

**“BABEȘ-BOLYAI” UNIVERSITY  
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***Debates on the Continuum  
in the Natural Philosophy of the XIVth Century***

**PHD THESIS SUMMARY**

**Supervisor:  
PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BAUMGARTEN**

**Candidate:  
PAUL ANDREI MARINCA**

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## Keywords

Natural Philosophy, History of Science, Aristotle's *Physics*, Continuum, Atomism, Anti-atomism, Arabic philosophy, *Kalām*, Avicenna, Fourteenth Century Indivisibilism, Duns Scotus, geometry, Henry of Harclay, Walter Chatton, William of Alnwick, Gerardus Odonis, *De continuo*, John Gedo, University of Paris, James of Eltville, University of Vienna, Viennese Faculty of Theology, Late fourteenth century philosophy, John of Ripa, Stephen of Enzersdorf.

## Summary

The present thesis is concerned with the evolution of late medieval discussions within natural philosophy in the fourteenth century. More precisely, the object of my research are the debates which have a common underlying concept: the continuum or the idea of continuity, as well as related debates on topics such as the latitude of accidental forms and the latitude of species. My main research question can be formulated in the following manner: how did the concept of continuity develop in fourteenth century debates in natural philosophy against the background of Aristotelian physics?

The debates on the continuum took place mostly in the first half of the fourteenth century, between a great majority of authors who endorsed standard Aristotelian conception of the continuum as infinitely divisible, and a few authors defending the minority view of atomism, according to which all continuous quantities are composed of homogeneous, indivisible parts. Yet the concept of continuity is also functioning in the background of debates on the latitude of accidental forms and the latitude of species. The concept of latitude was designed to account for the complete range of variable intensities that a given quality could possess in a subject. As such, it proved to be a useful concept in exploring the philosophical consequences of the theological doctrine of the intension and remission of charity or other theological virtues within souls. Thus, part of these debates was concerned with the doctrine of the latitude of forms and its numerous applications in the fields of theology, philosophy, and physics. Through the concept of latitude of species medieval scholars reflected on the hierarchy of creatures established by God and tried to measure the ontological distance between one species and another and between the entire latitude of species and God.

The novelty of my study comes from the hitherto neglected texts of three authors writing in the fourteenth century which I will edit and analyze. By studying several questions stemming from the academic activity of Gerardus Odonis (d. 1348), James of Eltville (d. 1393), and Stephan of Enzesdorf (d. 1405), I aim to give an overview of the type of problems related to natural philosophy discussed in two of the most important medieval universities, Paris and Vienna. In order to accomplish the task at hand, I will try to answer the following three particular questions.

1. The first sub-question of my study is **to what degree is the Franciscan Gerardus Odonis' atomistic theory on the composition of continua indebted to the earlier formulations of an atomistic doctrine by Henry of Harclay**. Henry of Harclay, chancellor of the University of Oxford from 1312 to 1317, is considered the first true atomist of the fourteenth century, and his theories quickly acquired a readership at Oxford and in the universities on the Continent. Odonis' and Harclay's theories share conspicuous similarities, yet also have important differences. However, Harclay expounded his views in the last years of his life, while Odonis was already a prolific author at Franciscan studium of Toulouse in the late 1310s. Thus, the chronological overlap of their academic careers precluded scholars in the past to give a clear answer on whether Odonis had access to Harclay's writings in some form or another. I intend to clarify this aspect by analyzing the textual similarities between Harclay's writings and Odonis' questions on atomism from his commentary on the second book of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.
2. The second sub-question is **how natural philosophy was used in theological writings from the university of Paris in the last decades of the fourteenth century**. More precisely, in questions related to distinction 17 of book I of Lombard's *Sentences*, theologians gave a great deal of attention to issues concerning the variable intensities an accidental form can receive, the augmentation and diminution of a given quality, the modality of how this augmentation occurs and so on. The German Cistercian James of Eltville, who lectured on the *Sentences* at Paris in 1369, dedicated a question to this topic, but this text has not been previously edited or studied. I chose James of Eltville as a case study because his commentary is an important source for understanding doctrinal shifts at the University of Paris in the late 1360s.
3. The third sub-question has in view the relation between the universities of Paris and Vienna with regard to the transfer of philosophical doctrines from the university of Paris to the newly established university of Vienna in the last decades of the fourteenth century. My goal is to determine **how the doctrine of the latitude of species was accommodated within the Viennese Faculty of Theology, and how the philosophical vocabulary in which discussions were framed in Paris was used and developed in a new theological context**. As a case study I chose a question authored by Stephan of Enzersdorf, one of the first *magistri* of the University of Vienna. In this text, the Viennese theologian asks "Whether in the latitude of creatable species there must be given a supreme one right next

to God” (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A X 44, f. 1r-v). The study of Enzersdorf’s *quaestio* is important, since it can clarify whether Viennese authors mimicked Parisian trends or established their own tradition of thought.

To achieve all these tasks, I will approach the texts through a two-tiered methodology:

1. First, I will approach the texts through historical and paleographical lens, reconstructing the context of their redaction, tracing their textual transmission and critically editing them. For instance, as a preparatory stage for studying Gerardus Odonis’ distinction 44, question 4 from his commentary on Book 2 of Lombard’s *Sentences*, containing just one version of his treatise *De continuo*, I will examine the relationship between this particular version of *De continuo* and the other redactions. Furthermore, I will analyse all the known witnesses of the question, noting their differences and establishing which are the most reliable witnesses. This preliminary work is crucial for providing an accurate critical edition of the text (provided in the Appendix of this thesis), as well as for ensuring a better understanding of Odonis’ treatment of the continuum.

2. Second, the chosen methodology employs a careful study of the sources, explicit or implicit, used by the authors I discuss. In this regard, I am interested in understanding the background of the philosophical arguments advanced by these authors. A considerable part of the arguments against or in favour of atomism which were disseminated in the fourteenth century had their origin in Aristotle’s critique of Democritus or in the Arabic philosophers’ rebuttal of the atomism of muslim theologians. To return to Gerardus Odonis’ case, his texts need to be understood in the larger context of early fourteenth century debates around atomism, since, beside Aristotle, an acknowledged source of his question is Scotus, who recapitulated and developed arguments transmitted *via* al-Ġazālī from the Islamic milieu. Furthermore, James of Eltville’s question is highly dependent on works authored by Franciscan and Augustinian authors (Adam Wodeham and Alfonsus Vargas notably) from the 1330s and 1340s. Studying the sources employed by Odonis and Eltville allows us to better assess how these arguments were received and transmitted, but also to know what the authors made of these arguments.

In the first chapter I traced the origins of Late Medieval debates on continuity and atomism in the distant background of classical Greek philosophy. I provided a brief sketch of the physical atomism of Democritus, based on the testimonies of Aristotle and other later authors, but also with the support of solid contemporary exegesis (Furley, Sorabji, Vlastos).

Aristotle himself thought the atomistic theory to be a reaction to the doctrines of monism and immobility of being professed by the Eleatic school. Since Aristotle's explanation was later adopted and developed by modern exegetes of ancient philosophy, I provided in my account a description of Zeno's famous paradoxes of motion and of his arguments against plurality, as they are rehearsed in the Aristotelian corpus and in Simplicius' commentary on the *Physics*.

These paradoxes are an important development in the history of debates concerning the continuum, all the more because Aristotle redescribed so as to fit his own account of the issues regarding infinity and continuity. Therefore, I followed Aristotle's rendition of these arguments, while I tried not to neglect the efforts of reconstructing the original meaning of the arguments by modern researchers.

A central piece of the chapter was Aristotle's book VI of his *Physics*, where he presents some original arguments against atomism. I rendered the arguments as detailed as possible in order to better understand their principles and to make their eventual shortcomings more conspicuous.

Regardless of their problematic aspects, these arguments had an enduring career in the Middle Ages and became part of almost any anti-atomist's stock of arguments. Their force determined Epicurus' to reform Democritan atomism as to make it more resilient to the type of attacks inspired by Aristotle's critique.

In the last part of the chapter, I examined the historical origins of *kalām* atomism, which competed with the explanations of natural phenomena introduced in the Islamic world by the translators and practitioners of *falsafa*. I focused on the theories of the Mu'tazilite Abū l-Hudhail and his nephew an-Nazzām, the latter an influent adversary of *kalām* atomism. I also examined anti-atomistic arguments in the works of two Arabic philosophers, Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī and Ibn-Sīnā (Avicenna), and the account of *kalām* atomism provided by one Jewish philosopher, Moses Maimonides. However, this first chapter served only as an introduction to the problems with which fourteenth century divisibilists and indivisibilists were concerned.

In the second chapter I explored how debates concerning atomism originated in the fourteenth century. I started by examining the arguments of John Duns Scotus, who expanded on previous lines of reasoning presented by Roger Bacon. The source of Scotus' *rationes geometricae* is, however, al-Ġazālī's *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* ("The intentions of the philosophers"), translated in Latin as *Metaphysica Algazelis*. Furthermore, al-Ġazālī was not original but was simply reproducing Avicenna's arguments against atomism. However, Scotus added on al-Ġazālī' and Bacon's arguments new layers of complexity.



I analysed Scotus' geometrical arguments and his stances on the possibility of atomism with the intention to argue that Scotus attacked the thesis according to which a continuum is composed of indivisible parts immediately next to one another. Other interpretations have been provided, such as Cross's, which state that Scotus' arguments against atomism work only if they start from the premise that continua are composed of atoms distanced between themselves by gaps. I argued why this is not the case.

In the wake of Scotus's criticism, the first indivisibilists appeared in the first decades of the fourteenth century. First, at Oxford we have the chancellor Henry of Harclay, who espoused an infinitist brand of mathematical atomism. Harclay espoused atomism in the last years of activity at Oxford (he died in 1317), yet aspects of his earlier academic career at Paris are not yet fully understood. I argued that Harclay might have had an influence on the first fourteenth century divisibilists on the Continent, the Franciscan Gerardus Odonis. As such, I conceived this chapter as having two poles, Henry of Harclay and Gerardus Odonis. However, I attempted to cover accurately the developments of the English side of the debates after Harclay's death. In this regard, I focused mainly on the figures of Walter Chatton and Adam Wodeham.

Concerning Odonis' controversial theory, I analysed Gerardus Odonis' version of his tract *De continuo* from his commentary on book II of Lombard's Sentences, d. 44, q. 4 (with a critical edition of this question provided in the Appendix). I analysed the content of the question as well as its circumstances of redaction.

With regard to Odonis' doctrine of indivisibles being distinguishable according to so-called differences of place or time (*secundum differentias relativas loci vel temporis*), I have tried to provide a reading of these differences which does not consider them as parts of the atom, since Odonis never conceives his atoms as being extended or having parts. I proposed, therefore, to analyse in closer detail some of Odonis examples of such differences of place and time and what characteristics he ascribes to them.

By analysing Odonis' description of the relation between the indivisibles and the continuum they are a part of, I argued that Odonis introduces metaphysical notions in order to explain how these partless indivisibles can enter into relations and aggregate into a continuum. Odonis employs the Scotistic notion of formal distinction to explain how a temporal instant is both beginning and end within the temporal flux.

From more than one case, it becomes clear that Odonis uses Scotus' famous notion of formal distinction to entail that these differences are the one and the same reality, even though they express different states of the indivisible. To this, he adds other characteristics of the

differences, such that they are “relational” (*respective*) and “concerned with” (*concretive*). By appealing to these distinctions I think that Odonis was trying not to draw too much of a separation within the indivisible, yet to allow the indivisible to enter into relations to other indivisibles in order to form aggregates.

I have concluded that while postulating differences relative to place or time brings Odonis closer to Harclay’s solution, which is most likely his source, introducing Scotus’ formal distinction and new metaphysical distinctions to strengthen his theory shows that he was a creative thinker. In this regard, his view on the features an indivisible part has is more elaborate than Harclay’s and is more distant than the model of purely mathematical atoms espoused by Harclay.

In the remainder of the section dedicated to Odonis, I briefly described the legacy of Odonis’ atomism in the works of Nicholas Bonet and John Gedo. I have pointed out that understanding Gedo’s treatise *De continuo* is a complex matter that needs to take into account two other anonymous texts present in Vat. lat. 3092 which could be related in some manner to Gedo’s treatise.

In the third chapter, I explored the topic of the intension and remission of forms as it appears in one of James of Eltville’s questions from his commentary of Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*, which stems from the lectures Eltville held at the University of Paris in 1369. The concept of latitude was designed to account for the complete range of variable intensities a given quality could possess in a subject. It was therefore linked with the concept of continuity, and it enables us to see how that concept was put to work in discussions outside the problem of the composition of continua.

As I have shown in my analysis, in Eltville’s case, his treatment of the topic of the latitude of charity is not strictly original, since he mainly borrows from earlier authors, such as the Augustinians Alfonsus Vargas Toletanus and Gregory of Rimini, and the Franciscan Adam Wodeham. However, as I have argued, Eltville’s originality is not that important in a historical context where the practice of “bricolage textuel” (an expression formulated by Monica Brînzei) was normal and represented an essential tool of any scholar. I have concluded that what emerges from the analysis of Eltville’s text is that he relies on *Sentences* commentaries from the 1330s and 1340s, and even those texts send back to earlier authorities such as Thomas Aquinas and Gilles of Rome.

One explanation for this fact, as I have claimed, is that Eltville chose Alfonsus Vargas’ commentary as a source because it is a reservoir of opinions and citations extracted from a wide range of authors, therefore making it the ideal starting point for elaborating his own

treatment. His choice is also indicative of strong doctrinal ties between Cistercians and Augustinians in the later fourteenth century documented by Damasus Trapp. However, Eltville's selection of material may suggest that he preferred a more conservative account as a result of numerous censures and admonitions against the use of logico-mathematical tools in theology which shaped the intellectual atmosphere in mid-fourteenth century.

In the latter section of the same chapter, I explored how philosophical doctrines related to the topic of the latitude of species were transmitted from Paris to the University of Vienna in the last decade of the fourteenth century. As a case study I chose to examine a *quaestio* by Stephan of Enzersdorf bearing the title "Whether in the latitude of creatable species there must be given a supreme one right next to God" (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A X 44, f. 1r-v). The study of Enzersdorf's *quaestio*, one of the first masters of the University of Vienna, definitely sheds a light on how the Viennese tradition of thought stood in relation with the older university of Paris.

More precisely, I have shown that the vocabulary used by Enzersdorf (*denominatio essentialis, speciem supremam citra Deum* etc.) and the particular topics he treats in his text indicate the influence of John of Ripa, a Franciscan author reading the *Sentences* at Paris in the academic year 1352-1353. However, I have argued that while Enzersdorf borrows Ripian terminology, some of his arguments are nevertheless anti-Ripian in nature.

Moreover, I have suggested that the way Enzersdorf reused Ripa's vocabulary with the aim of elaborating different theses could reflect a common attitude of Viennese intellectuals regarding Parisian philosophy and theology. However, I admit that the suggestion is not fully developed and needs to be confirmed by extended research on Ripa's and other Parisian scholars' impact on the *magistri* of the University of Vienna.

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