dicimus animal esse genus, non, ut arbitror, tunc de re ipsa hoc nomen dicitur, sed de ea relatione, quae potest animal ad caetera, quae sibi subiectae sunt referri. Non ait, quae refertur, sed quare referri potest; tum addit, itaque character quidam est, et forma generis in eo, quod referri ad eas res potest, quae, cum sint plures, et specie differentes, in earum substantiae praedicatur.* Ex quibus verbis patet, nihil aliud Boetium nomine relationis generis ad species intellixisse, quam ipsam aptitudinem, ut certo quodam modo de iis praedicetur. Quod idem alios veteres sensisse de relationibus omnium universalium, quatenus ad Dialecticum spectant, facile est ostendere.”

interpreted as dividing relations in ‘aptitudinal’ and actual. ‘Aptitudinal,’ in turn, is twofold: apt to be in several items *per modum identitatis*; and apt to be predicated of several items. Actual is also twofold: the *actus essendi in pluribus*; and the formal, which is the predication itself, that is, the true affirmation concerning several items.⁷²⁴ The solution is only possible if the common natures have the aptitude in their particulars, and not only in the mind, to inhere in the particulars and be predicated of their particulars. And if the relation is aptitudinal, when the universals are first abstracted from their particulars, either via species or via concepts, this kind of relation is established. On the other hand, if the relation is actual, they have to be in fact predicated of their particulars for the relation to be established.⁷²⁵

Next Fonseca presents his own opinion. He thinks that there are two kinds of relations that are suitable to universals as universals. One is that of the aptitudes and is found in the aptitude to be in or to be predicated of several items. Another is that of the actualities and it is found in the act itself either of being in or of being predicated of several items.⁷²⁶ He adds that if it does not concern the suitability but the existence, as the latter cannot be *realis* but only

⁷²⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1044: “Sed ut eorum mentem apertius iure pretemur, dividi apud eos potest relatio cuiusque rei universalis in aptitudinem et actualem. Aptitudinalis duplex est, quemadmodum et ipsa aptitudo, a qua aptitudinalis relatio eorum sententia non differt; una, ut sit in pluribus per modum identitatis; altera, ut praedicetur de pluribus, quae illam sequitur. Actualis item duplex est fundamentalis altera, ipse, inquam, actus essendi in pluribus, (si tamen relatio, nisi valde improprie dici potest) altera formalis, quae est ipsa praedicatio, hoc est, vera affirmatio de pluribus; non activa tamen, sed passiva. Neque enim dicunt, praedicare, sed vere enunciare, esse, referri, sed praedicari sive enunciari.”

⁷²⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1044: “Itaque, cum naturae communes non habeant ipsis rebus particularibus aptitudinem, sive ut insint, sive ut praedicentur de pluribus, sed solum in mente, cum abstractae sunt a particularibus, quemadmodum et unitatem praecisionis, quae aptitudinem sequitur; neque etiam sint actu praedicata de particularibus, nisi cum de iis enunciantur; nullo negotio pro his Auctoribus ad quaestionem propositam hunc in modum responderi potest. Si de relatione quidem aptitudinali, in qua ratio universalium, quatenus universalialia sunt, posita est, quaestio intelligatur; cum primum res sunt abstractae a suis particularibus, sive per species, sive per conceptus, tum primum eis relationem huiusmodi advenire. Si vero quaestio sit de relatione actuali, non fundamentalis, tamen et impropria, quam res habent sine operatione intellectus, sed de actuali; tum primum eis non solum advenire, sed etiam convenire relationem, cum primum de illis praedicantur. Atque idem aliquando sensisse Scotum de relatione actuali, quemadmodum et alios quosdam eo posteriores, nonnulli eius interpretes asserunt, qui secundas intentiones apud illum nihil aliud, quam comparationes quasdam passivas ab intellectu factas esse volunt.”

⁷²⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1045: “Dicere igitur possumus, duo esse genera relationum earum, quae rebus universalibus, quatenus universales sunt, conveniunt; alio tamen sensu, quam illi, intelligebant; unum aptitudinalium, quod fundatur in aptitudine sive essendi, sive praedicandi de pluribus, alterum actualium, quod fundatur in ipso actu vel essendi in pluribus vel praedicandi de pluribus. Sunt autem huiusmodi relationes habitudines quaedam totius ad suas partes, quod ipsa apud Graecos, τῶν καθόλου, appellatio innuit, et quae Aristoteles, et gravissimi quique Philosophi de universalibus dicunt, satis declarant. Aiunt enim, universalialia complecti sua particularia, ut totum suas partes, non tamen actu, et in sui compositione eas continere, ut totum essentiale aut integrale, sed potentia; quod in eis insit potentia, ut informetur iis differentiis, quibus particularia inter se distinguantur, et per eas ad actum et perfectionem trahantur. Unde et universalialia tota quaedam potentialia dicuntur ex relatione, quam habent ad sua particularia.”

objective, it becomes clear that the relation cannot exist unless by some intervening activity of the intellect, either past or present.⁷²⁷

However, there are some objections to be addressed. It can be objected that if the universals are related to their particulars in the simple concept itself or in the intelligible species, it is also possible that their particulars are not presented to the intellect at the same time, that they are given correlatives of *ratio*, which do not exist simultaneously, and thus are not simultaneous in nature.⁷²⁸ In Fonseca's view, this amounts to absurdity, since being correlative in *ratio* implies being correlative in reality, as they have to be simultaneous in nature, just as they are simultaneously considered.⁷²⁹ A second objection is that a relation of reason is not in memory.⁷³⁰ The reply to this objection can be apprehended from Scotus's formal existence of relations, by which they are presented to the intellect, no doubt, in themselves and *per se* and not only by their

⁷²⁷ CMA v. 2, c. 1046: "Ac si de aptitudinalibus agitur, nobis sane videntur illae perpetuo convenire, quemadmodum et aptitudo essendi ac praedicandi, quas cuique naturae communi convenire diximus, quatenus naturae ordine contractionem sui antecedit. Si enim proximum fundamentum convenit, relatio etiam conveniat necesse est. At sermo sit de actualibus, distinctione opus est. Nam actualis relatio essendi in pluribus, perpetuo convenit iis universalibus, quae vel ad essentiam suorum particularium pertinent, vel essentias eorum necessario consequuntur. Quo pacto animal et homo, et differentiae, quibus utrumque constuitur, et proprietates item, quae ex eorum naturis emanant, perpetuo referuntur ad sua particularia, sive utraque, aut quaedam eorum existant sive nulla; quemadmodum et relationes identitatis specierum in suis generibus et diversitatis ac differentiae earum inter se perpetuo illis conveniunt; quod aequae de non existentibus, atque de existentibus dicantur, ut lib. 4 c. 2 q. 7 sect. 8 docuimus. Iis autem universalibus, quae contingenter de suis particularibus dicuntur; cuiusmodi sunt omnia ac sola accidentia quinti praedicabilis, tum solum convenit actualis relatio essendi in pluribus, cum et ipsa plura existunt, et ipsae quoque naturae universalium in eis existunt, aut quasi inexistunt; quo pacto tunc album aut sedere Socrati et Platoni conveniunt, cum et uterque existit, et in utroque inexistit albedo et sessio. Actualis vero relatio praedicandi (passivam intellige, sive praedicari) non convenit universalibus, nisi cum illa de particularibus, idque vere enunciantur; sumimus enim in tota hac materia de universalibus praedicationem non pro alia, quam pro vera de suis particularibus enuntiatione."

⁷²⁸ CMA v. 2, c. 1048: "Sed contra haec illud in primis obiici potest; si universalia in ipso etiam conceptu simplici, aut specie intelligibili referuntur ad sua particularia; cum fieri possit, ut eorum particularia non simul intellectui obiiciantur; fore, ut dentur correlativa rationis, quae non simul existant, ac proinde non sint simul natura; quod aequae absurdum videtur in genere correlativorum rationis atque in realibus."

Hoc obiectio ex iis, quae ad c 15 huius libri q 4 s 4 tradidimus, dissolvi potest. Diximus enim cum Divo Thoma conditionem illam relativorum, ut simul natura sint, communem quidem esse correlativis omnibus, cum mutuis, sive realibus, sive rationis, tum etiam non mutuis quorum alterum reale est, alterum rationis."

⁷²⁹ CMA v. 2, c. 1048: "Verum, non ita intelligendum esse, utraque se invicem ponere ac tollere, quasi existente uno, necesse sit alterum existere, aut uno sublato, alterum tollere. Sed ita, ut cum relatio unius uni extremo convenit, altera quoque alteri extremo conveniat; sin una non convenit, nec conveniat altera; sin utraque existat, sive altera tantum, sive etiam neutra. Nunc autem ita se res habet, ut quodcumque relatio totius universalis convenit naturae universalis, simul etiam relatio partis subiectae conveniat omnibus eius particularibus; sive utraque obiective existat, sive altera tantum, sive etiam natura. relatio enim aptitudinalis cum necessario conveniat, perpetuo convenit, nec solum ex eo tempore, quo natura universalis concipitur, aut in specie intelligibili repraesentatur."

⁷³⁰ CMA v. 2, cc. 1048-1049: "Illud etiam obiici potest, Scotum plane sentire, relationes rationis non esse in memoria, ut patet ex iis, quae scribit ad distinctionem 45 primi Sententiarum. Quaestio unica. Quare, cum intellectus sola specie intelligibili informatus memoria dicatur, non esse cur Scotum in nostra quoque sententia fuisse existimemus; cum dicimus, universalia in ipsis etiam speciebus intelligibilibus ad sua particularia referri."

foundations.⁷³¹ Furthermore, there is the objection is that the relation of the universals with their particulars, and vice versa, is not enumerated among the second intentions, just as the relation of a genus with its species, and of the species with their genus.⁷³² However, for Fonseca there is no absurdity in saying that the aptitudinal relation of the universals with their particulars is always suitable to the things denominated universal, even before they are presented to the intellect.⁷³³

Fonseca is here using the same reasoning as in the case of the common natures and the universality in act and combining it with his account of the process of cognition, which is made via *phantasmata* and intelligible species. The *phantasmata* are likenesses of objects without their materiality but not without their particularity. Universals do not have their unity in particulars, because this unity is acquired when all the particularity is abstracted, which means that only when all the particularity has been left behind, that is, when the process of cognition arrives at the conceptual level, there is universality in act. However, it is not correct to postpone universality entirely to this level, because the natures some sort of aptitude to be what they are (a dog to be a dog and a stone to be a stone) in the particulars, as we saw in the second chapter, even before any activity of the intellect. The result is that Fonseca rejects any attempt to reduce the basis for universals exclusively to the realm of the intellect (a consequence of the first opinion, which Fonseca says that seems to be Cajetan's). The opinion of Aquinas is the closest to

⁷³¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1049: "Verum Scotus intelligi potest de existentia formali relationum, qua nimirum ipsae per se, et non per sua fundamenta duntaxat, obiiciuntur intellectui. Hoc enim pacto conceptu aliquo opus est, ut relationes rationis obiiciantur intellectui, cum nullae sint propriae ac peculiare species intelligibiles entium rationis."

⁷³² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1049: "Denique illud absurdum, et contra communem Dialecticorum sententiam ex dictis videtur sequi, relationem universalium ad sua particularia, et vicissim particularium ad sua universalia non esse numerandas in secundis intentionibus; veluti relationem generis ad suas species, et specierum ad suum genus. Diximus enim, relationes aptitudinales universalium ad particularia, et particularium ad universalia semper convenire rebus denominatis, etiam antequam obiiciantur intellectui. At secundae intentiones, si vera sunt, quae diximus ad c 7 huius libri q 6 s 5 non solum non existunt obiective, sed ne conveniunt quidem rebus denominatis, nisi cum ab intellectu modo aliquo tractantur; quandoquidem ea ipsa ratione rebus conveniunt, quia ab eo tractantur."

⁷³³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1049-1050: "Sed haec obiectio nihil contra secundarum intentionum explicationem a nobis traditam, veram Dialecticorum sententiam conficit. Fatemur enim sine absurditate ulla, relationes aptitudinales universalium ad particularia, et particularium ad universalia; veluti generis ad speciem, et speciei ad genera, non esse numerandas in secundis intentionibus sed actuales tantum; ut praedicati ad subiectum, et subiecti ad praedicatum. Nisi quis rationem secundarum intentionum velit extendere ad ea, quae conveniunt rebus; non solum quia modo aliquo ab intellectu tractantur, sed etiam, quia tractari possunt, eaque ipsa ratione quia tractari possunt, quo pacto relationes omnium universalium ad sua particularia, et particularium ad sua universalia possunt esse secundae intentiones, si universalia et particularia sumantur non quatenus universalia et particularia sunt; sed quatenus praedicabilia et subiicibilia. Nihil enim dicitur praedicabile, aut subiicibile, nisi quatenus operatione intellectus in enunciatione praedicari, aut subiici potest. Quoniam igitur de universalibus, quatenus relativa sunt, quod satis erat, et fortasse plus, quam foret disservimus, iam, quo pacto universale ipsum in suas species, aut quasi species dividatur, explicemus."

Fonseca's, insofar as it requires both universality as a result of an activity of the intellect, but it also considers the relation of universals and particulars. This opinion is reconcilable with Scotus's because predication reveals the relation between universals that are said of or inhere in and their particulars.

4.1.2. The Five Common Kinds or the Predicables

Once universality and particularity are explained in terms of their relation to each other, it is necessary to deal with the number of universals, because the intelligibility of universals requires them to be finite in number and not infinite like the particulars. Fonseca presents a number of arguments against the traditional division of universals in five kinds. First, because Aristotle in the *Topics* (1 c 1) enumerates just three predicates, Property, Genus, and Accident, and accordingly the number of predicables would also be three. Moreover, in the *Parts of Animals* there is again the number three, this time Analogous, Genus, and Species.⁷³⁴ Finally, as the distinction between proper and common includes a property seeing that it belongs to one item only and thus what is proper (*proprium*) cannot be a kind of universal⁷³⁵ which is by definition common. On the other hand, there are some arguments that refute each of these points. The first argument, which was based on Aristotle's *Topics*, is refuted because Aristotle elsewhere in the same text (the *locus* of genus) also posits species and *differentias* due to their affinity with genus.⁷³⁶ The second argument is explained away in two ways. First, because in *Parts of Animals*

⁷³⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1050: "Pauciora enim esse membra, quam quinque, primum quidem ex proprietate universalium videtur colligi; hoc est, ex aptitudine ad praedicationem. Tria enim tantum esse praedicabilia, ex ternario praedicatorum numero, quae ab Aristotelem in *Topicis* lib 1 c 1 traduntur, Proprii, Generis, et Accidentis, concludi videtur. Nam, cum nihil praedicabile dicatur, nisi quod praedicatum esse potest; si tria tantum praedicata sunt, non plura sane, quam tria praedicabilia dicenda erant. Deinde ex iis, quae Aristoteles tradit in 1 lib. De Partibus Animalium, c. 5, *Eorum*, inquit, *qua ratione universali nullam differentiam recipiunt, alia analogia, alia genere, alia specie rationem communitatis complent*. Ex quo loco vel tria universalium genera colligimus; vel si analogia reiiciamus, quod non sint vere ac proprie universalia, duo tantum membra divisionis supersunt, generis, inquam, et speciei, quae in veris universalium formis numerari debeant."

⁷³⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1050: "Denique ex differentia proprii et communis cum enim proprium sit, quod uni tantum convenit, commune autem; quod pluribus trituitur, commune autem et universale idem sint, fieri non posse videtur, ut proprium in speciebus universalis numeretur."

⁷³⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1054: "Nec vero cogunt nos argumenta initio proposita, ut eam inadaequatam dicamus. Nam, primum eorum quibus pauciores species ponendae videbantur, facile diluitur explicato instituto Aristotelis in loco citato, quo non est aliud, nisi tradere communes locos, quibus argumenta Dialectica erantur. Et, quia loci, ex quibus

Aristotle is only talking about the “complete” universals, and that is why *differentias* are not mentioned. Properties and accidents are implicitly there as in some *ratio* they can be either genus or species. Second, that *differentias generales* and *differentias speciales* are subsumed under genera and species, respectively.⁷³⁷ The third is refuted because proper and common oppose each other in their meaning but not always in reality. “Proper” refers to a property, and there is no reason why it would not also be suitable to several singular items.⁷³⁸

Next, Fonseca examines the arguments in favour of more than five kinds. First, that the enumeration of genus, species, *differentia specialis* and *generalis*, property *specialis* and *generalis*, accident *specialis* and *generalis* seems to be correct.⁷³⁹ Second, it would be what is predicated in the questions: *Quid est*, *Quale est*, *Quantum est*, *Ad qui refertur*, and so on.⁷⁴⁰ Third, definitions, *individua vaga*, and other universals are not included in the five kinds.⁷⁴¹ However, also these arguments can be countered in the following way. First, because even if

tractatur quaestio generis, inserviunt tractandis quaestionibus speciei et differentiae propter eorum cum genere affinitatem; voluit Aristoteles initio eius libri in enumerandis praedicatis Dialecticis, species et differentias ad praedicatum generis revocandas.”

⁷³⁷ CMA v. 2, c. 1054: “Alterum argumentum duobus modis dissolvi potest. Uno, sola universalia completa, universalium nomine eo loco intelligenda esse; proinde non mirum, si differentiae omissae sunt; propria vero et accidentia, etsi, quatenus propria et accidentia sunt non fuerunt commemorata; non fuisse tamen omnino praetermissa, cum alia ratione aut genera, aut species esse possunt, nempe quia ad sua inferiora referuntur. Altero, universale presse accipi eo loco, nempe pro iis, quae univoca et essentiali praedicatione dicuntur; at genus et speciem late; genus quidem pro iis, quae univoca et essentiali praedicatione de differentibus specie praedicantur, species vero pro iis, quae eodem praedicationis genere dicuntur de differentibus solo numero; hoc enim pacto differentiae generales, generis nomine comprehendi potuerunt, et speciei nomine speciales.”

⁷³⁸ CMA v. 2, cc. 1055: “Denique tertium sic diluitur. Proprium et commune ex vi nominis opponi inter se, ut recte probatum est, re autem ipsa aliquando non opponi. Nam, etsi proprium, quod uni tantum singulari convenit, commune non sit et universale, id tamen, quod uni tantum communi tribuitur, pluribus singularibus convenire potest, ac proinde universale esse. Huiusmodi autem est proprium, quod in speciebus universalis numeratur; tametsi neque hoc modo universale est, quatenus ad id unum refertur, cuius est proprium, ut inferius, *Quaest sequenti. Vide q. sequ. sect. 3 solut. ad ultimam* patebit.”

⁷³⁹ CMA v. 2, c. 1050-1051: “Contra vero in plura membra, quam in quinque vulgata devidendum esse universale, his rationibus ostendi videtur. Primum, quia quemadmodum aptitudo ad praedicationem de differentibus solo numero distinguit speciem a genere, quod praedicatur differentibus specie. Itam etiam distinguere debet differentiam specialem a generali, et proprium item, ac accidens specialia a generalibus. Quare cum genus et species ponantur duae species universalis; erunt praeter eas sex aliae ponendae, quae cum illis octonarum numerum conficiant.”

⁷⁴⁰ CMA v. 2, c. 1051: “Deinde, quia etsi demus, ea, quae praedicatur in quaestione *Quid est*, eodem modo referri in omnibus praedicamentis ad ea, de quibus si praedicantur; itemque omnia, quae praedicantur in quaestione *Quale est* secundum essentiam (omnia enim eodem modo videntur dici de eis, ad quorum quidditatem essentiamque pertinent) tamen ea, quae in diversis praedicamentis dicuntur in quaestione *Quale est* secundum accidens, non eodem modo respiciunt subiecta. Alia enim dicuntur in quaestione *Quantum est*. Alia in quaestione *Quale est* peculiari et propria qualitatis. Alia in quaestione *Ad qui refertur*, et sic in caeteris. Sunt enim hae praedicandi rationes primo diversae inter se, cum non convenient secundum essentiam in ratione aliqua univoca praedicandi de iis, quibus accidunt. Quod si ita est, multo plures praedicabilium universaliumque species emergunt ex divisione proprii et accidentis, quae in praedicamenta accidentium distribuuntur.”

⁷⁴¹ CMA v. 2, c. 1051: “Tertio, quia alia quaedam videntur esse praedicabilia, quae in quinque vulgatis non comprehenduntur; ut divisiones, et quae vaga individua dicuntur; ut animal rationis particeps, et quidam homo. Quod enim vere sint praedicabilia et universalia ex eo probatur, quia ratione eadem dicuntur de pluribus.”

differentia, property, and accident, were to be further divided, this would not imply a further division of the universals.⁷⁴² The other divisions obtained would be types of *differentia*, types of property. The same also holds if there is only one property but several accidents.⁷⁴³ Finally, a further division of the complex does not imply a further division of the non-complex predicables.⁷⁴⁴

At this point, it is interesting to discuss an issue raised by Cajetan, since Fonseca finds this discussion deserving of further clarification. The question is whether what had been said about the individual, in general, would also apply to what Aquinas called ‘*individuum vagum*,’ or if these considerations are only suitable to the determined individual (*individuum signatum*). As examples of these two kinds of individuals, Cajetan gives ‘some man,’ ‘some ox,’ etc. for the first kind, and ‘this man,’ ‘this ox,’ ‘Socrates,’ etc., for the second. The difficulty would be that it seems that the *individuum vagum* is predicated of only one item, but at the same time it is equally true that it can be predicated of several items. Cajetan makes a distinction between ‘to be predicated *secundum rem*’ and ‘to be predicated *secundum vocem*.’ And because the *individuum vagum* is predicated of a particular man *secundum rem*, but of several men *secundum vocem*, it would not necessarily imply some common thing being predicated in both cases. It would just mean that the ‘human nature’ implied by ‘some man’ is not the human nature taken absolutely but in a particular way.⁷⁴⁵

⁷⁴² CMA v. 2, c. 1055: “Primum vero eorum, quibus videbantur plures species constituendae, nihil contra adaequationem propositae divisionis facit. Nam, etsi daremus, differentiam, proprium, et accidens in alias deinde species subdividi (de qua re inferius agendum est) non tamen inde concluderetur, plures esse species universalis contra divisas inter se, inferiora enim non faciunt numerum, cum suis superioribus, ac proinde eis haud contra dividuntur.”

⁷⁴³ CMA v. 2, c. 1055: “Eodem modo respondendum est ad secundum, quod contendebat unum tantum esse specie proprium, neque unum tantum accidens specie.”

⁷⁴⁴ CMA v. 2, c. 1055: “Ad tertium dicendum est, definitionem etsi ex aequo dicatur de pluribus, non tamen numerati in praedicabilibus seu universalibus, quia complexum est quidam. Qui enim praedicabilia in quinque genera distribuunt, non de complexis, sed de incomplexis loquuntur. Adde, quod definitio non dicitur ratione eadem praedicari de pluribus, sed ipsa est ratio, secundum quam definitum de pluribus praedicatur. Definitionis enim, seu rationis huius vel illius non datur alia definitio, sive ratio, sed datur definitum. Numeratur tamen in *Topicis* inter praedicata seu praedicabilia Dialectica, quemadmodum et descriptio, quae propriorum quoddam genus est Dialectici non excludunt praedicata complexa, sed omnia admittunt, de quibus, et ex quibus disputatio esse potest; tametsi non admittunt in praedicamentorum ordines, nisi quae incomplexa sunt, ut prima elementa disserendi tradant.”

⁷⁴⁵ CIPPA, pp. 64–65: “Circa eandem descriptionem dubitatur: an conveniat individuo vago, an individuo signato tantum. Dicitur autem individuum vagum: aliquis homo, aliquis bos, et huiusmodi; individuum vero signatum: hic homo, hic bos, etc.; Sortes, etc. Est autem ratio dubitandi, quia communiter dici videtur quod individuum vagum de uno solo praedicatur; et tamen exercitium praedicationis convincit, quod de pluribus praedicatur. Sortes, enim, est

Nevertheless, Aquinas affirmed that the *individuum vagum* is predicated not only *secundum vocem* but also *secundum rationem significatam*. Cajetan remarks that Aquinas derived his position from the fact that ‘Socrates’ can be considered under three perspectives, namely, as ‘human nature,’ as ‘mode by which the human nature is in him’ (particular existence), and as ‘the principle by which this nature is determined to Socrates (*natura signata*)’. Of those three, the nature itself is common and predicable of several; the mode of nature is also common to all individuals of this nature (provided that the Platonist position is not correct, than the human nature is particularly present in each individual); but the principle by which the nature is determined to ‘this man’ is unique and it is not suitable to any other man. As the *individuum vagum* does not imply the determination (the last perspective), it can be predicated of several.⁷⁴⁶ Against this, there are three possible objections. First, that Porphyry’s account is lacking in respect of the predicables because he is silent about the *individuum vagum*. Second, that he *individuum vagum* is included in the predicables but it does not appear in the division because it is predicated neither *in quid* nor *in quale*. Third, that the *individuum vagum* is located somewhere between the species and the particulars.⁷⁴⁷ Cajetan’s reply to each of these points is as follows.

aliquis homo et, similiter, Plato est aliquis homo; et sic de aliis. Ad hoc dubium dicitur, quod ista descriptio convenit etiam individuo vago, et consequenter, quod individuum de uno solo praedicatur secundum rem, licet secundum vocem praedicetur de pluribus. Unde, quia, cum dicitur «aliquis homo» de Sorte et Platone, nulla res communis Sorti et Platoni praedicatur, nisi natura humana importata per ly «homo», et ly «aliquis homo» importat naturam non absolute, sed particularizatam, ideo sola illa vox «aliquis homo» est communis utrisque; sic, si plures homines vocentur Sortis nomine, quod importat naturam humanam determinatam ad hoc, sola vox communis est utrique Sorti.”

⁷⁴⁶ CIPPA, pp. 65-66: “Sed huic responsioni, cui communiter ab omnibus assentiri videtur, obstat S. Thomae doctrina, quae Peripateticis plurimum consentanea est. Habetur siquidem ab ipso, in Quaestionibus disputatis De Potentia Dei qu. IX a. 2, quod individuum vagum praedicatur de pluribus non solum secundum vocem, sed secundum rationem significatam. Fundatur autem doctrina sua super hoc, quia in Sorte tria possunt considerari, quae in eo sunt: natura scilicet humana; modus, quo illa natura est in Sorte, - qui modus nihil aliud est, quam particulariter existere, est enim in Sorte natura humana non universaliter, sed particulariter; - et principium, quo illa natura determinatur ad Sortem, puta materia signata. Horum autem trium natura ipsa communis est et praedicabilis de multis; modus quoque naturae communis est omnibus individuis illius naturae, sicut et natura ipsa; sicut in quolibet homine est natura humana, ita est: in quolibet homine natura humana particulariter; nullus enim homo est, qui non sit homo et qui non sit homo particularis, nisi secundum Platonicos ponentes hominem universalem, etc.; principium autem, quo natura ad hoc determinatur, proprium est ita huic, quod nulli alteri convenit. Quemadmodum ergo, quia species naturam absolute significat, de pluribus praedicatur, ita individuum vagum, quia modum naturae non determinatum ad hoc seu naturam sub modo non determinatam ad hoc, importat, de pluribus praedicabile est. Individuum vero signatum, quia hoc singulare significat, de multis nullo pacto dici potest. Non ergo aequivoce dicitur individuum vagum de pluribus, sed secundum nomen et rationem.”

⁷⁴⁷ CIPPA, p. 66: “Et licet contra doctrinam hanc obiici possit, pro nunc tamen tripliciter instari potest logicaliter. Primo, quia secundum hoc Porphyrius diminutus esset determinans de praedicabilibus et tacens de individuo vago. Secundo, quia superius posita est divisio praedicabilium, et non apparet, sub quo illorum membrorum claudatur individuum vagum, quia non praedicatur in quid - esset enim species, - nec in quale. Ergo etc. Tertio, quia

To the first, he replies that Porphyry did not propose to treat of all the predicables whatsoever, but only of those five that he explicitly mentions in the foreword of the *Isagoge*. To the second, he replies that the *individuum vagum* is predicated *in quale*, since if one asks ‘of what kind’ is man, it can be replied that he is ‘*aliquis homo*,’ as Socrates is not man *per se*, he is ‘a man.’ To the third, Cajetan replies that the *individuum vagum* is not the middle between species and singulars, in the mode of the thing, but it seems to be in *ratio*.⁷⁴⁸ A last point to be highlighted is the fact that Cajetan also brings to bear the distinction between universal and definable whole.⁷⁴⁹ Hence, the conclusion here is that Cajetan upholds the opinion that the predicables are not only five, as he also gives a status of predicable to the *individuum vagum*.

Fonseca, on the other hand, has a different approach to the *singularia vaga*, which can be predicated of several items, but which are not therefore universals in the following way. “Man” does not signify *formaliter* unless when it signifies the “human nature” in a *modus existendi particulariter*. Therefore, some authors (especially Cajetan) posited that *singularia vaga* were implicitly present in Porphyry’s *Isagoge*.⁷⁵⁰ Fonseca rejects this reasoning because the

praeceptum Platonis, quo quiescendum iussit in specialissimis, non esset implendum, quoniam descendere adhuc potest divisio: individuum vagum medium est inter speciem et particularia.”

⁷⁴⁸ CIPPA, pp 66-67: “Ad primum horum dicitur, quod arguendus non est qui ea, quae non promisit, non servavit; Porphyrius autem numquam pollicitus est se de omnibus praedicabilibus tractaturum, sed tantum de illis quinque ab ipso numeratis in prooemio, ut ibi patet, et ideo non est mirum, si de individuo vago non tractavit. Ad secundum dicitur, quod individuum vagum praedicatur in quale et non in quid; per ly «quale» vero intelligitur omnis modus alius a «quid», scilicet «quantum», «quotum», etc.; proprium autem interrogativum de individuo vago videtur esse hoc, quod dico «cuiusmodi». Quod sic persuadetur: de A, puta Sorte, potest triplex quaestio formari: prima de quidditate eius; et sic quaerimus per ly «quid est», et respondetur: «homo». Terminata hac quaestione per hanc responsionem communem Peripateticis et Platonicis, resta inquirendum cuiusmodi homo est: universalis an particularis, per se an participatione; multum enim refert, quid horum respondeatur. Platonicis enim de aliqua re existente in rerum natura, quam dixerunt esse hominem, quaerentibus cuiusmodi homo est, respondent: per se et universalis; de aliquo vero, puta Sorte, respondent, quod non est homo per se, sed est homo aliquis, idest particularis, etc. Peripatetici autem, quaerentibus cuiusmodi homo sit, vel cuiusmodi bos sit, semper respondent quod est aliquis homo et aliquis bos; quoniam naturas rerum per se non credunt subsistentes. Terminata autem hac quaestione per individuum vagum, quaerimus «quis» et respondetur: «hic», quod importat individuum signatum. Praedicatur ergo individuum vagum in «cuiusmodi» et consequenter, non in «quid», sed in «quale». Ad tertium dicitur praeceptum Platonis implendum esse, sed sane intellectum. Loquitur enim de descensu per divisionem formalem, et non de quaecumque divisione; post specialissimam autem speciem, nullam dicimus esse divisionem formalem nec etiam dicimus, proprie loquendo, individuum vagum esse medium inter speciem et singularia, quoniam medium coordinationis praedicamentalis res ipsa, cuius est esse, debet esse, non modus rei, ut patet de generibus et speciebus et singularibus. Individuum autem vagum, ut distinctum a specie et singularibus, modum tantum rei dicit, et ideo medium nullum dicitur esse inter speciem et singularia, licet quoad aliquid medii rationem habere videatur. Dicendum est ergo quod diffinitio individui hic assignata individuo signato tantum convenit in cuius signum Porphyrius signata tantum individua in textu expressit, etc.”

⁷⁴⁹ CIPPA, p 68: “Circa hanc partem notandum est, quod totum dicitur dupliciter, scilicet totum universale et totum diffinibile.”

⁷⁵⁰ CMA v. 2, cc. 1055-1056: “Quod vero attinet ad individua vaga, sunt (*inter quos est Caietanus in Isagoge Porphyrii ad c. de Specie, et alii*) qui asserant, illa eadem ratione praedicari de pluribus, ut quemdam hominem de

individuum vagum does not signify *in modus existendi* but *in modus essendi*, just as *species vaga* signify colour, or *genera vaga* signify quality, not *in modus existendi* but *in modus essendi*.⁷⁵¹

Second, because if the *modus existendi* were understood as *modus essendi*, the singular *modus essendi* of the *ratio* would have to be abstracted.⁷⁵² Human nature, which is contracted in the singular men, can be abstracted from their singular natures. However its *modus essendi* *particulatim* in the singulars cannot. And third, because the *individuum vagum* is not apt by its nature to be a predicate but to be a subject (*subiicitur*), as it is composed of the common nature and a sign of particularity, which does not belong to the predicate but to the subject, just as the sign of universality (*De Interpretatione* book 1).⁷⁵³ When it is said that Socrates is a particular man, the predicate is rendered complex and the complex terms are not enumerated under the universals.⁷⁵⁴ In sum, Fonseca rejects this position because of its inconsistency, and more importantly, because as we will see, none of the various ways in which the five predicables can be deduced entails the *individuum vagum* among the universals.

singulis hominibus, proinde esse universalia, cum determinatis individuis collata. Aiunt enim, hoc, quod dico, quidam homo, non significare formaliter, nisi naturam humanam modo particulariter existendi; etsi autem differentiae individuantes, quibus natura humana particulariter existit, non conveniunt inter se ratione eadem, ipsum tamen modum particulariter existendi eadem ratione convenire omnibus hominibus. Quocirca potuisse quidem individuum vagum explicari a Porphyrio inter alia praedicabilia genera; sed tamen praetermissum fuisse in explicatione, quia non fuerat numeratum in praefatione.”

⁷⁵¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1056: “Haec tamen sententia non placet. Primum, quia individuum vagum non significat modum existendi, sed modum essendi; quemadmodum species vaga (licet enim ita loqui) ut quidam color; aut genus vagum ut quaedam qualitas (sumpta particularitatis nota, ut significat partem subiectam specialem aut generalem) non significant existendi modos, sed essendi; dicuntur enim ista omnia non de existentibus tantum, sed etiam de non existentibus; habentibus tamen particularem essendi modum.”

⁷⁵² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1056: “Deinde, quia se per modum existendi intelligunt modum essendi, ostendere eos oportet, quo pacto is vere sit univocus, et qui abstrahi possit a singulis modis essendi eiusdem, ut volunt, rationis. Nam, etsi natura humana, quae est in singulis hominibus contracta, abstrahi potest a naturis singulorum; modus tamen, quo ipsa particulatim est in singulis hominibus, a singulis modis particulatim essendi in illis abstrahi non potest.”

⁷⁵³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1056: “Tertio, quia individuum vagum non est natura sua aptum, ut praedicetur, sed ut subiiciatur. Constat enim voce ex natura communi, et signo particularitatis, quod non praedicato, sed subiecto adhibetur; quemadmodum nec signum universalitatis, ut Aristoteles tradit in priori libro *De Interpretatione*. Si quando autem libeat individuum vagum de subiecto aliquo enunciare; ut si dicas, Socratem esse hominem particularem; complexa autem non numerantur in universalibus, de quibus in *Praedicamentis* agitur.”

⁷⁵⁴ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1056-1057: “Accedit, quod quicquid universale est, notari potest et universalitatis, et particularitatis signo; cum et copulative coniunctimque pro omnibus suis particularibus, et disiunctive ac disiunctim pro hoc aut illo accipi possit. At quidam homo, et caetera vaga individua notari non possunt huiusmodi signis. Nemo enim dicat, omnem quendam hominem, aut quendam aliquem hominem esse hoc aut illud. Unde colliges, aliud esse dicere particularem hominem, aliud quendam hominem; cum hoc praedictis signis notari non possit, illud autem apte eis notetur. Recte enim dicimus, omnem hominem particularem esse animal, et, aliquem hominem particularem esse Grammaticum; ita non est, cur vaga individua numerentur inter universalia.”

Accordingly, Fonseca examines the arguments in favour of keeping the traditional division. However he felt the necessity of explaining what exactly was being sought. It was not to find out whether this division in five kinds is adequate as not to have under the universal any other species, either superior or inferior, as if the investigation concerned whether the five kinds divide the universal proximately and whether no other division of it in other species is possible. In fact, Fonseca was asking whether the species of universals were more than five or less than five as opposed to themselves, or as if contrary to each other.⁷⁵⁵ In order to arrive at the number five, Fonseca felt that he had to present examples of how one gets this division.

The five kinds can be deduced in several ways. First, if something is predicated of something else, it is either necessarily or accidentally, or contingently, predicated. If it is contingently, it is an accident. If necessarily, either it is predicated by an essential predication or by an accidental one. If it is by an accidental predication, it is a property, if by an essential predication, it is either in response to the question *Quid est* or to the question *Quale est*. If it is the latter, then it is a *differentia*, and if to the former, it is either predicated of that which differs in species or that which differs only in number. If the former it is a genus, if the latter, it is a species. The order of them would be genus, species, *differentia*, property, and accident.⁷⁵⁶ A second way is, the universals are said to be predicated either by an essential predication or by an

⁷⁵⁵ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1051-1052: “Pro huius rei explicatione illud intelligendum est, non quaeri a nobis hoc loco, sitne ita adaequata universalium divisio in quinque vulgatas species, ut sub universali nulla sit alia sive superior sive inferior species; quasi quaereremus, num quinque vulgatae species et proxime dividant universale, et ipsae etiam in alias species dividi nequeant; improprie enim hic est, et inusitatus propositae dubitationis sensus; sed quaerimus num plures, paucioresve sint species universalis sibi invicem oppositae sive, ut ita dicam, contra divisae; licet aliae fortasse sub universali superiores sint, inferioresve. Quo pacto quaeri solet, num divisio qualitatis in quatuor vulgata genera sit adaequata; etsi constet, alia quam plurima esse inferiora genera, et forsitan aliquis contendat, alia esse superiora. Eodem modo quaerunt Philosophi, num corpora simplicia, ex quibus, ut primis partibus, constat Mundi machina, adaequate distribuntur in quinque, an vero sint quatuor tantum, quae vulgo elementa dicuntur, quamvis, si quinque sunt, nihilominus quintum corpus in alias corporis species dividatur.”

⁷⁵⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1052: “Dicendum igitur, ex quatuor divisionibus, quae in re hac usurpari solent (nempe eorum, quae praedicantur, in ea, quae necessario et contingenter dicuntur, in ea, quae essentiali praedicatione, aut accidentaria; in ea, quae in quaestione *Quid est*, aut *Quale est*; in ea, quae differunt speciei, aut solo numero; quarum tres sumuntur ex modo praedicandi; quarta ex *differentia* eorum, de quibus sit praedicatio) haud obscure colligi, adaequatam esse propositam divisionem. Nam, varie coniunctis inter se membris dividendis, quinque tantum fiunt species universalis, quae totam universalis aptitudinem exhauriunt; tametsi aliquis contendat, alias esse superiores sub universali, aut inferiores. Universale enim aut praedicatur necessario de suis particularibus, aut non necessario, sive contingenter; si contingenter, est accidens; si necessario, aut praedicatur essentiali praedicatione, aut accidentaria; si accidentaria, est proprium; si essentiali aut praedicatur in quaestione *Quid est*, aut in quaestione *Quale est*; si in quaestione *Quale est*, *differentia* dicitur; si in quaestione *Quid est*, aut praedicatur de iis, quae differunt specie, aut de iis, quae solo numero; si de iis, quae solo numero, est species; si de iis, quae specie, est genus. Sunt igitur quinque species universalis, quae ordine converso numerantur genus, species, *differentia*, proprium, et accidens.”

accidental one. If essential, either to the question *Quid est* or to the question *Quale est*. If the former, they are either genus, when concerning items which differ in species, or species, if concerning items which differ only in number. However if the latter, they are *differentias*. If by an accidental predication, they are properties when it is a necessary accidental predication, and they are accidents, if by a contingent accidental predication.⁷⁵⁷ Further to this, the universal is predicated either to the question *Quid est* or to the question *Quale est*. If the former and concerning *differentias* in species, it is a genus, if concerning *differentias* only in number, it is a species. However, if the latter, it is either by an essential or by an accidental predication. If by an essential, it is a *differentia*. If by a necessary accidental predication, it is a property, if by a contingent accidental predication it is an accident.⁷⁵⁸

Another way is the one posited by Porphyry in his *Isagoge*. There he teaches that *differentias*, all accidents, in the same way as genera are predicated concerning items which differ in species. On the other hand, properties and species are predicated concerning items which differ only in number. In fact, in this ratio, one cannot talk about special *differentias* and special accidents, nor about general properties. However, if we want to address the issue correctly, we have to divide *differentias*, properties, and accidents, in terms of general and specific types of each. Thus if the universals are said concerning items which differ in species or which are predicated in the question *Quid est*, they are genera. If they are predicated in the question *Quale est* they are general *differentias*, when they are said *essentialiter*. On the other hand, if they are said *accidentaliter* but *necessario*, they are general properties. And if *accidentaliter* and *contingenter*, they are general accidents. However, if it concerns items differing only in number, they are either species, if concerning the question *Quid est*, or specific

⁷⁵⁷ CMA v. 2, c. 1052: “Idem colliges sumpto initio a secunda divisione hoc modo universalia, aut essentiali praedicatione dicuntur, aut accidentaria; si essentiali, aut in quaestione Quid est, aut in quaestione Quale est; si in quaestione Quid est, aut sunt genera, si de differentibus specie dicantur, aut species, si de solis differentibus numero; si vero in quaestione Quale est, sunt differentiae; quod si accidentaria dicuntur et necessaria, sunt propria; si contingenti, accidentia.”

⁷⁵⁸ CMA v. 2, cc. 1052-1053: “Qui ex tertia quoque divisione incoeperit, idem efficiet. At enim universale praedicatur in quaestione Quid est, aut in Quale est; si in quaestione Quid est, ac de differentibus specie, genus est; si de differentibus solo numero, species; quod si in quaestione Quale est, aut essentiali praedicatione aut accidentaria; si essentiali, differentia est; si accidentaria, aut necessaria aut contingenti; quo pacto aut est proprium, aut accidens.”

differentias, if in the question *Quale est*. But if *secundum essentiam* they are either specific properties, if in *Quale est accidentaliter* and *necessario*, or specific accidents, if in *Quale est accidentaliter* and *contingenter*. In this way, even if there are not five but eight divisions, it is still possible to keep the fivefold division, if general and specific *differentias* are subsumed under *differentia*, and general and specific properties and general and specific accidents under property and accident, respectively.⁷⁵⁹ The last kind of division is the one sought by several authors (Boethius, Albert, Scotus, Giles, and several of Fonseca's contemporaries). The central point of this view is a distinction between what is predicated completely and what is predicated incompletely.⁷⁶⁰ In Fonseca's assessment this view is flawed by the fact that properties and accidents are neither predicated completely nor incompletely.⁷⁶¹

A related issue is whether "universal" is truly a genus in comparison with its five common species. Fonseca begins by presenting the controversy between some important authors (Ammonius, Boethius, Simplicius, Albert, Avicenna, Clypeus, and Thomistarum), who think that

⁷⁵⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1053: "Porphyrus quidem a quarta etiam inchoare potuit, qui in *Isagoge*, differentias et accidentia omnia, quemadmodum et genera de differentibus specie praedicari docuit; propria vero aequae, ac species de differentibus solo numero. Qua vero ratione nec de differentiis et accidentibus specialibus, nec de propriis generalibus loquutus sit, eius interpretes explicare solent. Nos certe, qui omnes universalium formas complecti volumus, a quarta divisione inchoare non possumus, nisi differentias, propria et accidentia in generalia et specialia, quasi in species dividamus. Universalia enim, si de differentibus specie dicuntur, aut in quaestione Quid est praedicantur, et sunt genera; aut in quaestione Quale est, et sunt differentiae generales, si dicantur essentialiter; aut propria generalia, si dicantur accidentaliter et necessario; aut accidentia generalia, si accidentaliter et contingenter; si vero de differentibus solo numero, aut sunt species, si praedicentur in quaestione Quid est; aut differentiae speciales, si praedicentur in quaestione Quale est, et secundum essentiam, aut propria specialia, si in quaestione Quale est accidentaliter et necessario; aut accidentia specialia, si in quaestione Quale est accidentaliter et contingenter. Quo pacto, etsi non quinque tantum universalium formae, sed octo colliguntur; semper tamen adaequata est divisio in quinque vulgatas, quod differentiae generales et speciales sub differentia; propria vero et accidentia generalia et specialia, sub propria et accidente comprehendantur."

⁷⁶⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1053: "Quaereat aliquis, cur non usi simus hoc loco divisione eorum, quae praedicantur, in ea quae praedicantur complete, et quae incomplete, praesertim, cum a gravibus auctoribus ut Boetio in *Isagoge Porphyrii ad c de specie* Albert *ibid tr 2 c 9* Scoti *ibid q 12 et 27* et Aegidio *ibid ad cap de Genere*. Et fere recentiores usurpentur."

⁷⁶¹ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1053-1054: "Sed respondendum, propterea id factum a nobis non esse, quia divisio haec, etsi est utilis ad distinguenda praedicabilia, quae dicuntur essentialiter, et merito usurpari solet in distinguendo genere ab specie, ut inferius q 12 patebit tamen non complectitur omnia universalium genera, ut complectuntur quatuor iam dictae divisiones. Id enim dicitur praedicari complete, quod totam naturam particularium aperte significat; quo pacto sola species infima praedicatur de suis individuus; id vero praedicari incomplete, quo aperte non significat totam, sed partem; quo pacto sola genera et differentiae specierum effectrices praedicantur sive de speciebus sive de individuus, ut perspicuum est. Nam, propria et accidentia nec complete praedicantur neque incomplete, cum neque totam naturam particularium, nec partem eius aperte significant; tametsi totam non modo communem, sed etiam particularem innuunt, sive implicite significant; alioqui de illis non praedicarentur. Itaque non possent membra suis divisionis cum quatuor praedictarum membris complicari ad omnia universalium genera colligenda, nisi eis adderemus membrum tertium; eorum scilicet, quae nec complete nec incomplete praedicantur; quo pacto propria et accidentia de suis partibus subiectivis dicuntur. Verum aucta hoc modo divisione proposita, et obscurior fieret universalium collectio, et non alia genera universalium, quam quae dicta sunt, colligerentur."

the universal is not a genus of the five common species attributed to it, on the one hand, and Scotus, some of his followers, and some of Fonseca's contemporaries (*recentiores*), who defend that the universal is a true genus. Starting with the second opinion, Scotus's argument can be presented as follows. The universal is said to be concerning genus and the other four species, by the same name and by the same *ratio*, and thus there is no definition of universals that would not be equally suitable to each and all of its five common species.⁷⁶² Nevertheless, the arguments of those other important authors are three. First that the universal insofar as it is universal, does not say anything in act but in aptitude. And it is usually defined by the aptitude as it inheres in or is predicated of several items. However an aptitude, when it is said that it is the negation of an incompatibility, or a potential *modus essendi*, which follows the negation of this kind (q 4 s 2) and of which the neuter can have the true *ratio* of genus. Indeed negations are not entities.⁷⁶³ Second because the universal as such is not said of the five common species *ex aequo*, but analogically, what can be inferred from each of their definitions. Indeed both acts of being predicated of several items and of inhering in several items are said to be analogically, no doubt that both aptitudes will also be.⁷⁶⁴ Third, because even if all the *differentias*, which constitute the

⁷⁶² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1057: "Scoti ratio haec una est, quia universale eodem nomine, eademque ratione dicitur de genere et caeteris quatuor contra divisas speciebus; nulla enim definitio de universali traditur, quae non aequè omnibus conveniat. Quod si universale nomine eodem, eademque ratione dicitur de singulis quod est univoce non dubium est, quin de iis dicatur, ut genus de suis speciebus; quandoquidem constat, non dici de illis ut speciem de suis individuis, aut, ut differentiam de iis, quae sub specie a se constituta collocantur, aut denique ut proprium, accidensve de suis subiectis."

⁷⁶³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1057-1058: "Aliorum autem sententiae tria potissimum existunt argumenta. Unum, quia universale, quatenus universale est, non dicit actum, sed aptitudinem; unde et per aptitudinem, ut insit, aut ut praedicetur, definiri solet. Aptitudo autem, quam dicit, aut est negatio repugnantiae, aut modus essendi potentialis, quem sequitur eiusmodi negatio, ut q. 4 s. 2 supra explicatum est, quorum neutrum veram generis rationem habere potest. Negationes enim non entia quaedam sunt (...) Modi autem essendi, si puri sunt (qualis esse debet aptitudo essendi in pluribus) cum etiam non sint. Sed modi essendi tantum; neque essentiam ullam componere possunt, ut genera dicantur, neque ex essentia componi. Alioqui essentiae quaedam essent, ne essentia ex non essentiis constaret, et ens ex non entibus."

⁷⁶⁴ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1058-1059: "Alterum argumentum est, quia universale, quatenus universale est, non ex aequo dicitur de quinque vulgatis speciebus, sed analogice, quod ex utraque actus, et quo praedicatur de pluribus, et quo inest pluribus, analogice dicitur; non dubium, quin utraque aptitudo, ac proinde utraque definitio analogice dicatur. Primum quidem, quia praedicatio univoca, quae in ea definitione intelligitur, est analoga praedicationi essentiali et accidentariae (...) Aristoteles (quod equidem meminerim) nomine univocae praedicationis accidentariam complectitur, sed potius in praedicamentis, cum de substantia disserit, aperte negat, accidentia, quae in novem posterioribus praedicamentis ponuntur, dici de substrantiis nomine et ratione, quod est univoce. Et initio fere secundi *Topicorum* c 2 perspicue opponit univocae praedicationi, qua praedicantur genera, species et differentiae, praedicationem denominativam, qua praedicantur propria et accidentia. (...) Quocirca Boetius in exponenda definitione aequivocorum, eodemque loco Simplicius ex Iamblichio, affirmant, genus summum dici aequivocè (...) Nam, cum modus essendi in pluribus sit fundamentum, et adaequata causa modi praedicandi de pluribus; si modus

five common species and distinguish them among themselves, make species, not all of them constitute other superior species under the universal.⁷⁶⁵

Fonseca goes on to present his solution to this question. Again it is an attempt to reconcile the several views presented. In this context, Scotus and those who follow him in this regard seem to be correct when they hold that the universal with all its species is relative *formaliter*. Seeing that genus, species, etc, are related to their particulars by some relation of *ratio*, which is a relation like that of a whole to the subjected parts. A relation is an entity.⁷⁶⁶ On the other hand, those who speak of the universal as not being a genus do not talk about it *formaliter* but *fundamentaliter*.⁷⁶⁷ If it is taken simply and absolutely, the universal is not a genus of its five common species but something analogous in respect of them, and that is the way to reconcile Scotus and the other scholastic authors, that is, the universal is not univocal physically but logically (the unity and aptitude to be in several of the universal is suitable to the relation of genus and the other four kinds of universals).⁷⁶⁸

praedicandi, quo universalia dicuntur de pluribus non univocus est, sed analogicus, et ipse modus essendi in eisdem, analogicus sit, necesse est.”

⁷⁶⁵ CMA v. 2, c. 1059: “Tertium argumentum est, quia, si differentiae omnes, quibus quinque vulgatae universalium species constituuntur, et inter se distinguuntur, sunt specierum effectrices, pauciores earum constituent alias species superiores sub universali, quod idem accidit in differentiis, quibus homo constituitur (...) Si ergo cum genus definitur, universale, quod praedicatur necessario, essentialiter, in quaestione Quid est, de differentiis specie aut (si malis) incomplete, sane universale, quod praedicatur, necessario erit una species sub universali; quod autem praedicatur necessario et essentialiter, erit alia species huic subiecta; quod denique praedicatur necessario; et essentialiter, et in quaestione Quid est, erit alia inferior species, quae solum genus et speciem complectatur. At si hoc damus, miram facimus confusionem in speciebus universalium. Licebit enim pari ratione constituere alias interiectas species inter differentiam, proprium, at accidens, et ipsum universale, quae cum praedictis intermediis cohaerere non possint.”

⁷⁶⁶ CMA v. 2, cc. 1060-1061: “Scotus enim, et qui eum sequuntur, recte videbuntur dixisse, si loquuti sunt de universali, eiusque speciebus, quatenus relativa sunt formaliter. Nam, cum genus, species, et caetera tria referantur ad sua particularia relatione quadam rationis, quae est relatio totius ad partes subiectas; relatio autem quaelibet sit quaedam entitas; non dubium videtur, quin ex relationibus omnium generum abstrahi possit entitas quaedam communis, in qua omnes eiusmodi relationes conveniant, quatenus sunt relationes generum ad suas species;”

⁷⁶⁷ CMA v. 2, c. 1061: “At caeteri omnes, qui asserunt, universale non esse re vera genus, non loquuntur de universali, eiusque vulgatis speciebus, quatenus relativa sunt formaliter, sed fundamentaliter tantum, quae est propria et germana consideratio cuiusque universalis, quatenus universale est, id est unum quid aptum, et, ut sit in multis, et de multis dicatur.”

⁷⁶⁸ CMA v. 2, cc. 1061-1062: “Quocirca si simpliciter et absolute loquamur, resque ac vivum resecetur, dicendum est, universale non esse genus quinque vulgarum eius specierum, sed analogum quid, respectu earum (...) Ratio autem Scoti, quam affirmativam suadet simpliciter quidem falsum assumit, cum utraque definitio universalis ex analogicis constet partibus unitatis, inquam, et utriusque aptitudinis nominibus. Ea tamen ratione assumptum est verum, quatenus insinuat genus et differentiam constitutivam eius locationis, quae in ea unitate et aptitudine fundatur; univoce convenire relationi generis et caeterorum quatuor (...) Unde etsi Scotus clarius, quam caeteri ex veteribus scholasticis de univocatione universalis locutus est; concedit tamen eodem in ipso loco, in quo etiam astruit, universale non Physice sed Logice univocum esse; hoc est non habere naturam vere univocam, sed quodammodo univocam.”

As a conclusion to this section, it can be said that the universal is not by some *ratio* a genus of the five species in a proper way, because by parity of reason *ens* would be the genus of all beings, a possibility which is denied by all Peripatetic authors.⁷⁶⁹ Moreover, the universal is not a genus of the five species in a proper way because the universal is not quidditatively a genus but denominatively the genus of all genera.⁷⁷⁰ Somebody could object that if the universal, taken as relative, is abstracted from all its species; hence it is necessary that also the items subjected to this relation, or the substracts, be abstracted from all the substracted items of this special relation.⁷⁷¹ However, this is based on the assumption that when the connotative is abstracted, all the things connoted are also abstracted, but this is not the case, as it is evident by the fact that the condition of an item in relation to the universal is not discovered through the abstraction of any item under a relation, but it is abstracted from the relation of universality itself.⁷⁷² Furthermore,

⁷⁶⁹ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1062-1063: “Sunt tamen nonnulla, quae aliquis contra obiiciat. Primum, si universale ratione aliqua esset proprie genus generis et caeterorum quatuor; fore, ut daretur commune genus substantiarum omnium, quantitatum, qualitatum, et caeterorum, quae vel genera sunt, vel species, vel differentiae, vel propria, vel accidentia, (quandoquidem praeter haec nulla sunt genera aut species, et sic de caeteris) at nihil tale inveniri potest, nisi ens esset proprie genus omnium entium; quod omnes Peripatetici negant, non est igitur universale proprie genus generis, et caeterorum quatuor.”

⁷⁷⁰ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1063-1064: “Verum ad primum dicendum; quemadmodum substantiae, quantitates, et caeterae, quae universe dicuntur in quolibet praedicamento, non sunt quidditative genera aut species, et (ut uno verbo dicam) universalia; ita non necesse esse, ut inveniatur commune aliquod praedicatum, quod de eis, quatenus talia entia sunt, tanquam commune omnium genus praedicetur, sed quatenus sunt genera aut species, et caetera. Eiusmodi autem est universale in commune. Substantia, quatenus genus quoddam est, quidditative est universalis; et homo similiter, quatenus est species quaedam, et si caetera. Quare non est necesse, ut recurratur ad ens, tanquam ad genus omnium universalium, sive quatenus illa sunt entia, sive quatenus universalia, suum quoddam genus habent, quod est universale in commune.”

⁷⁷¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1064: “Sed obiiciat aliquis hunc in modum. Cum universale, quatenus relativum est, abstrahitur ab omnibus suis speciebus; necesse est, ut res etiam subiecta relationi, seu substrata (ut vulgus Dialecticorum loquitur) abstrahatur ab omnibus rebus substratis specialium relationum; alioqui cum dicimus, universale est genus quinque vulgarum specierum, falsa esset propositio: esse substantiam, aut quantitatem, aut aliquam aliam certam naturam universalem denominari genus generis, speciei, et caeterarum specierum, quod est omnino falsum et impossibile. Est enim quaelibet earum individuum quoddam universalis, nempe unum numero genus, aut una numero species, et caetera. Cum igitur nulla res substrata abstrahi possit ab omnibus rebus substratis, nisi sit illis univoca, (quidquid enim abstrahitur a pluribus, aequae illa respicit omnia; ac proinde aequae ab illis participatur) perspicuum est, universale non solum quoad relationem, sed etiam, quoad rem substratam esse univocum. Quod si, quoad relationem et rem substratam, univocum est; ergo et quoad ipsam universalitatem, quae media est inter utrumque et fundamentum relationis.”

⁷⁷² *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1064-1065: “Huic obiectioni occurrendum est, cum aliquod connotativum (cuiusmodi est universale, et omnes eius vulgatae species) abstrahitur a suis particularibus etsi saepe etiam res substrata denominata vere ac simpliciter abstrahitur a particularibus rebus substratis, quo pacto cum abstrahitur risibile, simul etiam abstrahitur homo; tamen id non semper esse necessarium. Neque enim vere ac simpliciter abstrahimus substantiam aliquam, quae sit vere species, aut genus substantiae, cum abstrahimus album aut nigrum a particularibus albis aut nigris, quippe, cum nulla detur substantia generalis aut specialis, cui primo conveniat album esse aut nigrum. Quod idem cernitur in caeteris praedicamentis, ac multo clarius in iis connotativis, quae nullum subiectum denominare possunt, nisi singulare, ut in agente per se, et in patiente per se. Necesse est tamen, ut cum connotativum abstrahitur a suis particularibus, abstrahatur etiam res substrata, si non simpliciter, certe quodammodo, id est, quatenus subest formae denominanti. Nam, etsi cum albo in commune sumpto et quasi seiuncto per intellectum ab omnibus particularibus non abstrahitur unum aliquod subiectum, quod sit unius rationis simpliciter, est illud tamen unum,

while it is true that if universal were a genus of genus, some genus would be contained under its species,⁷⁷³ a genus is not contained under its species *essentialiter*, because the species does not belong to the constitution of its genus.⁷⁷⁴ Moreover, the universal is univocally predicated of those items predicated *essentialiter* and of those predicated *accidentaliter*,⁷⁷⁵ because that is how it works in the case of properties and accidents that are regarded in their subjects in one and other *modus* (*essentialiter* and *accidentaliter*).⁷⁷⁶ Finally, the definition of the common species of universals as being five is correctly inferred, even if there may be ways in which one can talk about ‘generic *differentias*,’ ‘specific *differentias*,’ ‘generic properties,’ ‘specific properties,’ etc.,⁷⁷⁷ because the *ratio* behind each of these cases of folding together of two predicables is not the same, and consequently predicates concerning several items which differ in species and predicates concerning items which differ only in number do not belong to the same way of

quatenus induit formam albedinis, quod est esse unum non distincte, sed confuse. Quo etiam pacto libro superiori c 2 q 2 s 4 diximus, ens in commune esse unum quid, et quodammodo abstrahi a particularibus entibus; cum dicimus, ens esse analogum vel Deo, et creaturis, vel rebus diversorum praedicamentorum. Sic ergo res se habet in universali, cum abstrahitur a genere, specie, ac caeteris; non abstrahitur enim tunc vere ac simpliciter res substrata relationi, sed tamen quodammodo abstrahitur, quatenus relationem universalitatis induit.”

⁷⁷³ CMA v. 2, c. 1063: “Deinde, si esset genus generis, fore, ut aliquod genus contineretur sub specie sua; quod fieri nullo modo potest. Id autem sequi manifestum est; quia latius pateret genus, quam universale; siquidem ipsum universale esset unum quoddam ex generibus particularibus, quemadmodum animal, color et caetera alia. Unde sequeretur, ipsum quoque universale esse sub seipso; quandoquidem quidquid est sub inferiori aliquo, est etiam sub eius superiori.”

⁷⁷⁴ CMA v. 2, c. 1065: “Ad secundum dicendum non contineri quidem genus ullum sub sua specie *essentialiter*, cum species non pertineat ad constitutionem sui generis, at denominative non esse incommo- dum; atque hoc pacto universale contineri sub genere (...) Potest enim genus aliquod latius patere seipso, si species eius ita illud denominet, ut aliquid etiam aliud denominare possit.”

⁷⁷⁵ CMA v. 2, c. 1063: “Tertio, etsi universale videatur univocum iis universalibus, quae praedicantur *essentialiter* (eodem enim prorsus modo videntur respicere genera, species, et differentiae unius praedicamenti sua particularia, atque genera, species, et differentiae aliorum praedicamentorum) tamen iis, quae praedicantur *accidentaliter*, univocum esse non videtur dici posse, cum alio modo quantitas respiciat particulares substantias subiectas, alio modo qualitas, et si caetera praedicamenta, ut ex superius si dictis facile intelliges. Non igitur dicendum videtur, universale esse genus omnium quatuor vulgarum eius specierum, sed summum primarum trium tantum.”

⁷⁷⁶ CMA v. 2, cc. 1065-1066: “Ad alterum dicendum est, etsi propria et accidentia, quae in diversis praedicamentis ponuntur, alio et alio modo respiciunt sua subiecta, quatenus entia quaedam sunt; tamen, quatenus proprium est accidentarium et necessarium praedicatum, accidens vero necessarium et contingens, eodem modo et propria omnia, cuiusque praedicamenti sint, respicere sua subiecta, et accidentia omnia similiter. Nam, esse accidentarium praedicatum, nihil est aliud, quam esse extra essentiam subiecti; necessarium vero et contingens hac ratione distinguuntur, quod praedicatum necessarium non potest non convenire, contingens vero potest. At in his modis essendi, etiamsi in diversis praedicamentis reperiantur, imo vero et extra praedicamenta, ut in praedicatis relativis, non realibus, et negativis, verisimile est, easdem specie relationes rationis fundari posse.”

⁷⁷⁷ CMA v. 2, c. 1063: “Postremo, si ex complicatione earum conditionum, quibus universale eiusque vulgate species definiri solent, recte colliguntur, quinque species universalis; haud vitiose colliguntur aliae species interiectae, vel etiam inferiores, ut paulo ante argumentabamur. Plures enim complicationes fieri possunt, quarum aliae latius patent, quam quaedam ex quinque vulgaris speciebus, ut praedicari necessario in quaestione Quid est, praedicari *accidentaliter* in quaestione Quale est, quaedam etiam minus late patent.”

predicating one item of another (*modus praedicandi*).⁷⁷⁸ This fact will be further delineated as each kind of predicable is explained, since it makes more sense to preserve the distinction between genus and species according to these two ways of predicating, while *differentias*, properties, and accidents, have other characteristics to define each of them.

4.1.3. Genus and Species

After dealing with the five universals in general, Fonseca turns to the consideration of each kind of predicable. Although he raises several difficulties related to each kind, we are going to present the difficulties in sections (sometimes dealing with a pair of predicables in one section, sometimes with only one of them), and not each kind separately, due to practical reasons as genus and species are somehow correlative, and property and accident are in some respects similar to each other.

The relation of genus and species pose a number of interesting questions. Fundamental to Fonseca's account are the notions that the process of abstraction allows for more than one level, that is, that there can be one abstraction after the other; that there is an order between genus and species; and that the whole discussion about genera and species concern sensible substances, hence that matter plays a central role. As we have seen with regard to Porphyry's unanswered questions. Again, the ontology behind the theory of predicables has a clear connection with Aristotle's hylomorphism of the physical-psychological-metaphysical works.

The first difficulty is related to genus, and the main issue concerns whether the items abstracted of the other categories are genera and species just as the abstracted of substances,

⁷⁷⁸ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1066-1067: "Ad ultimum dicendum, non esse parem rationem, ut ex aliis complicationibus colligamus alias species medias inter universale, et quinque vulgatas, cum species certum ordinem habentes constituere non possint, ut supradictum est (...) Tum denique, quia, si discrimen hoc praedicandi de differentibus specie aut solo numero, distingueret specie universalia, eadem differentiae specificae dividerent genera non subalternatim posita; quod merito negat Aristoteles, omnesque eius interpretes in *Categoriarum* seu antepredicamentorum libr 20 c 4. nam eadem, quae dividunt universale, quod praedicatur in Quid, ad constitutionem, generis et speciei, dividerent quoque differentiam, proprium, et accidens conctitutionem sex aliarum specierum."

namely, just as animality, corporeity, are genera.⁷⁷⁹ It is not necessary to corroborate the assumption that the abstracted of substances are genera, because this was demonstrated in the second chapter. Therefore, it is already clear that animality is a genus in comparison with concrete substantial items, for instance, that animality is a genus in respect of man, of horse. However, it remains to be discussed whether they are genera when compared to the abstracted with a narrower scope, i.e., whether animality is a genus of humanity and a genus of brutality, both of which seem to be qualities.⁷⁸⁰

There are those who defend the negative answer, namely, that animality is not a genus of humanity etc., among them Scotus and other scotists, and Cajetan and Aquinas. These authors deny that the abstracted of substances are genera of the abstracted with a narrower scope (*minus late patentium*). There are three reasons for their opinion. First, because the relation among them is that of a part (*modus partium*), that is, animality seems to be a part of humanity, while a genus has to be signified in a way of a whole (*modus totius*). Second, because just as the abstracted of a *differentia* is not a *differentia* but the principle of *differentia*, according to Avicenna, then animality would not be a genus but the principle of a genus. Third, because those things abstracted, not only from subjects or substrates, but also from items which are under them, cannot be denominated genera, because genus has to be predicated of all the items under it, but it is not said of those items from which it is abstracted.⁷⁸¹ Scotus's solution is presented in terms of

⁷⁷⁹ CMA v. 2, c. 1067: "An, quemadmodum abstracta accidentium, seu potius abstracta accidentia, ut quantitas, et qualitas sunt genera in suis quaeque praedicamentis posita; sic etiam substantiae, quatenus abstractis nominibus significantur, ut animalitas, corporeitas, sint genera, quae ad praedicamentum substantiae pertineant."

⁷⁸⁰ CMA v. 2, cc. 1067-1068: "Hoc ut melius intelligas, adverte, duobus modis quaestionem hanc pronon posse. Uno, an abstracta substantiarum sint genera comparatione concretorum substantialium, ut animalitas respectu hominis et bruti animalis. Altero, an sint genera comparatione abstractorum minus late patentium, ut animalitas respectu humanitatis, et, ut sic dicam, brutalitatis, seu naturae bruti animalis. Et, licet non desint, qui nihil inter has quaestiones interesse credant, quod promiscue abstracta de concretis, et concreta de abstractis enuncient (dicunt enim animal esse animalitatem, naturamve animalis, et vicissim, naturam animalis esse animal, hominemque et brutum animal aequae esse animalitatis, atque animalia) communis tamen Schola negat, abstracta esse genera concretorum in quovis ea praedicamento considerentur, ut animalitatem respectu hominis et bruti, et qualitatem respectu colorati et sonantis, quod abstracta de concretis saltem in rebus materialibus non dicantur. Discrepant vero, num abstracta communiora in praedicamento substantiae sint genera abstractorum minus communium, ut animalitas humanitatis et naturae brutorum. Nam, de vulgatis usurpatisque accidentium abstractis, cuiusmodi sunt color, albedo, et nigredo, nemo dubitat, quin communiora sint genera minus communium."

⁷⁸¹ CMA v. 2, c. 1068: "Scotus, in 1 d 2 q 7 et d 5 q 1 et in Praedi. Lib q 15 Lich. In i d 5 q 1 Fr. De May. Ibi Ant And 3 Meta q 2 Caiet De ente et essentia c 4 ad mentem D Thomas ibid. negant, abstracta substantiarum esse genera abstractorum minus late patentium, quod tribus potissimum rationibus confirmant.

Primum, quia significatur per modum partium, cum tamen genus debeat significari per modum totius.

a distinction of two kinds of abstracted items. An abstracted item by an *abstractio ultimata*, which does not include anything other than what is *per se* and *essentialiter* included in the items from which it is abstracted. And the abstracted by an *abstractio non-ultimata*, which also includes, and is said of, the inferiors of the abstracted, for example “white is a colour” and “white is white.”⁷⁸² Although Scotus finds another kind of abstracted in accidents, however in substances only the *abstracta ultimata* is discerned, seeing that other more abstracted of the same nature is not made.⁷⁸³

Against the negative answer there are three reasons. First, because the abstracted substances signify by *modus partium* in respect of the *supposita*, and generally taken in respect of other concrete substances, of which they are as if the forms. But in respect of the less common abstracted they signify by *modus totorum quorundam potentialium continentium* by amplitude of its less common commonality.⁷⁸⁴ Second, because genera and species, as they are predicated in the question *Quid est*, do not suppose anything else beside what is signified by their concrete names. But a *differentia* always supposes a genus, of which it are said, as it does not belong to its

Deinde, quia quemadmodum abstractum differentiae non est differentia, sed differentiae principium, ut rationalitas (quod Avicennae dictum omnes approbant) sic abstractum generis, ut animalitas, non est genus, sed principium generis; parem enim volunt esse utroque rationem.

Tertio, quia, quae abstracta sunt, non modo a subiectis aut suppositis, sed etiam ab inferioribus, ea, quatenus sic abstracta sunt, denominari genera non possunt; genus enim praedicari debet de inferioribus quae autem ab inferioribus abstracta, quatenus ab eis abstracta sunt, de eisdem non dicuntur. At substantiarum abstracta non modo a subiectis, quae nulla habent, abstracta sunt, et suppositis etiam, quae nulla connotant, aut implicite significant; sed etiam ab inferioribus abstractis. Animalitas enim, verbi gratia, idem est, quod animalis natura ab inferioribus praecisa, et humanitas idem, quod a singulis hominibus praecisa natura hominis, quae autem praecisa sunt ab aliquo, abstracta ab eo esse, nemo dubitat.”

⁷⁸² CMA v. 2, cc. 1068-1069: “Quod ut melius intelligas, adverte, Scotum duo facere abstractorum genera, alia enim vocat abstracta abstractione ultimata, alia non ultimata. Ultimata, quae in alia abstractiora non resolvuntur, seu, quae nihil aliud includunt, aut concernunt, nisi quod per se et essentialiter in ipsis includitur, ea vero sunt, quae non tantum a subiectis, aut suppositis abstracta sunt, sed etiam ab inferioribus abstractis, quod tum demum accidit, cum abstractum aliquod nec de subiecto ullo, nec de supposito, nec de minus late patente conceptu praedicatur; (...) Non ultimata vero abstractione ea abstracta esse dicit, quae in alia abstractiora resolvi possunt. Seu, quae etsi a subiectis et suppositis abstracta sunt, tamen inferiores concernunt, et de illis dicuntur, quo pacto color et albedo sunt abstracta. Nam et color in coloreitate suo modo resolvitur, et albedo similiter in albedinitatem. Et quanquam neutrum dicitur de subiecto ullo aut supposito, tamen utrumque de suis inferioribus enunciari potest, dicimus enim, albedinem esse colorem, et hanc albedinem esse albedinem.”

⁷⁸³ CMA v. 2, c. 1069: “Quanquam vero in accidentibus utrumque genus abstractorum reperiri vult Scotus, tamen in substantiis sola abstracta ultimata abstractione cernuntur, quod ex illis alia abstractiora eiusdem naturae fieri nequeant. Neque enim ex animalitate aliquid aliud abstractius efficias, quod sit praecisa aliqua animalitatis natura; cum naturae praecisae non sit alia praecisa natura, ne abeat in infinitum in confingendis naturarum naturis.”

⁷⁸⁴ CMA v. 2, c. 1072: “Quoniam igitur si absolute loquamur, negativa quaestionis pars falsa est, ad primum propositum argumentum dicendum abstracta substantiarum significari quidem per modum partium respectu suppositorum, et omnino respectu aliorum concretorum, quorum sunt velut formae, ut humanitatem respectu singulorum hominum, atque adeo hominis communis, et animalitatem respectu hominis et bruti animalis, atque etiam respectu animalis in commune sumpti,”

essence, it has necessarily to be concrete, denominative or connotative, in respect of it. In this sense, according to Fonseca, Avicenna may have thought correctly, since rationality, being abstract, is not a *differentia*, concrete, but the principle of a *differentia*.⁷⁸⁵ The third is in Fonseca's opinion hardly difficult to be explained away. If indeed what is abstracted of substances, when taken absolutely, cannot be or cannot be signified by, as it is abstracted and separated from the inferior abstracted, neither will be the more common, taken absolutely, separated or signified by when it is separated from their less common. But it can be predicated of them by way of identity, although when taken absolutely they cannot be denominated genera of the less common.⁷⁸⁶ Fonseca adds that Scotus's distinction between abstracted by *abstractio ultimata* and by *abstractio non-ultimata* is not proved, because the distinction between man and humanity, on the one hand, and white and whiteness, on the other, is not the same for the simple reason that man always concern the substract but white concerns both the substract and the subject.⁷⁸⁷

⁷⁸⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1072: "Ad secundum dicendum, longe aliam esse rationem in abstractis differentiarum, ut sint differentiae, atque in abstractis generum, ut sint genera. Nam genera et species, cum praedicentur in quaestione Quid est, non necesse est, ut significantur nominibus concretis supponentibus aliquid, quod veluti subiectum sit, de quo ipsa essentialiter non dicantur. At differentia, cum semper supponat genus aliquod, de quo ita dicantur, ut ad eius essentiam non pertineant; necessario debent esse concreta atque adeo denominativa et connotativa respectu illius. Qua de causa recte dixit Avicenna, *tract. 5 suae Metaph c 6*, probeque a posterioribus receptum est; *Rationalitatem, ut nomine abstracto significatur, non esse differentiam, sed differentiae principium*; sicque de caeteris differentiarum abstractis sentiendum. Adverte autem hoc loco, differentiam eandem dividere concretum ad constitutionem concreti, et abstractum ad constitutionem abstracti; quo pacto idem rationale dividit animal et animalitatem ad constitutionem hominis et humanitatis; et disgregativum visus dividit coloratum et colorem ad constitutionem albi et albedinis; modo tamen diverso consideratum. Nam, rationale, ut constituit hominem, concernit suppositum, et cum animali, quod dividit, praedicatur de homine, et disgregativum visus, ut constituit album, concernit subiectum, et potest concernere suppositum, et simul cum colorato, quod dividit, praedicatum de albo. At rationale, ut constituit humanitatem, non concernit suppositum, nec cum animalitate, quam dividit, praedicatur de homine, cum verum non sit, hominem esse animalitatem rationalem. Similiterque disgregativum visus, ut constituit albedinem; non concernit subiectum aut suppositum, nec cum colore, quem dividit, praedicatur de albo."

⁷⁸⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1073: "Tertium haud difficile dissolvitur, si quis neget, abstracta substantiarum absolute accepta, esse aut significari, ut abstracta et avulsa ab inferioribus abstractis. Nihil enim commune, si absolute loquamur, aut avulsum est, aut significatur, ut avulsum a suis inferioribus; sed potius, quatenus tale, ut de illis praedicari possit per modum identitatis. Quapropter, si abstracta absolute accipiantur, nihil obstat, quo minus communiora sint genera minus communium. Quod si sumantur, quatenus per intellectum suo modo avulsa sunt et praecisa a suis inferioribus, aut etiam, quatenus natura praecedunt contractionem ad illa, ita verbum *quatenus* reduplicative sumatur, fatemur sane isto modo, ea, quatenus talia sunt, sive cum tali avulsione praecisioneque sumpta, genera minus communium denominari non posse."

⁷⁸⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1073-1074: "Quocirca distinctio illa abstractorum in ea, quae ultimata abstractione abstracta sunt, et in ea, quae non ultimata, non est probanda omnis enim abstractio est ultimata aequae accidentium, atque substantiarum. Ut enim animalitas non resolvitur in aliquid abstractius, ita nec color, aut ullum aliud abstractum accidens. Nam, coloreitas illa, quam Scotus fingit, albedinitas, et similia, voce quidem abstractiora fortasse dici possunt, significatione autem dici non possunt. Idem enim prorsus est color, atque natura, qua color est color; et albedo atque natura, qua albedo est albedo. (...) Neque enim idem sunt homo et humanitas, album et albedo; cum homo concernat suppositum; album autem concernat et suppositum et subiectum; quorum neutrum concernit, sive

Among those who give an affirmative answer, there are some *recentiores thomistarum*, who give four reasons in support of their thesis. First, because animality, for example, is a common item and not a particular one, since it is not said of subjects or *supposita*, but of humanity and equinity, therefore it is their genus.⁷⁸⁸ Second, because humanity and equinity, as such, are diverse in nature, that is, the natures of man and of horses are not the same, but they signify univocally and quidditatively the same in animality.⁷⁸⁹ Third, because in humanity, animality and rationality are included, as humanity cannot be found outside animality and rationality; hence it does not inhere in them as an accident and can only be predicated of them *essentialiter*.⁷⁹⁰ Finally, because humanity is a species of the individual humanity included in it. The orthodox faith says (in their interpretation) that the divine Word did not assume humanity in the whole species, but in the individual.⁷⁹¹

This controversy can be solved in the following way. There is no restriction or limitation made to the abstracted of substances with a broader extension to be the genera of the abstracted with a narrower scope. Just as animal and rational constitute the species of man, so animality

humanitas, sive albedo, quatenus abstractis nominibus significantur, etsi absolute sumpta concernunt differentias suorum inferiorum, ipsaque sua inferiora.”

⁷⁸⁸ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1060-1070: “Primum, quia animalitas, exempli causa, est commune quiddam, non singulare; quod autem commune est, inferiora aliqua habeat necesse est, pro quibus accipi, et de quibus dici possit; at inferiora animalitatis non sunt subiecta aliqua, quibus illa inhaereat, aut supposita, per quae existat, et de quibus dicatur, sed est humanitas, equinitas, et caeterae naturae specificae, ac etiam individuales, ut hae humanitas, et hae equinitas; dicitur ergo animalitas de humanitate et equinitate, neque aliter, quam ut earum genus, ut patet persequentem omnes generis conditiones.”

⁷⁸⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1070: “Deinde, quia humanitas et equinitas ita sunt diversae naturae, ut non sint primo diversae; nulla enim maior ratio est, cur homo et equus univoce et quidditative convenient, quam cur naturae ipsae hominis et equi, quas humanitatis et equinitatis nominibus significamus; at hae, nisi in animalitate, et caeteris superioribus abstractis, nihil est in quo univoce et quidditative convenient; est igitur animalitas genus humanae naturae et equinae.”

⁷⁹⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1070: “Tertio, quia in humanitate includitur animalitas et rationalitas, cum extra humanitatem nec animalitas, nec rationalitas reperiantur; cum igitur in ea non insint tanquam eius accidentia, non dubium est, quin modo aliquo essentialiter de illa praedicentur, aut concretis videlicet nominibus, aut abstractis. Siquidem et materia et forma praedicantur de homine, in cuius essentia includuntur, si non abstractis nominibus materiae et formae, at concretis materiati et formati. Quare, cum animalitas non dicatur de humanitate nomine concreto animalis, non dubium est, quin dicatur abstracto animalitatis. Quemadmodum e contrario rationalitas non dicitur de humanitate, abstracto ipso rationalitatis vocabulo, sed concreto rationalis, ita ut humanitas constituentur ex animalitate rationali, velut ex suo genere, et sua differentia.”

⁷⁹¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1070: “Postremo, quia non maior est ratio, cur humanitas sit species quaedam continens sub se hanc individuam humanitatem, et illa, qua ut animalitas sit genus quoddam continens sub se species humanitatis, et equinitatis, at fide orthodoxa profiteamur, Verbum divinum assumpsisse humanitatem, non in specie ipsa tota, sed in atomo, seu individuo, est igitur animalitas genus humanitatis et equinitatis, si vel pie tantum loqui volumus.”

with the *differentia* rationality constitutes the species of humanity.⁷⁹² But if the abstracted are taken to the extent that they have the unity of precision, the more common are not genera of the less common. For the common items, insofar as they are taken as abstracted from their particulars, i.e., with an indifference to all their particulars, cannot be predicated of any particular item.⁷⁹³ An objection can be raised that the same should also hold for the more common concrete genera of the less common concrete. Fonseca rejects this objection by explaining that the abstracted signify *per modum formarum*, but the concrete signify *per modum totorum quorundam*.⁷⁹⁴ A second objection is that in this way, Scotus would deny the abstracted of the accidents equally as the abstracted of the substances. To which Fonseca replies that it can be resolved by the same distinction between the formal and the concrete wholes.⁷⁹⁵

Once it is established that it is possible to have genera of genera and species under genera, on the abstract level, the next question deals with another controversial issue of whether genus and species are related to each other in the first place (*primum*) and immediately (*adaequatum*), which would amount to some sort of strong identity. Seeing that there are strong

⁷⁹² *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1070-1071: “In hac controversia ita sententiam temperare possumus, ut utrosque Auctores conciliemus, si tamen ipsi conciliari velint. Re enim vera, et nulla facta restrictione limitatione (quo pacto posteriores loquuntur) abstracta communiora substantiarum sunt genera minus communium abstractorum, quemadmodum et concreta concretorum, quod recte probatum est, ita ut, quemadmodum *animal et rationale* constituunt hominis speciem; ita animalitas cum eadem rationalis differentia suo modo sumpta constituunt speciem humanitatis. Qua in re nihil est discriminis inter substantiarum abstracta et accidentium certum est enim, eisdem differentiis, quibus accidentium concreta genera contrahuntur ad specifica, contrahi eorum abstracta, nam disgregativum et congregativum aspectus, quae dici solent differentiae colorati, sunt etiam coloris.”

⁷⁹³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1071: “At si abstracta sumantur, quatenus praecisa sunt non modo subiectis et suppositis, sed etiam ab inferioribus abstractis, ita ut verbum *quatenus* reduplicative sumatur (qua ratione videntur loqui priores, quicquid eorum argumenta valeant) non sunt utique abstracta communiora minus communium genera. Nam communia, quatenus praecisa sunt a particularibus, hoc est cum ipsa praecisione simul et indifferentia ad omnia sua particularia, de nullo particulari suo dici possunt, quod si dici non possunt, ergo nec quidditative praedicari. Accedit, quod nullum universale praedicatur de suis particularibus, nisi quatenus identitatem aliquam cum illis habet. Ergo abstracta communiora substantiarum, quatenus praecisa sunt a minus communibus, de eisdem non solum ut genera sed neque ut ulla ratione aliqua universalialia dici possunt.”

⁷⁹⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1071: “Quod si quis obiiciat, isto etiam modo, nec concreta quidem communiora posse denominari genera minus communium concretorum, quandoquidem quatenus praecisa sunt a minus communibus, de eisdem praedicari non possunt, sumpta particula *quatenus* reduplicative, hoc modo occurrendum. Potius hoc de abstractis, quam de concretis dici solere, quia abstracta ex ipso modo significandi suo aptiora sunt, ut sumantur, quatenus praecisa sunt ab iis, quibus abstrahuntur; unde et dici solent significari per modum formarum, sive eorum, quibus aliqua sunt talia. Cum tamen concreta significantur per modum totorum quorundam, id est, eorum, quae ipsa sunt talia, seu habentia id, per quod sunt talia.”

⁷⁹⁵ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1071-1072: “Urgebit aliquis fortasse. Ergo abstracta accidentium aequae atque abstracta substantiarum negari hoc pacto debuisse a Scoto, et eius sectatoribus genera esse abstractorum minus communium, ut colorem esse genus albedinis et nigredinis. Sed respondendum, potuisse id quidem ab eisdem Auctoribus eodem modo, id est cum eadem praecisionis reduplicatione negari; sed tamen id factum ab eis esse in solis abstractis substantiarum, quia crediderunt vulgata accidentium abstracta, de quibus nun loquimur, in alia priora abstracta resolvi posse; ut colorem in coloreitate, lucem in luciditate, albedinem in albedinitate. Qua in re an appobanda sit eorum sententia, ex dicendis patebit.”

arguments in favour of the negative part, they come before the arguments for a positive reply. First, because genus is not only related to species but also to the individual and thus, it is not related to species immediately but to something common to species and individual.⁷⁹⁶ Second, because if this something common to individual and species, which is related to genus, is analogous. But *analogia* is not incompatible with anything.⁷⁹⁷ Third because if genus and species look back to each other in the first place, genus would have to refer to the individual by means of the species, and also, by the same reason, the individual would have to be related to genus by intermediation of the species. However, this is not the case, as the individuals' subjection to the species is complete, but to genus it is incomplete.⁷⁹⁸

The arguments in favour of an affirmative answer are also very strong. First, because all agree that genus and species refer to each other in their definitions.⁷⁹⁹ Second, because if genus did not refer to species in the first place, it would refer either to something common to species and individuals, or to another thing first and immediately, but this cannot be said to be the case.⁸⁰⁰ Finally, because if genus did not refer first to species and secondarily to individual, the

⁷⁹⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1074: "Negativa huius quaestionis pars non levibus argumentis probari potest. Primum, quia genus, quatenus genus est, non solum respicit speciem, sed etiam individuum. Genus enim definitur per ea, quae differunt specie. Haec autem non sunt tantum ipsae species differentes, sed etiam individua differentium specierum, on refertur igitur adaequate genus ad speciem, sed ad aliquid commune speciei et individuo. Quod si non adaequate ad speciem, ergo nec primo, quod enim communius est, prius quoque natura esse nemo dubitat."

⁷⁹⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1075: "Deinde, quia tum demum aliquid impediret, quo minus primo ad aliquid commune speciei et individuo referretur genus, si commune aliud esset analogum. At analogia, si hac in re datur, nihil impedit, quia neque analogia entis quicquam obstat, quo minus Metaphysica scientia ad illud primo referatur. Non est igitur, cur genus illud non primo respiciat."

⁷⁹⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1075: "Tertio, quia si quo modo genus et species sese primo respicerent, non alia ratione id accideret, nisi quia genus respiceret individuum interventu speciei, hoc est, eadem relatione, qua speciem respicit, posterius tamen natura, et pari ratione individuum respiceret genus interventu itidem speciei, nempe eadem relatione, quae illam respicit, prius natura ad speciem, et posterius autem ad genus terminata; atqui individuum non eadem relatione, qua respicit speciem, refertur ad genus, siquidem ad speciem refertur subiectione completa, ad genus autem incompleta; non ergo sese primo respiciunt genus et species, sed id, quod commune est speciei et individuo, est primum generis correlativum."

⁷⁹⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1075: "Sed tamen affirmativa pars non minus firmis videtur fundamentis inniti. Primum, quia omnium confessione genus et species sese invicem definiunt; qua ratione Porphyrius ait in *Isagoge c de specie*, se coactum esse, ut alterum vicissim in alterius definitione poneret. Quod si correlativa sunt, non dubium est, quin primo et immediate se invicem respiciant."

⁸⁰⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1075: "Deinde, quia si genus non primo et immediate respiceret speciem, id propterea accideret, quia vel ad aliquid commune speciei et individuo, vel ad utrumque primo et immediate referretur, at neutrum dici potest. Non primum, quia sequeretur, animal, quatenus genus quoddam est, primo et immediate respicere commune aliquod suis speciebus et individuus, quod nullum est sub animali. Non secundum quia necessario concedendum esset, genus, qua ratione genus est, aequivocum esse, suasque relationes habere; unam, qua respiceret speciem; alteram, qua individua. Quot enim modis unum oppositorum dicitur, tot alterum dicatur necesse est. Quod Aristotelis pronunciatum ex *I Topicorum c 15* desumptum, et ab omnibus approbatum, in iis, quae primo et immediate, non alterum per alterum opponuntur, verum esse dicitur. Quod si genus, qua ratione genus est aequivocum esset, utique

same would also hold for the general *differentia*, the general property, the general accident, and this would lead to undesirable consequences.⁸⁰¹

While the two opinions differ, Fonseca thinks that they can be refuted with the same arguments, because both opinions assume that being the first correlative necessarily implies being the immediate correlative, because they would be mutually dependent. The solution is to compare and contrast “*primum*” and “*adaequatum*.” It is first (*primum*) because there is no other before it, which terminates the disposition of the relative, and it is immediate (*adaequatum*), because the whole terminates the disposition of the relative without the intervention of another. Just as “more” is the correlative of “less,” and “act” is of a “potency that has an object.” is that. In this way, “more” is the correlative of “less,” when nothing terminates the disposition or relation of the “less,” unless the “more.” However the act is not the correlative of the potency that has an object. Consequently, not all *primum* correlative is immediate, nor all *adaequatum* is *primum*.⁸⁰² For the act of the potency of seeing is the first but not the immediate as indeed the object ends the relation of its potency. By contrast, the act of matter as it includes analogically the substantial and the accidental act it is its immediate correlative, but not the first, because the whole does not end the disposition of matter, but the substantial act immediately does, although the accidental only mediately and by the substantial. And the same can be said of the act of seeing and the object of sight.⁸⁰³

nomen generis non unam relatione, sed plures immediate significat, quo fieret, ut non quinque tantum, sed sex universalium species haberemus, quod apud Aristotelem inauditum est.”

⁸⁰¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1076: “Postremo, quia si genus non primo respiceret speciem, et secundaria ratione, ac per speciem individuum; idem dicendum esset de generali differentia, de proprio item et accidenti generali. Aut igitur haec repicerent primo aliquam partem subiectam speciebus et individuus, de quibus dicuntur, communem, quam nullam omnino esse vel inductione patet aut certe primo respicerent utraque, species, inquam, et individua, ac proinde aequivoca quaedam praedicata essent, quod nemo dixerit. Haec fere sunt, quae dubiam faciunt quaestionem propositam.”

⁸⁰² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1076: “Ea vero facilius expeditur, si prius explanaverimus, quid intersit inter *primum* et *adaequatum* correlativum, non enim idem sunt modis omnibus. *Primum* sive immediatum est, quod totum terminat habitudinem relativi non interventu alterius. Hoc pacto maius est correlativum minoris, et actus potentiae habentis obiectum. *Adaequatum* vero est illud, praeter quod nihil est aliud, quod terminet habitudinem relativi. Quo etiam pacto maius est correlativum minoris, cum nihil terminet habitudinem sive relationem minoris, nisi maius. Non tamen hoc pacto actus est correlativum potentiae habentis obiectum, quia etiam obiectum terminat relationem potentiae. Dico autem potentiae habentis obiectum; quia si qua potentia non habeat obiectum, actusque eius sic univocus, cuiusmodi esset actus materiae (si materia solius actus substantialis, sive formae substantialis capax esset) tum actus non tantum esset *primum* correlativum potentiae, sed etiam *adaequatum*.”

⁸⁰³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1076-1077: “Hinc efficitur, ut non omne *primum* immediatumque correlativum sit *adaequatum*, neque omne *adaequatum* sit *primum*. Nam, actus potentiae videndi est *primum*, sed non *adaequatum*, cum obiectum

Consequently, the *ratio of primum and adaequatum* correlative, allows for four ways to answer the question proposed. First, that species is the first and immediate correlative of genus. Second, that it is neither the first nor the immediate correlative of genus. Third, that it is in fact the first, but not the immediate. Fourth, that it is the immediate but not the first. This last solution was not defended by any author.⁸⁰⁴ Fonseca deals with each of these several opinions with regard to the relation of genus and species. Fonseca identifies the first opinion as being defended by the *Lovanienses* and it consists in affirming that species is the first and immediate correlative of genus. In the same manner those items that are genera like animal and plant are not related to individuals by a generic relation, but by another disposition diverse in species, from this disposition a species not denominated universal is constituted, which has to be necessarily added to the five common kinds.⁸⁰⁵ Fonseca refutes this opinion first based on the definition of universal, that is, from the diversity in species, it is implied also the individuals of diverse species of the same genus; secondly based on the division of universals in the five kinds (Porphyry, Aristotle, and other Ancient philosophers). Moreover, genera can be related to their species and individuals by the same relation.⁸⁰⁶

etiam terminet relationem eius potentiae; contra vero actus materiae, ut analogice complectitur actum substantialem et accidentarium, illius est adaequatum, sed non primum, quod non totum immediate terminet habitudinem materiae, sed actus substantialis immediate; accidentarius autem mediate, et interventu substantialis. Eodemque modo commune illud, quod analogice complectitur actum videndi et obiectum visus (quod communi nomine caret) est adaequatum correlative facultatis videndi, sed tamen non primum, quia non totum immediate terminat habitudinem potentiae, ut ex dictis patet, sed obiectum mediante actu.”

⁸⁰⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1077: “Cum ergo non eadem sit ratio primi atque adaequati correlativi; quatuor modis responderi potest ad quaestionem propositam. Uno, speciem esse et primum et adaequatum correlative generis. Alterum, neque esse primum, neque adaequatum. Tertio, esse quidem primum, sed non adaequatum. Quarto esse adaequatum, sed non primum. Atque cum nemo sit, cui quarta responsio placeat, eaque ex tractatione priorum trium plane refutari possit; tres in hac quaestione opiniones supersunt, quae suos Auctores habeant.”

⁸⁰⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1077: “Prima est Lovaniensium, qui volunt, speciem non modo primum, sed etiam adaequatum generis correlative esse; proinde res, quae sunt genera, ut animal et plantam non referri ad individua relatione generis, sed alia quadam habitudine diversa specie, ex qua habitudine constituitur quaedam species innominata universalis, quae necessario addenda est quinque vulgatis speciebus, ut divisio universalis adaequata sit.”

⁸⁰⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1077: “Verum, haec opinio, qua ex parte asserit speciem esse adaequatum generis correlative, facile refellitur. Primum ex definitione generis. Explicatur enim per habitudinem ad ea, quae differunt specie; in his autem non solum numerantur diversae species, sed etiam individua diversarum specierum eiusdem generis. Deinde, ex divisione universalis. Nam et Porphyrius, et Aristoteles omnesque veteres Philosophi existimarunt, se adaequate dividere universale in quinque vulgatas species, nec ullum universale crediderunt praedicari in quaestione Quid est, nisi genus et speciem. Postremo, quia non sunt ponenda plura, ubi pauciora sufficiunt res autem, quae dicuntur genera, possunt referri ad suas species, suaque individua una eademque relatione; ut animal proxime quidem sive immediate ad hominem, remote autem ac mediate ad Socratem. Unde et Porphyrius in *Isagoge c de genere*, quodlibet genus, ut genus est, non solum ad species sub se contentas, se etiam ad individua referri docet.”

What Fonseca has in mind seems to be the passage where the *Lovanienses* deal with their account of genus. In the third meaning, they say that genus is said to be ‘that under which a species is placed,’ which can be taken as the whole logic genus, either directly in one of the ten categories, or not, and the same holds for species, but species is here understood as species in the position of subject, and not in the position of predicate.⁸⁰⁷ The most important characteristic of genus in this meaning is that it has ‘species’ explicitly mentioned in its definition,⁸⁰⁸ with the result that, because the third meaning of species also has ‘genus’ explicitly mentioned in its definition, a sort of circularity seems to be unavoidable. The question is then whether this would constitute a vicious circle or not. The solution devised by the *Lovanienses* starts with the generally accepted view that it is a necessary component of the definition of correlatives, that each has to have the other correlative in its definition, and this move is not only conscious but even desirable. But this mutual reference does not contradict the Aristotelian principle of the necessity to start from the more known to arrive at the less known, as this maxim is only valid for absolute definitions and that is obviously not the case of definitions of correlatives.⁸⁰⁹

⁸⁰⁷ *CIPLAD*, p 8: “Tertia generis acceptio est. Genus est id sub quo species collocatur. Vocabulum genus quod hic describitur, rectissime potest generaliter accipi pro omni genere logico, sive praedicamentale sit, hoc est, directe in aliquo decem praedicamentorum collocatum, sive non: et similis est ratio de specie. Per (id) quod loco generis definiti ponitur, universale intelligitur. Speciem vero sub genere collocari, est speciem esse inferius sub genere positum. Volunt nonnulli, quod dicitur intelligi debere de collatione proxima seu immediata, sed hi non vident aliquid non modo respectu proximae speciei, verum etiam longe infra positae genus esse, ut substantia non tantum est genus corporis aut spiritus, sed etiam animalis, hominis, equi. Accipitur autem hic species pro specie subiicibili, quae est generis correlativum, non pro praedicabili. Nam sic animal non esset genus respectu bruti.”

⁸⁰⁸ *CIPLAD*, p 8: “Alteram deinde subdit Porphyrius generis definitionem, quam a tertia acceptione nullo alio modo differre putamus, quam quod tertia generis acceptio naturam generis non adeo plene explicat, ut quae unius duntaxat mentionem faciat speciei, haec autem definitio perfectissime idipsum facit. Nihil est perfecte generis, imo nec universalis habet rationem, nisi ad plura de quibus praedicabile est, fuerit comparatum. An autem genus hic sumatur tantum pro illo quod formaliter genus est, cui actu iam competit relatio generis, propter comparisonem ipsius per intellectum ad suas species. An pro omni eo quod fundamentaliter (ut vocant) genus est, hoc est, quod secundum eam significationem quam modo habet, de diversis speciebus natum est praedicari, sive iam actu per intellectum ad eas comparetur per praedicationem, sive non, curiosis inquirendum relinquimus. Definitio autem haec est: genus id est, quod de pluribus specie differentibus, hoc ipso quid est praedicatur.”

⁸⁰⁹ *CIPLAD*, p 10: “Cum vero subditur, quod si genus assignates, etc., digressio est qua tacitae obiectioni occurrit, ita enim contra definitiones generis et specie obiici possit, superiori capite, genus per speciem fuit definitum, hoc vero capite definitur rursus species per genus, igitur ineptae et viciosae maxime sunt hae definitiones, cum in omnibus definitionibus vitandus sit circulus, quod aliqui oporteret unum et idem etiam eodem notius esse ac ignotius. Nam si definias genus et speciem, erit species notior genere, contra vero si speciem per genus definieris, erit genus notius specie. Docet enim Aristoteles c. iii lib. vi Topicorum definitionem omnem non ex quibuslibet, sed ex prioribus notioribusque constituenda esse. Imo sequeretur idem propriam suam definitionem ingredi posse, si nimirum loco partis obscurae in definitione collocatae, ut habet maxima topica, ipius definitionem adhibueris. Exempli gratia. Si loco speciei quae ingreditur definitionem generis, et obscurior tibi fuerit, adhibueris definitionem speciei, propriam generis definitionem, ingredietur genus cum species per genus sit de definienda. Haec igitur ad hanc definitionum circulationem sequentur inconvenientia et absurditates. Respondet paucis Porphyrius in definiendis relativis, cuiusmodi sunt hoc loco genus et species, non solum non improbari circulationem, rerum omnino necessariam esse, si

Some difficulties would be that if genus is said to be predicated of species and individuals, it would also be a genus of the individuals, with the undesirable consequence that individuals would also have to ‘differ in species.’ But the *Lovanienses* observe that genus is said to be predicated of individuals, but not insofar as it is a genus. Second, if the definition of genus is taken to mean that in each case, genus is predicated of items differing in species, a proposition like “an apple is a vegetable” would not be true because there is only one item of which the genus is predicated, hence it could not ‘differ in species’ (in fact it could not ‘differ’ at all). A solution would then be to say that a number of propositions is required and genus would be predicated of items differing in species when the whole set of propositions is considered. The *Lovanienses*, however, make use of a distinction between what is predicated *in quid* when the whole and complete substance is concerned, and what is predicated *in quid* when only a part of the substance is concerned, however the latter does not refer to any part whatsoever, but that part by way of matter or substance, and not of a quality. Accordingly, not only this distinction would solve the problem, but also the failure to posit such a distinction was the reason why Lorenzo Valla incorrectly accused Aristotle, Porphyry, and philosophers in general, of falsity.⁸¹⁰

modo naturam definiti, quae bonae definitionis est conditio, recte explicatam esse velimus per definitionem. Recte enim admonet Aristoteles lib. vi Topicorum capite iii citato, cum natura relativorum habitudo quaedam sit ad aliud, fieri non posse, ut alterum sine altero cognoscatur, ideoque necessarium esse in alterius definitione coassumi et alterum. Ex hiis tamen non sequi, unum et idem eodem esse notius et ignotius, explicat Aristoteles libro paulo ante citato, quo loco cum docuisset, definitionem omnem, cognoscendi eius quod definitur gratia assignari, cognosci autem nihil, nisi per priora ac notiora. Itaque qui per huiusmodi non definierit, vere non definivisse, tandem subdit: in definiendis per se ad aliquid, hoc est, correlativis secundum esse, ut passim appellantur, hoc praeceptum exceptionem pati, utpote quorum alterum, ut inquit, non sit notius altero. An vero hinc iam sequatur, definitionem quoque talem suo definito non esse notiozem, cum constet una parte, quae definitio non sit notior, tum an correlativum adhibeatur ad explicationem naturae definiti, an vero ad solam convertibilitatem definitionis cum definito, studiosis inquirendum relinquimus. Ad postremam absurditatem facilis est responsio, maximam illa topicam non esse universalem, sed tantummodo locum habere in absolutorum definitionibus.”

⁸¹⁰ *CIPLAD*, pp 7-8: “Particula (hoc ipso quid est) valet idem quod in propositione convenienter reddita interroganti quid sit aliqua res: ut si rogeris, quid sit pyropus, recte responderis, pyropus est lapis. Positus est autem numerus singularis loco pluralis. Non enim in unica enunciatione praedicatur genus de multis speciebus, sed in diversis id fieri necesse est. Advertendum est tamen hoc loco, interrogationem factam per quid est, bifariam accipi. Uno modo, ut inquireat totam et completam rei substantiam seu quidditatem, quomodo hic non accipitur. Nam id soli competit definitioni essentiali. Aliter, ut non totam quaerat substantiam, sed eius partem, non quamlibet, sed quae per modum materiae seu substantiae, non qualitatis, se habet: et in hunc sensum hic accipitur. Hanc distinctionem si intellexisset Valla, non adeo procaciter Aristotelem, Porphyrium, et omne fere philosophorum turbam falsitatis arguisset. Probat deinde Porphyrius dictam generis definitionem bonam esse prosequendis singulis ipsius partibus, a generali eorum quae de altero dicuntur distributione exorsus. In fine deinde capituli, ibi (nihil ergo superfluum, etc.) concludit perfectam et absolutam esse hanc generis definitionem, ex eo quod naturam generis, rationem, ac vim omnem explicet, neque per plura neque per pauciora quae conveniat. Nihil enim in illa definitione vult redundare, nihil quoque deficere vel omissum esse, hoc est, nihil in definitione expressum esse, quod ad ipsius integritatem non

However, the *Lovanienses* also remark that it is only one of the meanings of species that is correlative with genus. And they are correlatives because one cannot exist, and thus be definitely and exactly be cognised, without the other. They recall Avicenna's opinion that genus (matter) inheres in its species essentially, not however in its *differentia*, because the latter is pure act (form). Moreover, all diversity found at the corporeal level, in the composition of the members, reflects a diversity of potentiality at the level of the soul.⁸¹¹

In line with this, it is interesting to recall that Scotus also sees a difficulty as he inquires whether the genus is the principle of the species.⁸¹² The difficulty arises from the fact that in a certain context, the genus is identical to the species, but the principle is not identical to that of which it is the principle. And in fact, if genus is a whole in respect of species, it cannot be its principle since that undermines the relation of cause and effect in its very foundation. However, if genus is taken as the nature on which the intention itself is based, and not for the very intention, it is in fact the principle of the species, because animality can be said to be the principle of humanity.⁸¹³ The main corollary of this question for what is being presented in this chapter is that it shows the consequences of the disagreement between those that posit that genus is the first and immediate correlative of species, and those authors that think that species is the first but not the immediate correlative of genus, with all the implications for what is prior in nature or in knowledge and what is posterior, or simultaneous in nature and in knowledge. The cognition of animality antecedes the cognition of humanity, because animal nature enters the composition of human nature.

Other authors who refer to the *Lovanienses*, posit that species is neither the immediate correlative of genus, nor even the first or immediate correlative, but something univocal in

pertineat, nimirum vel ad convertibilitatem definitionis, vel naturae definiti explicationem. Rursum nihil in ea desiderari, quod ad easdem bonae definitionis dotes vel condiciones necessarium existat.”

⁸¹¹ *CIPLAD*, p 9: “Tum quia species iuxta unam acceptionem correlative est generis. Correlativa autem, ut unum sine altero existere, ita et definite exacteque cognosci nequeunt. Tum quia (ut ait Avicenna) genus in sua specie per essentiam inest, non autem in sua differentia, cum ipsa sit actus purus (...) Est enim (ut Commentator ait) omnis diversitas, quae in corpore est, secundum membrorum compositionem, proveniens ex potentiarum diversitate, quae sunt in anima.”

⁸¹² *QLPI*, n 20

⁸¹³ *QLPI*, n 20.04: “Ad quaestionem dicendum quod sic, sumendo genus pro natura in qua fundatur ipsa intentio et non pro intentione.”

relation to individuals and species is necessarily given to which genus is not only immediately but also primarily related.⁸¹⁴ Fonseca thinks that this solution lacks foundation on both counts, first because by denying that species is the first and immediate correlative of genus, it also denies that species is necessarily in the definition of genus; second, if there were something univocal common to species and individuals, there would also have to be something univocal and common to genus and species, but this consequence is undesirable (infinite regress).⁸¹⁵ Finally because if genus is related primarily to something common to species and individual, consequently when the universal inferior species is posited there will also be something common of the subjectable inferior species. For, if the relative is an inferior species, it is necessary that the primacy of its correlative be an inferior species. But if species and individual are suitable in some inferior species of subjection with respect to genus, species will be correctly composite by some accident.⁸¹⁶

The third way, which was defended by Avicenna, Ammonius, Albert, and Cajetan, is the correct. Species is the first correlative of genus, but not the immediate correlative. Second, genus is apt to be in several items, however an aptitude of this kind inclines proximately in a proximate act, which is to be in its species, but remotely in a remote act of being in the individual of its species. Thus genus is related proximately to its species, but not in its individuals. Third, genus is

⁸¹⁴ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1077-1078: “Alii qui a Lovaniensibus referuntur, oppositum omnino sentiunt. Dicunt enim, speciem neque esse adaequatum correlativum generis, nec vero primum seu immediatum, sed necessario dandum esse liquid commune univocum speciei et individuo (quod vocant subiicibile in quaestione Quid est incomplete) ad quod non solum adaequate, sed etiam primo referatur genus. Est enim commune speciei et individuo, ut utrumque hoc pacto subiiciatur generi, qua ratione correlativa aliorum universalium non subiiciuntur suis universalibus.”

⁸¹⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1078: “Sed neque huiusmodi sententia probanda est, qua ex parte negat, speciem esse primum et immediatum generis correlativum. Si quid enim aliud esset primum correlativum generis, non necesse esset definire genus per speciem. Peccat enim, ut docet Aristoteles in *VI lib. Topicorum c 2* qui relativum non per primum et immediatum correlativum definit. Cum ergo Porphyrius in *Isagoge, c de specie*, caeteris id approbantibus dicat, se necessitate compulsus definivisse genus per speciem (omnes enim cum id exponunt, recte dictum esse iudicant) efficitur, ut nisi quis pugnare velit cum communi omnium sententia negandum nullo modo sit, speciem esse primum generis correlativum. Deinde, quia si detur subiicibile univocorum in quaestione Quid est commune speciei et individuo, aliquod genus proxime referatur, pari ratione dandum erit praedicabile univocum in quaestione Quid est commune generi et speciei, ad quod proxime referatur individuum, quod tamen nemo ponit conceditve.”

⁸¹⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1078: “Postremo, quia genus refertur primo ad aliquid commune speciei et individuo, cum ponatur species infima universalis, erit etiam commune illud species infima subiicibilis. Nam, si relativum est species infima, necesse est, ut primum eius correlativum sit species infima colligitur ex Aristotele *I Topic. c 13*. Iam si species et individuum conveniunt in quadam specie infima subiectionis respectu generis, erit sane species compositum quiddam per accidens. Quaecunque enim conveniunt in specie aliqua infima, ea aut sunt individua illius speciei, aut composita quaedam ex communi specie et differentiis per accidens; quo pacto conveniunt in homine, cum Socrates et Plato tum etiam homo albus et homo niger. Quanquam vero hoc non inficiantur propositae opinionis assertores; non minus tamen videtur constitui a Porphyrio et aliis gravibus Auctoribus species, quatenus species est ens quoddam per se, quam genus ipsum, qua ratione est genus.”

related to those items which differ in species, however species differ first and by themselves, but individuals by a secondary *ratio*, and by species, of which they are the individuals.⁸¹⁷

There are some objections. First, as genus is related to species and to individual, in the same way, species and individual are related to genus. Therefore, it is either by the same relation in number or to items diverse in number. They cannot be related in the same relation in number, as the latter cannot be in diverse extremes in number. Therefore, it has to be to diverse items in number. In turn, it can be diverse only in number, or in species. But they are not related as diverse in species, as it is not suitable, seeing that one relative in species cannot be primarily related to a diverse correlative species. Thus, they differ in number.⁸¹⁸ Moreover, subjected items (*subiici*) do not make the equivocation immediate and mediate. If in fact “man” is immediately subjected (*subiicitur*) to the faculty of laughing, Socrates however is mediately, and by the intervention of “man,” as indeed both are said capable of laughing. Species is under genus immediately, but the individual is mediately and by the concurrence of species. But nothing prevents a varied *ratio* of subjection that species and individual be univocally suitable to the relation of subjection in respect of genus, and in this way something univocal common to species and to individual, by which the relation of genus is first terminated.⁸¹⁹ Fonseca explains away these objections in the following manner. He replies to the first that species and individual are related to genus by relations which differ in species, just as a potency to a proximate act and to a

⁸¹⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1078-1079: “Tertia opinio, quae gravium Auctorum (*Avic I p. logicae, cum agit de specie; Ammo. Alber. Caie. In Praedicabilibus, et aliorum*) est, nobisque probatur, hac assertione continetur; speciem esse primum generis correlativum, sed non adaequatum. Quae assertio in primis patet ex impugnatione primae ad secundae opinionis. Deinde probatur hoc argumento; genus, ut genus, est aptum, ut sit in pluribus, aptitudo autem huiusmodi inclinat proxime in actum proximum, qui est esse in suis speciebus, remote autem in actum remotum essendi in individuis suarum specierum, respicit ergo genus proxime suas species, remote autem earum individua.”

⁸¹⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1079: “At obiiciet aliquis hunc in modum. Ut genus refertur ad speciem et individuum sic etiam species et individuum referuntur ad genus, aut igitur referuntur ad genus eadem numero relatione, aut diversis numero. Non possunt autem referri eadem numero, quia eadem numero relatio non potest esse in diversis numero extremis; ergo referuntur diversis numero. Quod si diversis numero; aut diversis solo numero, aut etiam specie. At non referuntur diversis specie, quia unum specie relativum, quale est genus, non potest primo referri ad diversa specie correlativa. Ergo differunt solo numero, et ex consequenti relatio speciei et individui ad genus conveniunt in quadam communi specie, ad quam primo et immediate terminatur relatio generis.”

⁸¹⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1079: “Praeterea, subiici immediate et mediate non faciunt aequivocationem, siquidem homo subiicitur immediate facultati ridendi. Socrates autem mediate, et interventu hominis, cum interim ambo univoce dicantur risus capaces; at species et individuum hoc solo discrimine distinguuntur comparatione generis, quod species subiicitur generi immediate, individuum autem mediate, et interventu speciei; nihil ergo impedit haec varia subiectionis ratio, quo minus species et individuum conveniant univoce in relatione subiectionis respectu generis; datur igitur commune aliquid univocum speciei et individuo, quo primo terminetur relatio generis.”

remote object.⁸²⁰ To the second he replies that it is possible that some predicate is suitable to two subjects univocally, and however the *ratio* of subjection participates analogically and not univocally from the same items. Papyrus and surface participate in the *ratio* of subject of whiteness analogically.⁸²¹

The solution of the difficulties with regard to the relation of genus and species can be presented as follows. First the primacy of the correlative is not correctly inferred from its immediacy. As it is said that what is common is common first by nature, but concerning the more common it is only true univocally.⁸²² Second, metaphysics is related first to “*ens*,” and not to something first in nature, as God or substance.⁸²³ Third, although the quidditative of the subjection of the individual by extension to genus is incomplete, it is nonetheless complete in its

⁸²⁰ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1079-1080: “Hae tamen obiectiones sic diluentur. Ad priorem dicendum est, speciem et individuum referri ad genus diversis specie relationibus; nec incommodum esse, unum specie relativum referri ad duo correlativa specie diversa, modo ad unum referatur proxime, ad alterum remote; quo pacto potentia referatur ad actum et obiectum, et materia ad formam substantialem et accidentariam. Quocirca commune illud pronunciatum Dialecticorum; Quot modis dicitur unum oppositorum, totidem dicitur alterum, quo Aristoteles in *I Topicor. libro c. 13*. utitur, in iis tantum intelligendum est, quae primo et immediate opponuntur; alioqui colligeres, visum corporis esse duplicem, quia duplex est eius correlativum, actus videlicet et obiectum. Vere tamen colligimus, visum in commune duplicem esse, corporis nimirum, et animi; quia actus videndi duplex est, alter qui organo corporis perficitur; alter, qui solius animi functione.”

⁸²¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1080: “Ad posteriorem dicendum; fieri posse, ut duobus subiectis univoce conveniat praedicatum aliquod, et tamen ipsa subiectionis ratio analogice, et non univoce ab eisdem participetur. Album enim univoce dicitur de superficie papyri et papyro ipsa; et tamen superficies et papyrus non univoce participant rationem subiecti albedinis, sed analogice, cum superficies subiiciatur proxime et per seipsam, ut subiectum quo, papyrus autem remote et per superficiem, ut subiectum quod. Ita ergo suo modo res habet in speciebus et individuis comparatione generis. Nam, etsi utrisque ex aequo convenit natura generis, ipsa tamen analogice participant communem subiectionis rationem, cum species proxime et per seipsas subiiciantur generi quidditativa subiectione incompleta, individua autem mediante specie, cui subiiciuntur subiectione quidditativa completa. Nec refert, quod individua etiam, quemadmodum species subiiciuntur generi subiectione quidditativa incompleta. Ea enim subiectio non fit per aliam habitudinem, quam per eam, qua subiiciuntur speciei, quae subiecto completa est. Unde non est eadem ratio in subiectione mediata speciei, atque individui. Species enim ita subiici potest quidditative subiectione mediata, nempe remoto generi, ut nunquam subiiciatur complete, at individuum semper subiicitur complete, si non, ut habitudo terminatur ad genus, certe, ut terminatur ad speciem, quod magis e solutione argumentorum patebit.”

⁸²² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1081: “Ad primum pro negativa parte propositum argumentum dicendum, non recte in eo colligi primitatem (ut sic dicam) correlativi ex adaequatione illius. Cum dicitur id, quod communius est prius natura esse, de communiore tantum univoco est verum. Lege quae fusius diximus ad caput primum libri superioris, quaest 1 sect 8 ad 3 arg. cum quartae opinionis argumenta dissolveremus, ubi luculentius rei huius rationem reddidimus.”

⁸²³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1081: “Ad secundum dicito, cum Philosophi concludunt, Metaphysicam primo referri ad ens, non id ea ratione intelligendum esse, quasi referatur ad aliquid prius natura, quam sit Deus, aut quam sit substantia; nisi prioritatem naturae accipias quoad praedicationem, non quoad existentiam, ut ex eodem loco intelliges; sed sic accipiendum, ut sit sensus negativus, quasi dicat, Metaphysicam non prius referri ad aliud, quam ad ens; quod simul verum est cum eo quod affirmant, primo referri ad Deum, secundo loco ad substantiam creatam univocam et completam, et ita deinceps.”

nature. But the *ratio* in the subjection of specie is otherwise, as it is always incomplete both in its nature and in respect of some genus, proximate or remote.⁸²⁴

Although the conclusion reached by those authors in favour of the affirmative part is true, the arguments employed by them are not. The second and third arguments give more strength to species than it has in reality, since a sharp distinction in the way species and individuals are related to genus and on how they ‘differ’ from each other and from their genus if taken seriously would imply the necessity of something common to them under the genus, for instance, if man and Socrates are so sharply distinct it would be necessary to posit something else in common to them under the genus animal. Hence species is the prime correlative of genus but not the immediate.⁸²⁵ And that is precisely the point the nominalists criticise the most (unnecessary multiplication of entities) in the realist position.

Consequently, the symmetry between genus and species is not perfect, however it remains to be discussed whether it is possible for a genus to be preserved if only one of its species is preserved, and whether a species could be preserved if only one of its individuals remained. Many authors, among them Giles of Rome, in his commentary on Porphyry’s *Isagoge*, and several of Fonseca’s contemporaries, assert that concerning the preservation of genus it has to be thought that it holds the same as for the preservation of species, namely, that if a species

⁸²⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1081: “Ad tertium dices, etsi subiectio quidditativa individui extensione ad genus incompleta est, tamen natura sua esse completam, cum aestimanda sit ex eo, cui individuum proxime subiicitur, quod est species; accidit enim ei quodammodo, ut incompleta sit, quatenus ad genus extenditur. Quocirca si detur species aliqua praedicabilis, quae nulli generi subiiciatur (quod de puncto quidam existimant) individua illis ita subiiciuntur complete quidditativa subiectione, ut nulli praedicato incompleta subiiciantur. Alia ratio est in subiectione speciei, cum et natura sua, et cuiuslibet generis respectu incompleta sit, sive enim ad proximum genus referatur, sive ad remotum semper est incompleta. Nam, si incompleta est respectu proximi, ex quo natura eius iudicanda est, incompletior erit respectu remoti, quod minus habet de natura communi speciei. Quemadmodum et praedicatio generis, quia incompleta est respectu speciei proximae, quod non totam eius naturam communem dicat incompletior erit respectu speciei remotae, cuius naturam communem minus declarat. Itaque refertur individuum ad speciem et genus eadem relatione proxime quidem ad speciem, cuius respectu subiectione natura sua completa est; remote autem ad genus cuius habitudine ei accidit, ut sit incompleta.”

⁸²⁵ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1081-1082: “Argumenta vero, quae pro parte affirmativa allata sunt, cum veram conclusionem suadeant, non cogunt nos, ut ea dissolvamus. Sed tamen illud dicimus, quod assumptum est in secundo et tertio, et speciem magis virtutis habere, quam veritatem contineat. Si enim genus aut differentiae generales respicerent primo communia quaedam speciebus, et individuus, quae de utrisque dicerentur essentiali praedicatione; tum demum foret, ut daretur aliquid sub animali, quod esset commune univocum homini et Socrati. At hoc non est necesse, cum secundae opinionis auctores dicere possint, satis esse, si sit accidentarium praedicatum, nempe subiicibile in quaestione Quid est, incomplete, quod illi univocum esse volunt speciei, et individuo, non autem analogum esse ex eo ostendimus, quod subiectione speciei est natura sua incompleta, individui autem completa. Ita patet, speciem esse primum generis correlativum, tametsi non adaequatum.”

can be preserved in one individual, then a genus can also be preserved in one species, but if genus cannot be preserved in one species, neither will a species be preserved in one individual.⁸²⁶

The arguments in support of this view are three. First, because genus and species are correlative subjects, and consequently simultaneous in nature, therefore the predicable species and the individual. In consequence, in the existing individual its species exists and is preserved in it, and the same for a genus and its existing species.⁸²⁷ Second, as genus is related to several subjected species, and species to several individuals, since they are universals, genus remains predicable of several non-existing species, when it is preserved in only one, the same happens to species being predicable of several non-existing individuals as it is preserved in its only existing individual.⁸²⁸ Third, if there is no other Sun apart from the one we know, the predication: ‘Sun is Sun’ is a predication of an species of its only individual. The same holds for ‘Sun is a star’ (should there be no other stars) it is a predication of a genus of its species.⁸²⁹

Next there comes the opinion of important authors (Boethius, Albert, Aquinas, and Scotus) they think that the *ratio* in genus and in species is different. It suffices to the existence of a species the existence of only one of its individuals, however, to the existence of a genus several species are necessary, either simultaneous or successively in time. They affirm that if of all animals only man existed in the world, and no other animal were ever to exist, at present or in the future, man would still be an animal, but animal would not be said to be its genus. However the

⁸²⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1082: “Aegidius Romanus *ad Isagogen Porphyrii*, et plerique eo recentiores in eundem librum asserunt, idem de conservatione generis, quod de speciei conservatione sentiendum; proinde si species conservatur in uno individuo posse quoque genus in unica specie; sin genus non potest in unica specie, neque species in uno dumtaxat individuo; quorum sententia his argumentis confirmari potest.”

⁸²⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1082: “Primum, quia ut genus et species subiecta sunt correlativa; ac proinde simul natura, ita species praedicabilis et individuum; ergo si existente quolibet individuo existit eius species, et in eo conservatur; qualibet etiam specie existente, existet illius genus, et in ea conservabitur, sin genus non conservatur, neque etiam species; haec enim est conditio eorum, quae simul natura sunt.”

⁸²⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1083: “Deinde, quia ut genus refertur ad plures species subiectas ita species praedicabilis ad plura individua. Hac enim ratione utrumque universale est; ergo si species praedicabilis non desinit esse species respectu individuorum non existentium, cum actu existit in uno solo, idque propter aptitudinem ad alia individua, pari ratione specierum non existentium, cum in una sola existit, ique propter aptitudinem ad alias. Si vero quis dicat aptitudinem generis ad caeteras species non satis esse, ut illud in unica esse, et in ea sola conservari dicatur, non satis quoque erit, ut speciem existere conservarique in uno tantum individuo fateamur, si illam ad caetera individua aptitudinem habere dicamus.”

⁸²⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1083: “Postremo, si nullo alio existente Sole, praeter hunc, quem cernimus, haec praedicatio, hic Sol est Sol, est praedicatio speciei de suo individuo, pari ratione, si nullum aliud esset astrum haec praedicatio Sol est astrum, esset praedicatio generis de sua specie. Quod si haec non est generis, neque illa est species; cur enim alterum fateamur, alterum negemus, nulla omnino videtur esse ratio.”

Sun, although it is unique, still makes the predication Sun is Sun truly a predication of a species of its individual.⁸³⁰

They corroborate their argument stating that the *potestas* of genus to several species is a natural potency, but that the species has only an aptitude, or a non-incompatibility of nature to its individuals. Moreover, genus is divided in species by *differentias*, but species is divided in individuals by something external (only numerically different individuals, identical in nature, and accidentally distinct from each other).⁸³¹ (cf. Aquinas 1 s d 19 q 4 art. 2; and Aristotle in *De coelo* b 2 c 3 text 18).⁸³²

Fonseca goes on to present his own assessment of the issue. First, the substracted nature of a genus would have to be univocal in its species, in order for it to be preserved in only one of them.⁸³³ Second, if genus and species are taken as universals, neither genus will be preserved in

⁸³⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1083: “Boetius vero secunda editione in *Porphyrium*, ad c de specie; Albert Magn in eundem, tract 4 c 6 et D Thomas in priorem lib de Posteriori Resolutione, lect 12, et in primum Sententiarum ad dist 19 q 4 art 2. Scot. c de specie; et super praedic. q 18. alique graves Auctores sentiunt, aliam esse rationem in genere, aliam in specie; ut enim species existat, satis esse, si unicum eius existat individuum, at vero, ut existat genus necesse esse, ut plures species eius naturalium causarum vi existant, vel simul, videlicet, vel certe successu aliquo temporis. Itaque dicunt si ex omnibus animalibus solus homo in mundo esset, neque aliud animal naturali naturae cursu posset existere, futurum quidem, ut ille esse animal; caeterum non ita, ut animal vere diceretur genus illius. At quanquam unicus Sol, quem cernimus, in rerum natura cohaereat, neque alius naturae viribus effici possit; vere tamen dici, hunc Solem esse Solem; et Solem, qui de eo praedicatur, esse speciem quandam, ad quam hic Sol pertineat.”

⁸³¹ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1083-1084: “Hoc autem ex eo probant, quia potestas generis ad plures species est potentia quaedam naturalis naturae genericae quae potentia cum aliquando ad actum perducitur, se frustra sit, necesse est, ut genus aliquando existat in pluribus speciebus. At vero potestas speciei ad plura individua, non est, inquit, potentia naturalis naturae specificae, sed solum aptitudo quaedam, sive non repugnantia ex parte illius. Unde cum aptitudo non semper perducatur ad actum (ut patet in homine caeco, qui etsi privatus est videndi facultate, aptus tamen ad videndum dicitur) non necesse est, speciem aliquando existere in pluribus individuis, sive simul, sive successive. Potestatem vero generis ad plures species esse naturalem potentiam, et potestatem speciei ad plura individua non potentiam naturalem, sed aptitudinem tantum, sive non repugnantiam naturae, ex eo probant, quia genus dividitur in species per differentias, quae naturali potentia in illo continentur; at species dividitur in individua per externa quaedam;”

⁸³² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1084: “[N]empe per accidentia, ut ait Boetius in secunda editione in *Isagoge* Porphyrii ad c de specie, aut per divisionem materiae, ut Albertus 2 p sum tract 1 q 4 memb 1 p 2 et in praedic loco cit et D Thomas Opusc 29 et De ente et essentia c r et 3 p q 77 art 2 et in 4 Sent d 12 q 1 art 2 et aliis in locis, volunt; sicque docent, aliter accipi potestatem, cum dicimus, genus esse id, quod de pluribus specie differentibus praedicari potest; aliter cum dicimus, speciem esse id, quod potest de pluribus differentibus solo numero praedicari.

Alia ratione (quae tandem eodem redit) probat D Thomas in I sent dist 19 q 4 art 2 et in I li Post lec 12 eandem assertionem; quia, inquit, genus dividitur per contrarias differentias; si autem unum contrariorum existit in rerum natura, necesse est, ut alterum quoque aliquando in rerum natura inveniatur, ut docet Arist 2 lib de Coelo et Mundo c 3 tex 18. Quod non alia de causa dixit, nisi propter naturalem potentiam subiecti ad formas contrarias, quae aliquando reducenda est ad actum, ne frustra esse concedatur. At species dividitur in individua per divisionem materiae accommodata ad naturam suam, quae tot a materia in uno individuo contineri potest, ut in Sole.”

⁸³³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1084-1085: “Quid tamen hac de re sentiendum sit, tribus conclusionibus explicandum est. Prima conclusio. *Si genus et species infima quoad res substratas sumantur, quemadmodum species infimae in unico individuo conservari potest, ita et genus in unica specie.* Ratio huius rei perspicua est; quia, ut natura substrata speciei infimae includitur in quolibet individuo eius speciei, ita natura substrata generi in qualibet eius specie. Verum hic sensus alienus est a proposita quaestione; quia nemo de hac re dubitat, qui naturam substratam generi univocam suis speciebus esse agnoscit, quod omnes expresse citati Auctores faciunt.”

only one of its species, nor an inferior species in only one of its individuals.⁸³⁴ Third, the whole perfection of the subtracted nature requires that genus is more perfectly actualised in one than in another of its species, thus there has to be more than one species. An inferior species, however, can be actualised perfectly in each one of its individuals.⁸³⁵

This last point deserves further elaboration. Fonseca presents a long discussion concerning the relation of species and individuals with regard to the perfection of the latter. As it seems to be a consequence of the last point, namely, that an inferior species can be perfectly preserved in each one of its individuals, that the individuals, *ex se ipsis*, under the same species are all equally perfect. However also in this respect there are divergent opinions.

Cajetan, Capreolus, and some other Thomists hold that an answer to this question should be negative. The reason is that under the same species of human form it is given a difference in the perfection of the individual forms, namely, that some are more perfect according to the substance. And that this is doubtlessly Aquinas's view, as for instance blind people are less perfect as they do not see. Seeing that by the same *ratio*, concerning the other informing forms, and consequently it seems that the same will have to be thought concerning all composed individuals. For concerning the forms subsisting *per se* it is evident that several of them are not

⁸³⁴ CMA v. 2, c. 1085: "Secunda conclusio. *si genus et species accipiantur, quatenus universalia sunt; quemadmodum genus non conservatur in unica specie, ita nec species infima in uno individuo.* Ratio huius conclusionis est; quia genus et species infima, quatenus universalia sunt, vel spectantur quoad relationes, quae in eorum universalitatibus fundantur, vel quoad ipsas universalitates, quae sunt aptitudines essendi in pluribus, vel quoad totales actus huiusmodi aptitudinum ut supra q 4 sect 4 potissimum diximus. At nullo ex his modis vel genus in unica specie vel species in unico individuo conservari potest. Non primo, quia relationes universalium ad sua particularia in ipsis rerum universalitatibus fundatae sunt relationes rationis; quae ut in rebus particularibus existere non possunt, ita nec conservari; de qua tamen conservatione, et non de obiectiva plane intelligitur quaestio proposita. Non secundo, quia neque aptitudo essendi in pluribus, unitasve praecisionis, quae illam comitatur ac sequitur, existunt in ipsis pluribus, ut ex iis, quae superius disputata sunt perspicuum est, tantum abest, ut in uno tantum eorum existant. Non tertio, quia esse in una tantum parte subiecta, non est esse in pluribus, tantum abest, ut idem sit, quod esse in omnibus. Atque iuxta huius conclusionis sensum vera est recentiorum sententia, ut patet."

⁸³⁵ CMA v. 2, cc. 1085-1086: "Tertia conclusio. *Si genus et species considerentur quoad totam perfectionem naturae substratae (quae tot a perfectio universalitas quaedam utcunque appellari potest) species quidem infima conservari potest in unico individuo, genus autem in unica specie non potest, modo perfectionis nomen accipitis pro ea, quae non per accidens, sed per se naturae convenit.* Nam, cum natura cuiusque generis perfectius sit, perfectiusque operetur in una specie, quam in alia, ut inductione patet; species autem infima aequae perfecta sit, ac operari possit in omnibus suis individuis (si sermo sit de perfectione, quam individua ex natura sua sibi vendicant, et non de adventitia, quae ex varia materiae dispositione, aut aliunde provenit) non dubium relinquitur, quin species infima, quoad totam perfectionem naturae debitam, conservari possit in uno dumtaxat individuo, genus autem non item in unica specie. Atque in hoc sensu, quem non improprium dixeris, verisimile est, Boetium, et alios cum eo citatos Auctores intelligendos esse; quod responsio ad eorum argumenta, manifestum faciet."

given under the same inferior species.⁸³⁶ Cajetan's argument concerning the *ratio* taken from Aquinas is only one. Because for each varied disposition of matter, a form variedly perfect is introduced, not only accidentally in the difference, but also essentially or intrinsically. For, as the form is commensurate to the matter, if the matter is variedly disposed, consequently the form is variedly perfect. Cajetan cites in his favour *De anima* b 2 c 9 text 94 and other passages of the scripture.⁸³⁷

Some authors use the article of the Parisian condemnations, in which the equality of the souls is condemned as error⁸³⁸ to support their opinion. Seeing that if all souls were equally perfect, Christ's soul would not be more noble than the soul of any other person.⁸³⁹ Arguments for the more consistent accounts of this opinion are five. First, from the excelling in operating it is inferred the excellence of the major forms.⁸⁴⁰ Second, if all individuals of the same inferior species are of equal perfection according to the particular essences, not even the divine Power could do that some were more perfect according to the essence (*absurdissimum*).⁸⁴¹ Third, if all individuals were equally perfect, the individuating *differentias* would also be equally perfect,

⁸³⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1086: "Caietanus post Capreolum, et ante alios quosdam Thomistarum ad quaestionem 85 primae partis D Thomas *art. 7 in 2 d. 32 q. 1* scribit, sub specie humanae formae dari formas individuas alias aliis secundum substantiam perfectiores; additque, adeo perspicuum esse, sententiam hanc esse D Thomae, ut caeci sint, qui id non videant. Quod idem pari ratione de caeteris formis informantibus, ac proinde de omnibus individuis compositis sentiendum videbitur iis, qui eius opinionem sequentur. Nam, de formis per se subsistentibus perspicuum est, apud D Thomam eiusque omnes sectatores non dari plures sub eadem infima specie."

⁸³⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1086-1087: "Caietani ex D Thoma desumpta ratio haec est unica; quia pro varia materiae dispositione, varie perfecta forma introducitur, non accidentatio tantum discrimine, sed essentiali, sive intrinseco. Nam, cum forma commensuretur materiae, si materia varie disposita sit, varie, inquit, perfecta sit forma ipsa secundum se necesse est. Hanc rationem Aristotelis auctoritate fulcit Caietanus; quod *2 lib De anima cap 9 text 94. Molles carne, bene aptos mente esse animadvertat*. Addunt alii sacratum literatum testimonium. *Puer*, inquit Sapiens, c 8 *eram ingeniosus et sortitus sum animam bonam*; quod nimirum aliis meliorem perfectioremve acceperit."

⁸³⁸ Fonseca is referring to the famous Paris condemnation promulgated in 1277 by the bishop Étienne Tempier against 219 articles of Siger of Brabant, Boethius of Dacia, and others. The article in question is: "187. Quod nos peius aut melius intelligimus, hoc provenit ab intellectu passivo, quem dicit esse potentiam sensitivam. - Error, quia hoc ponit unum intellectum in omnibus, aut aequalitatem in omnibus animabus." Cf. David Piché (ed., trans., and comm.), *La Condamnation Parisienne de 1277*, Paris, 1999, pp. 136-137. This article is clearly a condemnation of monopsychism and of the equality of all souls.

⁸³⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1087: "Utuntur etiam nonnulli (*ut refert Lychetus in 2 dist 3 quaest 1 § si dicatur*) ad rem eandem articulo quodam Parisiensium, in quo aequalitas animatum tanquam error damnatur; quod ex ea sequatur, anima Christi non esse in seipsa anima Iudae proditoris nobiliorem. Et quanquam his argumentis non magno negotio responderi posset, sunt tamen alia nonnulla, quae maiorem videntur vim habere."

⁸⁴⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1087: "Unum est, ex operationibus praestantioribus maiorum formarum praestantiam colligi; et formarum eiusdem speciei infimae alias aliis perfectius operari, ut est luce clarius."

⁸⁴¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1087: "Alterum, si individua omnia eiusdem speciei infimae sunt aequalis perfectionis secundum essentias particulares, ne divina quidem virtute fieri posse, ut unum sit alio secundum essentiam perfectius, quod absurdissimum videtur."

what is clearly impossible, for if they were equally perfect they would be already suitable to each other univocally.⁸⁴² Fourth, what is diverse in the first place, in no *ratio* can be equally perfect *secundum essentiam*.⁸⁴³ Finally, as the individuating *differentias* are simple simpliciter, i.e., in no *ratio* composed out of something common and out of particular objective concept, thus if they were equally perfect, all others would also be, therefore all would be one and the same perfection, as it is the case of the divine Persons (*quod nefas est vel cogitare*).⁸⁴⁴

The true opinion is the one put forward by Henry of Ghent, Durandus, Argentinas, Paulus Soncinas, Domingo de Soto, Augustine and other Fathers of the Church, and Aristotle, at least as Aquinas reads him.⁸⁴⁵ This view is supported by many arguments. First, that the opposite view, namely that all individuals of the same species are unequally perfect, is absurd.⁸⁴⁶ Second, if the individuals of the same species do things less perfectly it is not due to different particular natures but to accidents, as a limping person would walk correctly should she get cured.⁸⁴⁷ Third,

⁸⁴² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1087: “Tertium, si omnia sunt aequae perfectae, differentias quoque eorum individuantes aequae perfectas esse; at hoc impossibile videri. Nam, si aequae perfectae sunt, iam conveniunt univoce inter se; quae enim aequalia sunt, sive aequalitate propria et secundum quantitatem, sive impropria secundum qualitatem accidentalem aut substantialem, in eo, in quo sunt aequalia, univoce conveniunt. At differentias individuantes eiusdem speciei infimae univoce convenire, ex iis est, quae dici non possunt. Si enim univoce convenirent, idque secundum essentiam (de hac enim sola convenientia quaestio esse potest) id sane, in quod convenirent per alias differentias in illas divideretur; de quibus differentiis rursus eadem esset dubitatio, essentne aequalis perfectionis essentialis, an non; et pari ratione de aliis in infinitum; quod cum admittendum non sit, continuo dicendum erat, esse omnes inter se inaequalis perfectionis et secundum essentiam.”

⁸⁴³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1087: “Quartum, quae sunt primo diversa nulla ratione aequae perfectae esse posse secundum essentiam quae enim primo diversa sunt, in nulla eadem entitate, ac proinde in nulla eadem perfectione conveniunt. At neminem dubitare differentias individuantes esse primo diversas, si vel mediocrem earum cognitionem habeat. Quod si non sunt aequae perfectae, fieri non posse, ut aequae perfectae sint individua, quae ex illis constant.”

⁸⁴⁴ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1087-1088: “Postremo, cum differentiae individuantes sint simpliciter simplices, hoc est, nulla ratione compositae ex communi aliquo et particulari conceptu obiectivo, fore, ut si quis eas aequae perfectas esse contendat, concedat necessario esse se totis aequae perfectas. Quod si se totis, ergo sunt una et eadem numero perfectio, quemadmodum divinae personalitates; quod nefas est vel cogitare. Sequela autem ex eo constat, quia, si non conveniunt in communi aliqua perfectione, quae in singulis distributa sit, et in aliquibus differunt, et tamen in aliqua conveniunt (alioqui non essent aequae perfectae) in una et eadem numero convenienti necesse est.”

⁸⁴⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1088: “Vera tamen sententia, quam tuerentur Henricus Gandavensis, *quodl.* 3 q 5, Durandus, *in dist* 32 q 3, Argentinas, *in 2 d 31 q 1 art 2*, et ex Thomistis, Paulus Soncinas, *8 Meta q 26*, ac Dominicus de Soto, *in Praedicta de substantia q 2, ad quintum*, Mich. de Palatio, *in 2 d 32 dispu unica*. Zimara in Theorem, *theor 54* estque D. Augustin. *locis inferius citandis*, et aliorum Patrum, ac perspicue Aristotelis (ut credere par sit fuisse re vera D. Thomae) facit individua omnia eiusdem speciei infimae aequae perfectae secundum essentias eorum particulares, et seclusa omni accidentaria perfectione. Quae sententia multis argumentis ostendi potest.”

⁸⁴⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1088: “Primum, quia oppositae sententiae Auctores sentiunt, omnia eiusdem speciei individua esse inaequaliter perfecta; ridiculum autem videtur asserere, duas albedines totidem graduum, duas item lineas, aut superficies, eiusdem naturae, duo etiam qua eiusdem speciei aequalia inter se, et similium omnino qualitatum, esse inaequaliter perfecta.”

⁸⁴⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1088-1089: “Deinde, quia cum perfectio rerum ex vi agendi, modoque operandi colligatur iisque vicissim respondeat, ut inductione patet; et ea etiam ratione constat, quia unumquodque est propter operationem, ut Aristoteles *2 de Coelo*, cap 3 et 17, ait; sane si individua eiusdem speciei infimae essent inaequaliter perfecta secundum particulares essentias, haberent utique inaequalem vim ad agendum, diversumque modum operandi, at

because nothing is absent of the substantial perfection of the world.⁸⁴⁸ Fourth, if all individuals of the same inferior species were unequally perfect according to substance, not even God's Power could make two of them to have an equal perfection (*absurdissimum*).⁸⁴⁹ And to say that some are equally perfect but that others are not is not possible, because the *ratio* is the same in all, thus either they are equally perfect or unequally perfect.⁸⁵⁰ Fifth, if all individuals are unequally perfect, as a more perfect is not produced out of the imperfect, then the particular agents always generate less imperfect beings, what is against the physical principle that says that agents, unless impeded by something contrary, produce effects equal to themselves.⁸⁵¹

Some of Fonseca's contemporaries asserted that all individuals have to be in reality unequally perfect; hence they would have an unequal level of freedom of the will. But Fonseca thinks that this is not correct, since when they posit this view they consider freedom of the will of rational creatures as if it were restricted to the freedom of coercion. This would not only be

non habent (...) Quod si quaedam individua destituta sunt viribus, quas habent alia eiusdem speciei aut aliquo modo agunt sive alia perfectius, alia minus perfecte, non id ad naturas eorum particulares, sed ad dispositiones accidentarias, defectumque aut redundantiam materiae perspicue refertur; ut verum sit, quod Aristoteles 1 lib *De anima* c 4 text 64 ait; *si senex acciperet oculum iuvenis, videret ut iuvenis*; et, quod simile est, si claudus aut blaesus acciperet crura recte ambulantis, aut recte loquentis linguam, eodem modo, quo hi operarentur."

⁸⁴⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1089: "Tertio, quia si alia individua essent aliis eiusdem infimae speciei secundum substantiam perfectiora, non semper. Mundus aequae perfectus esset secundum substantiam, at hoc negant omnes Philosophi, qui perfectum esse Mundum, et optime constitutum semper asserunt. Quibus favent in sacris literis sapientissimus Salomon, et utiusque legis summus interpret Paulus; alter enim facta et facienda eiusdem conditionis esse pronunciat, cum *Eccles cap 1* ait; *Quid est quod fuit? Ipsum, quod futurum est. Quid est, quod factum est? Ipsum, quod faciendum est. Nihil sub Sole novum, nec valet quispiam dicere, ecce hoc recens est*. Alter vero id non de rebus, quoad earum figuram, hoc est, accidentia, sed quoad substantiam intelligendum esse declarat, cum *1 Corinth 7*, scribit, *Praeterit enim figura huius mundi*, neque enim dixit praeterire substantiam, ne quid unquam substantialis perfectionis mundo deesse crederemus."

⁸⁴⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1089: "Quarto, quia si omnia eiusdem infimae speciei individua essent inaequalis perfectionis secundum substantiam, non posset Deus duas res aequae perfectas facere, etiam secundum accidentia, quod absurdissimum esse manifestum est. Consequentia ex eo patet, quia etiamsi quis contendat, duo ova aequae perfecta secundum albedinem aut facta esse, aut divina virtute fieri posse, aut duos homines secundum scientiam aut charitatem, merito repugnabit alius, ac concludet id fieri non posse; quia haec albedo inaequalis est in perfectione cuiuslibet alii sive factae, sive possibili; eodemque modo haec scientia, et haec charitas cuiuslibet eiusdem speciei qualitati."

⁸⁵⁰ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1089-1090: "Quod si quis respondeat, non omnia individua eiusdem infimae speciei esse dissimilia in perfectione, sed aliqua posse esse similia, aliqua vero non posse, primum quidem eius responsionis rationem reddere non poterit, cum par sit ratio in omnibus; et *in perpetuis, cuiusmodi est omnis divisio in partes essentialiter subiectas, idem sit posse esse, ac esse*, ut Aristoteles tradit *tertio Physicorum libro, c 4 tex 52*. Quo fit, ut dicendum sit, omnia esse inaequaliter perfecta secundum se, aut aequaliter. Deinde, repugnabit iis Auctoribus, quorum sententiam defendendam assumet, sentiunt enim, re vera nulla esse aequaliter perfecta, ut iam diximus."

⁸⁵¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1090: "Quinto, quia si omnia essent inaequaliter perfecta; cum perfectiora ab imperfectionibus non gignantur, tanquam a causis principalibus, semper agentia particularia generarent imperfectiora, at hoc est contra illud commune Physicorum proloquium, agentia semper sibi quam similia effecta producere, modo nihil sit, quod impediatur; veluti defectus, redundantia materiae, aut contrarii agentis repugnantia."

against faith but also against the nature of freedom.⁸⁵² Similarly, no inequality is derived from Augustine, either moral or any other type from the substance of the soul.⁸⁵³ Philosophers and theologians alike discuss whether species are equally perfect, but they all end up concluding that as species are not equally perfect the same has to be maintained in relation to the individuals of a given species.⁸⁵⁴ Related to this issue there is the discussion concerning the possibility of encompassing all individuals of the same inferior species under this very species, and the consequent fact that it would not be necessary to study each of those individuals to arrive at scientific knowledge because they are all equally perfect.⁸⁵⁵

⁸⁵² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1090: “Sunt nollulli recentiores, qui in hominibus ex eo conclusionem confirment; quia si ex se esset inaequaliter perfecti, non esset in eis aequalis arbitrii libertas; quod impietatem redolet. Sed non recte id colligitur, sumpta libertate arbitrii pro ea qua rationales creaturae sunt liberae a coactione. Hoc enim pacto non solum impium esset dogma, eas facere inaequales, sed etiam contra ipsam libertatis naturam. Quod si arbitrii libertas sumatur pro ea, qua creaturae, rationis sive intelligentiae capaces, sunt liberae a difficultate amplectendi utramvis contradictionis partem propter intelligentiae perfectionem, aut alia de causa; recte quidem colligetur ex inaequali perfectione essentiali individuorum inaequalitas eorum arbitrii libertatis. Verum non magis esset impium ponere hoc pacto in hominibus inaequalem arbitrii libertatem, quam est in substantiis separatis diversarum specierum, in quibus Theologi concedunt inaequalem liberi arbitrii perfectionem cum inaequali perfectione intelligentiae, quae radix est libertatis. Ea tamen ratione id absurdum est, quia arguit in hominibus inaequalitatem conditionis humanae secundum ipsam cuiusque naturam, quam omnes Patres et in animis et in corporibus negant, sumptis anima et corpore, quatenus omne accidentarium hominum inter se discrimen antecedunt.”

⁸⁵³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1090-1091: “Atque August. quem oppositae sententiae Auctores pro se afferunt, idem sensisse cum ex aliis locis, tum vero ex commentariis super Genesim ad literam *lib* 10 c 17, perspicuum est. Explicans enim illud Sapientis; *Et fortitius sum animam bonam*, sic ait. *Unde bonae aut magis bonae aut minus bonae animae, nisi vel moribus secundum liberum voluntatis arbitrium, vel differentia temperaturae corporum?* Quo loco plane vides, nullam bonitatis perfectionisve inaequalitatem animarum, sive moralem, sive quamvis aliam agnosci ab Augustino secundum ipsam animarum substantiam, qua nimirum animae prius natura, quam corporibus infundantur, inter se differant.”

⁸⁵⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1092: “Sed et ex illa ipsa quaestione, quam Philosophi ac Theologi tractant possintne virtute ulla dari plures species aequae perfectae, illud intelligi potest, ubi non est controversia de opinione huius vel illius Doctoris, cuius verbis hic, aut ille iurandum sibi existimavit, omnes hanc eandem sententiam supponere, cum speciatim id quaerant de speciebus diversis; quia de individuis unius et eiusdem dicendum id esse non dubitant.”

⁸⁵⁵ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1092-1094: “Quin etiam ex respectu dividendi, definiendi, et demonstrandi ratione, in qua tota disserendi perfectio posita est, idem plane colligitur. Nam apud Philosophos (*Arist. 2 Post cap 15 et i de partibus anima c 5 et hoc ipso lib c 10 text 17. D Thoma 10 Meta lecti 10 et 11. Porph in Isagog c. de Specie. Ioan. Dam. in sua Logica cap 2 et 3*) infimae species atomae, sive individuae dicuntur, ut saepe videre est apud Aristotelem, quod praecipua divisionis ratio, qua superiora in inferiora dividuntur, in eis consistat, neque ulterius descendendo Platonis iussu progrediatur. Vetuit enim Plato (ut refert *Porph in Isagoge capit de Specie*) sub infimas species descendere non tam propter individuorum infinitatem, quam quia nulla a sub eis perfectionis inaequalitas, dissimilitudoque cernatur, ut non sit cur Philosophus in pluribus individuis percurrens laborandum existimet. (...) Definitionis quoque ratio idem ostendit. Si enim individua eiusdem speciei perfectione intrinseca essent inaequalia, tradendae utique essent de singulis peculiare definitiones, haberetque eorum quodque peculiare quod quid est, at omnes prohibent, definiiri individua, ut quae habent unum et idem quod quid. Hinc enim solvitur celebris illa quaestio, Sintne idem, an diversa id quod est et ipsum eius, quod quid est. (...) Denique ipsa demonstrandi ratio idem ostendit. Si enim intrinseca perfectione differrent, ergo et peculiaribus inter se proprietatibus. Ex qua re efficeretur, ut demonstrationes de individuis non minus recte, quam de speciebus afferri possent; at non afferuntur, nisi per aliud, secundariaque ratione, ut omnes afferunt, et libro septimo patebit. Astipulantur porro huic sententiae quicumque individuorum sub eadem infima specie distinctionem vel ad diversam existentiam vel ad accidentium variam collectionem, vel ad materiae distinctionem referunt.”

The arguments of those that deny that individuals are equally perfect are refuted on the basis of their departure from Aquinas's position. Indeed the substantial form is commensurate to matter, but not all variety in disposition on the part of matter requires a form variedly perfect according to substance, but only that which postulates a specific *differentia* of the form. However, if a better disposed matter between the limits belonging to the same form in species is a cause or occasion, as the form which is introduced, has more perfect potencies, or the more perfect in advance. In which way the human body is disposed more perfectly only on account of the more perfect sensitive potencies, but also occasion of the more perfect activities of the intellectual soul. And Aquinas has to be understood in this way when he infers the greater perfection of the human form from the more perfect disposition of the human body, not only as far as the sensitive powers, but also as far as the intellectual ones.⁸⁵⁶ It is possible that two things equally perfect in disposition, are in reality unequally perfect.⁸⁵⁷ In the same way it has to be responded to the passage of Aristotle, to the words of the bible, and to the article of the Parisians.⁸⁵⁸

Next, there is the solution of the arguments which carry more difficulties. First, that the accidental forms under the same species have to be admitted to be of unequal intrinsic perfection.⁸⁵⁹ Second, that it is impossible for two individuals under the same species to be of

⁸⁵⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1094: "Quare ad rationem, quam ex divo Thoma desumit Caietanus, dicendum est; esse quidem formam substantialem materiae commensuratam; verum non omnem varietatem dispositionis materiae postulare varie perfectam formam secundum substantiam, sed eam tantum quae postulat specifiā formae differentiam, posse tamen melius dispositam materiam intra terminos dispositionum ad eandem specie formam pertinentium causam, aut occasionem esse, ut forma, quae introducitur, perfectiores habeat potentias, aut in actus perfectiores prodeat."

⁸⁵⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1094: "Retorqueri autem posset argumentatio in Caietanum, si eodem pacto colligeremus, ex duabus materiis aequae dispositis ad easdem specie formas, aequae perfectas esse introducendas, cum tamen ipse omnes inaequaliter perfectas esse velit, nisi vereremur, ne absurdius negetur, fieri posse, ut detur in duabus materiis aequae perfecta dispositio. Verum hoc saltem nobis pro argumento sit satis, nisi absurdiori hac responsione absurdam sententiam defendi non posse."

⁸⁵⁸ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1094-1095: "Eodem modo respondendum est, cum ad locum Aristotelis citatum, tum etiam ad verba Sapientis ex sacris literis adducta, et (si placet) ad Parisiensium articulum, quidquid ille virum extra Sorbonam habeat."

⁸⁵⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1095: "Primum vero argumentum eorum, quae addimus, hoc pacto dissolvendum. Formas substantiales eiusdem speciei aequae perfecte operari, semoto omni accidentario ipsarum discrimine, seu potius principia esse aequae perfectarum operationum; quod autem perfectius operentur in uno individuo, quam in alio, ad variam materiae dispositionem, causarumque, externum concursum referendum esse. Hinc Aristoteles in *Proble sect 30 q 1 et lib polit 7 c 7. ingeniosiores melancholicos saepe visos scriptum reliquit; Asiaticos item Europaeis astutiores esse, vicissimque Europaeos Asiaticis robustiores. Quod si de formis accidentalibus sit sermo, fatemur dari posse alias sub eadem specie aliis intrinsecus perfectiores, si sint ex genere earum, quae magis et minus suscipiunt; idque recte colligi ex varie perfectis operationibus, ut ex perfectiori calefaciendi ratione intensiorem*

unequal essential perfection.⁸⁶⁰ Third, that the individuating *differentias* are equally perfect, but they are not suitable univocally to all individuals.⁸⁶¹ In order to understand this more clearly, one has to bear in mind that an equal perfection of two things in themselves, and not due to a third univocal and truly universal nature, is necessarily limited in two ways: first, there is the actual positive perfection, i.e., whatever is found in one is also found in the other in a perfectly equal way (in this sense it is only found in the persons of the Divine Trinity); second, the perfection of one does not exceed the perfection of the other neither formally, nor in strength, nor in prominence (in this way, it is found in whichever two qualities equally intense).⁸⁶² But if one objects that also the individuating *differentias* of the individuals of the same inferior species seem to be unequally perfect (condition for individuation), as properties seem to vary in terms of being active or passive. However, it has to be noticed that even if their properties are diverse insofar as activity and passivity goes, properties are still equally perfect insofar as they have an

calorem. Sed tamen addimus, eam perfectionem esse suo modo accidentariam, cum eidem formae numero saepe accidat, ut modo sit intensior, modo remissior, at quaestio proposita illud inquirat, sint ne alia individua aliis eiusdem speciei infimae perfectiora, semoto omni eorum accidentario discrimine.”

⁸⁶⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1095: “Secundum vero nihil absurdi colligit. Nam sublata omni accidentaria differentia; quovis modo illa ponatur; tam est impossibile, sub eadem specie infima inaequalitatem perfectionis invenire, quam res inter se similimas esse dissimiles, et omnino aequaliter perfectas inaequalem habere perfectionem. Itaque ut ne divina quidem virtute effici potest, ut duae species eiusdem generis sint aequae perfectae; ita neque ut duo individua eiusdem speciei infimae inaequalem perfectionem habeant, modo in eis nihil accidentarii discriminis consideretur.”

⁸⁶¹ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1095-1096: “Tertium quoque nihil efficit; quia etsi differentiae individuantes, quibus eadem species infima dividitur, aequae perfectae sunt, non inde tamen recte concluditur, eas univoce convenire. Imo vero dicimus nullam convenientiam univocam in natura aliqua vere universali efficere, ut res convenientes aequae perfectae sint in seipsis, sed solum, quatenus in illa natura conveniunt. Nulla enim natura vere communis et universalis continet totam perfectionem suorum particularium; quippe cum particularia omnia aliquam perfectionem suis universalibus addant, ut primae substantiae secundis. In sola divina natura, quae non est vere universalis, sed potius maxime singularis, illud est verum, quae in ea essentialiter conveniunt, nempe ipsas divinas personas, ratione illius aequae perfectas esse in seipsis, neque alia de causa, nisi quia divinae personalitates nihil perfectionis addunt divinae naturae, quae in se totam perfectionem divinam formaliter continet. Tantum ergo abest, ut convenientia univoca individuorum eiusdem speciei infimae colligatur ex perfectione, qua ipsa in seipsis dicuntur aequae perfecta, ut potius oppositum concludatur.”

⁸⁶² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1096: “Sed tamen, ut haec melius intelligantur, animadvertendum est; aequalem perfectionem duarum rerum in seipsis, et non in aliqua tantum univoca, et vere universali natura, duobus modis posse contingere, uno ita, ut quidquid perfectionis reperitur in una, idem prorsus reperiatur in altera, quam aequalitatem positivam appellare possumus; altero ita, ut perfectio unius nec formaliter, nec virtute, et eminenter excedat perfectionem alterius, etiamsi nihil perfectionis, quae in una sit, reperiatur in altera. Priori modo in solis divinis suppositis inveniri potest aequalis perfectio, ut perspicuum est; Posteriori autem invenitur in duobus quibuslibet qualitibus aequae extensis, ac denique in duobus quibusque individuis cuiusque speciei infimae, remota ab eis omni accidentaria differentia, potissimum vero in eorum differentis individuantibus, quod ita se habeant, ut non solum nulla excedat aliam sive formali, sive virtuali, ut ita dicam, excessu, sed neque etiam ulla perfectio reperiatur in una, quae non reperiatur in alia. Secus accidit in qualitibus inaequaliter extensis, aut in quantitibus inaequaliter extensis, quarum aliae alias excedunt formaliter, hoc est, divisibili excessu, et in differentiis specificis, etiam eiusdem generis, quarum aliae, si non formaliter, certe virtute eminenterque alias perfectione superant. Id quod ex variis dissimilibusque proprietatibus specierum, quas constituunt, plane colligitur; cum non profluant ex sola natura generica, sed potissimum ex addita differentia specifica.”

equal capacity to engender. Moreover, active and passive properties in themselves are equally perfect, even if on the part of the subjects they do not have the same force.⁸⁶³ Only in the divine Nature, which is not truly universal (connection with Fonseca's *Isagoge*), but rather singular in the highest degree, are the individuating *differentias* univocally suitable. Fourth, that the individuating *differentias* are diverse in the first place, and therefore are not suitable in the same perfection.⁸⁶⁴ Fifth, that the individuating *differentias* are simple when taken absolutely, but they are not one and the same perfection in number.⁸⁶⁵

In sum, if genus and species are taken as far as their whole perfection, which they have *per se* in their inferiors, species can indeed be preserved in only one of its individuals, because as they are all equally perfect, in themselves, as far as those items which are suitable to them *per se*, thus the nature of the species is equally perfect in them. On the other hand, genus cannot be preserved in only one of its species because all the species under the same genus are *per se ipsas* unequally perfect. As a result they bring an unequal perfection to the nature of their genus.⁸⁶⁶

Aquinas's first argument can be accepted not as if he wanted the power of genus to all its species

⁸⁶³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1096-1097: "Quod si quis obiiciat, differentias quoque individuantes eiusdem infimae speciei inaequaliter videri perfectas esse, quia variae ab eis oriri videantur proprietates activae et passivae (quae enim diunt ab uno aut ex uno individuo, non possunt eadem numero ab alio aut ex alio eiusdem speciei fieri, ut diximus ad caput secundum) hoc modo occurrendum est. Primum quidem, etsi proprietates eorum activae et passivae diversae rationis essent, tamen omnes forent aequaliter perfectae, quandoquidem aequalis perfectionis est generare hoc atque illud, et esse aut fieri materiam huius atque illius, si omnia, quae generantur, sunt aequae perfecta."

⁸⁶⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1097: "Deinde, quia proprietates eorum activae ac passivae, quantum ex ipsis est, idem omnino possunt, tametsi ex parte subiectorum eveniat, ut non omnes eandem vim habeant. Quod enim Socrates nullum eundem filium generare potest, quem potest Plato, non ex defectu facultatis generativae Socratis provenit, quae aequaliter communicatur cum natura humana Socrati et Platoni, sed ex diversitate suppositi generantis, quod est principale agens in generatione. Eodemque modo, quod ex semine Socratis non possit eadem proles effici, quae ex semine Platonis, non ex defectu potentiae passivae seminis a Socrate decisi accidit, sed ex diversitate subiecti eiusmodi potentiae, quod est principale patiens. Unde et divina virtute quicquid ab uno aut ex uno fieri potest, potest etiam ab alio aut ex alio fieri."

Ex his facile intelligitur, quid ad quartum et quintum respondendum sit. Nam, ad quartum satis patet concedendum, imo et asserendum esse, differentias individuantes eiusdem speciei esse primo diversas, ac proinde in nulla eadem perfectione convenire, sive quae numero sit eadem, sive quae specie aut genere. Negamus tamen inde effici; non esse eas aequaliter perfectas, quippe cum etsi positive aequalis perfectionis non sunt, sint tamen negative."

⁸⁶⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1097: "Ad quintum vero et extremum fatemur, differentias individuantes esse simpliciter simplices; ac proinde se totis aequae perfectas, sed tamen negamus inde effici, ut sint una et eadem numero perfectio; ita enim sunt se totis aequae perfectae, ut sint etiam se totis diversae, ac proinde primo diversae. Id quod propterea accidere potuit, quia sunt aequae perfectae negative, non positive, quo pacto si aequae perfectae essent, tum demum recte colligeret argumentum, esse unam et eandem numero perfectionem, ut colligitur in divinis personalitatibus."

⁸⁶⁶ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1097-1098: "[S]i genus, inquam et species infima sumantur quoad totam perfectionem quam per se in suis inferioribus habere possunt; speciem quidem posse conservari in uno individuo, quia, ut omnia sunt aequae perfecta, et in seipsis spectata, et quoad ea, quae ipsis per se conveniunt; ita aequaliter naturam speciei perficiunt; genus autem non posse conservari in unica specie, quia sicut omnes eiusdem generis species sunt per seipsas inaequaliter perfectae; sic etiam inaequalem perfectionem sui generis naturae afferunt."

to be some natural potency in the sense of some quality belonging to the second genus of quality, which is originated out of the subtracted nature of this kind of genus *per se*, or some property, which is multiplied with the generic nature in the species. But as he thinks that this power, insofar as the genus precedes in the order of nature the contraction to its nature, in this *ratio* it can be said to be a natural potency, insofar as it is mistaken, unless when guided to the act in all species, seeing that it does not happen to the power of species to all its individuals, and this by this *ratio* because the nature of genus neither the whole perfection of being, nor the whole faculty of operating it has due to its nature, unless when all its species are taken as a whole.⁸⁶⁷

There are some objections to be addressed. First, if genus requires the existence of all its species, in order to have the whole perfection due to its nature, so either no genus ever exists perfectly, or God cannot create any species separate from all the others.⁸⁶⁸ Second, all species in need of male and female to exist and to operate perfect, cannot be preserved in one individual, however in Gen. it is said that God created a single male (Adam), who could not exist forever or be multiplied without a female who had not yet been created.⁸⁶⁹ The answer of the first seems to be easy as what is here at stake is not the whole perfection of genus simpliciter, but only its perfection required in this universe, insofar as God has constituted it. Whence, even if God has

⁸⁶⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1098: “Argumentum vero primum D Thomae in hoc eodem sensu accipi potest. Nam, quod ille ait, potestatem generis ad omnes suas species esse potentiam quandam naturalem, non ita intelligendum est, quasi velit esse qualitatem aliquam ad secundum genus qualitatis pertinentem, quae ex natura substrata cuiusque generis per se oriatur, aut proprietatem aliam, qua cum natura generica in speciebus multiplicetur; cum falsum id sit manifeste et fuse ex eius Doctoris principiis superius refutatum, sed ita, ut sentiat eam potestatem, quam quidem convenire hoc eodem cap q 4 sect 1 et 4 diximus cuilibet naturae genericae, quatenus naturae ordine praecedit contractionem ad suas species, ea ratione posse dici naturalem potentiam, quatenus frustra esset, nisi aliquando perduceretur ad actum in omnibus speciebus, quod non accidit potestate speciei ad omnia individua, idque ea ratione, quia natura generis nec totam perfectionem essendi, nec totam facultatem operandi suae naturae debitam habet, nisi in omnibus suis speciebus. Quod secus accidit in specie infima respectu suorum individuorum, aequae enim perfecta est, et operari potest in uno tantum, sive perenni existentia, ut Sol sive in alio individuo restituta, quod de Phoenice fingunt Poetae, quanquam hoc non tanquam fabulam narrant Plin. *lib 10 Nat hist c 2* et D. Ambr. *in morte fratris de fide resurrectionis, Orat. 2* et alii graves auctores.”

⁸⁶⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1098: “Sunt tamen quae contra haec obiciuntur. Unum est; si genus indiget omnium suarum specierum existentia; ut quoad totam perfectionem suae naturae debitam existat. Igitur, vel nullum genus unquam existere perfecte, vel Deum Opt. Max. nullas species posse producere, quae non aliquando futurum sit, ut existant, quorum illud cum perfectione universi, hoc cum infinitate divinae potestatis pugnat.”

⁸⁶⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1098-1099: “Alterum est, esse plurimas species, quae nec perfecte existere, nec perfecte operari possunt in unico individuo, eas nimirum omnes, quae nisi per commissionem maris et foemiae non propagantur. Generativa enim earum potentia in duobus minimum individuis et conservatur et exercetur. Unde sit, ut imperfectae sint in rerum natura, si unus tantum earum sexus existat. Cuius rei testimonium perhibet divina histotia Geneseos, quae plasmato unico homine mare, narrat dixisse Deum, *non esse bonum hominem esse solum*, quod videlicet nec naturaliter in totum futurum tempus permanere, nec multiplicari, ut alia prope infinita animantia propagatione posset.”

the power to produce infinite species, which will never be exist, it does not make however that the genera cannot be preserved in those upon which they depend because of nature causes, insofar as the perfection of this universe requires.⁸⁷⁰ The second requires that the distinction of male and female be said to be not on the level of the generative potency (to generate an equal to itself). In this sense there is no difference between the sexes (rationality was already in Adam). Even though at the level of the perfection of the individual sexes, the whole perfection of the human nature would not be preserved in only one male, as God made clear in *Gen.* when He said *non esse bonum hominem esse solum*, and this makes evident that although according to God's plan the perfect nature of the human being requires male and female,⁸⁷¹ there is a much greater distinction between man and horse that surpasses the distinction between man and woman, so that no man could ever become a horse. Fonseca remarks that this account explains how the whole human species could be preserved in Adam even when he was still the only human being on earth.⁸⁷²

Therefore, it is clear the reply to the reasons presented by Aquinas. Because insofar as it is said that species is divided by something external, it is as if they are not divided first in nature by internal individuating *differentias*, but this is not what Aquinas or other authors defended.⁸⁷³

Second because every genus is divided by contrary *differentias*, that is, if there is one *differentia*

⁸⁷⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1099: "Sed prior obiectio facile diluatur, si dicas, non esse nobis quaestionem hoc loco de conservatione generis, quoad totam eius perfectionem simpliciter, sed quoad eam, quae ad perfectionem huius universi, quatenus a Deo constitutum est, requiritur. Unde, etsi Deus infinitas species producere potest, quae nunquam futurae sunt, non inde tamen efficitur, ut earum genera non perfecte conserventur in iis speciebus, quae ex causis naturalibus pendent, quatenus huius universi perfectio requirit."

⁸⁷¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1099: "Posterior vero hac consideratione dissolvitur in mare et foemina, si essentia ipsa substantiae particularis spectetur, nullam esse sexus distinctionem potentiaeve generativae, sed aequam esse utrique facultatem naturalem ad generandum per commissionem sexus. Cuius rei argumento est; posse marem in foeminam divina virtute, et vicissim foeminam in marem non tantum divina virtute, sed per causas etiam naturales transformari, non mutata particulari substantia individui, identitateque eius numerali. Quod in foeminis non semel accidisse narrat Plinius *lib. 6 Naturalis historiae*, ubi puellas in pueros evasisse mutato sexu memoriae prodidit. Sed et ex recentioribus historiae scriptoribus narrat Fulgosius, sua aetate regnante Neapoli Ferdinando primo, duas Ludovici Guarnae filias Franciscam et Carolam post decimum quintum aetatis annum sexum mutasse, mutatoque habitu pro maritus habitas, Franciscum et Carolum deinceps nuncupatas fuisse."

⁸⁷² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1099-1100: "Quocirca perfecte quidem conservabatur natura humana in solo Adamo, si sola eius particularis essentia cum facultate generativa essentiae debita spectetur, at non perfecte, si usus quoque eius facultatis habeatur ratio, cum advisum non sit satis essentialis perfectio facultasque ipsi essentiae debita, sed necessaria quoque accidentaria sexum distinctio; quam perfectionem spectavit Deus, cum *Gen. Ca. 2 dixit, non esse bonum hominem esse solum*; quemadmodum spectavit alios usus humanae conditionis ad dignitatis, qui societatem plurium individuorum requirunt."

⁸⁷³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1100: "Ita patet, qua ratione intelligenda sit prior ratio D Thomae, quoad id in quo tota argumenti vis posita est. Nam de eo, quod additur, speciem dividi per externa quaedam, quasi non prius natura dividatur per internas differentias individuantes, nec verum est, nec ex mente seu D Thomae, seu aliorum Auctorum."

there is also the privation of that *differentia*.⁸⁷⁴ Finally, because those who defend that all genera are analogous make that no generic nature could be abstracted from the specific natures and claim that this is the opinion of Aristotle. But Aristotle makes it clear that either genus is not something more than the *differentias* and its species, or if it is then it has its status independently of *differentias* and species, like matter has its status independently of form.⁸⁷⁵ However, such a reply to the relation of genus and species leads to the necessity of dealing with the third predicable (*differentia*) in more detail.

4.1.4. *Differentias*

When Boethius points in his second commentary on the *Isagoge* that the celebrated ‘tree of Porphyry’ as presented by the Phoenician himself, relies on the fact that the Ancients considered the celestial bodies as rational immortal animated bodies,⁸⁷⁶ this seems to be an innocuous remark. However, it has serious consequences for the definition of man, because the definition is usually understood to be composed by the genus and the specific *differentia* which in the traditional account would take the form of “man is a rational animal.” But if rational is also a *differentia* of celestial bodies it cannot be the specific *differentia* of man. Again the mistake seems to be innocuous, but once we ask which part of the definition of man is wrong, we may feel it is hard to pinpoint the mistaken step.

⁸⁷⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1100: “Posterior D Thomae ratio hoc modo plane intelligitur, genus omne dividi per differentias contrarias, hoc est, quarum alia se habeat, ut habitus, alia ut privatio (quod tradit Aristoteles *lib 10 Metaph cap 6 text 13 et 14 et cap 10 text 22 et 23 et cap 7 text 15 et 16*) hoc est, quarum alia sit alia perfectior, ut ipse D Thomas exponit. Atque inde verum est illud; si unum contrariorum in rerum natura est, alterum quoque aliquando esse, ne videlicet frustra sit subiectorum potentia naturalis ad omnem varietatem perfectionis, quam huius universi perfectio postulat.”

⁸⁷⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1100: “Denique argumentum eorum, qui ab Aegidio referuntur, nec fideliter, sed truncate pronunciato Aristotelico utitur, nec veram sententiam assumit. Facit enim genus omne vere analogum, cum nullam naturam generalem a specialibus abstrahi posse contendat, idque velit Aristotelem significasse. At Aristot. non simpliciter pronunciato, sed disiunctivo utitur; Ait enim; *aut genus non esse quicquam praeterea, quae sunt veluti eius species*, hoc est, distinctum aliquid a differentiis, per quas dividitur; *aut si est, ita se habere ad illas, ut materia se habet ad formas*. Argumentum autem assumit priorem disiunctionis partem, qua placet eis Auctoribus, omne genus esse vere analogum, cum tamen Aristotele posteriorem amplectatur. Cur autem *7 Physicor cap 4 text 31 et lib 10 Metaphyc cap 13 text 26* dixerit; *in genere laetere aequivocationes*, ad caput octavum quaest 4 sect 4 explicavimus, quod nunc repetere non est necesse.”

⁸⁷⁶ *IIP*, pp 208-209

Before we can present Fonseca's solution to this *aporia*, we have to go back to an idea presented towards the end of the previous section, because by referring to the context of the 'sensible substances' in order to avoid the circularity of the specific *differentias* that are dependent on the species they constitute, Fonseca also avoids a difficulty pointed by Scotus, that is, the risk of an infinite regress. Inferential induction guarantees that the specific *differentia* is apprehended from the particulars in the first place, and then one discovers that they in fact join the genus to constitute the species; hence their existence is not derived exclusively from the species that they constitute. As for the risk of positing *differentias* of *differentias*, without an end, Scotus addresses it when he deals with the adequacy of a definition of *differentia* in the question 26⁸⁷⁷ of his commentary on the *Isagoge*, since it would be necessary to posit a "*differentia*" of each *differentia* and this runs the risk of *regressum ad infinitum*. Moreover, *differentia* would then be a species, and this blurs the distinction between them. Scotus's solution is that it can indeed be defined as it has a genus, namely, 'universal,' which through some *differentia per se* descends into *differentia*.⁸⁷⁸

Moreover, the subsequent question complements the inquiry by asking if "*differentia* is predicated of several items which differ in species in *eo quod quale*" is appropriate. The main difficulties seem to be that the extension of what is being defined does not seem to match the extension of the definition. Either the former is broader, for it is predicated of the ultimate *differentias* of the most specific species, but the definition is not,⁸⁷⁹ or the latter is broader as it is predicated of many items differing in species, while the former (*differentia*) is an abstract signifying a second intention, hence it is not predicated of items of first intention).⁸⁸⁰ Moreover,

⁸⁷⁷ *QLPI*, n 26: "An Differentia Posset Definiri"

⁸⁷⁸ *QLPI*, n 26.04: "Dicendum quod differentia potest definiri, quia habet genus, scilicet universale, quod per aliquam per se differentiam descendit in ipsam"

⁸⁷⁹ *QLPI*, n 27.01: "Quia definitum excedit definitionem. Praedicatur enim definitum de ultima differentia completiva speciei specialissimae, et non definitio; quia illa differentia tantum inest speciei specialissimae et eius suppositis."

⁸⁸⁰ *QLPI*, n 27.02: "Item, definitio excedit definitum. Probatio: quia sensibile praedicatur etc. Non tamen est differentia, quia differentia est abstractum, significans aliquam intentionem secundam. Impossibile est autem aliquam intentionem secundam in abstracto praedicari de re primae intentionis. Probatio assumpti: a: "differentia" dicitur: "differre" denominative; denominativum autem tantum dicitur ab abstracto. Antecedens patet per Porphyrium; nam ubi vult exponere membra divisionis differentiae, exponit sic: differt enim Socrates senex a se puero; et consimiliter in aliis."

differentia is a relation, but “to be predicated of” is understood as a relative, and a relation cannot be a relative, because again there would be an infinity regress. Hence neither the *differentia* is related to items neither of first intention nor of second intention.⁸⁸¹ Furthermore, *differentia* does not differ⁸⁸² and it cannot have more than one proper definition.⁸⁸³ Although the discussion is extensive, Scotus agrees with Porphyry and gives an affirmative answer by distinguishing between ultimate and intermediary *differentias*. Scotus concludes that this definition applies to all the intermediate *differentias*,⁸⁸⁴ but to none of the ultimate *differentias*. Therefore, none of the other definitions cover both types.⁸⁸⁵

Once both risks have been avoided, and *differentias* are confirmed as universals and as divided in ultimate and intermediary, Fonseca has to deal with the question whether there are simple (ultimate) *differentias* which are given in the inferior species. We will see in a moment that Fonseca has a precise purpose with this discussion, namely, to point to an error in Porphyry’s text (the specific *differentia* of man). The authors defending that there are no necessity to posit simple *differentias* are Albert, Walter Burley, Avicenna, Alfarabi, and Cajetan. The trigger of this discussion is the second definition of *differentia* given by Porphyry in his *Isagoge*, namely, that “*differentia* is what is predicated of items which differ in species in the question *Quale est*, what is the same as to say *essentialiter*.” And seeing that Porphyry gives no other definition of *differentia* as universal, this is at one and the same time the definition of

⁸⁸¹ *QLPI*, n 27.03: “Item, hoc quod est: “praedicari de” est de ratione relativi, ut patet de universalis; differentia autem non est relativum, quia relatio non refertur. Esset enim procedere in infinitum. Differentia est relatio, quia secundum ipsam refertur differens ad differens. Est enim relatio aequiparantiae; omne enim differens differt a differente; igitur differentia non refertur. Hoc etiam patet inductive, quia ad nullam rem primae intentionis refertur, quia non est simul naturá cum aliqua; nec ad aliquam intentionem, quia non ad genus vel speciem vel individuum, quia quodlibet illorum habet aliud correlativum, ut patet ex praedictis, nec ad proprium vel accidens, quod manifestum est.”

⁸⁸² *QLPI*, n 27.04: “Item, omne definitum differt specie ab aliis per suam definitionem. Differentia non differt, quia subiectum et praedicatum significant sub oppositis modis inseparabilibus quae causant falsitatem.”

⁸⁸³ Scotus *Quaestiones in Librum Porphyrii Isagoge* n 27.05: “Item, Porphyrius ponit alias definitiones; igitur vel illae non valent, vel istae non valent, quia: “unius tantum est una definitio”, per Aristotelem VI Topicorum.”

⁸⁸⁴ *QLPI*, n 27-07: “Ad quaestionem – Dicitur ad quaestionem quod differentia est duplex: quaedam ultima, quaedam intermedia. Haec definitio convenit differentiae intermediae universaliter, et est vera definitio, quia ponuntur ibi genus et differentia ipsius differentiae, quia differentia species est respectu universalis, sicut dictum est de genere quod universale descendit in ipsam per differentias additas, quia illae per se dividunt universale et contrahunt ipsum ad differentiam. Differentiae autem per se divisivae superioris sunt per se constitutivae inferioris, quia per illas determinatur superius ad inferius. Tamen non est definitio differentiae universaliter, quia non differentiae ultimae.”

⁸⁸⁵ *QLPI*, n 27.09: “Item, secundum nullam definitionem unam convenit: “differentia” differentiae intermediae et ultimae, quia in illa definitione debet haberi: “praedicari de pluribus in quale”; et nec poterit poni: “differentibus specie” nec: “numero”. Igitur aequivoce convenit illis.”

specific *differentia* in itself and of *differentia* as universal. These authors consider the distinction of *differentias* between simple, as corporeal, animate, sensitive, rational, mortal, immortal, etc; and composed, or rather a folding together of several *differentias*, as a whole, like “this mortal rational,” and “this immortal rational.” They posited this distinction seeing that all simple *differentias* are comprehended in the definition. And this is the first argument of the negative part.⁸⁸⁶ Second, Porphyry does not bring any simple *differentia* in the constitution of man, which is not said to be in his view concerning several things in the *differentias* in species *essentialiter*, but insofar as rational.⁸⁸⁷ Third, that to the definition of the inferior species it has to be enquired the *differentias*, of which it is more broadly evident *per se*, than species, which have to be defined. However, all are simultaneously together, as they recur.⁸⁸⁸ Fourth, in the *Topics differentias* are said to be general, that is, revoked to the genus.⁸⁸⁹ Finally, in the *Parts of Animals* it is said that it is not suitable to posit as many ultimate *differentias* as many are the ultimate species themselves.⁸⁹⁰

⁸⁸⁶ CMA v. 2, c. 1101: “Huius quaestionis, quae apud Albert. Mag. *Logc tra 5 ca 6* et alios quosdam, Burleum, *cap. de differentia*, apud Porphyr. Avic. Alfarab. Caiet. Ibid. disputatur, occasio fuit secunda illa definitio differentiae, quam in *Isagoge* tradit Porphyrius, *differentia est id, quod praedicatur de differentibus specie in quaestione Quale est*, adde (quod subaudiendum est) essentialiter. Nam, cum plerisque durum videatur non comprehendi in ea omnes differentias specificas, quatenus universales sunt (nulla enim alia definitio traditur a Porphyrio, qua differentia quatenus universale quiddam est, explicetur) hanc differentiarum distinctionem excogitavit, ut alias simplices dicerent, quaeque vere essent differentiae; ut corporeum, animatum, sensitivum, rationale, mortale, immortale; alias, compositas, seu potius plurium differentiarum complicationes, ut totum hac rationale mortale, hoc item rationale immortale. Qua distinctione posita dixerunt, omnes quidem differentias simplices in definitione illa comprehendi, quod nulla earum cum specie ulla infima reciprocetur; compositas autem, quae cum speciebus infimis recurrunt, quemadmodum verae differentiae dici non possunt, sed verarum coniunctiones, ita merito in ea definitione non explicari. Atque hoc unum est eorum pro negativa huius quaestionis parte argumentum.”

⁸⁸⁷ CMA v. 2, c. 1101: “Alterum desumunt ex ipsis apud Porphyr. differentiarum exemplis, eodem cap. Nulla enim simplex differentia ab eo affertur in constitutione hominis, quae non eius sententia de pluribus rebus specie differentibus essentialiter dicatur etiam rationalis.”

⁸⁸⁸ CMA v. 2, c. 1101: “Tertium ex Arist. *2 lib de Poster resolutione, c 14* cum docet, ad infimam quamlibet speciem definiendam quaerendas esse differentias, quarum quaeque per se latius quidem pateat, quam species, quae definienda est; omnes autem simul iunctae, cum ea recurrant.”

⁸⁸⁹ CMA v. 2, c. 1101-1102: “Quartum ex *1 Topic cap 2* cum ait Arist., *differentiam, cum generalis sit, vel quia generalis est* (hoc est quia de pluribus speciebus, quemadmodum genus praedicatur) *ad genus esse revocandam*, et cum *lib 6 c 3* et *4* scribit, de pluribus differentiam, quam speciem praedicari.”

⁸⁹⁰ CMA v. 2, c. 1102: “Addi et illud potest ex *1 lib de Partib animalium, incommodum esse concedere tot esse differentias ultimas, quot sunt ipsae ultimae species*. Id enim de differentiis simplicibus dictum esse nemo dubitaverit, cum perspicuum sit, compositas, quae recipiuntur cum speciebus ultimis, tot esse, quod sunt ipsae ultimae species.”

The arguments raised by these authors cannot be proved because that definition is not only about specific *differentias* but also about generic *differentias*.⁸⁹¹ First, because that definition does not present *differentia* insofar as it divides genus or constitutes species, but by which *ratio* it is a genus of universals.⁸⁹² Second, because either in this or in the other consideration *differentia* is regarded not as those which are not incompatible to it. But by those which require it *ipsa sibi per se*.⁸⁹³ With regard to the third and to the fifth difficulties presented above, Fonseca replies that Aristotle, in those passages cited, by the name “*differentias*” in fact understood “accidents,” which one usually uses in the place of true *differentias*. Indeed accidents of this *modus* are evidently broader in meaning than species, the *differentias* of which are being sought, and therefore their folding together for the true *differentias* proper of species.⁸⁹⁴ To the fourth it is responded that in the same way, indeed, Aristotle had talked about only the true generic *differentias* as the utility of the specific is more rarely present.⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁹¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1104: “Ad primum igitur negativae partis argumentum respondet Caietanus in *Isago ad c de Differentia*, de Alberti sententia; in proposita differentiae definitione explicari non tantum differentias generales, sed etiam speciales. Vult enim, id, quod formaliter definitur, esse differentiam, quatenus differentia est, hoc est, qua ratione dividit genus, et constituit speciem; haec enim sunt propria et praecipuae differentiae officia, quatenus differentia est. Tum ait, verba illa, *quod praedicatur de differentibus specie*, sic esse exponenda, *cui quatenus differentia est, non repugnat praedicari de pluribus specie differentibus*. Unde, cum differentiis, quae cum speciebus infimis recipiuntur, quatenus sunt differentiae, non repugnet praedicari de pluribus specie differentibus (alioqui nulla esset differentia, quae hoc modo praedicari possit) illud effici concludit, ut haec quoque differentiae in ea comprehendantur.”

⁸⁹² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1104-1105: “Non est tamen sententia haec probanda. Primum, quia differentia non definitur in ea definitione, quatenus dividit genus aut constituit speciem, sed qua ratione est quoddam genus universalium; praecipuum enim eius Auctoris institutum est, ut tradit Scotus super praedicab. q 27 de universalibus agere in eo libello de universalibus ut talia sunt, cui instituto, si hac definitione non satis sit, nulla est alia, quae id perspicue exequatur.”

⁸⁹³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1105: “Deinde, quia sive hac, sive illa consideratione spectetur differentia, non est credendum, eam definiri per ea, quae ipsi non repugnant, sed per ea, quae ipsa sibi per se vendicat. Nam, si modus definiendi res per ea, quae illis non repugnant, semel admittatur, sursum omnia deorsumque misceantur necesse est. Isto enim pacto dicet quis impune, definitiones tum generis, tum etiam hominis esse definitiones animalis, quatenus est animal, quoniam animali quatenus est animal, non repugnat praedicari de pluribus differentibus specie in quaestione Quid est quae est definitio generis; neque item esse corpus animatum, sensitivum, rationis particeps, quae est definitio hominis. Unde cum definitio generis cuiusque de omnibus eius speciebus dici debet; fiet, ut definitio hominis in bestias, quo quid potest dici absurdus?”

Adde, si proposita sententia hac ratione absurda non esset, vel hoc uno argumento reiicienda foret, quod saltem multo melius habuisset definitio detracta illi particula *differentibus specie*, si Porphyrius speciales etiam differentias complecti voluisset. Quocirca velut minus commoda ex sanctione melioris, ut praecipit Aristoteles 6 *Topic. c. 6 in fine*, abroganda esset.”

⁸⁹⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1106: “Ad tertium et quintum dicito, Aristotelem iis locis, differentiarum nomine intellexisse accidentia, quibus uti solemus loco verarum differentiarum. Eiusmodi enim accidentia fere latius patent, quam species, quarum differentias quaerimus, et ideo eorum complicationes pro veris differentiis specierum propriis usurpamus.”

⁸⁹⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1106: “Ad quartum aut eodem modo respondendum est, aut certe dicendum, de solis quidem veris differentiis generalibus ibi loquutum Aristotelem; sed tamen id fecisse, quia specialium rarior est usus, ut diximus.”

The correct view is the affirmative one, namely, that simple *differentias* have to be given in the inferior species, as it is evident by the following arguments. First, because when subaltern species are constituted by the accession of simple *differentias* to immediate genera, as the corporal substance by the accession of corporeal to the supreme genus substance, and animal to the accession of sensitive to animate body, or to living corporeal substance, it is not because this is denied to inferior species.⁸⁹⁶ Second, because every species has some essential degree proper and peculiar to itself, by which it is distinguished from genera, from the other species, and from individuals.⁸⁹⁷ Third, because any inferior species has some peculiar property.⁸⁹⁸ Fourth, because rational is a *differentia* of man in a proper way.⁸⁹⁹ Fifth, because the relation of the *differentia* to its genus, is like that of form to its matter, however a specific form constitutes proximately a species of some natural thing, with which it reciprocates.⁹⁰⁰ Finally, because in natural things, the

⁸⁹⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1102: “Dandas esse tamen differentias simplices, quae cum speciebus infimis recurrant, hisce argumentis ostenditur. Primum, quia cum species subalternae accessione simplicium differentiarum ad immediata genera constituentur, ut substantia corporea accessione corporei ad substantiam genus summum, et animal accessione sensitivi ad corpus animatum, seu substantiam corpoream viventem, non est cur id negetur infimis speciebus. Nam, si propterea species infimae constitui debent compositis differentiis, quia ipsae compositiores sunt, quam subalternae (fortasse enim hoc aliquis dixerit) non desunt species subalternae, quae compositiores sint in sua serie coordinatione praedicamentali, quam infimae in alia serie compositorum enim species est platanus aut pyrus, quam primum mobile, aut quaevis alia species infima coelestium corporum, ut mittamus species infimas substantiarum separatarum iuxta veram de illis sententiam. Quanquam nihil refert alioqui maior compositio speciei, ut propterea censeatur eius differentia proxime constitutiva esse composita. Satis enim est ad maiorem eius compositionem (ut loquamur de Metaphysica compositione, de qua est sermo) maior multitudo generum et differentiarum simplicium, quibus genera ad proximas species contrahantur.”

⁸⁹⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1102-1103: “Deinde, quia omnis species habet gradum aliquem essentialem sibi proprium et peculiarem, quo a caeteris tum generibus, tum speciebus, tum etiam individuis distinguitur, propter quem gradum habet peculiarem locum in Praedicamentis, atque adeo in sua peculiari serie praedicamentali; is autem gradus provenire non potest nisi a propria et peculiari differentia; seu potius nihil est aliud, quam propria et peculiaris differentia, quae simplex et indivisibilis formaliter esse debet. Ut enim quilibet numerus constituitur accessione unitatis, quae formaliter simplex est, et indivisibilis, ita quaelibet species accessione simplicis alicuius indivisibilisque differentiae, ut tradit Arist *octavo huius operis libr c 5 text 50* et omnes concedunt etiam adversae partis Auctores non potest igitur eadem differentia esse proxime constitutiva diversarum specierum. Quo fit, ut danda sit aliqua differentia simplex, quae infimam quamque speciem proxime constituat, quaeque cum ea necessario recurrat.”

⁸⁹⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1103: “Tertio, quia quaelibet species infima habet peculiarem aliquam proprietatem, per quam a caeteris a posteriori, nostraque cognitione distinguitur, ergo et peculiarem differentiam essentialem natura priorem, quam illa consequatur.”

⁸⁹⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1103: “Quarto, quia si qua esset species, quae careret differentia essentiali sibi ipsi peculiari, ea maxime esset homo, quod ultra naturam animalis duas habere videatur essentiales differentias; quarum una est *rationalis*, quod ei commune est cum Angelis, aut iis animalibus quae Platonis sententia rationalia sunt et immortalia; altera *mortale*, quod commune habet cum brutis animalibus. At *rationalis*, non convenit Angelis, cum rationalis vocabulum significet gradum intellectivum cum naturali discursu cognitionisque ministerio; opinioque de animalibus quae rationalia sint, et immortalia, vera non sit; siquidem omne animal, imo, et omne corpus animatum mortale est habet igitur homo peculiarem sibi differentiam essentialem, nempe relationem; mortale autem non contrahit animal ad aliquam aut aliquas species, sed est generalis differentia corruptibilitatis, non quatenus in commune sumitur, et corpus corruptibile constituit, sed quatenus intelligitur in iis, quae vitae et mortis sunt capacia.”

⁹⁰⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1103: “Quinto, quia ita se habet differentia ad suum genus, ut se habet forma ad suam materiam, quaelibet autem forma specifica proxime constituit aliquam speciem rei naturalis, cum qua reciprocatur, ut

same species of matter has a potency to diverse forms, while the same form is not in potency of matters which differ in species. Similarly, even if the same genus has a potency to *differentias* which differ in species, the same *differentia* is not in potency in genera which differ in species, i.e., of the genera that have diverse natures and essences.⁹⁰¹ And the whole argument is confirmed by Porphyry in the *Isagoge*.⁹⁰²

The first conclusion is that the definition of *differentia* as universal, namely, “*differentia* is what is predicated of items which differ in species in the question *Quale est*, what is the same as to say *essentialiter*,” is about the generic *differentias*, as the wording itself indicates (“differ in species”). That the specific *differentias* are omitted, but certainly not absent, has not so much to do with the level of difficulty, with regard to cognition, but to other reasons. First, because their use in definitions is less frequent, and as a whole they come less often in disputations. Second, because the definitions of *differentias* presented by Porphyry, come from the ancient philosophers, and for some reason they had excluded the specific *differentias* but included the definition of generic *differentia*. On the other hand, Porphyry did not omit specific *differentias* altogether since in the ordering of the universals *inter se* he insinuated a peculiar qualification of them.⁹⁰³

inductione patet, igitur et quaelibet differentia speciei constitutiva conficit proxime aliquam speciem, cum qua recurrit. Quo fit, ut quae proxime infimam constituit, de ea sola praedicari possit.”

⁹⁰¹ CMA v. 2, cc. 1103-1104: “Postremo, quia, ut in naturalibus eadem species materiae habet potentiam ad diversas specie formas, eadem vero forma non est in potentia diversarum specie materialium, ita consentaneum rationi est, ut etsi genus idem habet potentiam ad diversas specie differentias; tamen eadem differentia non sit in potentia diversorum specie generum, hoc est, habentium diversas naturas et essentias, cuiusmodi sunt omnia, quorum alterum non est sub altero collocatum.”

⁹⁰² CMA v. 2, c. 1104: “Hoc idem declarat Porphyrius in conferendis quinque praedicabilium generibus in *Isago*. cum ait; *saepe differentiam in pluribus speciebus conspici*; et cum paulo post subdit, *per saepe differentiam de pluribus speciebus dici*; qui enim saepe aliquid evenire dicit, aliquando etiam aliter accidere admittit. Quam eandem sententiam Arist. innuit *7 lib operis, c 12*, ut eodem loco patebit; planeque asserit in praedicamentis, cum ait; *diversorum generum, quorum alterum non est sub altero collocatum, diversas esse specie, hoc est natura differentias*. Nam, quod *6 lib. Topic.* videtur admittere, genera, quae subsunt eidem tertio generi, posse dividi eisdem differentiis, ut animal gressibile et volucre differentia bipedis, topice tantum dictum est ad copiam arguemntorum pro utraque parte comparandam, cum in *praedicam. lib.* in quo omnia dogmatice tradit, nihil tale adiungat.”

⁹⁰³ CMA v. 2, c. 1105-1106: “Itaque vera solutio argumenti est, non definiri in ea definitione, nisi generales differentias, ut ipsa eius verba significant. Quod autem species praetermissae sint, etsi non desunt, qui velint, causam fuisse, quod speciales differentiae sint cognitu difficiliore; non recte tamen id dictum videtur; si quidem ut genera ipsa difficiliora sunt cognitu, quam species (quod Aristoteles tradit *primo libro huius operis, c 2* et *secundo de posteriori resolutione ca 14 et 15*) ita generales, quam speciales difficilius cognoscuntur. Potius ergo dicendum, aliis de causis id factum fuisse. Una, quia specialium differentiarum minor est usus in definiendo, et omnino in disputando; multo enim saepius de subalternis speciebus, quam de infimis disserunt Philosophi, quod infimae vel ipsis sensib. ferme sint notae. Altera, quia tales definitiones differentiarum attulit Porphyrius, quales aput veteres Philosophos reperit; inter quas verisimile est invenisse eam, qua differentia de pluribus specie differentibus

The second conclusion is that there is in fact a mistake in Porphyry's *Isagoge*, namely, that he enumerated "rational" among the generic *differentias*, and then he has to say that "mortal" enters the composition of the *differentia*, which distinguishes man, under rational animal, from immortal animal. Porphyry wanted to make a *differentia* proper to man out of the combination of rational and mortal which contracts that genus "rational animal" to man.⁹⁰⁴ However, as we have just seen Fonseca disagrees with this move because "rational" has to be the simple (ultimate) *differentia* of man, otherwise the man would not be correctly defined as rational animal.

The discussion concerning generic and specific *differentias*, may have a further twist, if one asks whether *differentias* are themselves in some *ratio* genera or species, but not in respect of species, which they constitute, or of genera, which they divide, since it is evident that they are neither genera nor species, but only *differentias* constitutive of species and divisive of genera. However, are they genera in respect of other *differentias* with a narrower scope, and species of others that have a broader scope? For instance, whether sensitive is the genus of rational and irrational, and in turn if the latter is a species of sensitive, and the same happens to the other *differentias* of this kind brought when compared *inter se*.⁹⁰⁵ That the *differentias* with a broader scope seem to be genera of the *differentias* with a narrower scope, may be defended with the following arguments. First, sensitive seems to be a universal in respect of rational and irrational, and it is predicated of them in the question *Quid est*, as concerning items which differ in species. While it is not predicated in the question *Quale est*, nor concerning items which differ only in

praedicari dicebatur; quacunq[ue] ratione ab ea speciales differentiae excluderentur. Non sunt tamen speciales a Porphyrio omnino praetermissae, cum et in caeteris definitionibus aequae ac generales comprehendantur, et in collocatione universalium inter se eis peculiarem exceptionem insinuaverit, ut dictum est."

⁹⁰⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1106: "Ad secundum dicendum, errore Porphyrii et rationale inter generales differentias numeratum, *mortale* dictum esse differentiam, quae hominem sub animali rationali ab immortali distinguat; voluisse tamen illum sub ea complicatione rationalis et mortalis significare differentiam quandam simplicem hominis propriam, quae genus illud animalis rationalis ad hominem contraheret."

⁹⁰⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1106: "Illud etiam de differentiis expendendum est, sintne ipsa vera genera aut species, non quidem respectu specierum, quas constituunt, aut generum, quae dividunt (satis enim patet non esse illas hoc modo genera aut species, sed differentias tantum, specierum quidem constitutivas, generum autem divisivas) verum genera respectu differentiarum minus late patentium, et species comparatione magis late patentium. Quaerat enim aliquis, num sensitivum sit genus rationalis, et irrationalis, et vicissim haec species sensitivi, eodemque modo se habeant caeterae huiusmodi differentiae inter se collatae."

number.⁹⁰⁶ Second, because properties and accidents not only have the *ratio* of properties and accidents in comparison with the subjects, of which they hold (*accidunt*), but also when compared among themselves they are true genera and species.⁹⁰⁷ Third, because in the same way that animality is related to humanity, sensitive is related to rational. But animality is a genus of humanity, therefore sensitive is a genus of rational.⁹⁰⁸ Finally, that *differentias* with a broader scope are genera of the combinations of themselves with other *differentias*, for instance, sensitive is the genus of sensitive rational and sensitive irrational.⁹⁰⁹

The arguments of those that think that there are no *differentias* which are the genera of other *differentias*, may be refuted as follows. First, sensitive does not have a *ratio* of true universal in respect of rational and irrational, as it is not said of them in the natural and direct predication, but by accident.⁹¹⁰ Second, although accidents may be genera and species, *differentias* could not be.⁹¹¹ Third, it does not hold the same as between sensitivity to rationality as animality to humanity.⁹¹² The solution of the last goes in line with what has been said so far.

⁹⁰⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1107: “Primum, quia sensitivum videtur esse universale quiddam respectu rationalis et irrationalis, et praedicari de illis in quaestione Quid est, tanquam de differentibus specie; cum non praedicetur in quaestione Quales est, nec tanquam de differentibus solo numero.”

⁹⁰⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1107: “Deinde, quia cum propria et accidentia non solum habeant rationem propriorum et accidentium comparatione subiectorum, quibus accidunt, sed etiam alia respectu aliorum sint vera genera et species, nempe, quae latius patent genera minus late patentium in suo quaeque praedicamento, non est cur negandum sit differentiis essentialibus eiusdem praedicamenti, ut quae latius patent, sint genera minus late patentium, et haec vicissim illarum species.”

⁹⁰⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1107: “Tertio, quia, ut se habent animalis ad humanitatem, ita sensitivas, ut si dicam, ad rationalitatem. At animalitas est genus humanitatis, ut supra q 13 huius sect 4 concessum est. Ergo et sensitivas rationalitatis. Quare et sensitivum est genus rationalis, eodemque modo caeterae differentiae latius patent, earum qua minus late patent.”

⁹⁰⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1107: “Postremo, quia etsi ratione aliqua ostendi possit differentias latius patententes non esse genera minus late patentium, et has vicissim non esse illarum species; hoc saltem videtur negari non posse, latius patententes esse generatarum complicationum, quae fiunt ex utrisque, ut sensitivum esse genus sensitivi rationalis et sensitivi irrationalis et vicissim has illius species. Sit enim animal contrahitur per rationale et irrationale ad constitutionem animalis rationalis et animalis, quae sunt illius irrationalis species; itam omnino videtur contrahi sensitivum ad sensitivum rationale, et sensitivum irrationale, quae eodem modo se habent ad sensitivum, ut animal rationale, et animal irrationale ad animal. Ita videtur nulla ratione dubitandum, quin differentiae sint ratione aliqua genera aut species.”

⁹¹⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1111: “Quare ad primum adversae partis argumentum dicendum est, sensitivum non habere rationem veri universalis respectu rationalis et irrationalis, cum de illis non dicatur naturali directaque praedicatione, sed per accidens, ut ostensum est.”

⁹¹¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1111: “Secundum hoc pacto dissolves. Nihil mirum esse, si propria et accidentia, quae latius patent, possint esse genera minus late patentium, cum possint habere differentias, quibus per se ad illa contrahantur; et quae minus late patent, non sint simpliciter simplicia, ut constitui non possint ex propriis generibus et differentiis. Utrumque autem deest differentiis, latius et minus late patentibus inter se collatis.”

⁹¹² *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1111-1112: “Ad tertium negare oportet, ut se habet animalitas ad humanitatem, ita se habere sensitivitatem ad rationalitatem. Nam, animalitas, nimirum rationalis; at sensitivitas non includitur in rationalitate. Nam, rationalitas, cum sit gradus simplex additus animali, non potest includere sensitivitatem, quae similiter est gradus simplex, additus naturae viventis, sive animati corporis.”

Animal is contracted to the constitution of rational animal and irrational animal by the *differentia* rational and irrational *per se*, but sensitive is contracted to sensitive rational and sensitive irrational by accident.⁹¹³ However, in reality they are neither genera nor species. The arguments to support this solution are three: because they do not belong to their essence;⁹¹⁴ by no *ratio a differentia* is a genus or species, and rational and irrational do not differ from each other alternatively by other *differentias*, but they are in the first place diverse and simple *simpliciter*, and this cannot be said of any genus or species;⁹¹⁵ sensitive is not a form of rational and irrational, but rather they are its forms, as they determine it to a certain species of animal.⁹¹⁶

That neither *differentias* with a broader scope are genera of the combinations of themselves with other *differentias* is proved by the following arguments. First, one *differentia* is not an act and form of another.⁹¹⁷ Second, that composed *differentias* do not belong to the third kind of universals, because no *differentia* is divided in genus and *differentia*, and all *differentias*

⁹¹³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1112: “Ultimi solutio ex iis, quae dicta sunt, in promptu est. Neque enim ut animal contrahitur ad constitutionem animalis rationalis, et animalis irrationalis per rationale et irrationale; sic sensitivum ad constitutionem sensitivi rationalis, et sensitivi irrationalis. Illud enim contrahitur per se, hoc per accidens.”

⁹¹⁴ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1107-1108: “Primum, quia non pertinent ad earum essentiam, si enim pertinerent, ea profecto, quae latius patet, bis includeretur in specie constituta per minus late patentem, ut sensitivum in homine semel ratione animalis, in quo re vera includitur, et iterum ratione ipsius rationalis, de quo essentialiter praedicari fingitur ut genus eius esse consecatur, at est absurdissimum bis includi differentiam aliquam in specie; ut est luce clarius.”

⁹¹⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1108: “Deinde, quia si sensitivum esset genus rationalis et irrationalis, contraheretur ad illa per alias differentias, siquidem nullum genus contrahi potest ad suas species, nisi per differentias, quae sint illae quidem extra essentiam generis, compleant autem et absolvant essentias specierum. At si has concedimus, erit eis eadem ratio, cur latius patentes earum sint genera minus late patentium, quo fiet, ut rursus quaerendae sint aliae, quae illae contrahantur ad suas species, at sic deinceps in infinitum. Cum igitur hoc non sit admittendum, potius dicendum fuit a principio, nulla ratione differentiam esse genus aut speciem, rationaleque et irrationale non differre a se invicem per alias differentias sed esse primo diversas, et simpliciter simplices, quod de nulla specie generis eiusdem dici posse manifestum est.”

⁹¹⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1108: “Tertio, quia etsi sensitivum (ut in haec una differentia rem expendamus) latius patet, quam rationale per se, et irrationale per se, tamen non est re vera universale respectu illorum, quia non praedicatur de illis praedicatione directa et naturali, sed inversa et per accidens. Non enim sensitivum est quasi forma rationalis et irrationalis, ut de illis per seipsum aliquod esse, sed potius haec sunt quasi formae illius, cum illud determinent ad certam speciem animalis non est igitur sensitivum genus rationalis et irrationalis, nec vicissim haec illius species.”

⁹¹⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1108-1109: “Quod vero nec latius patentes differentiae sint genera earum complicationum, quae ex ipsis et minus late patentibus conficiuntur, multis etiam argumentis constat. Primum, quia ex solis differentiis huiusmodi non sit unum ens per se, quale esse debet omne ens specificum. Res haec facile ostenditur in sensitivo rationali et sensitivo irrationali. Ex duobus enim actibus, quorum alterum non est per se forma alterius, nihil fit unum per se, ut tradit Aristoteles 3 libro huius operis, cap 6 et lib 7 capit 13. omnesque Philosophi asserunt. At sensitivum non est forma rationalis et irrationalis, ut dictum est; haec autem, etsi modo aliquo sunt formae illius, ut etiam est concessum, non sunt formae illius, ut etiam est concessum, non sunt tamen per se illius formae, sed per accidens. Neque enim respiciunt ut materiam nisi animal, corpus animatum, et superiora genera; tametsi illud immediate, haec mediate, ipsas vero differentias animalis et superiorum generum constitutivas non respiciunt, ut materiam sive proximam, sive remotam, sed ut latius patentes formas, tametsi per accidens (ratione, inquam, ipsorum generum, quae per illas constituuntur (dici quodammodo possint illarum formae. Quocirca nemo eorum, qui formam corporeitatis cum formae misti in eadem materia esse volunt, admittunt, formam misti esse formam formae corporeitatis, sed utramque esse formam materiae; formam quidem corporeitatis proximam; misti autem remotam, quod haec non sit forma illius, nisi per accidens.”

are in the middle of some genus. Third, neither animal is a genus placed under sensitive, nor sensitive under animal, as both seem to be equally broad in meaning.⁹¹⁸ But if someone objects that it is possible that a genus which is not included in another genus can be divided by the same *differentia*, just as sensitive soul is not included in the essence of animal, but they both are divided in rational and irrational.⁹¹⁹ Fonseca however responds that there is a distinction between ‘rational’ that divides animal and ‘rational’ that constitutes the human soul.⁹²⁰ It is therefore clear

⁹¹⁸ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1109-1110: “Deinde, quia si sensitivum rationale, et sensitivum irrationale essent species sensitivi, essent utique universalia quaedam comparatione particularium hominum et particularium animalium, cum nulla sit ratio, cur respectu illorum non conveniat eis definitio universalis, si sunt vera entia per se, et proprie dictam rationem definitionemve habent. At hoc fieri non posse, facile ostendi potest. Aut enim essent genera, aut species praedicabiles, aut differentiae, aut propria, aut vero accidentia respectu illorum iuxta vulgatam receptamque universalium divisionem; quae tamen omnia falsa sunt et impossibilia. Nam, quod sensitivum rationale non sit proprium aut accidens comparatione singularum hominum, perspicuum est, cum ad eorum essentiam pertineat. Quod vero non sit genus aut species praedicabilis, ex eo patet, quia non praedicatur de illis in quaestione Quid est. Si enim praedicaretur, cum de quocunque aliquid dicitur in quaestione Quid est, de eodem dicitur in quaestione Quid est illius genus; profecto sensitivum, quod ponitur genus sensitivi rationalis, praedicaretur in quaestione Quid est, de singulis hominibus. Quod falsum est et fieri nullo modo potest; cum praedicetur in quaestione Quale est. Quod denique nec sit differentia, tribus argumentis constat. Uno, quia nulla differentia constat genere et differentia, cum sit simpliciter simplex. At sensitivum ponebatur genus, rationale autem differentia contrahens illud ad constitutionem sensitivi rationalis. Altero, quia omnis differentia est media inter genus aliquod, cuius est divisiva, et aliquam eius immediatam speciem, cuius est constitutiva; sensitivum autem rationale non est hoc pacto media differentia. Neque enim est media inter vivens et animal; aut inter corpus animatum et animal. Nam, quatenus includit sensitivum, non dividit animal ad constitutionem hominis; quatenus autem includit rationale, non dividit corpus animatum ad constitutionem animalis. Ut enim nihil differentiae includitur in genere, quod per eam dividitur, ita tota ipsa includi debet in specie, quam constituit. Tertio, quia si rationale esset differentia per se divisiva sensitivi et constitutiva sensitivi rationalis tanquam speciei cuiusdam, eadem differentia esse per se divisiva duorum generum non subalternatim positorum, quod fieri non potest, idque negat Aristoteles, in *Antepredicam* ca 4. Nam neque animal est genus positum sub sensitivo, nec sensitivum sub animali, cum ambo aequae late pateant.”

⁹¹⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1110: “Obiiciat aliquis; cum genus unum essentialiter includitur in altero, etsi neutrum sub altero collocetur, nihil esse incommodi, si utrumque eadem differentia per se dividatur. Quo pacto, etsi animal et anima sensitiva non ita sunt affecta inter se, ut alterum sub altero ponatur; tamen, quia anima sensitiva includitur in essentia animalis, non dubium videtur, quin utrumque eodem modo dividatur per rationale et irrationale. Ut enim dicimus, animalium aliud rationale est, aliud irrationale; ita quoque dicere possumus, animarum sensitivarum aliam esse rationalem, aliam irrationalem.”

⁹²⁰ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1110-1111: “Sed occurrendum est, quandocunque unum genus non ponitur sub altero, etsi alterum alia ratione in essentia alterius includatur, nunquam tamen fieri posse, ut utrumque per se dividatur eadem differentia. Eadem enim omnino ratio est in omnibus, ex analogia formarum naturalium et differentiarum desumpta (...) Nam, etsi rationale, quod animal dividit, et hominem constituit, originem habet a rationali; quo dicitur differentia speciei constitutiva, dicatur et ipsa species; si rationale, quod animam humanam constituit, esset illa eadem differentia, quae constituit hominem, et de illo dicitur, de eodem quoque homine diceretur anima ipsa rationalis, nempe pars Physica de toto composito; quod rationale, quo constituitur anima rationis particeps, est ultimus gradus quidam entitatis solius formae; quod autem constituit hominem, est ultimus gradus entitatis totius compositi. Accedit, quod rationale illud est idem re cum anima ipsa, non cum toto composito hoc autem contra, est idem re cum toto composito, non cum anima ipsa; siquidem omnis differentia est idem re cum specie, quam constituit; non cum eo, a quo species constituta re ipsa distinguitur. Ita patet, *rationale* non univoce dici de rationali, quod est differentia hominis constitutiva, et de eo, quo essentia rationalis animae completur. Sed ut homo et rationalis anima sunt species quaedam generum diversorum, quorum alterum sub altero non ponitur; nempe animalis et animae sensitivae; ita rationale, quo utrumque genus dividitur, et utraque species constituitur, diversum esse. Quod idem dicendum est de eo irrationali, quod dividit animal, et bestiam constituit, et de eo, quo dividitur anima sensitiva, et irrationalis anima constituitur. Quo fit, ut proposita obiectio nihil contra tertium argumentum conficiat.”

that *differentias* with a broader meaning do not constitute other genera, neither with respect to *differentias* with a more restrict meaning nor with respect of combination of other *differentias*.⁹²¹

Summing up this section, *differentias* are universals that are divided in ultimate and intermediary *differentias*, however they do not form an ordered series in which generic *differentias* are genera of specific *differentias*. Moreover, because they constitute the species and divide the genera they belong to the essence of things. In this sense, they complete the part of predicables that belong in the essence of things. But there are also characteristics that are in things, which however do not belong to their essences.

4.1.5. Properties and Accidents

Now it is time to deal with the remaining two kinds of universals, property and accident. Fonseca recalls that philosophers use the term “property” either in the full force of the term or in some peculiar meaning, when the subject is the universals. The force of the name indicates that it is that which is suitable to only one item, and in that it is distinguished from what is common. It can be a property *simpliciter*, for example it is a property of man to have two feet. Or a property of something which separates it from all the rest.⁹²² Therefore, if it is taken *simpliciter*, it is considered without a restricting addition, but if it is taken *secundum quid*, it is considered by the comparison of something else. A property *simpliciter* is said to hold perfectly if it holds for all, only to them, and always. However, it is an imperfect property if it only meets the second or the

⁹²¹ CMA v. 2, c. 1111: “Patet igitur, differentias latius patentes, non esse genera, sive respectu differentiarum minus late patentium, sive comparatione earum complicationum, quae ex latius patentibus et minus late patentibus conficiuntur. Eodem modo dicendum est, differentias speciales se cum individuantibus conferentur, ut rationale cum iis, quibus Socrates et Plato sub homine constituuntur et distinguuntur, non esse earum respectu species praedicabiles, sed nec respectu earum complicationum, quae ex specialibus differentiis et individuantibus conficiuntur est enim in his par omnino ratio, ut non sint species praedicabiles, atque illis, ut non sunt genera.”

⁹²² CMA v. 2, cc. 1114-1115: “Proprium aliter ex vi nominis dicitur, aliter ex peculiari quadam Philosophorum accommodatione in materia universalium usurpatur. Vide Albert *in Isagoge*. Et vi nominis illud omne, ac solum appellatur proprium, quod soli alicui convenit. Hac enim ratione distinguimus proprium ab eo, quod commune est, quod proprium uni tantum, sive universali, sive singulari, commune autem pluribus conveniat; sic dicimus proprium esse hominis, ridere posse, Socratis autem, esse Sophronisci filium, commune vero homini cum bestia, sensibus uti posse. Hoc pacto item dicere solemus, res omnes, aut certe alicuius generis, quaedam habere inter se communia, quaedam vero quasque sibi propria et peculiariora; et Arist *1 Top. c 4. Nemo*, inquit, *proprium alicuius rei dicit, quod alii convenire potest.*”

third conditions.⁹²³ And to show that his account is Peripatetic, Fonseca establishes a parallel between the terms he uses and the terms which are used by Aristotle in the *Topics*. ‘Property in a perfect way’ is what Aristotle call ‘property *per se*,’ ‘property in an imperfect way’ is called by Aristotle ‘property *semper*,’ and ‘property’ of the second or of the third kind of property in an imperfect way, Aristotle call ‘property *aliquando*.’ Finally, what Fonseca terms ‘property *secundum quid*’ Aristotle calls ‘property *ad aliquid*.’⁹²⁴ This parallel means that although they differ in some sense, Aristotle’s and Fonseca’s are very close to each other.

On the other hand, Fonseca points that Porphyry departs from Aristotle in three counts. Aristotle talks of properties or non-complex items. Second, Aristotle does not exclude the essential properties, but Porphyry only considers the accidental divisions (uses the expression *accidit*). Third, for Porphyry all properties are related to the inferior species, but to Aristotle they are related to all species, either inferior, or subaltern, or even the highest genera.⁹²⁵ From this it is clear that the fourfold division of property in Aristotle is taken in a broader sense than in Porphyry, to include property *simpliciter* and property *secundum quid*.⁹²⁶

⁹²³ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1115: “Iam proprium simpliciter aut est perfecte proprium, aut imperfecte. Perfecte proprium dicitur, in quod haec omnia concurrunt, ut omni soli, ac semper conveniat, seu, quod recipitur cum eo, cuius est proprium; quo pacto est proprium hominis esse disciplinae capacem. Deique invidium esse non posse. Imperfecte autem, cui sola prima conditio, aut sola tertia, aut utraque deest. Nempe quod soli et semper convenit, se non omni, ut animali esse bipes; aut soli et omni, sed non semper, hu homini in senectute canescere; aut soli quidem sed neque omni, nec semper, ut homini Grammaticum esse. Defectus autem secundae conditionis, si accidat, non faciet quartum genus imperfecte proprii, quia iam illud non erit proprium simpliciter, de quo loquimur, sed forsitan secundum quid.”

⁹²⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1115-1116: “Atque proprium illud, quod nos perfecte proprium appellavimus, vocat Arist *initio 5 lib Top c 1* proprium per se; quod autem primum genus imperfecte propriorum fecimus, nominat ille proprium semper; quod vero nos secundo et tertio imperfecte propriorum generibus comprehendimus, vocat ille proprium aliquando; quod denique nos dicimus proprium secundum quid, appellat idem proprium ad aliquid, ut dictum paulo ante est.”

⁹²⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1116: “Porphyrius autem in *Isagoge* vocat perfecte proprium κυρίως, hoc est proprie, seu ut verti solet, vere proprium, quod idem quartum facit a se traditae divisionis membrum; proprium autem et tertium genus imperfecte propriorum nostrorum complectitur ille primo membro suae distributionis, in quo ponit omnia, quae soli conveniunt, sed non omni; sive ea semper conveniant, sive non semper. Tum comprehensio omnibus propriis secundum quid sive ad aliquid in secundo membro (quicquid Caiet. et alii quidam recentiores minus considerate velint, dicentes, proprium secundum quid complecti primum et secundum membrum Porphyrianum) tertium membrum facit illud ipsum, quod nos secundum genus imperfecte proprium diximus. Tametsi tria sunt, in quibus ab Arist. discrepat. Unum, quod Arist. loquitur de propriis sive incomplexis. Alterum quod Arist. non excludit propria essentialia, ille autem de solis accidentariis divisionem instituit, ut patet ex verbo *accidit*, quod ibi proprie usurpat, secutus Arist in *1 Top. c. 3* eo loco, quo proprium a genere ac termino, hoc est definitione distinguit. Tertium, quod omnia propria refert ad speciem infimam, ut patet ex iis, quae in conferendis inter se quinque praedicabilibus asserit, cum Arist. utrobique loquatur de omnibus propriis specierum sive infimarum, sive subalternarum, sive etiam summorum generum.”

⁹²⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1116: “Ex his patet, proprium in utraque et Aristotelis et Porphyrii quadrimembri divisione ita late acceptum fuisse, ut complectatur propria et simpliciter et secundum quid. Quamquam vero Aristoteles distinctius explicavit proprium secundum quid, cum illud alterius comparatione dumtaxat proprium appellavit, quod non fecit Porphyrius et generalius accepit nomen proprii, quam solius infimae speciei comparatione; tamen, quia Porphyrius

‘Accident’ is said in three ways. First, for whatever thing, which is not a substance.⁹²⁷ Second, for whatever accidental attribute.⁹²⁸ Third, for an accidental attribute, which neither belongs to the essence of the thing, nor emanates necessarily from the thing.⁹²⁹ Moreover, it has to be noticed that the term accident can be distinguished in the same way as the term property, from the meaning of the word and from the use the philosopher make of it. For in the first case, from its meaning, it includes singular accidents and universal accidents, but the philosophers only use it as universal.⁹³⁰

However, these two predicables, property and accident, which are not part of the essence of things, do not seem to be easily distinguishable. The main doubt is then in what sense properties and accidents are most distinct from each other. In order to establish the background of the discussion, Fonseca acknowledges that they have several similarities. They are both outside the essence of those items of which they are predicated; they are both said in reply to the question *Quale est*; they both can be predicated of those items which differ in species and of those items which differ only in number; and both seem to be of such a nature that they can be

expeditiori divisione usus est, ea a nobis in comparatione propriorum inter se et propriorum cum accidentibus, potius quam Aristotelica usurpanda, eo loco animadverso, ut loco speciei infimae, quam Porphyrius subiectum propriorum facit, intelligamus, quocumque etiam aliud universale.”

⁹²⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1117: “Porro accidens tribus modis accipi solet. Uno, pro quavis re, quae substantia non sit; namque omne ens, quod substantia non est, accidens vocatur, praesertim, si sit completum, ut quantitas, qualitas, et alia quae novem posteriora praedicamenta directo conficiunt. Quo pacto Arist accipit vocabulum accidentis *I Phy.* ibi cum sic argumentatur. *Si animal et bipes non sunt proprie entia, id est substantia; accidentia profecto erunt.* Nec refert quicquam in hac accidentis significatione, utrum res accipiatur abstracte, ut quantitas et qualitas, an concrete, ut quantum et quale; utroque enim modo quicquid non est substantia, vocatur accidens.”

⁹²⁸ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1117-1118: “Altero, pro quovis attributo accidentario, hoc est non pertinente ad essentiam rei; de qua dicitur; quo pacto non dubium est quin proprium etiam quarti praedicabilis, nomine accidentis comprehendatur. Hoc eodem modo usus est Porphyrii accidenti verbo in explicandis omnibus quatuor propriorum generibus ita inquit; *id enim proprium dicitur, quod soli alicui speciei accidit, et caetera.* Atque hac significatione necesse est, ut accidens concrete accipiatur, quia nullum eius abstractum praedicatur de subiecto accidentaria praedicatione, praesertim formali, quae simpliciter et absolute nomine praedicationis intelligitur. Nihil autem refert, utrum accidens hac significatione acceptum pertineat secundum rem ad aliquod praedicamentum accidentium, nec ne; cum non solum ea, quae in his praedicamentis ponuntur, dicantur accidentaria praedicatione, sed entia quoque rationis, negationes, atque ad eo ipsae substantiae, ut si dicat, homo est albus, animal est praedicatum, Socrates est caecus, poculum est auratum, ferrum est ignitum, et similia.”

⁹²⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1118: “Tertio, pro attributo accidentario, quod nec pertinet ad essentiam rei, nec ab ea necessaria quasi emanatione profluit, qua significatione dicimus, candidum esse accidens hominis, non item disciplinae capax; eo quod propensio ad capessendas disciplinas, etsi non includitur in essentia hominis, profluit tamen ab ea quodammodo necessaria consecutione, quod de candore dicere non possumus.”

⁹³⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1118: “Illud porro animadvertendum est, posse quidem accidentis vocabulum illo eodem modo distingui, quo proprium, ut aliter ex vi nominis, aliter iuxta peculiarem Philosophorum usurpationem in materia universalium spectatur. Nam, ex ipsa impositione non habet accidens, ut sit universale, cum trimembris divisio accidentis nunc proposita, qua vis huius nominis videtur explicari, aequae singularibus accidentibus, atque universalibus accommodari possit. Philosophi autem cum in distinguendis explicandisque speciebus universalium accidentis nomen usurpant, non aliter illud accipiunt, quam ut universale quiddam est, et multis commune.”

said concerning only one item, that means that there are also properties and accidents of individuals.⁹³¹ This last point suggests that some properties and accidents may not even be universals. However, due to their definitions, it is clear that there is a sense in which they must be counted among the kinds of universals, since ‘property’ is usually defined as that which is said concerning several items in the reply to the question *Quale est*, by a necessary and accidental predication. On the other hand, accident is what is said concerning several items in the reply to the question *Quale est* by an accidental and contingent predication.⁹³²

Prima facie, it appears that property and accident differ in five ways. First, because according to the *Topics* and the *Isagoge*, a property is conversely said of an item it is said to be a property of, but an accident is not of that kind. Second, property is predicated necessarily of the subject, but accident is predicated only contingently. Third, property emanates from the essential principles of its subject, but accident emanates from something outside its subject. Fourth, property does not admit gradation, but accident does admit augmentation and diminution. Fifth, properties are innate to the species, but accidents are just suitable to individuals.⁹³³

However these differences might be attenuated. First, several properties do not recur with a subject (the intellect does not reciprocate with any subject).⁹³⁴ Second, necessity and

⁹³¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1112: “Cum nulla universalium genera magis inter se convenire videantur, quam proprium et accidens; utrumque enim est extra essentiam eius, de quo praedicatur, utrumque dicitur in quaestione Quale est, utrumque potest et de differentibus specie, et de differentibus solo numero praedicari, atque adeo utrumque talis naturae videtur esse, ut de uno solo dici possit (neque enim neganda omnino videntur propria et accidentia individualia) nemo mirari debet, si de his potissimum quaeramus, qua maxime in re distinguantur.”

⁹³² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1118: “Proprium igitur, ut in speciebus universalis numeratur, hoc pacto a Dialecticis definiri solet, *Proprium est quod de pluribus in quaestione Quale est accidentaria et necessaria praedicatione dicitur*. In qua desinitone per primam particulam excluduntur ea, quae non sunt universalis, per secundam genus et species, per tertiam differentia, per quartam accidens; quod ab eisdem, ut universale est, sic definitur. *Accidens est, quod dicitur de pluribus in quaestione Quale est, accidentaria et contingenti praedicatione*. Sed num hae definitiones in iis, quas Porphyrius de utroque tradidit, contineantur, quaestio est.”

⁹³³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1112-1113: “Quinque sunt fere discrimina, quae inter propria et accidentia tradi solent. Primum est illud, quod ab Aristotele *1 Topicor ca 4* et Porphyrio *in Isagoge, ca 1 de proprio*, in eo constituitur, quod omne proprium, accidens non conversim de eo, cui accidit, dicatur. Alterum, quo ea inter ipsa discrevimus, cum universalium genera distingueremus; quod nimirum propria necessario, accidentia contingenter de subiecto praedicentur. Tertium a recentioribus Peripateticis, explicationis gratia adiungitur; quod proprium fluat ex principiis essentialibus eius subiecti, cuius est proprium, accidens aliunde proveniat. Quarti etiam et quinti discriminis meminit Porphyrius *c 7 et reliquis*, in conferendis quinque universalium generibus. Saepius enim ait, proprium non admittere gradus, ut magis et minus de subiecto dicatur; et tamen accidentibus familiare esse. Itemque propria speciebus innasci, unde fit, ut per species individuis conveniant; contra vero accidentia primo inesse individuis; unde sequitur illa convenire speciebus per individua.”

⁹³⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1113: “Primum, quia complura sunt propria quae cum nullo subiecto recurrant. Nam, cum genera omnia eorum, quae sunt propria alicuius subiecti, sint etiam illius propria (si enim essent accidentia quinti praedicabilis, ac proinde abesse possent, abesse quoque possent ea propria, quorum ipsa sunt genera, sicque non

contingency by which properties and accidents are distinguished, do not provide a firm ground, for when taken as the natural necessity and contingency, also accidents can be necessary, for example white in swans and black in crows, but if taken absolutely, in the sense that no supernatural power could undo it, then all properties are also contingent.⁹³⁵ Third, there are properties which do not originate in the essence of their subjects, for example all supreme genera require some property themselves, which do not come from their essential principles, as they are simple *simpliciter*.⁹³⁶ Fourth, many properties are said more or less of their proper subjects, but many accidents are not.⁹³⁷ Fifth, all accidents, either common or proper, inhere first in the individuals, and through them in the species and in the genera.⁹³⁸

Nevertheless, Fonseca presents arguments that undermine each of these points. Since to the first argument it can be said that reciprocation is not what distinguishes property as universal from accident as universal, but it distinguishes what is perfectly property from that is common

essent propria) sane intellectivum esse, quod est genus discursivi, quod hominis proprium dicimus, erit etiam hominis proprium. At intellectivum cum nullo subiecto reciprocatur, neque enim recurrit cum homine, aut cum angelo, neque etiam cum communi aliquo genere quod utrumque complectatur, ut inductione patet. Idem ostenditur in quali, quod etiam ratione intellectus et aliarum proprietatum humanae naturae dicitur de homine, ut proprium quarti praedicabilis, neque enim reciprocatur cum genere ullo, nec cum genere quidem summo praedicamenti substantiae, cum quo maxime reciprocari videri posset. Nam, si quale reciprocaretur cum substantia genere summo, non utique diceretur De anima separata, quae sub illo non continetur; quod falsum est.”

⁹³⁵ CMA v. 2, cc. 1113-1114: “Deinde, quia si necessitas et contingentia, quibus propria et accidentia apud Philosophos inter se distingui solent, sumantur pro necessitate et contingentia naturali, sive quae a causis naturalibus provenit; plurima accidentia inseparabilia, ut nigrum a corvo, et album a cygno, erunt in propriis numeranda, cum naturales causas habeant, cur subiectis conveniant. Sin sumantur pro absoluta necessitate et contingentia, ita ut ea sola dicantur necessario convenire, quae ne potestate quidem supernaturali possunt non convenire, caetera autem omnia contingenter conveniant, non dubium est, quin plurima sint propria, quae ad genus accidentium pertineant; ea inquam omnia, quae sunt verae ac reales qualitates; veluti facultates intelligendi et ridendi, quas nemo, nisi infinitae Dei potestatis impugnator, negaverit a propriis subiectis removeri possi.”

⁹³⁶ CMA v. 2, c. 1114: “Tertio, quia sunt propria, quae ex principiis essentialibus subiectorum non oriuntur, cum omnia summa genera propria quaedam sibi vendicent, nec tamen principiis essentialibus constet, cum sint simpliciter simplicia. Quod idem dicendum videtur de omnibus differentiis quas et ipsas propria quaedam habere nemo iure negaverit; contraque multa accidentia, quae ex huiusmodi principiis oriuntur, ut quae inseparabilia sunt a tota aliqua specie aut genere, ut album esse a nive, et coloratum a misto corpore. Qui enim horum accidentium originem ad solam materiam referunt, non item ad formam, haud recte sentire videntur; cum materia sit eadem in omnibus rebus, quae colore aliquo affectae sunt; formae autem earum quemadmodum et colores ipsi, variae sint. Quod si accidentia hoc pacto inseparabilia oriri dicantur, a varia dispositione accidentaria, quae materiae attribui solet, eadem difficultas redit, cur non potius varia ipsa dispositio materiae variis formis, quam uni indifferentique materiae, tanquam originali causae tribuatur.”

⁹³⁷ CMA v. 2, c. 1114: “Quarto, quia multa propria sunt, quae magis et minus dicantur de propriis subiectis, ut extensum esse de subiecto materiali, et grave aut leve esse de his aut illis elementis. Nam proprium esse subiecti materialis, extensum esse, et elementorum quorundam gravia esse, aliorum levia, nullus negaverit Philosophus. Contraque plurima sunt accidentia, quae magis et minus non suscipiant, ut aequale esse, rotundum, quadratum, et similia; quae in quadam indivisibili commensuratione, aut invariabili terminorum dispositione consistunt.”

⁹³⁸ CMA v. 2, c. 1114: “Quinto, quia accidentia omnia, sive communia illa sint, sive propria, primo insunt individuis, et per individua speciebus, et generibus, ut Arist. docet in *Praedicam.* cap. *de subst.* Cum ait; *Omnia accidentia primo inesse primis substantiis.*”

property (intellective is a property of man although it does not reciprocate with it).⁹³⁹ To the second, it has to be said that the necessity which discerns property from accident is to be taken from the nature of the thing itself either absolutely or insofar as the order of the universe is, if it does not belong to the essence of the thing is property if it does, if it is suitable only accidentally it is the fifth predicable.⁹⁴⁰ This entails a diversity of degrees in the classification of properties. The first degree is of those that are suitable by an absolute necessity, that is, those that not even by a supernatural power could be separated from their subjects. This is property in the highest degree (the aptitude to laugh in man) taken not absolutely but insofar as the natural property of the subject, because no power can make them non-natural.⁹⁴¹ In a second degree, there are those accidental properties themselves, taken absolutely, if they are not suitable to a subject contingently, since although they cannot be absent from the subject, a supernatural power could take them away from the subject in which they are.⁹⁴² In the third degree, or inferior that are those properties accidental properties taken absolutely, if they are necessarily said of those

⁹³⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1121: “Quare ad primum argumentum initio propositum, satis patet dicendum esse, reciprocationem non esse differentiam, qua proprium, ut universale est, distinguatur ab accidente, sed qua perfecte proprium, ut proprium est (quod diximus ex vi nominis) distinguatur a communi, ut commune est; siquidem commune, ut tale est, cum non conveniat ei soli, cuius respectu est commune seu universale, non potest cum eo reciprocari. Itaque intellectivum, etsi nullius subiecti est perfecte proprium ex vi nominis spectatum, nihil tamen impedire, quo minus pertineat ad proprium quarti praedicabilis. Quod idem dicendum est de quali; nam etsi pertinet ad quartum praedicabile respectu hominis, non reciprocatur tamen cum genere ullo substantiae; quorum utrumque recte in obiciendo probatum est.”

⁹⁴⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1121: “Ad secundum vero dicendum, necessitatem in discernendo proprio ab accidente sumendam esse pro quacunque necessitate, quae ducatur ex ipsa rei natura, sive ea absoluta sit, sive supposito ordine universi, ut a Deo est institutum quidquid enim utralibet ratione necessario convenit subiecto, id, si ad eius essentiam non pertinet, quatenus ita convenit, ad quartum praedicabile spectat, quidquid vero utrolibet modo convenit contingenter, ad quintum pertinet. Qua de causa diversi quasi gradus priorum inveniantur, necesse est, ut alia magis propria sint, alia minus.”

⁹⁴¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1121: “Qua enim absoluta necessitate conveniunt, hoc est, tanta, ut nulla potestate, ne supernaturali quidem separari possint, ea sunt omnium maxime propria; ut propensiones illae naturales, quas superius modos essendi potentiales omnino inseparabiles esse diximus, qualis est aptitudo illa ad ridendum, quam habet humana essentia prius naturae ordine, quam ulla ei vel quantitas vel qualitas insit; quae eadem in Socrate relinqueretur, si ab eo accidentia omnia auferrentur. Ad eundem revocantur accidentia ipsa realia propria; ut naturalis potentia ridendi respectu nominis, si sumantur non absolute, sed quatenus propriis subiectis naturales sunt. Nulla enim potestate fieri potest, ut naturales eisdem non sint, etiamsi potestate aliqua anteferri possint.”

⁹⁴² *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1121-1122: “In secundo gradu sunt accidentia ipsa propria, absolute sumpta, si nulli subiecto contingenter conveniant; cuiusmodi sunt facultates ipsae ridendi, sentiendi, intelligendi respectu hominis iuxta veriorum eorum sententiam, qui haec a suis subiectis, ut vera accidentia distinguunt, quanquam enim naturaliter a subiectis abesse non possunt, tamen possunt supernaturaliter. Nihil autem refert, si haec propria, sive primi, sive secundi gradus, non haec in subiecto causam adaequatam in homine; adaequatam inquam, non tantum sibi, sed etiam homini, nempe ipsa principia naturae humanae, sive definitionem obiectivam hominis. Facultas enim sentiendi, etsi habet in homine causam sibi adaequatam, nempe principia naturae animalis, quae includuntur in natura humana; ea tamen causa non est adaequata homini, sed latius patet; facultas vero intelligendi non habet in homine causam adaequatam nec sibi nece homini, cum nulla detur natura intellectiva communis homini et angelo, quibus intellectus communis est, atque adeo univoce communis si in genere sumatur, quo pacto communitas quaeritur, cum de veris universalibus agitur.”

subjects, of which they are predicable by the properties of the fourth predicable, inhere in other subjects contingently.⁹⁴³ If one objects that when Porphyry brought in the example of the accidents of the fifth predicable black with respect of crow and white of snow, it can be answered that Porphyry did not take them as they are natural in subjects, how they cannot be separated by any ratio, or they inhere naturally in them, by absolutely and regarded only in their nature, and their negation does not imply a contradiction to the subjects in which they actually exist.⁹⁴⁴ Moreover, the solution of third argument is clear if one bears in mind what is usually said: property have their origin as if from the principle of the nature of subjects, in which they principle are present.⁹⁴⁵ The solution of the fourth argument is taken from the distinction of the property of the fourth predicable in the three degrees, for although the property of the first degree, does not

⁹⁴³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1122-1123: “In tertio ac infimo gradu sunt accidentia ipsa propria, absolute sumpta, si ita necessario dicantur de iis subiectis, quorum propria quarti praedicabilis, ut aliis subiectis contingenter insint; veluti nigredo collata cum corvo, et albedo cum cygno; calorem cum igne comparatus, et frigus cum aqua. Haec enim etsi necessario conveniunt subiectis naturali necessitate ex ipsa subiecti natura ducta; adveniunt tamen plerisque aliis rebus, et saepe ab eisdem recedunt plerisque aliis de causis, et interdum contrariis. Albescunt enim nonnunquam res inanimatae calore, interdum frigore; aegrotantque saepe homines eodem morbo contrariarum qualitatum cibis. Quo fit, ut in toto hoc propriorum genere non detur causa, quae sit adaequata, vel praedicato vel subiecto. Unde etiam illud provenit, ut haec non admittantur in demonstrationibus, quae procedunt ex causis adaequatis, atque adeo non dicantur convenire per se ratione sui; etsi universaliter conveniant, ac de omni dicantur, ut Dialectici loquuntur. Alioqui dubium non est, quin per se conveniant et demonstrari possint de iis subiectis quibus per se conveniunt, quippe cum oriuntur ex ipsis naturae subiectae principiis, quae pro vera causa in demonstrando reddi possunt. Itaque non conveniunt per se, ne demonstrari possunt illo, ut sic dicam, rigore logico, quo Aristoteles ait, ea sola dici per se, et in demonstratione admitti, quae vel definiunt subiectum, vel per illud definiuntur (subaudi vel per id, quod in eo includitur, cui adaequate conveniunt) conveniunt tamen per se non spectata ipsorum natura, sed natura eorum subiectorum, quam consequuntur, et de iis subiectis demonstrari possunt non per definitionem sui, sed tantum per definitionem ipsorum subiectorum.”

⁹⁴⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1123: “Quod si quis obiiciat Porphyrium afferentem in exemplum accidentium quinti Praedicabilis nigrum respectu corvi, et album respectu nivis; responderi potest, haec proposita fuisse a Porphyrio in exempla quinti praedicabilis, non ut sunt naturalia subiectis, quo pacto nulla ratione separari possunt, nempe ut non sint illis naturalia, sed absolute, et spectata sola ipsorum natura, quo pacto non implicat contradictionem ea negari de subiectis quoad actualem ipsorum existentiam.”

⁹⁴⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1123: “Ex his patet solutio tertii argumenti si animadvertatur id quod dici solet; *propria quasi oriri ex principii naturae subiectorum*, intelligendum esse de subiectis, quae principiis constant; cuiusmodi sunt ferme subiecta, de quibus proprietates demonstrantur. De generibus enim summis differentiisque via unquam demonstrationes conficiuntur. Itaque dicimus, nihil referre, si genera summa differentiaeque omnes, quae ad ipsas rerum naturas pertinent, propria quaedam habeant, quae vel modi essendi sint, vel negativa quaedam attributa, aut relativa rationis ante tamen a principiis quasi subiectorum profluant, cum raro de subiectis demonstrantur; ut de eis magnopere curandum sit. Quod vero attinet ad accidentia inseparabilia, fatemur plane, ea in propriis quarti praedicabilis numeranda esse, si totam aliquam speciem, aut genus naturali sequela concomitentur; et hac ipsa consideratione spectentur, non quatenus nil repugnat, ea per aliquam potentiam vel naturalem vel supernaturalem quoad existentiam, separari; quo pacto in accidentibus quinti praedicabilis numerari possunt ea potissimum, quae seungi possunt potentia naturali; ut ab aqua frigidum esse; et ab igne summo esse in loco, aut a terra, in infimo. Nam et esse in his locis propria sunt externorum elementorum, ut est mediorum proprium, vel supremo esse proximum vel infimo. Quod si quis opponat esse in huiusmodi locis, nec absoluta necessitate convenire elementis, nec naturali, cum et adesse et abesse possint; occurrendum est, ea quoque naturali necessitate convenire dienda esse, quae sublatis impedimentis semper adsunt; elementa vero nunquam existere extra loca naturalia, nisi cum ab eis remouentur, aut extra ea desinentur.”

admit a more and of a less, on the other hand, properties of the second and the third degrees do.⁹⁴⁶

In order to resolve the difficulties inherent to the fifth argument it is necessary to clarify which are the subjects of the properties and accidents of the fifth predicable. The *ratio* of the properties and accident of the fifth predicable is not the same. If we take Porphyry's tree, some are indeed suitable to the superiors, as they are communicated to the inferior and vice versa, as to be sensitive, white or black, move, act, and the like. Others are suitable to the superiors but are not communicated to the inferiors or they are said of the inferiors but not of the superiors, as to be a genus, a species, or an individual. Those relations are necessarily suitable to things from all eternity, insofar as the things themselves, of which the *ratios* of all are necessarily objected (*obiicitur*) by a most distinct concept in the divine intellect. Nevertheless, there are 'contingent accidents' insofar as they may be objected (*obiicitur*) by the human intellect or not, because the intellect can either abstract the universals from the singulars or not.⁹⁴⁷ It is easy to understand that what is said of the superior is not said of the inferiors, or what is said of the inferiors but not of the superiors. It is not because one says that animal is a genus that it must be concluded that man is a genus, or that because man is an inferior species that animal is an inferior species.⁹⁴⁸ On the other hand, 'properties' of those things themselves, because they are suitable not contingently

⁹⁴⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1124: "Quarti solutio sumenda est ex distinctione proprii quarti praedicabilis in tres quasi gradus tradita. Quod enim Porphyrius *hac ipsa sect.* ait, proprius non communicari magis et minus; de primo ac praecipuo priorum gradu universe intelligendum esse; quod scitis illi fuit ad tradendam aliquam proprii et accidentis differentiam; cum neutri generi accidentis; separabilis, inquam, vel inseparabilis id universe conveniat. Nam, in utroque reperiuntur plurima, quae magis et minus dicantur de subiectis, ut inductione patet, etsi eorum quaedam magis et minus non suscipiant, ut obiectum erat."

⁹⁴⁷ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1124-1125: "Non omnium priorum et accidentium quinti praedicabilis eadem est ratio. Quaedam enim ita conveniunt superioribus, ut commucentur inferioribus, aut vice versa ita inferioribus conveniunt; ut etiam de superioribus dicantur; veluti sensitivum esse, album esse aut nigrum, moveri, agere, et similia (quae res maiori explicatione non indiget). Alia ita conveniunt superioribus, ut inferioribus non communicentur, aut ita de inferioribus dicantur, ut non dicantur de superioribus, velut esse genus, speciem, aut individuum. Nam et haec, proprietates quasdam rerum esse, et per se entibus convenire tradit Aristoteles libro superiori ad finem capituli secundi, cum *quaest 6 sect* ait, *Genus, speciem, et similia rerum attributa a affectiones per se entium, quatenus entia sunt*, esse; nosque eo loco verum esse diximus de iis, ut relationes quasdam significant, quae rebus ab omni aeternitate necessario conveniunt, quatenus res ipsae, earumque omnium rationes distinctissimo conceptu intellectui divino ex necessitate obiiciuntur; quanquam sint accidentia contingentia, quatenus obiiciuntur intellectui humano, qui universalibus a singularibus et abstrahere, et non abstrahere potest. Haec tamen brevius ibi dicta, fusius hoc loco explicanda sunt."

⁹⁴⁸ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1125: "Ista igitur sic dici de superioribus, ut non dicantur de inferioribus, aut contra dici de inferioribus, ut de superioribus non dicantur, facile intelligitur. Neque enim, quia animal est genus vere colligas, hominem genus esse; neque item, quia homo est species infima, continuo inferas animal esse infimam speciem; nec denique, quia Socrates de uno solo dici potest, recte concludas, aut hominem aut animal de uno solo dici."

but necessarily, they are said to be some properties by real properties, because they follow the order of their natures, but as their anticipation or consequence, not however the natures of the things themselves.⁹⁴⁹

The relations of reason, even though they can be suitable to things without any activity of the intellect, they cannot exist in this mode, but only objectively in the intellect. Although all things out of necessity are objected (*obiicitur*) by the divine intellect, not however in the human intellect as the relations which follow the divine concept of all things, can be said to be properties of them, as they have existence, even if with respect of the human intellect they should not be said to be properties in any way but contingent accidents.⁹⁵⁰ The solution is to distinguish a twofold subject of the real properties and accidents of the fourth and fifth predicables. One subject is of existence and the other of suitability. The subject of existence is that in which and by which the property or accident exist. On the other hand, the subject of suitability, is that to which it is suitable and suitable by its nature.⁹⁵¹ Thus the first subjects of suitability of real properties are common natures, but of existence are first individuals. But or real accidents are

⁹⁴⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1125: “Esse autem rerum ipsarum proprietates quasdam ex eo constat, quia non contingenter, se necessario illis conveniunt; idque non ex accidente, sed ex ipso earum ordine inter se, quae aliae natura praecedunt, aliae sequuntur. Dixi *esse proprietates quasdam, et non simpliciter proprietates, sed veras proprietates*; quia etsi sequuntur naturarum ipsarum ordinem, et quandam earum inter se anticipationem aut consecutionem, non tamen consequuntur ipsas rerum naturas; alioqui cum superioribus naturis ad inferiora descenderent, in quibus superiorum naturae continentur.”

⁹⁵⁰ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1125-1126: “Quod vero ibi diximus, *esse ista modo explicato proprietates rerum, quatenus significant relationes generum specierum, et similium attributorum*, quoad existentiam ipsarum relationum intelligendum est, non quoad earum convenientiam. Relationes enim rationis etsi rebus convenire possunt sive operatione intellectus, non possunt tamen suo modo existere, nisi obiective in intellectu, ut ex superioribus, *ad c 7 et 15* dictis manifestum est. Cum autem res omnes ex se habeant, ut ex necessitate divino intellectui obiiciantur; non item humano, inde fit, ut relationes quae divinum conceptum rerum omnium consequuntur, dici suo modo possint proprietates earum, quoad existentiam; etsi eodem modo respectu intellectus humani nullo modo proprietates, sed accidentia contingentia dicendae sint.”

⁹⁵¹ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1126-1127: “Quocirca duplex subiectum realium propriorum; et accidentium quarti et quinti praedicabilis ponendum est; unum existentiae, alterum convenientiae. Existentiae subiectum est id, in quo et per quod proprium, aut accidens existit; convenientiae vero, cui convenit, et cuius ratione convenit. Sic necesse est, ut prima subiecta tam propriorum, quam accidentium sint singularia, quod haec primo existant, et in eis, ac per ea existant universalia. Atque hoc modo verum est, quod tradit Aristoteles; *Omnia accidentia realia, sive propria illa sint, sive communia, primo inesse primis substantiis, et per eas inesse secundis*; quod sic intelligendum est, ut vel insint totis, vel partibus earum, quod dixerim propter accidentia, quae sunt in anima separata, quae etsi prima substantia non est, tamen est suapte natura illius pars praecipua. Quod autem Porphyrius docet, proprium speciei innasci, et (quod sequitur) per speciem inesse individuus, ad subiectum convenientiae referendum est. Nam, quia propria sunt quasi naturales partus essentialium communium; inde fit, ut primo illis convenient, et earum ratione conveniunt individuus. Quod contra evenit in accidentibus realibus quinti praedicabilis. Cum enim haec nullam naturam substantialem necessario sequantur (etiam individua) ac proinde convenire non possint, nisi existant ipsa et subiecta, quibus conveniunt, non dubium est quin quaecumque conveniunt, primo convenient individuus, et per ea speciebus et generibus, sub quibus continentur.”

only individuals (solution of the last argument of the previous question).⁹⁵² If one asks whether the first subject of some property is unique, that is if a property is proper to only one item, it can be easily replied that nothing prevents it from being multiple although it is usually unique. If the subject requires a property and the property requires a subject, as in the case of man and risible, then it is unique. However, if the subject requires a property, but the property *per se* does not require a subject, like man and capable of perception, it can be unique or multiple.⁹⁵³ The difference between the properties and accidents of the fifth predicable is that the properties can be suitable to their subject regardless of their existence or otherwise, but that the accidents of the fifth predicable are not suitable unless they exist and their subjects also exist. But there is a difficulty in the case of the predicate “to be dead.” Because its real existence is incompatible with the existence of its subject, and as it cannot be a real accident, and thus it requires an objective existence, but if something is dead it is not necessary that it be first conceived by the mind.⁹⁵⁴

The solution is reached when it is said that ‘dead’ can be taken in two ways, first as the past participle and in this sense it means the separation of life occurred in the past. And the second way, is to consider it as a noun that signifies something deprived of life. In the first meaning it can be said either of the composite of body and soul or only of the body. In the second however,

⁹⁵² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1127: “Itaque prima subiecta convenientiae propriorum realium sunt naturae communes, existentiae autem individua prima vero realium accidentium et existentiae et convenientiae, sunt sola individua unde patet solutio extremi argumenti superioris quaestionis.”

⁹⁵³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1127-1128: “Sed quaerat aliquis num, quemadmodum prima subiecta convenientiae cuiusque accidentis universalis sunt plura; ita cuiusque proprii sit unicum. Ad quam dubitationem non difficile ex dictis responderi potest. Nihil enim prohibet esse plura; etsi saepe est unicum. Nam si, quemadmodum subiectum vendicat sibi per se proprietatem, ita proprietas sibi per se vendicet subiectum, non dubium erit, quin primum subiectum sit unicum; quo pacto se habet homo et risus capax, animal et sensus particeps, substantia corporea et extensum esse mole corporea, aut figuratum figura solida (ponimus enim, et quod credimus, nullam magnitudinem dari posse infinitam) eodemque modo se habent substantia, genus summum, et quale, si anima separata, quae sub eo genere non continetur non esset necessario et suapte natura qualis. Si vero subiectum sibi per se vendicet proprietatem, ipsa autem proprietas non sibi per se vendicet subiectum. Poterit primum subiectum esse vel unicum vel multiplex. Unum, si proprium sibi vendicet per se, et convertibiliter (quod dicitur per se primo) genus aliquod essentialiter inclusum in subiecto; quo pacto se habent homo et sensus particeps; multiplex, si proprium non sibi per se vendicet tale genus; quo pacto se habet homo vel anima humana et intellectivum esse, sumptum in genere.”

⁹⁵⁴ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1132: “Demum quaerat aliquis, cur supra dixerimus, hoc inter alia discrimina differre inter se propria et accidentia quinti praedicabilis, quod propria convenire possint suis subiectis, etsi nec ipsa, nec subiecta existant; accidentia autem quinti praedicabilis non conveniant nisi existant et ipsa et eorum subiecta. Nam, etsi hoc diximus de realibus tantum propriis et accidentibus, nihilo minus eadem ratio videtur esse in omnibus; nempe, ut quemadmodum accidentia realia quinti praedicabilis non conveniunt, nisi et ipsa et eorum subiecta realiter existant, ita neque accidentia rationis eiusdem praedicabilis, nisi existant in mente, sive obiective. Et tamen hoc falsum videtur, cum motivum esse, quod nemo reale accidens, sed rationis esse dixerit, non indigeat ulla existentia vel sui vel subiecti de quo dicitur ut de eo vere dicatur, sed potius, quemadmodum ipsum reali existentiae sui subiecti repugnat, ita obiectivam existentiam, vel sui, vel illius mimine requirat. Nam, etsi nemo dicitur mortuus, nisi dum mente concipitur, ut tamen mortuus sit aliquis, non opus est eum mente concipi.”

it cannot be said that Socrates is dead unless one is saying that the body of Socrates is deprived of soul.⁹⁵⁵ Therefore, it cannot be said of a subject which does not exist at a certain moment, that it is deprived of life and therefore dead, because the contingent privation supposes the existence of the subject, but the contingent negation does not.⁹⁵⁶

To conclude, we can say that Fonseca disagrees with those who believe that the definition of property of the fourth predicable given by Porphyry is exactly the same as that which has been presented as the definition of accident and that of property in general, insofar as universal, reciprocates with the subject under which all its particular features are contained.⁹⁵⁷ The reason is not only because the definition Porphyry gives includes specific properties (it is a source of possible mistakes), but also because there are many accidental and necessary predicates that cannot reciprocate with the subject at all, as for instance, being able to understand.⁹⁵⁸ Fonseca's definition of property is based on Porphyry's, however it is not based only on the fourth

⁹⁵⁵ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1133: "Mortuum igitur, si priori modo sumatur, vere quidem sicutur et de toto composito ex corpore et anima, ut de Socrate mortuo et de corpore solo. Nam et totus Socrates aliquando patiebatur vitae accidentariae separationem, cum extremo spiritu laboranti paulatim deficiebant vitales operationes; et corpus illius tum simul patiebatur separationem non modo accidentariae vitae, sed etiam essentialis, cum anima sensim relinquebat alias atque alias partes remotiores ab iis, a quibus simul discessit et has etiam dispositive relinquebat, cum magis ac magis primo non esse animae in corpore appropinquabat. Sed cum enunciatio haec, Socrates est mortuus, sit de praeterito, non est necesse, ut subiectum nunc existat, etsi divina existere potestate valeat, si nunc a mortuis excitetur; praedicatum autem existere non potest, cum ad praeteritum non detur potentia. Quanquam necesse est, ut utrumque extiterit eo tempore, pro quo nunc verificatur propositio, atque adeo positive extiterit, quia apparatus utriusque vitae quae fiebat, dum Socrates animam agebat, actio quaedam erat corruptiva subiecti, omniumque eius vitalium operationum."

⁹⁵⁶ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1134: "Quod si quis obiicit, etiam ipsum Socratem, qui nunc non est, posse dici privatum vita, non quidem essentiali, quae est altera pars Socratis, sed accidentaria, quae sunt praeteritae eius vitales operationes; negandum id plane est; quia si subiectum dici posset privatum reali accidente contingenti, quandoquidem illud non habet; nulla esset differentia inter privationem et negationem; perindeque Socrates, antequam nasceretur, posset dici mortuus, atque postquam vitam finivit. Ut igitur tunc non dicebatur operationibus vitalibus privatus, quia tunc non existeret sive huiusmodi operationibus, ita et nunc, qua non sic existit, nec sane alia ratione, nisi quia privatio contingens supponit existentiam subiecti, quam non supponit contingens negatio. Atque haec de omnibus quoque universalium et praedicabilium generibus dicenda occurrerunt."

⁹⁵⁷ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1118: "Sunt qui existiment, definitionem proprii quarti generis a Porphyrio traditam, eandem esse cum ea, quae nunc allata a nobis est de proprio, ut est quoddam universale, aut saltem hanc ex illa facile posse colligi, quod existit –ment [sic] omne proprium, ut universale est, reciprocati cum subiecto aliquo, sub quo omnia eius particularia subiecta contineantur; quo pacto risus capax reciprocatur cum homine, sub quo subiecta omnia risus capacia comprehenduntur."

⁹⁵⁸ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1118-1119: "Re tamen vera non ita est, non solum, quia definitio quarti generis, Porphyriani sola propria specialia complectitur, ut dictum est quanquam hoc vitium facile emendari posset, sed eo vel maxime quia multa sunt, qui accidentaria et necessaria praecidatione dicantur de pluribus, quae cum nullo subiecto reciprocantur veluti aptum esse ad intelligendum, ad volandum, et similia, ut sup. *sect 1 huius quaest.* Obiectum est; in quibus etiam numerari possunt huiusmodi attributa, gressibile, esse bipes, capitatum, si pro quibusdam proprietatibus sumantur, non pro partibus materiae, aut compositis quibusdam ex partiali materia, et certis quibusdam dispositionibus."

Porphyrian definition, but on the fourth and the second combined,⁹⁵⁹ i.e., ‘property is what reciprocates with the subject and is suitable to all those items of which it is predicated but not only to them.’ With respect to accident, the doubt can be solved rather easily, because although several authors attribute the first definition proposed by Porphyry to inseparable accidents, the second to separable accidents, and the third to all accidents, the truth is that all three definitions include separable as well as inseparable accidents.⁹⁶⁰ This apparent contradiction is explained away by taking into account that those definitions can be taken either insofar as the terms are concerned or according to the use of philosophers. If the former then particular and universal accidents are included; if the latter then they only refer to universal accidents.⁹⁶¹ This way of putting it also makes clear that it is not true that all kinds of properties are included in the first three definitions belong to the accident of the fifth predicable, because the second includes not only the contingent predicates (like to sleep, to walk, and the like), but also the necessary predicates (like being capable of perception, being two-footed).⁹⁶² Consequently, the true and

⁹⁵⁹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1119: “Potius ergo dicendum est, non esse quidem allatam a nobis proprii definitionem ullam ex iis, quas Porphyrius tradit; neque item ex sola quarta elici posse, sed ex quarta simul et secunda. Nam, quicquid accidentaria et necessaria praedicatione dicitur, id omne aut recipiatur cum subiecto aliquo communi omnibus subiectis particularibus de quibus dicitur; qua ratione pertinet ad quartum genus Porphyrianum; emendare tamen eius definitione, ut generalis etiam propria complectatur, aut latius patet quolibet subiecto eorum, de quibus praedicatur, quo pacto pertinet ad secundum genus, quod omni conveniat, sed non soli.”

⁹⁶⁰ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1119: “De accidente etiam facile explicatur dubitatio. Etsi enim non desunt viri graves, *Alex. nimirum in Top. Arist. et Aver. in Isagog. Porph.* qui primam definitionem a Porphy. propositam, solis inseparabilibus accidentibus attribuant, secundam separabilibus tertiam omnibus, quod in prima velit Porphy. explicari accidentia, quae sola cogitatione abesse a subiecto possunt, ut nigrum a corvo et Aethiope in secunda ea, quae re etiam ipsa, ut dormire a quovis animali; in tertia vero quicquid universale est nec tamen in quatuor superioribus generibus numeratur; re tamen vera in qualibet earum omnia comprehenduntur, etiam ex sententia Porphyrii. Nam, in prima illa; *Quod adest et abest sine subiecti corruptione* (quae ex verbis hospitis Eleatae apud Platon. in *Sophista* elicita videtur) separabilia etiam contineri, plane indicat mox subsequuta in accidens separabile et inseparabile divisio. Contineri autem in secunda inseparabilia, ex eo patet, quod posita divisione accidentis, continuo additur secunda definitio de eodem, de quo prima tradita erat. Sic enim ait Porphy. *Definiunt etiam et hoc modo; Accidens est, quod contingit eidem inesse, et non inesse*; quae definitio ex *1 Topic.* desumpta est, in qua omne accidens, quod non convenit per se, contingenter convenire vult Arist. etiamsi re ipsa sit inseparabile, et semper conveniat, ut colliges ex fine *ca 6* et initio *7* prioris libri *de Poster. resolutione.*”

⁹⁶¹ *CMA* v. 2, c. 1120: “Dicendum igitur, definitionibus accidentis, si verba earum spectentur tantum, explicari quaelibet accidentia ex vi nominis, comprehendique omnia tam universalialia, quam singularia, ut est luce clarius. Si autem sumantur iuxta institutum eius loci, in quo pro genere rerum quae tractantur, semper subaudiendum est universale, seu praedicabile de pluribus sola accidentia universalialia, et ut universale quaedam sunt, definit, omniumque earum esse eundem sensum; nisi quod in tertia proponenda parum fideliter usus est Porphyrius verbo *semper*, quod non est apud Arist. Neque enim Arist. scribit *semper autem inest subiecto*, ut Porphyrius, sed *inest autem re*, essetque falsum, quod ait Porphyrius, nisi sic utcunque intelligi posset, semper autem est in subiecto, quamdiu de eo dicitur.”

⁹⁶² *CMA* v. 2, c. 1120: “Et his patet, non esse verum, quod nonnulli aiunt; omnia, quae in tribus prioribus generibus priorum continentur, pertinere ad accidens quantum praedicabile, cum secundum genus complectatur non solum contingentia praedicata, ut dormire ac ambulare respectu hominis, sed etiam necessaria, ut sensus capax, ac bipes respectu eiusdem.”

inmost distinction of property and accident, being a distinction of items *inter se*, has to be taken from their definitions, thus property and accident insofar as universals are rather distinguished by the *ratio* that is suitable necessarily (property) or contingently (accident) to that of which they are said to be the property or the accident. There are in fact two kinds of necessity in the predication of items which do not belong to the essence. The first which is said to be from the essence of the subject itself, because it is evidently the predicate of its nature, as it flows from the essence of the subject, or it is essentially contained in it, which is flows from. The second is that which comes from elsewhere, the necessity of the property of the fourth predicable is of that first kind, not of the second. Accordingly, the first necessity makes that the accidental predicate is a predicate *per se* of by natural subject. However, the second is by accident or adventitious, since if it cannot be separated by natural causes it can be by a supernatural power. Indeed philosophers distinguish universals in the way in which they are suitable *per se*: those that either belong to the essence, as it is the case of the first three kinds (genus, species, and *differentia*), or those that as if naturally flow from the essence, which constitutes the fourth kind, and those that flow accidentally from the thing, whose kind are all and only those of the fifth kind.⁹⁶³

4.2 Conclusion

Despite Barnes's truculent assessment that metaphysical concerns do not often surface in the *Isagoge*,⁹⁶⁴ it seems that the authors who comment on the *Isagoge* are very often, in one way or

⁹⁶³ *CMA* v. 2, cc. 1120-1121: "Cum ergo verum ac intimum discrimen rerum inter se ex earum definitionibus sumendum sit, non dubium est, quin proprium et accidens, ut universalialia quaedam sunt, ea ratione potissimum distinguantur, quod proprio necessario, accidens contingenter conveniat. Neque enim aliud magis internum discrimen inter ea invenerunt Dialectici, quo ea definiendo distinguerent. Sed cum duplex sit necessitas praedicari accidentarii, seu non pertinentis ad essentiam subiecti, quia nimirum praedicatum eius naturae est, ut profluat ab essentia subiecti, aut essentialiter contineatur in eo, quod sic profluat; altera, quae aliunde provenit, necessitas proprii quarti praedicabilis est prior illa, non posterior; siquidem prior necessitas efficit, ut praedicatum accidentarium sit praedicatum per se ac naturale subiecto; posterior autem, ut sit per accidens et adventitium; etiamsi per causas naturales separari non possit, ut nigrum ab Aethiope, et caecum ab eo, qui captus oculis natus est. Distinguunt enim Philosophi universalialia hunc etiam in modum, ut quaedam per se conveniant, et haec sunt, quae vel ad essentiam pertinent, ut priora tria genera; vel ab ea naturaliter quasi profluunt, quae quartum genus conficiunt; quaedam vero per accidens, quae omnia et sola ad quintum genus spectant."

⁹⁶⁴ Barnes *Introduction* p 37: "It is an error to hunt for hidden metaphysics beneath every line of the text, but there are one or two passages which appear to tread water too deep for Lady Logic."

another, compelled to address several metaphysical issues (all the authors in this chapter seem to have done so) or else are at great pains to avoid them by ‘defending’ Porphyry’s text as logical (Ockham, for instance).

Apart from the metaphysical discussion of the problem of universals presented in the second chapter, other deeply metaphysical discussions concerning whether *ens* is a genus of the categories, concerning individuation and the essence of things and their properties and accidents, to cite just a few issues, were always present in the correct solutions to the most pressing problems identified by the most famous commentators of the *Isagoge*.

With regard to the choice of some authors like Averroes, Ockham, Cajetan to treat the *Isagoge* as an entirely logical text, they either had to conclude that Porphyry’s text was wrong and useless; or else they had to explain expressions like ‘to participate in’ (*participare*), ‘to inhere’ (*inesse*) and ‘to subsist in’ (*subsistere in*), in purely logico-semantic terms, hence ignoring the elements that could guarantee the consistency of Porphyry’s approach to the predicables; or they could not maintain the same number of predicables defended by the tradition. And in this sense, by ‘defending’ Porphyry’s text as logical, they are in fact criticising the commentary tradition on the *Isagoge* (and especially Boethius understanding of it) at every place where it adopts a metaphysical approach. What the authors who favour a merely logical position do not seem to be able to account for, is the status of entities like a flying dragon, which can be thought, described, and even said to be an animal. For Fonseca, who can resort to his metaphysical doctrine of the relation between universals and particulars (the nature in the particulars, the universality which has unity and aptitude to be in several items and has objective existence by the intellect), such an entity does not pose special difficulties because the intellect can always reach the conclusion that when a flying dragon is called ‘an animal,’ it is so only connotatively because the animal nature is entirely absent from its concept. If it were a real entity, the concept would have been engendered from the abstraction of its nature from the particular flying dragons. But so far no exemplars of the latter have been uncovered by any scientist; hence no inferential induction could have taken place.

Clearly, our discussion of the main difficulties related to the *Isagoge* and the Predicables also imply an explicit theory of cognition, however except for Boethius such a theory remains almost entirely latent in the commentaries on the *Isagoge* (this issue was addressed in the third chapter). For instance, while tackling the question whether a genus required more than one species under it, Fonseca had at his disposal an account of the levels of abstraction which permitted him to conclude that species can be preserved in one individual as the experience of one *phantasma* is enough to help the intellect to abstract the species (seeing that individuals are equally perfect in what concerns their essence), but the genus is a higher order universal (second level of abstraction) and requires the existence of at least two species under it and a specific *differentia* (because species under the same genus are not equally perfect, due to their distinction at the level of the essence).

Another aspect to be noted here is that medieval authors usually tried to explain away the redundancies and incorrections of Porphyry's text but did not attribute them directly to the Phoenician philosopher. The exceptions are Averroes (and the Arabic philosophers) and Fonseca. In the passages studied above Fonseca mentions "Porphyry's error" and "how Porphyry departs from Aristotle," just one time, but it is clear that his overall understanding of the limitations and inadequacy of the *Isagoge* is already present, and it would grow over time until the final conclusion that Porphyry's *Isagoge* is an unsuitable introduction to philosophy. Both Averroes and Fonseca employ a critical approach to the *Isagoge* and point to particular passages or ideas in the text to give the reason for their disapproval. The differences between them are nonetheless considerable, because contrary to Averroes, Fonseca does not think that the Predicables, the subject matter of the *Isagoge*, could be treated within an exclusively logical framework. The Predicables are of central importance for the whole of Aristotle's philosophy, especially in the realms of dialectics, physics, psychology, and metaphysics.

The conclusion of the fourth chapter is that Fonseca is similar in approach to Boethius, Scotus, and the *Lovanienses*. Since these authors resort to a broader range of Aristotelian works in order to understand and resolve the several difficulties raised by a commentary on the *Isagoge*.

The difference among them is of the level of profundity of their commentaries. Perhaps this is also the reason why Fonseca feels that he has to present the infelicities of some arguments of these authors, namely, to show that only a thorough treatment of each of the main issues of the *Isagoge* can provide a consistent set of doctrines. Consequently, in the short period between the publication of the second volume of his commentaries on *Metaphysics* Δ and the composition of the *Isagoge Philosophica*, Fonseca realised that Porphyry's small book was helplessly flawed and had to be substituted with a more suitable, more complete, and more consistent introduction to philosophy.

General Conclusion

Our thesis does not purport to exhaust the analysis of the of Fonseca's 'scholastic' ('eclectic') philosophy. The *Commentariorum in libros metaphysicorum Aristotelis* still awaits a critical edition, and although there is a good semi-critical edition of the *Institutionum Dialecticarum* the only extant modern edition of the *Isagoge Philosophica* has serious shortcomings such as the lack of an account of the several original editions, a number of typographical mistakes, and even a missing passage. Moreover, the growing interest in Fonseca's philosophy has not yet been translated into a continuous series of publications since recent, if worth studies are far and few between. Moreover, it is also necessary to broaden our interest in the works of Fonseca's contemporaries, especially the writings of his fellow Jesuits.

Nevertheless, our investigation has shown that the *Isagoge Philosophica* is the culmination of a process of Fonseca's careful study of the issues of Porphyry's *Isagoge* and of the main commentaries on it produced from Boethius to the *Lovanienses*. Fonseca aimed to provide a correct and complete introduction to philosophy, hence our conclusion that the *Isagoge Philosophica* is the culmination of Fonseca's attempt to produce a Jesuit *cursus philosophicus*.

This change in appreciation of the status of the *Isagoge Philosophica* has far-reaching consequences. Contrary to the first impression, by reversing the order of importance suggested by the chronology of the publications and considering his last published work as the true beginning of his system, Fonseca's two major works do not lose any of their relevance but can now be seen in proper perspective. The connection with the *Institutionum Dialecticarum* is clear, as Porphyry's *Isagoge* was already considered as some sort of preface of the *Organon*, a custom that a good number of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century editors of the *Institutionum Dialecticarum* followed. The connection with the *Commentariorum Metaphysicorum* becomes evident once we notice that the *Isagoge Philosophica* was composed, in Fonseca's own words, "out of those things which I had written in the commentaries on the *Metaphysics*." He was clearly referring to the last twenty questions of his massive commentary on *Metaphysics* V (Δ),

which some people, missing the point that it deals with things and not mere words, mistakenly behold to be a “philosophical lexicon,” but whose importance was vital to the whole of the *Metaphysics*, is recognised by Fonseca, in line with Alexander’s and Aquinas’s teaching. Accordingly, Fonseca’s choice for the term ‘dialectics,’ pointing to a broader understanding of logic, a custom also adopted by the *Conimbricenses’ In universam dialecticam Aristotelis Stagiritae*, although not by Toledo’s *Introductio in universam Aristotelis logicam*, becomes much more than a concession to the ‘humanist’ tradition (already Boethius in his commentary had read “*ex probabilibus*” where Porphyry’s *Isagoge* has “λογικώτερον,” and the *Lovanienses*, using Boethius’s and Argyropulo’s translations, had already produced a fine blend of humanist and scholastic dialectics), but is more of a requirement of a systematic approach.

Second, once we discover Fonseca’s system we can reassess the Jesuit understanding of cognition, because Fonseca belongs to the first generation of great Jesuit authors and what is true of his philosophy, namely, that his ‘eclecticism’ is not the adoption of various, unrelated positions but a careful weighing up of the main scholastic traditions in order to find the true philosophy, could also be true of the Jesuits in general. Hence one can begin to talk about a ‘Jesuit tradition’ of commentaries on the *De anima* and the beginning of ‘Jesuit psychology.’ We can identify first steps of this discipline in the initial contribution of Fonseca, which stands in contrast to the easy textbook of Toledo; the more elaborate commentary of Suárez; and finally the commentary of the *Conimbricenses*.

Third, the ‘new’ metaphysics developed by Suárez can be viewed in a different light, that is, it is not the result of the creation of a single genus, but becomes the culmination of a process in which the first impulse was a collective drive of the Jesuits towards a systematic view of philosophy and theology. This can be seen in Fonseca’s meticulous philological and philosophical analysis of the *Metaphysics*; and in Suárez’s own systematic and comprehensive work of metaphysics. Consequently, a clearer picture emerges in which we can identify the institutional drive (Jesuit project of a theological, hence philosophical synthesis), the identification of the philological intricacies of Aristotle’s texts, and their character of whole

(Fonseca's *Commentariorum Metaphysicorum*), and the production of a genuine metaphysical synthesis. As a result, a clearer picture also emerges with regard to the sources and the ideas that scholastic authors had at their disposal when they developed their philosophy and science, in general, and their understanding of logic, cognition, and metaphysics, in particular.

Moreover, Fonseca was actively involved in teaching arts, philosophy, and speculative theology (1551-1552; 1555-1562; 1564-1567; 1570); directing the College or Arts of Coimbra (1567-1570); representing Portugal at several general congregations; assisting the general provincial in Rome (1572-1582); coordinating and composing the Coimbra commentaries (1561-1580?); being a member of the first group in charge of the *Ratio Studiorum* whatever the contribution of that group may have been (1581-1584?); publishing textbooks and commentaries (1564; 1577; 1589; 1591; 1604; 1612); and finally directing the professed house of Lisbon. Therefore, Fonseca had the skills, the competence, the experience, the awareness of the most challenging difficulties, and was acquainted with the most frequent doubts and questions, the primary sources, and was possessed of the determination to produce logical and metaphysical works of the highest quality.

With regard to the universals, not only did Fonseca dwell on the content and limitations of Porphyry's *Isagoge* in all his three major works (in the *Institutionum Dialecticarum* (book II); in the *Commentariorum in Metaphysicorum* v.2 (book V c. 28 qq. I-XX); and in *Isagoge Philosophica*); but he was also involved in writing a commentary on it and on the *Categories* (he expressly mentions the intention in *Commentariorum* v. 1 (1577); says that it was finished in the second edition of the *Institutionum* (1574); gave up the publication in the *Commentariorum* v. 2 (1589); and finally re-wrote the *Isagoge* 'entirely' in 1592).

Although the particular historical circumstances in which this process occurred are in need of further scrutiny, it is beyond doubt that Fonseca's initiative was the culmination of a long, serious, and profound philosophical exercise. In more concrete terms, Fonseca was motivated by the Jesuit project of reconciling Thomism, realism, and nominalism to reach a synoptic approach to theology, which was explicitly mentioned by Jerome Nadal, and indirectly

by Fonseca in a number of passages. Also important in this context, is Fonseca's open-minded attitude in the quest for the truth which was not beholden to the *auctoritates*.

In respect of the main text concerned, the undeniable success of Fonseca's *Isagoge Philosophica* (at least eighteen editions published from 1591 to 1623) is a mixed one. We have identified two cases in which this work met stiff resistance: the Jesuit Pero Luis considered the *Isagoge Philosophica* as one-sided (an open defence of the scotist position) and the Jesuit Pedro Ximénez reported that Austrian professors at the beginning of the seventeenth century judged it to be inferior to Porphyry's *Isagoge*. And these were certainly not isolated cases because in more than a half of the editions of the *Institutionum Dialecticarum* published in the same period (21 editions, mostly in Lyon), the editors contradicted the common practice and chose not to publish the *Isagoge Philosophica* alongside Fonseca's most published book. However, it is our understanding that partiality and inadequacy do not apply to Fonseca's text, because although a superficial reading of the *Isagoge Philosophica* might give such impression, a careful examination will be sufficient to dismiss this claim. If one considers the real purpose of Fonseca's work, the importance of the other parts of his works that deal with the same topics, and the fact that he read and carefully analysed the main commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, from Boethius to the *Lovanienses*, with a view to find and adhere to the truth (regardless of the author actually proposing it), it becomes evident that not only was Fonseca open-minded in relation to the other main philosophical traditions, but he was also aware of the main criticisms of the authors that he rejected and he tried to address their concerns.

Contrary to the first impression, Fonseca only defends Scotus's ideas after he has presented his own systematic approach to the central issues of the *Isagoge* and seeing that they coincide with Scotus's (in fact he aims at showing that the principal teachings of Aristotle, Boethius, Aquinas and others also support his conclusions). Moreover, even though he does reject Ockham's (and Biel's) solutions, this rejection only comes as a consequence of his broader view of philosophy, in which dialectics, cognition, and metaphysics form an integrated whole

(Fonseca makes sure that his readers know exactly why he considers committed and unaware nominalist authors as unworthy members of the choir of philosophers).

Furthermore, if someone points out that these elements are not explicitly present in the *Isogoge Philosophica*, we may respond that Fonseca himself said that he was composing the text as a real treatise, drawing from the things that he had written in his commentary on the *Metaphysics* (last twenty questions of the commentary of Book V of the *Metaphysics*) whose analysis clearly shows all these elements, namely, that he managed to produce a coherent and consistent (in his view, superior) alternative to Porphyry's small book. This is attested by the desire to introduce the discussion at the end of his commentary on *Metaphysics* Δ, his frequent references to the other books of the *Metaphysics* and of the other central works of the Aristotelian *Corpus*, his careful analyses of all the different tendencies in philosophy and the impact each one has on the reading of the problem of universals (Predicables), and most importantly by his commitment to search for the truth with all the strength of his superior philosophical skills. We hope that the present exposition, together with a detailed reading of the *Isogoge Philosophica*, can provide a way to reconstruct the path Fonseca followed. Starting from the Aristotelian passages usually quoted in the debate of the problem of universals, Fonseca derived the three main components of the Peripatetic solution, i.e., the issue of unity and plurality, the aptitude to be in several items, and the abstraction(s) of the universal from its particulars. The result of this is that one can glimpse the basis of Fonseca's new system in which dialectics, cognition, metaphysics combine and complement each other.

Although all these components of his system can be traced back to Aristotle, to the Ancient commentators, and to the medieval scholastics, the diversity of their accounts give rise to several and apparently contradictory opinions. Nevertheless, Fonseca is minded to provide solutions to 'supposedly' conflicting theories and to present his own innovation: real nature in the particulars; no universality in the particulars; universals have unity and aptitude to be in several items in the intellect; cognition is made by the agent via abstraction with the help of the

internal senses, especially of *phantasia*, resulting with the impression of the intelligible species in the possible intellect.

Among Fonseca's ideas, there is the concept of 'unity of precision' (resulting from the commitment to the necessity of a real 'unity' of universals, as posited by Scotus, and to the fact that universals have a special ontological status only accessible via an abstraction 'of precision,' as posited by Aquinas, among others). Another important feature of Fonseca's approach is his simplified and inclusive model of the workings of the human mind, in terms of perception and of cognition. At the level of perception, he reduces the internal sensitive faculties to two, namely, *sensus communis* and *phantasia*, and this might be said to represent an advance in the then prevalent account of abstraction (from *phantasmata*, through intelligible species, arriving at concepts), and description of the diversity of functions achieved requires two distinct intellects, agent and possible.

With regard to Fonseca's being partisan by being 'scotist', the truth is that his doctrines are founded in different aspects of other philosophical traditions such as Aristotelianism, Neoplatonism, Thomism, scotism, or humanism. Even though Fonseca shows that not all the authors who purportedly belong to one or other of these traditions are consistent with the correct interpretation of Aristotle, Plato, Aquinas, Scotus, it is only really incompatible with the solution of the problem of universals given by Ockham and Biel. Moreover, Fonseca's system addresses the most important questions raised by a careful reading of Porphyry's *Isagoge* (whether 'there is' a most general genus (universal); whether freedom of choice and damnation are based on an asymmetry of perfection among individuals of the same species; whether 'rational' is a general *differentia* or a specific *differentia*). In fact, it provides a thorough treatment with a view to answer these and other questions, and to articulate the conclusions in order to make it possible for theologians to dispense with the unnecessary disputes motivated by the false impression that the opinions of the schools are irreconcilable, and progress towards a reliable and solid teaching.

Having produced this reflection in which the limitations of Porphyry's *Isagoge* are exacerbated (imprecise with respect to the Aristotelian terminology and articulation of the

Predicables, lacking in what concerns the nature of Christ and the divine persons, mistaken since it provided no *simplex differentia* in the constitution of man), Fonseca was eventually compelled to recast the basic notions and re-write entirely that small book. In this he followed Aquinas, among others, seeing that this is precisely what *De ente et essentia* signifies, the same vocabulary and notions of the discussions on universals, but in order of exposition and the articulation of ideas tailored to serve as basis for Aquinas's theories.

Whether Fonseca manages to achieve all his aims with his *Isagoge Philosophica* is perhaps a matter of dispute. However, it was the intention of the present thesis to provide evidence that Fonseca's logical, psychological, and metaphysical ideas, because they are based on a exhaustive and competent study of the sources, are coherent and can be seen as deriving from an innovative reading of Aristotle and the Peripatetic tradition. Therefore, the *Isagoge Philosophica* could be considered as the culmination of Fonseca's philosophical achievements and has a legitimate place among the most inspiring groundworks of philosophy. Pedro da Fonseca is a philosopher in his own right; his debt to Aristotle neither diminishes nor calls into question his originality and importance to understanding the philosophy of the Jesuits at the end of the sixteenth century.

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Appendix – *Isagoge Philosophica*

Author philosophiae studiosis

Scripsit ante multa secula Porphyrius Phoenix ad Chrysaorium Romanum eam Isagogen de quinque universalium generibus, quae ante librum Categoriarum Aristotelis explicari solet. Verum ex eo tempore, quo Sacra Theologia via, et ratione tradi coepit, tanta rebus Philosophicis ex assidua Theologorum de rebus maximis, et difficillimis disputatione accessio facta est cognitionis, et scientiae; ut iam diu plane constet, multa illum ea de re latuisse; non pauca etiam ab eo minus perspecta fuisse, quae nostris temporibus iam inde ab ipso Categoriarum vestibulo Philosophiae alumnos necesse est praelibare. Mitto complura eius libelli supervacanea esse, aut parum cohaerentia, quaeque lectoribus frustra negotium exhibeant. Qua de causa optarunt nostri, ut alia Isagoge a me conficeretur, et plenior ad doctrinam, et ad veritatem certior, et ad generalem scientiarum usum commodior: unde etiam illud effectum iri sperabant, ut a Christianae Philosophiae scholis perfidi desertoris Christianae fidei liber exploderetur. Usque adeo enim exosum erat Porphyrii nomen, cum Arius Christi Ecclesiam petulantius invaderet, ut quo huius sectatoribus maius odium constaretur, iusserit Magnus Constantinus in ea epistola, quam ad Episcopos et populum scripsit, Arianos vocari Porphyrianos, qua in epistola illum, et scelestum, et impium, et capitalem pietatis hostem appellat. His ego rationibus adductus nec potui, nec vero debui, aliorum votis non obtemperare, in re praesertim, quae nullo labore ex iis, quae in commentariis Primae Philosophiae scripseram, depromi posset. Sic autem, hoc est non iam praeludii more, sed verae institutionis forma hanc Isagogen ex humanae ac divinae Philosophiae observatione composui, ut facile queat utriusque amatores ad graviolem doctrinam serio tractandam, colendamque introducere. Quamquam vero extremus huius libelli tractatus profundior videri possit, quam ut tyronibus Philosophiae explicari debeat; proindeque non iniuria possit a praeceptoribus omitti: additus tamen est, tum ne qua desit universalium species, ubi de toto eorum genere agitur: tum quod hac tempestate fere ab enarratoribus Porphyrianae Isagoges ea de re disseritur, aequumque est, ut qua ratione de re gravissima loquendum sit praescribatur: tum denique, quia etsi accurata eius explicatio sit difficilis, a nobis tamen hoc loco rudis tantum, et familiaris quaedam cognitio traditur, quam quisvis facile capessat. Quare cum hominis impii, et aperti Christi hostis nec completum, neque accuratum opusculum in Christianae Philosophiae Academiis locum invenerit: non est cur vereatur hoc nostrum plenioris doctrinae studio confectum, ne piis studiosorum coetibus excludatur; bonorum potissimum, et veritatis amatorum approbatione, patrocinioque munitum. Olyssipone. XII. Kalend. Novembris. Anno Domini 1591.

The Author to the students of Philosophy

Many centuries ago, Porphyry the Phoenician wrote an *Isagoge*, which deals with the five kinds of universals, to the Roman Chrysaorius and which is usually studied before the *Categories* of Aristotle. Truly, from the time that the Sacred Theology began to be taught by the rational method, in matters concerning knowledge and science much is made of what theologians and philosophers discuss about the highest and most difficult themes. As it is presently clear, Porphyry ignored many things concerning this point; and moreover, it is absolutely necessary that the students examine no fewer aspects that had been less evident to him immediately at the very beginning of the study of the *Categories*. I omit many things of his [Porphyry's] small book because they are superfluous or without coherence, and which needlessly cause trouble to the readers. And for this reason, our [fellow Jesuits] wished that another *Isagoge* be assigned to me, more complete with respect to the teaching, more correct with respect to the truth, and more fitting to the general use of the sciences: whence indeed they hoped that the book of a perfidious apostate of the Christian faith were banned from the schools of Christian philosophy. In fact the name of Porphyry was hated, and to such an extent that when the impudent Arius was invading the Church of Christ, Constantine Magnus ordered, in that epistle he wrote to the bishops and the people, that the Arians were to be called Porphyrians. The aim was that more hatred of them was manifested. Constantine called Porphyry 'infamous', 'impious', and 'principal enemy of the faith'. For these serious reasons I neither could nor indeed should not comply with the wish of others [fellow Jesuits], in a thing which could presently be produced with no difficulty, out of those things which I had written in the commentaries on the *Metaphysics*. Moreover, I have written this *Isagoge* not in the form of an introduction but in the form of a real treatise, out of the observation of both human and divine philosophies, to easily introduce the beginners of one as of the other to a more difficult teaching, seriously studied and cultivated. The last part of the present small book might in fact seem more profound than should be explained to beginners of philosophy and may consequently be left out by the teachers without harm. However, it is added not only because it surely goes with any study of the kinds of universals, where the whole genus of them is discussed, but also because it is generally examined in the analyses of Porphyry's *Isagoge*. And it is for this reason that it is prescribed, as it has to be mentioned concerning this very important issue. Finally, because although an accurate explanation of it is difficult, some notion is given in this place via the natural and ordinary things, which anyone easily grasps. As a small book of an impious and open enemy of Christ, being neither complete nor accurate, has found a place in the academies of the Christian philosophy, it is not to be feared that the assemblies of the pious students would reject our small book. For it is made by the study of a more complete teaching and strengthened with the support and approval of the most prominent men and the lovers of the truth.

Lisbon 21 October 1591 AD

Prooemium

Communis philosophorum sententia est, artes omnes, et scientias de rebus universalibus disserere, nec de singularibus singulatim, nisi exempli aut inductionis causa agere. Quanquam ab hac sententia exempta est divina natura, quae etsi maxime singularis est, de ea tamen et divina, et humana Philosophia disputant, quod singularitate ipsa sua rerum omnium perfectiones perfectissime in se contineat. Cum igitur Dialectica sit omnium scientiarum ordine doctrinae prima; eaque una omnibus rite philosophantibus facem praeferat; ad eam pertineat necesse est, ut quam primum doceat quid nam sit universale, quotque sint species, formaeve universalium. Quocirca exacto primarum institutionum praeludio, quo totius Dialecticae lineamenta rudi, ut aiunt, Minerva describuntur; opus sane est, ut serio iam exerceri cupientibus, post accuratiorum quandam artis Dialecticae constitutionem, quae utiliter a praecetoribus hoc loco ante omnia praemitti solet, mox tradatur expressior aliqua, et ipsius universalis, et vulgatarum eius specierum, Generis, Speciei, Differentiae, Proprii, et Accidentis cognitio: quod nos hac Philosophica Isagoge in gratiam studiosorum Philosophiae facere conabimur.

Illud etiam causae accedit, quod Aristoteles, quem in hac arte ducem omnes sequuntur, a libro Categoriarum orsus est totius artis explicationem; quo in libro res omnes universales ad decem quaedam suprema genera, quae in varias admodum species, per alias atque alias differentias dividuntur, revocare instituit; eorumque omnium quaedam propria se tradere, quaedam communia accidentia profitetur; cum tamen vel quid universale sit, ullave eius species, vel quam vim eorum quodque habeat, in eo tractatu minime declaret.

Denique cum eorum cognitio necessaria quoque sit ad cognoscenda genera omnia modorum disserendi, qui in dividendi, definiendi, demonstrandi, et ex probabilibus suadendi ratione positi sunt; nullo loco id commodius, quam ante Categoriarum librum fieri potuit.

Hoc igitur in libello duo a nobis observanda erunt. Unum, ut neque omnia difficilia, quae in re hac se offerunt, respuamus (assuescere enim iam hinc oportet alumnos Philosophiae modicis difficultatibus tractandis, superandisque, iis praesertim, quae ad ea, quae sequuntur, faciliorem aditum aperiant) neque omnia item sine discrimine in medium afferamus. Nam cum Dialectica primae Philosophiae sit aemula, et in eisdem rebus, in quibus illa, suo tamen modo versetur, naturalisque scientiae fines nonnunquam ingredi videatur: si liberius quidem hoc loco in expendenda universalium ratione, generationeque expatiemur, periculum est ne modum excedamus, et pleraque assumamus, quae sunt earum scientiarum propria, et peculiaria. Tametsi incommodum non est, sed utile potius, ac saepe necessarium, ut una scientia aliarum permissu nonnullis earum pronunciatis, et argumentis utatur. Alterius enim (ut quidam ait) altera poscit opem res, et coniurat amice. Id quod huic arti eo magis concedendum est, quod ea una prae caeteris opes suas omnes undecunque conquisitas in aliarum utilitatem refundere soleat.

Foreword

It is a common view of the philosophers that all arts and sciences have to do with universal things, and not with the particular things separately, one by one, save to discuss for the sake of example or induction. Something exempt from this opinion is the divine nature, which though it is by all means singular, yet human and divine philosophy both discuss it. And the divine nature by its very singularity most perfectly contains the perfections of all things. And because Dialectics is the first in the order of the teaching of all sciences, it is the one that fittingly lights the way to all the philosophising. What belongs to it is necessary, as it teaches first what the universal is, and how many kinds or forms of universals there are. And for this reason all the features of Dialectics are described in a draft way at the prelude of the first notions, as they say. It is indeed necessary that, after a more accurate definition of the art of Dialectics, students desiring to seriously exercise it receive from the teachers at this point some notion of the universal itself, of the multitudes of the kinds, of genus, of species, of differentia, of property, and of accident, because we shall want to make this introduction beneficial to the students of philosophy.

Together with these reasons there is also the fact that Aristotle, whom the lead is here to be followed by all, started the explanation of this whole art with the *Categories*, where he began by reducing all the universal things to ten supreme genera, which are divided in very different species, by successive differentias. And he declares that he showed some properties of all of them, and some common accidents. Yet in that treatise Aristotle neither says what the universal is, nor any of its species, nor which meaning each of them has.

Finally, because the cognition of them is also necessary to knowing all the genera of the modes of discourse, which are posed by reason by dividing, defining, demonstrating, and persuading out of arguments valid for the most part. In no place is it more suitable than it can be done before the book of the *Categories*.

Therefore we must pay attention to two things in this small book. First, we should not avoid all difficulties which offer themselves in this thing (at this point it is necessary to familiarise students of philosophy with considering and overcoming ordinary difficulties, especially the ones which may more easily uncover the access to those that follow). Nor [should we] bring everything without distinction to the centre floor. For while Dialectics rivals the Metaphysics, it nevertheless remains in its own way and sometimes seems to enter the boundaries of the natural sciences. If we indeed explain more freely in this place by expending to ratio and origin of the universals, we run the risk of exceeding and assuming the greatest parts which are proper and peculiar of those sciences. However, it is not unfitting but rather useful, and often necessary, since a science uses some of their arguments and propositions, with the permission of others. Some in fact (as some say) request the help of others, and harmoniously co-operate with them, this because, with that in view, a great deal must be yielded to this art, as it usually offers all its conquests to the use of the others, before receiving any help of them.

Alterum est, ut servata communi, ut par est, Philosophorum huius aetatis verborum consuetudine, ex Aristotele, quoad fieri potest, depromamus omnia aut ex communioribus, magisque receptis totius scholae sentiis desumamus; cuiusmodi sunt pleraque eorum, quae in Isagoge Porphyrii continentur. Quae vero ille, gravi alioqui Patrum censura damnatus, quasi propria in eo libello attulit, ea nos, si vera sint, et usurpata, neque inutilia, aut supervacanea (qualia sunt fere, quae in posteriori parte eius libelli continentur) tanquam ab iniusto possessore in nostrum usum transferemus.

The second thing is, maintaining as much as possible the words of the philosophers of this age, we [ought to] take everything from Aristotle, or select from the more common and more current views of all schools. Such are many of those which are contained in the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, which in fact he, who is in other respects severely damned by the Fathers, as it were, correctly brought in that little book. And those are taken and used by us only if they are true, and neither useless nor superfluous (such, as a rule, are those contained in the last part of his small book) so as from the unjust possessor we will transfer to our use.

Quid sit universale

Caput I

Multa quidem dicuntur apud Philosophos universalia cum adiectione aliqua; ut *universales causae, signa universalia, universalia pronunciata*, et quae aliis modis sic unitatem habent, ut tamen ad plura pertineant. Verum universale simpliciter, et absolute, ac minime singulare, id solum esse definitur, *quod cum sit unum quid, aptum est natura sua ut sit in pluribus*; velut animal in singulis animalibus, et homo in singulis hominibus. Describitur etiam ex proprietate quadam, *unum quippiam natura aptum ut de pluribus praedicetur, seu vere dicatur*. Nam quia res est, aut non est, oratio vera, aut falsa dicitur. Sic animal praedicatur de Alexandro, et Bucephalo, quia in illis esse cernitur; et homo similiter de Socrate, Platone et Alcibiade, quod in eis suum esse habeat.

Non est autem necesse ut id quod universale est, sit unum quippiam re ipsa in iis de quibus praedicatur, ut cum via dicitur de ea, quae hinc et illinc proficiscentibus aclivis simul re ipsa, et declivis est; sed nomine et ratione sive conceptu. Quam multa enim re ipsa sunt ea plura, in quibus universale existit, tam multa et illud re ipsa sit necesse est; quo pacto dicimus, *animal* in Alexandro, et Bucephalo esse duas res quasdam, et *hominem* in Socrate, Platone, et Alcibiade tres; cum tamen non solum nomen, sed etiam ratio animalis in Alexandro et Bucephalo una, et eadem sit, eodemque modo nomen, et ratio hominis in Socrate, Platone, et Alcibiade.

Nec vero dictum est a Philosophis, quicquid est universale, *esse actu* in pluribus, sed *aptum*, ut sit in pluribus; quia etsi actu in uno singulari sit tantum at etiam in nullo; si tamen aptitudinem habeat ut sit in pluribus, sive simul, ut Orator, aut Propheta; sive successive, ut Monarcha, aut Summus Pontiphex; universale utique censi debet.

Dictur porro universale *aptum*, non per potentiam externam, sed natura sua; quia si quid in rerum natura esset, quod per alienam potentiam in pluribus existere non posset, cui tamen spectata rei natura nihil repugnaret in pluribus reperiri; satis hac ex parte ipsa eius natura et conditio foret, ut universale diceretur. Quanquam duo haec, quae nonnulli Ethnici Philosophi, et alii quidam ex nostris in Mundo, et substantiis separatis vera simul esse putaverunt, pugnare inter se existimamus.

What is the universal

Chapter I

In fact, many things are said in the writings of the philosophers about the universals with some addition, as *universal causes, universal signs, and universal propositions*, and those [items] that have unity to a degree in other ways, as, however, they belong to several things. Truly, the universal is defined as the one simply, absolutely, and not singular, *because it is apt by its own nature as to be in several items*; just as animal in the individual animals, and man in the individual men. Similarly, it is to be represented by some property, *some single nature apt to be predicated of several, or truly may be said of them*. For certainly because a thing exists or does not exist, a sentence is said to be true or false, as animal is predicated of Alexander and Bucephalus, because in them it is perceived, and equally man of Socrates, Plato, and Alcebiades, because in them it has its being.

On the other hand, it is not necessary that what is universal be one in reality in those things concerning which it is predicated, as when it is said about a road, which coming from one direction is upwards, and, at the same time, and about the same thing, coming from another to be downwards. But it is necessary that it is in the name and the *ratio* or the concept. Indeed, just as there are certainly many things in reality, in which a universal exists, and as many it is necessary to exist in reality, so too is it said by convention that *animal* in Alexander and Bucephalus are two such things, and *man* in Socrates, Plato, and Alcebiades three. For yet not only the name, but also the *ratio* of animal is one and the same in Alexander and in Bucephalus, and equally the name and *ratio* of man in Socrates, Plato, and Alcebiades.

Not only is it said by the philosophers, whatever the universal is, that *it is actually* in several items, but that it is *apt* to be in several items, for it may actually be in one particular, or indeed in none. But if it has the potentiality to be in several items either simultaneously, as orator or prophet, or successively, as monarch or pontiff, it must at any rate be thought as universal.

Besides, the universal is said to be *apt* not by an external potency, but by its own nature. For if there were something in the nature of things that could not exist in several items by an external potency, with which, however, considering the nature of the thing, nothing were incompatible with being found in several; its nature and condition, in this measure, would be enough to be said to be universal. Although some pagan philosophers, and also some of ours, have taken these two opinions to be simultaneously true in the world and in the separate substances, we think they oppose each other.

Caeterum non esse satis si res aliqua quovis modo possit esse in pluribus, ut eorum habitudine dicatur universalis, veluti per realem compositionem, aut inhearentiam; ex posteriori definitione colligitur. Est enim anima in homine, et equo tanquam realis forma in pluribus compositis; et albedo in cygno, et marmore, ut reale accidens in pluribus subiectis inhaesionis: nec tamen aut haec universalis est comparatione cygni, et marmoris; aut illa respectu hominis, et equi, cum de illis vere dici nequant: quod idem in aliis plerisque rebus facile est observare. Sed necesse est, ut in illis esse possit per veram identitatem, eamque talem, ut plura illa, in quibus est, illud esse affirmantur.

Quanquam neque id satis est, nisi sit veluti eorum forma: erit autem, si illis dederit *esse aliquod*, aut ad essentiam eorum pertinens, aut illis quasi subiectis adiuntum, appositumve. Qua de causa nec corpus dicitur universale comparatione albi, et nigri; neque album aut nigrum respectu dulcis, et mollis, cum quibus in butyro album coniungitur, et nigrum in casia.

Denique plurimum nomine, intelligenda sunt non quaevis plura, sed talia, ut in eis unum illud sit multiplicatum, et suo ipsius nomine plura dici possit, ut homo in Socrate, et Platone plures homines; et animal in homine, et equo plura animalia. Si enim commune ita sit in pluribus, et de pluribus dicatur, ut tamen, in eis multiplicatum non sit, nec nomine suo plura in illis appellari possit, id iam non universale dicendum erit, sed singulare; quo pacto se habet Deus Optimus Maximus divinarum personarum comparatione.

On the other hand, it is not sufficient if some thing is in any way in several items, just as when by their disposition that thing is said to be universal, or when by real composition, or inherence, it will be acquired from a posterior definition. In fact, the soul is in a man and in a horse as the real form in many composite things, and white in a swan, and in marble, as a real accident in a close connection between many subjects. Indeed neither the latter is universal by comparison of swan and marble, nor the former in respect to man and horse, for it cannot be truly said concerning them, since the same is easy to observe in many other things. But it is absolutely necessary that it can be in them by true identity, and one of such kind, that the many things, in which it is, are affirmed to be.

Although this last condition is not sufficient unless it is, as it were, their form, it will be if it is given to them *to be something* either belonging to their essence or put beside or added to them as to subjects. And for this reason, neither a body is said to be universal in comparison to white and black, nor white or black with respect to sweet or smooth, with which white is combined in butter, and with black in cinnamon.

Finally, by the term 'several' is understood not whatever 'several' one thinks, but such one thing multiplied in them, and by its very term 'several' can be said, as 'man' in Socrates and Plato means several men, and 'animal' in man and horse is several animals. If in fact this common thing is in several items in this way, and it is said about several things, but it is not multiplied in them, and neither by its name could several things be said to be in them, then it would be said to be not universal but rather singular, as it is the case of God, the Highest Good and the Highest Power, in comparison of the divine persons.

Quotuplex sit universale

Caput II

Cum igitur, quicquid universale est, ratione modo aliquo una et eadem possit esse in pluribus; ex multiplicitate rationis *unius*, et eiusdem, modorumque essendi, ut ita dicam, in pluribus, colligendum est, quam multa sint universalium genera.

Dici autem potest ratio una et eadem (si id quidem fusissime intelligatur) modis quatuor. Aut enim est una et eadem *quodammodo*, nempe sola attributione ad unum aliquid, aut proportione plurium inter se, simpliciter autem plures ac diversae, ut rationes sani et aegri: alia enim dicuntur sana aut aegra, quia sanitate, aut aegritudine affecta sunt; alia quia haec efficiunt aut conservant; alia quia indicant: et quemadmodum corpus ad huiusmodi externas affectiones se habet, sic quodammodo animus ad interiores, ac suas. Aut est quidem eadem simpliciter in iis, quibus convenit, sive aequae ab illis participata, sed non una simpliciter, hoc est, in se ipsa, cuiusmodi sunt rationes domus, navis, mundi, exercitus, et aliarum huiusmodi rerum; quia etsi eodem modo conveniunt iis de quibus dicuntur; nulla tamen earum est una in se, sive quae unam aliquam naturam declaret: sed res multae certo quodam modo, aut ordine coagmentatae, ac dispositae, ex quibus natura aliqua una non resultat. Aut vero contra res habeat, quod sit una simpliciter, atque in se, sed non eadem simpliciter in iis, de quibus dicitur; cuiusmodi est ratio colorati comparatione albi, et carbonis. Nam etsi naturam vere unam declarat, tamen albo convenit essentiali habitudine, carboni autem accidentaria. Aut denique est et una simpliciter, et eadem simpliciter, seu (quod dici solet) omnino una et eadem; quia et est una in se, et eodem modo participatur ab iis, de quibus dicitur; quales sunt rationes hominis, et animalis.

Ac ea quidem quae primo modo unius et eiusdem rationis sunt, etsi saepe ab Aristotele *universalia* appellantur, et nonnunquam ab aequivocis excluduntur; veluti cum ait, *ens et unum esse maxime universalia; et ens quidem multis modis dici, sed non aequivoce*: nobis tamen hoc loco non sunt fusius tractanda; partim quia non proprie dicuntur universalia, sed opinione quorundam, et imitatione proprie dictorum universalium, partim quia verius in aequivocis, quam in univocis numerantur, atque in ipso libri *Categoriarum* initio ab Aristotele aequivocorum nomine comprehenduntur, ut a *Praedicamentorum* tractatu excludantur. Quocirca satis est, si Dialectici hoc loco intelligant multa quoque ex hoc genere universalium sub scientiam cadere, aptaque esse, ut de illis, et ex illis demonstrationes fiant: quod saepe docet Aristoteles.

What is the number and order of the universal

Chapter II

For accordingly, whatever the universal is, it can be somehow shown to be in several things by one and the same *ratio*. It has to be ascertained how many are the kinds of universals out of the multiplicity of *one* and the same *ratio* and of the ways of being, so to speak, in several things.

The *ratio* can be said to be one and the same (if it is indeed understood in greatest detail) in four ways. 1) It is actually one and the same *in a certain manner*, certainly by the sole attribution to one single thing, or by the proportion of many things among themselves, but [which are also] many or diverse simply, as the *ratio* of healthy and ill. For some are said to be healthy or ill because health or illness affects them, others because they achieve or conserve health or illness, and still others because they show them. In the same manner in which the body is found, in relation to external affections of this kind, so too is the soul found, in a certain manner, in relation to its own or interior affections. 2) Or in fact it is the same simply in those things to which it is fitting, or it is participated in equally by them, but not one simply, that is, in itself; of this sort are the *ratios* of horse, ship, world, army, and others of this class. For although in the same way they are fitting to those items concerning which they are said, yet none of them is one in itself or shows one single nature. But they are rather several things in a certain measure, or else they are joined together and properly arranged in a sequence, from which one single nature does not result. 3) Or reversibly, there is a thing, for it is one simply and in itself, but not the same simply in them about which it is said. Of this kind is the *ratio* of 'coloured' by comparison of 'white' and of 'coal.' For although it shows one nature truly, yet it is proper of white by essential condition, but of charcoal it is so accidentally. 4) Or finally, it is one simply and it is the same simply, or (for it is usually said) altogether one and the same; such are the *ratios* of man and of animal because it is one in itself, and it inheres in those in the same way, concerning which it is said.

And certainly, [there are] those that are one and the same *ratio* in the first manner, although often called *universals* by Aristotle, and sometimes excluded from the homonymous items, for just as he says, *being and one are the universals in the highest degree and indeed being is said in many ways, but not homonymously*. But they should not to be treated in great detail in this place by us, partly because they are not said to be universals in the proper sense but in the opinion of some people and by proper imitation of universal words, and partly because they are more truly among the homonymous than enumerated among the univocals. They are also comprised by the term 'homonymous' by Aristotle in the very beginning of the *Categories*, while they are excluded from the treatise on the *Predicaments*. This is enough on this account, if the Dialecticians understand in this place whatever many things from this kind of universals that belong to science, and are fitting, as they make demonstrations, what Aristotle often taught concerning them and out of them.

Quae autem secundo modo unius, et eiusdem rationis sunt, ea, quia non sunt unius alicuius verae naturae, nec per se (si res quidem diligentius expendatur) in praedicamentis locum habent; non proprie hic tractanda sunt: sed tamen, quia eorum rationes eodem modo communicantur iis, de quibus dicuntur, quasi propria universalialia haberi debent; eisque dissimulatione quadam attribuenda sunt, quae hic de generibus, speciebus, et caeteris universalium formis dicuntur; praesertim cum in tanta syncere universalium ignoratione, haec ut vera genera, et species saepe a Philosophis in exemplum afferantur, et quasi talia tractentur.

Quae vero tertio modo sunt unius, et eiusdem rationis, etsi quatenus non eodem modo participantur, neque univoce dicuntur, in hac tractatione locum non habent, quemadmodum neque in praedicamentis; simpliciter tamen, quia unius verae, et syncerae naturae sunt, ad utramque disputationem spectant, quod cum iis conferri possint, quibus aequae communicantur, ut coloratum cum albo, et nigro.

At quae quarto, extremoque modo sunt unius, et eiusdem rationis, ut omni ex parte vere, ac proprie universalialia censentur, eaque sola absolute ac simpliciter in definitione universalis intelligi solent; ita sola deinceps a nobis in varias formas distribuenda, communiterque ac divisum, quatenus tamen licebit, tractanda sunt.

Dividi autem haec ipsa recte in quinque vulgatas species, ex vario essendi modo in cuius particularibus, hac ratione intelligitur. Aut enim pertinent ad eorum essentiam aut minime: si pertinent, aut de illis praedicantur in quaestione *quid est*, aut in quaestione *quale est*: si in quaestione *quid est*, aut totam eorum communem quidditatem continent, aut partem: si partem, sunt genera; si totam species. Quod si ad essentiam eorum pertinent, nec tamen in quaestione *quid est*, sed in quaestione *quale est*, de illis dicuntur, sunt differentiae. Denique si ad eorum essentiam non pertinent, et tamen necessario conveniunt, propria dicuntur; si contingenter, accidentia. Ita non est cur plures, paucioresve species verorum proprieque dictorum universalium poni debeant.

Non sumitur autem ulla eorum specifica distinctio ex eo, quod alia praedicentur de differentibus solo numero, ut homo; alia de differentibus specie, ut animal; alia de differentibus, aut diversis genere, ut album, aut relatum, quia etsi haec distinctio satis est ad iudicandum alia esse universaliora, alia minus universalialia; non est tamen satis ad universalitatum, ut sic dicam, communitatumve naturas discernendas, cum non sumatur ex vario essendi modo in particularibus, sed ex maiori, minori particularium multitudine. Quae omnia ex propria singularum specierum explicatione apertiora fient.

On the other hand, those items that are of one and the same *ratio* in the second way, because they are not of one single true nature, do not have a place in the categories by themselves (if indeed the thing is diligently measured); they do not have to be properly treated here. Nevertheless, because their *ratios* are communicated to them in the same way, concerning which they are said, they should be treated as if they were universals. And they have been attributed with some disguise to those which here are said concerning the genera, the species, and the other forms of universals, especially because, in such genuine ignorance of the universals, they are often employed in examples by the philosophers as they were true genera and species, and just as such are treated.

However, those that are of one and the same *ratio* in the third way, although they are not participated in the same way, nor are said univocally, and as such do not have a place here just as they do not have in the categories, yet simply because they are of one true and genuine nature, they concern both questions; for they can be put together with those items, to which they are equally communicated, as coloured with white and black.

And those of one and the same *ratio* in the fourth or last way, as to the whole out of the very parts, or universals properly speaking, and only those are usually understood absolutely or simply in the definition of universal. Thus from now on, only this sort of universals should be distributed in its forms, commonly or individually insofar as it will be permitted, and treated by us.

In fact it is understood by this *ratio* that they are themselves correctly divided into five common kinds, out of many ways of being in those particular things. Indeed either they belong to their essence or they do not. If they belong, they are predicated of them either in the question '*what is it?*' or in the question '*what kind of thing is it?*'; if they are predicated in the question '*what is it?*', they contain either the whole common quiddity or a part of it. If a part, they are genera; if the whole, they are species. For if they belong to their essence, not in the question '*what is it?*', but in the question '*what sort of thing is it?*', they are differentias. Finally, if they do not belong to their essence, and yet they suit them necessarily, they are said to be properties; if contingently, they are accidents. Thus this is why there should be assumed neither more nor lesser kinds of true and proper universal words.

In fact no specific distinction is assumed of them because some are said of the items which differ only in number, e.g. man. Others concern items which differ in species, such as animal. Some are said concerning items different or diverse in genus, such as white, or related. For although this distinction is sufficient for indicating that some are more universal, others less so, it is not enough, so to speak, for discerning the universal or common natures, for it is not assumed out of a different way of being in the particulars, but out of a greater or smaller multitude of particulars. And all these things are made more evident by an appropriate explanation of the kinds of singulars.

De particularibus

Caput III

Unicuique autem universali ex altera parte plura particularia respondent, ut unicuique toti sive essentiali, sive integrali, plures partes. Universale enim, quid Graece est τὸ καθ' ὅλον, quasi de tota aliqua multitudine praedicabile; et particulare quod τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον dicitur, veluti per singula, seu singulatim numeratum; in vicem referuntur, ut totum quoddam commune, et pars ei supposita. Est enim particulare, unum quippiam, quod universali alicui subiici potest, ut Socrates homini, et homo animali, aut vigilantī. Nam quemadmodum, ut aliquid sit universale, ac praedicabile, non est necesse, ut actu insit, aut praedicetur, sed ut in esse, ac praedicari possit; aut ut sit particulare, ac subiicibile, ut sic dicam, non opus est, ut actu subsit, praedicationemque actu suscipiat, sed ut subesse, ac subiici in praedicatione possit. Hac ratione, etsi nec vigilans, erit universale praedicatum respectu hominis, nec vicissim homo, erit particulare subiectum comparatione vigilantis, si nemo actu vigilet; semper tamen illud est universale, ac praedicabile comparatione hominis, et vicissim homo, particulare, et subiicibile respectu illius.

Atque ut ex universalibus quaedam minus universalia sunt, ut homo, et albedo; quaedam magis universalia, ut animal et color; quaedam maxime, ut substantia et qualitas; ita ex particularibus quaedam sunt minus particularia, ut duo illa iam dicta, animal et color, quaedam magis particularia, ut homo et albedo; alia vero maxime, ut hic homo, et haec albedo; atque haec dicuntur singularia, et individua.

Singulare autem, sive individuum est id, quod unum aliquid cum sit, in pluribus esse, et de pluribus suapte natura praedicari non potest. Quae omnia eodem modo intelligenda sunt, atque in definitionibus universalis. Dicitur quoque individuum id, quod de uno solo praedicatur seu praedicari potest: qua in explicatione, ex parte differentiae, quae illud ab universali distinguit, affirmatio simul praedicationis de uno, cum negatione de quovis alio coniungitur. Quamquam vero praedicatio eiusdem omnino de seipso artis expers est, et quodammodo nugatoria; neque eam Aristoteles praedicationis nomine dignatur comprehendere, cum ait, *a primis substantiis nullam esse praedicationem*: comprehendenda tamen hic est in praedicandi verbo, ut definitio iuxta sententiam Aristotelis omnibus individuīs conveniat. Nam cum ille credat, primas substantias, quae sunt praecipua individua, de nulla re praedicari posse naturali praedictione ac directa; indirectas vero, sive contra naturam, et per accidens omnino reiiciat; efficitur, ut illud unum, de quo illarum quaeque iuxta hanc definitionem praedicari dicitur, sit ea ipsa prima substantia, quae praedicatur.

On particulars

Chapter III

Many particular things correspond to each universal severally, as do many parts to each essential or integral whole severally. In fact the universal, which in Greek is τὸ καθ' ὅλον, is predicable, as it were, of some entire multitude, and the particular is referred to as τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον, likewise for the singulars or singularly enumerated. They are mutually related as a certain common whole and a part placed under it. In fact it is particular, any single one, because it can be subjected to the same universal, as Socrates to man, and man to animal, or to vigilant. Since something is universal, or predicable, it is not necessary that it is actually there or actually predicated, but that it can be there or be predicated. Or as it is particular, or subjectable, so to say, there is no need for it to actually be under another, or that it actually support the predication, or that it be subjected, although it can be subjected in the predication. For this reason, if no one actually is vigilant, neither 'vigilant' will be a universal predication with respect to man, nor in turn 'man' a particular subject in comparison to vigilant. Yet vigilant is always universal and predicable in comparison to man; in turn, man is particular and subjectable in respect of vigilant.

And besides, as out of the universals some are less universal as man and white, some more universal as animal and colour, and some in the highest degree as substance and quality, so too of the particulars some are less particular, as are those two already said, animal and colour, some more particular, as man and white, and others in the highest degree as this man, this white. The latter are also called singulars and individuals.

Now, it is singular or individual and because it is one single thing, it cannot be in several items nor be predicated of several items by its own nature. And all these things have to be understood in the same way, as in the definitions of universal. It is also said to be individual because it is predicated or can be predicated of only one thing; in this interpretation, on the part of the differentia, which distinguishes it from the universal, at the same time, it combines the affirmation of the predication of one with the negation of any other whatever – although a predication of the same altogether concerning itself is certainly deprived of art, and in a certain measure useless. And further, Aristotle does not deem it worthy to be comprehended by the term 'predication,' as he said *that there is no predication of the first substances*: however, it must be included in the term 'predicating,' as the definition is fitting to Aristotle's view of all individuals. For since he believes that primary substances, which are peculiar individuals, cannot be predicated concerning anything by natural and direct predication, he [Aristotle] entirely rejects indirect, or against nature, and by accident [predications]. It follows that, in consequence of this definition, anything concerning which each of those predications are said to be predicated of, is the primary substance which is predicated.

Quapropter ex praedicatione de uno, quam haec posterior definitio cum negatione coniungit, quatuor individuorum genera accommodate ad Aristotelis sententiam elici possunt. Unum, eorum quae suo modo praedicantur in quaestione *quid est*, ut Socrates de se ipso (nihil enim tam est unum, quam ipsummet:) alterum eorum, quae praedicantur in quaestione *quale est*, qua essentiale aliquid quaeratur, ut individualis differentia Socratis de eodem Socrate; tertium eorum, quae in quaestione quale est, accidentarium aliquid petente, sed tamen necessarium, ut hoc verum de hoc auro: quartum eorum, quae contingenter, ut hoc album, de hoc saxo. Atque haec omnia sunt vere, ac proprie singularia, sive individua, quae etiam *signata*, seu *demonstrata et determinata dicuntur*.

Sunt et alia individua, quae partim vaga, partim ex suppositione appellantur; quorum utraque, etsi revera naturaque sua de pluribus dici possunt; tamen pro veris individuis aliquando usurpantur. Vaga, sunt ipsa universalia cum nota particularitatis adiunta, ut *quidam homo, quoddam animal*: tametsi, quae de pluribus specie dici possunt, potius particularia vaga, quam vaga individua dici debent, quod pro universalibus aliquando accipiantur; ut cum dicimus, quoddam animal esse speciem. Itaque non ex generibus, sed ex infimis speciebus, si proprie loquendum est, fiunt vaga individua; ut apud Aristotelem cum in primarum substantiarum exemplum affert: quendam hominem, et quendam equum, sumpto equo, non pro toto equorum genere (si equus de pluribus specie dicatur) sed pro certa eorum specie.

Ex suppositione vocantur ea, quae actu quidem de uno solo dicuntur quia nihil sit aliud, de quo tunc praedicari possint; sed tamen ex se apta sunt, ut de pluribus dicantur, veluti Sophronisci filius, qui de solo Socrate dicebatur, quod Sophroniscus nullum haberet, praeter Socratem. Ex quibus colligi potest, non recte definiri individuum, cum dicitur id esse, quod ea habet, quorum singula quidem de pluribus dicuntur, simul autem iuncta in aliquo alio nunquam erunt, nisi definitio de solo individuo ex suppositione tradatur. Nam etsi multa communia simul iuncta de uno solo aliquando dicantur, neque unquam futurum sit, ut alicui alteri rei conveniant (ut si quis describens Paridem dicat, esse filium Priami Troiani Regis ex Hecuba natu Maximum; aut Aristotelem, esse Nichomachi, et Phaestiadis filium Alexandri Magni praeceptorem) non dubium est tamen, quin spectata natura communium attributorum, de pluribus dici possint. Itaque et Priamus ex eadem uxore suscipere potuit alium filium natu maximum, si alio tempore primum suscipisset; et Nichomachus alium ex Phaestiade, qui praeceptor etiam Alexandri fuisset. Communia enim quantumvis multa iungantur, nunquam tamen naturam communitatis amittunt, ut alia aliis singularitatem quam in se non habent, conferre possint. Atque haec de universalium, et particularium ratione, distinctioneque dicta sint, deque singularibus, quae magna ex parte, vel ipsis sensibus nota sunt, et perspecta.

On this account, out of the predication of one, which this latter definition combines with the negation, it can suitably elicit the four genera of individuals to the opinion of Aristotle. First, of those that in its way can be predicated in the question '*what is it?*', as Socrates concerning himself (certainly nothing is as single as it in itself). Second, of those that are predicated in the question '*what kind of thing is it?*', by which something essential is sought, just as the individual differentia of Socrates concerning the same Socrates. Third, of those which [are predicated] in the question '*what kind of thing is it?*', asking something accidental, yet still necessary, as 'true' concerning 'this gold.' Fourth, of those which contingently, as 'this white thing' is predicated concerning 'this rock.' And those are all truly, properly singulars or individuals which are also said to be *marked*, or *demonstrated* and *determined* items.

There are other individuals which are called partially vague, partially *ex suppositione*, and both of them, even if in reality and by their nature they can be said of several items, however, at some time or other they are used in relation to the true individuals. Vague are the universals themselves known together with an added particularity, as '*a certain man*,' '*some animal*.' Although these could be said of several items in species, they should be said to be vague particulars rather than vague individuals, because they can be taken on the side of the universals at one time or other. For we say that some animal is a species. If properly expressed, they make vague individuals not on the part of the genera but on the part of the inferior species, as in the writings of Aristotle when he brings forward the example of the first substances: some man, and some horse, taking a chosen horse, not in relation to the genus of so many horses (if horse can be said concerning several items [differing] in species) but on behalf of a certain species of them.

They are called *ex suppositione*, which can actually be said at any rate about one single items because there is no other of which it could then be predicated, but by themselves they are also apt to be said of several items, just as 'the son of Sofroniscus', which could be said only of Socrates, because Sofroniscus had no other apart from Socrates. It can be gathered out of them that the individual is not correctly defined, as it is said to be, when in truth [what is said of the individual] can be said of several items; however, it will never be united together in some other, unless the definition of a single individual is treated *ex suppositione*. For even if many common things are simultaneously united and sometime or other are said concerning one single item, and it will never be [the case] in the future that they are suitable to some other thing (for if someone describing Paris said that he is the oldest son of Priamus the king of Troy with Hecuba, or when describing Aristotle said that he is the son of Nichomachus with Phaestiades, the preceptor of Alexander Magnus), yet there is no doubt that regarding the nature of the common attributes they can be said of several items. Priamus could also have had an older son born from the same wife, if he had at another time acknowledged another first, and Nichomachus could have had another with Phaestiades, who had also been preceptor of Alexander. For however many common things are connected, yet they never lose the nature of commonality, as they bring together the singularity to the other items that do not have it in themselves. And those are also said of the *ratio* and distinction of universals and particulars, down to the singulars, which are in a great part perceived or known by the very senses.

De abstractione universalium a singularibus

Caput III

Cognoscuntur autem a nobis universalia abstractione, sive separatione quadam a singularibus, in quibus existunt, non reali tamen, sed rationis considerationisque. Valeant enim illa Platoni ascripta universalia anilibus fabulis similia, quae si re ipsa a singularibus seiuncta essent (quod Aristoteles illum putasse, aut credit, aut fingit) neque ad eorum esse, neque ad cognitionem conferrent.

Fit autem haec abstractio, cum intellectus sensuum ministerio colligit ex rebus singularibus, non naturas ipsas communes, quae in eis existunt, sed species quasdam, similitudinesve naturales, quibus illae sine ulla individuali differentia repraesentantur. Omnis enim cognoscendi facultas, quae in nobis est, per species quasdam ex rebus ipsis acceptas abstrahit, ac secernit suum obiectum ab aliarum cognoscentium facultatum obiectis; verbi causa cum in butyro simul existant et albedo, et dulcedo, et peculiaris odor, et mollitudo, aliaque accidentia, et ipsa etiam butyri singularis substantia: aspectus quidem per speciem albedinis, quam per oculos accipit, abstrahit, ac seiungit albedinem a dulcedine, caeterisque in lacte existentibus, cum quibus illa re ipsa nihilominus coniuncta manet; et similiter gustatus per speciem dulcedinis abstrahit dulcedinem; eodemque modo ceteri sensus, tum externi, tum etiam interni: nisi quod sensus cum sint materiales, organoque corporeo affixi, sola singularia cognoscunt, nec nisi quaedam materialia, et sensibilia ab aliis materialibus, et sensibilibus abstrahere possunt; qua de causa species omnes, quibus ad cognoscendum utuntur, *sensibiles* vocantur. At intellectus cum sit immaterialis potentia, neque organo ulli corporeo inhaereat, nobilitate naturae suae potest universalia percipere, eaque a singularibus abstrahere per altioris naturae species, quas vocant *intelligibiles*.

Huiusmodi vero abstractio hunc in modum efficitur. Vulgati quidem sensus externi, cum sint primi quasi ianitores mentis nostrae, acceptis, et haustis quodammodo speciebus sensibilium accidentium earum rerum, quas praesentes habent; sumptaque per eas notitia intuitiva seu praesentia eiusmodi accidentium; renunciant sensui communi, qui omnibus praesidet, et partim internus, partim externus dici potest, quatenus accidentia coram habeant; transmissis videlicet ad eum similibus quibusdam speciebus, per quas ille omnia, quae a singulis percepta sunt, cognoscere potest; eaque inter ipsa conferre, ac distinguere. Dicitur autem potest sensus communis partim internus, partim externus, quia etsi sede et quasi domicilio internus est; officio tamen, si externus appelletur, nihil referet, quod nihil privatim apud se, sed tantum in praesentia rerum ipsarum cognoscere potest, quemadmodum, et quinque externi vulgati.

On the abstraction of the universals from the singulars

Chapter IV

The universals are apprehended by us from singular things, in which they exist, through abstraction or a certain conceptual separation, not a real one but on the level of *ratio* and reflection. Those universals ascribed to Plato are similar to tales of old women, which, if separated from the thing itself in the singulars (what Aristotle believed or pretended that Plato had affirmed), neither contribute to their being nor to their cognition.

Now this abstraction is made when the intellect, with the help of the senses, gradually acquires out of the individual things not the common natures themselves that exist in them but some species or natural similarities, in which these common natures are represented without any individual differentia. So every faculty of knowing which exists in us abstracts from the things themselves and from certain species or sets its object apart from the objects of other faculties of knowing, e.g., as in the butter simultaneously exist white, sweet, peculiar odour, soft, and other accidents, and also the individual substance of butter itself. Certainly the sense of sight by means of the species of whiteness, which is acquired through the eyes, connects whiteness to sweetness, and to the other things existing in the milk, which remains no less united in this thing itself. And equally the sense of taste abstracts sweetness from the species of sweetness. In like manner the other senses, both external and internal, being material and connected to a bodily organ, know only singulars and can only abstract certain material and sensible [species] from other material and sensible [items]. For this reason all species, which are used for knowing, are called *sensible species*. In opposition to this, the intellect, as it is an immaterial potency not inherent to any bodily organ, can perceive the universals by the quality of its nature and abstract them from the singulars through the species of the higher nature, which are called *intelligible species*.

In truth an abstraction of this kind is performed in this way. The common external senses, while they are, as it were, the first gatekeepers of our intellectual faculty of perceiving the accepted and absorbed species of the sensible accidents of those things, which they have present, and the intuitive or present knowledge of this kind of accidents assumed through them. They report those accidents they have in their presence to the common sense, which presides over all, and can be said to be partially internal and partially external. More precisely, it can know by the similarities in certain species transmitted to it, and to which it can refer and distinguish among them. Now the common sense can be said to be partially internal and partially external, for although it is internal by foundation and, as it were, by domicile, however, it is of no importance if it were called external by function, because it cannot know anything privately, by itself, but only in the presence of the things themselves, just as the five ordinary external senses.

Deinde vero sensus communis pulsata quodammodo phantasia, quae proxime intellectui ministrat, et omnino internus est sensus, per species, quas ab externis sensibus accepit, occasionem ei praebet hauriendi ex illis quasdam alias species, quae *phantasmata* vocantur, et adeo nobilis naturae sunt inter sensibiles, sive materiales, ut absentia quoque, praeterita, futura, at alia pleraque earum rerum, quae aliis sensibus percepta non sunt, repraesentare possint, ut praeteritam iniuriam percussionis, et futurum commodum pabuli, venenum item, quod in herba noxia est, et utilitatem, quae in salubri; quorum phantasmatum quasi admonitu, et suggestionem, canis fustem, et ovis lupum fugit, illeque venatorem, haec pastorem sequitur: tantoque est eorum vis in hominibus propter coniunctionem phantasiae cum intellectu, ut doctissimis hominibus placeat, illa substantias quoque ipsas singulares materiales, quae sub sensibilibus accidentibus latent, repraesentare posse; ipsamque phantasiae eiusdem coniunctionis causa, singularia ex singularibus componere, et ex aliis in alia ratiocinando discurrere.

Denique phantasia, quae una potentia cum sit, ex variis officiis, quibus fungitur, varia nomina, rationesque sortitur; oblati, ut ita dicam, intellectui phantasmatis, ei materiam, obiectaque intelligendi subministrat. Nam etsi phantasmata ipsa per se, cum materialia sint, in intellectum, qui immaterialis est, agere non possunt: tamen cum intellectus duplex sit, alter qui ex materialibus immaterialia agere; alter qui immaterialia pati potest (quorum ille *agens*, hic *patiens*, et *patibilis*, *possibilisque* appellari solet) phantasmata lumine agentis intellectus elevata intelligibiles species in intellectum possibilem imprimunt, non multo secus atque colores, qui cum per se, atque in tenebris species sui in oculos immittere non possint, adventante lumine solis, aut lucernae eiusque vi elevati movere oculos possunt, in eosque imprimere sui similitudinem qua ab illis cerni possint. Est enim intellectus agens quoddam internum ac spirituale lumen per inde quodammodo faciens ex rebus potentia universalibus, actu universalibus, atque lumen corporale efficit ex coloribus potentia visibilibus, actu visibilibus, ut ait Aristoteles.

Atque his speciebus intelligibilibus, quae naturas universales sine ulla singularitatis admistione repraesentant, dicitur uterque intellectus abstrahere naturas universales a rebus singularibus; *agens* quod eas gignat, *patiens*, quod per eas quasi directo aspiciens sola universalibus cognoscat; tametsi inflexus quodammodo, et dimissus ad inferiora, singularia quoque per easdem species adiunctis phantasmatis intelligit. Neque enim negando est, intellectui nostro vera, et determinata rerum singularium perceptio; cum praesertim facultatibus cognoscendi superioribus concedenda sit omnis cognitio, quae inferioribus tribuitur, tametsi modo diverso nobiliorique.

Second, certainly the common sense in a manner strikes the *phantasia*, which functions closely to the intellect and is altogether an internal sense. Through the species that it acquires from the external senses, it gives occasion to some other species by drawing out of the former, other species, which are called *phantasmata*, and they are of such a noble nature among the sensible or material [faculties], as they can represent in the absence of these things, also past and future, very many others which are not perceived by other senses. For instance, it [phantasia] can represent the past damage of the beating and the future profit of the nourishment, likewise the poison that is in the harmful herb, and the utility, which is in the healthful. By the admonition, as it were, by the suggestion of those *phantasmata*, the dog flees from the stick, and the sheep from the wolf, and the latter from the hunter that comes after the shepherd. And their power is so great in men because of the union of the *phantasia* with the intellect, as seems to be the case to the most learned men that it can also represent the individual material substances themselves, which lie concealed under the sensible accidents, and compose the *phantasia* itself from the cause, and the singulars from the singular items, and discourse reasoning from the ones to the others.

Finally, the *phantasia*, being a single potency among several functions, in which it is engaged, selects varied names and *ratios*. It gives matter and objects of understanding to the revealed intellectual *phantasmata*, so to speak. For although the *phantasmata* themselves in themselves cannot act in the intellect, which is immaterial, since they are material, the *phantasmata* imprint intelligible species in the possible intellect by the enhanced light of the active intellect because the intellect is twofold, one that makes the immaterial [species] out of the material [species], another that can undergo the immaterial [species] (of them one is usually named *agent*, the other *receptive*, *passive*, and *possible*). They [*phantasmata*] are not so much different from colours, which while in themselves and in darkness cannot direct their species to the eyes, yet by the coming light of the sun or of a torch, and by their enhanced power they can move the eyes to imprint in them their similarity that can be discerned by the eyes. Indeed the active intellect is a certain internal or spiritual light, making the actual universals from the universal things in potency, as the corporeal light makes the actual visible colours from the visible colours in potency, as Aristotle said.

And also by these intelligible species, which represent the universal natures without any admission of individuality, it is said that both intellects abstract the universal natures from the individual things: the *active*, as it produces them, and the *susceptible* because it knows through them directly inspecting the universals alone, as it were. Even though diverted in a certain manner, and lowered by the inferiors, it also knows the singulars through the same species in the attached *phantasmata*. In fact, it cannot be denied a true and determined perception of the singular things in our intellect. As all cognition, which is attributed to the inferiors, has to be submitted to the superior faculties of knowing. It also holds in a diverse way to the most noble.

Ex his constat, duplicem esse abstractionem, sive eam spectes, quae fit per sensitivas potentias; sive quae per intellectum. Una est, qua obiectum potentiae separatim repraesentatur in specie; altera, qua separatim cognoscitur. Verum nos de abstractione, quae fit per potentias sensitivas, exempli causa, et cuiusdam manuductionis, haec diximus; simulque ut aperiremus quisnam sit progressus cognoscentium facultatum ad primam usque universalium naturarum abstractionem, quae fit a singularibus.

Quo autem pacto fiat abstractio magis universalium a minus universalibus, quod iam munus solius intellectus est, nihil refert, si praetereatur hoc loco. Eadem enim ratio est in abstractione magis universalium a minus unvisalibus, atque universalium a singularibus; ut tum primum natura universaliter existere in mente censeatur, cum per speciem quamlibet intelligibilem repraesentatur, aut per conceptum illi conformem percipitur; sive species, et conceptus communiores sint, sive minus communes; sive etiam species gignatur ministerio phantasmatum, sive sola intellectus operatione.

Atque hac una ratione verum esse potest, quod apud Philosophos dici consuevit, *universalia fieri operatione intellectus*. Nam cum quicquid fit, novam existentiam actualem acquirat, eaque sit duplex; realis una, quam universalia, ut talia sunt, habere nequeunt (quidquid enim realiter existit, singulariter existat necesse est:) altera obiectiva, quam eisdem sensitivae facultates dare non possunt; efficitur, ut sola intellectus operatione universalia, ut talia sunt, fiant, suoque modo gignantur, seu (quod idem est) obiective existant; habitu quidem, in speciebus intelligibilibus, quibus repraesentantur; actu vero, in conceptibus, quibus percipiuntur.

It is established from the above said that the abstraction is twofold, whether one examines the one made through the sensitive potencies or the one made through the intellect. The first is that in which the object of the potency is represented separately in the species. The other is that in which it is known separately. In fact we say concerning the abstraction, which is made through the sensitive potencies, for instance, and of a certain way of conducting. At the same time, we disclose the progress of the faculties of knowing all the way from the singulars to the first abstraction of the universal natures.

Now it is of no great importance if it is not mentioned here how the abstraction is made of the greater universals from the lesser universals, because it is already a function of the intellect alone. In fact, the same *ratio* is in the abstraction of the greater universals from the lesser universals and in the abstraction of the universals from the singulars. Besides, the nature is perceived to exist universally in the mind, as it is represented through every intelligible species, or perceived through a *ratio* similar to it. Species and *ratios* are either more common or less so. And the species are engendered either by the help of the *phantasmata*, or by the sole operation of the intellect.

And by this ratio alone, it can be true what was usually said in the writings of the Philosophers *that the universals are made by the operation of the intellect*. For, as whatever is made acquires a new actual existence, and this is twofold – one real, as the universals as such cannot have (indeed whatever exists in reality, it is absolutely necessary that it exists singularly), another objective, which cannot exist in the sensitive faculties themselves – it follows that the universals as such are made by the sole operation of the intellect, and are engendered in their manner, or (what is the same) exist objectively, i.e., in disposition, in the intelligible species in which they are actually represented in the *ratios* in which they are perceived.

***De triplici consideratione universalium, et particularium, et quo pacto ea ad Dialecticam
pertineant***

Caput V

Denique universalia, et particularia tribus modis, quemadmodum et causae et effecta, considerari possunt. Nam ut causae et effecta uno modo spectantur quatenus res quaedam sunt, ut sol quatenus sol, et aurum quatenus aurum: altero, ut causae aut effecta sunt, veluti sol, ut gignit aurum, et aurum, ut gignitur a sole; tertio ut invicem referuntur, alterum ut causa ad effectum; alterum ut effectus ad causam; sic res habet in universalibus et particularibus. Primo enim modo considerentur, ut res quaedam, nulla universalitatis, particularitatisve habit ratione, ut animal, quatenus animal et homo quatenus homo; secundo, ut universalia sunt, aut particularia: aliud enim in animali est, esse animal; aliud, esse commune homini, et bestiae, cum illud omnibus animalibus conveniat; hoc soli animali praecise sumpto, seu non considerato cum ulla differentia contrahente: eodemque modo aliud est in homine, esse hominem, quod solis hominibus convenit; aliud esse speciem animali subiectam, quod ab aliis animalibus participatur. Tertio modo considerantur, quatenus mutuis relationibus sese respiciunt, universalia quidem, ut tota quaedam communia; particularia vero, ut partes quaedam subiectae.

Ac primo quidem modo omnes scientiae, et artes de universalibus disserunt, ut initio dictum est: non tamen omnes de omnibus, sed aliae de aliis, ut Physica, de omnibus animalium, et plantarum generibus: Moralis scientia: de cunctis virtutum et vitiorum formis: Medicina, de omnium morborum, et curationum communibus differentiis. Secundo autem tertio modo ad solam primam Philosophiam, et Dialecticam spectat, de universalibus, et particularibus agere. Esse enim universale, et particulare, relationesque universalium et particularium inter se cum communes rerum affectiones sint, nec magis ad ea quae cadunt sub unius scientiae considerationem, quam ad ea, quae sub alterius, pertineant; ad eas scientias spectent necesse est, quae versantur circa res omnes, cuiusmodi sunt sola prima Philosophia, et Dialectica; ut sophisticen mittamus, quae non ad veritatem, se ad captionem comparata est. Verum modus considerandi utriusque, diversus est. Prima enim Philosophia de his agit, ut de communibus rerum affectionibus: Dialectica vero, quatenus eorum cognitio ad disserendi rationem, communemque usum confert. Mirum enim in modum pendet non modo doctrina, sed usus etiam Dialecticae ex universalium, et particularium consideratione, eorumque respectum, quibus universalia ad particularia, et vicissim particularia ad universalia affecta sunt. Quanquam respectus ipsi, sive relationes minoris momenti, et in prima Philosophia, et in Dialectica, censentur, quam ipsae universalium, et particularium rationes, quae superius explicatae sunt.

***On the threefold consideration of the universals and particulars and how they belong to
the Dialectics***

Chapter V

Accordingly, universals and particulars, like causes and effects, can be considered in a threefold way. In one way they are regarded as causes and effects insofar as they are certain things, as the sun insofar as [it is] sun, and gold insofar as [it is] gold. In another way, they are causes or effects, just as the sun, as producing the gold, and the gold as being produced by the sun. Thirdly, they are related to each other, one as the cause to the effect and the other as the effect to the cause. That is how things are in universals and particulars. Indeed if they are considered in the first way, as a certain thing, there is no universality or particularity in the *ratio*, as animal insofar as it is animal and man insofar as it is man. In the second way, they are universals and particulars. In fact one is in the animal, to be an animal, another to be common to man and beast, as it is suitable to all animals. To this animal alone precisely taken or considered without some contracting differentia: in the same way one is in man to be a man, because it is suitable only to men; and another to be a species subjected to animal, because animal is participated by the other animals. In a third way they are considered, insofar as they are regarded in the mutual relations among themselves, the universals, in fact, as certain common wholes and the particulars, in truth, as certain subjected parts.

Moreover, in the first way, all sciences and arts discourse about the universals as said in the beginning, yet not all concerning all, but some concerning some, as the physics, concerning all the genera of animals and plants. Moral science discourses about all forms of virtues and vices, and medicine deals with the common differentias of all illnesses and treatments. In the second and third ways, it is expected that only *Metaphysics* and *Dialectics* discuss concerning the universals and particulars. The universal and the particular, and the relations of universals and particulars among themselves, are common affections of the things, not more to those that fall under the consideration of a single science, than to those that belong to another. It is necessary that they look at those sciences, which are involved in all things, and of such a way there are only *Metaphysics* and *Dialectics*. We omit the art of the sophists, which was established not for truth but for deception. The way each of them is considered differs. Indeed, *Metaphysics* concerns them as common affections of things. In truth, *Dialectics* [concerns them] insofar as their cognition attributes the *ratio* and common use to discoursing. Indeed in a wonderful way not only the teaching, but also the use of *Dialectics* depends on the consideration of universals and particulars, and of their contemplation(s), by which are affected the universals compared with the particulars, and vice versa. Although in *Metaphysics* and in *Dialectics*, the mutual consideration and relations are estimated of less importance than the very *ratios* of universals and of particulars, which have been explained above.

Sed cum in definitionibus universalis tria spectentur, rerum universalium unitas, aptitudo ut sint in pluribus, et aptitudo ut dicantur de pluribus, illud intelligere oportet, etsi omnia haec ab utroque artifice modo aliquo tractantur, primum tamen Philosophum de duobus tantum prioribus, Dialecticum vero de solo tertio ex proprio instituto disserere. Primus enim Philosophus non alia de causa de generalibus praedicandi modis agit, nisi ut eorum ductu generales essendi modos inveniatur: neque item de definiendi ratione disputat, nisi ut multa de rerum quidditate, ac natura doceat. At Dialecticus ideo quaedam de modis essendi rerum, earumque unitate, et distinctione tradit, seu potius a primo Philosopho accipit, ut omnes praedicandi, disserendique rationes colligat. Atque hoc idem de tribus aliis particularium conditionibus, quae his altera ex parte respondent, de eorum, in quam unitate, et aptitudine, ut suis universalibus subsint, eisque in praedicatione subiiciantur, sentiendum est.

But as they are regarded in the three definitions of the universal – the unity of the universal things, the aptitude to be in several items, and the aptitude to be said of several items – it is necessary to understand them, even if those are all treated in some way by both, yet the Metaphysician discourses about the first two, and the Dialectician truly only about the third and properly established way. The Metaphysician does not plead a case concerning the general ways of predicating, if not in order to find their main general ways of being. Besides, he does not dispute the *ratio* of defining except to teach about the quiddity and nature of things. Therefore the Dialectician deals with some ways of being of things, and with their unity and distinction, and he takes more from the Metaphysician, as he connects all *ratios* of predicating and discoursing. It must also be understood here concerning the three other conditions of the particulars, which correspond to them in another part, as concerning their unity and aptitude to be under their universals, as they are subjected to them in the predication.

De duplici rerum universalium unitate

Caput VI

Illud etiam praetereundum non est, duplicem esse rerum universalium unitatem, quarum altera *formalis* dici solet; altera nostro iam more *praecisionis* appellatur.

Formalis unitas nihil est aliud quam indivisio rei universalis in seipsa, hoc est, in natura, ratione sua; qualis est indivisio animalis in eo quod est animal, et hominis in eo quod est homo. Non sic indivisa sunt senatus, populus, quadriga, quia in rationibus suis non sunt indivisa, sed actu divisa ac multa. Dicitur autem formalis haec unitas, quia est pluribus communicabilis, quemadmodum, et ipsa res universalis, cuius est unitas, primaque proprietas.

Unitas vero praecisionis idem est, quod indivisio rei universalis non in seipsa, sed in sua particularia, qualis est indivisio animalis in hominem, et bestiam, hominisque in Socratem, et reliquos singulares homines. Dicitur vero *praecisionis*, quia non convenit rei universali in quocunque statu sumptae (quo pacto ei convenit unitas formalis, quae semper rem comitatur, sive antequam ad sua particularia contrahatur, sive cum iam in eis contracta est, sive postquam est ab illis abstracta, et quasi avulsa per intellectum) sed praecise in eo statu, in quo apta est, ut ad sua particularia descendat, et in ea dividatur ac multiplicetur. Quatenus enim res apta est ut sit in pluribus, in eaque dividatur, et multa dici possit, necdum tamen naturae ordine divisa et multiplicata est; eatenus est indivisa in illa, ac proinde unum quid, hac praecisionis unitate. Alioqui si sumatur ut iam est in suis particularibus, in eisque divisa et numerabilis, iam est multa, et non unum, hoc unitatis genere.

Differunt autem in tribus potissimum haec duo genera unitatum. Primum quod unitas formalis est proprietas rerum universalium, ut res sunt; unitas autem praecisionis est proprietas earum, ut universales sunt, sive quatenus aptae ut sint in pluribus. In hac enim aptitudine posita est, tota universalitatis essentia, quo tamen modo illa essentiae nomine appellari potest. Proinde in priori illa definitione, qua universale dicitur unum quid aptum ut sit in pluribus, nomine unius, quod loco generis ponitur, et pro re universalitati subiecta sumitur, intelligenda est unitas formalis, aut potius unitas, ut communis est formali, et numerali rerum singularium: unitas autem praecisionis, etsi in ea definitione non exprimitur; ex aptitudine tamen essendi in pluribus, quae rationem universalitatis complet, necessario colligitur; quippe cum id, quod aptum est, ut sit in pluribus, dum eam retinet aptitudinem, ut paulo ante diximus, indivisum in plura sit, ac unum, hoc genere unitatis.

On the twofold unity of universal things

Chapter VI

Likewise, it is not to be neglected that the unity of universal things is twofold, of which one is usually said *formal*, the other is called, in our usage, [unity] *of precision*.

Formal unity is nothing else than the indivisibility of the universal thing in itself, that is, in its nature or *ratio*. Such is the indivisibility of animal in that which is an animal, and of man in that which is a man. Senate, people, and four-horse team are not of this kind, as they are not undivided in their own *ratios*, but actually divided and many. Yet this unity is said to be formal, because it is communicable to many just as the universal thing itself, of which it is the unity and first peculiarity.

However, unity of precision is the same as the indivisibility of the universal thing not in itself, but in its particulars; such is the indivisibility of animal in man and beast, and of man in Socrates and in other individual men. It is truly said of precision because it is not fitting to the universal thing in any given status (in the way the formal unity is fitting to it [universal], [a unity] which always follows the thing, either before it is drawn together to its particulars, when it has already been limited to them, or after it is abstracted from them, and, as it were, separated by the intellect) but precisely in that status in which it is fitting, as to go down to its particulars, and in them be divided and multiplied. Certainly, insofar as the thing is said to be in several, it has not yet been divided and multiplied in the order of nature. So far it is undivided in them, and is consequently one thing in this unity of precision. In other respects if it is taken as it already is in its particulars, in any of them it is divided and numerable, it is already many, and not one, in this kind of unity.

However, those two kinds of unities differ chiefly in three ways. First, formal unity is a peculiarity of the universal things, inasmuch as they are things. On the other hand, unity of precision is their peculiarity, inasmuch as they are universals, or insofar as they are apt to be in several. In fact in this aptitude is assumed the whole essence of universality, yet in this way it can be called by the name 'essence.' Consequently, in that first definition, the universal is said to be one thing apt to be in several, and by 'one,' because it is located in the place of genus and it is taken as subjected to the universality according to the circumstances, it has to be understood as the formal unit, or rather the unity as it is common to formal and to numerical [unities] of the individual things. However, the unity of precision is necessarily connected, even if it is not expressed in that definition, then by the aptitude to be in several, which fulfils the *ratio* of universality. For as it, which is apt as to be in several, so long as it retains the aptitude, as said a short while ago, it is undivided in several, and one, in this kind of unity.

Differunt etiam in eo quod unitas formalis est indivisio pure negativa; unitas autem praecisionis, privativa. Formalis enim nullam supponit aptitudinem rei universalis, ut sit multa in seipsa: id enim quod in seipso indivisum est, nullo modo in seipso divisum esse potest: praecisionis autem unitas supponit aptitudinem, qua res universalis esse potest in suis particularibus divisa et multiplicata. Eodem modo dicimus, negationem aspectus, in lapide quidem, esse puram negationem, quod lapis nullam habeat aptitudinem ad videndum; in homine autem caeco, esse privationem; quod is natura sua aptus sit ut videat.

Denique differunt in hoc, quod formalis unitas multiplicatur cum rebus ipsis universalibus in earum particularibus; unitas autem praecisionis non item; tam multae enim sunt unitates formales naturae animalis in particularibus animalibus, et naturae humanae in particularibus hominibus, quam multa sunt animalia particularia, et ipsi particulares homines. At unitas praecisionis est unica tantum unius communis naturae in sua communitate acceptae, cum qua communitate ad sua particularia non descendit; ex quo discrimine patet, unitatem formalem esse etiam universalem, quemadmodum est res ipsa, cuius est unitas; unitatem vero praecisionis esse singularem, quo pacto est singularis aptitudo ea, quam supponit, ac sequitur. Unde fit, ut a sola unitate praecisionis, dicere possimus animal esse unum numero genus; et hominem unam numero speciem; totque esse numero primaria objecta intellectus nostri, quot sunt numero res universales.

Itaque cum unitas generaliter sumpta in formalem, numeralem dividatur, formalisque sit propria rerum universalium, quatenus absolute sumuntur, praecisionis autem unitas sit numeralis earundem rerum, quatenus sunt universales; reliquum erit ut unitas numeralis simpliciter et absolute sumpta sit propria et peculiaris rerum singularium. Atque haec communiter de quinque universalium speciebus formisve dixisse sit satis.

Nunc de singulis agendum, si prius tamen admoneamus, ea, quae in hoc libello vel dicta sunt hactenus, vel post dicentur, quae difficiliorem videantur habere intelligentiam, non esse hoc loco a praeceptoribus accuratius explicanda, minus etiam tractanda, fusius et exquisitius disputanda, sed familiaribus tantum exemplis exposita, quasi credita supponenda esse, ut iis intelligendis, quae toto Philosophiae cursu tradenda sunt, usui esse possint. Nam ut his penitus ignoratis necesse est Philosophiae auditores in medio cursu saepe hallucinari, et passim impingere; ita cum in ipso ingressu longioribus, gravioribusque disputationibus onerantur, ut ea profundius intelligant, despondent animum, et a suscepto opere vi quodammodo illata desistunt; aut certe ita se gerunt, ut non modo ea tandem non percipiant quod maioribus Philosophiae praesidiis indigeant, sed etiam fessi et taedio affecti ad reliqua persequenda minori affectu, et studio ducantur. Quocirca satis erit ea hoc loco utcumque capere, memoriaeque mandare et fere sola Magistrorum fide tenere, donec suis locis apertius intelligantur.

They even differ in the fact that the formal unity is purely negative indivisibility. The unity of precision, on the other hand, is privative. In fact, formal unity supposes no aptitude of the universal thing to be many in itself. Indeed, because it is in itself undivided, it can in no way be divided in itself. Unity of precision, however, supposes the aptitude, by which the universal thing can be divided and multiplied in its particulars. In the same way one says that the negation of sight in a stone, for instance, is pure negation, since a stone has no aptitude for seeing. In a blind person, however, it is privation, because it is in her nature to be apt to see.

Lastly, they differ in that, seeing that the formal unity is multiplied with the universal things themselves in their particulars, the unity of precision is far otherwise. In fact there are as many formal unities of animal natures in the particular animals, and human natures in the particular men, as there are particular animals and particular men; whereas the unity of precision is unique in its community of only one common accepted nature, as in this community it does not go down to its particulars. It is evident from this distinction that the formal unity is indeed universal, as the thing itself is, of which it is the unity. The unity of precision is particular, in the way it is that particular aptitude, which it supposes, and follows. From where it results, as to a single unity of precision, we can say that animal is numerically one genus, and man numerically one species, and that the primary objects of our intellect are as many in number as there are universal things in number.

Accordingly, as the unity is generally divided into formal and numerical, and the formal is proper to the universal things insofar as they are taken absolutely, the unity of precision, on the other hand, is numerical [unity] of the same things insofar as they are universals. It will have remained as the numerical unity taken simply and absolutely to be proper and peculiar of the particular things. And this may be enough to have been said about the five kinds of universals taken together.

And now considering the universals singularly, first it must be said that those things which have thus far been said, or will later be said in this small book, may seem more difficult to have an understanding, do not have to be more meticulously explained in this place by the teachers, nor even treated and disputed more extensively and more accurately. But they have to be illustrated by many familiar examples, as if to have to be supposed, as in their understanding, which has to be treated in the whole course of philosophy and can be of use. For if they are completely ignored, it is unavoidable that students of philosophy often digress and force them out at random. Thus if in this beginning they are loaded with more extensive and more difficult disputations, so as to understand more profoundly, they will give up hope and give up the enterprise with the work, in a certain way, untouched. Or they will certainly behave such that they do not eventually acquire them because they require greater assistance of philosophy, but also [become] tired and weakened by boredom; they are led through to the study of the remaining to a minor effect, for which reason it will be sufficient to take them in this place in one way or another, memorise them, and keep them generally by the sole faith in the teachers, while they are more evident in their own place [elsewhere].

Oportet enim, ut tradit Aristoteles, *discentem credere*; quod de iis praecipue dictum esse constat, qui in ipsis scientiarum exordiis versantur. Atque hoc idem in pradicamentorum tractatu, in explicatione futurorum contingentium, quae in libris de interpretatione traditur, et aliis locis similibus observandum est. Denique velle rudibus adhuc ingeniis et parum exercitatis haec omnia quasi ad calculos, ut aiunt, revocare, eorumque a novis auditoribus accuratam rationem poscere, ineptum valde, et indecorum est: turpe est enim ea a tyronibus exigere, quae saepe a veteranis pro dignitate vix praestari solent. Sed iam quid genus sit, et quam vim habeat, dicamus.

For it is necessary, as Aristotle taught, that the student have faith in the teachers. It is undisputed that this has generally been said about those themes which are being taught in the beginnings of the sciences themselves. And this same in the treatise of the *Categories*, in the explanation of the future contingents, which are dealt with in the books of *De Interpretatione*, and it has to be observed in similar places. Finally, it is extremely foolish and improper to ask all this in the discussions from the thus-far uneducated natural talent and insufficiently drilled persons, as they say, and to demand an accurate understanding of them from the new students. Besides, it is unseemly to ask from the beginners what veterans usually master with great difficulties. But it is already time to say what genus is and what force it has.

De genere

Caput VII

Genus si fuse sumatur, multis modis dicitur. Nam saepe nomine *generis* pro speciei, aut quasi speciei abutimur; ut cum dicimus, multa esse genera linguarum, multa colorum; et omnino cum communius aliquid in minus communia deducimus, etsi minus communia nihil commune sub se habeant, sed ipsa singularia duntaxat. Proprie tamen quatuor ferme videntur esse generis significata.

In primis generatio rerum eiusdem speciei, si continuata sit, nec intercisa, *genus* appellatur, quasi communis quaedam genitura; idque nulla ratione habita alicuius primi progenitoris. Quae eadem significatio toti etiam multitudini generantium, et genitorum eiusdem successionis accommodatur. Hac significatione utimur, cum dicimus, *Quandiu fuerit hominum genus*, hoc est, eorum continuata generatio, vel generantium, et genitorum non intermissa successio: quae tamen hac significatione non diceretur unum genus, si communi illa totius orbis inundatione omnes homines, qui tunc erant, periissent, aliique ratione alia, quam per generationem ex foemina, procreati essent.

Dicitur et *genus*, ipsa origo continuatae generationis ab uno aliquo generante. Qua ratione dicimus omnes homines, qui unquam geniti ex muliere fuerunt, genus duxisse ab Adamo; itemque a Noë omnes, qui post generale diluuium nati sunt; Graecos etiam a Graeco, et Iones ab Ione. Quam usurpationem facile in totam quamlibet familiam transferimus, in qua duplex habitudo cernatur; altera nativae cuiusdam dependentiae a primo parente, ac capite totius multitudinis; altera consanguinitatis omnium inter sese, qua utraque habitudine unumquodque huiusmodi generum ab aliis eiusdem significationis generibus distinguimus. Affinis huic significationi est ea, qua genus sumitur pro origine ex patria, aut regione etiam; quamquam, et regio communior quaedam patria dici potest, cum Eneas et Italiam quaerat patriam, et genus ab Iove summo: ut Poëta in eodem versu utriusque generis meminerit, et eius, quod a patria ducitur, et eius quod a primo progenitore. Hoc pacto dicimus, Platonem esse genere Atheniensem, et Aristotelem Stagiritam; vel potius Platonem Achaicum genere, et Aristotelem Macedonem; patria vero hunc Stagiritam, illum Atheniensem. Nam etsi patria maiorem vim habet in generatione cuiusque, regio tamen generalius in gignendo concurrat.

On genus

Chapter VII

If genus is taken in great detail, it can be talked about in many ways. For often the name 'genus' is misused for species or quasi-species. For we say that there are many genera of languages, many genera of colours, and in general, when something more common is deduced from the less common items, even if the less common items may have nothing common under them, but strictly speaking only the singulars themselves. Now the proper meanings of genus seem to be about four.

In the first place, the generation of things of the same species, if it is continuous, uninterrupted, is called genus, as it were, a common begetting with no *ratio* of first progenitor. This same meaning is, in fact, adjusted to all multiplicity of generations, and of the succession of the same parents. We use this meaning when we say, *as long as the kind of men will have existed*, that is, the continuous generation of them, of generations, and the succession of parents is not interrupted. However in this meaning it might not be said one genus if all men which then existed, had perished in that flood of the whole world, and in another way others had been created through a begetting from a female.

And the *genus* is said to be the origin itself of the continuous generation from some unique productive power. And for this reason it is said that all men that have ever been engendered from a woman got the genus from Adam. Moreover, [this applies to] all who have been born after the general floods from Noah, [or] indeed the Greeks from a Greek, [or] the Ionians from an Ionian. This use is easily transferred to every family, in which a twofold disposition is discerned. One is that of some original derivation from the first parent and source of the whole population, another of the consanguinity of all people among themselves; each one individually is distinguished in either disposition of these kinds of genera from the others of the same meaning in the genera. Associated with this definition is that by which the genus is taken for the origin from the native land, or indeed from the region. Although the region can more commonly be said to be some home land [*patria*], as Aeneas missed his homeland [*patria*] Italy and the genus from the highest Jupiter, as the poet have remembered of each genus in the same verse, of one because it is derived from the homeland [*patria*], and of the other because from the first ancestor. In this way it is said that Plato is from the genus Athenian and Aristotle Stagirite, or rather Plato from the genus Achaean and Aristotle Macedonian. Truly, the homeland [*patria*] of the latter is Stagira and of the former Athens. For even if the homeland [*patria*] has greater power in the origin of someone, yet the region generally concurs in the generating.

Tertia iam usurpatio Philosophorum est propria, ut genus sumatur pro subiecto, in quo variae differentiae cernantur; sic superficies dicitur planarum figurarum genus, et solidarum solidum, diversaeque scientiae, et artes circa diversa subiecta genera versantur, de quorum singulis singulae proprias cuiusque affectiones demonstrant; nec licet uni in alterius genus transitum facere, ut ait Aristoteles.

Quarta praecipuaque significatio, Philosophisque maxime familiaris est, qua genus *id dicitur, cui subiiciuntur species*. Atque huic similes sunt aliqua ex parte duae superiores. Est enim genus hoc modo sumptum, principium quoddam, et quasi origo suarum specierum in quas veluti propagatur, et in earum compositione quasi materiae, oppositarumque differentiarum subiecti vicem obtinet. Hoc igitur describens Aristoteles, *genus id esse ait; quod de pluribus specie differentibus in quaestione quid est praedicatur*. Quod si omnia, quae in hac descriptione intelliguntur exprimenda sunt, eoque modo locanda, ut congruenti ordine excludantur ea, quae a ratione generis aliena sunt; dicendum est, *genus esse universale quiddam, quod necessario, et secundum essentiam praedicatur in quaestione quid est de differentibus specie*, seu (quod his verbis innuitur) *in completa naturae communis significatione*. Sic enim explicata notione generis, primum excluduntur *individua*, quae a ratione generis remotissima sunt; deinde *accidentia*, quae sunt infimae classis universalialia; tertio vero loco *propria*; quae necessario conveniunt; tum quarto *differentiae*, quae iam ad essentiam pertinent; extremo *species*, quae sola ex universalibus complete continet naturam communem singularium.

Non sunt tamen haec omnia variae differentiae, quibus generationis ordine constituatur genus, ut sunt illae, quibus definimus hominem, cum dicimus illum esse substantiam corpoream, corruptibilem, viventem, sensitivam, rationalem; sed indicant unam differentiam (qualiscunque ea sit) quae tantam vim habet, quantam ista particulatim declarant. Quod cum ita sit, non erunt quaerendae inter universale, et quinque eius vulgatas species aliae species interiectae, quae in eas dividantur; quemadmodum nec sub colore quaerimus interiectas colorum species, quae in ultimas distribuuntur; tametsi inter has, aliae magis cum his, quam cum illis conveniant. Nec differt descriptio haec a profundiori generis definitione, nisi quatenus pro *essendi* verbo, quod praedicationis fundamenta significat, utitur verbo praedicandi; ut sic habere possit suo modo essentialis definitio: *Genus est universale, quod necessario, secundum essentiam, et quidditative est pluribus specie differentibus*. Atque haec duo documenta in caeteris similibus aliorum universalium definitionibus memoria repetenda sunt.

Moreover, the third use of the philosophers is proper, as when genus is taken for a subject in which several differentias are distinguished. In this way surface is said to be the genus of the plane figures, and solid of the solid figures, and different sciences and arts are dealt with through different subjected genera; concerning their individuals they demonstrate proper individual affections of whatever kind, not being granted to one to make the passage to another genus, as Aristotle said.

The fourth and principal meaning and the most familiar to the philosophers is that genus is said to be that to which the species are subjected. And the two above mentioned are partly similar to this last. Indeed the genus is construed in this way, some principle, both the origin of their own species, so to say, in which as it is propagated, and it acquires the function of matter in their composition and of subject of the opposite differentias. Therefore Aristotle, [when] describing it, said *that it was the genus, because it is predicated concerning the species in the many differentias in the question 'what is it?'* Because if everything that is understood in this description had to be represented, and in this way located, in order that, in the corresponding order are excluded those incongruous with the *ratio* of genus, it has to be said *that the genus is something universal, because it is necessarily predicated according to the essence in the question 'what is it?' concerning items different in species*, or (that is hinted at in these words) *in the perfect meaning of the common nature*. Thus indeed by this explained notion of genus, first the *individuals* are excluded, which are the most distant to the *ratio* of genus. Next the *accidents* are debarred, which are universals of an inferior class. In the third place the *properties*, which are fitting necessarily. Then in the fourth place the *differentias*, which already belong to the essence. And finally, the *species* that alone out of the universals contains completely the common nature of singulars.

However, these are all not various differentias, by which genus is constituted in the order of generation, as are those, by which man is defined, when we say that he is a corporeal, corruptible, living, sensitive, and rational substance. But they indicate one differentia (of whatever kind it may be) that has as much meaning, as those make particularly evident. Because while it may be in this manner, other interposed species, which are divided in them, will not have to be sought among the universal and its five common species. Just as we do not seek under colour interposed species of colours, which are distributed in the latter. Although among them, some are more suitable to these, than those are. The description does not differ from a more profound definition of genus, if not insofar as for the word '*being*,' because it signifies the foundations of the predication, it uses the word '*predicating*.' According as there could be an essential definition in its way: *genus is a universal, because it is necessarily, according to the essence, and quidditatively in several items which differ in species*. Moreover, these two examples have to be recalled in other similar definitions of other universals.

Dividitur autem genus ratione rerum, quae genera denominantur, in genera summa, et subalterna. Summum genus est, *quod supra se genus aliud non habet: et quod genus cum sit, non etiam est species*, ut substantia, quantitas, qualitas: subalternum autem sive medium, *quod supra se aliud genus habet; et quod cum genus sit, et etiam species*, veluti substantia corporea, et quantitas continua.

Sunt autem genera summa, si de veris rebus, et completis sit sermo, decem numero, substantia, quantitas, qualitas, ad aliquid, actio, passio, in loco esse, in tempore, situs, et habitus, quae categoriarum prima principia, et quasi fontes habentur: ens enim, quod rerum omnium commune genus videri potest, generis rationem non habet, quia etsi omnino aequivocum non est, non tamen est univocum, ut tradit Aristoteles; sed inter haec medium quippiam, quod analogum appellant. De subalternorum autem generum, sive mediorum multitudine, cum et genera, et species sint, in explicatione speciei commodius agetur.

Moreover, genus is divided in highest and subaltern or medium genera, in the *ratio* of things, which are named genera. It is the highest genus *because it does not have another genus above it and because it is genus; it is indeed not a species*, as substance, quantity, and quality. It is subaltern or medium *because it has another genus above it, and because it is genus and indeed species*, like corporeal substance and continuous quantity.

However, if the discourse is about the true and complete things, the highest genera are ten: substance, quantity, quality, relation to something, action, passion, to be in a place, in time, position, and disposition, which are the first principles of the categories, and as it were they have the sources. Certainly being, since it can be seeing as the common genus of all things, does not have the *ratio* of genus, because even if it is not entirely equivocal, yet it is not univocal, as Aristotle taught. But something intermediary between them, as it is called analogous. However, concerning the multitude of subaltern or intermediary genera, as they are genera and species, it is more conveniently brought forth in the explanation of the species.

De specie

Caput VIII

Species vulgo dicitur externa rerum forma, quae aspectui obiicitur; a qua res aliae speciosae, aliae deformes, aliae neutrum dicuntur. Hinc est illud Euripidis: prima quidem species digna est, quae imperet; quo alludit Aristoteles cum ait; si corpore tantum excellent homines, quantum Deorum imagines, omnium iudicio digni viderentur, quibus serviretur a caeteris.

Apud Philosophos autem saepe nomine speciei appellantur similitudines quaedam naturales, quibus cum sensus, tum intellectus res sibi obiectas percipiunt; quas superius sensibiles et intelligibiles appellari diximus. Forma etiam, quae substantiam cuiusque rei naturalis complet, nonnunquam species dicitur; quam illi secundum causarum genus faciunt.

Usurpatissima vero apud eos significatio est, qua speciem sumunt pro parte genere subiecta, quae tamen communis sit; quo pacto homo est species animalis, et arboris laurus. Eam porro sic definiunt, *species est, quae generi in quaestione quid est subiicitur, et de qua genus in quaestione quid est, praedicatur*. Explicatius autem sic describi potest, ut dicatur, *Particulare quiddam, quod generi in quaestione quid est, proxime subiicitur*, seu (quod eodem redit) *de quo genus sic praedicatur*. Homo enim species est animali subiecta, et de qua animal non in quaestione, quale est, sed in quaestione, quid est, dicitur; verum non interventu alterius, sed proxime, sive immediate.

Nec mirari quisquam debet, quod species in definiendo genere, et vicissim genus in definienda specie adhibeatur. Nam cum in genere et specie, quatenus alterum universale est, alterum particulare, definiendis utile et expeditum sit eorum inter se relationes innuere; hoc cum sit, necesse est alterum vicissim in alterius definitione ponere. Alio qui satis foret, Aristotelem dixisse, genus id esse, quod de pluribus communi natura et essentia inter se differentibus in quaestione quid est, praedicatur.

Ut autem genus ratione rerum, quae dicuntur genera, dividitur in suprema et media, sive subalterna; ita species hoc modo accepta in subalternas, et infimas. Subalternae sunt, *quae ita sunt species, ut sint etiam genera: et infra quas sunt aliae species*; velut animal, quod ita est species viventis, ut etiam sit genus hominis, et bestiae. *Infimae vero sunt, quae cum sint species superiorum, non sunt inferiorum genera: et infra quas non sunt aliae species*; velut homo qui ita est species animalis, ut non sit genus singulorum hominum: neque enim homines different a se invicem specie, sed solo numero. Haec vero omnia dicta sint de speciebus ut particularia quaedam sunt, partesve generi subiectae.

On species

Chapter VIII

The species is commonly said to be the external form of things, form that is exposed to the sight, by which some things are said to be beautiful, others deformed, and others neutral. Here is that famous phrase of Euripides: indeed the most excellent appearance (*species*) is suitable to rule. And Aristotle alluded to it when he said that if men excelled as much in physical appearance as the images of the gods, they would appear, in the opinion of all, worthy of being served by the others.

But in the writings of the philosophers the likenesses of natural things are often called by the name 'species,' through which not only the senses but also the intellect perceive the object-things for themselves. It was said above that they are called sensible and intelligible species. Likewise the form, which completes the substance of every natural thing, is said sometimes to be species, which makes the second genus of causes.

Truly, in the writings of the philosophers this meaning is the most used, in which they take the species for the subject part of the genus, which however is common, in which manner man belongs to the species animal, and laurel [to the species] tree. They defined it so thereafter, *species is what is subjected to the genus in the question 'what is it?', and concerning which the genus is predicated in the question 'what is it?'*. Now it can be more clearly described, as it is said to be *a certain particular, seeing that is closely subjected to the genus, in the question 'what is it?', or (what amounts to the same) genus is predicated in this way concerning that item*. Indeed man is a species subjected to animal, and concerning which animal is said to be not in the question 'what sort of thing is it?', but it is said to be in the question 'what is it?', truly not by mediation of another, but proximately, or immediately.

One should not be surprised that species has to be added in the definition of genus, and in turn genus is added in the defining of species. For as in genus and in species, insofar as one is universal, the other particular, it is useful and convenient to hint in the definitions at their mutual relations. Here as it is, it is absolutely necessary to place one in the definition of the other and vice versa. It would have been sufficient in the other, seeing that Aristotle had said that genus is that, which is predicated of the common nature and essence concerning several items different among themselves in the question 'what is it?'

However, as genus is in the *ratio* of things, which are said genera, it is divided in superior and medium or subaltern. To the extent that species is taken in this manner it is divided in subalterns and inferiors. The subalterns are those *that are both species and genera, under which there are other inferior species*, just as animal, seeing that indeed, in this manner, it is the species of living, likewise it is the genus of man, and of beast. *In truth inferior species are those, while they are species of the superiors, they are not genera of the inferior and under them there are no other species*, just as man belongs to the species of animal, while it is not the genus of the individual men. Nor indeed do men differ from themselves alternatively in species, but only in number. Those all may truly be said concerning the species, as they are particulars or parts subjected to the genus.

Sed cum ea, quae dicuntur species infimae superiorum, non sint genera inferiorum, de quibus tamen praedicantur in quaestione *quid est*, hinc nascitur alterum genus universalium, quod veteribus nomine quoque speciei appellare libuit; quae est quarta apud Philosophos speciei significatio magisque huius tractationis propria. Definiri autem solet hunc in modum: *species est, quae praedicatur de pluribus differentibus numero in quaestione quid est*. Explicatius autem, et aptiori ordine; *species est universale, quod necessario, secundum essentiam, et in quaestione quid est, de iis tantum praedicatur, quae solo differunt numero: seu* (quod idem valet) *de iis, quae differunt numero, complete dicitur, vel* (si mavis) *immediate*: quo pacto praedicatur homo de solis hominibus singulis.

Estque haec universalium species, omnium perfectissima, et ratione rerum, quae universales dicuntur, et ratione ipsius universalitatis, communitatisve. Ratione quidem rerum, quia res omnes, quae species infimae vocantur, perfectiores sunt omnibus generibus, et defferentiis, quibus constant, et quibuslibet ipsarum proprietatibus, et accidentibus. Ratione autem ipsius communitatis, quae unitate, identitateque universalium cum suis particularibus declaratur, quia nullum universale aliud tam est unum in se; tantamque identitatem habet cum suis particularibus, quam species infima cum suis individuis. Id quod in causa fuit, ut cum Plato, tum caeteri Philosophi omnes in infimis speciebus, dividendo, definiendo, ac demonstrando consistendum esse iudicaverint, ut in quibus rerum omnium universalium perfectio cernatur. Quanquam vero individua perfectiora sunt, magisque entia, quam infimae species, ut tradit Aristoteles, relinquuntur tamen iure optimo, partim quia eorum plurima, certo numero comprehendi nequeunt, ut sub scientiam nostram cadere possint; partim quia omnia, quae sub eadem specie infima continentur, parem habent inter se naturae perfectionem, ut qui vel unius cognitionem nactus fuerit, non necesse habeat aliorum notitiam investigare. In utroque autem contra se habent species. Nam exceptis paucis quibusdam, quas vel minus naturalis animalium coniunctio in dies parit, vel inserendi, activaque passivis applicandi artes paulatim inveniunt; aliarumve causarum naturalium fortuito concursu ex multis coalescere interdum solent (quarum cognitione successu temporis ditantur artes, et scientiae) caeterae omnes numero sunt certae, ac definitae, etsi nobis magna ex parte sint ignotae. Quod idem de subalternis generibus dicendum est.

But as those, which are said inferior species of the superiors, are not genera of the inferior – concerning which, however, they are predicated in the question ‘*what is it?*’ – here originates the other genus of universals, seeing that in the ancient authors it has been consecrated to call by the name ‘species,’ which is the fourth meaning of species in the writings of the philosophers and more proper of this handling. It is also usually defined in this way: *species is what is predicated concerning several items which differ in number in the question ‘what is it?’*. Yet more plainly and in a more apt order, *species is the universal, because it is only predicated necessarily, according to the essence, and in the question ‘what is it?’*, concerning those items, which differ only in number: or (equivalently) concerning those, which differ in number, it is said perfectly; or (if you rather choose) *immediately*: in what way man is only predicated concerning the individual men.

And it is this species of universals, the most perfect of all, both in the *ratio* of things that are said to be universals, and in the *ratio* of universality or commonality itself. Indeed in the *ratio* of things, because all things, which are called inferior species, the more perfect are in all genera and differentias, in which they agree in any of their properties and accidents. Yet the *ratio* of communality itself, which is declared by the unity and identity of the universals with their particulars, because no other universal is to such a degree one in itself, and has such an identity with its particulars, as the inferior species with its individuals. This is what was at stake when first Plato, then all other philosophers, considered that they had to consist in the inferior species, to dividing, defining, and demonstrating, as in those the perfection of all universal things is discerned. Although in truth the more perfect individuals are, and the more beings there are, then the more the species are inferior, as Aristotle taught, yet they rightfully remain – partly because many of them cannot be understood in a certain number as they could fall under our knowledge, partly because all which are contained under the same inferior species have an equal perfection of nature among themselves, as those should perhaps get the cognition of one and it is not necessary to look for the knowledge of the others. In both, they have the species against them. For with some few exceptions, which either the less natural combination of animals gives birth every day, or the arts gradually devise by associating and applying the active to the passives. Or they usually increase by the accidental concurrence of other natural causes (the arts and sciences get richer by the cognition of them with the succession of time) all other things are certain and definite in number, even if they are to a great extent unknown to us. The same has equally to be said about the subaltern genera.

Itaque sub genere summo substantiae numeramus substantiam corpoream, et incorpoream; sub corporea, corruptibilem, et corruptionis expertem; sub corruptibili, viventem et non viventem; sub vivente sensitivam, et sensus expertem, quas animal, et plantam appellamus: sub animali hominem, et brutum animal; sub homine autem, nullus iam certus est numerus singulorum. Eademque modo descendere possumus per eas species, quas in hoc progressu relinquimus, donec ad infimas cuiusque ordinis perveniamus. Nisi quod non est necesse bifariam semper genera dividere. Nam etsi substantia corruptibilis in simplicem, et mistam dividitur; simplex tamen in quatuor elementorum species distribuitur, plantaque in tria stirpium genera, arborem, fruticem, et herbam diducitur: quod idem in compluribus aliis generibus accidit, quae in plures, quam duas species, sed tamen finitas distribuuntur. Ita nunquam fiet, ut sive a supremis generibus descendas, sive in transversum progrediaris, in infinitas species, quae quidem sint verae, ad germanae species incurras, ut mittamus eas, quae non ordinaria, sed absoluta Dei potestate in rerum natura esse possunt, quarum numero non agimus.

De earum autem perfectione omnes consentiunt, nullas omnino aequae perfectas reperiri posse. Sunt enim species rerum, ut tradit Aristoteles, numerorum speciebus similes, ut quemadmodum in numeris nullae species sunt inter se multitudine unitatum aequales, ita in speciebus rerum nullae sint perfectione pares. Quod Aristotelis pronunciatum, etsi in iis speciebus, quarum aliae superiores sunt, aliae inferiores, proprie intelligitur, in caeteris tamen suo etiam modo locum habet, quod omnes (ut idem alibi docet) per se naturasque suas prioris, et posterioris inter se ordinem teneant; quo pacto colores, qui primo, perfectissimoque colori propinquiores sunt, perfectiores habentur; et quae animalia primo, perfectissimoque animali magis propinquant, maiorem perfectionem habeant necesse est.

Porro quemadmodum genera natura sua priora sunt speciebus suis generationis ordine; ita et species suis generibus ordine perfectionis: unde fit, ut a speciebus ad genera recte procedatur sive essendi, sive existendi consequentia; a generibus autem ad suas species, neutra consequentia retro commeet.

Item, ut species sunt nobis notiores inventionis ordine ita et genera ordine accuratae cognitionis. Nam ut in investigandis naturis communibus progredi solemus ab inferioribus, quae sunt propinquiora sensibus, ad superiora: sic in eis dividendis, definiendis, demonstrationeque tractandis a superioribus ad inferiora descendimus.

Denique ut ascendendo a speciebus ad genera, et ab individuis ad species ex multis unum colligimus, ita descendendo a generibus ad species, et a speciebus ad individua, ex uno multa facimus. Participatione enim speciei multi hominis, unus homo sunt; at unus et communis, particularium conditionum additione, plures; quod idem de animali comparatione hominis aliarumque eius specierum dici potest. Atque haec de genere, ac specie dixisse sit satis.

And thus under the highest genus 'substance' there are corporeal and incorporeal substance. Under corporeal [there are] corruptible and devoid of corruption. Under corruptible [there are] living and not living. Under living [there are] sensitive and devoid of sense, which are called animal and plant. Under animal there are man and irrational animal. But under man, there is no restriction in the number of individuals. And we can likewise descend through those species which, by advancing we left behind, while we arrive at the inferiors of some order. But it is not always necessary to divide the genera in both directions. For even if corruptible substance is divided into simple and mixed, simple is distributed in the four species of elements, and plant is separated in three genera of stems: tree, fruit, and herb. That equally occurs in many other genera, which are distributed in several species – at least two, but always a finite number. Thus it never happens that either descending from the supreme genera, or going forward in the opposite direction, arrive at infinite species, which indeed were true and genuine species. Seeing that those are not considered here, which can be in the nature of a thing not by the ordinary but the absolute power of God, the number of which is not discussed.

But concerning their perfection all agree that there are no equally perfect things. Indeed some species of things are, as Aristotle taught, similar to the species of numbers, as in a certain way no species are equal in number among themselves in the great multitude of units. Thus no species are equal in perfection in the species of things. For the proposition of Aristotle, is about those species, some of which properly understood are superior, others inferior; however, in other things indeed in its way it has a place [to the rest] because all (seeing the he taught the same elsewhere) the natures themselves in themselves should have order of prior and posterior among themselves. Likewise the colours, which are more close to a first and most perfect colour, are considered as more perfect. And those animals, which are more close to a first and most perfect animal, have necessarily a greater perfection.

Furthermore, the genera are, in a way, prior in their nature to their species in the order of the generation. Thus the species are prior to their genera in the order of perfection: from where it happens that a natural sequence of being or existing is derived right from the species to the genera. However from the genera to their species, a neutral natural sequence comes and goes forward and backwards.

Likewise, as species are more knowable to us in the order of invention and accordingly, the genera in the order of the accurate cognition. For when investigating the common natures we usually progress from the inferiors, which are closer to the senses, to the superiors. Thus we descend from the superior to the inferiors in them by dividing, defining, and in the demonstration by discoursing.

Finally, when going upward from the species to the genera, and from the individuals to the species we gradually acquire one from the many. Accordingly, by going downwards from the genera to the species and from the species to the individuals, we make the many from the one. Yet by the participation in the species of man, many [men] are one man. But one and common [man], by the addition of particular conditions, [is] several [men]. Since the same can be said concerning animal by the comparison of man and of other [members] of its species. And let this be sufficient to have been said concerning genus and species.

De differentia

Caput IX

Differentia uno modo dicitur quaelibet diversitas; qua significatione, ea etiam dicimus differre inter se, quae toto genere diversa sunt, ut *substantiam et qualitatem*. Proprie tamen differentia est diversitas eorum, quae alioqui sunt unius omnino rationis: qua differentia, sola ea, quae vel genere, vel specie, vel numero idem sunt, differre inter se dicimus, ut hominem ab equo, Socratem a Platone, et eundem senem a seipso iuvene.

Nota vero est differentiae hoc pacto sumptae in communem, propriam, et maxime propriam distinctio. Communis dicitur, quae re ipsa separari potest, ut sedere, stare, iuventus, et similia. Propria, quae etsi re ipsa inseparabilis est; tamen ad essentiam rei non pertinet, ut cicatrix cum callum abduxit, caesius oculorum color, et communium naturum proprietates. Maxime vero propria est, quae essentiam efficit diversam, ut rationale; hoc enim in causa est, ut homo diversae sit essentiae ab equo, et caeteris brutis animantibus. Itaque communis, et propria rem aliter affectam reddunt, aut certe alio modo habentem, sed maxime propria efficit, ut sit aliud secundum essentiam.

Dividitur etiam differentia primum quidem in separabilem, et inseparabilem: deinde inseparabilis in differentiam *per se*, et *per accidens*. Differentia per se est eadem cum maxime propria, diciturque differentia per se, quia est per se divisiva alicuius superioris, et alicuius inferioris constitutiva; quo pacto sensitivum est divisivum animalis, et constitutivum hominis. Differentia per accidens, si absolute sumatur, non ut membrum dividens inseparabilis differentiae, complectitur communes, et proprias, vocaturque per accidens, quia accidentario tantum discrimine dividit, ac differre facit. Ea igitur missa, duplex est differentia per se, una *specifica*, altera *individualis*. Specifica est, quae cum genere constituit speciem, sive mediam scilicet, sive infimam; individualis autem, quae cum specie infima constituit individuum sive unum numero. Hinc fit, ut quicquid proprie differt ab alio differentia per se, et non per accidens, id omne, aut differat specie, aut solo numero.

Neque enim audiendi sunt, qui nullam differentiam per se inter individua eiusdem speciei infimae agnoscunt, sed ea tantum distingui volunt per accidentia. Nullum enim praedicamentum est, quod per se ipsum, et sine adminiculo alterius praedicamenti non sit satis ad constitutionem suarum specierum, et individuorum, siquidem impermixta sunt praedicamenta omnia a summis generibus, ad individua usque, nec quaerendae sunt in uno praedicamento differentiae, quibus constituentur species, aut individua alterius. Sed quemadmodum ex potestate cuiusque speciei infimae suo modo oriuntur differentiae individuales.

On differentia

Chapter IX

In a first way, differentia is said to be any diversity whatsoever. In this sense, it is said that those things differ among themselves which are diverse in the whole genus, as *substance* and *quality*. Nevertheless, differentia is properly a diversity of those items that are in any case of one general *ratio*. They are similar either in the genus, or in the species, or in number, and by this differentia, by it alone, we say that they differ one from the other, as man from horse, Socrates from Plato, and the same old person [differs] from herself when she was young.

In this way, the distinction of differentia taken in common, proper and most proper senses is well known. It is said to be common when it can be separated from the thing itself, as sitting, standing, being young, and the like. Proper differentia may be inseparable from the thing itself, yet it does not belong to the essence of the thing, as a scar when it has led to callousness, as the bluish-grey colour of the eyes, and properties of common natures. It is most proper when it makes a diverse essence, as rational. Indeed this is the reason why man is of a different essence from horse, and from other living beasts. Consequently common and proper make the affected thing other, or certainly existing in another way, but the most proper produces, as the thing is other according to the essence.

Besides, differentia is indeed divided first into separable and inseparable. Next it is distinguished as inseparable differentia *in itself* and *by accident*. Differentia in itself is the same as most proper and it is said to be differentia in itself, because it is in itself divisive of something superior, and constitutive of something inferior. In the same manner, sensitive is divisive of animal, and constitutive of man. Differentia by accident, if taken absolutely and not as a dividing member of an inseparable differentia, embraces common and proper; it is said by accident because it only divides by an accidental distinction, and makes different. Therefore, this one left aside, the differentia in itself is twofold, one *specific*, another *individual*. [It is] specific when together with the genus it constitutes the species, or in other words, ordinary or inferior, but individual when with the inferior species it constitutes the individual or one in number. It is made in this place, as whatever properly differs from another by the differentia in itself, and not by accident, everything, either it differs in species, or only in number.

Yet one need not pay attention to those who do not acknowledge a differentia in itself among the individuals of the inferior species, but want it to be in such a way distinct by the accidents. Indeed there is no predicament, which *per se ipsum* (itself by itself), and without the help of another predicament, is insufficient to the constitution of their species and individuals. If it is really the case that predications are all unmixed from the highest genera all the way to the individuals, then no differentias in one predication are required by which the species or the individuals of another are constituted. But the individual differentias originate from the force of some inferior species in their own way.

Dicitur quoque differentia specifica id, quo species genus excedit. Quo eodem pacto dici potest differentia individualis esse id, quo individuum excedit infimam speciem. Ut enim homo in sua essentia communi hoc amplius habet, quam animal, quod sit rationis particeps; ita Socrates in essentia sua singulari, hoc superat essentiam hominis communis, quod sit hic singularis, ac determinatus.

Dividi etiam solet differentia per se in divisivam, et constitutivam. Verum haec potius sunt varia officia differentiae, quatenus differentia est (quod iam ex dictis patet) quam differentiarum genera, quemadmodum et tertium illud, quod est *facere differre*. Nulla enim differentia per se est, quae tria haec eo ordine, quo numerata sunt, non exsequatur, cum et dividat aliquid superius, et aliquid inferius constituat, illudque ab alio, aliisque eiusdem divisionis membris differre faciat. Quanquam si divisivae, et constitutivae differentiae respectu unius, et eiusdem communis naturae sumantur, nulla eadem differentia est, quae tria haec praestare possit, sed necesse est, ut alia, vel aliae eam constituent, et ab alia, vel aliis differre faciant, aliae vero dividant; quo pacto alia est quae substantiam corpoream constituit et ab incorporea differre facit; aliae quae dividunt incorruptibilem et corruptionis expertem; aliae item sunt, quae animal constituunt, et ab incorporeis substantiis, incorruptibilibus, simplicibus, plantisque differre faciunt; aliae quae in varias species distribuunt.

Denique dividitur differentia specifica in generalem et specialem. Generalis est, quae constituit speciem, quae ipsa genus etiam est; ut sensitivum. Specialis, quae constituit speciem, quae non item est genus; ut rationale. Sed haec dicta sunt de differentia, quatenus differentia est, non quatenus est tertia universalium species, tametsi omnia ad hanc posteriorem considerationem non parum conducunt.

Describi autem solet differentia, ut universale quoddam est, hunc in modum. *Differentia est id, quod de pluribus specie differentibus in quaestione quale est, praedicatur; idque* (ut intelligi solet) *secundum essentiam*. Et haec quidem differentiae explicatio, quae ex Aristotele desumpta est, in solas generales differentias convenit; idque ea de causa vitio non datur, quod differentiae speciales minus notae sint, minusque usurpatae. Dicuntur autem generales in hac posteriori differentiae consideratione, quia praedicantur de differentibus specie; speciales autem, quia de differentibus solo numero: quae differentiarum genera nec differunt specie inter se, neque ipsae sunt genera, sed sola magis minusque universalium ratione distinguuntur.

The specific differentia is also said to be that by which the species exceeds the genus. In the same way it can be said to be that the individual differentia is that in which the individual exceeds the inferior species. As in fact the human person has in its common essence, something more than animal, because she is participant in reason. Thus Socrates exceeds in his individual essence that common essence of a human person, because he is this singular or determined person.

Indeed differentia *per se* is usually divided into divisive and constitutive. In fact, those are rather distinct functions of the differentia, insofar as it is differentia (which is clear from the things already said) rather than genera of differentias, just as the third [genus of differentias], whose [function] is *to make differ*. There is certainly no differentia in itself that does not follow those three functions in that order in which they have been enumerated, when it divides something superior and constitutes something inferior, or when it makes one differ from another or other members of the same division. To any degree whatsoever, if they are taken as divisive and constitutive with respect to one differentia, and of the same common nature, the same differentia could not produce those three. But it is necessary that another or others either constitute from another or make it differ from others, others truly divide. In what manner one is what constitutes the corporeal substance and makes it differ from the incorporeal. Others divide the incorruptible and the devoid of corruption. Similarly there are others which constitute animal and make it differ from the incorporeal substances, from the incorruptible ones, from the simple, and from the plants. There are others that distribute them in several species.

Finally, specific differentia is divided into general and special. It is general when it constitutes the species that is in fact itself a genus, such as sensitive, special when it constitutes the species that is not a genus at all, as in rational. But those things are said concerning the differentia, insofar as it is differentia, not insofar as it is the third species of universals, even though they are all of little use to this posterior consideration.

However, the differentia is commonly described, as it is a kind of universal, in this way: *differentia is that which is predicated in the question 'what sort of thing is it?' concerning several items which differ in species, and it* (as it is commonly understood) *according to the essence*. And indeed this meaning of differentia, which is picked out from Aristotle, is only fitting to the general differentias. For that reason, it is not imputed as faulty, because the special differentias are less known, and less employed. Indeed they are all said to be general in that second consideration of differentia, because they are predicated concerning items which differ in species. Moreover, it is special, because it is predicated concerning items which differ only in number. Those genera of differentias neither differ among themselves in species, nor are they genera themselves, but they are only distinguished in the *ratio* of things less or more universal.

Communis tamen descriptio omnibus specificis differentis est, *qua differentia dicitur id, quod de pluribus in quaestione quale est, secundum essentiam praedicatur*. Complectitur enim et generales et speciales differentias; excluditque apto ordine singularia, caeteraque universalialia; si hoc modo intelligatur. Differentia est universale, quod necessario et secundum essentiam praedicatur de pluribus in quaestione, quale est. Quae omnia ex iis, quae supra dicta sunt perspicua relinquuntur.

Comparatur autem differentia specifica cum genere, quod dividit tanquam forma substantialis cum propria materia; cum ipsa vero specie, quam constituit, ut eiusmodi forma cum naturali composito substantiali; cum tamen nec forma, nec materia, quae sunt partes re ipsa componentes totum, praedicetur de naturali composito. Genus autem, et differentia, quae cum specie unum atque idem re sunt, in quocunque individuo, de specie dicantur. Haec de universalibus, quae essentiali praedicatione de suis particularibus dicuntur.

Nevertheless the common description in all the special differentias is that *in which differentia is said that it is predicated according to the essence in the question 'what sort of thing is it?'*. Indeed it comprises general and special differentias and it excludes in the appropriate order the singular items, and other universals, if they are understood here in this way. Differentia is universal because it is predicated necessarily and according to the essence concerning several in the question 'what sort of thing is it?'. And all those things remain clear from the above said.

On the other hand, the special differentia is compared with the genus, for it divides both the substantial form from the proper matter, and truly with the species itself, which it constitutes, as that kind of form with the natural substantial composite. Nevertheless, as neither form nor matter, which are in reality component parts of the whole, may be predicated concerning the natural composite, genus and differentia (which, together with species, are actually one and the same thing) are said concerning the species in any individual whatsoever. And these things are said concerning the universals, which are said to be in the essential predication concerning their particulars.

De proprio

Caput X

Proprii etiam non eadem est usurpatio, qua ratione proprium est, et qua certa univesalium species. Quatenus enim proprium est, uni soli convenit, ei scilicet cuius est proprium; at quatenus universale, de pluribus dicitur.

Funditur autem proprii vocabulum, quatenus proprium est, si generaliter omnino sumatur, non modo ad ea, quae accidunt rebus, sed etiam ad ea, quae in essentiis earum continentur, sive universales illae sint, sive singulares (nihil enim est in rerum natura, quod aliquid sibi proprium non habeat) nec tantum complectitur simplicia sive incomplexa, sed complexa etiam. Qua generali consideratione ipsae etiam differentiae specificae, et individuales, dicuntur propriae speciebus, et individuuis, quae ex illis proxime constituuntur; et nonnunquam apud Aristotelem ipsae definitiones qualescunque sint comparatione rerum, quae definiuntur, *proprii* nomine comprehenduntur.

Missis tamen iis propriis, quae ad essentias rerum pertinent, complexisque omnibus; quod quidem ad simplicia et accidentaria attinet, in ore omnium est quadripartita illa proprii divisio, qua proprium dicitur aut soli speciei accidere, sed non omni, seu toti; ut homini blesum esse ab ortu, vel Grammaticum; aut omni, sed non soli; ut esse bipedem, vel intelligentiae participem; aut omni et soli, sed non semper; ut canescere: aut omni et soli, et semper; ut esse disciplinae, risusve capacem. Quae distinctio apta est, si partim exponatur recte; partim emendetur. Nam quod omni accidit sed non soli id revera, si simpliciter et absolute loquendum est, proprium dici non potest, ut tradit Aristoteles; neque ei convenit tradita proprii, quatenus proprium est, generalis explicatio. Potest tamen dici proprium *ad aliquid* (ut idem loquitur) nempe comparatione earum rerum, quibus non convenit, quod est esse proprium *secundum quid*; quo pacto proprium est hominis comparatione quadrupedum aut serpentium, bipedem esse: et comparatione plantarum, aut brutarum animantium, habere intelligentiam; cum alioqui duos habere pedes avibus conveniat; intelligentia vero, substantiis a materia separatis. Emendabitur autem divisio, si nomine speciei, quo infima intelligi solet, quaelibet res universalis concipiatur. Omnes enim species, sive infimae sive subalternae, adde et omnia summa genera, sua habent propria accidentaria.

On property

Chapter X

Indeed the use of property is not the same when it is the *ratio* of property, and when it is a certain kind of universal. Insofar as it is a property, it is fitting to only one, to that thing, of course, of which it is a property. But insofar as it is universal, it is said to concern several items.

However, the noun 'property' is uttered insofar as it is a property if it is generally taken in the entirety, not to those things that happen (*accidunt*) to things, but to those that are contained in their essences. Either they are universals or particulars (nothing is in fact in the nature of things, that does not have something proper to itself), which not only it comprises simple or non-complex, but also the complex items. Indeed, in the general consideration of the specific differentia itself and the individuals, those items are said to be properties in the species, and individuals, which are constituted nearest to them. And sometimes in the writings of Aristotle, by the name '*property*,' whatever definitions they may be, are apprehended in comparison with the things that are defined.

Yet those properties are omitted which belong to the essences of the things, and to all complex items. Indeed, in the simple and accidental things, everybody talks about this fourfold division of property, in which property is said 1) either to happen only to that species, but not to all members of it or in their entirety, as happens to a man who is born with a lisp, or who is a grammarian. 2) Or it happens to all members of that species but not only to them, as being two-footed, or participant in intelligence. 3) Or to all, and only, but not always, as to turn grey. 4) Or to all and only and always, as to be able to learn, or to be able to laugh. That distinction is adequate if it is partially corrected and partially reformed. For that it happens to all by not only, in fact, if it has to be said simply and absolutely, it cannot be said to be a property, as Aristotle taught, nor is it fitting to it the general explanation given of property, insofar as it is a property. Yet it can be said *of something* (as the same is said) certainly in the comparison of those things, to which it is not fitting, that it is a property *in a certain respect*. In what way it is a property of man to be two-footed in comparison with quadrupeds or serpents, and to have intelligence in comparison with plants or beasts. While to some birds it is fitting to have two feet. Truly, the revision shall be correct if by the name 'species,' by which inferior species is usually meant, any universal thing is conceived. In fact all species, either inferior or superior, and moreover all the highest genera have their own accidental properties.

Proinde accuratior divisio erit si proprium simplex et accidentarium distinguatur: primum in proprium simpliciter, quod absolute soli convenit rei, cuius dicitur proprium: et in proprium secundum quid sive comparate, quod iam explicatum est. Deinde proprium simpliciter in proprium perfecte, et imperfecte. Perfecte illud est proprium, quod tres illas conditiones sibi vendicat, ut *omni et soli, et semper* accidat. Quicquid enim huiusmodi est, recipiatur cum re, cuius est proprium, habetque in ea causam adaequatam, cur ita conveniat. Imperfecte autem, cui vel sola prima conditio deest, ut bleso ab ortu, respectu hominis; vel sola tertia, ut canescenti. Nam si desit secunda, id iam non erit proprium simpliciter, sed secundum quid. Ita potest alia quadrimembris solius proprii simpliciter divisio usurpari, ut vel accidat soli, et semper, sed non omni; vel soli quidem, sed neque omni, nec semper: vel soli et omni, sed non semper; vel omni et soli, et semper, quorum exempla ex dictis patent. Hac vero ratione secundus modus prioris divisionis reiicitur, quod sit proprium secundum quid; primus autem dividitur in primum, et secundum posterioris; tertius vero et quartus idem sunt in utraque. Atque haec de proprio, quatenus proprium est, iuxta primam nominis impositionem, rationemque, satis fuerint.

Quatenus vero proprii nomen quartae universalium speciei accommodatur, alii sic definiendum putaverunt, *ut in quaestione quale est, de iis tantum dicatur, quae solo differunt numero*. Quopacto etsi priori definitionis parte recte excluduntur genus et species; posteriori tamen non recte reiiciuntur differentia et accidens, quod duo haec non semper de differentibus specie praedicentur, sed saepe etiam de iis, quae differunt solo numero. Corrigi tamen solet definitio, reiecta posteriori parte, substitutisque hoc modo aliis verbis. *Proprium est universale, seu quod praedicatur de pluribus in quaestione quale est, accidentaliter, et necessario*: ut prima parte reiiciantur individua; secunda genus, et species; tertia, differentia; quarta vero accidens. Exemplo sunt proprietates ridendi, capessendi disciplinas, sentiendi, generandi, incedendi, intelligendi, et alia huiusmodi; etsi earum quaedam non recurrant cum genere aliquo, aut specie. Porro necessarii nomine hac in re, non quaevis necessitas, sed quae ex ipsa natura subiectorum ducatur, intelligenda est.

Dividitur autem proprium in generale et speciale, ac si proprium quidem sumatur, ut proprium est, atque adeo ut perfecte proprium (nulla enim de imperfecte propriis in hac consideratione propositae divisionis habetur ratio) illud generale dici solet, quod recipiatur cum genere aliquo; speciale, quod cum aliqua infima specie. Si vero ut est quarta universalium species, generale dicitur, quod praedicatur de pluribus specie differentibus. Speciale, quod de iis tantum, quae solo numero differunt. Seu recipiatur cum genere aliquo aut specie, seu minime, ut dictum est. Quae enim non recipiuntur, etsi non sunt propria simpliciter, ut propria sunt, sunt tamen quatenus universalialia. Ita fit ut non sit necesse omne universale huius speciei recipiari cum primo aliquo subiecto.

Accordingly, the division will be more accurate if simple and accidental properties are distinguished. First, [it is] property simply when it is fitting absolutely to one thing only, of which it is said to be a property, and property in a certain respect or comparatively, which has already been explained. Then property simply is divided into property perfectly and imperfectly. It is a property perfectly when it requires those three conditions to itself, as happens *to all* individuals of a species and *only* to them, and *always*. In fact whatever there is of this sort, it is reciprocated with the thing of which it is a property and has in it the adequate cause why it is appropriate in this manner. By contrast, it is a property imperfectly when only the first condition is missing, as lisping from birth, in respect of man. Or only the third is missing, as turning grey. For if the second is missing, then it will not be a property simply, but in a certain respect. Thus another fourfold division of property can only be used in relation to property simply. So that 1) either it happens only, and always, but not to all. 2) Or indeed only, but neither to all, nor always. 3) Or only and to all, but not always. 4) Or to all and only and always. Examples of those cases are evident from what has been said above. Truly, for this reason, the second way of the first division is rejected because it is a property in a certain respect. The first is divided into first and second of the second division. And indeed, the third and the fourth are the same in both divisions. And these have sufficiently been said concerning property, insofar as it is a property, as well as the first imposition and meaning of the name.

Insofar as the name 'property' is accommodated to the fourth species of universals, others have assumed it has to be so defined, *as it may only be said to be in the question 'what sort of thing is it?' concerning those items which differ only in number*. In this manner, even if genus and species are correctly excluded in the first part of the definition, yet in the second part differentia and accident are not correctly excluded. For those two may not always be predicated concerning differentias in the species, but also concerning those items, which differ only in number. However, the definition is usually corrected by rejecting first part, and in this way to the other replaced words. *The property is universal, or because it can be predicated concerning several in the question 'what sort of thing is it?', accidentally and necessarily*: as in the first part the individuals are rejected, in the second genus and species, in the third differentia, and in the fourth surely accident. Some examples are the properties 'laughing,' 'understanding instruction,' 'perceiving,' 'creating,' 'walking,' 'understanding,' and others of this sort, even if some of them do not recur with some genus or species. But in reality, it has to be understood by the name 'necessary' not any necessity whatsoever, but the one that is produced out of the very nature of the subjects.

Now property is divided in general and specific. But indeed if property is taken insofar as it is a property, and therefore as property perfectly (indeed there is no *ratio* concerning imperfect properties in this consideration of the proposed division), then it is usually said to be general, as it is reciprocated with some genus. And it is called specific, as it is reciprocated with some inferior species. If truly, as it is the fourth species of universals, then it is said to be general, because it is predicated concerning several items which differ in species. They are said to be specific, for they are predicated concerning several which differ only in number. Either they are reciprocal with some genus or, at least, with species, as it has been said. And in fact they are not reciprocal, as they are not properties simply, while they are properties, yet they are insofar as universals. Thus it happens that it is not necessary for all universals of this species to be reciprocal with some first subject.

De accidente

Caput XI

Demum *accidentis* nomen tribus modis potissimum accipi solet. Uno pro re, quae suapte natura subiecto inhaeret, cuiusmodi sunt color, et sapor lactis, et similia. Altero pro quovis attributo non pertinente ad essentiam rei, de qua dicitur; quopacto accidunt rebus non solum omnia contingentia attributa, ut ferro calidum esse, et homini esse candidum, aut Grammaticum, sed etiam plurima necessaria; nec quavis tantum necessitate, sed ex ipsa subiectorum natura ducta, ut homini esse risus, aut disciplinae capacem. Qua significatione usi sumus paulo ante in verbo, *Accidit*, ubi quadripartitam proprii divisionem explicavimus. Tertio pro attributo, quod nec pertinet ad rei essentiam, neque ex ea necessaria veluti emanatione profluit: quopacto alia ratione accidit homini nigrum esse, alia esse disciplinae capacem, quod hoc in ipsa hominis, quatenus homo est, natura habeat unde oriatur, illud aliunde proveniat. Atque haec est propria, et peculiaris ratio accidentis, quod quintam, extremamque facit universalis speciem; modo accidens sumatur, non ut hoc aut illud numero, sed ut est pluribus commune. Nam etsi accidentis nomen nihil universale prae se fert, potesque pro singularibus aequae, atque pro universalibus accipi: ex ipso tamen Philosophorum usu accommodatur significandae huic extramae speciei universalium, de qua nobis reliquus est futurus sermo.

Definiri autem solet accidens hoc modo sumptum, *quod adest, et abest sine subiecti corruptione*. Item, *quod contingit inesse, et non inesse*. Ac demum, *quod nec genus est, nec species, nec differentia, nec proprium, inest autem rei*: quarum explicationum idem est sensus. Quibus in definitionibus loco generis intelligitur universale, ut sic habeat prima definitio. Accidens est universale, quod adesse, et abesse potest, affirmarique ac negari de subiectis sine eorum eversione. Atque eodem modo intelligi potest secunda definitio. Tertiam vero sic licet exponere; quod pluribus quidem eadem ratione convenire potest, verum non ut genus, aut species, aut differentia, aut proprium. Itaque in omnibus his definitionibus extrema ponitur contingentia ut differentia accidentis constitutiva. Explicatius tamen definitur accidens, si dicatur *universale, seu quod praedicatur de pluribus in quaestione quale est, accidentaria, et contingentia praedicatione*; ut apto ordine; primo loco excludantur individua; deinde genera et species, tum vero differentiae, postremo propria.

On accident

Chapter XI

At last, the name '*accident*' is usually taken in three main ways. 1) In one way for the thing, which is closely connected to the subject by its own nature; of this kind are colour and taste of milk, and the like. 2) In another way for any attribute not pertaining to the essence of the thing, concerning which it is said. In this way they happen to things not only all contingent attributes, as to iron to be hot, and to man to be candid or a grammarian, but also many necessary things, not so much whatever necessity, but out of the leading nature of the subject itself, as to man to be laughing or capable of knowledge. And in which meaning it was made use a little while ago in the word, '*it happens to*', when the fourfold division of property was explained. 3) In the third attribute, because it neither belongs to the essence of the thing, nor flows away from that rather necessary emanation. In this way by one reason it happens to man to be black, by another to be capable of knowledge, since this is in the nature of man itself, insofar as he is man, from where it originates, the other comes from another quarter. And this is the proper and peculiar *ratio* of accident, as it constitutes the fifth and last kind of universals. In a way, accident is taken not as this or that in number, but as it is common to several. For even if the name '*accident*' brings nothing universal before, and can equally be understood for the individuals, and for the universals, yet it is adapted in itself to the use of the philosophers for signifying this last kind of universals, concerning which the remaining discourse will be.

On the other hand, accident is usually defined in this way *because it is present or absent without the corruption of the subject; moreover, what comes to pass to be there, and not to be there; and finally, since it is neither a genus, nor a species, nor a differentia, nor a property, but it is there in the thing*. It is the very same in the sense of this explanation. In this definition of universal is understood in the place of the genus, as in the first definition. Accident is a universal, which can be present or absent, affirmed or denied, concerning subjects without their destruction. And the second definition can be understood in the same way. In truth it is correct to explain it in the third sense. For it is indeed appropriate to several items in the same *ratio*, truly neither as genus, nor species, nor differentia, nor property. Consequently in all that definitions the last contingency is placed as the constitutive differentia of the accident. Yet more is explained in the manner in which accident may be defined, if it is said to be *universal, because it is predicated concerning several items in the question 'what sort of thing is it?', accidents, and in the contingent predication*, as in the appropriate order. In the first place the individuals are excluded. Secondly, the genera and the species [are left out]. Then, truly the differentias are excluded, and in the last the properties.

Complectitur autem hoc genus univesalium non tantum accidentia realia, sed etiam attributa rationis, negationesque quae contingenter de pluribus dicuntur, atque adeo ipsas substantias more accidentium circumpositas, ut esse praedicatum, subiectum, caecum, tenebrosum, indutum, ornatum, inauratum, munitum. Omnia enim haec pluribus contingenter convenire, deque illis affirmari possunt haud destructis rebus de quibus dicuntur.

Dividitur porro accidens in id quod reipsa separabile est, et in id quod inseparabile. Nam etsi omne accidens huius speciei praedicabilium, cogitatione, eaque negativa separari potest incolumi subiecto, quippe cuius naturae in se consideratae nihil repugnat illo carere; non tamen omnia reipsa seiungi possunt, sed quaedam possunt, quaedam non item. Nam sedere separabile est, et cogitatione et reipsa; *simum* vero esse, *caecum*, et similia cogitatione quidem separabilia sunt, non etiam reipsa. Qua in re late patens discrimen cernitur inter accidens, et proprium, quod nec reipsa, nec negativa cogitatione seiungi potest servato subiecto. Si enim, exempli causa, neges, hominem esse disciplinae capacem, ipsa negatione cogitis illum fateri, ne hominem quidem esse, cum ex ipsa natura homana necessario consequatur ad disciplinas capessendas aptitudo et propensio.

Potest etiam dividi accidens in generale, et speciale, quemadmodum et differentia, et proprium; ut generale quidem dicatur de specie differentibus veluti album, vigilare, dormire; speciale vero de solis numero differentibus, ut ridere, Grammaticum esse.

Iam si accidentia cum propriis conferantur, sitque sermo de veris ac realibus accidentibus, et propriis, illud observari solet, quemadmodum propria primo conveniunt universalibus, deinde per universalia singularibus communicantur; ita accidentia primo convenire singularibus, deinde per singularia universalibus attribui.

Quod si accidens cum omnibus quatuor superioribus universalium generibus comparetur, hoc discrimine, praeter alia, quae iam dicta sunt, inter ea cernitur, quod quatuor illa semper habent actum essendi in pluribus cum aptitudine coniunctum, sive ipsa, eorumve particularia existant, sive non existant (semper enim verum fuit Socratem esse hominem, et animal, et rationis participem, ac disciplinae capacem, etiam antequam ille, eiusmodique praedicata in rerum natura existerent; verumque est nunc postquam diem clausit extremum; perpetuoque verum erit) addicens vero etsi ex omni aeternitate habuit aptitudinem essendi in pluribus; non habet tamen actum, nisi cum et ipsum existit, et particularia, in quibus existit; ut calidum existens, in aqua, et ligno existentibus.

However, this comprises the kinds of universals not only accidents which exist in reality, but also the attributes of reason, and the negations which are contingently said concerning several things, and to such an extent, the substances themselves composed in the fashion of accidents as to be a predicate, a subject, blind, gloomy, dressed in, equipped, adorned, [and] fortified. Indeed all those things can contingently be suitable to several items and be affirmed about things, [provided that] the things they are said about are not destroyed.

On top of that, accident is divided into that which is separable from the thing itself and that which is inseparable. For even if in thought the accident in all of this kind of predicables, and in some negative way can be separated from the unimpaired subject, since nothing of this kind of nature considered in itself is incompatible with being without it. Indeed it cannot be separated from the thing itself in all aspects, but in some aspects it can, and it cannot in other aspects. For 'to be sitting' is separable in thought and from the thing itself. Indeed '*to be snub-nosed,*' '*to be blind,*' and the like are certainly separable in thought, not likewise from the thing itself. And in that a widely evident distinction can actually be perceived between accident and property as neither in the thing itself, nor in the negative reasoning power can be separated from the preserved subject. For instance, if in fact you deny that man is capable of instruction, then by the very negation you are forced to admit that he is also not a man, as the aptitude and the propensity to knowledge necessarily follows from the very human nature.

Furthermore, accident can be divided in generic and specific, just like differentia and property. As generic indeed it is said concerning items which differ in species, as for example 'to be white,' 'to be awake,' and 'to be asleep.' Specific in fact concerns items which differ only in number, as 'to laugh,' [and] 'to be a grammarian.'

Moreover, if accidents are compared with properties, it is usually observed how properties are in the first place appropriate to the universals, and then they are communicated through the universals to the individuals; thus the accidents are in the first place appropriate to the individuals, then through the individuals to the universals.

When compared with all four previous genera of universals, in this distinction, the accident is distinct from them besides others already said, because those four always have the actuality combined with the aptitude to be in several items. Either they exist in themselves, or in their particulars. Or they do not exist (indeed it was always true of Socrates that he was a man and an animal, participating in reason, and capable of knowledge. Even before he and his predicates of this sort might exist in the nature of things. And it is true now after he finished his last day. And it will be true in the eternity). It is favourable in truth even if it has either existed from all eternity the aptitude to be in several items. It does not actually exist, unless when it exists itself and the particulars, in which it exists, as in the heat existing in the actual water and timber.

De aliis quibusdam universalium speciebus, quas ethnici philosophi non agnoverunt

Caput XII

Sed quoniam divina incarnatione factum est, ut natura divina, et humana in unam Christi Domini personam coniunctis, vere dicamus illum et Deum esse, et hominem (id quod omnes vel in ipsa Christianae fidei catechesi didicimus) aequum est ut pro ratione loci exponamus, cuiusmodi sint hae praedicationes, et caeterae omnes, quibus vel divinae, vel humanae naturae attributa de Christo dicuntur; utrum ad ea universalium genera pertineant, quae hactenus explicata sunt, et a veteribus Philosophis tradita; an ne ad alia, quae illis ignota fuerint, quae proinde qualia sint explicare sit necesse. Neque enim haec prorsus dissimulanda sunt, et abscondenda iis, qui iam Philosophiae praeludia excesserunt, manusque conserere disputando incipiunt, quippe quibus haec dubitatio tanquam de re omnibus nota facile proponi potest, ut intelligant quot, et quae tandem omnino sint universalium species.

Atque ex iis, quae supradicta sunt, per facile cognosci potest, quandocumque Deus, divinaeque naturae attributa de Christo dicuntur, nullam earum praedicationum ad ullum genus universalium posse pertinere, cum divina natura, cum qua idem sunt eius attributa omnia, non modo singularis sit, sed maxime etiam singularis.

At cum homo, et humana praedicata de illo affirmantur, distinguendus est usus, et acceptio nominis Christi, seu IESU. D. N. Nam si illud sumatur pro Christo Domino quatenus singularis quidam homo est, non tantum homo, sed humana quoque praedicata, quae de eo enunciantur, perinde se ad illum habent, atque ad caeteros homines. Subest enim homni Christus Dominus hoc pacto sumptus, ut suae speciei, quemadmodum et caeteri homines; eodemque modo animali, ut suo generi, atque ita caeteris. Si vero sumatur, ut Deus est, secundaque in divinis persona; primum quidem fateri necesse est, hominem veram habere univesalis rationem illius respectu, eodemque modo naturae humanae attributa, quae de illo dicuntur, cum aequae potuerint omnia de aliis personis divinis eadem ratione distributeque praedicari, si earum singulae singulas naturas humanas assumpsissent.

On those other kinds of universals, which the pagan philosophers did not know

Chapter XII

But, seeing that it has resulted in the divine incarnation, when the divine nature and the human nature were united in the single person of the Lord Christ, that He can equally be said to be God and human being. (This is what all learned, for instance, in the very catechesis of the Christian faith). For this reason it is adequate to deal with this theme in this place, namely, of what kind those predications are, and all other things by which either the attributes of the divine nature or of the human nature are said concerning Christ. To which of the two natures those genera of universals belong, and that so far have been explained, and were taught by the ancient philosophers. Or it may belong to other genera which may have been unknown to them, being necessary to explain what kind of things they are. For these things should not be concealed at all, and hidden from those who have already passed the preludes of philosophy, and have begun to join in close combat in disputations. Inasmuch as this disputation concerning what is known by everyone can easily be proposed, they may understand how many and what after all could be the species of universals.

And from what has been said above, it can easily be known whenever God and the attributes of the divine nature are said concerning Christ, because none of their predications can belong to any kind of universals; for the divine nature, with which all its attributes are equal, is not only singular but also singular in the greatest possible degree.

But as man and human predicates are affirmed concerning Him, the use and the meaning of the name Christ, or Jesus Our Lord, has to be distinguished. For if it is taken for Christ Lord insofar as He is some singular man, not only a human person but also the human predicates which are enunciated in relation to Him, in the same way they exist to Him and to other men. In fact, Christ the Lord taken in this way is subjected to man, as to its species, and just as the other men. Likewise, He is subjected to animal as to its genus, and thus to other [predicates]. If in fact He is taken as God, and the second in the divine persons, then first it is indeed necessary to concede that man has a true universal *ratio* in relation to Him, and in the same way the attributes of human nature, which are said concerning Him. For to an equal degree, it will have been predicated concerning the other divine persons by the same *ratio* in all respects if they had taken the individual human nature to each one of them.

Cum autem quaeritur ad quae universalium genera pertineant, sunt qui velint, ea omnia ad quintum ex vulgatis speciebus referenda esse, quod homo et humana attributa non necessario, sed contingenter de verbo divino dicantur. Qua in sententia etsi error est nullus, si intelligatur, ut ab illis exponitur; abstinendum est tamen a nomine accidentis, cum genera nostra, speciemque humanam, eiusque differentias specificas Christo Domino attribuimus, ne asserere videamur, illum naturam nostram non substantialiter, sed accidentaliter sibi univisse (quod credere impium est) neque alio modo eam sibi copullasse, quam quo Angeli induunt ea corpora, quibus in specie humana apparere hominibus solent.

Sunt igitur haec omnia praedicata quaedam contingentia comparatione divini verbi, seu potius spontanea, ac libera; proinde nullum eorum praedicatur de illo quidditative, aut essentialiter, aut necessario, ut vel genus sit, vel species vel differentia, vel proprium respectu illius, quatenus quidem haec quatuor universalium genera ab Ethnicis Philosophis, nobisque hactenus explicata sunt. Sed tamen alio modo quodam mirabili, multisque seculis incognito (nisi quibus divinae bonitati placuit illum praemonstrare) priora tria dici posse genera, species, et differentias, nempe *assumptiva genera, assumptivasque species, et differentias*, quod verbo divino per naturam assumptam, non per innatam divinamque conveniant; idque non accidentali unione, sed substantiali, et modis inter se ita diversis, ut ad tres quasdam alias universalium species merito pertineant. Nam genera haec, et species, etsi contingenter, tamen substantialiter praedicantur, idque in quaestione, *quodnam suppositum est*; genera quidem de specie differentibus, sive incomplete; species vero de differentibus numero, seu complete: at differentiae contingenter, et substantialiter in quaestione quale est.

Quaerenti enim quodnam suppositum sit verbum divinum, seu cuius naturae suppositum; cum haec quaestio substantiam quaerat, apte respondebit, tametsi incomplete, qui dixerit, esse suppositum naturae sensitivae, ac proinde animal, quod eadem ratione praedicari potuisset de differentibus specie, si quemadmodum verbum divinum humanam naturam sibi substantialiter univit, ita univisset spiritus sanctus naturam columbae, cuius forma in Christi Domini baptisate apparuit. Complete vero (quod attinet ad naturam assumptam) respondebit, qui dixerit, esse suppositum naturae humanae, ac proinde hominem, cum in homine contineatur tota communis natura singulorum hominum. Demum quaerenti qualenam suppositum sit verbum divinum substantiali qualitate, recte respondebit, qui dixerit esse rationale, aut sensitivum.

For however it is sought to which genera of universals they belong, some want them all to refer to the fifth of the common species of universals, because man and human nature are attributed not necessarily, but contingently concerning the Divine Word. And even if there is no error in it, if this opinion is understood as they expounded it, yet one must refrain from the use of the name 'accident,' when our genera, and human species, and its specific differentia are attributed to our Lord Christ. As one should not seem to maintain that Christ and [to claim that] our nature is united to Him not substantially but accidentally (which is impious to believe) or that it is not united to Him in some way, as the angels adopt those bodies in which they usually appear to men in human appearance.

Therefore those are all contingent predicates in a rather spontaneous or free comparison with the Divine Word; none of them is predicated quidditatively, or essentially, or necessarily concerning Christ, as either genus, or species, or differentia, or property in respect of Him, insofar as these four genera of universals have so far been explained by the pagan philosophers. But also in a certain extraordinary other way, and unknown for many centuries (if not in which in the divine goodness decreed to point out the way to Him) the first three can be said to be genera, species, and differentias, namely, adopted genera, adopted species, and adopted differentias, because they are appropriate to the Divine Word through the adopted nature, not through an innate divine nature. And this not in an accidental union, but in a substantial one, and thus in diverse ways among themselves, as they deservedly belong to the three other species. For even if these genera and species are contingently predicated, they are also [predicated] substantially, and in the question '*what is the suppositum?*', certainly genera concerning items which differ in species, or incompletely. In truth, the species are predicated concerning items which differ in number, or completely. But the differentias are predicated contingently and substantially in the question 'what sort of thing is it?'

Indeed, querying just what the Divine Word as suppositum is, or of which nature it is suppositum, by this question requiring the substance it will respond fittingly, although incompletely, the one who will have said that the suppositum is of sensitive nature, and hence animal. Since, in fact, that it could be predicated by the same *ratio* concerning items which differ in species, just as it is united substantially the Divine Word and human nature, therefore the Holy Ghost had united with the nature of a dove, in the form of which it had appeared in the baptism of the Lord Christ. In fact completely (because it relates to the nature adopted) will respond the one who will have said that the suppositum is of human nature, and therefore man, as it is contained in man all the common nature of the singular men. In fact by asking 'what kind of thing is supposed?' it is the Divine Word in substantial quality; it will correctly respond, the one who will have said that it is rational, or sensitive.

Ex qua re patet, mysterium divinae incarnationis nobis aperiuisse, non esse immediatam oppositionem inter praedicationem essentialem, et accidentalem, si proprie in scholis Christianae Philosophiae loquendum est, cum inter utramque sit media praedicatio quaedam substantialis, quae neque essentialis est neque accidentalis proprie cum synceritate orthodoxae fidei appellari potest.

Non videtur autem eadem ratio in proprietatibus, et accidentibus naturae assumptae, atque in generibus, speciebus, et differentiis, ut ex illis duo item alia genera assumptivorum universalium constitui debeant. Omnia enim propria, et accidentia naturae assumptae si cum verbo divino conferantur, vere comprehenduntur in vulgata accidentis specie. Nam et risus capax, et caeterae hominis proprietates, albumque et alia eius communia accidentia praedicantur de verbo divino accidentaliter, et contingenter, tametsi non ei conveniunt cum vera inhaerentia, quo pacto eorum pleraque conveniunt verbo divino, ut homo est, et aliis hominibus. Neque enim necessaria est vera inhaerentia ad veram, et propriam quinti vulgati praedicabilis rationem; ut ex iis quae in eo explicando dicta sunt perspicuum est. Atque haec de universalibus more Isagogico dicta sint, non tantum ut ab Ethnicis Philosophis sunt tradita, sed etiam ut in Christianae Philosophiae Academiis explicari debent.

And from this it is clear that the mystery of the divine Incarnation has revealed to us that there is no immediate opposition between essential and accidental predication, if one has to talk appropriately in the schools of Christian Philosophy, seeing that between one and the other there is a middle substantial predication, which is not essential, nor could it be properly called accidental with the sincerity of the orthodox faith.

It does not seem the same *ratio* in the property, and accident of the nature adopted, and in genera, species, and differentias, as the other genera of the former have likewise to be constituted from those two. Indeed all properties and accidents of the adopted nature, if brought together with the divine word, are comprehended in the common species of accident. For being capable of laughter, and other human properties, and white and others if the common accidents are predicated concerning the divine word accidentally, and contingently, although they are not appropriate to Him with true inherence, in what way a very great part of them are appropriate to the divine word, as it is to man, and to other men. Neither indeed is it necessarily true inherence to the true and proper predicable *ratio* of the five common genera. As it is clear from those things said in this explanation. And those are said in an introductory way concerning the universals; as they are not as such taught from the pagan philosophers, they have to be explained in the academies of Christian philosophy.