

## PELBARTUS OF THEMESWAR'S USE OF SOURCES IN THE *ROSARIUM*. A STATISTICAL STUDY\*

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**ABSTRACT.** *Pelbartus of Themeswar's Use of Sources in the Rosarium. A Statistical Study.* This article analyses Pelbartus of Themeswar's use of sources in the first volume of the *Rosarium*. In order to make the mapping of influences easier we have **divided the works cited into two categories: medieval and ancient writings.** The group of medieval works is also divided into two subcategories: scotist commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and alphabetical *Summae* and Encyclopedias. These are the two types of works that have inspired the form of the *Rosarium*.

**Keywords:** *commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, explicit sources, alphabetical organization, scotist authors, ancient and medieval sources*

The manner of invoking sources in commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard varied significantly according to temporal and geographical criteria.<sup>1</sup> The tendency was for references to become more and more precise with the passing of time, as Damasus Trapp argues while discussing the context of the commentaries of 14<sup>th</sup> century Augustinian doctors: "(...) much more attention was now paid to the exactness of quoting from the Fathers and to quoting in general; quotations from the Fathers and past theologians furnished material for a critique of the preceding days and ways".<sup>2</sup> Although this quote does not consider the century or the intellectual

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<sup>1</sup> This subject has also been treated by Chris Schabel and Damasus Trapp. See: Chris Schabel. "Haec Ille: Citation, Quotation and Plagiarism in 14<sup>th</sup> Century Scholasticism" in Ioannis Taifacos (ed.), *The Origins of European Scholarship*, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005, p. 163–175; Damasus Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century. Notes on Editions, Marginalia, Opinions and Booklore", *Augustinianum* 6/1956, p. 146–274. (From now on: Damasus Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century".

<sup>2</sup> Damasus Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century", p. 147.

context in which Pelbartus composed his work, it constitutes a good starting point because it specifies that the manner of giving references had changed, becoming more precise in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, in comparison to the preceding centuries. Pelbartus gives very precise references in the *Rosarium*, which is a theological encyclopedia inspired by commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

In fact one can find two situations in the *Rosarium*: either the citation is direct either it is mediated by the text of another author. In the first case, he always gives very precise indications. In some cases he even mentions the paragraph of the printed edition.<sup>3</sup> In the second situation, Pelbartus always followed the manner of giving references that the author he was copying from used. He did not bother to correct other people's manner of giving references. For instance, if he copied from the works of William of Vaurrillon who stated that 'Scotus said X' in his commentary on the *Sentences*, without any other specifications, Pelbartus would just copy that, despite the fact that it probably would not have been extremely difficult for him to complete it.

From the point of view of the historical period they were written in, the works that he uses fall under two categories. They also fall within two subcategories if we take in account two different aspects in each category.<sup>4</sup>

The first category consists of medieval authors: he usually invokes doctors of the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, but sometimes mentions 13<sup>th</sup> century authors and even earlier ones. The first major subcategory of this group consists of encyclopedias and theological *Summae* that are alphabetically organized. The main writings from this subcategory are: the *Summa* of Antoninus Florentinus, Raynerius of Pisa's *Pantheologia* and the *Summa de casibus conscientiae* of Angelus of Clvasio. The second subcategory consists of commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, especially those of Duns Scotus, William of Vaurrillon and Petrus of Aquila. The preponderance of these sources shows that Pelbartus's work is somewhere in the middle between these two literary genres. The *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium* is not a commentary on the *Sentences* in the strong sense of the word, but it is strongly influenced by that specific type of literature; it is not an encyclopedia in the full meaning of the word either, because it has too strong of a theological focus.

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<sup>3</sup> It is worth mentioning at this point that he only copied from works that had a printed version. This is a very interesting aspect for the history of the book. Had manuscripts been replaced in such a short amount of time (he wrote his encyclopedia sometime in the 1490s)? Did the library he worked in only afford to buy printed versions?

<sup>4</sup> This classification only takes into consideration the first volume of the *Rosarium*.

The second category consists of ancient authors. They are never directly quoted. We are sure that, at best, Pelbartus had access to some sort of florilegia; at worst, he cites all ancient authors following their mentions in the works of medieval authors. The ancient authors can be grouped in the following manner: authors that are not usually quoted by medieval doctors, such as Virgil and Ovid (they are quoted second-hand, especially from the works of Antoninus Florentinus) and authors that are always invoked, such as Aristotle and Augustine.

We would like to stress the fact that these are not all the sources that Pelbartus uses. This is mostly a general classification, meant to make the mapping of the sources easier. Besides these, there are numerous citations from the Bible. These do not present a particular interest to us: he must have read and cited the Bible directly.

For a little over 10% from the first volume of the *Rosarium*<sup>5</sup> (19 folios out of 156 in the Hagenau 1503 version), the main explicit citations are as follows:<sup>6</sup>

Angelus of Clavasio is invoked 10 times. The citations are not exactly numerous, but he is mentioned in essential points and his opinions are given as an answer to certain questions. He is a 15<sup>th</sup> century 'moral theologian', a Franciscan and a scotist. Angelus is known to have written the *Summa de casibus conscientiae* also known as the *Summa angelica*. This is the work that Pelbartus copies from. As far as we have seen, in this 10 percent, Angelus is only mentioned by Pelbartus in the 'Addiscere' chapter of his work, when he tries to establish which sciences are necessary for someone who seeks to become a doctor in theology. Pelbartus's view on the subject is not exactly traditional: he considers that the mathematical sciences are not necessary and canon law should be a compulsory object of study for all those who seek to become masters of theology.<sup>7</sup> Pelbartus uses the text of this great canonist in order to prove more points. For instance, following the *Summa de casibus* of Angelus of Clavasio, he divides the books written by pagans into two categories: books such as Ovid's *De arte*

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<sup>5</sup> For the purpose of this article we have decided not to include an analysis of the entire *Rosarium*. Usually, in order to be able to offer an accurate image of the sources of a work it is advised to study samples taken from different parts of the text. However, for the *Rosarium* one can get an accurate image even by studying just one sample which is made up of more entries, given that this text is not homogenous. In just 10% of the text the *Rosarium* has very different themes: 'Ab auro', 'Abyssus', 'Attributa divina', etc.

<sup>6</sup> Pelbartus usually has explicit quotes. Even when there is an implicit quotation in the text this was not copied directly by Pelbartus, but by the author that Pelbartus is quoting explicitly.

<sup>7</sup> Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Aureum rosarium theologiae ad 'Sententiarum' quattuor libros pariformiter quadripartitum*, I, ex officina Henrici Gran, expensis Ioannis Rynman de Oringaw, Hagenau, 1503 (from now on: Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Rosarium*, I), 'Addiscere' III, b1rb. Also see: Angelus de Clavasio, *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, Nuremberg impressa per Anthonium Koberger, 1492 (from now on: Angelus de Clavasio, *Summa de casibus*), 'Magister', 185vb.

*amandi* that nobody should ever read given that they are about impudent things, and books that are useful, especially for the enrichment of one's vocabulary, although some indecent things can be found in them.<sup>8</sup> It is not at all unusual to use such justifications for the study of pagan authors. In 8<sup>th</sup> century Gaul, where Latin was considered a foreign language, the monks were allowed to read the classical authors without any restraints in order to learn Latin.<sup>9</sup>

Antoninus Florentinus is invoked 11 times. Although this is not an impressive number, it is worth mentioning because the Florentine is mostly mentioned when Pelbartus tries to solve an issue. Quoting this author is unusual for him because he is usually influenced by the Franciscan scotists. Florentinus, however, is a 15<sup>th</sup> century Dominican. Again, unlike the authors Pelbartus usually uses, Florentinus is influenced by the humanist movement. What is worth mentioning is that classical poets such as Virgil and Ovid and ancient philosophers who are not usually mentioned by late medieval authors (such as Plato) are cited by Pelbartus following the work of the Florentine.<sup>10</sup>

Besides these two comprehensive works, i.e. the *Summa de casibus* and the Florentine's *Summa*, Pelbartus also mentions Raynerius of Pisa's *Pantheologia* 5 times.<sup>11</sup> It is these three works that have influenced him to adopt the encyclopedic form for his *Aureum sacrae theologiae rosarium*.

The second subcategory of texts that are abundantly quoted in the *Rosarium* consists of Franciscan commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Most of the commentaries mentioned belong to Franciscan doctors and especially to scotist ones. The texts belonging to the scotist school are mentioned almost as much as Aristotle and Augustine.

Duns Scotus is invoked 21 times, both under the name of 'Scotus' and under that of 'Doctor Subtilis'. Furthermore, Henry of Ghent and Godefroi de Fontaines, Scotus's main opponents, are only mentioned a few times by Pelbartus. More precisely, Henry of Ghent is named 4 times and Godefroi de Fontaines only once, in a wider enumeration of doctors ('Thomas, Richardus, Godfridus, Henricus de Gandavo') in the chapter 'Attributa divina'.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Angelus de Clavasio, *Summa de casibus*, 'Magister', 185vb.

<sup>9</sup> Pierre Riché, Jacques Verger, *Maîtres et élèves au Moyen Age*, Tallandier, Paris, 2006, p. 26.

<sup>10</sup> On Antoninus Florentinus, see: Luciano Cinelli, Maria Pia Paoli (ed.), *Antonino Pierozzi OP (1389- 1459): la figura e l'opera di un santo arcivescovo nell' Europa del Quattrocento*, Nerbini, Firenze, 2012.

<sup>11</sup> On Raynerius of Pisa, see: Ricardo Quinto, "Estratti e compilazioni alfabetiche da opere di autori scolastici (ca. 1250-1350)" in Claudio Lenardi, Marcelo Morelli, Francesco Santi (eds.), *Fabula in tabula*, Spoleto, 1995, p. 119–134; Eligio Volpini, "Raineri da Rivalto Domenicano" in *Memorie storiche di più uomini illustri Pisani*, IV, Pisa, 1792, p. 137–150.

<sup>12</sup> Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Rosarium I*, 'Attributa divina', c2vb.

Petrus of Aquila, named Scotellus, but to whom Pelbartus refers to as Scotorellus, is cited 32 times: 3 times as Petrus of Aquila, 4 times as Scotorellus - Petrus de Aquila and in all other cases as Scotorellus. He too is invoked in crucial moments of the argumentation. Petrus of Aquila is a 14<sup>th</sup> century scotist. His commentary on the *Sentences* is a compendium of Scotus's own work.

William of Vaurrillon, another scotist author, is named 49 times. He is never contradicted but rather cited as an authority. Vaurrillon finished his commentary on the first three books in 1431 and on the fourth in 1448, getting his license in theology in January 1448 and becoming a master of theology in April 1448. There have been many editions of his works, the first one in Lyon in 1489. Vaurrillon's commentary refers to the *Sentences* in their entirety and is a proof of the so called 'return to the text of the Magister' that happens in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup>

Francis of Meyronnes, a 14<sup>th</sup> century scotist, is cited 29 times, in most cases alongside Vaurrillon and Scotellus. Meyronnes is a very independent follower of Scotus. He combines his opinions with those of previous authors, such as Henry of Ghent. He read the *Sentences* in Paris in 1320-1321 and was engaged in a controversy concerning the Trinity with Pierre Roger (the future Clement VI).<sup>14</sup>

The scotists are also cited 13 times as a school of thought,<sup>15</sup> in the following phrases: *alii scotistae*, *scotistae*, *scotistae cum quibus teneo*, *praedicti scotistae*, *scotistae communiter* and *opinio scotistarum*.

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<sup>13</sup> On William of Vaurrillon, see: Franciszek Tokarski, "Guillaume de Vaurrillon et son commentaire sur les *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard", *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum*, XXIX, 1988; Ueli Zahnd, "Easy-Going Scholars Lecturing *secundum alium*? Notes on some Franciscan *Sentences* Commentaries in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century" in Philipp Rosemann (ed.), *Mediaeval Commentaries on the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard*, vol. 3, Brill, Leiden – Boston, 2015, p. 267–314.

<sup>14</sup> On Francis of Meyronnes, see: Roberto Lambertini, "Francis of Meyronnes" in J. E. Jorge Gracia, Timothy N. Noone (eds.), *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Blackwell Publishing, Cornwall, 2002, p. 256–257; Francesco Fiorentino, *Francesco di Meyronnes. Libertà e contingenza nel pensiero tardo-medievale*, Antonianum, Roma, 2006; Bartholomäus Roth, *Franz von Mayronis O.F.M.. Sein Leben, seine Werke, seine Lehre vom Formalunterschied in Gott*, Franziskus-Dr., 1936; For Meyronnes's quodlibetal questions, see: William O. Duba, "Continental Franciscan Quodlibeta after Scotus" in Christopher Schabel (ed.) in *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages*, Brill, Leiden–Boston, 2007, p. 569–649.

<sup>15</sup> Maarten Hoenen discusses the main aspects of this school of thought in the article "Scotus and the Scotist School. The Tradition of Scotist Thought in the Medieval and Early Modern Period". See: Maarten J. F. M. Hoenen, "Scotus and the Scotist School. The Tradition of Scotist Thought in the Medieval and Early Modern Period" in E. P. Bos (ed.), *John Duns Scotus- Renewal of Philosophy*, Acts of the Third Symposium Organized by the Dutch Society for Medieval Philosophy Medium Aevum May 23 and 24, 1996, Editions Rodopi B. V., Amsterdam–Atlanta, 1998, p. 197–210.

As one can well see, Pelbartus is influenced by the scotist line of thought. In just 10 percent of the first volume, the total number of explicit references to scotist doctors and to the school as a whole amounts to 144 mentions.

The *Rosarium* also collects the opinions of some Franciscan doctors that do not belong to the scotist school. Alexander of Hales is named 8 times, Richardus of Mediavilla is quoted 33 times, Bonaventure is referred to 21 times and the answers to certain questions are given according to him.

For instance, in the ‘Abyssus’ Prologue<sup>16</sup> of the work, the sixth question ‘*causae ex quibus scientia theologica aliis praeclarior apparet*’ is given following Bonaventure.<sup>17</sup> First, the four Aristotelian causes that concur to the creation of a work are named: the material cause, the efficient cause, the formal cause and the final cause. The material cause is the subject of the work; in our case (i.e. in the case of a theological work) this would be God. The final cause in theology, says Pelbartus quoting Bonaventure’s third question of the Prologue to the *Sentences*, is to know and love God. The formal cause is represented by the type of work in which the theological subject is treated. For instance, the Bible is composed of many different kinds of books: prophetic books, apostolic books, historical books, etc. So, theology can be discussed under different ‘forms’: it can take a prophetic form, or it can be the subject of a purely theoretical work. Finally, the fourth cause is the efficient one. The efficient cause of any work is its author, but as simple as this issue might seem, it is not so. The main author of any work is God, thus its actual author is only a secondary efficient cause. It is at this point that Pelbartus introduces Bonaventure’s famous difference between the *scriptor*, *compilator*, *commentator* and *auctor*. The *scriptor* is the mere scribe who copies somebody else’s work; the *compilator* just puts together other people’s works, sometimes adding his own thoughts to the mix; the *commentator* writes down his own thoughts as well as foreign ones, but the foreign ones predominate; it is only the *auctor* who, while being inspired by others, lets his own thoughts take a lead role.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Pelbartus de Themeswar, *Rosarium I*, ‘Abyssus’, a5vb.

<sup>17</sup> Bonaventura de Bagnoregio, *Commentaria in quatuor libros Sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi*, Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1882 (Opera omnis S. Bonaventurae 1/1), proemii quaestiones, q. 3, p. 12, col. 1, lin. 1 – p. 13, col. 2, lin. 19 and q. 4, p. 14, col. 3, lin. 1 – p. 15, col. 1, lin. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Philipp Rosemann discusses the problem of the author from an ontological perspective. He mostly discusses 13<sup>th</sup> century commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. While commenting on Bonaventure’s text Rosemann states that Bonaventure sees the *Book of Sentences* as an extension of the Bible. This is why God is a main author and the Lombard is just a secondary author. See: Philipp W. Rosemann, “What Is an Author? Divine and Human Authorship in Some Mid-Thirteenth-Century Commentaries on the *Book of Sentence*” in *Archa verbi* 12 (2015), p. 35–65. On the distinction between the *scriptor*, *compilator*, *commentator* and *auctor*, also see: Alastair Minnis, “Nolens Auctor

The most unexpected citations in the *Rosarium* are those from Thomas Aquinas. The official doctor of the Dominican order is referred to 34 times in the first 19 folios. The fact is less surprising if we take into account that in some of the cases he is quoted just to be contradicted. For instance, in the third question of the 'Abyssus' Prologue the Angelic Doctor is quoted with his position on whether our theological science is subordinated to the science of God and the blessed. Aquinas's answer is that our science takes its principles from the science of God which makes it a subordinate science. Pelbartus goes on to contradict this point of view quoting Scotellus's position. He introduces this by the phrase '*sed hoc non tenent scotistse*'.

One can also find a number of traditional theological figures in the *Rosarium*. In this 10%, Bernard of Clairvaux is quoted 13 times and Peter Lombard (whose text inspires the thematic organization into 4 volumes) is only named 21 times.

Besides all these authoritative figures, there also are a number of 22 unidentified citations to *alii*, *alii doctores*, etc. and a number of 70 inside references or self-quotations, i.e. points in which Pelbartus sends us to different places of his own work. Most of them are of the form *vide infra* + the name of the chapter or *de his patebit latius in capitulo* or *ubi* + the name of the chapter. In some points he even indicates the paragraph of the chapter he mentions, which might indicate that he took part in the editing and printing of his own work.

In that which concerns the ancient authors, with the exception of Aristotle, Augustine, Boethius and other authoritative figures, there are 18 such quotes. The authors mentioned are: Hypocrites, Cicero, Plato, Didymus, Lactantius and Virgil.

Augustine is invoked 60 times and Aristotle 78 times. This is quite impressive, given that, for the portion of the text that we have studied, the total number of biblical quotations goes up to a total of 66.

Our conclusion would be that in this eclectic work, Pelbartus of Themeswar mostly quotes Franciscans, especially scotists (when we think about the medieval authors that he names). In that which concerns the ancient authors, the most quoted are Aristotle and Augustine, though we do not think that he is quoting them from their actual books, but rather he used compendiums and the works of other late medieval authors.

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sed Compiler Reputari: the Late- Medieval Discourse of Compilation", in M. Chazan, G. Dahan (eds.), *La méthode critique au Moyen Age*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2006, p. 47–63; Anne Maria Huijbers, *Zealots for Souls – Dominican Narratives between Observant Reform and Humanism, c. 1388-1517*, Ipskamp Drukkers, Enschede, 2015 (Doctoral Thesis), p. 39–40; Bert Roest, "Compilation as Theme and Praxis in Franciscan Universal Chronicles" in Peter Binkley (ed.), *Pre-modern Encyclopaedic Texts. Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996*, Brill, Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1997, p. 214–225. On the related issue of plagiarism, see: Monica Brînzei, "Plagium" in I. Atucha, D. Calma, C. König-Pralong, I. Zavatero (eds.), *Mots médiévaux offerts à Ruedi Imbach*, Brepols, Turnhout–Porto, 2011, pp. 559–568.

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