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Zahnd, Ueli

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# Disputing without *socii*: The *Principium* on Book IV of Conrad of Rothenburg, Vienna 1408/09

Ueli Zahnd  
(University of Geneva)

Codex 315 from the Augustiner-Chorherrenstift's library in Klosterneuburg, Austria, is an unspectacular manuscript. It contains a commentary first on the fourth book, and then on the third book of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, and between the two commentary sections it provides, on folios 263 to 269, parts of a *principium* on book IV. The whole manuscript is written by a single, very readable hand; it has a few corrections and there are some extensive marginal notes with additions to the commentary material.<sup>1</sup> At the very end of the codex in the *explicit* to book III, the texts are attributed to a certain Conrad of Rothenburg: *explicit lectura illustris magistri Chunradi de Ratenburkch super tertio et quarto sententiarum pronunciata ad universitatem wyennensem, comparata per dominum Stephanum canonicum Newnburgensem*.<sup>2</sup> Ever since the very compilation of the manuscript, it appears thus to have been linked to

<sup>1</sup> On the manuscript in general, see H. PFEIFFER and B. ČERNÍK, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum, qui in bibliotheca Canoniorum Regularium s. Augustini Claustro Neuburgi asservantur*, vol. 2, Vienna 1931, p. 76f. On the commentary material it contains see U. ZAHND, "Plagiats individualisés et stratégies de singularisation. L'évolution du livre IV du commentaire commun des *Sentences* de Vienne", in *Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and the Sentences at Vienna in the Early Fifteenth Century*, ed. M. BRÎNZEI (Studia Sententiarum, 1), Turnhout 2015, pp. 85–265, at p. 137f.

<sup>2</sup> Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift 315, f. 458r.

Klosterneuburg;<sup>3</sup> but the *Sentences* lecture it contains is attributed to a master of the university of Vienna.

There is not much to say about this Viennese master Conrad of Rothenburg. He appears several times in the registers of the university of Vienna where he began his studies of the liberal arts as early as 1392;<sup>4</sup> he was promoted to the licentiate in 1396 and seems to have matriculated in one of the following years in theology, since he was admitted, in 1407, to read the *Sentences*.<sup>5</sup> According to our manuscript, this is what he obviously did, but it is unclear whether he ever became master of theology. It is true that he stayed at the university, since he served thereafter as dean of the arts faculty in 1410 and 1414, but was dead by October 1416 without ever being recorded as *magister theologiae*.<sup>6</sup> In this seemingly unspectacular academic curriculum leading to a text preserved in an even less spectacular manuscript, however, there is one particularity that attracts interest. For, according to the registers of the university of Vienna, when Conrad was admitted to read the *Sentences*, he was all alone. In the whole year before his admission, as well as in his own year, no one else is reported to have been lecturing on Lombard's text at his university,<sup>7</sup> and interestingly enough, this is confirmed by the *principium* contained in Klosterneuburg 315. For, unlike the many other *principia* that exist from Vienna in the decades surrounding Conrad's lecture, the author of this *principium* does not engage any *socii*.<sup>8</sup> Apparently, there was nobody to dispute with.

<sup>3</sup> On this Stephanus see also ms. Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift 301, f. 335ra, and P. UIBLEIN, *Die Universität Wien im Mittelalter. Beiträge und Forschungen*, Wien 1999, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien, vol. 1: 1377–1450*, ed. by F. GALL, Graz-Cologne 1956, p. 39; see also P. UIBLEIN, *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Vindobonensis: 1385–1416*, Graz etc. 1968, p. 131 (hereafter *AFA*). On Conrad, see already J. ASCHBACH, *Geschichte der Universität Wien im ersten Jahrhunderte ihres Bestehens*, vol. 1, Wien 1865, p. 418f., and now the *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum* (<http://rag-online.org/gelehrter/id/2147105078>; hereafter cited as *RAG* with the corresponding id).

<sup>5</sup> P. UIBLEIN, *Die Akten der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Wien (1396–1508)*, vol. 1, Vienna 1978, p. 12 (hereafter *AFT*). Conrad really begun his lecture in fall 1407, for, in late 1408, Michael Suchenschatz paid for Conrad's second year, see *AFT*, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> See *AFA* 334 and 421. Before 1407, he had already served one term as dean in 1404; see *ibid.* 227.

<sup>7</sup> With regards to Johannes Siwart who, according to *AFT*, p. 14, begun to read the *Sentences* in the year after Conrad, see below, p. 308.

<sup>8</sup> On these engagements, see W.J. COURTENAY, "From Dinkelsbühl's *Questiones Communes* to the Vienna Group Commentary: The Vienna 'School'.

Given this particular situation, the *principium* contained in Klosterneuburg 315 seems to be an interesting test-case in several regards. First of all, it might be telling about what it really meant to present a *principium* even in the extraordinary situation of, so to say, an ‘unsociable’ context. Which were the indispensable parts of a *principium*, what had to be done or maintained even if an important condition, the one of competitors challenging the proposed conclusions, was not met? To answer these questions, in what follows, the *principium* of Klosterneuburg 315 is analyzed with a particular focus on Viennese customs, and in order to be able to discern what is particular to Klosterneuburg 315 from what is particular to Vienna, the *principium* is compared to other *principia* not only from Vienna, but also from Paris, the model university according to which the Vienna bachelors had to give their *principia*.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, besides the *principium* in Klosterneuburg 315, this study will also focus on the *principia* of Peter of Pulkau (*sententiarius* 1403–1405),<sup>10</sup> Peter of Pirchenwart (1417–1419),<sup>11</sup> Thomas Ebendorfer (1419–1421),<sup>12</sup> a junior fellow bachelor of Friedrich Wagner OCarm (1423–1425),<sup>13</sup> and of one of the *socii* of Johannes Stedler (1431–1433).<sup>14</sup>

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1415–1425”, in *Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl*, ed. M. BRÎNZEI (Studia Sententiarum, 1), Turnhout 2015, p. 280, and the many examples *ibid.* pp. 284–294.

<sup>9</sup> That the principal questions had to be given *more Studij Parysiensis* is explicitly recorded in the statutes of the theological faculty from 1389, see R. KINK, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien, vol. 2: Statutenbuch*, Wien 1854, p. 110. See COURTENAY, “From Dinkelsbühl’s *Questiones Communes* to the Vienna Group Commentary”, p. 269, n. 8 for further references. See also E.A. LUKACS, “‘Contuli cum magistro meo reverend Nicolao de Dinckespuhel in tribus principiis meis’: Die *Principia* des Walter von Bamberg O. Carm aus 1400–1403”, in *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 29 (2018) pp. 2–26.

<sup>10</sup> Pulkau’s biblical *principium* and parts of the *Sentences’ principia* on books II–IV are conserved in ms. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4713, ff. 1v–67r.

<sup>11</sup> Pirchenwart’s *Sentences’ principium* on book IV is in ms. Göttweig, Klosterbibliothek 261 (272), ff. 1r–14v.

<sup>12</sup> For Ebendorfer, only his *Sentences principia* on books I and IV in ms. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4369, ff. 1r–6v (I) and 196r–202v (IV) are taken into account. For his other two *principia*, see note 14.

<sup>13</sup> These unattributed *Sentences’ principia* on books I and IV that mention Friedrich Wagner as senior bachelor can be found in ms. Wien, Schottenstift 230 (254), ff. 1r–17r. On possible authors see below, note 25.

<sup>14</sup> *Sentences principia* on all four books in ms. Lilienfeld, Zisterzienserstift 85, ff. 450r–481v (on their order and possible author, see ZAHND, “Plagiats individualisés”, p. 144, n. 214). Further known *principia* from this period in Vienna that have not been taken into account for this study are Thomas Ebendorfer,

But there is yet another reason why this Vienna *principium* is interesting. In recent years, it has become clear that the Viennese theologians were not among the most original commentators of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.<sup>15</sup> In fact, they used for their curricular lectures a standard commentary originally compiled by Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, a commentary that served as a manual which the respective "commentator" simply recited in his own lecture, adding here and there a further argument, an additional corollary, or a slightly different structure where this manual did not exactly fit with what he wanted to say, or where he could clarify an opaque passage in the manual. The result was a *common commentary*<sup>16</sup> — a commentary, thus, whose function within the individual *curricula* seems to have been rather limited. For, what was the educational goal of having future masters of theology simply read a standard textbook? This is where the present Vienna *principium* might become telling, since, if the lecture of the *Sentences* could not be conceived of any more as the traditional proof of someone's intellectual maturity and as showing his magisterial competence, maybe at least the *principia* would fill this gap. But if this was the case, then what happened if a basic condition of principal lectures was not met and there was nobody to dispute with?

According to these two points of interest, the following remarks are arranged in two parts. A first, more formal one, focuses on the structure of Vienna *principia* and the one in Klosterneuburg 315 in particular;

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*Sentences' principia* on books II and III, in mss. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4393 (II) and Cod. 4590 (III) (see, however, above, note 12 for his *principia* on books I and IV); Johannes Angerer de Mühldorf, 1421–1423, *Sentences' principia* on all four books, Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 5067, ff. 281r–297r; and Thomas Wölfel of Wuldersdorf, 1433–1435, biblical and *Sentences principia* on all four books (but fragmentary), in mss. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4690 and Cod. 4719 (on these last two *sententiarum* and their *principia* see COURTENAY, "From Dinkelsbühl's *Questiones Communes* to the Vienna Group Commentary", pp. 287–295).

<sup>15</sup> See, for an overview, M. BRÎNZEI and C. SCHABEL, "The Past, Present, and Future of Late Medieval Theology: The Commentary on the *Sentences* by Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, Vienna, ca. 1400", in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, ed. P. W. ROSEMAN, vol. 3, Leiden 2015, pp. 174–266, as well as the various contributions in *Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl*, ed. BRÎNZEI, Turnhout 2015. For a case study on the differences in their contributions to sacramental theology, see U. ZAHND, *Wirksame Zeichen? Sakramentenlehre und Semiotik in der Scholastik des ausgehenden Mittelalters* (Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation, 80), Tübingen 2014, pp. 289–350.

<sup>16</sup> On the evolution of book IV see ZAHND, "Plagiats individualisés".

a second deals with its entanglement in the textual tradition of the *common commentary*, analyzing its sources and its reception in order to see how it conforms with the general Vienna custom of reading the *Sentences*. In a separate chapter of this volume, Conrad's *principium* will be edited together with the one of Peter of Pirchenwart.<sup>17</sup>

## 1. Structural aspects

When, in the late fourteenth century, the university of Vienna was founded, the Parisian tradition was adopted, according to which a *principium* preceded both the curricular lecture on the Bible and the one on each book of the *Sentences*.<sup>18</sup> With regard to the *Sentences principia* there were, however, two distinguishing features of the Viennese *Sentences* tradition that also shaped the principal lectures.<sup>19</sup> First, in Vienna, the lectures on the *Sentences* took two years,<sup>20</sup> but nevertheless it was possible for students to begin their biennial lecture on any given year. Since these annual cohorts were rather small, a single *sententiarus* was expected to dispute during his *principia* with three groups of

<sup>17</sup> See below, chapter "A Joint Edition of Conrad of Rothenburg's and Peter of Pirchenwart's *Principia* on Book IV of the *Sentences*" on page 379.

<sup>18</sup> The two lectures differed in structure, however: "Item quod Cursor pro quolibet Cursu facere habeat collacionem preambulam sine questione ad recommendacionem sacre scripture; principians vero in quemcumque librum sentenciarum collacione brevi premissa subiungere habet questionem, in qua conferre habet et debet cum alijs Sentencias legentibus virtuose et honeste sine verbis quocumque modo sociorum suorum offensivis, et in ultima leccione quilibet pulchre et honeste recommendet socios suos more Studij Parysiensis". (KINK, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität*, p. 106). On the role model of Paris for Vienna, see K. UBL, "Die Universität als Pfaffenstadt. Über ein gescheitertes Projekt Rudolfs IV", in *Die Universität Wien im Konzert europäischer Bildungszentren, 14.–16. Jahrhundert*, ed. K. MÜHLBERGER, M. NIEDERKORN-BRUCK, Wien 2010, pp. 17–26.

<sup>19</sup> On the Viennese *Sentences* tradition as compared to Parisian custom see COURTENAY, "From Dinkelsbühl's *Questiones Communes* to the Vienna Group Commentary"; on the Parisian customs see IDEM, "Theological Bachelors at Paris on the Eve of the Papal Schism", in *Philosophy and Theology in the Long Middle Ages. A Tribute to Stephen F. Brown*, ed. K. EMERY, R. FRIEDMAN, A. SPEER (Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 105), Leiden-Boston 2011, pp. 921–952, in particular pp. 924–926.

<sup>20</sup> As W. DUBA and C. SCHABEL recently pointed out, the Parisian custom to read the *Sentences* in one year is much older than usually thought, see their "Remigio, Auriol, Scotus, and the Myth of the Two-Year *Sentences* Lecture at Paris", in *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales* 84 (2017), pp. 143–179.

*socii*: those, of course, that began together with him, but also those that were in their second year when he started to read the *Sentences*, and finally those that began a year after him when he was in his second year himself.<sup>21</sup> It is thus important to note that, in the case of Conrad of Rothenburg, already for the year before he started reading the *Sentences* (i.e. 1406), the records of the university of Vienna do not mention anybody being admitted to read the *Sentences*, and aside from Conrad himself, the same is true, as already said, for 1407. However, there is one person mentioned for 1408, a certain Johannes Siwart from Transylvania who necessarily would have been the junior fellow bachelor of Conrad — but while this Johannes seems to have incepted as *sententiarius* in November 1408,<sup>22</sup> there is evidence that he did not continue his lecture in early 1409.<sup>23</sup>

The second feature that distinguishes the Vienna practice of reading the *Sentences* is the order in which the individual books were commented on. Vienna masters were assigned to start with any given of the four books of Lombard's *Sentences*, and there is no discernible rule that determined with which book the *sententiarii* began.<sup>24</sup> In addition, it is even unclear how they proceeded once they started with a certain book: it is true that, in most of the known cases, the *sententiarii* followed the order of the Lombard's *Sentences* wrapping around from book IV to book I if they started with any book but the first; but there is at

<sup>21</sup> COURTENAY, "From Dinkelsbühl's *Questiones Communes* to the Vienna Group Commentary", p. 280.

<sup>22</sup> AFT, p. 14: Item magister Iohannes de 7 castris 1 [florenum] pro Sentenciis eadem die [November 16, 1408], qui eciam eadem septimana incepit Sentencias et principiavit in eas. On Johannes Siwart see K. WALSH, "Magister Johannes [Siwart] de Septemcastris an der Universität Wien. Versuch eines Gelehrtenprofils aus der Hussitenzeit", in *Ex Ipsis Rerum Documentis. Beiträge zur Mediävistik. Festschrift für Harald Zimmermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. K. HERBERS, Sigmaringen 1991, pp. 557–569, and RAG 2147105103.

<sup>23</sup> In summer 1410, Siwart was still a *baccalaureus sententiaris*, and not yet a *baccalaureus formatus* (see AFT, p. 17), what he already would have become in autumn 1409 if he had continued to read the *Sentences* throughout 1408/1409 (on the date of becoming a formed bachelor in Vienna see COURTENAY, "From Dinkelsbühl's *Questiones Communes* to the Vienna Group Commentary", p. 279f.) This delay might be due to the fact that on August 1, 1408, i.e. only ten weeks before incepting as a *sententiaris*, this seemingly same Siwart was assigned to read on *Hebrews* for his second year as *cursor*: it appears that, first, the faculty of theology intended to quickly promote Siwart in order to have two *sententarii* in 1408/1409, but then abandoned this plan.

<sup>24</sup> COURTENAY, "From Dinkelsbühl's *Questiones Communes* to the Vienna Group Commentary", p. 278f.



least one set of *principia* from Vienna that makes clear that the respective *Sentences* lecture was given in the traditional Parisian order of books I, IV, II, and III.<sup>25</sup> This leaves us with a certain incongruity that a bachelor's first *principium* on the *Sentences* was not necessarily his *principium* on book I, but simply the one he gave on the book he had to start with.<sup>26</sup> With regards to Conrad of Rothenburg, at least, we are on solid ground, since he explicitly states that the part conserved in Klosterneuburg 315 is from his fourth *principium* on book IV,<sup>27</sup> so that, as his last *principium*, it can be dated to the beginning of the last term of his *Sentences* lecture, which was the second term of the academic year 1408/1409.<sup>28</sup>

As already stated, the text conserved in Klosterneuburg 315 is only an extract of a *principium*. After a blank page on fol. 262v, the section begins with an initial on top of fol. 263r with *quantum ad secundum*

<sup>25</sup> Namely the *principia* conserved in Wien, Schottenstift 230 (254), see the formulations on f. 13v: "Dimissis concordanciis pro quolibet membro adducendis et primo membro in primo meo principio expedito aliisque videlicet secundo et tertio ad sua loca reservatis [...] venio ad quartum;" and again on f. 15v: "Hanc questionem in primo meo principio prius motam iuxta materias quattuor librorum in quattuor articulos subdivisi, quorum primum tunc expediti. Quo expedito, secundo et tertio reservatis ad sua loca, venio ad quartum." The *principia* date to the period 1423–1425 and were thus composed either by Andreas de Waytra, Urbanus de Melk, or John Nider OP, see COURTENAY, "From Dinkelsbühl's *Questiones Communes* to the Vienna Group Commentary", p. 292. In addition, it seems that Peter of Pulkau read the *Sentences* in the order II, III, I, and IV, since his first and second *principia* were on books II and III (see ms. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4713, ff. 34r and 43r: "In primo meo principio in sentencias iuxta materiam et thema collationis talem formavi tytulum questionis" [see *ibid.* f. 34r]: "utrum divina sapientia oriens ex alto patris visitavit nos graciosius ceteris a se creatis, quod in quatuor divisi articulos convenienter quatuor libros sententiarum, quorum secundum tunc tractavi. Restat igitur nunc tractare tertium articulum correspondente tertio libro reservatis primo et quarto ad sua loca)," while his fourth *principium* is said to have been on book IV (*ibid.*, f. 30v: *Collatio quarti principii in quartum sententiarum*).

<sup>26</sup> This incongruity is also known, of course, from Parisian *principia* where it appeared with the second *principium* on book IV; but in Vienna, it might even affect the first *principium*, or not affect any of them.

<sup>27</sup> Klosterneuburg 315, f. 263r: "quaestionem [...] quam tunc divisi in quatuor articulos materiis quatuor libros sententiarum applicandos, quorum primum, secundum et tertium tractavi in tribus principiis meis prioribus. Nunc restat tractare quartum de quo iuxta materiam quarti libri cuius lecturae pro nunc insisto talem movere \volo/ quaestionem."

<sup>28</sup> According to the known dated *principia* that were given in the minor term, this happened in March or early April, see ms. Wien, ÖNB 5067, f. 297r (dated to March 4, 1423) and ms. Lilienfeld 85, f. 481v (April 3, 1433).



*praemitto*, and ends in the middle of fol. 269r with *et hoc de toto illo articulo*, leaving empty the rest of the folio as well as the three following folios. Within the conserved part of the *principium*, there is no other structural remark on a similarly general level, neither from a codicological point of view, nor regarding content.<sup>29</sup> The text appears thus to be a complete second article of a *principium*. But what does that mean?

When compared to other Viennese *principia* from the same period, the following structural elements are generally discernible: first, as known from other universities, the four *principia* on the *Sentences* are based on a biblical verse that reappears as a *thema* at the beginning of each *principium*.<sup>30</sup> From two cases where not only the *Sentences'* *principia*, but also the biblical *principium* survives, it becomes apparent, in addition, that this same biblical verse was already used for the biblical *principium* — as was the case at other universities, too.<sup>31</sup> at p. 279f., n. 52. For examples from the universities of Oxford (vol. 1 p. 473) and in Vienna, however, these biblical *themata* had a particular function since the questions treated afterward in the *principia* were modeled according to the wording and imagery of the chosen verse. In Klosterneuburg 315 where the original beginning of the *principium* has not survived, an explicit citation of a biblical verse is missing; yet, from the wording of the questions treated in the preserved part it becomes apparent that Conrad's *thema* must have been Js 9, 2: *Populus qui ambulabat in tenebris vidit lucem magnam*.<sup>32</sup> Given the *principia's* dependency of the biblical theme, a *sententiarius* had thus to choose a verse that lent itself to entail a set of four questions, and this might be the reason why a famous feature known from other universities seems to have been missing in Vienna: in contrast to Paris, Oxford, or Cologne where these biblical

<sup>29</sup> Klosterneuburg 315, f. 263r and 269r.

<sup>30</sup> KINK, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität*, p. 110: “in quolibet librorum quatuor Sentenciarum faciant solempne principium premissa pro themate de Biblie recommendatione Sacre scripture”. For a collection of biblical *themata*, see <https://puns.zahnd.be/themata.php>.

<sup>31</sup> For Vienna, see ÖNB 4713 (Peter of Pulkau) and ÖNB 4719 (Thomas Wölfel of Wuldersdorf); for Paris, see e.g. WILLIAM OF VAUROUILLON, *Super quattuor libros Sententiarum*, ed. Basel 1510, fol. 1r: “Ex Iudith occurrit sermonum flosculus mei cognominis includens tenorem, aliasque pluribus in universitatibus meis in principiis accaepus” (on the “implied appeal” to Vauouillon's name see U. ZAHND, “Easy going scholars lecturing *secundum alium*? Notes on some French Franciscan *Sentences* Commentaries of the Fifteenth Century”, in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, ed. P. ROSEMAN, vol. 3, Leiden 2014, pp. 267–314, at p. 279f., n. 52).

<sup>32</sup> See the questions cited below at notes 33 and 35.

verses used to allude — sometimes in a very sophisticated way — to the name of the bachelor reading the *Sentences*, providing thus a personal “signature” of the *sententiarius*,<sup>33</sup> there is no evidence<sup>34</sup> of similar puns in principal themes from Vienna.<sup>35</sup>

A second structural element that appears in Vienna *principia* is a global question embracing the four *principia*. This global question subsumed what the singular questions of each *principium* were going to ask, so that these singular questions functioned as four articles of one general problem, treating different aspects according to the four books of the *Sentences*. Conrad writes at the beginning of his fourth *principium*:

In primo principio meo in sententias iuxta materiam collacionis et conformiter consequentis thematis movi [...] questionem [...] quam tunc divisi in quatuor articulos materiis quatuor libros sententiarum applicandos, quorum primum, secundum et tertium tractavi in tribus principiis meis prioribus. Nunc restat tractare quartum.<sup>36</sup>

Similar formulations appear in other Vienna *principia* from that period,<sup>37</sup> so that, apparently, at the beginning of their first *principium* on the *Sentences* and in the light of the biblical theme they had chosen, Vienna bachelors had to devise an all-embracing question, parts of which they would treat in each of the four *principia*. At least in comparison with Paris, where the questions posed in each *principium* neither depended on a global question, nor on each other, this seems to be a particularity of Vienna.

<sup>33</sup> On these “heraldic mystifications” see D. TRAPP, “Augustinian Theology of the 14th Century: Notes on Editions, Marginalia, Opinions and Booklore”, in *Augustiniana* 6 (1956), pp. 146–274, at p. 269, and K.H. TACHAU, “Looking Gravely at Dominican Puns: the ‘Sermons’ of Robert Holcot and Ralph Friseby”, in *Traditio* 46 (1991), pp. 337–345.

<sup>34</sup> If anything, an allusion might be found in Peter of Pulkau’s theme: he chose *Luke* 1, 78 (*Visitavit nos oriens ex alto*), and Peter originates from a hamlet near a place called “Horn” to which might allude *oriens*, and this hamlet is in Lower-Austria, i.e. *ex alto*.

<sup>35</sup> This is not to say that Vienna masters did not know to play with their names. In Wien, ÖNB 4369 with the *principia* on books I and IV of Thomas Ebendorfer, there is between the two *principia* on f. 196r a poem in which Ebendorfer mentions his fellow bachelors: *meum Gnaden Johannes* (i.e. John Gmunden), *alter Johannes habetur Hymel* (i.e. John Himmel), and *Georius pomorum ortus e valle* (i.e. Georg Apfenthaler); see already COURTENAY, “From Dinkelsbühl’s *Questiones Communes* to the Vienna Group Commentary”, p. 287, n. 56.

<sup>36</sup> Klosterneuburg 315, f. 263r; see the edition below, p. 397, lines 2R–16R.

<sup>37</sup> See, e.g., the text cited below at n. 81.

At a closer look, however, even in Vienna the sub-questions of the four *principia* were quite autonomous. In the case of Conrad, the global question was *utrum divina lux iocundissima eternaliter et intra diffusa sit temporaliter orta pro salute gentium in tenebris ambulancium*.<sup>38</sup> This question skillfully addresses, of course, the main topics of the four books of Lombard's *Sentences*: the most delightful divine light alludes to book I (on God and the Trinity), its eternal and universal dispersion reminds of book II (on creation), that it arose temporally anticipates book III (Christ and the Virtues), and the salvation of the people walking in darkness evokes book IV (Sacraments and Last Things).<sup>39</sup> But while this very allusion to book IV seems to refer to the whole context of sacramental theology treated in the first 42 distinctions of this last book of the *Sentences*, in his fourth *principium*, Conrad specifies a question that concerns eschatology and thus distinctions 43 to 50. This question is

utrum divina lux in forma humane infirmitatis in qua mundum lumine sue divinitatis illustravit, sit in fine seculi omnibus hominibus apparitura omnesque tam bonos quam malos iudicatura?<sup>40</sup>

With the imagery of the divine light, both in the global question and in the particular one on book IV, the symbolism remains that of *Js* 9, 2; but nevertheless this second question is not an obvious sub-question of the first one — and the same is true for the global questions and sub-questions of other Vienna *principia*.<sup>41</sup>

What is more, when comparing questions from different Vienna *principia*, it is striking that they all share a rather circumstantial, convoluted

<sup>38</sup> Klosterneuburg 315, f. 263r.

<sup>39</sup> For other examples, see above, n. 36.

<sup>40</sup> Klosterneuburg 315, fol. 263r; see the edition below, p. 397, lines 20R–25R.

<sup>41</sup> For Vienna *principia* on book IV, other examples of global questions and respective particular questions are: “utrum pater in divinis ab inicio rationales sanctificans creaturas suum in mundum miserit filium ad hominem glorie dotibus premiandum,” and “utrum pater in divinis per filium in fine seculi dotabit hominem in corpore et anima condigna premiacione” (Thomas Ebendorfer: Wien, ÖNB 4369, f. 199r); “utrum flumen increatum a se fluentibus creaturis vi sue passionis amarissime gratiam influat \mediantibus nove legis sacramentis// efficacius,” and “utrum increatum flumen mediantibus nove legis sacramentis quam veteris testamenti gratiam influat efficacius” (junior fellow bachelor of Friedrich Wagner OCarm: Schotten 230 [254], f. 15r); “utrum unica divina essentia libere potencie a se date per inerrabile os divini verbi creatam de sacramentis dederit sapientiam,” and “utrum sacramenta de quibus sapientia creata nobis tradita est sint data ad finem hominis consequendum” (*socius* of Johannes Stedler: Lilienfeld 85, f. 476r). Finally, for Peter of Pirchenwart see below at notes 69 and 81.

way of asking about diverse things in a single expression. From a generic point of view, a similar type of nested questions was developed at Paris in the later fourteenth century, not specifically for *principia*, but for *Sentences* commentaries as such, as a reaction to the huge and unstructured, “essay style” questions of earlier English commentaries.<sup>42</sup> While in “essay style” questions that jumped from topic to topic, the reader could not determine what problems would be treated in the remainder of an article, nested Parisian questions could indicate the main lines of the upcoming discussion without narrowing the topics too much.<sup>43</sup> At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Vienna *common commentary* abandoned this nested style in favor of shorter, monothematic questions, but the procedure was still known thanks to the much-used commentaries of James of Eltville<sup>44</sup> and of Henry of Oyta.<sup>45</sup> This question type, with its intricate formulations, reappeared in Vienna *principia* precisely because, it seems, these questions allowed for treating different topics at one time and to develop thus the *corpus articuli* in different directions. Given the custom to embrace the four *principia*, if only superficially, with a global question, this ability was of particular importance, of course, since the more a question presupposed, the bigger was the chance that a *socius* would not agree, so that a real dispute could begin. In this regard, even Conrad asked a nested question and he went on, as was usual for this type of questions, to make explicit what he presupposed:

<sup>42</sup> This “essay style” has been described by TRAPP, “Augustinian Theology”, p. 231; see also P.J.J.M. BAKKER and C. SCHABEL, “*Sentences* Commentaries of the Later Fourteenth Century”, in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, ed. G.R. EVANS, vol. 1, Leiden 2002, pp. 425–464 and ZAHND, *Wirksame Zeichen?*, p. 56.

<sup>43</sup> For examples, see the recent editions of PIERRE D’AILLY, *Questiones super primum, tertium et quartum librum Sententiarum*, ed. M. BRÎNZEI, (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 258), Turnhout 2013 and MARSILIUS OF INGHEN, *Quaestiones super quattuor libros sententiarum*, ed. M. SANTOS NOYA et al. (Studies in History of Christian Tradition, 87, 88, 173), Leiden 2000–2015.

<sup>44</sup> For Eltville’s reception in Vienna see M. BRINZEI, I. CURUȚ, “From Author to Authority : The Legacy of James of Eltville in Vienna”, in *The Cistercian James of Eltville († 1393). Author in Paris and Authority in Vienna*, ed. M. BRINZEI, C. SCHABEL (*Studia Sententiarum*, 3), Turnhout 2018, pp. 419–478.

<sup>45</sup> On their use for expanding the common commentary see, e.g., ZAHND, “Plagiats individualisés”, pp. 185–188; a Vienna example that still relied on nested questions (but was not part of the *common commentary*) is Arnold of Seehusen OCarm, see ZAHND, *Wirksame Zeichen?*, pp. 314–319.

Ista questio querit duo: primo querit utrum divina lux sit in fine seculi omnibus hominibus in forma humane nature apparitura; secundo querit utrum tunc sit omnes tam bonos quam malos iudicatura.<sup>46</sup>

In other Vienna *principia* with a real disputational situation, there could be up to four *quaesita* and *supposita* in order to provoke dissent amongst the *socii*;<sup>47</sup> for Conrad, however, the minimum of two *quaesita* apparently met the requirements.<sup>48</sup>

These *quaesita* played an important role in the further structure of the *principia*. In accordance with the Parisian nested-question approach, Conrad organized the *argumenta principalia* of his question, and then again the *corpus quaestionis* according to his two *quaesita*, i.e. he presented two *argumenta pro parte negativa* for each *quaesitum*, and he then divided the *corpus quaestionis* into two *articuli*, each of which dealt with one of the two arguments. Hence, there were three levels of questions in a Viennese *principium*: the global question embracing the four *principia*, the main question of each particular *principium*, and the two to four *quaesita* these main questions presupposed. Accordingly, there were also three levels of *articuli*: as we already have seen, the four *principia* themselves were considered as *articuli* of the global question;<sup>49</sup> the treatment of the respective *quaesita* had the status of an *articulus*,<sup>50</sup> and it will become apparent that, on an intermediate level, each *principium* was again subdivided in three or four further articles.<sup>51</sup>

Yet, between a *principium*'s question and its articles, a further structural element occurs in Vienna texts. Before entering into the solution of his *quaesita*, Conrad had to "protest".<sup>52</sup> He only mentions, it is true, that he is going to make a *protestatio* while the wording itself is absent;

<sup>46</sup> Klosterneuburg 315, f. 263r; see the edition below, p. 397, lines 26R–32R.

<sup>47</sup> This was the case, in particular, in the first *principia* given, since consisting of four *supposita* they were able to adumbrate the four books of the *Sentences*. See, e.g., the case of Pirchenwart discussed below on p. 322.

<sup>48</sup> Later on in his *principium*, this minimum of *quaesita* would be counterbalanced with a huge number of *conclusiones*, see below, p. 317.

<sup>49</sup> See above, p. 312.

<sup>50</sup> This is the case, at least, in Conrad's *principium*, see Klosterneuburg 315, f. 263r: "Quaestionem praesentem divido in duos articulos: prius erit ad primum quaesitum tituli quaestionis responsivus, secundus ad secundum".

<sup>51</sup> See below, p. 319.

<sup>52</sup> Klosterneuburg 315, f. 263r: "Antequam vadam ad decisionem questionis protestor etc".

however, from the university statutes<sup>53</sup> and from other Vienna *principia* that refer to such a *protestatio* at this very same place, namely between the *caput* and the *corpus* of a principal *quaestio*,<sup>54</sup> it can be inferred what he meant to protest: namely, first, to assert his intention not to say anything against catholic doctrine;<sup>55</sup> second, to submit to the decisions of the faculty if he should have offended catholic doctrine;<sup>56</sup> and third, to assert his intention accurately to refer to the arguments brought forward by the fellow bachelors in their respective *principia*.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> KINK, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität*, p. 102: “Item quod in decisione questionum in disputacionibus et in principiis sententiarum ac in alijs actibus publicis in aula premiti debeant protestaciones laudabiles, quibus protestentur dictos actus facturi, quod non intendunt dicere, ymmo intendunt non dicere aliquid, quod sit contra fidem, contra determinacionem Sancte Matris Ecclesie aut quod cedat in favorem articulorum Parius aut hic condemnatorum aut quod sit contra doctrinam sanam, contra bonos mores aut quovis modo offendant pias aures; et si aliquod illorum contingeret, lapsu lingue aut inadvertencia aut alia quacunque occasione seu causa, quod dicent, se ex illo pro nunc revocare, retractare, exponere, declarare velle ad ordinacionem Facultatis Theoloyce huius Studij Wyennensis.”

<sup>54</sup> A complete *protestatio* is conserved in ms. Göttweig 261, f. 6va (Peter of Pirchenwart); see also Wien, ÖNB 4719, ff. 28r–v (Thomas Wölfel de Wuldersdorf). In their later *principia*, Vienna *sententiarum* were apparently allowed to simply refer to the *protestationes* of their earlier *principia*, see, e.g., Thomas Ebendorfer, fourth *principium* on book I, Wien, ÖNB 4369, f. 3r: “*protestationem alias sepius per me praemissam volo habere pro repetita*”; other formulations are “*eam pro nunc brevitatis de causa meliori modo quo fieri consuevit habeo pro repetita*” (Schotten 230, f. 15r; similarly, Lilienfeld 85, f. 476r).

<sup>55</sup> Peter of Pirchenwart’s *protestatio* Göttweig 261, f. 6va exceeds the demands of the statutes (Göttweig 261, f. 6va): “Protestor quod nec ~~aet~~ in hoc actu, nec in quocumque alio per dei gratiam in futurum per me fiendo intendo quidquid dicere, ymmo penitus intendo non dicere quod sit contra determinacionem sacrosancte ac universalis matris ecclesie scilicet katholice, aut quod est contra Canonem, et bible aut articulis fidei aut dictis sanctorum doctorum ab ecclesia approbatorum dissonum, aut quod sit articulis parisiensis aut alibi rationabiliter condemnatus aut alteri doctrine erronee consonum, aut quod esset contra bonos mores aut merito piarum aurum quovis modo offensivum.” See *infra* p. 402.

<sup>56</sup> See *ibid.*: “Si autem, quod deus avertat, oppositum alicuius horum in presenti actu aut in quocumque alio fecero aut ex lapsu lingue aut ex inadvertencia aut ex ignorancia mea, que permaxima est, revoco pro nunc sicut et ex tunc, et ex tunc sicut et pro nunc, petens haberi pro non dicto, submittens me in omnibus illis magistris et dominis meis egregiis et precipuis doctoribus viris sacre theologie huius alme universitatis similiter et aliis quorum interest taliter errantes corrigere et ad viam reducere veritatis.”

<sup>57</sup> A point that is not claimed in the statutes. See, however, Göttweig 261, f. 6va: “Insuper protestor quod intendo dicta magistri mei reverendi magistri Johannis de Gmunden cum quo lecturus sententias concurram fideliter iuxta posse

In this regard, it is unfortunate that the wording of Conrad's *protestatio* is missing, since it would have been interesting to see what he made of this third point. What remains clear is that the *protestatio* belonged to the standard protocol to the point that Conrad also had to give it.

The treatment of the *quaesita*, finally, was structured alongside a series of theses (*conclusiones*). In these series, sometimes the later theses were elaborations of earlier ones — but not throughout as was usual in Paris; in addition, some of these *conclusiones* were presented together with a few corollaries.<sup>58</sup> This is an unspectacular approach, of course, but it nevertheless allows for the detection of two particularities in Conrad's text. A first concerns the *corpus* of the question that, in other Vienna *principia*, was complemented by an *articulus collativus*, that is, an article in which — and only in which — the *sententiarii* began to dispute with their *socii*.<sup>59</sup> In the main articles of their *quaestiones*, however, even those Vienna *sententiarii* who had someone to dispute with developed the response to the *quaesitum* without already engaging their fellow bachelors. This separation between answering the *quaesitum* and engaging the *socii* is an important difference to Parisian custom where the dispute was included into the main question by means of a series of ever more provocative corollaries.<sup>60</sup> By contrast, in some Vienna *principia*, the *articulus collativus* was even presented as an entity of its own, placed on the same structural level as the principal question itself. Yet, even then, the solution of the *argumenta principalia* to the principal

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meum recitare, et presertim illa in quibus sibi contradicam in articulo collativo intendo — et si contrarium contigerit — non credam me hoc speciali occasione aut motivo sinistro facere velle." See the edition below, p. 403.

<sup>58</sup> In the *principium* of Klosterneuburg 315, conclusions 1 and 5 from the first, and 3 and 8 from the second *articulus* have corollaries. For Parisian examples from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century see U. ZAHND, "Der Dank an die Meister. Anmerkungen zu einigen *Gratiarum actiones* spätmittelalterlicher Sentenzenlesungen", in *Schüler und Meister*, ed. A. SPEER, Th. JESCHKE (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 39), Berlin-Boston 2016, pp. 81–105.

<sup>59</sup> See, e.g., THOMAS EBENDORFER, Wien, ÖNB 4369, f. 201v: "quantum ad secundum articulum in quo conferre habeo cum magistris meis reverendis Johanne de Gmunden et Johanne Hymel baccalaureis formatis in Theologia sit conclusio prima"; or Lilienfeld 85 (*socius* of STEDLER), f. 478r: "quantum ad tertium principale scilicet ad articulum collativum descendo in quo conferam cum magistro meo reverendo magistro Johanne Stedler de Lantshutta baccalaureo formato in theologia cum quo licet immeritus legendo sententias concurro."

<sup>60</sup> For an earlier example from Paris see U. ZAHND, "Die Universität als Arena. Bildung, Profil-Bildung und Provokation bei Thomas von Straßburg", in *Theologie und Bildung im Mittelalter*, ed. P. GEMEINHARDT, T. GEORGES, (Archa Verbi. Subsidia, 14), Münster 2015, pp. 491–509.



question occurred only at the end of the *articulus collativus*, so that the fact that this solution of the *argumenta principalia* is also present in Klosterneuburg 315 underscores that there effectively was no *articulus collativus* in the case of Conrad.

The second particularity of Conrad's treatment of the *quaesitum* concerns the number of conclusions he advances. While adhering, in principle, to the Vienna custom of developing conclusions or propositions in order to answer the principal question, Conrad exceeds — with an exception that will be discussed in the next section<sup>61</sup> — the usual amount of conclusions in Vienna *principia* by far. While others developed only some five or six propositions before entering into the *articulus collativus*, Conrad advanced in his two articles no less than twenty-one.<sup>62</sup> His treatment of the principal question was thus considerably longer than in other *principia*, and at a closer look it becomes apparent that Conrad substituted the lack of disputants with a more extensive discussion of conclusions. For, not unlike the Parisian custom, by means of these subsequent conclusions he developed his articles towards controversial topics for which the scholastic tradition had no unanimous answer, and this allowed him, instead of confronting real *socii*, to oppose scholastic authorities from the thirteenth-century and to have them dispute with each other in, so to say, a proxy-debate. In the first article, which started by asking about Christ's eschatological appearance to all men, Conrad turned to a confrontation between Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas on whether some angels know the date of the Parousia, and ended up discussing different positions on beatific vision;<sup>63</sup> in the second that asked whether both the good and the bad were going to be judged, he opposed Thomas Aquinas to Richard of Middletown and Peter of Tarantaise on whether the last judgement will be pronounced in audible speech.<sup>64</sup> Following in the first case Thomas Aquinas, and opposing him in the second in favor of Richard of Middletown and Peter

<sup>61</sup> See below, p. 327.

<sup>62</sup> I.e., eleven conclusions in the first, and ten in the second article.

<sup>63</sup> See, e.g., the second conclusion Klosterneuburg 315, f. 263v (below, p. 407, lines 174R–179R): “quamvis probabile sit ꝛ angelos aliquos et homines beatos noscere tempus ortus divine lucis in fine seculi, pars tamen opposita magis videtur esse de intencione doctorum;” and the last conclusion of this first article: “dampnati ne dum in iudicio videbunt gloriam beatorum, sed et ante et post, non tamen intuitu praesentiae, sed per considerationem quamdam intelligencie” (ibid. f. 265v; see below, p. 417, lines 509R–513R).

<sup>64</sup> Klosterneuburg 315, f. 267v (below, p. 428, lines 891R–902R): “licet non sit perspicuum ex scriptura utrum illud iudicium extremum quantum ad discepta-

of Tarantaise, Conrad not only had his dispute, even if there were no *socii* to dispute with, but he also showed a certain intellectual autonomy. With the solution of the *argumenta principalia*, he concluded thus the whole *quaestio* of his fourth *principium*, and with it the part preserved in Klosterneuburg 315.<sup>65</sup>

As has been said earlier on, this preserved part is marked out as a complete *articulus secundus*, and it remains to be answered what this means. It has become clear that there were, in Vienna *principia*, three levels of *articuli* according to the three levels of questions; but it is obvious that the present *articulus secundus* neither belongs to the most fundamental level on which the whole *principia* themselves were considered as articles of the all-embracing global question,<sup>66</sup> nor is it part of the most specific level on which the *quaesita* were considered as *articuli*. What remains, thus, is the intermediate level, so that it needs to be clarified what, on that level, was the first article that must have preceded our *secundus articulus*, and what were possible further articles. It has already been mentioned that, in other Vienna *principia*, the *articulus collativus* is sometimes considered as an article of its own, situated on the same level as the principal question. Accordingly, these other Vienna *principia*, had either three or four articles at this intermediate level: namely, as a first article or the *primum principale* a *recomendatio* or a *sermo collativus*, a standard element also of *principia* from other universities;<sup>67</sup> as a *secundum principale* the principal question;

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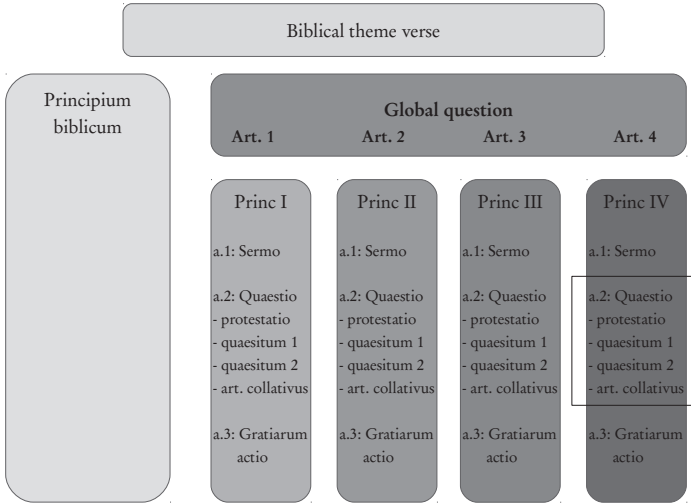
cionem et sententiam fiat per vocalem locucionem vel non, multum tamen videtur conforme scripture ewangelice in extremo iudicio quedam non tantum mentaliter, set etiam vocaliter, quedam vero mentaliter tantum divina operante virtute fieri." For the model of this conclusion, see *Quaestiones communes* β, IV, q. 57 (e.g. mss. Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift 41, f. 347vb, and München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8455, f. 462vb; question number according to ZAHND, "Plagiats individualisés", pp. 170–179).

<sup>65</sup> "Propositio ultima: questio quo ad secundum quesitum est vera. Rationes facte ante oppositum patent ex dictis. Rationes vero post oppositum sunt pro dictis. Et hoc de toto illo articulo" (Klosterneuburg 315, f. 269r; see below, p. 437, lines 1189R–1195R).

<sup>66</sup> Since it is the fourth *principium* on book IV, by no means it would be, on that level, a *second* article.

<sup>67</sup> On these *recomendationes*, see S.F. BROWN, "Peter of Candia' sermons in praise of Peter Lombard", in *Studies honoring Ignatius Charles Brady Friar minor*, ed. R.S. ALMAGNO, New York 1976, pp. 141–176, and M.W. DUNNE, "A fourteenth-century Example of an *introitus Sententiarum* at Oxford: Richard Fitzralph's Inaugural Speech in Praise of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard", in *Medieval Studies* 63 (2001), pp. 1–29.

then, sometimes included in the principal question and sometimes presented as a *tertium principale* the *articulus collativus*; and as a last and, again, a very common part a *gratiarum actio* which, however, in none of the consulted Vienna manuscripts has been preserved.<sup>68</sup> Schematically, Vienna *principia* consisted thus of the following parts:



The part preserved in Klosterneuburg 315 is thus the second principal article of Conrad's fourth *principium*, and thanks to its presentation as an *articulus secundus* it becomes clear that Conrad had to deliver most of the standard parts even if he had no fellow bachelors to dispute with.

<sup>68</sup> See KINK, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität*, p. 106 (cited above, n. 13). Even at other universities, most of these *gratiarum actiones* were lost, and those that have been preserved, rather seem to be part of a *sermo finalis* than of a *principium*, see ZAHND, "Der Dank an die Meister" (in particular pp. 95 and 99), and DUBA, SCHABEL, "Remigio, Auriol, Scotus", p. 145, for known *sermones finales* of the early fourteenth century.

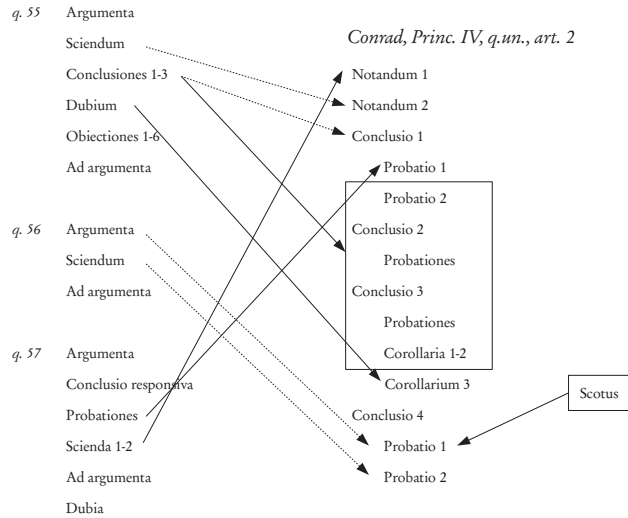
## 2. Textual dependencies

Vienna *principia* of the early fifteenth century appear as a very standardized procedure even the lone warrior Conrad had formally to follow. In opposing thirteenth-century scholastics, he had found an original way of substituting his lack of *socii* to dispute with, and in both following and opposing Thomas Aquinas he had proven a certain intellectual autonomy. Nevertheless, his work was part of the broader Viennese *Sentences* tradition, and that tradition involved extensive textual recycling based fundamentally on a manual that originally had been compiled by Nicolas of Dinkelsbühl, but was over time augmented by its subsequent users. Yet, even Dinkelsbühl's compilation was the product of recycling, for the main part of this textbook consists of extracts from commentaries produced in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Those after Dinkelsbühl who added to the manual also copied, in most cases, from earlier existing commentaries. So, Vienna *sententiarii*, in lecturing, mainly reused a textbook, at times using other existing texts to add to it, and if their elaborations were well done, subsequent *sententiarii* would reuse their version of that *common commentary*.<sup>69</sup>

Now, if this was the competence demanded from Vienna *sententiarii*, it might also have affected their *principia*. In his fourth *principium*, as conserved in Klosterneuburg 315, Conrad tackled a topic that was practically absent from Dinkelsbühl's first version, namely eschatology. But already at the start of the fifteenth century six eschatological questions had been appended to this manual, and these questions were partially incorporated into Conrad's own lecture.<sup>70</sup> From a closer look, moreover, it becomes clear that, in his fourth *principium*, Conrad did what usually was done in Vienna and simply reused those very same textual elements that were at hand. The beginning of his *secundum quaesitum* up to his treatment of its fourth conclusion, for example, has almost entirely been taken from questions 55 to 57 from stage two of the *common commentary*, and then slightly rearranged:

<sup>69</sup> This is why these *Quaestiones communes* split up into several traditions; see, for book IV, the scheme in ZAHND, "Plagiats individualisés", p. 157.

<sup>70</sup> See the collective list of questions in ZAHND, "Plagiats individualisés", pp. 170–179; in Klosterneuburg 315, the relevant questions are on ff. 255v–262r.

*QQ communes IV, stage II*

A more detailed example concerns a short citation of Thomas Aquinas where it becomes clear that Conrad did not take it from an original reading of Thomas' *Scriptum*, even if he rearranged his presumed source:

CONRAD, *Princ.* IV, a. 2, n. 2<sup>71</sup>

*Qq communes* β, q. 55, n. 1<sup>72</sup>

Secundo sciendum quod secundum sanctum Thomam in quarto distinctione et questione ubi supra [47.1] articulo tertio in responsione ad subarticulum secundum "ad iudicium duo pertinent, scilicet discussio meritorum et retributio premiorum." Secundum hoc duplex erit actus iudicii, scilicet iudicium discussionis et iudicium retribucionis.

Et potest etiam addi tertium membrum, scilicet iudicium discrecionis quo boni a malis separantur nunc animo, in futuro etiam

Sciendum quod

"ad iudicium duo pertinent, scilicet discussio meritorum et retributio premiorum." Secundum hoc duplex erit actus iudicii, scilicet iudicium discussionis et iudicium retribucionis. Hanc distinctionem ponit sanctus Thomas in quarto distinctione 47 questione prima articulo tertio in responsione ad subarticulum secundum. Etiam potest addi membrum tertium, scilicet iudicium discrecionis quo boni a malis separantur nunc animo, in futuro etiam

<sup>71</sup> Klosterneuburg 315, f. 266r; see below, p. 420, lines 588R–603R.

<sup>72</sup> Klosterneuburg 41, f. 346rb; München, Clm 8455, f. 458vb.

loco quando iudex statuet *oves a dextris et edos a sinistris*, Mt 25[, 33].      loco quando iudex statuet *oves a dextris, edos a sinistris*, Mt 25[, 33].

Compared to other Vienna *principia*, Conrad was no exception. At least one other case of a *principium* to book IV can be adduced that reveals the same picture of collated textual elements found in the common textbook,<sup>73</sup> but it is more than probable that there are further examples. Obviously it was accepted in Vienna to recycle the common textbook even for the *principia*.

And there is even a more noticeable case. For, as already said, these authors not only recycled earlier texts, but were themselves reused in the common commentary when they did well. The question is whether this happened also with material elaborated in the *principia*. With regards to Conrad and his focus on eschatological problems there is, among the preserved *principia* on book IV from Vienna, only one other candidate who chose a similar topic and might thus be compared with Conrad, namely Peter Reichert of Pirchenwart, who read the *Sentences* between 1417 to 1419.<sup>74</sup> His *principium* on book IV, as conserved in ms. Göttweig 261, was the first he gave, and hence Peter begun with formulating an all-encompassing question for all of the four books that was in line with the biblical theme he had chosen, namely Mt 1, 1: *Liber generationis Iesu Christi*.<sup>75</sup>

Quantum ad secundum principale iuxta thema et materiam collationis talem formo titulum questionis: utrum liber vite infallibilis, generacio creature rationalis, sit Iesus redemptor humani generis et Christus in seculi fine iudicialiter appariturus singulis.<sup>76</sup>

Although there is a focus on Christ's apparition not unfamiliar from Conrad, both the *supposita* and the imagery of Pirchenwart's formulation

<sup>73</sup> See, e.g., the *principium* on book IV in Schotten 230 (254), that relies on material from *Quaestiones communes* δ, IV, q. 1 (according to the edition in ZAHND, "Plagiats individualisés", the first article on ff. 15v–16v recycles the paragraphs 72–89, the fragmentary second article on ff. 16v–17r uses paragraphs 94–100).

<sup>74</sup> On Pirchenwart and his *Sentences* lecture on book IV see COURTENAY, "From Dinkelsbühl's *Questiones Communes* to the Vienna Group Commentary", pp. 304–315, but also ZAHND, "Plagiats individualisés", pp. 122–135 with the respective appendices.

<sup>75</sup> See Göttweig 261, f. 1va.

<sup>76</sup> Göttweig 261, f. 5rb (see below, p. 397, lines 426–433); again, the four parts of the question adumbrate the four books of the *Sentences*: God, Creation, Incarnation, and Salvation. For Conrad's all-embracing question see above, p. 313.

are different. According to the all-embracing character of the question, Pirchenwart distinguishes four *supposita* and *quaesita* (by contrast with Conrad, who only has two),<sup>77</sup> and only one addresses a problematic similar to Conrad's.<sup>78</sup> The discrepancy increases when Pirchenwart starts to give his *argumenta principalia*, first choosing a completely different focus and then going into far more detail, so that his development of the *argumenta* greatly exceeds Conrad's.<sup>79</sup> Coming to the principal *argumenta* against the last *quaesitum*, however, Pirchenwart's text suddenly becomes familiar, more or less repeating the *argumenta* formulated by Conrad.

PIRCHENWART,  
*Princ.* I, arg. 6<sup>80</sup>

CONRAD, *Princ.* IV,  
arg. 2<sup>81</sup>

*Qq com.* β, IV, q. 57,  
arg. 1<sup>82</sup>

Item contra idem  
quesitum: nullum est  
iudicium finale in quo  
Christus Dominus sin-  
gulis apparebit, igitur.  
Antecedens probatur  
quia Christus Dominus  
de singulis hominum  
operibus statim post  
mortem eorum iudicat  
cum unicuique eorum  
pro meritis penas  
vel premia tribuit,  
igitur etc. Patet illud  
per illud Psalmum

Secundo arguo contra  
secundum quesitum.  
Nullum est iudicium  
generale in fine se-  
culi futurum, igitur  
etc. Argumentum  
probatur quia Deus  
de singulis hominum  
operibus statim post  
mortem eorum iudicat  
cum unicuique eorum  
pro meritis penes  
vel premia tribuit.  
Confirmatur per illud  
Psalmi [1, 5]: *non*

Utrum aliquod gen-  
erale iudicium sit  
futurum. Arguitur  
quod non quia Deus  
de singulis hominum  
operibus statim post  
mortem eorum iudicat  
cum unicuique eorum  
pro meritis penas vel  
premia tribuit.

*Qq com.* β, IV, q. 55,  
opp. 1<sup>83</sup>  
In oppositum est  
illud Psalmi primi

<sup>77</sup> Göttweig 261, ff. 5rb–va: “Hec questio duo supponit et ~~unum~~ duo querit. Primo namque supponit esse liberum vite et infallibilem; secundo supponit illum librum esse generationem creature rationalis. Deinde querit an idem liber sit Iesus redemptor humani generis, et secundo querit an eciam ille liber sit Christus in iudicio finali singulis hominibus apariturus.”

<sup>78</sup> I.e., Peter's second *quaesitum*, see above, p. 314.

<sup>79</sup> Even if it is difficult to compare the hands of the manuscripts, the difference is manifest given that Pirchenwart needs a complete folio for his arguments (Göttweig 261, ff. 5va–6rb), while Conrad is done after half of a page (Klosterneuburg 315, f. 263r).

<sup>80</sup> Göttweig 261, f. 6ra–b (see below, p. 400–401).

<sup>81</sup> Klosterneuburg 315, f. 263r (see below, p. 400–401).

<sup>82</sup> Klosterneuburg 41, f. 347rb; München, Clm 8455, f. 461va.

<sup>83</sup> Klosterneuburg 41, f. 346rb; München, Clm 8455, f. 458va.



non resurgunt impii  
in iudicio, quod  
ideo dictum est se-  
cundum ~~beatum~~  
AUGUSTINUM<sup>84</sup>,  
CASSIODORUM<sup>85</sup> et  
GLOSA<sup>86</sup> quia impii  
non iudicabuntur in  
iudicio futuro, sed iam  
iudicati sunt,<sup>87</sup> igitur.

*resurgunt impii in  
iudicio, quod ideo  
dictum est secun-  
dum AUGUSTINUM,  
CASSIODORUM et  
GLOSA quia impii  
non iudicabuntur in  
iudicio futuro, sed iam  
iudicati sunt.*

*non resurgunt impii  
in iudicio, quod ideo  
dictum est secun-  
dum AUGUSTINUM,  
CASSIODORUM et  
GLOSA, quia impii  
non iudicabuntur in  
iudicio futuro, sed iam  
iudicati sunt.*

That Pirchenwart copied this last argument from Conrad is evident since Conrad himself had compiled it from two different passages of the common commentary. The same happened when Pirchenwart brought up a final *oppositum* for the same second *quaesitum*:

PIRCHENWART,  
*Princ.* I, opp. 4<sup>88</sup>

CONRAD, *Princ.* IV,  
opp. 1<sup>89</sup>

*Qq com.* β, IV, q. 56,  
resp.<sup>90</sup>

Sed pro veritate se-  
cundi quesiti est illud  
quod scribitur Mt 24[,  
30]: *videbunt filium ho-  
minis venientem in nu-  
bibus celi cum virtute  
multa et maiestate*; et  
ibidem 16[, 27]: *fil-  
ius hominis venturus  
est in gloria patris suis  
cum angelis suis et*

*In oppositum et pro  
veritate amborum que-  
sitorum est illud quod  
scribitur Mt 24[, 30]:  
videbunt filium homi-  
nis venientem in nu-  
bibus celi cum virtute  
multa et maiestate*; et  
ibidem 16[, 27]: *filius  
hominis venturus est in  
gloria patris sui cum*

*Et Mt 24[, 30]: vide-  
bunt filium hominis  
venientem in nubibus  
celi cum virtute multa  
et maiestate*; et ibi-  
dem 16[, 27]: *filius  
hominis venturus est  
in gloria patris sui  
cum angelis suis et  
tunc reddet unicuique  
secundum opera eius.*

<sup>84</sup> AUGUSTINUS, *Enarrationes in Psalmos I-L*, ad Ps 1, n. 5, ed. D.E. Dekkers O.S.B., I. Fraipont (*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 38), Turnhout 1956, p. 3; *Enarrationes in Psalmos 1–32 (expos.)*, ed. C. Weidmann, (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 93, 1/A) Wien 2003, p. 71.

<sup>85</sup> CASSIODORUS, *Expositio Psalmorum L-LXX*, ad Ps 1, ed. M. Adriaen (*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 97), Turnhout 1958, p. 37.

<sup>86</sup> PETRUS LOMBARDUS, *Glosa in Psalterium*, ad Ps 1 (*Patrologia Latina*, 191), c. 64D.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Compendium theologiae* I.245, ed. Leonina (*Opera Omnia*, 42), Rome 1979, p. 190b.

<sup>88</sup> Göttweig 261, f. 6rb (see below, p. 402–402).

<sup>89</sup> Klosterneuburg 315, f. 263r (see below, p. 402–402).

<sup>90</sup> Klosterneuburg 41, f. 347ra; Munich, Clm 8455, ff. 460vb–461ra.

<i>tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera sua.</i>	<i>angelis suis, et tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera eius.</i>	<i>Qq com. β, IV, q. 55, arg. 3</i> <sup>91</sup>
Et in symbolo dicitur “venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos.”	Item in symbolo dicitur de Christo quod “venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos.”	Item in symbolo dicitur de Christo quod “venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos.”

This is more than a coincidence. For, after his *protestatio*, Pirchenwart finally offers the particular questions for each book he deduced from his embracing global question; and this time, the one advanced for book IV is almost identical to the one Conrad had devised:

PIRCHENWART, *Princ.* I, quaestio principalis<sup>92</sup>

CONRAD, *Princ.* IV, quaestio principalis<sup>93</sup>

Pretermisissis pro presenti primo, secundo et tertio articulis ad libros eis correspondentes et eis reservatis, dicam nunc solum de quarto tangente materiam illius quarti libri sententiarum quod primum librum lecturus sum domino concedente. Est igitur questio nunc pertractanda hec: utrum divinus liber vite Christus dominus in forma humane infirmitatis sit in seculi fine singulis hominibus appariturus omnesque tam bonos quam malos districto suo iudicio iudicaturus.

Nunc restat tractare quantum de quo iuxta materiam quarti libri cuius lecture pro nunc insisto talem movere volo<sup>94</sup> questionem: utrum divina lux in forma humane infirmitatis in qua mundum lumine sue divinitatis illustravit, sit in fine seculi omnibus hominibus apparitura omnesque tam bonos quam malos iudicatura?

The most important change in the wording, the replacement of the “divine light” by “Christ the book of life” is due to the different theme Pirchenwart had chosen,<sup>95</sup> and hence this same replacement reappears throughout the *principium* as is evidenced, for example, by the wording of the respective first conclusions:

<sup>91</sup> Klosterneuburg 41, fol. 346rb; München, Clm 8455, ff. 458va.

<sup>92</sup> Göttweig 261, f. 6vb (see below, p. 404).

<sup>93</sup> Klosterneuburg 315, f. 263r (see below, p. 397).

<sup>94</sup> volo] *add. i.l.*

<sup>95</sup> See above, p. 321.

PIRCHENWART, *Princ.* I, q. princ., a. 1, c. 1<sup>96</sup>

Quamvis divini libri scilicet Christi Domini adventum in fine seculorum sint multa signa precessura, omnibus tamen viatoribus tempus huius adventus penitus est ignotum

CONRAD, *Princ.* IV, q. princ., a. 1, c. 1<sup>97</sup>

Quamvis divine lucis ortum in fine seculi sint multa signa precessura, omnibus tamen viatoribus ignotum est tempus huius ortus.

Besides this kind of semantic adjustments, there is only one paragraph in this whole *quaestio principalis* on book IV where Pirchenwart departs from Conrad, and that is where Pirchenwart adds a citation taken from Thomas Aquinas.<sup>98</sup> Only when starting the *articulus collativus* in which he had to dispute with Johannes de Gmunden, Pirchenwart intervened again in his own words, but until there, and again in the final arguments, he followed Conrad line by line, skipping none of his exceptionally many conclusions, and provided thus another example of textual dependency so typical for Vienna *Sentences* commentaries.

### 3. Concluding remarks

In the light of these testimonies, what is it that Vienna masters were asked to do when giving their principal questions? What was the goal of having someone simply repeat what others had done? Was it anything more than simply fulfilling an obligation? It is this picture of mere adherence to a standard protocol that arises from Klosterneuburg 315 and Conrad's *principium*. It is true that Conrad at least made his own compilation of a text; but although being alone in reading the *Sentences*, he was not allowed just to give his principal sermon and the necessary *protestationes*. This same picture is confirmed by Pirchenwart who, it is true, devised his own question and later on disputed with his *socius* Johannes de Gmunden, but who, in order to provide the required main question of his *principium* on book IV, simply recycled Conrad's almost line by line. Both in the case of Conrad and of Pirchenwart, the *principium* seems thus to have been reduced to a procedure that had to be followed only because it was this procedure that had to be

<sup>96</sup> Göttinger 261, f. 7ra (see below, p. 404).

<sup>97</sup> Klosterneuburg 315, f. 263v (see below, p. 404).

<sup>98</sup> Göttinger 261, ff. 8vb–9ra, cf. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Scriptum* IV, d. 48, q. 1, a. 2, ad 2, ed. Vivès, vol. 11, Paris 1874, p. 439.

followed, so that, in Vienna, principal lectures would have been a proof of formalistic, rather than of intellectual, maturity.

The challenging fact for any historian of the intellectual climate of the early fifteenth century is, however, that the situation was comparable at other universities. Although *sententiarii* elsewhere may not have always relied verbatim on existing texts as they did in Vienna, they remained conceptually dependent on previous writings, whether they discussed beatific vision, sacramental efficacy, real distinction versus formal distinction, or future contingents.<sup>99</sup> After two hundred years of standardized scholastic debate, it looks like there was not much to add anymore in order to prove magisterial competence. In this regard, the *principia* seem thus to confirm the general picture of an uninspired, derivative fifteenth century.

In order to withdraw from that picture, it should be noted that *principia* with their quite narrow structure and possibilities are not the place where fifteenth-century thought showed its strength and benefit. As far as we know, over the centuries, the university statutes were as unequivocal as conservative about how a *principium* had to be like. Hence, not only this was an over-exploited genre, but rather an almost atavistic formalism devised for a time long gone, conceived for a time where academic debates were restricted to an esoteric circle of two handfuls of ultra-specialized clerics. In the fifteenth century, with its explosion of student numbers and, as a consequence, the export of academic debate into wider social circles, the goal of university learning was not so much the breeding of brilliant minds — if ever this was a goal of medieval education —, but the raising of people who knew how to handle responsibly the Christian tradition.<sup>100</sup> And from that perspective, what Conrad and others did in Vienna makes sense. Whether we look at Conrad and his compilation of a formally adequate principal question, or at Pirchenwart and his integration of that text into the broader context of his first *principium*, principal questions from Vienna appear as the very place to proof that someone knew to handle the tradition, that, even if he relied in his lecture on components of a standard text, he was not slavishly depending on it, but knew to compile his own questions, and knew to

<sup>99</sup> Besides the Parisian *principia* of William of Vaurouillon (see above, n. 26) and Gilles Charlier (as discussed in ZAHND, “Der Dank an die Meister”), see also the *principia* of Lambertus de Monte, *sententiarius* at Paris in 1423, that are going to be edited in the present series by S. NEGRI, M. MELIADÒ, J. WITT, and U. ZAHND.

<sup>100</sup> See ZAHND, *Wirksame Zeichen?*, pp. 106–118.

extend them, when appropriate, with complements from the great texts of the golden age of scholasticism. In this broader context of the early fifteenth century with its particular educational goals, a principal question such as the one conserved in Klosterneuburg 315, could even count as proof of magisterial competence.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> For a joint edition of Conrad's and Peter's *Principia*, see below, pp. 379–445.