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the two Discussions of scientific consideration and how the light radiates as the truth of things, of words, and of manners, concerning which there are nine partial instructions and three principal rays.

Again, "God saw the light," that is, he made (it) be seen through wisdom's contemplation by illuminating the soul in itself, in reflection, and in understanding. And this last illumination in understanding is distinguished by six conditions which that light impresses in the mind; for it is the first simple cause, etc., and in creatures there are opposed conditions. The soul raises itself to that understanding by reason, experience, and understanding of the simple. From all of which, every perfection is given in the soul in those six conditions, since it has substance, power, operation, etc.

To all these the understanding given through nature reaches, and hence the philosophers have come to them; and so in them just as in the angels, "light is divided from darkness" (Genesis 1, 4). Thus they knew that light as it is in the quiddity of things, clear in the pronunciation of words, best in the ordering of manners.

But there was a difference as to whether in that light there is the characteristic of being the exemplar of everything, some saying that it knows itself alone, as in Book XI of the Metaphysics, the last chapter: "And it moves through being loved and desired." These do not posit any exemplar at all. The first of these is Aristotle, who attacked eternal reasons and Ideas, as well as their defender, Plato. The commentator on Book I of the Ethics, where Aristotle proves that the highest good is not an Idea, replies to his arguments.

From this there follows a second error, namely, that the truth of divine providence and foreknowledge is put aside, if everything is not distinct in it. Whence they say that God knows nothing as a particular and that there is no truth of the future except by necessity, and so foreknowledge is removed and one must maintain that everything happens by chance. Hence fate is necessarily brought in, as the Arabs maintain, that is, the error that the substances moving the world are the causes of everything. And from this there follows the unsuitable position that the disposition of the world is beyond punishment and glory. For if these substances do not err in moving, neither hell nor demon is posited; whence Aristotle did not posit demons nor more angels than celestial spheres.

Most of all, then, the truth of divine providence and the disposition of the world is put aside in this way. And thus in the putting aside of the truth there is given the error of the eternity of the world, as even Aristotle himself seems to sense, according to the doctors who impute this to him, namely, Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa. From this there follows the unity of the intellect or its transmigration into another body or what is corporeal; and since it is not proper to posit an infinite number of intellects, he thought to posit one for all. All these follow if it is held that the world is eternal. And further, it follows that after this life there is neither punishment nor glory.

Those holding such views, therefore, fall into these errors, the understanding of which is closed by the key to the bottomless pit from which a great fog arises. It is more circumspect, then, to say that Aristotle did not feel that the world is eternal, whether he felt so or not, since he was so great that everyone followed him and was devoted to saying the same things; thus all the light determined in his predecessors was extinguished. But we follow him where he spoke well, not where he was in the dark, not on those matters of which he was ignorant or which he concealed. From doing that, men in this life are on the infinite precipice.

RETRACING THE ARTS TO THEOLOGY
OR
SACRED THEOLOGY
THE MISTRESS AMONG THE SCIENCES

1. Every best gift and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of lights, James in the first chapter of his Epistle. These words of Sacred Scripture not only reveal the source of all illumination but they likewise point out the generous flow of manifold rays which issue from that Fount of light. Notwithstanding the fact that every illumination of knowledge is within, still, we can with propriety distinguish what we may call the external light, or the light of mechanical skill; the lower light, or the light of sense perception; the inner light, or the light of philosophical knowledge; and the higher light, or the light of grace and of Sacred Scripture. The first light illuminates in the consideration of the arts and crafts; the second, in regard to natural form; the third, in regard to intellectual truth; the fourth and last, in regard to saving truth.

2. The first light, then, since it enlightens the mind for an appreciation of the arts and crafts, which are, as it were, exterior to man and intended to supply the needs of the body, is called the light of mechanical skill. Being, in a certain sense, servile and of a lower nature than philosophical knowledge, this light can rightly be termed external. It has seven divisions corresponding to the seven mechanical arts enumerated by Hugh in his Didascalion, namely, weaving, armour-making, agriculture, hunting, navigation, medicine, and the dramatic art. That the above mentioned arts suffice for all the needs of mankind is shown in the following way: every mechanical art is intended for man's consolation or his comfort; its purpose, therefore, is to banish either sorrow or want; it either benefits or delights, according to the words of Horace:

   Either to serve or to please is the wish of the poets.

And again:

   He hath gained universal applause who hath combined
   the profitable with the pleasing.

   If its aim is to afford consolation and amusement, it is dramatic art, or the art of exhibiting plays, which embraces every form of entertainment, be it song, music, drama, or pantomime. If, however, it is intended for the comfort or betterment of the exterior man, it can accomplish its purpose by providing either covering or food, or by serving as an aid in the acquisition of either. In the matter of covering, if it provides a soft and light material, it is weaving; if, a strong and hard material, it is armour-making or metal-working, an art which extends to

every tool or implement fashioned of iron or of any metal whatsoever, of stone, or of wood.

In the matter of food, mechanical skill may benefit in two ways, for we derive our sustenance from vegetables and from flesh meats. If it supplies us with vegetables, it is farming; if it provides us with flesh meats, it is hunting. Or, again, as regards food, mechanical skill has a twofold advantage: either it aids in the production and multiplication of crops, in which case it is agriculture, or in the various ways of preparing food under which aspect it is hunting, an art which extends to every conceivable way of preparing foods, drinks, and delicacies—a task with which bakers, cooks, and innkeepers are concerned. The term “hunting” (venation), however, is derived from one single aspect of the trade, undoubtedly, on account of the excellent nature of game and the popularity of the chase at court.

Furthermore, as an aid in the acquisition of each of these necessities, the mechanical arts contribute to the welfare of man in two ways: either by supplying a want, and in this case it is navigation, which includes all commerce of articles of covering or of food; or by removing impediments and ills of the body, under which aspect it is medicine, whether it is concerned with the preparation of drugs, potions, or ointments, with the healing of wounds or with the amputation of members, in which latter case it is called surgery. Dramatic art, on the other hand, is in a class by itself. Considered in this light, the classification of the mechanical arts seems adequate.

3. The second light, which enables us to discern natural forms, is the light of sense perception. Rightly it is called the lower light because sense perception begins with a material object and takes place by the aid of corporeal light. It has five divisions corresponding to the five senses. In his third book on Genesis, St. Augustine, in the following way bases the adequacy of the senses on the nature of the light present in the elements: if the light is bright or brightness, which makes possible the discernment of things corporeal, exists in a high degree of its own property and in a certain purity, it is the sense of sight; commingled with the air, it is hearing; with vapor, it is smell; with a fluid of the body, it is taste; with a solid earthly substance, it is touch. Now the sensitive life of the body partakes of the nature of light for which reason it thrives in the nerves which are naturally unobstructed and capable of transmitting impressions, and in these five senses it possesses more or less vigor according to the greater or less soundness of the nerves. Therefore, since there are in the world five simple substances, namely, the four elements and the fifth essence, man has for the perception of all these corporeal forms five senses well adapted to these substances, because, on account of the well-defined nature of each sense, apprehension can take place only when there is a certain conformity and rapport between the faculty and the object. There is another way of determining the adequacy of the senses, but St. Augustine sanctions this method and it seems reasonable since corresponding elements on the part of the faculty, the medium, and the object lend joint support to the proof.

4. The third light which guides man in the investigation of intelligible truths is the light of philosophical knowledge. It is called inner because it inquires into inner and hidden causes through principles of knowledge and natural truth, which are inherent in man. It is a threefold light diffusing itself over the three divisions of philosophy: rational, natural, and moral, a classification which seems suitable, since there is truth of speech, truth of things, and truth of morals. Rational philosophy considers the truth of speech; natural philosophy, the truth of things; and moral philosophy, the truth of conduct. Or considering it in a different light: just as we believe that the principle of the efficient, the formal or exemplary, and the final cause exists in the Most High God, since “He is the Cause of being, the Principle of knowledge, and the Pattern of human life”, so do we believe that it is contained in the illumination of philosophy which enlightens the mind to discern the causes of being in which case it is physics; or to understand principles of reasoning in which case it is logic; or to learn the right way of living in which case it is moral or practical philosophy. Considering it under its third aspect: the light of philosophical knowledge illumines the intellect itself and this enlightenment may be threefold: if it governs the motive, it is moral philosophy; if it sways the reason, it is natural philosophy; if it directs the interpretation, it is discursive philosophy. As a result, man is enlightened as regards the truth of life, the truth of knowledge, and the truth of doctrine.

And since one may, through the medium of speech, give expression to his thoughts with a threefold purpose in view: namely, to communicate his ideas, to propose something for belief, or to arouse love or hatred, for this reason, discursive or rational philosophy has three subdivisions: grammar, logic, and rhetoric. Of these sciences the first aims to express; the second, to teach; the third, to persuade. The first considers the mind as apprehending; the second, as judging; the third, as motivating, and since the mind apprehends by means of correct speech, judges by means of true speech, and persuade by means of embellished speech, with good reason does this triple science consider these three quantities in speech.

Again, since our intellect must be guided in its judgment by fixed principles, these principles, likewise, must be considered under three aspects: when they pertain to matter, they are termed formal causes; when they pertain to the mind, they are termed intellectual causes; and when they pertain to Divine Wisdom, they are called ideal causes. Natural philosophy, therefore, is subdivided into physics properly so-called, into mathematics, and metaphysics. Physics, accordingly, treats of the generation and corruption of matter by natural powers and seminal causes; mathematics considers abstract forms through intellectual causes; metaphysics treats of the knowledge of all entities, which leads back to one ultimate Principle from which they proceeded according to ideal causes, that is, to God since He is the Beginning, the End, and the Exemplar. Concerning these ideal causes, however, there has been some controversy among metaphysicists.

Finally, since there are three standards of ethical principles, namely, those governing the individual, the family, and the state, so are there three corresponding divisions of moral philosophy: namely, ethical, economic, and political, the content of each being clearly indicated by its name.

5. Now the fourth light, which illumines the mind for the understanding of saving truth, is the light of Sacred Scripture. This light is called higher because it leads to things above by the manifestation of truths which are beyond reason and also because it is not acquired by human research, but comes down by inspiration from the “Father of lights”. Although in its literal sense, it is one, still, in its spiritual and mystical sense, it is threefold, for in all the books of Sacred Scripture, in addition to the literal meaning which the words clearly express, there is implied a threefold spiritual meaning: namely, the allegorical,
by which we are taught what to believe concerning the Divinity and humanity; the moral by which we are taught how to live; and the analogical by which we are taught how to keep close to God. Hence all of Sacred Scripture teaches these three truths: namely, the eternal generation and Incarnation of Christ, the pattern of human life, and the union of the soul with God. The first regards faith; the second, morals; the third, the purpose of both. To the study of the first, the doctors should devote themselves; on that of the second, the preachers should concentrate; and to the attainment of the third, the contemplatives should aspire. Augustine is the chief exponent of the first class; Gregory, of the second; Dionysius, of the third. Anselm follows Augustine; Bernard follows Gregory; Richard (of St. Victor) follows Dionysius; for Anselm excels in reasoning, Bernard in preaching, Richard in contemplation, but Hugh, in all three.

6. From the foregoing statements, it is evident that, although, according to our first classification, the light coming down from above is fourfold, still, it admits of six modifications: namely, the light of Sacred Scripture, the light of sense perception, the light of mechanical knowledge, the light of rational philosophy, the light of natural philosophy, and the light of moral philosophy. And for that reason there are in this life six illuminations and they have their twilight, for all science will be destroyed; for that reason, too, there follows a seventh day of rest, a day which knows no evening, the illumination of glory.

7. Wherefore, very fittingly may these six illuminations be compared to the six days of creation or illumination in which the world was made, the knowledge of Sacred Scriptures corresponding to the creation of the first day, that is, to the creation of light and so on one after the other in order. Moreover, just as all these creations had their origin in one light, so, too, are all these branches of knowledge ordained for the knowledge of Sacred Scripture; they are contained in it; they are perfected by it; and by means of it they are ordained for eternal illumination. Wherefore, all our knowledge should have its foundation in the knowledge of Sacred Scripture and especially is this true of the analogical knowledge through which the light is reflected back to God whence it came. And so there the cycle ends; the six are complete and, consequently, there is rest.

8. Let us see, therefore, how the other illuminations of knowledge are to be reduced to the light of Sacred Scripture. First of all, let us consider the illumination of sense perception, which is concerned exclusively with the cognition of sensible objects, a process in which three phases are to be considered: namely, the medium of perception, the exercise of perception, and the delight of perception. If we consider the medium of perception, we shall see therein the Word begotten from all eternity and made man in time. Indeed, a sensible object can make an impression upon a cognitive faculty only through the medium of a likeness which proceeds from the object as an offspring from its parent, and in every sensation, this likeness must be present either generically, specifically, or symbolically. That likeness, however, results in actual sensation only if it is brought into contact with the organ and the faculty, and once that contact is established, there results a new percept, an expressed image by means of which the mind reverts to the object. And even though the object is not always present to the senses, still, the fact remains that perception in its finished form begets an image. In like manner, know that from the mind of the Most High, Who is knowable by the interior senses of the mind, from all eternity there emanated a Likeness, an Image, and an Offspring; and afterwards, when "the fulness of time had come" He was united to a mind and body and assumed the form of man which He had never been before, and through Him all our minds, which bear the likeness of the Father through faith in our hearts, are brought back to God.

9. To be sure, if we consider the exercise of sense perception, we shall see therein the pattern of human life, for each sense applies itself to its own object, shrinks from what may harm it, and does not appropriate the object of any other sense. In like manner, the spiritual sense operates in an orderly way, for while applied to its proper object, it opposes negligence; while restraining from what is harmful, it combats concupiscence; and while respecting the rights of other, it acts in opposition to pride. Of a truth, every irregularity springs from negligence, from concupiscence, or from pride. Surely, then, he who lives a prudent, temperate, and submissive life leads a well-ordered life, for thereby he avoids negligence in his duties, concupiscence in his appetites, and pride in his excellence.

10. Furthermore, if we consider the delight, we shall see therein the union of the soul with God. Indeed, every sense seeks its proper sensible with longing, finds it with delight, and seeks it again without ceasing, because "the eye is not filled with seeing, neither is the ear filled with hearing." In the same way, our spiritual senses must seek longingly, find joyfully, and seek again without ceasing the beautiful, the harmonious, the fragrant, the sweet, or the delightful to the touch. Behold how the Divine Wisdom lies hidden in sense perception and how wonderful is the contemplation of the five spiritual senses in the light of their conformity to the senses of the body.

11. By the same process of reasoning is Divine Wisdom to be found in the illumination of the mechanical arts, the sole purpose of which is the production of works of art. In this illumination we can see the eternal generation and Incarnation of the Word, the pattern of human life, and the union of the soul with God. And this is true if we consider the production, the effect, and the advantage of the work, or if we consider the skill of the artist, the quality of the effect produced, and the utility of the advantage to be derived therefrom.

12. If we consider the production, we shall see that the work of art proceeds from the artificer according to a model existing in his mind; this pattern or model the artificer studies carefully before he produces and then he produces as he has predetermined. The artificer, moreover, produces an exterior work bearing the closest possible resemblance to the interior model, and if it were in his power to produce an effect which would know and love him, this he would assuredly do; and if that creature could know its maker, it would be by means of a likeness according to which it came from the hands of the artificer; and if the eyes of the understanding were so darkened that the creature could not be elevated to things above, in order to bring it to a knowledge of its maker, it would be necessary for the likeness according to which the effect was produced to lower itself even to that nature which the creature could grasp and know. In like manner, understand that no creature has proceeded from the Most High Creator except through the Eternal Word, "In Whom He ordered all things", and by which Word He produced creatures bearing not only the nature of His etsige but also of His Image so that through knowledge and love, they might be united to Him. And since by sin the rational creature had dimmed the eye of contemplation, it was most fitting that the Eternal and Invisible should become visible and take flesh that He might lead us back to the Father and, indeed, this is what is related in the fourteenth chapter of St. John: "No man cometh to the Father but by Me"; and in the
order so that it may be restrained by propriety in its outward accomplishment, rendered beautiful by purity of affection, regulated and adorned by uprightness of intention. For then, truly, does one live a correct and well-ordered life when his intention is upright, his affection pure, and his deeds unassuming.

18. Considering speech in the light of its purpose, we find that it aims to express, to instruct, and to persuade; but it never expresses except by means of a likeness; it never teaches except by means of a clear light; and it never persuades except by power, and it is evident that these effects are accomplished only by means of an inherent likeness, light, and power intrinsically united to the soul. Therefore, St. Augustin concludes that he alone is a true teacher who can imprint a likeness, shed light, and grant power to the heart of his hearer. Hence it is that “He that teaches within hearts has His throne in heaven.” Now, as perfection of speech requires the union of power, light, and a likeness within the soul, so, too, for the instruction of the soul in the knowledge of God by interior conversation with Him, there is required a union with Him who is “the brightness of glory and the figure of His substance, upholding all things by the word of His power.” Hence we see wondrous is this contemplation by which St. Augustine in his many writings leads souls to Divine Wisdom.

19. By the same mode of reasoning is the Wisdom of God to be found in the illumination of natural philosophy, which is concerned chiefly with the formal causes in matter, in the mind, and in Divine Wisdom. These formal causes it is fitting to consider under three aspects: namely, as regards the nature of their relationship, the effect of causality, and their medium of union, and these three considerations have their analogies in the three branches of natural philosophy already mentioned.

20. Considering the formal causes according to the nature of their relationship, we shall see therein the Word Eternal and the Word Incarnate. The intellectual and abstract causes are, as it were, midway between the seminal and the ideal causes. But seminal causes cannot exist in matter without the generation and production of form; neither can intellectual causes exist in the mind without the generation of the word in the mind. Therefore, ideal causes cannot exist in God without the generation of the Word from the Father in due likeness. Truly, this is a mark of dignity and, if it is becoming to the creature, how much more so to the Creator. It was for this reason that St. Augustine said that the Son of God is the “art of the Father.” Again, the sensitive appetite is so related to intellectual causes that the generation can in no way be perfect unless the rational mind be united to the material substance. By similar reasoning, therefore, we come to the conclusion that the highest and noblest perfection cannot exist in this world except in the nature in which seminal, intellectual, and ideal causes are combined, all functioning conjointly in one person, as was the case in the Incarnation of the Son of God. Therefore, all the branches of natural philosophy by reason of the nature of their relationship predicable the Word of God begotten and become Incarnate so that He is the Alpha and Omega, that is, He was begotten in the beginning and before all time but became Incarnate in the fullness of time.

21. Now if we consider these causes according to the effect of causality, we shall be contemplating the pattern of human life, since generation by seminal causes can take place in generative and corruptible matter only by the beneficent light of the heavenly bodies which are far removed from generation and corruption, that is, by the light of the sun, the moon, and the stars. So, too, the soul
can perform no living works, unless it receive from the sun, that is, from Christ, the aid of His gratuitous light; unless it seek the protection of the moon, that is, of the Virgin Mary, Mother of Christ; and unless it imitate the example of the other saints. Under these conditions there is accomplished in the soul a living and perfect work: therefore, the right order of living depends upon this threefold co-operation.

22. Moreover, if we consider these formal causes as regards their medium of union, we shall understand how union of the soul with God takes place, for the corporeal nature cannot be united to the soul except through the medium of moisture, air, and warmth—three conditions which dispose the body to receive life from the soul. So, too, we may understand that God does not preserve the life of the soul and He is not united to it unless it be moist with tears of compassion and filial love, made spiritual by contempt of earthly possessions, and enkindled with the desire of its heavenly home and its own Beloved. Behold how in natural philosophy lies hidden the Wisdom of God.

23. In the same way is the light of Sacred Scripture to be found in the illumination of moral philosophy. Since moral philosophy is concerned principally with rectitude, it treats of general justice which St. Anselm calls the “rectitude of the will”. The term “right” has a threefold signification and, accordingly, in the consideration of rectitude are revealed the three truths of Sacred Scripture previously mentioned. In one sense of the word, that is called “right or straight the middle of which is not out of line with its extreme points”. If, then, God is perfect rectitude and that by His very nature since He is the Beginning and the End of all things, it follows that in God there must be an intermediary of His own nature so that there may be one Person who only produces, another who is only produced, but an intermediary who both produces and is produced. There is likewise need of an intermediary in the going forth and in the return of things; in the going forth, an intermediary which will prevail over the one producing, but in the return, one which will prevail over the one returning. Therefore, as creatures went forth from God by the Word of God, so for a perfect return, it was necessary that the Mediator between God and man be not only God but also man so that He might lead men back to God.

24. In another sense, that is called “right” which is conformable to rule. Accordingly, in the consideration of rectitude man beholds a rule of life, for he, indeed, lives rightly who is guided by the regulations of the Divine law, as is the case when the will of man accepts necessary precepts, salutary warnings, and counsels of perfection that he may thereby prove the good, the acceptable, and the perfect will of God. And then is the rule of life right when no obliquity can be found therein.

25. In a third sense, that is called “right” or “upright” the summit of which is raised upward, as, for instance, we say that man has an upright stature. And in this sense, in the consideration of rectitude there is manifested the union of the soul with God; for since God is above, it follows that the highest faculty of man’s soul must necessarily be raised aloft. And, indeed, this is what actually happens when his rational nature seeks the Source of truth for His own sake and above all things, when his irascible nature strives after the Highest Bounty, and when his concupiscible nature clings to the Greatest Good. He who in this way keeps close to God is one in spirit with Him.

26. And thus it is clear how the manifold Wisdom of God, which is clearly revealed in Sacred Scripture, lies hidden in all knowledge and in all nature. It is clear also how all divisions of knowledge are handmaids of theology and it is for this very reason that theology makes use of illustrations and terms pertaining to every branch of knowledge. It is likewise evident how wide is the luminous way and how in everything which is perceived or known, God Himself lies hidden within. And this is the advantage of all sciences, that in all faith is strengthened, God is honored, character is formed, and consolation is derived from union of the spouse with her beloved, a union which takes place through charity, to the attainment of which the whole purpose of sacred Scripture, and, consequently, every illumination descending from above, is directed—a union without which all knowledge is vain because no one comes to the Son except through the Holy Ghost who teaches us all truth, who is blessed forever and ever. Amen.

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SOME SCHOLARS SUGGEST that the movement of thought at thirteenth-century Oxford was significantly different from that at Paris. At Oxford an older Augustinian tradition prevailed comparatively unchallenged, and the primary interest in the new Greek and Arabic materials was scientific rather than metaphysical in character. Thirteenth-century Oxford is not nearly so thoroughly studied as Paris, but if this suggestion is sound, it testifies to the influence of one of the most respected men of the time, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. A few scholars would credit him with the role often accorded to Roger Bacon, that of pioneering in the West the advancement of what we now call natural science. Bacon was critical of the intellectual fashions around him and emphasized the importance of mathematics and “experimental science.” Because of this, and because he mentions gunpowder and lenses and made such remarkable proposals as horseless carriages and flying machines, he has often been regarded as a lonely prophet of the modern world, a martyr out of his time for science and freedom of thought. But Bacon himself gives much of the credit for his scientific outlook, if not for the flying machines, to Grosseteste. In this he seems to have been correct.

Grosseteste’s thought for the most part fits the classification by the eminent historian Etienne Gilson as “Avicennizing Augustianism.” The Augustinianism owes much to Anselm of Canterbury and is most obvious in a doctrine of ontological truth and an adherence to the illumination theory of knowledge. The most important impress of Avicenna is found in Grosseteste’s discussion of induction in his commentary on the Posterior Analytics. The heart of this discussion is the claim that mere collection of similar data in the