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*The reception of Saint Augustine in the Senteces commentaries
from the second half of the 14th century*

# Phd Thesis Resume

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# Cuprins

## Abstract

The aim of this paper is to contextualize the paradigm in which the concept 'vestigium Trinitatis' was received by three Cistercian students from the Faculty of Theology in the second half of the 14th century: Iohannes de Mirecuria, Godescalc de Nepomuk and Iacobus de Altavilla. We have used as a study case the first conclusion from the question: *Utrum in qualibet creatura reperiatur vestigium et ymago Trinitatis* from Iohannes de Mirecuria's commentary, the first conclusion from the question: *Utrum per viam vestigii aut imagines Trinitatis increate sit investigabilis*, from Nepomuk's commentary and the second conclusion from the question: *Utrum Trinitatis increate per rationes creatas a viatore non demonstrabilis per viam vestigii aut imaginis sit investigabilis*, from Iacobus de Altavilla's commentary. Following these texts, we have noticed that even if our students are quoting the paragraph from the sixth Book of the treatise *De Trinitate*, where Augustine exposes the concept 'vestigium Trinitatis', they developed this concept in a different manner by assuming the epistemological argument against the species from the *Sentences* of William Ockham.

In this moment of the research concerning the reception of Augustine in the 14th century, we know that the members from the Order of Saint Augustine's Eremites gave a special importance to Augustine's treatises. The Augustinians were not only carefully reading the Augustinian treatises, but they maintain that those treatises had to be quoted precisely by the students in their *Sentences* commentary, and in the treatises wrote by the Magisters[1]. For example, the English term 'Augustinianism', which designates the reception of Augustine as an historical character or designates his theological positions[2], was used mostly to label the *Sentences* commentary wrote by the Augustinian Gregorius de Rimini[3]. Until now, there are no extensive studies where the label

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[1] SAAK (2012), pp. 33-37.
[2] SAAK (2012), p. 3.
[3] TRAPP (1956).

'Augustiniansm' is used to entitle the *Sentences* commentaries wrote by the members of the Cistercian Order.

The method which I used to wrote this thesis was a mixed one. My attention focused, on the one hand, on the critical study of the exegesis and, on the other hand to recover and to interpret the primary sources contained by the manuscripts.

Recovering the primary sources was one of the most important method used to accomplish this study, because by transcribing and collating the texts from the first conclusion of the question: *Utrum in qualibet creatura reperiatur vestigium et ymago Trinitatis*, from the first Book of Iohannes de Mirecuria's *Sentences*, according to the texts which can be found in the manuscripts from Biblioteka Jagiellonska, ms. 1882, Paris, BNF, ms. lat 15882, Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, ms. 1863 and Padova, Museo Civico ms. CM 236, we were able to follow accurately the manner in which the concept ‚vestigium Trinitatis' was received. Our method is justified, even if in this moment a provisionally critical edition of Mirecuria's first Book of the *Sentences* exists. The text was edited by Eugenio Randi and Massimo Parodi, but they are offering only a single variant of the *Sentences* commentary, and the studies about the manuscript tradition are mentioning two variants of its text. Through the editions which we presented in the Annexes, we remarked that there are more than two variants of Mirecuria's *Sentences* commentary, concerning the mentioned question. Also, we have collated the text from the critical edition with the texts which can be found in the following manuscripts: Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, A. 921, Toledo, Cabildo ms. XIII-39, Lilienfeld, Zisterzienserstift, ms. 148, due to the fact that process of preparing this critical edition is ambiguous, and we wanted in this thesis to recover all the textual differences offered by these manuscripts.

The textual differences not only helped us to follow the manner in which the concept of 'vestigium Trinitatis' is received, but it helped us to observe that two variants of Mirecuria's commentary are following more closer the question 9: *Utrum in omni creatura sit vestigium Trinitatis*, from the *Sentences* commentary of William Ockham. As well, we were able to give evidence to the fact that Nepomuk is constructing the first conclusion from the question: *Utrum per viam vestigii aut imaginis Trinitatis increate sit investigabilis* according to Mirecuria's first conclusion, which can be found in the following groups of the manuscripts: Biblioteka Jagiellonska, ms. 1882, Paris, BNF, ms. lat 15882, Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, ms. 1863. By comparing the texts of Iohannes de Mirecuria, Godescalc de Nepomuk

and Iacobus de Altavilla, we remarked that the last Cistercian is taking only one part from William Ockham's epistemological argument against the species.

The identification of the textual differences was the one who helped us to establish that the term 'Augustinianism' can be applied also in the case of the *Sentences* commentaries wrote by the Cistercian members.

## The structure of the chapters

Our aim in the first chapter of this paper was to follow the intellectual formation of Augustine from the first part of his life, to highlight the different mode in which he develops his studies in contrast to the students of the Middle Ages, studies that decisively influenced his work and theological-philosophical vision. Then, we have focused our attention on the concept of 'vestigium Trinitatis', concept which Augustine developed in the sixth Book of the treatise *De Trinitate* as an answer against the doctrine of Arius. The doctrine of Arius stated that the Son is always inferior to the Father, and there was a time when the Son did not exist, but this statement aroused negative reactions from the church clerics, Alexander of Alexandria was one of the most vehement opponents of this doctrine. The conflict between the two of them could not be settled, so the Emperor Constantin convoked in the year 325 the Council of Nicaea in order to find a solution to resolve this conflict. At the end of the Council, the doctrine of Arius was condemned by formulating the *Creed* from Nicaea. If we should give an 'ad litteram' translation of the concept 'vestigium Trinitatis' we will remark an ambiguity because this means 'the trace left by the Trinity', but the Trinity is not an accessible concept to the human mind, like the ink is, for example. Our author chooses to use this term, in order to highlight that the world was not created only by God the Father, but it was created by the whole Trinity, contrary to what Arius stated. Also, he wants to give notice that the human mind can think of God only as a Trinity.

The novelty that the first chapter brings is that we have chosen as a study text to exemplify how Augustine uses the concept 'vestigium Trinitatis' in the treatise *De Trinitate*. L. Ayres in his extensive study "Augustine and the Trinity", published in the year 2010, analyzes this concept by quoting only the treatise *De civitate Dei*[4].

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[4] See: AYRES (2010), p. 279.

In the second chapter of this paper, we demonstrated that a new research concerning the manuscript tradition of Iohannes de Mirecuria's *Sentences* commentary is needed. The commentary of Iohannes de Mirecuria seemed to be the easiest to access, in the sense that it was edited by Eugenio Randi and Massimo Parodi, and the provisional edition can be accessed online, together with a bibliography about the studies of Mirecuria's thought. The main reason why the commentary and the thought of Mirecuria generated the interest of researchers, was the condemnation of a number of about 40 propositions extracted from his commentary. In this chapter we will notice that in this moment we can talk about three variants of the first conclusion from the question: *Utrum in qualibet creatura reperiatur vestigium et ymago Trinitatis*, represented by the groups: BEL and KP1S and by the manuscripts D. To highlight this fact, we will present the 'stemma codicum' of the first groups. Also, we will give evidence that a fourth variant of the manuscript is represented by the question 9: *Utrum cognitiones excedant se perfectionaliter proportionaliter secundum excessum obiectorum* from Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, ms. 1863 and the question 4: *Utrum cognitiones excedant se perfectionaliter proportionaliter secundum excessum obiectorum* from Cracovia, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, ms. 1182. Besides, we will follow the history of each manuscript, and, where we were able to identify the owner, and the exegesis is offering us information about him, we will present them.

In the third chapter we have highlighted the paradigm shift in the formulation of the concept 'vestigium Trinitatis' and the reception of the treatise *De Trinitate* in the Middle Ages. First, we will follow the implicit sources of Iohannes de Mirecuria in the first conclusion of the question: *Utrum in qualibet creatura reperiatur vestigium et ymago Trinitatis*. So, we will observe that the entire text of this conclusion is taken from the Franciscan's William Ockham *Sentences* commentary. This technique was named by M. Brînzei 'textual bricolage', and should not be confused with the meaning which the word plagiarism has nowadays. Also, we have observed that Mirecuria is taking the quotations from the sixth Book of the treatise *De Trinitate* from the commentary of Ockham. E. L. Saak maintains that, if we want to use the term 'Augustinianism', we have to place it in a very well defined context, otherwise this concept could become easily a commonplace, and it will lose his meaning. We have chosen to use this concept, following in the first place the textual differences which the consulted manuscripts are offering, to emphasize that the scribes of each manuscript most likely had at their disposal a different copy of the treatise *De Trinitate*. At the same time, we have remarked in this chapter how the paradigm in formulating the

concept 'vestigium Trinitatis' changed. If Augustine developed this concept as an answer against the Arian doctrine, Mirecuria developed this concept by taking from Ockham the epistemological argument against the species. William Ockham and Iohannes de Mirecuria are not interested to mention the context in which Augustine used it, they only chose to quote the treatise *De Trinitate*, having as model Peter Lombard's *Book of the Sentences*. Godescalc of Nepomuk and Iacobus de Altavilla, like Ockham and Mirecuria are not interested to develop the concept 'vestigium Trinitatis' like Augustine, but they are taking also William Ockham's epistemological argument against the species, not from his commentary, but from the *Sentences* commentary of Iohannes de Mirecuria, without quoting him explicitly. Even if neither of those authors are originals in their texts, they are originals through the structure they choose to offer to their texts.

## Conclusions

First, we have highlighted that Augustine was not very well welcomed by the citizens of Hippo, when he first arrived there as a priest, due to his past, but Peter Lombard saw him as a saint, without mentioning that he was part of the Manichaean sect for nine years, or that he practiced the art of rhetoric. Thus, we can say that Peter Lombard built a new image for Augustine, an image which will be received by all the commentators of the *Sentences*. 'Augustinianism' in this case does not refer to the historical identity of Augustine, but it refers to the new image that Peter Lombard gave him.

In the case of Iohannes de Mirecuria we were eager to demonstrate the existence of the three variants of his *Sentences* commentary, in order to establish if the existence of these variants can affect the reception of Augustine in his commentary. Therefore, we have noticed that in the first conclusion of the question: *Utrum in qualibet creatura reperiatur vestigium et ymago Trinitatis* from the codex of Padova, we cannot find a single quotation from Augustine, so we cannot apply the term 'Augustinianism' to this text.

Finally, we gave evidence to the fact that Iohannes de Mirecuria is explaining the concept 'vestigium Trinitatis' in the first conclusion of the question: *Utrum in qualibet creatura reperiatur vestigium et ymago Trinitatis*, by reformulating the theory against the species of William Ockham, an author which is not quoted explicitly in his commentary. Perhaps, our Cistercian is not quoting him due to the fact that the doctrine of the Venerable Inceptor was condemned by the Faculty of

Arts through the promulgation of two statutes, the first dates back to 1339 and the second to 1340. The theological doctrine of William Ockham was never condemned explicitly. Also, we have listed the six errors of Ockham's doctrine from the second statue, but we were not able to establish a connection between them and the theory against the species. We have advanced the hypothesis that each scribe which copied Mirecuria's and Ockham's texts had at their disposal a different copy of the treatise *De Trinitate*, and this hypothesis was confirmed by the textual differences of the codices which are keeping the *Sentences* of the two of them. The same hypothesis was advanced in the case of the scribe which copied the *Sentences* of Nepomuk, and it seems that he had the closest version of the initial variant of the treatise *De Trinitate*.

In the case of Iohannes de Mirecuria's, Godescalc de Nepomuk's and Iacobus de Altavilla's texts the term 'Augustinianism' can be applied only in correlation with William Ockham's *Sentences* commentary. Mirecuria's text can be labeled as such, due to the fact that he chose to develop the concept 'vestigium Trinitatis' like Ockham did. The same can be said about Nepomuk's and Altavilla's texts. Nevertheless, due to the fact that Mirecuria is the closest source of the both Cistercians, we can say that the 'Augustinianism' which is present in their text, developed together with Mirecuria's *Sentences* commentary.

Our research can lead to new research investigation, one of them is the reception of Augustine through Mirecuria's *Sentences* at the University of Cracow from the second half of the 15th century. As, we have gave evidence in the second chapter, the fact that two Magisters from this university were interested to buy Mirecuria's *Sentences* commentary is a first clue that they were interested to introduce in their courses ideas from his commentary.

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