

Raport științific

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„Nașterea elitei intelectuale in Europa Centrală.

Formarea profesorilor la Universitatea din Viena (1389-1450)

The Rise of an Intellectual Elite in Central Europe.

Making Professors at the University of Vienna, 1389-1450”

(RISE)

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The story of this project starts in 2016, when, for the first time, I opened the codex Basel, UB, A X 44. What sparked my interest was the resemblance of the handwriting in this manuscript to the autograph of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl in Schotten 269. After long hours of investigation, I sadly convinced myself that this manuscript from Basel could not have been written by Dinkelsbühl. To recover from this regret, I began to look for similarities between this manuscript and other textual material from Vienna, since the Basel manuscript was produced there. At that point I was fascinated by the contents and the unicity of this collection of notes belonging to Rheinfelden. I realized its great potential for bringing innovation to the state of the art of studies related to the intellectual history of Vienna.

Willing to share Rheinfelden’s notes with a larger community and because the potential of the new findings was evident, I engaged in writing a grant proposal for a Romanian competition organized by the UEFISCDI, which succeeded in 2018 under the grant agreement PN-III-P4-ID-PCCF-2016-0064. Therefore, I organized the RISE team: Alexandra Anisie, Alexandra Baneu, Luciana Cioca, Daniel Coman, Ioana Curut, Lavinia Grijac, Isabela Grigoras, Edit Anna Lukacs, Andrei Marinca, Anca Meirosu, Nieck Tait, Amalia Soos, Christian Baumgarten and the partner team lead by co-PI Adinel C. Dincă, members: Iulian Damian, Paula Cotoi, Mădălina Pantea, Valentina Covaci.

and we started together to explore the amazing notes collected by Rheinfelden. I decided to take the risk and to transcribe together with the RISE team the entire codex Basel, UB, A X 44, because from my perspective it was the only way to obtain a complete image of what Rheinfelden captured in his notes. We began with weekly Zoom sessions that became daily sessions during the Covid-19 lockdown, re-collating together online each of our individual transcriptions of sections:

<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC9UcXK1jCJIWP4EWuVH6UnQ>

<https://rise-ubb.com/transcriptions/>

The result of these many hours of hard individual and collective work is today the e-transcription of the manuscript accessible at this link:

<https://rise-ubb.zettacloud.ro/quotes/f.3V-quote.html>

Making this material available contributes to the reconstruction of a vibrant and dynamic phase in the history of the University of Vienna. It is the naissance of the Faculty of Theology, the rise of its intellectual elite, the moment when masters trained in Paris debated with authors educated only in Prague or Vienna, the stage of development when deans, scholars, and scribes shared the same tasks in promoting knowledge.

Once the material from Rheinfelden's notes became more accessible via our transcription, I decided to put together a volume involving all the figures that we discovered inside the manuscript. A first round-table discussion of this material took place on the occasion of a brief workshop. I invited Dr Alexandra Baneu, one of my colleagues in the project, to take care of the organization, encouraging her to preside over what we called "Decoding a Medieval Notebook: The Case Study of Ms. Basel, Universitätsbibliothek A X 4," a one-day meeting held on 5 October 2019 at Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca. The goal was two-fold: to enrich Dr. Baneu's CV and to help her to develop some skills, since at that moment I was training her to write a proposal for an ERC grant inspired by the medieval practice of taking notes. The report of this workshop has been published:

A.E. LUKACS, "Report on 'Decoding a Medieval Notebook: The Case of Basel, UB, A-X-44'," *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 62 (2020), pp. 397-403

While this volume was in the original grant proposal, the workshop was a fruitful opportunity to discuss some of the materials among Rheinfelden's texts. This volume started as a collaboration, however, since I invited Dr. Baneu to join me in the editorial process of designing the book to offer a younger colleague experience in this type of work, which is not provided at the university. She joined me at an early stage of the volume, we shared the first reading of a couple of articles, and we had the pleasure of discussing them together. Just a couple months later, full of the joy of having learned she was a grantee of a ERC starting grant for project NOTA, inspired by the material of the RISE project, her interest in the RISE project did not fade, but her duty and new perspective resulted in a natural break in our collaboration, indeed for the better continuation of both projects. I am grateful to her for the hours spent together, which made me be a better scholar.

I have therefore pressed one alone with this volume, assisting my team of colleagues in their research, reading each paper a few times, suggesting links with new manuscripts, and trying to make useful comments to enrich their findings. At the moment when I considered that my duty had been accomplished, I contacted external evaluators and I am indebted to all those anonymous colleagues for their investment in time and their valuable comments.

Among the authors whose papers are published in this volume there are the RISE project's team members, but I also had the great pleasure to invite some external guests to bring an outside perspective on the material explored by the team. Therefore, I am grateful to Herald Berger, Nadège Corbière, Aurora Panzica, Chris Schabel, Matteo Essu, for joining the project and for sharing with us their valuable expertise.

I own particular thanks to colleagues who shared with us comments and remarks, or helped us to gain access to bibliographical materials that were difficult to obtain during the Covid period: Julie Deverson, Tobias Hoffmann, Severin Kitanov, Pasquale Porro, John Slotemaker, Jean-Luc Solère, and Amalia Soos. For visits to manuscripts or the purchase of reproductions, I have been assisted by Alexandra Vrecq of the IRHT, Amalia Soos of Babeş-Bolyai University, Andrea Langner of Erfurt, Julie Dietman of the HMML, and Thomas Maisel of Vienna.

One of the most relevant results of this project is the volume:

The Rise of an Academic Elite: Deans, Masters, and Scribes at the University of Vienna before 1400, ed. M. Brinzei, (Studia Sententiarum, 6), Brepols, 2022, ISBN: 978-2-503-60102-1

TABLE OF CONTENT

Introduction – Monica BRINZEI
Acknowledge

Adinel DINCA - *Henry of Rinfeldia a scribe identity*, pp. 21-49

Nadège CORBIERE - *Henry of Rheinfelden's collection of Questiones on Peter of Lombard's Sentences in Basel*, Universitätsbibliothek, A X 92, pp. 51-77

Aurora PANZICA - *Une tentative de réductionnisme au Moyen Âge: la philosophie naturelle d'Henri de Langenstein, de Paris à Vienne (avec une Annexe sur l'Expositio terminorum astronomie)*, pp. 79-127

Luciana CIOCA - *The Parisian background of Henry of Langenstein through the case of John of Calore's vespéries*, pp. 129-153

Harald BERGER – *Henry Totting of Oyta and his Questiones Sententiarum I*, pp. 156-177

Andrei MARINCA - *Stretching the Great Chain of Being: Stephanus de Enzersdorf on the Latitude of Creatures*, pp. 179-199

Alexandra BANEU – *Paul of Geldern – A Portrait of the Parisian artista as a Viennese Theologian*, pp. 221-311

Mihai MAGA – *A Law Professor Discussing a Theological Question in Vienna: Gerhard Vischpekch of Osnabrück on Peter Lombard's Sentences, Book 4, Dist. 18*, pp. 201-219

Chris SCHABEL - *Andreas of Langenstein (ca 1362-1399) and his Question on Human Freedom from a Disputatio Aularis*, pp. 313-343

Monica BRINZEI– *Discovering Rutger Dole of Roermond (+1409) via Henry of Rheinfelden's Collection of Notes*, pp. 345-368

Monica BRINZEI – *Notes on Magister John of Russbach (+1417) with an update of Paul Uiblein's Survey and Some Discoveries* pp. 369-400

Edit Anna LUKACS and Daniel COMAN - *Thomas of Cleves on the Universal Force of Charity*, pp. 435-459

Alexander BAUMGARTEN, Lavinia GRIJAC- *Quelibet creatura est creativa*. Traces of Petrus Schad de Walse's theological debates in Vienna at the end of the 14th century, pp. 461-508

Alexandra BANEU -Leonard of Dorffen's Question about Lucifer's Sin, pp. 509-530

Monica BRINZEI -Nicholas of Anaskilch or Nicholas of Hönhartzkirchen (+1400) on Angelic Cognition, pp. 532-549

Ioana CURUT - *John Berwart of Villingen witness of Henry of Langenstein and the Viennese opinio communis on Predestination*, pp. 551-583

Daniel COMAN - *Grace meets Free Will ruling in a Regal Gouvernement : Magister Michael Suchenschatz on grace and free will*, pp. 585-654

Monica BRINZEI- *Deans and masters as scribes*, pp. 654-668

Bibliography

Index manuscriptorum

Index auctorum ante 1800

Index auctorum post 1800

First Section of the Volume: Rheinfelden, Oyta, and Langenstein

The first part of this book introduces the reader to Henry of Rheinfelden and to the context in which this Dominican sent by his convent from Basel to Vienna collected his notes while receiving his theological education. This framework cannot be understood without highlighting the figures of Henry of Langenstein and Henry Totting of Oyta. Rheinfelden should be considered the material source, since his *writings* provide the material evidence for his precursors' intellectual activity. Rheinfelden was fortunate to arrive in Vienna when Langenstein and Oyta were still active in teaching. In the last decade of their lives (both died in 1397), they constantly participated in discussions or supervised disputations. In order to offer a glimpse of their activity, two papers are dedicated to some aspects of Langenstein's doctrinal profile. Rheinfelden's notes provide enough material to write an entire volume solely on Langenstein and Oyta's influence on the Viennese scholars, but that is not the goal of this volume.

The volume opens with two papers that are dedicated to Rheinfelden. The first, the contribution of Adinel Dincă, brings together disparate historiographical traditions in an attempt to provide a comprehensive biography of Rheinfelden. This Dominican friar in the Basel convent, educated at the university of Vienna and Cologne, travelled for short periods of time to Heidelberg, Strasbourg and Konstanz. Henry proves to be a dynamic character, troubled by personal struggles, against the backdrop of the complicated times in which he lived. The new biographical picture, carefully contextualized, can offer now a good background for understanding the role played by Henry of Rheinfelden in the Central European intellectual milieu around 1400. Especially through the texts, which he copied as a student in Vienna, he takes part in spreading ideas developed in a scholarly environment, highlighting the pragmatic use of such content (especially through preaching), in the sense of

building reformed spiritual identities, both within the clergy and at the level of the laity.

Next, Nadège Corbière's paper analyses another manuscript from Rheinfelden's collection, Basel, UB, A IX 92. Transcribing the *tabula* of questions collected in this codex, Corbière concludes that they were notes he took probably to prepare his own *Sentences* lectures. A surprising discovery is that the commentary on the Psalms of Henry Totting of Oyta, one of the two true fathers of the Faculty of Theology at Vienna, is recycled inside this rough set of questions on Peter Lombard, not only showing Oyta's impact but also revealing how a text in one genre, biblical exegesis, guided bachelors in theology working in another genre, the systematic theology of the *Sentences*.

Harald Berger's study continues the theme of Henry Totting of Oyta with a review of Oyta's theological writings, showing that, after lecturing on the *Sentences* in Paris in 1377/1378, Oyta read the resulting text again in Prague in 1383 and in Vienna in 1389. A collection of 13 questions circulated, not only giving us access to Oyta's mature theological ideas, but revealing one avenue for the passage of Parisian ideas to Prague and Vienna. Although he quotes Thomas Aquinas most often in these questions, Oyta is of course aware of the general trends in Paris in his day, which is clear, for example, via his rejection of Gregory of Rimini's theory of the *complexe significabile* or his awareness of Buridan's theory of supposition. From this collection of 13 questions, there are echoes of questions 4-7 in Rheinfelden's notes in Basel, UB, A X 44, confirming how Oyta's used his Parisian questions in his Vienna teaching. The paper concludes with a useful appendix that updates Lang's monography on Oyta, published in 1937, in which Berger catalogues the new details that have been collected in recent decades concerning Oyta's theological texts, although we still await a critical edition of these writings.

The final two chapters of this first section, by Aurora Panzica and Luciana Cioca, concern the other father of the Faculty of Theology at Vienna, Henry of Langenstein, and some echoes of his theories. Both studies connect Langenstein's earlier activity in Paris with his later work in Vienna, where, just as Oyta, Langenstein continued his intellectual project during the papal Schism after the Germans students, partisans of Pope Urban VI of the Roman line, had to leave Paris in 1382 in the face of pressure to support Clement VII of Avignon. Aurora Panzica's paper focuses on Langenstein's texts in natural philosophy composed during his Parisian period, between 1363 and 1375, when he became master of Theology. Panzica provides a survey of the manuscripts of these writings, revisiting the question of their chronology and highlighting Langenstein's strong anti-astrological position. Langenstein insists that each effect should be explained by a sublunar cause and that the role of astral influence should be limited, since the uncertainty of our knowledge about the celestial sphere prevents us from determining precisely the extent of such influence. Langenstein's pertinent texts have yet to be edited, a situation that Panzica attributes in part to the complex and in some ways opaque style of Langenstein's Parisian writings. Examining Rheinfelden's notes, Panzica exposes Langenstein's doctrinal consistency in natural philosophy across his Parisian and Viennese periods. The paper ends with a discussion of the manuscript tradition and authorship of a doubtful text among Langenstein's works, namely the *Expositio terminorum astronomie*, of which Panzica provides an edition of the introductory part, showing that it is a reworking of Robert of Kilwardby's *De ortu scientiarum*, but demonstrating that this tract was wrongly attributed to Langenstein.

Luciana Cioca's paper continues to explore how Langenstein's Parisian heritage is reflected in his activity in Vienna. Already from his time at Paris, Henry of Langenstein dealt with

academic administration, since for a period he was vice-chancellor of the University of Paris under the Chancellor John of Calore. Their relation transcended their executive collaboration and the doctrinal influence of Calore on Langenstein is witnessed in some notes in Basel, UB, A X 44. Langenstein not only mentions the condemnation of Calore in Paris, but he also contributes to the dissemination of his mentor's ideas. From Rheinfelden's notes Cioca reveals how ff. 94r-95r contain traces of texts where Langenstein reproduces condemned theses from Calore's *vesperiae* on the topic of the degree to which a creature can honor God. The *vesperiae* were an academic exercise performed just before the inception of a future master of theology, and it seems that while in Paris Langenstein recorded Calore's *vesperiae*. Langenstein probably employed Calore's *vesperiae* in his teaching after his return to Vienna, which would explain how pertinent passages found their way into the notes of Rheinfelden and the questions on the *Sentences* of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, as Cioca demonstrates. Another possible channel of transmission are Langenstein's *vesperiae*, which circulated in Vienna in manuscripts Erfurt, Dep. Erf., CA 2° 150 and Wien, ÖNB, 4613, discussed by Cioca here. Interestingly, these are the most significant surviving textual traces of Calore's writings that have been identified so far, so these fragments are extremely valuable for reconstituting a Parisian discussion that occurred while Langenstein was a student in theology and which Langenstein introduced in Vienna, praising the memory of the man under whom he served as vice-chancellor.

Second Section: The Cohort of Deans and Rectors

The second section of the present volume aims to highlight the richness of Rheinfelden's notes. They permit us to establish the intellectual profiles of 15 authors, who happened to be among the first deans of the Faculty of Arts and rectors of the University of Vienna. This gallery of individual portraits illustrates the rise of an academic elite in Vienna. The sequence of papers in this section follows a chronological order according to the scholars' terms as dean, which is not the order in which we find these authors in Rheinfelden's manuscript, although below I present the papers following a more thematic organization. These papers share a similar methodology: they investigate as deeply as possible the primary sources that could provide information on the authors, establish the list of their writings, comment and edit the fragments of texts attributed to their names in Basel, UB, A X 44, and try to conclude from the surviving textual evidence something about their doctrinal profiles.

The section opens with the study of Andrei Marinca dedicated to Stephen of Enzersdorf, twice dean of the Faculty of Arts, in 1385 and 1389, twice rector of the University of Vienna, in 1391 and 1397, and involved in 1389 in the modification of the statutes of the Faculty of Arts. The question found in Rheinfelden's notes is our sole textual evidence of Stephen's activity. Marinca shows that it is from Stephen's response in a disputation conducted under Henry of Langenstein in which Stephen is bold enough to reject his mentor's doctrinal position, which defended the possibility of the existence of a species interposed between God and creatures. Stephen is interested in the theory of the latitude of forms and displays familiarity with John of Ripa's technical philosophical vocabulary and principles, which were in vogue in Paris while Oyta and Langenstein were there. What is surprising is that Stephen rejects Ripa's position and heads in a new direction in the discussion on the hierarchy of creatures and their place on the scale of perfection. This conclusion leads Marinca to claim that these Viennese theologians were not simply recycling debates imported from Paris, but they had a critical philosophical attitude, since according to Marinca "a genuine local tradition can be defended" in performing philosophy in the Faculty of Theology.

Alexandra Baneu's paper sketches the portrait of Paul of Geldern as it appears in the light of his academic peregrinations: trained in Paris as an *artista*, he became a major figure in Vienna after some time spent in Prague and Cologne. This paper shows how Geldern never abandoned Henry of Langenstein and instead remained as true as steel in his relationship with his mentor. Their collaboration probably started in Paris, where in 1377 Geldern succeeded Langenstein as proctor of the English-German Nation. In Vienna, Geldern joined his mentor in the project of writing the statutes of the Faculty of Arts. Geldern stayed faithful until Langenstein's death, since many of Langenstein's last texts are copied in Geldern's hand. The list of autograph manuscripts presented in this paper highlights how important Geldern's scribal activity was for the Viennese elite. Geldern was a professional scribe and his legacy contributes to our knowledge of the availability of texts and their circulation. The second part of the paper focuses on the texts of Geldern recorded by Rheinfelden, i.e., a question on the Eucharist (ff. 3v-5r) and some traces of *principia* (ff. 10v-12r) dealing with how God can communicate to a creature the power of creating in the virtue of the first cause. The appendix offers an edition of both fragments, the second of which also presents the dialogue in which Geldern engaged with his *socii* Stephen of Enzersdorf, discussed previously by Marinca, and the Dominican Sigillinus of Oppenheim.

Christopher Schabel's paper presents a clear reconstruction of Andreas of Langenstein's career. Although he probably benefited from his blood relationship with his famous uncle, Henry of Langenstein, Andreas' illustrious career (dean in 1389, rector in 1393) is also the result of his commitment to his uncle's project to construct a university in Vienna. The only textual evidence of his writings is a question preserved in Rheinfelden's notes. An analysis of this text reveals a philosophical vein in Andreas in his original contribution to the debate over the possibility that a rational creature has the freedom of contradiction. Schabel dates the question to the summer of 1397 and identifies it as a question in *aula*, demonstrating that the practice of *aulares* was a training exercise performed during the summer in Vienna, following the model of the Parisian *sorbonica* and probably imported to Vienna by Andreas' Uncle Henry.

The discussion of the *aulares*, one of the significant advances in this volume, is further developed in Daniel Coman's dense and rich paper dedicated to Michael of Suchenschatz. This master may be identified with the anonymous author with whom Andreas of Langenstein disputed on the freedom of contingency as an essential nature of the rational creature. In order to contextualize the important place of this *magister* in the philosophical landscape of the beginning of the fifteenth century in Vienna, Coman traces his biography. Likely from Sankt Agatha in Upper Austria, Suchenschatz began his studies in arts in Prague in 1385 before moving to Vienna the following year. After an illustrious career in the Faculty of Arts, during which he was dean in 1395, Suchenschatz eventually served as dean of the Faculty of Theology in 1406/1407, rector of the University of Vienna in 1409/1410, and vice-chancellor in 1411, 1413, and 1416. He participated in the trial of Jerome of Prague in Vienna in 1410 and became canon of the church of St Martin in nearby Pressburg (Bratislava) in 1412, probably introducing the texts of Langenstein, Oyta, and Dinkelsbühl there. A detailed parallel examination of the statutes of the University of Paris and those of the University of Vienna led Coman to trace the common points and the differences between the Parisian *sorbonica* disputations and the *aulares* of Vienna. This analysis is a valuable contribution for clarifying the specificity of the disputed questions in Vienna. Another point of novelty in Coman's investigation is his identification of the continuation of the disputation in Basel, UB, A X 44 that Rheinfelden attributes to Suchenschatz in manuscript Wien, ÖNB, 5403. A meticulous inquiry into

Suchenschatz's position on free choice shows how he aligns himself with Thomas Aquinas and Robert Holkot. In fact, Suchenschatz adopts an intellectualist perspective on human freedom, which identifies the intellect or the superior part of the soul with the free choice. He uses Thomas Aquinas and Peter Auriol to interpret the positions of John Duns Scotus and John of Ripa. Coman also demonstrates how Suchenschatz's interest in the theory of double predestination and his discussion of how physical pain can obscure the will in its desire for its object are a subtle way for Suchenschatz to criticize the use of torture in the ecclesiastical courts. This presaged his later attitude and perhaps influenced the reaction of the University of Vienna toward such heretics as the Hussites or Wycliffites.

The entry on Thomas of Cleves by Edit Anna Lukacs and Daniel Coman presents an interesting situation, the only disputed question in the whole codex of Rheinfelden in which the three protagonists are identified. In this captivating case-study, Henry of Langenstein plays the role of the *magister presidens*, while Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl and Thomas of Cleves are the opponents. This is a unique illustration of the scenography of such disputes in the young University of Vienna and of the roles of the speakers in defending philosophical positions. The defense of these positions is based on the introduction of authorities: while Cleves seems to be influenced by Adam Wodeham, Dinkelsbühl and Langenstein employ John Buridan to consolidate their stance. If for Cleves *caritas* or the love by which we please God should be universal, his opponent Dinkelsbühl refuses to establish charity as the most important virtue. Langenstein proposes a balanced position defining charity both as created and uncreated.

Another hitherto unknown author from this cohort is Leonhard Dorffen, who was licensed in arts in 1391 at the same time as Peter of Pulkau, and in 1396 was dean of the Faculty of Arts in Vienna. His commitment to the university is also marked by his attempt, in tandem with John Berwart of Villingen and Michael of Suchenschatz, to find a more stable solution in the distribution of arts courses to be taught by the masters. This was a delicate feature in the organization of the Faculty of Arts in Vienna, and many of the deans tried to regularize the system to avoid having two or more masters reading the same work at the same time, but also to allow the masters more freedom to teach something close to their interests. Three fragments from Rheinfelden's notes helped Alexandra Baneu to reconstruct a public debate associated with the name of Leonhard. What at first glance seems to show interest in the relation between the intellect and the will, more exactly how the will can sin without a previous error of judgement, is actually focused on how Lucifer sinned and what the role of error of judgement is in angelic rather than human cognition.

Gerhard Vischpekch of Osnabrück is another noteworthy character from Rheinfelden's collection, a doctor in law but also a very active figure in the Faculty of Arts, where he was dean in 1391 before serving as dean of the Law Faculty twice. Mihai Maga's paper explains what Gerhard's case tells us about the relationship between the faculties, not only on the administrative level but also on the level of intellectual exchanges. It is thus not surprising that we find Gerhard debating with theologians on the subject of excommunication, more precisely whether any priest can absolve his subject from a sentence of excommunication. Henry of Rheinfelden reports a question that he attributes to Gerhard, an ascription that is strengthened by the legal approach and by the abundance of quotations from Canon law.

If in the case of some masters Rheinfelden was quite laconic in reporting their arguments, he provides copious material for others. This may have been motivated by his personal interest in specific topics or a greater affinity with one author than with another. On the list of fortunate cases is Peter Schad of Walse, dean in 1395-1396, since much material is associated with his name. The collaborative paper of Alexander Baumgarten and Lavinia Grijac

offers a transcription of Walse's three surviving polemical texts on the possibility for a creature to create: a *questio* by Peter Schad of Walse and two anonymous *responsiones*. The paper provides a clear analysis of these fragments of this intriguing debate, which paint a vivid portrait of the *magister* and his students, and it gives descriptions of the many surviving texts related to Walse contained in Basel, UB, A X 44. For example, there are topics relating to trinitarian theology, spiration within the Trinity, sacramental theology, moral theology relating to grace and merit, and epistemology and the limits of human cognition. The most central concern by far is the theory of causation: divine causation and the creative capacity of creatures. The interest in trinitarian theology and divine causation *ad intra* and *ad extra* emphasizes the powerful influence of Henry of Langenstein on the theologians who were training in debating on such topics. Traces of the use that Peter Schad made of Langenstein's treatise *Speculum anime* are additional proof of this impact.

Besides this introduction, Monica Brînzei participates in this volume with three papers that draw the doctrinal portraits of three masters who were probably debating in Vienna in Rheinfelden's presence. Through his lens, the first we encounter is John of Russbach, to whom Uiblein dedicated in 1967 a detailed study. Although his paper is extremely valuable, it tells us little about the content of his writings. A biblical commentary in which Russbach consistently borrows passages from Thomas Aquinas, a collection of sermons, and fragments of debates provide the raw material to characterize his doctrine. An interesting feature is some direct Parisian influence, namely of Pierre d'Ailly, in his discussion about the relationship between divine and human law.

A small marginal reference to the name '*magister Rucherus*' on the f. 24r in Basel, UB, A X 44, was the point of departure for investigating the career of Rutger Dole of Roermond, who exemplifies the investment of our authors in the institutional development of the university, but we can also trace their doctrinal interests. Rutger seems to be a strong personality, a skilled scholar and an energetic administrator, involved in conflicts with the community of masters but also concerned with ensuring proper academic conduct for young scholars. Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1390 and 1392, rector of the University of Vienna in 1407, Rutger may be associated with a group of questions concerning grace and merit, how humans by their own power can dispose themselves toward grace, and how someone who is damnably reprobated still has the possibility to act in a meritorious manner, but he may also have responded to questions on the nature of the divine essence and the existence of only one God.

Brînzei's third paper in this volume is the fruit of detective work resulting in the identification of the *M. Nicolai of Anaskilch* in the Basel manuscript with Nicholas of Hönhartzkirchen. Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1390-1391, he was present, as were many of his peers in Rheinfelden's cohort, as a witness to the last will of Henry of Langenstein. Beside a certain familiarity with Langenstein, Nicholas also had a doctrinal filiation with the founding father. Nicholas honors the memory of his mentor through his interest in angelic cognition and demonology (how demons can affect the senses, but not the mind, the separation between demons and the human soul, etc.), a topic that probably owes its popularity among theologians in Vienna to Langenstein, along with a critical attitude toward astrology and doubts about its capacity to predict anything at all with certitude.

Matteo Esu's paper focuses on unique texts connected to one of the major figures of Viennese theology, Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl. Before reading his *Sentences* at Vienna, it appears that Dinkelsbühl participated in a debate on original sin that was recorded by Rheinfelden. Esu shows that there is no continuation on this topic later on in Dinkelsbühl's *Sentences* and that

this debate, probably conducted under Henry of Langenstein, echoes Langenstein's own interest in this discussion as extensively explored in his recent commentary on *Genesis*. This paper not only discusses one of the first theological texts of Dinkelsbühl, but it also reconstitutes a pedagogical scene from the Faculty of Theology in Vienna.

The last author from this chronology is John Berwart of Villingen, dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1392, 1397, and 1401 and rector of the University of Vienna in 1401 and 1403, also known in recent historiography as a member of the 'Vienna Group' of theologians who followed the *Sentences* text of Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl. Ioana Curuț's paper presents the historical background to the theme of predestination and highlights Villingen's place in this tradition. In Rheinfelden's notes it appears that Villingen's name is associated with a question on predestination, the focus of which is God as the sole cause of reprobation, an idea that at Vienna Dinkelsbühl adopted from Rimini. As Curuț shows, Villingen's text supplies important details about Langenstein's discussion of the subject, such as his understanding of sin as the *occasio* in the eternal act of reprobation, an aspect that is missing from Langenstein's stance on predestination in his commentary on *Genesis*.

The volume ends with a short catalogue compiled by Monica Brinzei proposing samples of the handwriting of the first deans and rectors of Vienna.

Taken together, the contributions in this section constitute a wide-angle lens through which we can view the University of Vienna before 1400, since separately each paper zooms in on individuals and takes snapshots of curricular, administrative, and noetic details, the sum total of which create an informative collage portraying the rise of an elite at a new university in the late Middle Ages. The following general points are touched on in this volume:

(1) The diversity of doctrinal issues, from theology to mathematics, from ethics to science, etc.

(2) The close bonds that tie the cohort of the first arts deans and university rectors to Langenstein and Oyta, doctrinally, administratively, and quite often personally. This in turn illustrates how important the presence of a mentor was inside this group.

(3) The interconnections between the activities of the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Theology at Vienna, since in many cases the same persons while enrolled as students in theology continued to perform as instructors and executives as masters in the Faculty of Arts. This is a significant point, since the secondary literature has preached a sort of separation between the two faculties. The situation in Vienna may have provoked a reconsideration of the relationship between Arts and Theology in other universities.

(4) The masters' devotion to their institution and their involvement in administrative tasks are common characteristics of this community, since they served as rectors, deans, supervisors in exams, evaluators of young students, or assessors of the financial situation of the Faculty of Arts, or simply worked for harmony among students.

(5) The relationship between these authors seems to go beyond their intellectual exchanges or administrative duties. Some details suggest that many of them were close collaborators, since quite often we encounter them in pairs; for example, Stephen of Enzersdorf is associated with John Russbach in many documents, or Rutger Dole of Roermond with Nicholas of Hönhartzkirchen, or Gerhard of Vischpekch with Lambert of Geldern.

(6) The powerful influence of Parisian debates animating the Viennese discussions. Lines of continuity can be identified, but also points where a critical attitude leads to novelty vis-à-vis the sources.

(7) The specificity of academic practices as developed in Vienna, namely the *aulares* or the *vacantiales*, which provided beginning students and bachelors in theology an opportunity to train for debate, to learn how to think quickly and defend a doctrinal position. The emphasis on the exchange between the scholars highlights the pedagogical role of dialogue in training for academic exercises.

(8) The channels of the transmission of knowledge and the circulation of books inside this elite, the interest in personal libraries, the exchange or borrowing of books among scholars, the donation of books to institutions or to colleagues, all of which foster the dissemination and growth of knowledge.

(9) The identification of the autograph hands of these authors, for they were intellectuals but also scribes or copyists: they *write* their texts, they take notes, they update their works, and their material traces let us imagine something personal about the men behind the pen.

(10) The mobility of scholars in medieval universities, as shown by the biographical details of their cursus: after leaving Paris because of the Schism, they shuttled between Prague, Cologne, Bratislava, Erfurt, and Vienna.

(11) The difficult reality of university life, especially the frequent financial problems, since often scholars cannot afford to pay the matriculation or inscription fees or the costs of banquets for graduation, for example, and copying manuscripts seems to provide an escape from critical circumstances.

We are indebted to Rheinfelden's notes for our new knowledge of the first generation of scholars in Vienna. His writings have guided us to discover his precursors.

In this respect, Rheinfelden's *rapularius* transmits nuggets of information that after smelting and casting lead us to discover the rise of an intellectual elite in Vienna. In fact, one of the greatest surprises in this process was noticing how consciously Rheinfelden collects information on some of his precursors, more precisely on sixteen masters of arts who, before debating in the Faculty of Theology or while engaging in theological discussions, had been tasked with administrative responsibilities as deans of the Faculty of Arts or rectors of the whole University of Vienna. In some cases, our Dominican's notes are our unique textual witnesses to their intellectual contribution. But what do we know about these names and the scholars behind them?

Paul Uiblein's magisterial contribution to the history of the University of Vienna was to edit the acts of the Faculty of Arts (*Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Vindobonensis 1385-1416. Nach der Originalhandschrift herausgegeben von Paul Uiblein, Graz - Wien - Köln - Böhlau 1968*) in addition to surviving documents concerning the Faculty of Theology. What is called, and very often referred in this present volume, as the *AFA* is the edition of the manuscript Wien, Universitätsarchiv, AT-UAW/Ph 6. In order to assist the reader, at the beginning of the volume Uiblein provides a chronological list of rectors and deans of the Faculty of Arts. At the top of this list going down to around 1400 we find the following names:

Rectors	Deans
Gerhard Vischpekch of Osnabrück (1388)	Stephen of Enzersdorf (1385)
Stephen of Enzersdorf (1391; 1397)	Gerhard Vischpekch of Osnabrück (1387)
John Stadel of Russbach (1391)	Paul (Fabri) of Geldern (1388)
Andreas of Langenstein (1393)	Andreas of Langenstein (1389)
Henry of Langenstein (1393)	Rutger Dole of Roermond (1390; 1392)
John Berwart of Villingen (1401; 1403)	Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl (1392; 1397)
Peter of Treysa (1403)	John Berwart of Villingen (1393; 1397)

Rutger Dole de Roermond (1407) Michael Suchenschatz (1409)	Thomas of Cleves (1393) Peter of Treysa (1394) Michael Suchenschatz (1395) Peter Schad of Walse (1395) Leonhard of Dorffen (1396)
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While Uiblein's edition helps us to construct the authors' administrative biographies, Rheinfeldens notes provide access to their ideas. Basel, UB, A X 44 contains summaries, fragments of disputes, or integral questions that are attributed to all the above names. In his writings Rheinfeldens records precious information about lost texts, vanished discussions, and ideas of still unknown authors. The goal of this volume is to identify, edit, and analyze all this unique material via individual portraits that are displayed through the prism of Rheinfeldens notes. By recording or gathering reports of these disputations among the first deans of the Arts Faculty and rectors of the University of Vienna during their theological training, Rheinfeldens creates his precursors and offers us a unique opportunity to engage in dialogue with this community.

The gallery of portraits of this volume contains the following:

Henry of Langenstein
Henry Totting of Oyta
Stephen of Enzersdorf
Gerhard Vischpekch of Osnabrück
Paul (Fabri) of Geldern
Andreas of Langenstein
Rutger Dole of Roermond
Nicholas of Hönhartzkirchen
Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl
John Berwart of Villingen
John Stadel of Russbach
Peter de Treysa
Michael Suchenschatz of Hausleiten
Peter Schad of Walse
Thomas of Cleves
Leonhard of Dorffen

Each paper from the present volume endeavors to explore biographical and bibliographical details concerning the authors from this cohort. We edit their texts in appendices to the papers, since this is unique material and in the majority of cases the only textual evidence of their intellectual activity during the time that they were burdened with administrative tasks. Theirs was a joint effort to begin a tradition of teaching, to construct a university, and to create an academic identity. This volume presents therefore the premises of this beginning in Vienna through an intellectual history composed while deciphering and transcribing the notes taken by Rheinfeldens. Commenting on the edited texts, we, all the authors publishing in this volume, have been able to identify echoes of the philosophical, theological, or scientific discussions that contributed to form the elite of the first generation of masters of the Faculty of Arts of Vienna and of their involvement in the Faculty of Theology. Arts and Theology were a shared project in Vienna.

The results of this volume shed new light on what can be understood as an academic elite in Vienna. It is a network of scholars who share passion for knowledge while they are involved in administrative tasks. All the papers in this volume reveal the intricate relationship between administrative commitment and the passion to create a doctrinal tradition by debating, forging arguments, defending or attacking positions, and connecting with and disconnecting from practices inherited from Paris, since half of the authors from our gallery were formed in Paris.

A crucial role in the naissance of such an elite is played by the mentor of the group. Henry of Langenstein seems to be the inspiring figure of this community of deans and rectors before 1400. Many papers in this volume highlight how Langenstein's philosophical and theological perspectives generate the subject matter of the debates that are held in the Faculty of Theology. Henry of Langenstein and Henry Totting of Oyta, these towering figures are the motors of the academic dynamics in Vienna. Rheinfelden's notes refer continually to these pivotal figures from the Viennese milieu, and the doctrinal tendencies that we can identify under the pen of various masters are often indebted to the ways of thinking that the two Henrys introduced in Vienna. The rejection of astrology, the examination of demonology, the intense interest in grace and merit, angelic cognition, the theory of the latitude of forms and the perfection of species, the notion of causality, and Mariology, these are just a few examples explored in this volume that show how Langenstein's pedagogical influence produces the unifying bond of this elite. Langenstein inspires intellectual exchanges between scholars, and he is also omnipresent in the everyday life of the university, intervening to calm conflicts among the students or between masters and the faculty. It appears that very often Langenstein and sometimes Oyta are there to provide a solution.

Another major achievement of the research project (at the same time an important element of dissemination and an opening for possible new academic inquiry) was the concluding conference of RISE: ***Preaching in Liminal Areas of Medieval Western Christianity. Similarities, Connections, Contrasts.*** The scientific encounter that enjoyed a large international participation took place between May 20th-21st, 2022 at Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca. As Keynote speakers acted Linda G. Jones (Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona) *Centering the Periphery: The Islamic Oration (Khutba) as an Instrument of Upward Social and Political Mobility in Umayyad Cordoba* and Pavlína Rychterová (IMAFO, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna) *Transforming the Purpose: Medieval Sermons between Latin and vernaculars in Eastern Central Europe*. Organizing committee: **Adinel C. Dincă** (Babeş-Bolyai University / Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca, adinel.dinca@ubbcluj.ro), co-PI of RISE, and **Lidia Negoi** (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Lidia.Negoi@oeaw.ac.at). The list of participants and the titles of their papers is presented in detail at the end of the current report.

This exploratory workshop aimed to discuss preaching texts (Christian, Muslim, Jewish) and their communication in several liminal spaces of the later medieval Western/Latin world in a comparative manner. Medieval preaching has been fruitfully studied as a means of inciting believers to lead a life according to their faith and as a channel of communication between religious agents and a larger lay public. However, it has been less explored from the perspective of institutional, intellectual, and social developments in 'frontier' areas, broadly construed as both geographical and cultural spaces, such as Iberia, Scandinavia, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Baltic Rim. These liminal, culturally fluid regions in which Latin (or 'Western') 'Christianities' were in constant contact and exchange not only with Slavic-Byzantine Orthodox traditions, but also with Muslims, Jews, and

resisting pre-Christian beliefs, lend themselves to a comparative investigation that also considers various particular contexts, e.g. urban development, religious structures, political dynamics in place, the development of higher education, and so forth, as highly relevant aspects in the study of individual sermon texts or particular preaching contexts. In addition, preaching and sermon literature were complex witnesses of numerous societal changes to be scrutinized in relation to later medieval pastoral cultures. They could thus serve as 'contrast agents' for the examination of multiple historical phenomena. Furthermore, these textual testimonies can be examined from manifold perspectives and conceptual frameworks, such as sociology, cultural studies, and post-colonial theory, the concepts of 'small cultures', 'knowledge communities' or multilingualism.

Within this broader context, we proposed to approach preaching in frontier spaces as a larger phenomenon that goes beyond the study of sermon texts in isolation, or of the sermon as a single communicative event. The workshop addressed early career and established researchers who integrate the study of sermons and preaching in their scholarship. There were no imposed thematic or chronological boundaries and all perspectives of interrogating the medieval and early modern past that include sermon texts and their environment of creation, delivery and/or reception in the target areas were welcome. Among the topics and approaches that sought to analyse and contextualise preaching were:

- ❖ access to knowledge and the 'material turn', e.g., the materiality of the textual support of sermons and transmission of texts in their manuscript and printed form.
- ❖ impact of the emerging 'book market' around 1500 and the above-mentioned liminal landscapes of preaching.
- ❖ perspectives from book and library history.
- ❖ virtual reconstruction of old collections through provenance research or through recuperation of recycled fragments.
- ❖ history of education and history of knowledge.
- ❖ alternative sources for the history of preaching and preachers (other than sermon literature).
- ❖ prosopography and the social history of preachers.
- ❖ in-depth and inclusive discussions of miscellaneous manuscripts or printed compilations containing sermons and other texts, such as liturgical, legal, or historical works.
- ❖ theoretical perspectives on sermons and preaching.

All these considered, the goal of the workshop was twofold: to stimulate further comparative study of 'fringes' by expanding the geographical boundaries of the international research of sermons and preaching and, consequently, to better understand the cultural impact of preaching – perceived as a process of reception, local dialogue, and adaptation – within particular late medieval societies. The objectives of the scientific meeting were entirely and successfully reached.

The analysis of Rheinfelden's texts and activity, both as Viennese student and beyond, highlighted the significance of the preaching as a medium of academic communication within university spectrum, but also on a much larger scale, as a means of disseminating ideas and patterns of behaviour within wider societal circles. Such boundaries of preaching deserve an amplified attention of the scholarly environment.

There were two main reasons for organizing this workshop, the first professional meeting in Romania dedicated to medieval and early modern preaching. The first reason is that this workshop concludes a research project – called RISE – a four-years-long effort that studied several manuscripts penned by a Dominican friar in Basel, Henry of Rheinfelden. Henry studied theology in Vienna during the last decade of the 14th century, taking extensive notes while attending various classes, recording in this manner the theological curriculum of the still fresh Central European place of higher Education. Such “reportationes” alone make Henry a fascinating character, of immense importance for the first generation of university theology in the Austrian capital city. Our friar studied then in Cologne where he was involved in teaching as well and acted afterwards – once having returned to Basel – as theology teacher, lector, and *predicator generalis* of his home convent. This promising career was abruptly blocked by the public outrage generated by his homosexual predatory behaviour that targeted several lay servants of the Basel convent, a controversy abundantly and explicitly described by the legal documentation around this episode. Anyway, besides being an impromptu but wonderful chronicler of the first generation of theological teaching at the Vienna university, and a sexual predator, Henry’s public presence is strictly connected to preaching. Apparently, he was such an effective and talented preacher that he was remembered even later in various historiographical contexts as delivering sermons at highly profiled events (such as the Council of Basel), or in very sensitive contexts, as was the case with a woman who claimed to bear stigmata, or in a process against the beguines in Basel. In the end – leaving the above-mentioned scandal aside – the ultimate expression of a well-trained intellectual, a theologian, of the Late Middle Ages was preaching.

A similar picture is offered by a certain Petrus Nowag, a former professor of canon law at the same university in Vienna in the 1420s, who spent almost a decade as a parish priest in a Transylvanian village, Lechința, until 1437, intensely preaching to his parishioners and to the secular clergy of the entire bishopric, as we can find out from his own, autograph collection of sermons bearing annotation concerning when and where the preaching was delivered. Nowag’s activity, together with other sermons of Viennese professors, particularly Nicolaus of Dinkelsbuehl, are the only source type that documents the reformatory efforts of the secular clergy during the second quarter of the 15th century, a time of complex challenges in East-Central European context.

Sermons and preaching are fundamental and unique evidence not only for church history, but for the social development of Transylvania. For example, investigating the evolution of the institution of the preacher within the parish church. This enhanced form of preaching originating around the middle of the 14th century in Prague and rapidly absorbed within the German-speaking areas, in urban settlements, was not only swiftly adopted in Transylvania, but also adapted to the social profile of the land.

These are merely selective examples of how sermons and preaching may contribute to a fresh, updated research into the mediaeval history in Transylvania, especially considering that preaching-related textuality represents the most visible intellectual output to be found now in Romanian, especially Transylvanian, libraries. When speaking about the boundaries of knowledge, one should also mention the limitations of Transylvania as a landscape of late mediaeval preaching. Although praised as a land of many ethnicities, languages, and confessions, the only sermons extant now in this province are in Latin, in line with a striking absence of vernacular literacy before the Protestant Reformation.

Such a patrimony of surviving manuscript and printed sermons requires a complex and dynamic investigation, involving a dialogue of the local scholars with the international

community. Ultimately, the mediaevalists or early modernists who include sermons in their research – as a main target of investigation or merely as supplementary evidence – need support and acknowledgement from the international community, and a constant dialogue. As in every new scholarly environment, what we need here (using the well-known phrase of Hugh of St. Cher) is for the international academic community to help us first bend the bow in study, allowing then the local historians to release the arrow of sermon research.

Preaching in Liminal Areas of Medieval Western Christianity. Similarities, Connections, Contrasts.

Programme

Day 1 – May 20th 2022

Welcome and Introduction – 9:30-10:00

Prof. Ovidiu Ghitta, Dean of the Faculty; Prof. Maria Crăciun, Director of the Doctoral School; Assoc. Prof. Adinel C. Dincă, Lidia Negoii, PhD

Keynote – 10:00-11:00

Linda G. Jones (Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona)

Centering the Periphery: The Islamic Oration (Khutba) as an Instrument of Upward Social and Political Mobility in Umayyad Cordoba

Coffee break – 11:00-11:15

Session 1 – 11:15-12:25

Chair: Maria Crăciun

Radu Mustăță (Central European University, Vienna)

Preaching on the Fringe of the Portuguese Empire in Asia: The Case Study of a Catholic Sermonary in Syriac from the Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries Malabar – 11:15-11:50

Andrea Radošević (Church Slavonic Institute, Zagreb) (online)

Divković's sermon collection Besjede between its Latin sources and later 17th century compilation – 11:50-12:25

Lunch break – 12:25-14:30

Session 2 – 14:30-15:40

Chair: Adinel Dincă

Annamária Kovács (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

'...locuntur de ea diversis modis'. Representations of the Virgin Mary in Late Medieval Sermons – 14:30-15:05

Lidia Grzybowska (Jagiellonian University, Krakow) (online)

Collection de tempore and de sanctis and the handbook Tractatus sacerdotalis of Mikołaj of Błonie. Common points, common places – 15:05-15:40

Coffee break – 15:40-16:00

Session 3 – 16:00-17:10

Chair: Carmen Florea

Constantinos Georgiou (Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia) (online)

'Quod autem sit convenientior rector et capitaneus?': Portrayals of the ideal Crusader leader in the sermons of Pierre Roger/Clement VI – 16:00-16:35

Iulian Damian (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca)

Giacomo della Marca preaching the crusade: around his sermon 'De Victoria belli temporalis et spiritualis' – 16:35-17:10

Day 2 – May 21st 2022

Keynote – 9:30- 10:30

Pavĺína Rychterov (IMAFO, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna)

Transforming the Purpose: Medieval Sermons between Latin and Vernaculars in Eastern Central Europe

Coffee break – 10:30-10:45

Session 4 –10:45-11:55

Chair: Lidia Negoii

Matteo Esu (IRHT-CNRS, Paris)

'Isti moderni heretici'. University Preaching and Religious Intolerance: the unedited

'Determinatio contra Hussitas' in Vienna – 10:45-11:20

Oriol Cataln (Ostelea Tourism Management School - Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona)

The use of reason in the creation of intolerant arguments against Jews and Muslims in

Hispanic preaching material and related literature – 11:20-11:55

Round Table (Chair: Paula Cotoi) – 12:10-13:00

Challenges for PhD Students and Early Career Scholars in International Perspective

Andreea Pocol, *'In His Image and Likeness?' Likeness, Representation, and Dissemination in the Portraits of Vlad the Impaler and Stephen the Great (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century).*

Visual and Textual Sources in Comparative Perspective; Diana Ursoi, *Witchcraft Trials and*

Social Control Strategies in Early Modern Transylvania; Raul-Alexandru Todika, *The Influence*

of the European Renaissance Ambiance on the Architecture of the Noble Residences in the

Principality of Transylvania; Maria-Bianca Glvan, *George Baritiu (1812-1893): an intellectual*

biography; Andrei Dllu, *The Fall of Icarus: Intellectual Repression in Communist Romania*

between 1956-1961.

Lunch break – 13:00-14:30

Session 5 – 14:30-15:40

Chair: Maria Crciun

Paula Cotoi (Central University Library, Cluj-Napoca)

Preaching True Faith on the Border of Latin Christianitas in the Late Middle Ages: Osvaldus

de Lasko's 'Gemma Fidei' – 14:30-15:05

Borbla Lovas (Etvs Lornd University, Budapest)

'Fear not, little flock...': Unitarian sermons in the early modern period – 15:05-15:40

Coffee break – 15:40- 16:00

Session 6 – 16:00-17:10

Chair: Pavĺína Rychterov

gnes Korondi (National Szchnyi Library, Budapest)

Between Sermon and Meditation: A Late Medieval Hungarian Passion Text – 16:00-16:35

Jan Odstřilik (IMAFO, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna)

Witnesses of Latin-Czech-German trilingualism in Late Medieval Sermons – 16:35-17:10

Concluding remarks – 17:10-17:30