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Discovering Rutger Dole of Roermond (†1409) via Henry of Rheinfelden's Collection of Notes

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Among the puzzling and fascinating situations that we face when confronting the composition of manuscript Basel, UB, A X 44, folio 24r-v presents us with the colors to paint the portrait of yet another author who belongs in the gallery of the first generation of theologians from the University of Vienna, that of Rutger Dole.¹ Who is this author and what texts can be attributed to him? These questions provide the structure for this tripartite paper: first, an examination of the author's biographical data and an attempt to deduce something about his intellectual profile; second, a discussion of the textual evidence linked with his name; third, an appendix with the pertinent fragments identifiable in the Basel manuscript.

1. Bibliographical Data

The *Acta Facultatis Artium* contain seemingly contradictory information, for we find the same Rutger representing two nations.² In some reports, he is introduced as belonging to the Rhenish nation (... *de nacione Rynensium magister Ruthgerus*, p. 39, l. 21; ... *de nacione Renensium magister Rüdgerus de Rurmunda*, p. 160, l. 32), while in others Rutger is labeled a member of the Hungarian nation³ (... *magister Ruthegerus de Ruremunden ex parte nationis Ungarie*, p. 103, l. 27; ... *ex nacione Ungarorum magister Rugerus*, p. 140, l. 19). Whatever his association with the Hungarian nation was, Aschbach and Göhler seem completely unaware of it and by their identification of *Rurmunda* or *Ruremunden* they tacitly assume that Rutger was from the Rhenish nation. Nevertheless they disagree on his place of origin, with Aschbach having him born in Ruhrort, now in Duisburg, Germany, on the Rhine, which apparently was not even founded until 1371, while Göhler more sensibly associates Rutger with the much more important Roermond, presently in the Netherlands about 40km west of the Rhine at the level of Düsseldorf and then in the diocese of Liège. From his matriculation in the Faculty of Arts in 1385 we know that he was called Rutger Dole, this name is repeated as late as 1407 when he was became rector, and the note of a bequest in a manuscript given to the Collegium Ducale identifies him thus.⁴

¹ Graphical variations of his name are all over the *Acta Facultatis Artium* where we find different spellings: Rudegerus (p. 18, l. 8), Ruthgerus (p. 39, l. 21), Rutgerus de Ruremura (p. 47, l. 31), Rutgherus de Ruremunda (p. 131, l. 9), Rütgerus (p. 170, ll. 40-41), Rueggerum (p. 160, l. 34), Ruedgerus de Ruermunda (p. 160, l. 32), Rotgerus (p. 301, l. 14), Rütgerus de Rürenmunda (p. 129, 36). For the *Acta*, I use *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Vindobonensis 1385-1416*, ed. P. UIBLEIN, Graz - Wien - Köln - Böhlau 1968 (hereafter *AFA*, I).

² Following Kibre's description, the organisation by nations in the Faculty of Arts in Vienna followed the Parisian model with "four nations: the Austrian, in which were enrolled all the masters and scholars of both Austria and Italy; the Rhenish, which now took the place of the Bohemian nation and comprised students and masters from south and western Germany, from Burgundy, France, and Spain; the Hungarian, in which were included all the Hungarians, Bohemians, Poles, Moravians, Croats, and other Slavs akin to them in tongue, together with Greeks; and finally the Saxon nation, in which were included scholars from northern and eastern Germany, the Scandinavian kingdoms, and from Scotland, Ireland, and England." see P. KIBRE, *The Nations in the Medieval Universities*, Cambridge, MA, 1948, p. 173. See also R. KINK, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien. Statutenbuch der Universität*, vol. 2, Wien 1854, p. 20.

³ For the Hungarian nation at Vienna we rely on later documents; see K. SCHRAUF, *Die Matrikel der ungarischen Nation, an der Wiener Universität 1453-1630*, Wien 1902.

⁴ See J. R. ASCHBACH, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität im ersten Jahrhunderte ihres Bestehens: Geschichte der Wiener Universität: Festschrift zu ihrer fünfhundertjährigen Gründungsfeier*, Wien 1865, pp. 414-415

The first reference to Rutger in the *Acta* of the arts faculty is on 3 June 1387⁵ when, together with Nicholas of Hönhartzkirchen,⁶ Rutger was a sort of assessor in charge of approving the accounts of the university in the presence of the treasurer (*receptor*) of the faculty.⁷ In 1388 he was *examinator*⁸ of the new bachelors, charged with verifying the level of the students and determining whether they had been satisfactorily prepared to receive their licence in the Faculty of Arts. In 1390, Rutger was himself *receptor* or treasurer under Dean Nicholas of Hönhartzkirchen, with whom Rutger may have been close friends or at least collaborators, since their names often appear together and Nicholas served as *receptor* during Rutger's first term as dean.⁹ Rutger was also *receptor* under Dean Peter of Pulkau in 1396.¹⁰

Rutger himself served as dean twice, in the summer terms of 1390 and 1392, although before the election of Peter of Pulkau, while Dean Peter of Walse was absent, Rutger took over as vice-dean from 5 March until 14 April 1396.¹¹ Rutger's temporary role as vice-dean is reflected in the manuscript of the *Acta* of the Faculty of Arts, because not only are the two sections of his own periods as dean in his hand, but his autograph is also found for the section in which he was acting dean, such that his hand marks ff. 43r-45v, 53v-56r, and a few lines on ff. 72v-73r.

Rutger was first elected dean of the Faculty of Arts in the spring of 1390. His adventures as head of the faculty are reported in detail and some of them are quite significant. In fact, his activity sheds some new light on our understanding of the organisation of this faculty. One of his major worries was the use of candles within the faculty. He proposed first that the celebration of funerals for deceased *magistri* should not be held by the faculty itself, because this represented a supplementary expense for candles, but if the executors wanted to hold them, the faculty should attend. If the faculty had candles on hand, they were to be devoted to the services, with adjustments according to the economic circumstances of individuals. He also proposed that the faculty should maintain 24 small candles and 4 large, coiled ones (*facultas deberet habere proprias candelas 24 parvas et quatuor magnas circumvolutas*, p. 51, ll. 4-5).¹² During Rutger's first term as dean, the money for candles was a serious issue and the topic (on needs and concerning the budget) was discussed four times (on 1 July and then on 1, 4 and 18 September).¹³ He actually concluded by introducing a new rule according to which it was the duty of the dean and of his four adjuncts to arrange for the place where the faculty's candles should be stored. That Rutger focused so much on candles and their expense, in contrast to other deans, suggests that he was rather conservative fiscally.

Another episode that occurred in 1390 under Dean Rutger involved a generational conflict between the fellows. At the earlier request of members of the faculty from the congregation of 1 September 1390, Rutger proposed an article on 4 September stipulating that

(hereafter *Aschbach*) and H. GÖHLER, *Das Wiener Kollegiat-, nachmals Domkapitel zu Sankt Stephan in Wien 1365-1554*, ed. J. SEIDL, A. ENDE, J. WEISSENSTEINER, Wien - Köln - Weimar 2015, pp. 216-217.

⁵ *AFA*, p. 18, ll. 7-9.

⁶ See the entry on this author in this volume.

⁷ For the role played by a *receptorem* in medieval universities at the end of the Middle Ages see the report of ASTRIK L. GABRIEL, "German Receptors, 'Reformators,' and Proctors at the University of Paris 1495-1525," in *16^e congrès international de sciences historiques, Stuttgart du 25 août au 1^{er} septembre 1985*, Rapports II, Stuttgart 1985, pp. 761-767, here p. 762 or "Martin de Bereck, Receptor, Proctor and Rector at the University of Paris (1423-1432)," in *Collectanea Academiae Catholicae Hungaricae*, Roma 1955, pp. 89-99. In Vienna the *Thesaurars* or the *Rechnungsbuch* of the treasurers for the arts faculty survive only for the period 1429-1472, so no traces of Rutger as treasurer can be found. Cf. *AFA*, p. 18, n. 15.

⁸ *AFA*, p. 21, l. 24.

⁹ See *AFA*, p. 48, ll. 3-4 and *AFA*, p. 59, ll. 24-25.

¹⁰ *AFA*, p. 131, ll. 8-10.

¹¹ *AFA*, p. 130.

¹² *AFA*, p. 51, l. 28 - p. 52, l. 7.

¹³ *AFA*, p. 51, ll. 31-33; p. 55, ll. 11-15, 35-38; p. 58, ll. 4-6.

masters should avoid using quarrelsome, immoral, or hateful words with each other. The congregation could not agree about this, with many saying that the article was very vague. They had already failed to agree on a similar article on proper order in congregations, forbidding interruptions in particular, for some said that new members already swore to this. Thus Dean Rutger was asked by the majority of the congregation to arrange another meeting on the matter.¹⁴ Another congregation was thus held on 9 September to discuss punishment for those who acted against the faculty. The provocation turned out to have been quarrelsome words at the 1 September congregation between a certain Master Nicolaus Grober and some younger masters. It was asserted now that Master Nicholas had called his junior colleagues idiots who were hardly more than bachelors, thus infuriating the young masters. Master Nicholas now explained that he did not mean the faculty as a whole, but only some masters or a master who had hindered him in his lectures, whom he thought needed correction. If Nicholas thereby spoke against the faculty, he asked for forgiveness. He then left the congregation, but the faculty was split on how to deal with him. The largest of three groups, although not a majority, considered his apology sufficient as long as he promised not to repeat such actions inside or outside congregations. The other two groups were not so tolerant, and when Rutger supported the plurality, since those other groups did not agree, clamor ensued during which almost half of the masters left. Under the circumstances, the plurality won out.¹⁵

There are other indications that Rutger was not always a calming figure able to lead the congregation to consensus. On one occasion Henry of Langenstein – who perhaps considered Rutger a familiar, since the latter was a witness to the last will of this father of the faculty –¹⁶ intervened to plead a case under Dean Rutger.¹⁷ When he was not dean, Rutger could be the cause of conflict, getting himself into something that the *Acta* call the *querela magistri Rutgerii*. This episode reveals a bit about his personal character. His obstinate refusal on 23 March 1395 to be part of an examination commission cost him expulsion from the community of the faculty's members and a hefty fine of six florins. Rutger counter-attacked, going to the bishop and demanding that he be reinstated, the fine cancelled, and the record of the incident sticken from the records. The quarrel occupied the faculty and then the university for many weeks, involving both Henry of Langenstein and Henry Toting of Oyta. A solution was only found in mid-May.¹⁸ The following September Rutger duly chose his text for the coming academic year and was assigned to hold the quodlibetal debate that fall, and things were patched up to the point that in early 1396 the Faculty of Arts elected Rutger vice-dean.¹⁹

Although the faculty did not agree to remove the episode from the records, it seems that afterwards the faculty and its members were eager to forget it, and after 1395 no mention is made in the *Acta*. The material situation of the manuscript of the *Acta*, (ff. 67r-68v depicting the conflict of Rutger with the faculty) seems to suggest that somebody – Vice-Dean Rutger? – wanted to destroy the material evidence for this episode, since the pages where the conflict is mentioned are tainted by big spots of ink that obscure the content and hinder access to the information.²⁰

¹⁴ *AFA*, pp. 55-56. The statute alluded to survives: see KINK, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität*, vol. 2, p. 206.

¹⁵ *AFA*, pp. 56-57. The case is described in detail in the *Acta*.

¹⁶ G. KREUZER, *Heinrich von Langenstein. Studien zur Biographie und zu den Schismatraktaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Epistola pacis und der Epistola consilii pacis* (Quellen und Forschungen Aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte, 6), Paderbon - München - Wien - Zürich 1987, p. 249, l. 93.

¹⁷ *AFA*, pp. 50-51, ll. 29-36, 1-6.

¹⁸ *AFA*, pp. 112-119. The episode is depicted in detail in Grijac and Baumgarten's paper from this volume, since Peter of Walse was part of a commission in charge of examining the case. See pp. xx-xx.

¹⁹ *AFA*, p. 121, ll. 17-18 and 30-32, and p. 130, ll. 28-31.

²⁰ See Grijac and Baumgarten's comments in their paper from this volume.

Rutger was also concerned by the organisation of lectures, and it was under his watch that an article passed that provided masters with some freedom in choosing the books that they intended to read.²¹ As a master in the Faculty of Arts he himself was assigned or he chose to lecture on the following titles: *De anima* (1390-91 and again in 1399-1400),²² *De coelo* (in 1391-92),²³ *Metaphysica* (1392-93),²⁴ *Consequentiae* (1393-94),²⁵ and *Poetria Nova* (1394-95),²⁶ *Ethica* (1395-96),²⁷ and *Analytica Priora* (1396-97).²⁸ As far as we know, his commentaries on these titles are *opera deperdita*, since no surviving manuscript have been identified. Nevertheless, this list of texts gives us an idea of the knowledge and experience that he brought to his theological teaching.

Supposedly, therefore, Rutger taught in the Faculty of Arts until the spring of 1397. Nevertheless, having already begun his theological studies, on 21 September 1396 he became *cursor biblicus* and was to begin his lectures on the Bible.²⁹ One wonders whether the *Prior Analytics* assignment of 1 September was thus cancelled so that he did not have to teach in both faculties at the same time. As we shall see, he did use his lectures on the Bible, which turned out to be on Job, in order to escape administrative duties that term.³⁰ That in 1399-1400 Rutger again lectured on *De anima* in the lower faculty suggests that he paused his theological *cursus* for a while, and indeed he continued to be active in administrative tasks in the Faculty of Arts until the year of his death, 1409.³¹ When on 13 October 1407 he reached the pinnacle of the administration of the University of Vienna and became rector for the winter term, he was still a mere bachelor of theology and not yet a *bachelor formatus*. Nevertheless, he was advanced enough to be pastor of Schörfling east of Salzburg and south of Passau, in which diocese it lay, and also canon of St Stephen in Vienna, a position that he had obtained at some point before 17 January 1403.³²

The acts of the Faculty of Theology for 16 November 1408 record that "magister Rutgerus 1 florenum dedit pro cursibus." This note is sandwiched in between the payments of one florin that John of Sevensvillages (*Septemcastris*) and Conrad of Rothenburg made the same day "pro Sententiis," but it is only in the case of John that the acts specify that he began reading the *Sentences* the same week and had participated in the principal debates ("principiavit").³³ This might imply that Rutger too was reading the *Sentences*, but the term "cursibus" suggests instead that he may have been paying for both of his series of Bible lectures. Since he was not a formed bachelor on 13 October 1407, if he was already reading the *Sentences* he could not have started before the spring of 1407. If so, it is doubtful that he could have continued while acting as rector, in which case he could only have completed his lectures few months before he died on 26 November 1409.³⁴ It is more likely, however, that he would not have begun lecturing

²¹ AFA, p. 53, ll. 30-34: "Super quo pro tunc secundum pluralitatem vocum conclusum fuit, quod dumtaxat pro illo anno quilibet esset liber ad legendum quemcumque librum voluerit, statutis tamen salvis de modo legendi mentionem facientibus, puta quod quilibet magistrorum legere volencium librum Aristotelis legeret eum cum questionibus et solum unum capitulum in textu etc. prout haberetur in statutis."

²² AFA, p. 54, l. 23 and again p. 170, ll. 40-41.

²³ AFA, p. 68, l. 35.

²⁴ AFA, p. 78, 39.

²⁵ AFA, p. 95, l. 4.

²⁶ AFA, p. 106, l. 18.

²⁷ AFA, p. 121, l. 18.

²⁸ AFA, p. 137, ll. 30-31.

²⁹ Acta. Fac. Theol. for 21 September 1396: M. Rudgerus de Ruremunda admissus est ad legendum primum cursum in Biblia, p. 1; Aschbach, p. 415.

³⁰ AFA, p. 143, ll. 20-24.

³¹ AFA, p. 311, l. 6 (12 March 1409).

³² AFA, p. xx; GÖHLER, *Das Wiener Kollegiat-, nachmals Domkapitel zu Sankt Stephan*, p. 216.

³³ Acta. Fac. Theol., p. 14.

³⁴ GÖHLER, *Das Wiener Kollegiat*, p. 217.

on the *Sentences* until after his term as rector ended in the spring of 1408, but whether he ever did so is uncertain.

2. Textual Traces

a. Biblical Commentary

When on 21 September 1396 Rutger Dole was assigned to give his first *cursus* on the Bible in the Faculty of Theology, as we have seen, he had already chosen to lecture on the *Prior Analytics* in the Faculty of Arts. There is no evidence that he did not lecture on both texts in the two faculties at the same time, but he did use his new assignment to avoid participating in other activities in the Faculty of Arts. In order to escape the task of examining degree candidates, Rutger invoked as an excuse his duty to work on lectures on Job, thus relieving the specific object of his first Bible *cursus*. In particular, he complained that he could not work on his lectures during the night, because he did not possess the book of Job at home and had to work in the library of the Dominicans, which was unfortunately open only during the day. The modern reader might share this frustration about the fact that libraries are not open 24/7. Here is what the *Acta* have to say about Rutger from 11 December 1396:

And it was concluded that master Rutger should be excused, since it was apparent to the faculty that the cause for his being excused was reasonable, which was that since he had to lecture on Job and he did not have the book at home, but rather he always had to study in the library of the Dominicans, he could study very little at night, but only during the day.³⁵

A commentary on Job survives in a two-volume set in manuscripts Wien, ÖNB, 4320 and 4660, both of which Rutger bequeathed the library of the *Collegium Ducale*.³⁶ The bequests alone were enough for Stegmüller to attribute the text itself to Rutger in his repertory of biblical commentaries,³⁷ but the fact that we have independent evidence from the *Acta* that Rutger lectured on Job strengthens this hypothesis.

There is more. Each of the two volumes is written by various hands, one of which is the hand of Rutger himself. I identified Rutger's hand by comparing this distinctive script in ÖNB 4320 and 4660³⁸ with the fragments covering Rutger's period as dean as recorded in the *Acta Facultatis Artium*. My theory is that the first generation of deans of the Faculty of Arts in Vienna, with a few exceptions, reported their activities as dean by themselves.³⁹ In Rutger's

³⁵ ATF: "Et erat conclusum, quod magister Rutgerus deberet esse excusatus, quia apparuit facultati causa sue excusacionis rationabilis, que erat, quia haberet legere in Job et non haberet librum in domo, sed oporteret eum semper studere ex libraria Predicatorum et propter hoc de nocte modicum posset studere, sed solum de die." p. 143, ll. 20-24.

³⁶ The both manuscripts contain information about this donation in their colophones. See Wien, ÖNB, 4320, f. 286v: "Item librum legavit magister Rügerus Dole felicis recordationis collegio Ducis qui viam universe carnis ingressus est sumo etc. Quadringentesimo nono vicesimo sexto die mensis novembris cuius anima requiescat in pace. Amen precessit nos sequitur." And Wien, ÖNB, 4660, f. 192v: "Istum librum legavit Magister Rugerus Dole felicis memorie Collegio Ducis qui solvit debitum carnis universe anno etc. millesimo novo 26 die mensis novembris cuius anima requiescat in pace. Amen precessit nos sequitur." These colophons are reproduced also by M. DENIS, *Codices Manuscripti Theologici Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis Latini aliarumque occidentis linguarum*, vol. II, Vienna 1799, coll. 200-201.

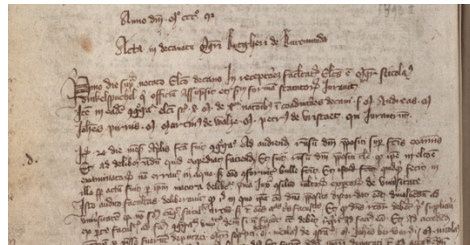
³⁷ F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, vol. V, Madrid 1955, pp. 171-172.

³⁸ The first quire of the manuscript is by his hand and then his hand appears occasionally for a few lines at the beginning of a folio or in *marginalia*. See for example ff. 1r-11v, 15v, 30r-31v, 40r, 45r, 66v-67v, 71r, 79r, 98v, 105v-106r, 150v-151r, 161r, 167r, 209v-210r, 221r-223r, 231v, 236r-237v.

³⁹ I discuss and give some evidence for the writing activities of deans in Vienna in the last chapter of this volume.

case, his handwriting is quite distinctive in the *Acta* for his both period as dean (ff. 43r-45v, 53v-56r) and again over a few lines written by him while he was vice-dean for Dean Paul of Walse just before Peter of Pulkau was elected in April 1396 (Rutger's hand intervenes for a few lines on ff. 72v-73r). Rutger's handwriting can be easily recognized given the general layout, with a uniform rhythm, a vertical slope with small spaces between the letters of a word. His handwriting is an indicator of a very organized mind and technical personality.

Photo here from the commentary and from the *Acta*:



A marginal note in Rutger's own hand further solidifies the attribution, for on folio 62v of volume I, Wien, ÖNB, 4320, we read: *hic incepti post festum nativitatis domini nostri Jhesu Christi*, which informs us that he, Rutger, had written the first 62 folios before the Christmas break and he started up again on f. 62v after Christmas, when he had reached Job 3, 11. Finally, at the end of volume II, the colophon of the manuscript relate that the author ended his commentary on 6 September 1397, precisely at the end of the academic year in which Rutger lectured on Job for his first biblical *cursus*.⁴⁰

In keeping with the typical Viennese style, Rutger's work is a linear commentary that explains all the passages in Job, and each biblical paragraph is highlighted in the manuscript by bold characters in praise of the source text, as was common among theologians in Vienna.⁴¹ Another notable feature is the variety of sources introduced to decipher the biblical text. For example, on ff. 47v-48r, where Rutger discusses Job 2, 11 (*Igitur audientes tres amici Job omne malum*), after reproducing the biblical quotation he begins his explanation by opening a discussion of friendship inspired by the *Ethics* of Aristotle to which he adds a reference to Thomas Aquinas, Aristotle and Aquinas being important sources in general.⁴²

Rutger's commentary, occupying 478 folia, warrants further investigation in order to better understand doctrinal trends in Vienna in the last years of Henry of Langenstein's life.

b. Disputed Questions - Opera Dubia

We find the name Rutger on folio 24r-v of Basel, UB, A X 44. This folio, the last leaf of the second sextern (ff. 13r-24v) in the manuscript, contains a list of summaries of disputed questions. The text is copied by a hand different from that of Rheinfelden, whose handwriting begins again on f. 25r and with material on a topic different those of the questions on f. 24r-v.

⁴⁰ Wien, ÖNB, 4660, f. 192v: "Et sic est finis huius operis. Deo gracias. Anno domini 1397 sexta die mensis septembris.

⁴¹ See for another case study, my discussion on John of Rusbach in this volum.

⁴² Rutgerus, commentaria in Job, ms. Wien, ÖNB, 4320, ff. 47v-48r: "Et iste verus erit amicus de quo dixit Aristoteles *Ethicorum* 8: amicus et alter ego et eorum est idem velle et nolle. Sed quia inter hos sequitur se vertitur tota disputatio huius libri. Ideo secundum beatum Thomam considerandum est quod hii terminus in aliquo eiusdem opinionis errant cum Job unde amici eius dicuntur." References to Thomas are quite frequent, f. 60v: "notandum quod secundum beatum Thomam...", f. 61r: "et hec plura secundum beatum Thomam ad litteram possit dupliciter exponi...", f. 63r (*marginalia*), f. 115r, 126r ... "secundum Thomam, *passim*."

The text at the top of f. 24r is the continuation of a hitherto unknown question of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl that begins on f. 23v (*Utrum Spiritus Sanctus mittatur ad creaturas rationales et irrationales*) and is composed of three conclusions.⁴³ The third conclusion is divided into five corollaries, the last of which ends with the sign of a flower ♣ and with a message redirecting the reader to another sextern (ff. 49r-60v), for which sextern the incipit is also provided to further guide the reader.⁴⁴ A few pages into the other sextern, at the same sign ♣ in the middle of f. 51r, in a section that had been left blank, one finds the on-going proof of the fifth corollary of Dinkelsbühl's question from f. 24r, circa 24 lines, that is, 13 lines continuing the fifth corollary and 11 consisting of a *Nota* on angles related to the topic of the question that began on f. 23v. This detail is meaningful for the present demonstration because it leads us to consider that the other questions found on f. 24r after the flower sign sends us to f. 51r may not necessarily be associated with Dinkelsbühl. A transcription of these questions is in the appendix of this paper, but here the list of their titles:

Nicholaus de Dinkelsbühl: *Utrum Spiritus Sanctus mittatur ad creaturas rationales et irrationales* (ff. 23v-24r, 51r)

1. *Utrum duplex sit fruitio ponenda, scilicet naturalis et supernaturalis.* (f. 24r, 8 lines)
2. *Utrum homo precise ex se possit se ad gratiam disponere.* (f. 24r, 11 lines)
3. *Utrum attributa in divinis aut distinctio personalis repugnent summe simplicitati unitatis essentialis.* (f. 24r, 11 lines)
4. *Utrum reprobatus dampnabiliter possit agere meritorie finaliter.* (f. 24r, 9 lines)
5. *Utrum sit tantum unus Deus.* (f. 24r, 7 lines)
6. *Utrum divina essentia realiter distinguatur a persona.* (f. 24r-v, 7 lines)
7. *Utrum voluntas humana contradictorie libera mortalis peccati consiccia quolibet actu suo libero nova letalis reatus illaquetur macula.* (f. 24v, 10 lines)
8. *Utrum peccati mortalis a veniali possit in qualibet specie differentia sciri.* (f. 24v, 13 lines)
9. *Nota de objecto beatitudinis: Nota quod in Patre est omnis fecunditatis beatifice fontalis affluentia.* (f. 24v, 15 lines)
10. *Utrum in Patre solo sit plena sufficientia sine Filio et Spiritu Sancto.* (f. 24v, 7 lines)
11. *Utrum beatis in patria sufficiat ad perfectam quietationem desiderii quod Deum videant absque eo quod ipso fruuntur.* (f. 24v, 8 lines)

All these questions share some characteristics: they are heavily abbreviated, mostly consisting only of the titles of the conclusions and their corollaries with no other development, except some reference to authorities here and there. Some also share common themes, such as grace and merit and the divine essence. A marginal note inserted in between questions 5 and 6 refers to the name of Rutger (*Magister Rucherus*). The note indicates the authorship of a text, but the dilemma is to determine whether this attribution pertains to the entire collection of eleven questions or applies only to the sixth question 6 that follows the note and/or to the fifth question that precedes it.

Assuming that the conclusions and corollaries reflect the author's true opinion and are not the product of a mere exercise in defending pre-assigned positions, there seem to be contradictory stances in the different questions that appear to preclude their all being by one author. Questions 1, 2, 4, and 7 have overlapping themes connected to grace and merit. In asking whether there are two types of fruition, natural and supernatural, question 1 really asks whether one can love God above all things, before or after the fall, without grace, which would be a form of natural fruition meriting eternal life. The first conclusion states that this is not possible without grace under the current law, and according to the third conclusion, even before the fall,

⁴³ This question is analysed in this volume by U. Zahnd.

⁴⁴ "Nota in sexterno cum * tali signo cui sexternus incipit: evidentius est causa primam in tertio folio." This sextern starts on f. 49r, which confirms the indicated incipit.

Adam *ex puris naturalibus* would have been unable to love God about all things by any act other than one proceeding from grace. In sum, the second corollary of the third conclusion concludes, "no one ever merited, merits, or will merit without *caritas* or *gratia gratum faciente*." In question 7, however, which asks about the freedom of the human will and sinning, the second corollary of the first conclusion contradict the position defended in question 1: "Without *gratia gratum faciente*, the human will can love God above all things."

Question 2 enquires about the possibility that humans by their own power can earn or at least dispose themselves toward grace. The third conclusion and its corollaries maintain that, with God's general influence but without grace, humans can prepare and dispose themselves toward grace, although this preparation and disposition do not guarantee that grace will follow. Although this position is compatible with those espoused in questions 1 and 7, it is closer to the latter. Question 4 investigates the possibility for someone who is damnably reprobated to finally act in a meritorious manner. Strikingly, just as the response to question 2 allows for some preparation and disposition toward grace, question 4 is answered in the affirmative in the second conclusion: "Someone eternally reprobated by God can act meritoriously in the end." Stated thus, it is hard to see how the same theologian could have been responsible for question 1, in which merit requires *gratia gratum faciens*, which is hardly compatible with being reprobate.

On the other extreme, if only one or two questions are by Rutger, then they are numbers 5 and 6. Question 5, "Is there only one God," is unusually philosophical for this group, and this is reflected in the citations, which are otherwise absent except for a reference to Augustine in the last question. The author here emphasizes the limitations of human reason: while it is necessary that God exists, this is not *per se notum* to us, but neither are all the principles of the sciences *per se nota*. We cannot prove that there is an immense being, even if *de facto* there is one. Avicenna has not proven that there is a Giver of Forms present to all things. Plato was wrong in his justification for positing ideas. To the main question, we can firmly believe that there is one God, but that there is more than one God can be defended without contradiction, and in *Metaphysics* XII Aristotle failed to demonstrate that there is only one God. One could certainly imagine this person also writing question 4 on reprobation and perhaps also question 7 on the human will.

Questions 3 and 6 both concern divine simplicity and the plurality of persons. The fact that question 6 defends the formal distinction, whereas question 3 does not mention it, suggests that these questions are not by the same theologian. If Rutger wrote question 6, he leaned toward a Scotist view of the Trinity.

If the same person could have been responsible for questions 4-7, but probably not 1 and 3, it is worth paying some attention to question 8, on the difference between mortal and venial sins. The point of departure of the question is the definition of sin as abandoning divine law (*discedere a lege divina eterna seu peccare*) or an negligence of the right reason (*obmittere difformiter recte rationis dictamini*). The question has a rather late Parisian pedigree. Transcribing the question, Daniel Coman noted the following correspondences:

CONRAD OF EBRACH, <i>Vespera</i> , ed. D. Coman ⁴⁵	DENYS DE MONTINA, <i>Ques. Sup. Sententias</i> , II, d. 34, q. 1, a. a,	RUTGERUS DE RUREMORA, <i>Questio disputata</i> , Basel, UB, A X 44, f. 24v
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⁴⁵ Conrad's *vespera* is edited in the appendix of the PhD of D. COMAN, *Anselm de Canterbury. Influențe și receptări în logica și teologia medievală cu un studiu de caz pe comentariile sentențiare din a doua jumătate a secolului al XIV-lea*, PhD, University of Babes-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca 2021, pp. xx-xx. The text is also analysed in D. COMAN "Cistercians and the Assimilation of Anselm in the late 14th Century – A Case Study of *Quaestio in vesperis fratrii Chunradi de Ebrako* (†1399)," in *Anselm of Canterbury: Communities, Contemporaries and Criticism*, ed. M. HEALY-VARLEY, G. YOUNGE, G. E. M. GASPER, Leyden 2021, pp. 216-238.

	ed. L. Cioca ⁴⁶	
<p>Potest igitur culpa mortalis actualis sic diffiniri seu describi: quod est mentem voluntarie committere aliquo modo difformiter debito, ad qualiter agere vel obmittere mens Deo prae vivificata moritur, vel si non, moreretur, si foret viva, et cum hoc amplius a vita elongatur.</p> <p>Culpa venialis actualis potest sic describi: quod est mentem voluntarie agere etc. aliquo modo qualiter mens non moritur. Et in hoc habetur differentia generis mortalis et venialis.</p>	<p>Secunda propositio: peccare mortaliter est mentem agere voluntarie vel obmittere difformiter recte rationi ad qualiter agere vel obmittere mens previvificata Deo moritur vel si foret vivificata moreretur. Et in hoc habetur differentia generis peccati mortalis et venialis. Dixi autem vel si foret et cetera, quia omne mortale sufficit adimere unionem vite ad animam et anime ad Deum, que unio dicitur charitas.</p> <p>Tertia propositio: mens per peccatum mortua non habet principium ac donum quo immediate possit exire in opus vitale per quod vite unio augetur et indispositione que disponit ad facilius mori, tollitur, et hoc ei accidit propter mortale.</p>	<p>Secundum: peccare mortaliter est mentem voluntarie agere vel obmittere difformiter recte rationi vel legi eterne ad qualiter agere vel obmittere mens previvificata Deo moritur, vel, si fuerit vivificata, moreretur.</p> <p>Conclusio tertia: quamvis peccatum veniale differat a mortali, precisam tamen differentiam istorum in quolibet actu scire evidenter est difficile sine revelatione speciali.</p>

The table reveals the filiation of these ideas. The two authors that are the probable sources for the discussion in Basel, BU, A X 44 were not unknown to the Viennese theologians, and the table further confirms their impact and the spread of Parisian doctrine to Vienna. Henry of Langenstein, the father of the Viennese Faculty of Theology, had been familiar with Denys of Montina's texts from their shared time in Paris when lecturing on the *Sentences* together in 1371-1372.⁴⁷ In fact, Montina was one of Langenstein's *socii* with whom he debated publicly on the occasion of their first *principia*.⁴⁸ Therefore, Langenstein could be a channel of transmission of Montina's ideas in Vienna.

In contrast, not only did Conrad of Ebrach's texts themselves circulated in Vienna, but he spent the last fourteen years of his life in the city.⁴⁹ Like Bartholomeus of Ratisbone, who copied some of Conrad's works in Vienna,⁵⁰ Henry of Rheinfelden seems to have been quite eager to collect his writings. Another manuscript from his collection, Basel, UB, A X 24, contains on ff. 134ra-138rb Conrad's *resumpta* question, which also circulated under the title

⁴⁶ Denys's commentary is published under the name DIONYSIUS CISTERCIENSIS, *Liber in quatuor sententiarum nuper a Johanne maceriensi correctus et emendatus una cum principiis ejusdem Dionysii*, ed. JOHANNES MACERIENSIS, PONCET LE PREUX, Parisiis 1511 (online at: <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/ucm.5316863804>). This edition is accessible thanks to the transcription of L. CIOCA: <http://thesis-project.ro/dionysiusdemontina/texts.html> (last accessed 8th September 2021).

⁴⁷ See M. BRINZEI, C. SCHABEL, "A *Principium* of Henry of Langenstein, His Fellow Parisian Bachelors of the Sentences, and the Academic Year 1371-1372," *Vivarium* 58/1-2 (2020), pp. 334-346.

⁴⁸ I treat their discussion in M. BRINZEI, L. CIOCA, *Homo est microcosmos. Henry of Langenstein's seminal ideas in Public Display. With an Edition of His Principium and His Vesperis from Paris (1371-1375)* (Studia Sententiarum, 6), forthcoming.

⁴⁹ C. SCHABEL, M. BRINZEI, M. MAGA, "The Golden Age of Theology at Prague: Prague *Sentences* Commentaries, ca. 1375-1381, with a Redating of the Arrival of Wycliffism in Bohemia," *Historia Universitatis carolinae Pragensis* 55 (2015), pp. 19-40, here p. 21.

⁵⁰ For the autographs of Bartholomeus of Ratisbona and for his texts copied from Conrad see J. J. GAVIGAN, O.S.A., "De doctoribus theologiae O.S.A. in universitate Viddobonensi," *Augustinianum* 5/2 (1965), pp. 281-284.

De cognitione anime.⁵¹ The text of Conrad in A X 24 is not simply copied in Rheinfelden's hand, but Rheinfelden also made corrections and comments, proving his special interest. In addition, another Basel manuscript stemming from Vienna, i. e. Basel, UB, A VI 22, preserves Conrad's *resumpta* on ff. 242ra-247vb. The above further emphasizes the general influence of Parisian texts and doctrine in Vienna, and if the eighth question among the eleven under discussion is by Rutger, we have evidence for the specific Parisian influence on our Viennese theologian. Unfortunately, there is no easy way doctrinally to tie question 8 with the earlier questions. It is even more difficult with the last three questions, which share a structure and character different from the first eight.

Rutger Dole of Roermond's intellectual profile thus emerges from what can be classed as an *opera desperata*, *opera dubia* and *opera quasi certa*. Besides these sources, the events recorded in the *Acta* regarding his activity in the Faculty of Arts reveal him to have been a skilled scholar and an energetic administrator, motivated to assure the development of his institution not just as dean and rector, but also as a frugal member of the faculty worried about the resources spent on candles. On the other hand, we get a touch of color concerning his temperamental profile, since from the *querela magistri Rutgeri* we deduce that he did not hesitate to confronting the whole community when he disagreed.

Appendix

The following questions are in Basel, UB, A X 44, ff. 24r-v. Questions 1-6 were transcribed by myself, question 7 by Alexandra Baneu and questions 8-11 by Daniel Coman as part of our joint collaboration in the RISE project.

<Q. 1> **Utrum duplex sit fruitio ponenda, scilicet naturalis et supernaturalis.**

Conclusio prima: licet possibile sit viatorem post lapsum cognoscere Deum super omnia diligendum, non tamen eum sine caritate diligere est possibile, secundum legem Dei ordinatam.

Corollarium primum: voluntas sine caritate creata de communi lege non potest se cuilibet recto dictamini conformare.

Secundum: omnis viator diligens Deum super omnia eo ipso de communi lege meretur vitam eternam.

Secunda conclusio: homo ante lapsum potuit implere omnia sibi precepta implicite vel explicite.

Corollarium primum: homo ante lapsum non potuit in actum nobilissimum dilectionis Dei super omnia sine caritate.

Secundum: homo ante lapsum habuit gratiam gratumfacientem.

Tertia conclusio: Adam ante lapsum precise ex puris naturalibus non potuit diligere Deum super omnia actu dilectionis alterius speciei quam est actus procedens ex caritate.

Corollarium primum: Adam indiguit gratia ut posset stare.

Secundum: nullus umquam meruit, meretur, aut merebitur sine caritate seu gratia gratumfaciente.

Tertium: questio est falsa.

<Q. 2> **Utrum homo precise ex se possit se ad gratiam disponere.**

⁵¹ K. LAUTERER, *Konrad von Ebrach S.O.CIST (+1399): Lebenslauf und Schrifttum*, Rome 1962, pp. 125-132. I should add that Lauterer did not know of the existence of another copy (UB, A X 24) in Basel of Conrad's *resumpta*. He knew only about Basel, UB, A VI 22.

Conclusio prima: sicut gratia creata requiritur ad meritum ut effectiva ratio actionis meritorie, sic omnis actus viatoris ex gratia procedens sive a maiori sive a minori est augmentum glorie.

Corollarium primum: quod gratia creata est effectiva ratio cuiuslibet partis meritorie actionis.

Secundum: quamvis existens in maiori gratia plus possit mereri quam existens in minori, non tamen quilibet actus procedens a maiori gratia est magis meritorius quam a minori.

Conclusio secunda: nullus purus viator quamcumque habeat gratiam potest sibi vel alteri de condigno mereri gloriam.

Corollarium primum: quod aliquis⁵² potest apud aliquem demereri de condigno apud quem nichil mereri potest de⁵³ condigno.

Secundum: quod secundum legem Dei ordinatam nullus purus viator potest aut potuit sibi vel alteri de condigno mereri primam gratiam.

Conclusio tertia: licet viator precise ex se cum influentia Dei generali possit se sufficienter ad gratiam deificam disponere, non tamen propter huiusmodi dispositionem sequitur gratia de necessitate.

Corollarium primum: quamvis nullus peccator sine gratia possit peccatum vitare, potest tamen sine gratia gratificante se ad gratiam disponere et preparare.

Secundum: quamvis aliqua actio viatoris non sit gratia gratificante informata, est tamen aliqua talis ad contritionem dispositiva.

Tertium: quod homo precise ex se cum influentia Dei generali potest se ad gratiam disponere.

<Q. 3> Utrum attributa in divinis aut distinctio personalis repungnet summe simplicitati unitatis essentialis.

Conclusio prima: sicut solus Deus est actus purissimus, ita in eo ut sic nulla cadit compositio.

Corollarium primum: licet Christus secundum humanitatem ex anima rationali et humana carne sit subsistens, non tamen illa ypostasis ex humanitate et deitate sit composita.

Secundum: intollerabilis est opinio fingentium Deum componi ex membris humanis vel aliis quibuscumque.

Tertium: in nulla creatura est summa simplicitas.

Conclusio secunda: quamvis persone in divinis sint inter se distincte realiter, hoc tamen non obviat simplicitati Dei summe.

Corollarium primum: unam essentiam simplicissimam esse tres personas realiter distinctas et quamlibet earum rationibus naturalibus non repungnat.

Secundum: inter omnia distincta realiter persone minime inter se distinguuntur.

Tertium: quilibet persona in divinis aliquo sui convenit cum alia, et aliquo sui distinguuntur ab ipsa sermone sumpto intransitive.

Tertia conclusio: simplicissima essentia divina est adequate idem cum qualibet perfectione sibi simpliciter attributa.

Corollarium primum: sicut in Deo non sunt aliquae perfectiones attributales inter se distincte aequaliter ex natura rei, sic nec plures tales quorum hec non est illa.

Secundum: nulla distinctio in divinis preter relativam vel habentem aliquod extremum relativum potest stare cum⁵⁴ summa Dei simplicitate.

Tertium: cum summa Dei simplicitate non potest stare aliqua distinctio perfectionum attributalium inter se vel ad essentiam divinam.

⁵² aliquis] quamvis B

⁵³ de] condigno add. et del. B

⁵⁴ cum] sto add. et del. B

<Q. 4> Utrum reprobatus dampnabiliter possit agere meritorie finaliter.

Conclusio prima: reprobatio Dei eterna nullam necessitatem peccandi vel⁵⁵ penam pro peccato subeundi imponit presentibus vel futuris malis.

Corollarium primum: sicut predestinatio divina non est necessitas antecedens ad salutem electorum, ita nec reprobatio est necessitas antecedens ad reprobationem dampnatorum.

Secundum: nullus viator reprobatus est ad culpam irremissibilem simpliciter et ad penam consequentem interminabilem necessitatus.

Conclusio secunda: reprobatus a Deo eternaliter potest agere meritorie finaliter.

Corollarium primum: eterna Dei reprobatio dependet in esse vel quo ad effectum reprobationis aliquantulum a creato libero arbitrio.

Secundum: reprobatus potest fieri dampnatus.

Conclusio tertia: revelatio divina viatori de sua reprobatione facta certitudinaliter non necessitat ipsum ad non posse agere meritorie finaliter.

Corollarium primum: non includit repugnantiam viatorem existentem in caritate certificatum esse de sua futura dampnatione.

Secundum: licet Christus non potuerit mentiri nec aliquem decipere, tamen aliqua predixit esse que pro tunc poterant non evenire.

Patet responsio ad questionem.

<Q. 5> Utrum sit tantum unus Deus.

Conclusio prima: licet Deum esse sit necessarium simpliciter, tamen ipsum esse nobis non est per se notum efficaciter.

Corollarium: non omnia principia scientiarum sunt per se nota.

Secundum: non omnis propositio in primo modo dicendi per se est per se nota.

Secunda conclusio: licet de facto sit quedam entitas immensa perfectionaliter, ipsam tamen ubique esse per presentiam naturali ratione non est convincibile evidenter.

Corollarium primum: Avicenna non conclusit evidenter datorem formarum cuilibet rei esse presentem per essentiam.

Secundum: Plato peccavit ponendo ydeas per hoc quod oportet cuiuslibet effectus productionem attingere agens eque nobile vel nobilius per ipsius presentiam.

Tertia conclusio licet tantum unum Deum esse sit firmiter credibile, tamen plures esse deos ut apparet est a contradictione defensabile.

Corollarium primum: processus Aristotelis 12 *Metaphysice* probando tantum unum esse principem non est demonstrativus.

Secundum: questio ut proponitur est vera exponendo 'tantum' gratia pluralitatis.

Magister Rucherus⁵⁶

<Q. 6> Utrum divina essentia realiter distinguatur a persona.

Conclusio prima: essentia divina distinguitur formaliter a persona.

Corollarium primum: in nulla divina persona est formalitas distincta ab essentia.

Secundum: non sequitur: 'essentia divina et Pater distinguuntur formaliter, igitur non sunt idem realiter.'

Tertium: non sequitur: 'essentia divina et Pater distinguuntur formaliter, igitur inter se formaliter non sunt idem.'

Conclusio secunda: essentiam divinam distingui a persona formaliter non repugnat summe simplicitati Dei aliquantulum [24v]

⁵⁵ vel] *iter. B*

⁵⁶ magister Rucherus] *add. in marg. B*

Corollarium primum: nec ex distinctione formali nec pluralitate personali in divina essentia resultat aliqua res composita.

Secundum: licet omnis compositio sit diversarum rerum unio non tamen universaliter econverso.

Tertium: pluralitas et summa⁵⁷ simplicitas se compatiuntur.

Tertia conclusio: essentia divina non distinguitur realiter a persona.

Corollarium primum: tres res distincte realiter sunt unum simplicissimum essentialiter.

Secundum: non omnis differentia realis est distinctio essentialis.

Tertium: questio ut proponitur est falsa.

<Q. 7> Utrum voluntas humana contradictorie libera mortalis peccati conscia⁵⁸ quolibet actu suo libero nova letalis reatus illaqueetur macula.

Conclusio prima: voluntas humana cum Dei communi influentia in suis actibus elicitis est contradictorie libera.

Corollarium primum: quocumque stante iudicio rationis seu habitu aut motu passionis, voluntas humana est illibertabilis.

Secundum: voluntas humana sine gratumfaciente gratia potest Deum diligere super omnia.

Tertium: questionis⁵⁹ pars prima, sicut proponitur, est vera⁶⁰.

Secunda conclusio: voluntas humana mortalis peccati conscia, non quolibet actu suo libero nova inficitur mortalis peccati macula.

Corollarium primum: qui in mortali peccato horas canonicas legit, non ex hoc novum peccatum mortale committit.

Secundum: quotiens talis motus inordinatos non refrenat, totiens novo peccato omissionis peccat.

Tertium: questionis pars secunda, ut sonat, non est vera.

Tertia conclusio: nulli actus hominis exteriores

<Q. 8> Utrum peccati mortalis a veniali possit in qualibet specie differentia sciri.

Conclusio prima: licet penes discessum a lege eterna possit considerari cuiuslibet peccati latitudo, certam tamen gravitatem singulorum peccatorum penitens non tenetur scire evidenter.

Corollarium primum: discedere a lege eterna seu peccare est committere vel obmittere difformiter recte rationis dictamini vel divine legi quibus voluntas humana viatrix habet regulari.

Secundum: contingit venialiter peccare seu discedere a lege eterna seu etiam mortaliter.

Tertium: non quod quanto quis remotior sit simpliciter a lege⁶¹ eterna quod tanto peiori specie peccati reus sit.

Secunda conclusio: sicut non omne scienter discedere a lege eterna est peccare mortaliter, sic non est possibile peccatum veniale fieri mortale⁶² essentialiter.

Corollarium primum: peccare venialiter est mentem aliquammodo agere seu obmittere voluntarie difformiter recte rationi vel legi eterne ad qualiter agere vel obmittere precise mens previvificata⁶³ Deo non moritur.

⁵⁷ summa] et add. et del. B

⁵⁸ conscia] p. c. B

⁵⁹ questionis] prima add. sed del. B

⁶⁰ tertium – vera] in marg. B

⁶¹ a lege] in marg. sin. B

⁶² mortale] venialiter add. sed del. B

⁶³ previvificata] previvificatur con. B

Secundum: peccare mortaliter est mentem voluntarie agere⁶⁴ vel obmittere difformiter recte rationi vel legi eterne ad qualiter agere vel obmittere mens previvificata⁶⁵ Deo moritur, vel, si fuerit vivificata⁶⁶, moreretur.

Conclusio tertia: quamvis peccatum veniale differat a mortali, precisam tamen differentiam istorum in quolibet actu scire evidenter est difficile sine revelatione speciali.

Corollarium primum: in omni actuali mortali clauditur mentem averti a Deo.

Secundum: hec consequentia est bona 'hec mens vult mortaliter peccare, igitur eo ipso mortaliter peccat', et hec non est bona 'hec mens vult solum venialiter peccare sic intellegendo quod suum operari sit precise veniale, ergo precise venialiter peccat'.

Nota de obiecto beatitudinis

<Q. 9> Nota **quod in Patre est omnis fecunditatis beatifice fontalis affluentia**. Quod patet, nam obiectum beatifice fruitionis est essentia divina ut existit in tribus personis, que solum est in Patre sub ratione plene fecunditatis, quia potest eam communicare aliis personis sub omni modo quo communicabilis est, Filio quidem per modum intellectus, Spiritui Sancto per modum voluntatis. In Filio autem solum est essentia sub fecunditate spirativa inquantum una cum Patre spirat Spiritum Sanctum per modum amoris subsistentis. In Spiritu autem⁶⁷ non est essentia divina sub aliqua ratione fecunditatis intensive, cum nullius persone sit productivus, sed solum sub ratione fecunditatis extensive inquantum per unitatem essentie divine est unum principium productivum creaturarum cum Patre et Filio.

Sed⁶⁸ circa hoc incidit triplex dubitatio. Prima est: cum in solo Patre ex se sit perfecta fecunditas nature divine, quare ergo non potest solus producere Spiritum Sanctum?

Respondetur quod oportet dicere quod solus Pater ex se habet plenam fecunditatem nature divine et hoc contingit ex primate sue persone, quia non est ab alio, sed alie persone sunt ab ipso. Et propter hoc largitur Filio per eternam generationem omnem perfectionis plenitudinem conferendo sibi essentiam divinam in omni fecunditate et perfectionis plenitudine qua ipsam possidet. Sed licet Pater omnem fecunditatem habeat ex se ipso et nichil recipiat a Filio, non tamen potest solus spirare Spiritum Sanctum sine Filio, cuius ratio est quia virtutem spirativam non habet ex se cum illa habitudine qua possidet in actum spirationis. Quod patet per hoc quod voluntas divina est principium spirativum, non ut in se et absolute considerata, sed ut concors duorum. Et quia non est in solo Patre ut concors, sed in Patre et Filio, ideo solus Pater non potest spirare Spiritum Sanctum sine Filio, nec e converso, licet virtutem spirativam plenam et perfectam habeat a se ipso.

<Q. 10> Secunda questio⁶⁹: **utrum in Patre solo sit plena sufficientia sine Filio et Spiritu Sancto**. Propter hoc quod Philippus dixit: "ostende nobis Patrem et sufficit nobis", respondeo quod, licet in Patre solo sit natura divina secundum omnem perfectionis plenitudinem, non tamen in solo⁷⁰ Patre est plena sufficientia ad desiderium anime quietandum sine Filio et Spiritu Sancto.

Ratio quia desiderium anime⁷¹ ex hoc proprie quietatur quod divinam essentiam nude contemplatur prout in se ipsa naturaliter existit et quia fecunditas nature divine non tota exhauritur prout existit in solo Patre, sed necessario concernit existentiam trium personarum

⁶⁴ agere] vel *add. sed del. B*

⁶⁵ previvificata] previvificatur *con. B*

⁶⁶ vivificata] vivificatur *con. B*

⁶⁷ autem] nota *scr. in marg. sin. B*

⁶⁸ sed] nota tres pulchras dubitationes *add. in marg. sin. B*

⁶⁹ secunda questio] secunda dubitatio *add. in marg. sin. B*

⁷⁰ solo] *sup. l. B*

⁷¹ anime] *sup. l. et iter. in marg. sin. B*

naturam divinam tripharie possidentium, quia Pater eam possidet inascibiliter, Filius nascibiliter, Spiritus Sanctus processibiliter, ideo natura divina prout existit in tribus personis et non in Patre solo habet humanum desiderium quietare.

<Q. 11> Tertia⁷² questio est **utrum beatis in patria sufficiat ad perfectam quietationem desiderii quod Deum videant absque eo quod ipso fruantur.**

Respondeo quod sola visio Dei non sufficit ad quietandum desiderium absque fruitione.

Ratio quia sufficientia sumitur ex quietatione desiderii, sed cor amorosum videndo summum bonum et summum diligibile nullatenus quietaretur, ymmo magis inquietaretur nisi amaret ipsum, quare etc⁷³. Et ideo dicit Augustinus capitulo primo⁷⁴ Confessionum: “inquietum est cor meum, Domine, donec requiescat in te, tuam scilicet veritatem limpide contemplando et tuam bonitatem suavissime degustando”. Illud tamen quod in questione supponitur est penitus impossibile, scilicet quod Deus ostendat se intellectui ut nude cognoscatur et non fruatur. Hoc enim repugnat rationi primi veri et summi boni quod videatur et non diligatur, hoc etiam repugnat naturali connexionem istarum potentiarum, quia impossibile est quod summum bonum apprehensum non moveat voluntatem, cum sit eius proprium obiectum.⁷⁵

⁷² tertia] tertia *scr. in marg. sin. B*

⁷³ quare etc.] *in marg. sin. B*

⁷⁴ capitulo primo] *p. c. in marg. dex. B*

⁷⁵ obiectum] Nota quod non recte dicitur quod persone divine fluxerunt ab essentia divina. Cum enim fluxus quamdam dependentiam et imperfectionem importet ideo non dicitur quod persone divine fluant ab ipsa essentia, sed potius dici debet quod ab eius fecunditate proprietates naturaliter personales pullulant per quas ipse persone naturaliter constituuntur. Et ideo tenendum est quod ipse persone ab essentia divina naturaliter non fluunt, sed quod in ipsa naturaliter subsistunt *add. in marg. inf. B*