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## The Educational and Intellectual Framework of German Dominicans in the late 13<sup>th</sup> and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries

Much of the earlier research on Thomism in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries focused on its development and defense at Oxford<sup>1</sup> and Paris,<sup>2</sup> while research on German Dominicans in that same period primarily concerned the origins and growth of Rheinisch mysticism as reflected in Meister Eckhart, Johannes Tauler, Heinrich Suso and others.<sup>3</sup> Despite the fact that Meister Eckhart studied at Paris and lectured there as a bachelor and regent master at the same time that Thomas was designated as the theologian all Dominicans should follow and defend, the literature on Eckhart, with some notable exceptions, has concentrated on his contributions in the areas of spirituality, mystical ascent, and preaching.<sup>4</sup> To the extent that historians of medieval thought have more often than not separated scholasticism and mysticism into different, sometimes contrary movements, Dominican theologians in fourteenth-century Germany have largely been discussed on the mystical side of that divide. In that context Eckhart becomes a transitional figure, balanced on the edge between the heritage of Neo-Platonism represented in Dietrich von Freiberg and adherence to Thomas as seen in Johannes Picardi, Johannes and Gerhard von Sterngassen, and others. Yet even after acknowledging the appearance of what has been called a Thomistic school in Germany, the dominance of mysticism as a category through which to approach fourteenth-century Dominican theologians remained. Martin

<sup>1</sup> For example, by Richard Knapwell, Thomas Sutton and William Macclesfield.

<sup>2</sup> For example, by Bernard of Trilia, John Quidort, Hervaeus Natalis, and Peter of Palude.

<sup>3</sup> Étienne GILSON, in his *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York: Random House 1955, 410–427, 431–446), treated late thirteenth-century Thomism in the context of debates at Oxford and Paris over the unity of the substantial form and the composition of essence and existence, and treated the thought of German Dominicans in a subsequent section of his work under the labels of Albertism, Neoplatonism, and mysticism. A decade later, in his survey of early Thomism, Frederick J. ROENSCH (*Early Thomistic School*. Dubuque, Iowa: Priory Press 1964) discussed English and French Dominicans without a word about German Dominicans.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, LIBERA, Alain de: *La philosophie médiévale*. Paris: P.U.F. 1993, 425–429, which treats Dietrich of Freiberg as the first representative of German speculative idealism and treats Eckhart in the context of Dionysian Neoplatonism and mystical thought. On Eckhart's Thomism, see *Maître Eckhart à Paris. Une critique médiévale de l'ontothéologie*. Paris: Bibliothèque de l'EPHE 1984, esp. the essays of De Libera and Paul Vignaux.

Grabmann, who wrote one of the first examinations of Thomism in Germany, still characterized those he studied as primarily mystics.<sup>5</sup>

The issue of scholasticism, mysticism, and Eckhart is particularly timely this year. June 1, 2010 will mark the 700<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the burning of Marguerite Porete in Paris, whose *Mirror of Simple Souls* in terms of theological content bears a closer relation to Rheinisch mysticism than to Parisian scholastic thought. Yet her work was read and favorably viewed, albeit cautiously, by Godfrey of Fontaines,<sup>6</sup> although articles extracted from it were later judged negatively and condemned by other Parisian masters of theology from the standpoint of the orthodoxy of its theological conclusions. The worlds of scholastic and mystical thought lived together in the same temporal and geographical context, and it is one of our tasks to determine whether, how, and to what extent they influenced each other – and for the German Dominicans, where the obligation to follow and defend Thomas Aquinas entered into that picture.

The dichotomy of scholasticism and mysticism as it applies to Germany has begun to be bridged in recent decades.<sup>7</sup> This has gone hand-in-hand with research on Thomism among German Dominicans, who have left writings that explore philosophical and theological questions as well as writings that concern mysticism, spirituality and pastoral care. I will not attempt to contribute to that topic directly, but rather to explore the educational and intellectual worlds in which German Dominicans lived and, in particular, the extent to which German Dominicans were integrated with transnational intellectual currents and concerns, particularly the debates at Paris over elements of Thomas' thought, or were isolated from them. Chronologically my remarks will focus primarily on the 1303–1310 period, and geographically on Paris, Cologne, and Montpellier.

To set the context for these questions, we need to review the Dominican educational program as it existed in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, beginning with the place of Paris within the *studia generalia* of the Dominican Order. As is well known, St. Jacques was

<sup>5</sup> GRABMANN, Martin: *Forschungen zur Geschichte der ältesten deutschen Thomistenschule des Dominikanerordens*, in: *Xenia Thomistica* 3 (1925) 189–231; repr. and expanded in GRABMANN, Martin: *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*. Vol. I. München: Max Hueber 1926, 392–431; GRABMANN, Martin: *Forschungsziele und Forschungswege auf dem Gebiete der mittelalterlichen Scholastik und Mystik*; repr. in: GRABMANN: *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben* I, 1–49. In fact the subtitle to that work was *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik*.

<sup>6</sup> FIELD, Sean L.: *The Master and Marguerite. Godfrey of Fontaines' praise of The Mirror of Simple Souls*, in: *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009) 136–149.

<sup>7</sup> Among many comments on this issue, that of Walter Senner on the false dichotomy between scholasticism and mysticism as it applies to German Dominicans – and even more generally – is particularly apt; see SENNER, Walter: *Johannes von Sterngassen OP und sein Sentenzen-Kommentar* (= *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens*, Neue Folge 4). Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1995, vol. I, 23–33.

initially the sole *studium generale* for the study of theology and remained the principal one even after the establishment in 1248 of other *studia generalia* at Cologne, Oxford, Montpellier and Bologna (for Germany, England, southern France, and Italy, respectively). To that group were added Naples and Barcelona, and in 1282, with the exception of Greece and the Holy Land, every province was required to have a *studium generale*. The expansion in the number of *studia generalia* resulted from the need for more centers for training in theology and the inability of the Paris convent to accommodate such large numbers of students.

Significant changes in the role of Paris resulted from this diversification in advanced theological study within the Order. Appointments to the baccalaureate and doctoral program at Paris became more selective and competitive among the provinces. Whether that selection was based on academic achievement and brilliance or on internal politics and favoritism within the Order is impossible to know. The content of theological teaching was probably the same at the various *studia generalia*, but only a few students were chosen to be sent to Paris for the baccalaureate or recommended for promotion to become *magistri Parisienses*.

In training their students at Paris the Dominicans seemingly held an advantage over the other mendicant orders inasmuch as only they held two chairs of theology, one reserved for those from the province of France and the other for those from the other provinces. This did not, however, result in doubling the opportunity for Dominican bachelors to lecture and be promoted at Paris. By the late thirteenth century, possibly as early as the third quarter, the Dominicans could appoint only one new bachelor per year, the same quota as the Franciscans and, eventually, the Augustinians and Carmelites when they established houses of study at Paris. Since it was common in the late thirteenth century to lecture on the books of the *Sentences* across a two-year period, the pattern developed that within a biennium the appointment of a candidate from the French province would alternate with the appointment of a candidate from one of the other provinces.<sup>8</sup> In any one year there would, in effect, be two bachelors reading the *Sentences* at St-Jacques, one in his first year as a bachelor of theology and one in his second year, each from different provinces of the Order.

In the second and third decades of the fourteenth century there is sufficient evidence to reveal that the appointment of an “external”

<sup>8</sup> This compares to the Franciscan three-year rotation in which a candidate from their French province was followed in the next two years by candidates from the other provinces. This pattern of rotation gave to the French province of the Dominican order fifty percent of appointments to read at Paris, while the French province of the Franciscan order had only thirty-three percent of appointments. But the French province of the Dominican order was larger than that of the Franciscans. It stretched from Flanders and the Liègoise in the north to the Auvergne in south-central France, from Brittany and the Poitou in the west to Lorraine, the Vosges, and Suisse-Romande in the east. By 1306 that entailed 58 convents.

candidate (i.e., one not from the province of France) to read the *Sentences* as a bachelor of theology was made in the odd-numbered years, while the appointment of a candidate from the province of France occurred in the even-numbered years. There is no reason to assume that this was not also the case in the first decade when Johannes Picardi von Lichtenberg read the *Sentences* at Paris. And if later practice is any guide, when circumstances required the substitution of one candidate for another, the Order tried to maintain the balance by replacing an external bachelor with another external, and an internal with another from the province of France.

This pattern of appointments to read the *Sentences* at Paris among the Dominicans has implications for the biography of Johannes Picardi. It is often stated that he read the *Sentences* in 1305–1308, but since no one at this time read across a three-year period, it would be more accurate to say that he read *between* 1305 and 1308. And if a two-year reading was the norm, which two years? If, as I suggested, external candidates were appointed in the odd-numbered year, then our choices are 1305–1307, or 1307–1309. But he was appointed provincial prior of Teutonia in 1308, so we are left with 1305–1307. I do not give those dates with absolute certainty, but with high probability. Nothing prevents his having remained at Paris as a formed bachelor in 1307–1308, but I think it more likely that he would have been appointed lector at another *studium* of the Order. The fact that his name does not appear among the Dominican masters and bachelors attending the confessions of the Templars in October 1307 proves nothing, one way or the other.<sup>9</sup>

When, by 1320, the practice of having bachelors dispute one another in principial debates before beginning lectures on each book of the *Sentences* was introduced and, correspondingly, the reading of the *Sentences* at Paris was to be completed in one year, the Dominican pattern of alternating candidates was retained, so that a bachelor from the French province would be followed by a bachelor from one of the other provinces.<sup>10</sup> There is evidence, albeit inconclusive, to suggest that promotion to the magistrum for Dominicans at Paris generally worked in a similar way, although the Order exercised more flexibility in appointments to regency at Paris, just as they did in the appointments of lectors to various *studia* of the order. Otherwise Thomas Aquinas and Meister Eckhart would never have been sent back to Paris for a second regency. The two-year appointment meant that unless some conflict arose, there would be two masters of

<sup>9</sup> Among the Dominicans who were named as attending were masters Romeus de Brugaria and Herveus Natalis, bachelor Laurence of Nantes, and Durand of St. Pourçain; see FINKE, Heinrich: *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*. Münster: Aschendorff 1907, vol. II, 307–313.

<sup>10</sup> By the 1370s, however, the Dominicans fielded two bachelors each year, one internal (i.e., from the province of France) and one external.

theology in residence at St. Jacques at any one time, one in his first year as regent and one in his second year, one from the French province and one from another province. Whether both were teaching, that is 'regent', and whether both had voice and vote in meetings of the faculty of theology is uncertain, but both were resident at St-Jacques.<sup>11</sup>

Returning to the baccalaureate, the effect of this quota system limited the opportunity for German Dominicans to be appointed to read at Paris. The German province (and after 1303, the two provinces of Teutonia and Saxony) had to compete with all the other non-French provinces for that alternate year. In the first half of the fourteenth century candidates from the two provinces of southern France were successful in gaining almost half of the available slots, with the province of Toulouse dominant by far. Next came the Italians, with the province of Rome the most successful. Germans fielded only four candidates during that half century, two from the province of Teutonia and two from Saxony.<sup>12</sup> In fact, the number of German Dominicans known to have read the *Sentences* at Paris in the century between 1275 and 1375 is six, a ratio of one every 16 years, and even that erratic.<sup>13</sup> The Spanish provinces fared even worse and the other provinces seem to have been totally unsuccessful.

Before turning to the implications of this quota system for German Dominicans, some attention needs to be given to the oft-mentioned regulation of the faculty of theology at Paris that formed bachelors, that is those who had completed the reading of the *Sentences*, were obliged to remain in residence at Paris for four years before being eligible to be licensed and be promoted to the doctorate. This rule has frequently been used to establish an approximate date of licensing when a date of lecturing on the *Sentences* is known (i.e., one adds four years to the known date), or to suggest a date for a *Sentences* commentary when the date of licensing is known (i.e., one subtracts four years from the known date). The earliest mention of this rule appears late in the second quarter of the fourteenth century and is not mentioned in the earliest statutes of the faculty of theology at Paris. Beyond the training and skills acquired by an extended

<sup>11</sup> *Acta capituli generalis Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*. Romae: Morini, 1862 sq., II, 391 (Rouen chapter, 1361): "[...] quilibet magistrorum in theologia Parisius incipiencium suas continuent lectiones, donec habeat successorem magistrum [...]".

<sup>12</sup> The two from Teutonia were Johannes Picardi (1305–07) and Bartholomeus de Bolsenheim (1351–52), and the two from Saxony were Theodericus (Dietrich) de Saxonia (1311–1313), not to be confused with Dietrich von Freiberg in the late thirteenth century, and Johannes de Melemerch (1335–36). The dates given presume that before 1320 reading the *Sentences* was a two-year exercise and that by the 1330s was fulfilled in one year.

<sup>13</sup> It should be noted, however, that the records of the Dominican General Chapters do not, with the exception of two years, mention the appointment of *sententiarum* at Paris in the 1350s and 1360s. Then, in the period from 1375 to 1380, we find two *sententiarum* from Germany: Geraldus de Bürens and Gotfredus de Teutonia, just on the eve of the Great Schism.

period of apprenticeship, the rule was probably enacted to ensure there were enough formed bachelors to take part in the many disputations and promotions that required the participation of scholars at that academic stage or level. Whatever the initial date of its implementation, the rule does not seem to have been applied with any rigor to mendicant bachelors, and certainly not to the Dominicans. There are too many examples of Dominicans being reassigned to administrative or teaching duties elsewhere soon after completing their reading the *Sentences* at Paris. And there are also several examples in the early fourteenth century of Dominican bachelors receiving the license in theology within a few months of completing the *Sentences*, sometimes, perhaps often, with the help of a letter from the pope to the chancellor at Paris.<sup>14</sup>

Given the quota limitations on promotion to the doctorate at Paris, what options did the Dominican Order have for credentialing a sufficient number of its friars as masters of theology? The only other Dominican *studium generale* located at a University with a faculty of theology was Oxford, and for German Dominicans that was not a viable alternative to Paris for the baccalaureate or doctorate, even though we do find occasional German students at Oxford. Despite the fact that the *studia generalia* of the Order were supposed to be open to students from any province, the English province kept a tight grip on appointments to study and be promoted at Oxford or Cambridge. A second approach was to increase the number of those reading the *Sentences* at Paris even if the faculty of theology would officially recognize only one bachelor per year. The mendicant orders, including the Dominicans, ran additional candidates through their Paris convent by having them read the *Sentences* during the summer vacation. The audience for such lectures would have been small, and the ability to cover effectively all four books of the *Sentences* in two or three months questionable. This practice, which was legislatively prohibited by the faculty of theology, kept neither the spirit nor the letter of this academic requirement. Only the *baccalarius ordinarius* officially appointed to read during the academic year was permitted to be presented for licensing and promotion to master. Only with considerable papal pressure on the chancellor could a summer lecturer receive the license at Paris, and I cannot think of an example of such a friar being allowed to incept at Paris. Moreover, most Dominicans

<sup>14</sup> For example, Guillelmus de Lauduno, O.P., who read the *Sentences* at Paris in 1313–1314, was licensed in June 1314 (*Chartularium Univeresitatis Parisiensis* [subsequently cited as *CUP*]. Ed. DENIFLE, Heinrich / CHÂTELAIN, Émile. Paris: Delalain, vol. II, 1891, n. 696); Matheus de Ursinis de Roma, O.P., who read the *Sentences* at Paris in 1315–1316, was licensed in 1316 (*CUP* II, n. 714); Peter Auriol completed his reading of the *Sentences* at Paris in 1318 and was licensed almost immediately (*CUP* II, n. 772). There are other cases, however, in which the time between reading the *Sentences* and incepting as a doctor took almost a decade or more.

in the fourteenth century who are known to have lectured at Paris during the summer are French or southern French Dominicans.<sup>15</sup>

This limitation on the possibility of obtaining the university degree of master of theology put a special burden on Dominican provinces outside England or the kingdom of France. In principle the *lector principalis* at a *studium generale* of the Order should hold the degree of master of theology, which meant from Paris, Oxford or Cambridge or possibly Toulouse. In practice the need for principal lecturers at *studia generalia* exceeded the number of doctors that could be promoted at Paris or elsewhere, especially for German Dominicans; the situation was somewhat better for the French and southern French provinces.<sup>16</sup>

One solution was the papal route to a doctorate in theology, even though it lacked the added prestige of the Parisian doctorate acquired *rigorose*. Throughout the fourteenth century, particularly during the pontificates of John XXII, Clement VI, and Urban V, many mendicants became doctors of theology by papal bull. While we might sneer at the qualifications or authenticity of these “wax doctors,” it should be noted that these promotions did not completely bypass the normal credentialing process. In the cases of a papal letter to the chancellor at Paris, the requirement of examination by masters of the faculty of theology was acknowledged, although it would have taken a courageous chancellor and fellow masters to refuse a request of the Holy Father from whom they sought ecclesiastical benefices on which their income depended. And at other universities and *studia*, such as Toulouse, Montpellier, Avignon, and Cologne, where the pope asked for a candidate to be licensed and promoted to the magisterium in theology, examination by more than one doctor of theology was expected. This route to the magisterium was used frequently by the Dominicans. Denifle listed no less than eight German Dominicans promoted to the doctorate in this manner during the pontificate of Clement VI.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Acta Cap. Gen. O.P.* II, 367 (Pamplona chapter, 1355): “Ut magistris et bacalariis Parisiensibus omnis dissensionis occasio subtrahatur, volumus et ordinamus, quod, quando infra eundem annum contigerit duos bacalarios Parisius legere sentencias, quorum unus legat estivaliter, ut moris est, et alter ordinarie, et per ordinem sit promotus, ille qui ordinarie legerit sentencias primitus ad magisterium presentetur, alter vero quibuscumque bacalariis annis sequentibus legentibus sentencias in presentacione et pro magisterio preferatur, nisi forte in predictis per sedem apostolicam fuerit aliter ordinatum. Adiiicientes ad predicta, quod multorum bacalariorum intraneorum expedicio ad magisteria graciosissima non tollit nec preiudicat expedicioni intraneis debite de rigore. Et idem per omnia dicimus de bacalariis extraneis et volumus in posterum taliter observari”. Repeated at the General Chapter at Verdun in 1356 (*Acta cap. gen. O.P.* II, 372–373).

<sup>16</sup> SENNER: *Johannes von Sterngassen*. Vol. I, 123–124.

<sup>17</sup> DENIFLE, Heinrich: *Quellen zur Gelehrten-geschichte der Predigerordens im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, in: *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 2 (1886) 165–248, at 222–224.

Increasingly in the fourteenth century the Dominican Order used its *studia generalia* other than Paris – some of them connected with a university but lacking a faculty of theology, such as Montpellier, or some without a university, such as Cologne – to create the equivalent of a master of theology for purposes of teaching in the *studia* of the Order, although it was not the Parisian doctorate.<sup>18</sup> And if it was not awarded through a university faculty of theology, it could be said it was not really a doctorate at all. But these *studia generalia* apart from Paris were important for advanced training in theology, for intra-provincial contact, and even for the transmission of Thomism within the Order.

In looking at the theological program of the Dominican Order and the role of its various *studia generalia*, it is important to take account of the lectorate program, which was conducted at all of them, not simply at Paris. The lectorate program provided advanced training in theology for those who had already received training in logic, natural philosophy, and theology in their own province, and who were sent for further training to a *studium generale* in order to prepare them to be lecturers. This was a program for advanced training in theology but below the level of the baccalaureate and not university-connected. Some lectorate students were sent to Paris for this purpose (initially three students from each province, which was later reduced to two), but this was not a program connected with a degree program of the University but an internal program run by the Order. Paris was the earliest convent to accept students for advanced training in theology, and it remained the premier *studium* for such training. Being sent to Paris, as distinct from being sent to Montpellier, Bologna, Cologne, Naples or Barcelona, had the advantage of providing direct access to the Parisian intellectual environment inside and outside St-Jacques. But not enough attention has been given to the lectorate program either for the opportunity it gave Dominican students from regions outside France for a period of Parisian study or for the significance it had at the other *studia generalia*.

First, with regard to Paris, despite the limited opportunity for German Dominicans to be appointed to read the *Sentences* at Paris, we can safely assume that there was a steady flow of German students at St-Jacques throughout the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The original quota allowance was three per province, and in 1305 that was reduced to two, meaning, I think, two students in residence at any one time. The

<sup>18</sup> A lector had to have several years training in theology at a *studium generale*. The term 'doctor' could be used in the sense of one who is learned; *Const. ant.*, d. 2, c. 30, p. 363: "Nullus fiat publicus doctor, nisi per quatuor annos ad minimum theologiam audierit" (SENNER: *Johannes von Sterngassen*. Vol. I, 94). Those serving as lecturers in natural philosophy must have had at least two years of theological study and, ideally, to have already lectured on the *Sentences* at some *studium* (SENNER: *Johannes von Sterngassen*. Vol. I, 115).

period of study was usually three years, probably with incoming and outgoing students staggered on the basis of availability of openings or personal circumstances of students. Identifying who was actually at Paris from outside the province of France, however, is impossible to determine because of the lack of documentation. Appointment of students, as distinct from the appointment of lecturers or bachelors, was not something that concerned the general or provincial chapters. We have a number of documents from the first three decades of the fourteenth century that provide a cross-section view of the university community or certain parts of it, with names of individuals, but these documents rarely include mention of any mendicants.

There are documents, however, that do list the names of mendicants, such as those that survive from Philippe le Bel's campaign in 1303 to summon a council to depose Boniface VIII. Any friar unwilling to support the king on this issue was required to leave France within a week. Although some convents in France were permitted to affirm their support without revealing the position of individual friars, at least in the final response preserved in the royal archives, royal officials in Paris required individual friars resident in the mendicant convents to declare their support or refusal, and their names were so recorded on separate lists. While a list of those who refused to acquiesce to the will of the king survives from Cordeliers, the Franciscan convent at Paris, and includes the name of John Duns Scotus who suspended his lectures on the *Sentences* and left Paris as a result of this crisis, only lists of names supporting the royal initiative survive from the Dominican and Augustinian convents. It is no surprise, therefore, that the 133 names on the list from St-Jacques in 1303 are all from the province of France with the exception of four from Scotland (which traditionally maintained a close alliance with France) and one Italian (Matheus de Appulia).<sup>19</sup> The document includes the names of John of Paris, Durand of St. Pourçain, Romeus of Brugeria, and Herveus Natalis, but the only non-French province whose students-in-residence remained at Paris, apart from the one Italian, was Scotland. Rather than conclude that there were no German Dominicans at Paris in 1303, it is safer to assume they were among the 100 or so non-French Dominicans who left France. Meister Eckhart, whose name does not appear on the list, was regent master at Paris in 1302–1303 and was thus resident at St-Jacques in June when the royal officials came to take names and enforce the will of the king. Presumably Eckhart, like many others, refused to adhere to

<sup>19</sup> PICOT, Georges: *Documents relatifs aux Etats-Généraux et assemblées réunis sous Philippe le Bel*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale 1901, 138–183; DONDAINE, Antoine: *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la province de France. L'appel au concile (1303)*, in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 22 (1952) 381–439, at 403–410. Manuscript copies are in Paris, Archives Nationales, J. 479, no. 26 (4 copies).

Philip's demand and was therefore required to leave the kingdom of France.

Similarly, the documentation associated with the Templar crisis in 1307–1308 that provides names of persons connected with the University of Paris or Parisian convents is almost entirely limited to those holding office, such as the rector of the University, the proctors of the four nations of the faculty of arts, a prior or guardian of a convent, or those holding the degree of master or bachelor of theology. It is no surprise that none of them was German. Unfortunately for our purposes, the more than three hundred names on the university appeal of 1313 are limited to secular students, which is also true for the records of the university financial collection in 1329. Regardless of how many or how few German Dominicans were at Paris in the opening decades of the fourteenth century, the nature of the surviving documentation would not have included them. Records of the Dominican General Chapters are, of course, the exception, but those tell us at most only about those appointed to read the *Sentences* or be put forward for doctoral promotion at Paris; they tell us nothing about individual Dominicans sent to Paris in the lectorate program.

We therefore have to explore analogous records at Paris or elsewhere that can provide us with a picture of what the foreign group of Dominicans, especially the Germans, might have looked like in 1303. One such document is the list of Franciscan friars mentioned earlier who refused to support Philip's call for a council against Boniface – the only list of non-adherence by a Parisian group that has survived.<sup>20</sup> Of the 173 friars who were present at Cordeliers on the day the royal officials came to question them, slightly more than half refused to adhere and chose rather to leave Paris and France. The names of these non-supporters are, for the most part, grouped by province, probably reflecting the order in which they appeared before the officials. The list shows that most provinces had two students at Paris, some had three, and one had five, although distant provinces sometimes had only one, and a few provinces, none. For the Germans, there was one friar from the province of Cologne (or lower Rhine), three from the province of Saxony, and two from the province of Strasbourg (or upper Rhine). If we include Eastern Europe, there were two from the province of Austria, two from the province of Hungary, and one each from Bohemia and Poland. This is what one might expect for the lectorate program, which allowed each Franciscan province to send up to two students to Paris for three years of theological study at the expense of the order. The quota system for the lectorate program in the Dominican Order worked in a similar way. We can conclude, therefore, that the two German provinces of the Dominican Order maintained a numerical

<sup>20</sup> COURTENAY, William J.: *The Parisian Franciscan Community in 1303*, in: *Franciscan Studies* 53 (1993) 155–173, at 170–173.

presence at their convent of St. Jacques in the opening decade of the fourteenth century and in succeeding decades, even though we are unable to recover the names of individual friars sent there for that purpose.

One interesting detail from this Franciscan list is that one of the two lectorate students from the province of Strasbourg, Henricus Alemannus, had attended Duns Scotus' lectures the *Sentences* in 1302-03 and compiled a *reportatio* of distinctions 13-48 of book I.<sup>21</sup> That text probably returned to Germany with him as unbound quires, although it is now in two manuscripts in the Borghese collection in the Vatican Library. Students at Paris in the lectorate program, whatever their mendicant order, could play an important role in the transmission of texts and ideas from Paris to their home province. One example from outside the Dominican Order are the texts from disputations and lectures on the *Sentences* at Paris in 1318-1320 in Balliol College Oxford, ms. 63, assembled by an English Augustinian Hermit who probably took the quires with him when he traveled back to England. Transmission of texts and ideas by way of the lectorate program is therefore a crucial element in reconstructing the intellectual milieu and currents of thought at the *studia* of an order outside Paris, especially – for our purposes – in the mendicant *studia* in Germany in the first two decades of the fourteenth century.

The list of non-adherents at the Franciscan convent in Paris in 1303 is not our only analogous witness. We do, by chance, have a surviving list of Dominicans at the Montpellier convent in 1303 who refused to adhere to Philippe le Bel's call for a council against Boniface, and who were expelled from the kingdom of France as a result. Of the 32 names on that list, two were German, along with one Hungarian, and five or six Italian Dominicans.<sup>22</sup> One of the Germans was Johannes de Colonia. Since a birth date of 1280 would put Johannes von Sterngassen in the age range for studies in the lectorate program, it is tempting to hypothesize that Sterngassen might have been studying theology at the Dominican convent in Montpellier in 1303. But caution dictates that no such identification should be asserted. Johannes is the single most common name in the fourteenth century and Cologne was a large city. At the same time it is certainly the case that Johannes von Sterngassen would have received some of his early training in theology in a lectorate program at a Dominican *studium generale* in the opening decade of the fourteenth century.

The document from Montpellier tells us three things. First, allowing that one of these conscientious objectors may have been a lector, or

<sup>21</sup> Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Borgh. lat. 89, ff. 1r-12v; Borgh. lat. 50, ff. 1r-47v.

<sup>22</sup> DONDAINE: *Documents*, 430-433. The Germans were Conradus de Alamannia and Johannes de Colonia. It is possible that another name on the list, Mathias Saxo, was German, but since his name occurs among the Italian group (from Orvieto, Perugia, Genoa, Venice, and Lombardy), he was probably from one of the many towns named Sasso in Italy, perhaps Sassoferrato.

teaching master, at the convent, most were there as students in the lectorate program, since there was no theological faculty or program as such at Montpellier. Second, if there were German Dominicans studying at the Dominican *studium generale* at Montpellier in 1303, there were certainly German Dominicans studying at St. Jacques at that time. Thirdly, the Montpellier evidence shows that the *studia generalia* of the Order apart from Paris were training lectors from other provinces and, in the face of the difficulty of promoting candidates to the baccalaureate and doctorate at Paris, they were probably using these other *studia* as places for advanced training in theology even if the universities of Bologna, Montpellier and Naples did not at the time have faculties of theology, and Cologne and Barcelona did not even have a university.<sup>23</sup> It is possible therefore that Johannes von Sterngassen, Gerhard von Sterngassen, Nikolaus von Strassburg, and Heinrich von Lübeck may have received some of their training in theology outside Germany, perhaps even in the lectorate program at Paris. Nothing permits a positive assertion on that matter, but nothing excludes the possibility.<sup>24</sup> We can only talk with confidence about those we know to have studied at Paris.

Until further evidence is uncovered, this limits us to Johannes Picardi.<sup>25</sup> During his first documented stay at St. Jacques at Paris, which I have suggested was 1305–1307, he would have been living in the same convent with Romeus de Brugeria, Herveus Natalis, and possibly Durand of St-Pourçain, who was certainly at St. Jacques in 1307–1308. We have no way of knowing if Picardi remained at Paris in that year, which coincides with the very beginning of Durand's written oeuvre. The Augustinian Hermit, Johannes Pagnota, would have been lecturing on the *Sentences* in 1306–1308, overlapping with Picardi's second year as *sententiarius*, and among theologians in residence in 1307–1308 were the Franciscans Bertrand de la Tour and Nicholas of Lyra, the Carmelite Guy of Terrena, the Cistercian Jacques de Thérines, and the secular bachelors Jean de Pouilly and Henry of Harclay. During Picardi's second documented time at Paris, which began four months after the burning of Marguerite Porete, Peter of Palude

<sup>23</sup> Bologna acquired the equivalent of a faculty of theology in 1364 by combining the theological programs of the religious orders into a consortium. Similarly, theological study at Naples was in the hands of the mendicant orders, among which the Dominicans played the principal part; see RASHDALL, Hastings: *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*. Rev. ed. by M. POWICKE, Frederick / EMDEN, Alfred B. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1936, vol. II, 24, n. 1.

<sup>24</sup> It is even possible that at mid-fourteenth century Heinrich Cervo, associated almost exclusively with Cologne in the scholarly literature, had spent time at Paris. In the critical period for his biography, we have no information on appointments of Dominicans to read the *Sentences* at Paris from 1352 to 1363.

<sup>25</sup> Nikolaus von Strassburg was cited as 'baccalaureus Parisiensis', but there is no evidence of such an appointment in the records of the Dominican General Chapters, nor is it easy to find a year in the sequence of bachelors when this might have been possible.

was probably in his first year as the Dominican *sententiarius*, and Thomas de Bailly, Gerard of St. Victor, Gerard of Bologna, Jean de Pouilly, and Nicholas of Lyra were probably still active in the faculty of theology. Picardi's regency at Paris coincides with a heated controversy over Thomism at Paris, primarily, at this point, as a controversy over Durand's teaching and supposed lack of adherence to the teaching of Thomas. But since no writings of Picardi are known to survive from his time as regent master, we cannot document the effect of those controversies on his teaching.

Turning finally to the issue of currents of thought and, in particular, the development of Thomism and reactions to it in the early decades of the fourteenth century, I want to make a few observations.

First, rather than approach Thomism in this period as a system or body of teaching supported or attacked by those inside and outside the Dominican Order, it is better to look at individual issues, as has been done for Picardi by Grabmann, Landgraf, Seńko, Sturlese, and others, and to be sensitive to different understandings of what Thomas taught or meant in this period. The expression "hec non fuit mens Thome", which occurs in Picardi and others, was not always a statement in defense of Thomas against those who, within but more likely outside the Dominican Order, attacked him, but sometimes concerned the correct understanding of Thomas among those who felt they were defending Thomas. Étienne Gilson's concern about different interpretations in the early fourteenth century over what Thomas thought on particular questions is just as crucial today as it was a half century ago, and the way to approach that is on individual issues, not as a system.

Second, to the extent we are concerned about Thomism in Germany, this should not simply be an investigation into works written in German *studia*, such as Cologne, Strasbourg or east of the Rhine. The contact and interaction between German *studia* and those outside Germany, especially St. Jacques at Paris, needs to be continually kept in mind, particularly because of the importance of a flow of German Dominicans to Paris and other *studia generalia* through the lectorate program. Johannes Picardi was regent master at Paris in 1310–1311, precisely the time of Herveus' first attack on the views of Durand of St. Pourçain, all three of whom were resident at St. Jacques.

Third, in looking at those temporal and geographical connections, one must be sensitive to the issue of how Thomas was understood, and whether the growth of a Thomist school was in some ways, as Gilson maintained, a distortion of what Thomas meant. The defense of Thomas or *adherence to* Thomas entailed at the same time an *interpretation of* Thomas. It might therefore be of value to look at the challenge of Durand not simply as a move away from Thomas but as a chapter within the

changing face of Thomism in the early fourteenth century. What may look like opposition may, from another perspective, be interpretation. To take an example from outside the Dominican Order, Ockham's reduction of real categories to two, namely substances and qualities, was viewed by many of his contemporaries as opposition to Aristotle, while Ockham thought he was interpreting Aristotle correctly, while admitting that others might not see it that way. What may look like opposition to Thomas on a particular issue might be viewed by that person as a valid interpretation of what Thomas meant. I am not suggesting that this was what Durand was doing, only that it is not a simple matter of being 'for' or 'against' an authority or earlier scholastic.

Fourth, seeking a better understanding of the development of Thomism in the early fourteenth century in Germany should also not simply be an investigation into the thought of German Dominicans. Not only were they continually in discussion with their contemporaries in other religious orders, but questions over the meaning and implications of particular positions of Thomas existed outside the Dominican context. For example, with legislation among the Augustinian Hermits to teach and defend the thought of Giles of Rome, Augustinian theologians debated elements in Giles' teaching that coincided with or departed from Thomas. Not long after Picardi's regency in Paris and Johannes von Sterngassen's questions on the *Sentences*, and coterminous with Nikolaus von Strassbourg's *Summa philosophiae*, one finds the Augustinians Dionysius of Borgo San Sepulcro and Gerard of Siena, in the period of 1317 to 1320, defending not only positions of Giles of Rome but defending those of Thomas that Giles had adopted (or at least had not openly departed from). Gerard of Siena was particularly insistent in responding to what he felt were misinterpretations or false characterizations of Giles' teaching, and while Gerard noted points on which Thomas and Giles did not agree, he also noted common positions through which his support of Giles became simultaneously a support of Thomas. It is also worth noting that although Gerard is expounding and defending the views of Giles of Rome, he does not see his scholastic contemporaries as representatives of schools but as individuals with positions and arguments on specific issues. He does see agreement among certain theologians on certain issues, but he does not see them as linked within a school, and the constellation is continually changing from question to question. For him they are individuals, not representatives of a school outlook. He cites Thomas and Scotus, but he does not refer to Thomists or Scotists. It would appear that Scotus – an individual theologian in Gerard's eyes – had not yet become a figure around whom Franciscans were coalescing into a group we might call Scotists. Just as the need to defend Thomas against his Franciscan critics in the late thirteenth century, or against Durand in the second decade of the fourteenth century created Thomists, so the support and defense of the opinions of Scotus

does not seem to have emerged until the critique of Peter Auriol summoned a response around 1320.<sup>26</sup>

Placing the Augustinian Hermits within the discussion of the development and meaning of Thomism in Germany is needed and could prove useful because that Order had five German masters of theology as bachelors and regent masters at Paris between 1304 and 1334. Those theologians (Heinrich von Friemar, senior and junior, Nicholaus de Vich, Thomas of Strasbourg, and Hermann Schildesche) returned to administrative and teaching positions in Germany, in places that often coincided with Dominican *studia*.

That leads me finally to stress once again the need, when exploring Thomism in Germany in the early fourteenth century, to see it not as a conflict of schools of thought but as a energetic debate among individuals, a *Gesprächskreis*, across the lines of religious orders and including when relevant secular theologians as well. The Dominican *studia* in Germany in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries were not geographically isolated from events and currents of thought at *studia* outside Germany, and the debates over the teaching of Thomas transcended the boundaries of order and nationality.

<sup>26</sup> Scotus caused a stir at Paris at the time he lectured there on the *Sentences*, but apart from William of Alnwick who returned to Oxford, there does not seem to have been an immediate emergence of a Scotist school. Henry of Harclay moved away from Scotus rather quickly. And there is no evidence for the emergence of any school at a result of his teaching at Cologne. The earliest "Scotists", such as Hugh of Novocastro, Landulf Caracciolo, Francis of Marchia, and Francis of Meyronnes, appear in the 1315–1320 period, which is also the period of Peter Auriol.