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# FROM PROTESTATIO TO GRATIARUM ACTIO WHILE BECOMING A MASTER IN THEOLOGY

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Innovation in medieval studies is the creative ability to go back to sources. Digging, exploring, and connecting material pieces of evidence, facts, and individuals uncover new knowledge. One of the most significant sources for the medieval textual production is the university. Understanding the writings stemming from different faculties of medieval universities requires skills, curiosity, and tools. Among such instruments, the statutes of universities help researchers not only to decipher the organization of the academic institutions and interpret the rules that apply to scholars and to their professors, but also to decode how and why texts were produced. The faculty of theology represents the highest level where education led during the Middle Ages and delivers the highest degree such as the master in theology. All over Europe, such faculties become the impetus that drives the intelligentsia to produce a textual heritage that today generates inspiration for magisterial carriers. Among them, Professor Maarten Hoenen is one to praise today.

Taking as a point of departure a recent publication of Maarten Hoenen,<sup>1</sup> I will propose to investigate the relation between the statute of universities and of intellectual practices within medieval academia—more precisely, how a researcher should dig for complementary sources when the main documentation depicting an intellectual practice, such as the *protestatio* and *gratiarum actio*, is missing. I do not intend to be exhaustive, but simply to focus on how we should understand these two actions, *protestatio* and *gratiarum actio*, in connection with the *Sentences* commentaries.<sup>2</sup> The paradox is that we have traces of these two practices in the surviving manuscripts stemming from the university, but we do not always have a description of these actions in their statutes. *Protestatio* represents an oath that bachelors take at the beginning of an academic exercise, and the *gratiarum actio* is the final paragraph that closes the same exercise by thanks addressed to the public. The span of time I will focus on is between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, since this is the period from which some testimonies survived that today help to better clarify how these actions were performed in medieval academia. It is also the period of naissance of the new faculties of theology all around Europe, as it is the case with Bologna, Vienna, Cracow, or Prague. They all embraced the model disseminated in Paris and Oxford on reading on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard to obtain the degree of doctor in theology, and they contribute to building tradition, and therefore to produce sources for us today.

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<sup>1</sup> M.J.F.M. Hoenen, "Ideas, Institution, and Public Scandal: Academic Debates in Late Medieval Scholasticism", in: K. Ghosh, P. Soukup (eds), *Wycliffism and Hussitism: Methods of Thinking, Writing and Persuasion, c. 1360 – c. 1460*, Turnhout 2021 (Medieval Church Studies, 47), pp. 29-72.

<sup>2</sup> On the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, see P.W. Rosemann, *The Story of a Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's Sentences*, Toronto 2007. The seminal collective volumes G.R. Evans, P.W. Rosemann (eds), *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. I-III, Leiden 2002-2014. For a general view on modern editions from the *Sentences*, see also: M. Brinzei, C. Schabel, "Critically Editing a So-Called 'Sentences Commentary'", in: S. Schorn, S. Boodts, P. De Leemans (†) (eds), *Sicut Dicit. Editing Ancient and Medieval Commentaries on Authoritative texts*, Turnhout 2020 (LECTIO Studies in the Transmission of Texts & Ideas, 8), pp. 243-271, C. Schabel, "Were There *Sentences* Commentaries?", in: P. Bermon, I. Moulin (eds), *Commenter au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2019, pp. 243-266. We can add to this list also M.J.F.M. Hoenen, "Henricus de Campo († 1460) Reads Peter Lombard: Late-Medieval Abbreviations on the *Libri Sententiarum*", in: M. Brinzei, C. Schabel (eds), *Philosophical Psychology in Late-Medieval Commentaries on Peter Lombard's Sentences*, Turnhout 2020 (Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale, 21), pp. 105-153.

## *Protestatio* within the *Sentences* on Peter Lombard

Dusan Coufal magisterially demonstrates the importance of the *protestatio* in understanding the “epistemic crisis” of late medieval universities. In two seminal papers, he depicts this practice through the lens of surviving statutes with a strong focus on the universities from Central Europe.<sup>3</sup> I do not intend here to repeat what he already clearly established for the present narrative. In light of some new texts, I propose to discuss here some characteristics of *protestatio* that will complete the pioneering contribution of Coufal.<sup>4</sup>

Obtaining the title of doctor in theology during the Middle Ages requires to lecture on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, after or before the bachelors read on the Bible.<sup>5</sup> A whole ritual was well established to initiate the lecture on the *Sentences*. It is what we recognize today as *principia*,<sup>6</sup> a compulsory exercise that was imposed on the bachelors to start the lecture on the four books of Lombard’s *Sentences* with four sermons preceded by a biblical pericope. From the fourteenth century, this sermon was completed by a *quaestio collativa* that was displayed in front of an audience. This also gives the opportunity to a candidate to dispute with all his *socii*, or the other bachelors enrolled to read on the *Sentences* in the same year.<sup>7</sup> A *protestatio* is an academic confession or oath made by the bachelor wherein he publicly acknowledges, in front of the audience, that he will respect the institution and its hierarchy. Hoenen correctly noticed that “when degrees were awarded, oaths were taken expressing the rights and duties of the academic ranks involved.”<sup>8</sup> The confessional aspect of this act recalls

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<sup>3</sup> The pioneer research on *protestatio* on a larger corpus is proposed by D. Coufal, “Od prisahy ke konfesi a zpet? Universitni protestace v pozdnim stredoveku a její promena ve Viklefove a husitskem mysleni”, in: P. Cermanova, P. Soukup (eds), *Husitske reformace. Promena kulturniho kodu v. 15 stoleti*, Prague 2019, pp. 22-68 and recently D. Coufal, “From Oath to Confession and Back? *Protestatio* in the Late Middle Ages, and Its Transformation in the Thought of Wyclif and the Hussites”, in: K. Ghosh, P. Soukup (eds), *Wycliffism and Hussitism: Methods of Thinking, Writing and Persuasion, c. 1360 – c. 1460*, Turnhout 2021 (Medieval Church Studies, 47), pp. 157-177.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to the second bibliography used by Coufal, we can also reflect on the *protestatio* with Z. Kaluza, “Auteur et plagiaire: quelques remarques”, in: J.A. Aertsen (ed), *Was ist Philosophie im Mittelalter?* Berlin/New York 1998 (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 26), pp. 312-320 at p. 318.

<sup>5</sup> While in Paris, Vienna, and Bologna the lecture on the *Sentences* is preceded by the lecture on the Bible, in Oxford the process was reversed according to the statutes of 1313 where the lecture on the Bible followed that on the *Sentences*. See H.S. Gibson (ed), *Statuta antiqua universitatis Oxoniensis*, Oxford 1931, pp. 48-53. For a comment on this situation, see M. Dunne, “Between Old and New at Oxford the *Introitus Sententiarum* of Richard FitzRalph and the First *Collatio* of Adam Wodeham”, in: M. Brinzei, W. Duba (eds), *Principia on the Sentences of Peter Lombard: Exploring an Uncharted Scholastic-Philosophical Genre*, Turnhout 2023 (Studia Sententiarum, 7), pp. xx-xx. This situation is also discussed by H.G. Gelber, *It Could Have Been Otherwise. Contingency and Necessity in Dominican Theology at Oxford 1300–1350*, Leiden/Boston 2004 (Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 81), pp. 29-32. For the difference between the organization of the Faculty of Theology in Paris and Vienna, see W.J. Courtenay, “From Dinkelsbühl’s *Questiones Communes* to the Vienna Group Commentary. The Vienna ‘School,’ 1415–1425”, in: M. Brinzei (ed), *Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and the Sentences at Vienna in the Early Fifteenth Century*, Turnhout 2015 (Studia Sententiarum, 1), pp. 267-315.

<sup>6</sup> See the ERC consolidator grant DEBATE. One of the outputs is the database on *principia* that survived, which can be consulted at <https://database.debate-erc.com/jspui/>, as well as the forthcoming collective volume: *Principia on the Sentences of Peter Lombard: Exploring an Uncharted Scholastic-Philosophical Genre*, in: M. Brinzei, W. Duba (eds), Turnhout 2023 (Studia Sententiarum, 7). Hoenen also discusses the *principia* in M.J.F.M. Hoenen, “Einige Notizen über die Handschriften und Drucke des Sentenzenkommentars von Marsilius von Inghen”, *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 56 (1989), pp. 117-163, here pp. 122-128; M.J.F.M. Hoenen, “Neoplatonismus am Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts. Die Prinzipien zum Sentenzenkommentar des Marsilius von Inghen”, in: S. Wielgus, *Marsilius von Inghen. Werk und Wirkung*, Lublin 1993, pp. 165-194; also, in his magisterial book *Marsilius of Inghen: Divine Knowledge in Late Medieval Thought*, Leiden 1992 (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 50), pp. 11, 144, 148.

<sup>7</sup> For a more technical discussion on the *principia* structure, see M. Brinzei, “Textual Toolkit in understanding *Principia* on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard,” forthcoming.

<sup>8</sup> Hoenen, “Ideas, Institution, and Public Scandal”, p. 60.

Robert of Sorbonne's booklet known today as *De conscientia*, which praised the necessity of a candidate to confess to the master before each academic exercise. According to Robert, an academic confession about the status of the work, relation with others, and respect for *magistri* was similar to the final judgment and his treatise imposed an impetus for such a praxis.<sup>9</sup> The *protestatio* as a public engagement implies the confession that the authority of the Roman Church, the Royal court, and the university are recognized as instances of truth that will be embraced by the bachelor. The candidate to the title of doctor in theology also has the obligation to show self-awareness of the nature of his actions and attitude during the *quaestio collativa* and to control himself in not spreading wrong ideas or any type of heresy.

One first question to discuss for deciphering the meaning and the efficiencies of this type of oath is where inside of the sentential *principia* we find this testimony. The statutes of universities, when they mention protestation,<sup>10</sup> give no hints about when this should be performed. Without any indication of the rule, the answer is to be found in surviving sources of actual protestations. In fact, at the end of the *sermo* and just at the beginning of the *quaestio collativa*, once the title of this has been introduced and before announcing the structure of the dispute, we find the *protestatio*. Ueli Zahnd uses a clear-cut formula: “between the *caput* and the *corpus* of a *principia quaestio*.”<sup>11</sup> This statement can be proven by textual evidence and even from one of the first survived *protestatio* that we inherit from Oxford,<sup>12</sup> which is that of Robert Holcot. In a recent paper that elucidates the dates for Holcot's *lecture* on *Sentences* and identifies Holcot's *principia*, Chris Schabel reproduces this Oxonian Dominican *protestatio* inserted after the title of the question and the list of arguments *ad oppositum* and just before the announcement of the division of the question:

In this question I assume the common testimony: that although I could fall into any error through ignorance or deliberation, yet I want to consent to defending no error stubbornly.<sup>13</sup>

This cartography, in between the *caput* and *corpus* of the principal debate, is widespread in universities all over Europe. We find confirmation at the faculties of theology in Cracow,<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> F.N.M. Diekstra, “Robert de Sorbon's ‘De conscientia,’ truncated text and full text”, *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 70 (2003), pp. 22-117. For the French translation of a different variant than the one edited by Diekstra, see P. Bermon, *La Fondation de l'Université de Paris. Choix de textes traduits*, Paris 2017.

<sup>10</sup> It is the case for Bologna and Vienna, see Coufal, “From Oath to Confession and Back?”, pp. 157-158.

<sup>11</sup> U. Zahnd, “Disputing without *Socii*-The *principium* on Book IV of Conrad of Rothenburg, Vienna 140)/09”, in: M. Brinzei, W. Duba (eds), *Principia on the Sentences of Peter Lombard: Exploring an Uncharted Scholastic-Philosophical Genre*, Turnhout 2023 (Studia Sententiarum, 7), pp. xx-xx, n. 53.

<sup>12</sup> Another protestation from Oxford is that of Robert Kilvington transmitted in Richardus Kilvington, *Collatio in primum librum Sententiarum*, Erfurt, CA 2<sup>o</sup> 105, f. 134/135rb and discussed by Schabel in his forthcoming book on *principia: The Rise of the genre*. An incomplete transcription of this one can be read in W.J. Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham. An Introduction to His Life and Writings*, Leiden 1978 (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 21), p. 174, n. 50.

<sup>13</sup> C. Schabel, “Robert Holcot's Principal Questions on Grace, Merit, and Sin: A Preliminary Edition on the *Determinationes* II and IV”, in: P. Bermon, C. Grellard (eds), *Theologia modernorum. Recherches sur les questions théologiques inédites de Robert Holcot*, Turnhout (forthcoming) (Studia Sententiarum, 8). Here is the Latin text from the Lyon edition: “In ista quaestione suppono protestationem communem, quam volo facere: quod licet per ignorantiam vel in deliberationem in quemvis errorem faciliter labi possem, tamen in nullo errore pertinaciter defendendo volo consentire”. A full transcription of Holcot's *Sentences* made by Daniel Coman can be consulted at <http://thesis-project.ro/robertusholcot/texts.html>.

<sup>14</sup> See the testimony of Bernardus Hesse, *Principium*, ed. W. Baran: “Antequam respondebo ad questionem istam, primo premitto laudabilem consuetudinem in scolis theologicis fieri consuetam, scilicet quod non intendo aliquid dicere vel asserere, quod sit contra determinationem Sancte Matris Ecclesie vel contra approbatos doctores, vel quod sit piarum aurium offensivum”. See the largest discussion and others examples such as Jacobus de Nowy Sacz (before 1419), and Matthias de Labiszyn (1443), in Baran's PhD: “Les *Principia* de

Paris,<sup>15</sup> Prague,<sup>16</sup> or Vienna, where, surprisingly, we find a rich collection of evidence.<sup>17</sup> In all these academic contexts it seems that the practice of *protestatio* is embraced in a standard manner. Even in Fribourg we find the formula *protestor igitur in primis et ante omnia*, which seems to confirm this chronology.<sup>18</sup> This formula echoes what probably was the model in Heidelberg.<sup>19</sup>

In order to identify the technical aspects of the *protestatio*, it is worth discussing in detail one of the most illustrative specimens that we can find in Paris. The protestation of Denys of Modena, who lectured on the *Sentences* in Paris in 1371–1372,<sup>20</sup> runs as follows:

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Benoît Hesse de Cracovia (vers 1389–1456). Étude et édition critique”, EPHE 2022, forthcoming as a book. For another discussion of protestation in Cracow, see M. Maga, “Vivus docui, nec cesso docere mortuus”. The tragic death of Sigismundus de Pyzdry, an opportunity in the study of the *Sentences* commentaries”, *Philobiblon: Transylvanian Journal of Multidisciplinary Research in Humanities* 25/1 (2020), pp. 5-32, at p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> One of the oldest *protestatio* in Paris is from 1330 and belongs to Arnould of Claremonte, which can be found in a very corrupted manuscript identified by Chris Schabel. Forthcoming book and article W.J. Courtenay, “Parisian Theologians in the 1330s”, *Vivarium* 1-2 (2019), pp. 102-126, at 110. The transcription of the text and the discussion was done by C. Schabel in C. Schabel, W. Duba, *The Rise of the genre* (forthcoming).

<sup>16</sup> Mattheus de Aula Regia, *Principium II*, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, 418, f. 306vb: “Antequam aliquid de ista questione dicam, protestationem laudabilem premitam in scolis et actibus theologicis fieri consuetam. Protestor igitur quod nec in hoc actu, nec in quocumque alio imposterum per me fiendo intendo aliquid dicere etc. Ista protestatione sic stante, devenio ad decisionem questionis.” Matthew’s *principia* is edited and commented on in M. Brinzei, “The Cistercian Matthew of Zbraslav (de Aula Regia / Königsaal), socius of a Pre-Radical Jan Hus, and Their Prague Principial Debate”, in: M. Brinzei, W. Duba (eds), *Principia on the Sentences of Peter Lombard: Exploring an Uncharted Scholastic-Philosophical Genre*, Turnhout 2023 (*Studia Sententiarum*, 7). From Prague, we also have the “missing” protestation of Jan Hus’s *principia*. Coufal discusses another type of Hus’s oaths in Coufal, “From Oath to Confession and Back?”, pp. 162-163. On Hus, see also Hoenen, “Ideas, Institution, and Public Scandal”, pp. 59-61.

<sup>17</sup> Ueli Zahnd already highlights some *principia* in Vienna. See Zahnd, “Disputing without *Socii*”, pp. xx–xx. In the last few years, the textual heritage from the Faculty of Theology at Vienna came into sharper focus and some of the protestations have been discussed by A. Baneu, “Paul of Gelden - A Portrait of the Parisian *artista* as a Viennese Theologian”, in: M. Brinzei (ed), *The Rise of an Academic Elite. Deans, Masters, and Scribes at the University of Vienna before 1400*, Turnhout 2022 (*Studia Sententiarum*, 6), pp. 221-311, at 262. I. Curut’s paper “The *Sentences* Commentary of Thomas Ebendorfer: Manuscripts and Question Lists”, *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 88 (2021), pp. 65-111, at 95 mentioned the traces of Ebendorfer’s protestation: “Sed expeditis tribus ultimis nunc restat discutere primum articulum materiam primi libri concernentem, qui erat ‘Utrum sicut Pater in divinis generat Filium naturali generatione, sic ambo spirant Spiritum Sanctum voluntaria spiratione’ et antequam ultra procedam protestationem aliquas sepius per me praemissam volo habere pro repetita. Respondendo igitur pono duos articulos. [ÖNB, 4369, 3r-6v]”. M. Esu discusses and edits the *protestatio* of Peter of Pirchenwart in his “Peter of Pirckenwart’s Textual Workshop from his *Principium IV* (1417)”, in: M. Brinzei, W. Duba (eds), *Principia on the Sentences of Peter Lombard: Exploring an Uncharted Scholastic-Philosophical Genre*, Turnhout 2023 (*Studia Sententiarum*, 7), pp. xx–xx.

<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, the *protestatio* of Johannes Pfeffer, performed in Fribourg, was transcribed and discussed in G. Signore, A. Dlabacova, M. Abram, “Between Norms and Books. Constructing Authority in the Fifteenth Century”, in: S. Boodts, J. Leemans, B. Meijns (eds), *Shaping Authority. How Did a Person Become an Authority in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance?*, Turnhout 2016 (*LECTIO*, 4), pp. 389-438, at 398. See on the same *protestatio* M.J.F.M. Hoenen, “Ideas, Institution, and Public Scandal”, p. 60 and M.J.F.M. Hoenen, “Der Wegestreit in Ingolstadt. Hintergründe zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Realisten und Nominalisten um 1500”, in *Humanismus in Ingolstadt. Akten des gemeinsam mit dem Stadtarchiv und dem Stadtmuseum Ingolstadt sowie dem Historischen Verein Ingolstadt e. V. am 11./12. November 2011 veranstalteten Symposions in Ingolstadt*, Wiesbaden 2013, pp. 29-51, at pp. 36-37.

<sup>19</sup> For Heidelberg, see the *protestatio* of John Wenck in A. Fiamma, “John Wenck’s *Principia* on the *Sentences* (1431)”, in: M. Brinzei, W. Duba (eds), *Principia on the Sentences of Peter Lombard: Exploring an Uncharted Scholastic-Philosophical Genre*, Turnhout 2023 (*Studia Sententiarum*, 7), pp. xx–xx.

<sup>20</sup> For Modena’s *principia* and his *socii*, 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.

I testify that in this act now, or in any other done by me in the future with the grace of God, I do not intend to say, rather I intend not to say, anything that is against the determination of the holy Roman Church, or that is against the faith, or that is against good manners or offensive to pious ears, or even that results in support for the articles condemned at Paris by the reverend bishops and masters. And that if I say anything of the kind (God forbid), either from a slip of the tongue, or out of ignorance, or from inadvertence, I annul, revoke, and consider it unsaid from now as from then, subjecting myself to the correction of the reverend masters and of all others to whom it belongs to correct those who fail in this way, being ready to revoke and to retract it at the request of anyone who makes it know to me with charity. I also testify that I intend to recite faithfully the statements of the reverend bachelors with whom, though unworthy and undeserving, I am engaging in the cursus and to show reverence to all of them as my fathers and my masters.<sup>21</sup>

Reading this testimony, one can easily recognize some formula that appears to be very technical and more specifically quite juridical, as is the case with: ‘I do not intend to say, rather I intend not to say, anything that is against’ (*non intendo dicere, ymmo intendo non dicere contra*) and also the excuse of a slip of the tongue or by lack of attention (*ex lapsu lingue aut inadvertencia aut alia quacunque occasione seu causa*). Even the formula ‘from now as from then’ (*nunc pro tunc*) is still used nowadays in legal context to recognize the retroactive chance to correct an early error.<sup>22</sup> We do not know to what extent Modena’s testimony reflects what the statute of the university required of bachelors, but we can try to find an answer. Unfortunately, we do not have traces of the Parisian’s statute of the Faculty of Theology at Paris before 1366,<sup>23</sup> and the material recovered from the *Chartularium* does not mention the rules about *protestatio*. An echo of the Parisian statute is to be found in one of the faculties of theology from Bologna and Vienna, where we find explicit indication about *protestatio* within *principia*. In the following table I propose to confront Modena’s text with what the statutes from Bologna and Vienna were concerning the protestation. The goal is to elucidate to which extent Modena’s *protestatio* mirrors the Parisian statute.

The model of the Parisian statute has been equally embraced by the faculties of theology of Bologna and Vienna. Two theologians formed primarily in Paris were involved in the composition and organization of these two new faculties of theology—respectively, Hugolin of Orvieto for Bologna,<sup>24</sup> and Henry of Langenstein for Vienna.<sup>25</sup> No *protestatio* from Bologna lasted, even if we have three survived *principia* (Conrad of Ebrach, Augustinus

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<sup>21</sup> Denys of Modena’s *Sentences* commentary survived in the manuscripts: Pamplona, Biblioteca de la Catedral 26 and some questions are transmitted by Paris, BnF, lat. 16228, ff. (193r-253v) and Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, 21191. In both codices, the *principia* of Denys is missing and the only textual testimony of this text is actually the incunable edition from Paris in 1515 publishing the whole commentary under the name of Dionisius Cisterciensis. For the Latin text, see below the transcription on p. xx. For a discussion on Modena’s text, see C. Schabel, M. Brinzei, M. Maga, “A golden age of theology at Prague”, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae* 55/1 (2015), pp. 21-42.

<sup>22</sup> I thank Matteo Esu for his suggestion in this respect.

<sup>23</sup> J. Verger, “La première grande réforme de l’université de Paris (5 juin 1366)”, *Commentaire* 141 (2013), 147-154. J. Verger, “La première réformation générale de l’université de Paris (1366)”, *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l’année 2011 juillet-octobre*, 1229-1251.

<sup>24</sup> J. Rousset, “Hugolin d’Orvieto: Une controverse à la Faculté de Théologie de Bologne au XIVe siècle”, *Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire* 47 (1930), 63-91; A. Zumkeller, “Hugolin von Orvieto über Urstand und Erbsünde”, *Augustiniana* 3 (1953), 35-62 and *Augustiniana* 4 (1954), 164-193.

<sup>25</sup> J. von Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität im ersten Jahrhundert ihres Bestehens*, Vienna 1865, pp. 41-42. Recently discussed by C. Schabel, “Andrew of Langenstein and his Question on Human Freedom”, in: M. Brinzei (ed), *The Rise of an Academic Elite. Deans, Masters, and Scribes at the University of Vienna before 1400*, Turnhout 2022 (*Studia Sententiarum*, 6), pp. 313-343, at p. 316, n. 13.

Favaroni de Roma, Robert of Cremona),<sup>26</sup> so we cannot ascertain whether the bachelors were reproducing the statute in their protestations in Bologna. For Vienna, we are more fortunate since extra textual evidence survived and examples, such as Peter of Pirchenwart<sup>27</sup> or Thomas of Wölfe,<sup>28</sup> reinforce the idea that the bachelors indeed replicated the technical formula disseminated by the statute. Let us read the following three sources in parallel:

Denys of Modena's <i>protestatio</i> from Paris	Bologna statute	Vienna statute
Protestor enim quod in isto <b>actu</b> modo seu in <b>alio</b> quovis <b>per me</b> in posterum Dei gratia <b>fiendo non intendo dicere, ymmo intendo non dicere, aliquid quod sit contra determinationem</b> sancte Romane <b>Ecclesie</b> aut quod sit contra fidem vel quod sit contra <b>bonos mores</b> aut <b>piarum aurium</b> offensivum seu etiam quod cedat in favorem articulorum Parisius per reverendos episcopos et magistros <b>condemnatorum</b> . Quod si quid tale dixero (quod Deus avertat) sive <b>ex lapsu lingue</b> sive <b>ex ignorantia</b> vel ex inadvertentia, illud <b>ex nunc prout ex tunc casso</b> , revoco, et habeo <b>pro non dicto, subiiciens</b> me correctioni reverendorum magistrorum et omnium aliorum ad quos spectat sic <b>delinquentes</b> corrigere, paratus illud revocare et retractare ad petitionem cuiuscumque michi <b>caritative</b>	Secundo protestor quod in presenti <b>actu</b> vel quocumque alio <b>per me fiendo</b> in hac alma universitates <b>non intendo dicere, ymmo intendo non dicere aliquid quod sit contra determinationem</b> sacrosancte <b>Ecclesie</b> vel contra doctrinam sanam aut contra doctors approbatos seu contra <b>bonos mores</b> vel quod esset <b>piarum aurium</b> offensivum. Quod si aliquid tale contingeret me dicere <b>ex lapsu lingue</b> vel <b>ex ignorantia</b> maxima que in me est, revoco <b>ex nunc prout ex tunc, casso</b> , anullo et <b>habeo pro non dicto, subiiciens</b> me cunctis <b>caritative</b> me reprehendentibus et specialiter illis ad quod spectat tales <b>delinquentes</b>	Item quod in decisione questionum in disputacionibus et in principiis <i>Sentenciarum</i> ac in aliis actibus publicis in aula premiti debeant protestaciones laudabiles, quibus protestentur dictos <b>actus</b> facturi, <b>quod non intendunt dicere, ymmo intendunt non dicere aliquid, quod sit contra fidem</b> , contra determinationem Sancte Matris Ecclesie aut quod cedat in favorem articulorum Parisius aut hic <b>condemnatorum</b> aut quod sit contra doctrinam sanam, contra <b>bonos mores</b> aut quovis modo offendat <b>pias aures</b> ; et si aliquid illorum contingeret, <b>lapsu lingue</b> aut inadvertentia aut alia quacunque occasione seu causa, quod dicent, se ex illo pro nunc revocare, retractare, exponere, declarare velle ad ordinacionem Facultatis

<sup>26</sup> Both of these *principia* were recently published and discussed by C. Schabel, “The Franciscan Guglielmo Centucri of Cremona’s Bologna *Principium* of 1368, with an Appendix on Whether God Can Make the Past Not to Have Been”, in: M. Brinzei, W. Duba (eds), *Principia on the Sentences of Peter Lombard: Exploring an Uncharted Scholastic-Philosophical Genre*, Turnhout 2023 (Studia Sententiarum, 7), pp. xx–xx, at xx. And M. Brinzei, “Performing *Principia* in the Faculty of Theology of Bologna: The Case of Augustinus Favaroni of Rome (†1443),” *Traditio* 77 (2022), pp. 377–463. For a discussion on the *principia* of Conrad of Ebrach, see M. Brinzei, C. Schabel, “Thomas Aquinas as Authority and the *Summa* as Auctoritas in the Late Middle Ages”, in: L. Lanza, M. Toste (eds), *Summistae. The Commentary Tradition on Thomas Aquinas’s Summa Theologiae from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Leuven 2021 (Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, Series 1/58), pp. 95–125, at pp. 97–107.

<sup>27</sup> The text is edited by Esu, “Peter of Pirchenwart’s Textual Workshop”, pp. xx–xx.

<sup>28</sup> Text edited by C. Schabel, *Theology at Vienna 1433–1435/Thomas Wölfel of Wullersdorf and His Principia on the Sentences* (forthcoming). Wölfel’s text runs as follows in Schabel’s edition from Wien, ÖNB, 4719, ff. 28r–28v: “Protestor igitur primo quod nec in hoc actu nec in quocumque alio per Dei gratiam in futurum per me fiendo intendo aliquid dicere, ymmo positive intendo non dicere, quod sit contra canonem Bible aut articulos fidei aut determinationem sancte matris Ecclesie, aut quod sit contra sanam doctrinam sanctorum doctorum ab Ecclesia approbatorum, aut quod quovis modo vergere posset in favorem articulorum ubicumque rationabiliter condempnatorum, vel quod merito piarum aurium esset offensivum. Si autem aliquid horum -- quod absit -- dixero undecumque ex lapsu lingue aut ex inadvertentia vel ignorantia mea, que maxima est, revoco pro nunc sicut pro tunc et pro tunc sicut pro nunc, volens haberi pro non dicto, subiiciens me in hiis correctioni venerabilium patrum et dominorum doctorum sacre theologie huius alme universitatis et aliorum quorum interest sic errantes corrigere et ad viam reducere Veritatis”.

insinuantis. Protestor etiam quod dicta reverendorum bacchalariorum cum quibus, licet indignus et immeritus, concurro intendo fideliter recitare et omnibus eis velut patribus et magistris meis reverentiam exhibere. <sup>29</sup>	arguere et ad semitam reducere veritatis. <sup>30</sup>	Theoloyce huius Studii Wyennensis.” <sup>31</sup>
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How should these texts be interpreted? The verbatim formula that I highlight in the table above are technical words that navigate between the three texts. The first aspect to comment on is the intent of the candidate (I do not intend to say, rather I intend not to say). Here, the intent is to clearly show an awareness or subjective state of mind that foresees what can happen when something is said against the institution and that might appear as a violation of the hierarchical values. The bachelors therefore vow not to attack the institution and to avoid an error *in fide*. The testimony of Paris and Vienna openly mentioned the condemnations, while the statute of Bologna does not explicitly use the term of condemnation; this idea is introduced by a reference to an attack against the saint doctrine and the recognized doctors.

The formula *contra piarum aurium* is actually rooted in a passage from the *De civitate Dei* of Augustin,<sup>32</sup> which became commonplace in the academic condemnations<sup>33</sup> and should be understood in relation with the idea of censure. It is also quite often associated with the error of not showing good manners (*contra bonos mores*) in dealing with peers. The two conditions inform the attitude of bachelors, both on the level of the use of ideas and words and on behavior, since in some situations an abuse of words or any type of exaggeration (logical or rhetorical) might disturb some participants in the audiences and might show a lack of courtesy via poor manners. The abuse of words and fostering of already condemned anti-orthodox theses are sources of heretical attitudes that should be avoided by bachelors. The guide of conduct promoted by the *protestatio* is completed by the identification of possible sources of error such as ignorance,<sup>34</sup> slips of the tongue<sup>35</sup> or lack of attention. These

<sup>29</sup> Dionysius Cisterciensis, *Liber in quatuor sententiarum nuper a Johanne macerensi correctus et emendatus una cum principiis ejusdem Dionysii*, ed. Johannes Macerensis, Poncet le Preux, Paris 1511 (no numbered).

<sup>30</sup> F. Ehrle, *I più antichi statuti della facoltà teologica dell'Università di Bologna*, Bologna 1932, p. 47.

<sup>31</sup> *Statuta Facultatis Theologiae*, ed. Kink, tit. II, in *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien. Zweiter Band. Statutenbuch der Universität*, Wien 1954, p. 103.

<sup>32</sup> Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*, X, 23: “Liberis enim verbis loquuntur philosophi, nec in rebus ad intelligendum difficillimis offensionem religiosarum aurium pertimescunt”, in: Sancti Aurelii Augustini, *De civitate Dei, libri I–X*, B. Dombart, A. Kalb (eds), Turnhout 1955 (Corpus Christianorum, seria latina, 47), p. 297. This passage is referred by Jean Gerson in his *Sermon Prosperum iter*, in: P. Glorieux (ed), *Oeuvres complètes*, V, Paris 1968, pp. 476-477, commented on by Z. Kaluza, “Les sciences et leur langage. Notes sur le statut du 29 décembre 1340 et le prétendu statut perdu contre Ockham”, in: L. Bianchi (ed), *Filosofia e teologia nel trecento. Studi in ricordo di Eugenio Randi*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1994, pp. 197-258, at 251-252.

<sup>33</sup> See L. Bianchi, *Censure et liberté intellectuelle à l'université de Paris (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)*, Paris 1999, p. 259. *Ibid.* Pour une histoire de la “double vérité”, Paris 2008, p. 74.

<sup>34</sup> Isidore of Seville might be one of the first who recognizes the danger of ignorance as a source of error when in 633, during the IV Concile of Tolède, he claims the following: “ignorance, mother of all errors, is to be avoided above all among the priests of God”, (*Ignorantia mater cunctorum errorum maxime in sacerdotibus Dei vitanda est*). Fourth Council of Toledo (633, IV Toledo): G. Martínez Díez and Rodríguez, *La colección canónica hispana*, Madrid 1992, p. 25. On the epistemological statute of ignorance, see the recent works of C. Grellard, “Que m'est-il permis d'ignorer? La foi, l'ignorance et les limites acceptables de l'orthodoxie”, in: C. Grellard, P. Hoffmann, L. Lavaud (eds), *Genèse antiques et médiévale de la foi*, Paris 2020 (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, 206), pp. 429-449 and the first chapter in C. Grellard, *La possibilità dell'errore. Pensare la tolleranza nel medioevo*, Trento 2020 (Flumen Sapientiae, 12), pp. 21-54.



conditions are in fact tools to protect bachelors from possible charges or accusations of heresy. The oath provides the bachelor with the “presumption of non-pertinacity”<sup>36</sup> and the opportunity to publicly recognize what can lead to endorsing an erroneous idea. In case of such error occurs, the bachelor insists on *being ready to revoke and to retract it*. The revocation is also what is called the *protestatio conditionalis* and is connected with the fact that bachelors in theology were also obliged to report any suspect or unorthodox doctrine they hear during teaching.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, the possibility to revoke something and to correct oneself protect them from potentially severe accusations.<sup>38</sup>

What can be concluded from here is that the three textual witnesses of *protestatio* from Paris, Bologna, and Vienna share the same concerns and can be read as a set of actions that the university imposed to the scholars, likely as a rule of academic conduct. The message is the same, as well as the wording. Therefore, we can conclude on how significant Modena’s testimony became. The correlation of sources from Bologna and Vienna lead to the conclusion that these verbatim formulas mirror what was actually in the statute of the Faculty of Theology at Paris, too. Although the Parisian statute is lost, we here have the evidence that the rule was well respected and a bachelor in theology in Paris in 1370–71, such as Denys of Modena, was aware of the content of this statute, since he carefully reproduces it.

### *Gratiarum actio*

If for the *protestatio* within *principia* on the *Sentences*, we can identify a twofold source: textual evidence from surviving *principia* and particular mentions in some statutes of the faculty of theology; this is not the case when we try to understand what is the *gratiarum actio*. No trace of this is to be found in the statutes of such faculties, but some textual evidence can guide us to list some considerations. The act of grace is the moment when the protagonist of an academic act thanks his public at the end of his exercise for participating to his performance. He also shows gratitude for the institution thanking the Church, the saints of the Church, the universities, and its doctors. It is not a specificity only to principial exercises, since we find traces of a *gratiarum actio* also in the case of preaching on academic sermons, the *lectio finalis* or the *sermo finalis*, or even in the case of magisterial acts such as the *vesperis*.<sup>39</sup> Yet, the corpus of *sentential principia* is probably quite representative since more

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<sup>35</sup> For an analysis of different interpretations of the slip of the tongue and the transformation of language vices, see C. Casagrande, S. Vecchio, *Le péché de la langue*, Paris 1991, pp. 137-160 and the discussion of I. Rosier, *La parole efficace. Signe, rituel, sacré*, Paris 2004, pp. 294-324.

<sup>36</sup> See A.E. Larsen, *The School of Heretics. Academic Condemnation at the University of Oxford, 1277–1409*, Leiden/Boston 2011 (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 40), p. 11.

<sup>37</sup> As Moule summarizes: “Duty to report suspect teaching represented an integral component of the faculty’s procedural norms for detecting unsound teaching across several generations of scholars,” in G.S. Moule, *Corporate Jurisdiction, Academic Heresy, and Fraternal Correction at the University of Paris, 1200–1400*, Leiden/Boston 2016 (Education and society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 51), p. 297. For the *protestatio conditionalis* see also Coufal, “From Oath to Confession and Back?” p. 158 and Moule, *Corporate Jurisdiction*, pp. 294-301.

<sup>38</sup> See Christophe Grellard’s paper in this volume.

<sup>39</sup> See in Vienna the example of some *vesperis* in manuscript Wien, ÖNB, 4300, which directly mention the *gratiarum actio* within the *vesperis*, f. 36r: “Tertio brevis collatio eiusdem nostri vesperiandi recommendatoria subsequenter. Et quarto totus ipse actus cum gratiarum actione finaliter concludetur”. This is verbatim repeated in another *vesperis* on f. 46r. *Apud* L. Cioca, *The History of Vespertial Disputations in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, unpublished PhD dissertation, Cluj-Napoca, 2021, pp. 55-53. From the same manuscript, Cioca recently published the *vesperis* of Peter Pulkau, but he does not have a *gratiarum actio*. See L. Cioca, “New proofs of scholarly dynamic at the beginning of the Viennese Faculty of Theology: The *vesperis* of Petrus de Pulkau (~1370–1425)”, *Archa Verbi* 18 (2021), pp. 115-170. For a *gratiarum actio* in a different genre, see C. Schabel, “Radices et plantationes theologicae facultatis hic Parisius. The *Principia* of Pierre Leduc and Henri le Boulanger and the Victorine Tradition during the Great Schism”, in: W. Bajor, M. Buraczewski, M.J. Janecki, D.

testimonies survived. Ueli Zahnd<sup>40</sup> notices the spreading of this practice during the fifteenth century, but in fact we already have traces of the act of grace during the fourteenth century within the framework of the *Sentences*. For example, in Paris in 1364, John Hiltalingen of Basel ends his *principia* by thanking the audience.<sup>41</sup> A few years after, in 1377–1378, the Augustinian John Gracilis delivers a very rhetorical act of grace full of significant information because he praises all the disciplines of the universities, which lets us think that members of other faculties were actually participating in the *principia* at the faculty of theology.<sup>42</sup> This is a significant detail that allows us to better understand the collaboration between the faculty of theology and faculty of arts, a relation that modern historiography sometimes ignores. Another argument for the relations between disciplines is given by a testimony from Heidelberg where John Wenck names all the representatives from other faculties being present at his *principia*.<sup>43</sup> We find in Italy the testimony of Simone da Cascina who read the *Sentences* around 1380, first in Perugia and then in Pisa, who, in revealing the plan of his *principia*, explicitly says, “finally I have to report thanks to everyone.” (*Habeo ultimo referre gratiarum omnibus actionem*).<sup>44</sup> The same situation can be noticed in Vienna, where Paul of Gelria equally declares: “Third and final is to offer to your reverence any kind of thanks presented with honor.”<sup>45</sup> In fact, Gelria’s testimony is spectacular, like a canvas full of details that light up his trajectory as a scholar. It is composed by a double hierarchical plan: spiritual (from God to the martyred saints) and mondain (from the Duke of Austria to his masters). Gelria thanks God, because he created him from nothing; then Jesus and the Holy Spirit for salvation and illuminating him to recognize divine goodness; the Evangelists Luke, John, and Peter—Peter also because of his patron name; the Virgin Mary; Mary Magdalen; St. Helena for discovering the cross; all the martyred saints, among them St. Stephan and St. Severin; the archbishop of Cologne; his mother for being concerned for his spiritual salvation and willing to baptize him quite fast because of his weakness at birth; and his godmother. After thanking all involved in his spiritual life, Gelria introduces a mondain hierarchy. The first one to thank is Duke Albert,

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Poirel (eds), *Omnium expetendorum prima est sapientia. Studies on Victorine Thought and Influence*, Turnhout 2021 (Bibliotheca Victorina, 29), pp. 245-326, at 262-266. For an example within the collection of sermo finalis, see Iohannes Regina de Neapoli, *Sermo pro gratiarum actione*, in: W. Duba (ed and trans), “Dante, Paris, and the Benefactor of Saint-Jacques”, *Vivarium* 58 (2020), pp. 65-88, at pp. 80-84 (trans. pp. 85-88).

<sup>40</sup> U. Zahnd, “Der Dank und die Meister. Anmerkungen zu einigen *gratiarum actiones* spätmittelalterlicher Sentenzenlesungen”, in: A. Speer, T. Jeschke (eds), *Schüller und Meister*, Berlin 2016 (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 39), pp. 81-105, at 83-84.

<sup>41</sup> In 1364, in Paris, John Hiltalingen of Basel mentions his action of grace in a rhetorical way, mixing different biblical quotes at the end of the *principium* preceding Book I: “Dicamus ergo magistro Petro cum gratiarum actione: *Signatum est super nos lumen tui*, Psalmo 4. Immo quilibet studens theologiae dicat sibi illud Psalmi 16: *De vultu tuo iudicium meum prodeat. Nec mirum, quia oculi tui vident aequitatem*, quia propheta afflatus spiritu promisit sibi dicens Psalmo 50: *Laetificabis eum in gaudio cum vultu*, hic in gratia et in future per gloriam. Quod nobis concedat, qui sine fine etc”. From Iohannes de Basilea OESA, *Lectura Super Quattuor Libros Sententiarum, Super Primum Librum*, V. Marcolino (ed), M. Brinzei, C. Oser-Grote (coop.), vol. I, Würzburg 2016 (Cassiacum, 20.1), p. 128.

<sup>42</sup> I transcribed the text in Brinzei, “Toolkit”, pp. xx–xx.

<sup>43</sup> See the edited text in Fiamma, “John Wenck’s *Principia*”, pp. xx–xx.

<sup>44</sup> In his *principia* transmitted in Città del Vaticano, BVA, Barb. Lat. 710, f. 84ra, Simone provides the structure of his *principium*: “Reverendi mei patres et domini, in hoc actu ut moris est quatuor per ordinem sunt fienda. Habeo namque primo aliqua preferre, secundo aliqua proferre, tertio aliqua conferre, quarto aliqua referre. Habeo primo preferre divine gratie invocationem. Habeo secundo proferre huius scientie aliqualem commendationem. Habeo tertio conferre cum meis patribus bachalariis parvuulam questionem. Habeo ultime referre gratiarum omnibus actionem”. Apud A. Maierù, “Figure di docenti nelle scuole domenicane della Penisole Iberica fra XIII e XIV secolo”, in: M.C. Pacheco, *Le vocabulaire des écoles des Mendicants au Moyen Age. Actes du colloque Porto (Portugal), 11–12 octobre 1996*, Turnhout 1999 (CIVIMA, 9), pp. 44-88, at 87, n. 217.

<sup>45</sup> Following the same path as Simon of Cascina, Paul of Gelria announces the structure of his *principia*, that can be read in Baneu, “Paul of Gelden-A Portrait of the Parisian *artista*”, p. 258.

Prince of Austria, for the attributed stipend. Albert is followed by all who provided him benefices to accomplish his studies: Berthold the Bishop of Freising, other priests, and his superior Anton from St. Stephan Church. The last part of his *gratiarum actio* is dedicated to the university from where he praised his professor, Henry of Langenstein, who helped him with money in Paris<sup>46</sup> and supported him in Vienna. To extend his gratitude to his professor, Gelria quoted a long passage from *On Benefits* by Seneca. Henry Totting of Oyta is the other *master* to whom he is grateful for being supportive with him in Paris, Prague, and Vienna. Lastly, he thanks Koloman Cholb (three times rector in Vienna in 1386, 1395, and 1397), the rector of the university. As an appendix to this paper, I reproduce and translate the whole *gratiarum actio* of Gelria to provide the reader with the charm of this precious source.

From Paris to Vienna, via Perugia or Heidelberg, we can conclude on the universal custom of the *gratiarum actio* within the *principia*. Rooted in the liturgical practice where the celebration of Mass ends with an act of grace, the end of *principia* is marked by this moment of praising the public and the institution for sharing the event.

As an act of grace in this paper, I extend my gratitude to Professor Maarten Hoenen for being supportive and inspirational to the young scholar I was twenty years ago when I first met him, because, finally, *gratiarum actio est quaedam gratiae recompensatio*.<sup>47</sup>

## Appendix

This Appendix proposes the English translation of Paul of Gelria's *Gratiarum actiones*. The Latin text has been edited by M. Sokolskaya, "Paul von Geldern – Ein Wiener Universitätstheologe aus dem Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts. Zur Handschrift 2° 173 der Collectio Amploniana zu Erfurt," *Jahrbuch für mitteldeutsche Kirchen- und Ordensgeschichte* 8 (2012), pp. 193-236 at pp. 194-195 following the ms Erfurt, UB, Dep. Erf. CA 2° 173, f. 279r. I slightly modify the edition and I do not reproduce here the *apparatus fontium*.

Restat tertium et ultimum, scilicet gratiarum actiones referre. Unde Chrysostomus super Mathaeum in Opere imperfecto, homilia 25, *Optima*, inquit, *beneficiorum custos est ipsa memoria beneficiorum et perpetua confessio gratiarum*. Regratior igitur in primis Deo Patri qui per Filium suum et Spiritum Sanctum de nihilo me dignatus est creare. Regratior Deo filio qui me dignatus est recreare. Regratio <r> Deo Spiritui Sancto qui me ad agnitionem ~~st~~ divinae bonitatis sue dignatus est illuminare. In igitur huius sanctissimae Trinitatis divinae et consubstantialitatis essentiae honorem modice locuturus, *replentur viscera mea gaudio et* (in margine: *interiora saginantur*), *omnia ossa mea germinant laudem cum beato Paulo Apostolo regi saeculorum immortalis invisibili soli deo honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum, amen*. Deinde regratior beatissimae Mariae, virgini generatrici Dei nostri et omnium Christi fidelium. Deinde regratior beatissimae Mariae, virgini

The third and last item remains, namely to give thanks. Whence, Chrysostom says on Matthew in his *Opus imperfectum*, homily 25: "The best keeper of benefits is the memory itself of the benefits and the perpetual expression of thanks". Therefore, first of all, I am grateful to God the Father, who through his Son and the Holy Spirit deigned to create me out of nothing. I am grateful to God the Son, who deigned to restore me. I am grateful to God the Holy Spirit, who deigned to enlighten me toward the recognition of his divine goodness. Therefore, as I am about to speak a little in honor of this most holy divine Trinity and of the consubstantiality of the essence, my heart is filled with joy, my insides are stuffed, and with blessed Paul the Apostle all my bones sprout praise "to the king of ages, immortal, invisible, the only God, be honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen." Next, I am grateful to the most blessed Mary, the virgin bearer of our God, the God of all Christ's

<sup>46</sup> This episode is discussed by Baneu, "Paul of Geldern-A Portrait of the Parisian *artista*", pp. 224-226.

<sup>47</sup> Sancti Thomae Aquinatis, *Summa Theologiae*, IIa IIae, Q. 106, a. 3, Rome 1897 (Opera Omnia, 9), p. 400.

genetrici Dei nostri et omnium Christi fidelium gratiosae nutrici, quae michi <ubera> [vebera] veniae et lac gratiae a dilecto Filio confidenter, quotienscumque eam devote oraverim, maternis compassionibus piissime impetravit et exhibuit. Regrator insuper omnibus sanctis Dei, angelis, et hominibus quorum orationibus et ministeriis adiutus, domino Christo agnitis et mihi in particulari ignotis. Regrator specialiter beatis Iohannis Baptistae et Evangelistae, sanctis Petro et Paulo atque Lucae apostolorum Christi premiceriis, et singulariter beato Paulo, in cuius conversionis die sum natus et baptizatus prae molis corporeae defectione. Timens enim mater mea <genetrix carnalis> [genitrice carnali], ne propter corporis parvitatem et virium exiguitatem forte per diem non valerem vivere, magno affectu permox natum ad ecclesiam deferri et militiae Christianae per baptismum ascribi atque nomine sancti Pauli ~~nomi~~ vocari. Quae multum, ut didici a commatre mea spirituali, inquieta erat, donec sciret me nomine sancti Pa<u>li vocatum. Deinde regrator beatissimis protomartyri sancto Stephano et confessori Christi Severini (!) quondam archiepiscopo Coloniensi, quorum meritis, sicut sum in suis ecclesiis in temporalibus praebendatus, ita et in spiritualibus spero eos mihi favorosos patrociniis. Deinde regrator sanctissimis Mariae Magdalенаe, quae fuit mihi saepius solatium spirituale, et sanctae Katharinae virgini, beatae Helenae crucis inventrici, ceterisque sanctis virginibus et et viduis. Deinde ad inferiora descendendo regrator in primis meis carnalibus, qui licet in peccato me genuerant, cum labore tamen nutriverant; quorum animabus Deus dignetur esse propitius. Regrator benefactoribus meis defunctis in Domino, supplicans humiliter Domino Deo nostro ut id caritatis Christianae quod mihi fecerunt in remedium veniae et gratiae dignetur multiplicare. Et notanter recolendo domino Alberto tertio duci Austriae principi illustrissimo, cuius stipendio per aliquot annos in hoc honorabili collegio pro studio meo fuit adiutus et postmodum ad canonicatum et praebendam ecclesiae sancti hic promotus. Deinde reverendissimis in Christo patribus et dominis Bertoldo episcopi Frisingensi et Antonio praeposito et praelato meo in ecclesia sancti Stephani Wyennae qui me aliquotiens paternis respexerunt oculis. Regratiari non sufficio gratioso patri meo et magistro reverendo magistro Henrico de Hassia qui me ab ineunte aetate mea Parisius primo benignissime tractavit

faithful. Next, I am grateful to the most blessed Mary, the Virgin bearer of our God, the God of all Christ's faithful, who, whenever I prayed to her devoutly, most piously with motherly compassion assuredly procured for and presented to me the breasts of forgiveness and the milk of grace from her beloved son. In addition, I am grateful to all God's saints, angels, and people by whose prayers and ministries, known to the Lord Christ and unknown to me in particular, I have been aided. I am especially grateful to blessed John the Baptiste and the Evangelist, to saints Peter and Paul and Luke, the leaders of Christ's Apostles, and especially blessed Paul, on the day of whose conversion I was born and baptized because of the defect of the bodily mass. My mother, my fleshly bearer, fearing, because of the smallness of my body and the scarcity of my strength, lest perhaps I not be able to live through the day, managed with great affection to have me taken to the church as soon as I was born, and to have me through baptism enrolled into the Christian army, and to have me called by the name of St. Paul. She was, as I learned from my spiritual godmother, quite disturbed until she knew that I was called by the name of St. Paul. Next, I am grateful to the most blessed holy men St Stephen the Protomartyr and Severin the Confessor of Christ, once archbishop of Cologne, by whose merits, just as in temporal affairs I have been given prebends in their churches, thus I hope they are full of goodwill toward me with their protection in spiritual matters. Next, I am grateful to the most holy women Mary Magdalene, who has so often been a spiritual comfort to me, and St Catherine the Virgin, blessed Helen the finder of the Cross, and all the other holy virgins and widows. Next, descending to the lower things, first I am grateful to my [parents] in the flesh, who, although they gave birth to me in sin, nevertheless nourished me with effort: May God deign to be favorable inclined with their souls. I am grateful to my benefactors who are deceased in the Lord, humbly beseeching the Lord our God to deign to multiply what out of Christian charity they did for me in the medicine of forgiveness and grace, and notably recalling Lord Albert III, Duke of Austria, the most illustrious prince, with whose stipend I was aided for several years in this honorable college for my study, and afterwards promoted to a canonry and prebend of the church here. Next [I am grateful] to the most reverend fathers and lords in Christ Berthold,

et iuuit et postea hic Wyennae personaliter et bonis exterioribus et interioribus pie pavit. Aliquotiens enim concessit immo dedit mihi in necessitate pecunias suas et modo in magisterio nihil a me recepit. Cui pro gratiarum actione possum dicere illud quod recitat Seneca libro secundo De beneficiis quod *cum Socrati multi multa de suis facultatibus offerrent, Aschines pauper eius auditor ait: Nihil, inquit, dignum te quod tibi dare possem invenio et ab hoc solum esse pauperem sentio. Unum tamen tibi do quod habeo: me ipsum. Hoc autem munus quale et quantum sit, rogo cogites. Alii autem cum multa tibi darent, multo amplius reliquerunt. Ego autem de meis nihil mihi reliqui. Nemo enim plus tribuit quam qui nihil sibi reliquit. Deinde regrator magistro meo reverendo magistro Henrico de Oytha qui Parisius, Pragae et hic in Wyenna plurima pietatis mihi exhibuit quae Deus sibi dignetur computare ad duplica. Deinde magistro Colomano Cholb rectori universitatis et omnibus et singulis, offerens me ipsum et mea submittens reverenter eorum beneplacitis et mandatis.*

bishop of Freising, and Anthony, my provost and prelate in the church of St. Stephen of Vienna, who a number of times looked after me with fatherly eyes. I cannot express my gratitude enough to my gracious father and my venerable master, Master Henry of Hesse, under whose shade I have ascended this chair, who from my earliest years at Paris first treated and helped me most kindly, and afterwards here in Vienna personally piously fed me with external and internal things. For a number of times he granted, indeed gave, me his money when I was in need, and now as master he has received nothing from me. To him in expression of thanks I can say what Seneca recites in the second book of *On Benefits*: Since the pupils of Socrates, each in proportion to his means, gave him large presents, Aeschiles, a poor pupil, said: 'I can find nothing to give you that is worthy of you; I feel my poverty alone in this respect. Yet I give you the one thing I possess: myself. But I ask that you take this my present, such as it is. The others, however, while they gave you much, they left much more for themselves.' But I have left nothing of my things for myself. For no one gives more than he who leaves nothing for himself. Next, I am grateful to my master, the reverend Master Henry de Oytha, who has furnished me with much of kindness in Paris, in Prague, and here in Vienna. May God deign to calculate the double of this for him. Then to Master Coloman Cholb, rector of the university, and to each and every one, respectfully offering myself and submitting what is mine to their good pleasure and orders.