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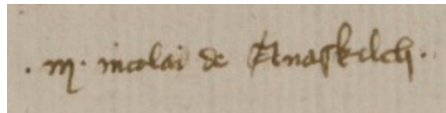
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Nicholas of Anaskilch or Nicholas of Hönhartzkirchen (†1400)  
on Angelic Cognition

Monica Brinzei

One of the more mysterious names found among the texts by Viennese theologians gathered in Rheinfelden's notes in manuscript Basel, UB, A X 44 is Nicholas of Anaskilch. A short question in the manuscript on ff. 5r-6v is attributed to this Nicholas, dealing with angelic cognition, how demons can interfere with humans' thoughts, and how they can insinuate themselves into men's minds. This paper aims to identify who the author of this question is and to scrutinize the content of this text, which is edited in an appendix.

Nothing can be found about Nicholas of Anaskilch in medieval sources (*matricula* lists, *acta*, etc.) or in the secondary bibliography. This is an intriguing situation, since no trace of this name is found recorded in Vienna during Rheinfelden's studies, more precisely in the last decade of the fourteenth century. A point of difficulty is the abbreviated form of the name, since a dot is added at the end. Among the other fourteen names quoted in the manuscript, the use of dots indicates a short form of a name, as in the case of H.H. or O.H. referring to Henry of Langenstein and Henry Toting of Oyta.



Basel, UB, A X 44, f. 5r

Another Nicholas should be taken into consideration in order to investigate whether the name 'Anaskilch' is not the result of a phonetic misspelling stemming from the name 'Hönhartzkirchen,' since Rheinfelden and the theologians on his list had a colleague named Nicholas of Hönhartzkirchen (Honhartschirichen, Honharczkirchen, Honhortzkirhen)<sup>1</sup> of the Rhenish Nation,<sup>2</sup> who died in 1400.<sup>3</sup> A priest from Passau, prior of Saint Stephen in Hönhartzkirchen was enrolled in the Faculty of Arts around 1385, serving as treasurer in 1389 and then dean in 1390–1391. Prior since 1388, he became canon of Saint Stephen in Vienna in 1392.<sup>4</sup>

On 11 July 1391 he was named one of the executors of Henry of Langenstein's last will and testament, which indicates a certain connection between Hönhartzkirchen and one of the fathers of the Faculty of Theology of Vienna.<sup>5</sup> Their connection extended to the level of

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<sup>1</sup> See the entry: <https://www.univie.ac.at/geschichte/universitaetsgeschichte/details.php?personenId=1100> (last accessed 14.06.2021) and H. GÖHLER, *Das Wiener Kollegiat-Nachmals Domkapitel zu Sankt Stephan in Wien 1365–1554 (Dissertation von Hermann Göhler (+) Mai 1932)*, ed. J. SEIDL, A. ENDE, J. WEISSENSTEINER, Wien - Köln - Weimar 2015, pp. 201–202. I would like to thank Edit Ana Lukacs for suggesting that I connect this author to the one from Rheinfelden's collection in Basel, UB, A X 44.

<sup>2</sup> *AFA*, p. 25, l. 10.

<sup>3</sup> A. F. FUCHS, *Necrologiz Germaniae*, BD. 5, T. 2: *Diocesis Pataviensis, Austria inferior*, Berlin 1913, p. 326: on 23 September 1400: "Anniv. Magistri Nicolay de Hanhartschirchen, qui testatus est capitulo prebendam suam, que fuit 48 ½ lb. Anno 1401, ipse obiit anno 1400." *Apud*, GÖHLER, *Das Wiener Kollegiat-Nachmals Domkapitel*, p. 202.

<sup>4</sup> See W. E. WAGNER, *Universitätsstift und Kollegium in Prag, Wien und Heidelberg. Eine vergleichende Untersuchung spätmittelalterlicher Stiftungen im Spannungsfeld von Herrschaft und Genossenschaft*, (Europa im Mittelalter, 2), Berlin 1999, p. 433. Thank Edit Lukacs for recommending me this title.

<sup>5</sup> The last will of Henry of Langenstein has been edited by Kreuzer: "Ego magister Henricus de Langensteyn dictus de Hassia, sacre pagine professor, presbiter Maguntinensis diocesis, per Dei gratiam sanus existens, ordino et exnunc constituo tempore, forma et modo melioribus, quibus possum, honorabiles viros magistros Henricum

doctrine, since the question edited in the appendix reflects Langenstein's influence.<sup>6</sup> Hönhartzkirchen also had links with another member of the Langenstein family, because he was elected as a *receptor* under Andreas of Langenstein, dean of the Faculty of Arts.<sup>7</sup>

The *Acta Facultatis Artium* helps us determine Hönhartzkirchen's presence and involvement in the organization of this institution. The acts establish that Hönhartzkirchen had social or professional ties with some other *magistri* listed in Rheinfelden's notes: Andreas of Langenstein, John Russbach, Thomas Cleves, Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, Leonhard of Dorfen, John Berwart, Peter of Treysa, and Paul of Geldern. With no evidence for any Nicholas of Anaskilch, as referred to by Rheinfelden, the above information on Nicholas of Hönhartzkirchen strengthens the hypothesis that they are one and the same. Hönhartzkirchen is often recorded as participating in committees of *magistri* in charge of examining the new bachelors,<sup>8</sup> sharing with John Russbach the decision to condemn Henry Ruetlingen,<sup>9</sup> acting on the palen to elect a new dean,<sup>10</sup> or trying to escape from his duty to conduct a disputation, as he did on 1 October 1393 and again on 7 January 1394, when he asked the faculty to postpone this burden,<sup>11</sup> although the faculty refused his request.<sup>12</sup> When Albert IV became duke of Austria that same year, the University of Vienna sought to renegotiate the terms of the institution's ducal privilege, asking for its confirmation, conservation, and expansion.<sup>13</sup> On 18 October 1395 the Faculty of Arts proposed two masters for the negotiations, Nicholas of Hönhartzkirchen and Simon of Berka.<sup>14</sup>

By this time Hönhartzkirchen was already advanced in his theological studies, and on 9 April 1395 he was called both *magister artium* and *baccalaureus formatus* in theologia,<sup>15</sup> which entails that at that he had at least completed the reading of two books on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and given his third *principium*. Indeed, he still had not become magister of theology on 29 September 1398, when he was referred to as a *baccalareus* in Scripture.<sup>16</sup>

No material traces of any writings of Hönhartzkirchen have yet been identified, except for the notebook of Rheinfelden, who transcribed one question attributed to Hönhartzkirchen, "Whether angelic spirits can intuit the thoughts of men" (*Utrum spiritus angelici cogitationes*

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Torryng, sacre theologie professorem, presbiterum Osnabrugensis diocesis, Gerhardum Vschbeck, sancti Johannis eiusdem et sancti Stephani Wyenne Pataviensis dyocesis ecclesiarum canonicos, Hermannum de Treysa, in medicina baccalarium, clericum Maguntinensis diocesis, magistrum Nicolaum de Honharczchirchen, presbiterum Pataviensis dyocesis, testamentarios meos et speciales executores testamenti huius sive ultime mee voluntatis et quemlibet eorum insolidum." G. KREUZER, *Heinrich von Langenstein. Studien zur Biographie und zu den Schismatraktaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Epistola pacis und der Epistola consilii pacis*, (Quellen und Forschungen Aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte, 6), Paderborn - München - Wien - Zürich 1987, p. 247, ll. 14–24.

<sup>6</sup> See *infra* my analysis.

<sup>7</sup> *AFA*, p. 40, ll. 13–15. He again had the same function under Rutgerus Ruremunda in 1390, Cf. *AFA*, p. 48, l. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *AFA*, p. 21, l. 16; p. 25, l. 10; 34, l. 27; 41, 8.

<sup>9</sup> *AFA*, p. 26, l. 11.

<sup>10</sup> *AFA*, p. 64, ll. 27, 36.

<sup>11</sup> It seems that this was a common trend in Vienna, since many masters of Arts tried to avoid supervising the quodlibetal disputations. See in this volume the cases of Andreas of Langenstein and Paul of Geldern.

<sup>12</sup> *AFA*, p. 95, l. 18 and *Aschbach*, p. 145.

<sup>13</sup> About the new duke, see K. UBL, « La fondation du Collège ducal en 1384 et l'essor de l'Université de Vienne au début du XVe siècle », in *Die universitären Kollegien im Europa des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, ed. A. SOHN, J. VERGER, (Aufbrüche, 2), Bochum 2011, pp. 174–185, esp. p. 179.

<sup>14</sup> *AFA*, p. 124, l. 3.

<sup>15</sup> The source of this information is given by his presence as a witness to the last will of Magister Petrus von Czlewings, a cleric from the diocese of Olmütz. Cf. A. MAYER, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, hrgs. Mit Unterstützung des Gemeinderathes der K.K. Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt vom Alterthums-Vereine zu Wien, vol. 4, Wien 1901, n° 3629, p. 33. Also in *Aschbach*, p. 150. GÖHLER, *Das Wiener Kollegiat-Nachmals Domkapitel*, p. 202.

<sup>16</sup> *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, vol. 4, p. 35, n° 3638.

*hominum possint intueri*). The question is of course important as our only source of Hönhartzkirchen's doctrinal interests, but in what follows it will also be considered as a new piece of the puzzle depicting what was happening in the Faculty of Theology of Vienna just before 1400.

The question is divided into three conclusions. The first conclusion is rooted in distinction 8, chapter 4 of Book II of Lombard's *Sentences*<sup>17</sup> and states that although angelic spirits can occupy bodies and thus appear to humans, they cannot thereby do works pertaining to "animal life" because they cannot bring life to those bodies by informing them [§ 7–10]. A quote from St. Bernard that is not cited by Lombard is introduced to argue that movement (*de loco ad locum movere*) requires a body (*non est nisi corporum*), but Hönhartzkirchen explains that this must be an angelic body, since no body is united with an angel by nature [§9]. We find here the general position according to an angel is not corporeal and does not have a body united to it, but it has a kind of aerial body (*corpora aëria habuerint*);<sup>18</sup> Although the reader might expect him to develop the theme of angelic bodies, the discussion's focus is actually on how demons use bodies to interfere with humans.<sup>19</sup>

Three corollaries are listed: (1) When an angel assumes the form of a body, it seems as if the body is alive (*corpora appareant vivere*), but this is strictly speaking not the case [§14]. (2) Although as a succubus a demon can take a man's semen and then, as an incubus, transport it into a woman's uterus, the demon cannot naturally generate a human [§15–17].<sup>20</sup> (3) Nevertheless, if a demon can preserve the semen's generative power until it gets to the uterus of a virgin, she can then generate naturally without having carnal knowledge of a man, so one can be a father without ever having sex with the mother [§18]. In this case the virgin would eventually be corrupted in childbirth, but not before, and so she would still be a virgin [§20].

The second conclusion states that, although angelic spirits – presumably demonic ones, as the arguments indicate – can penetrate the bodies of humans and cause them trouble while dwelling there, it is impossible for them to inhabit substantially (*substantialiter*) the mind of a human on their own power. With pseudo-Augustinian quotations Hönhartzkirchen maintains that there always remains some separation between the demon and the human soul, even in the case of possession [§21–24]. This conclusion quite accurately follows the second part of the fourth chapter Lombard's Book II, distinction 8, which is the source for both the content of the conclusion and the explicit quotations involved in the argumentation, since all the Augustinian and pseudo-Augustinian passages<sup>21</sup> are repeated following Lombard.

This time four corollaries are given: (1) People are said to be possessed by demons not because demons can slip into their souls, but because they can dwell in their bodies and harass them [§25]. (2) Demons can affect the human senses, but they cannot insert thoughts or feelings into human souls, but only excite them by suggestion, offering enticing phantasms [§26–29]. (3) The Devil can only make us more disposed to sin, but he cannot effectively make us sin,

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<sup>17</sup> PETRUS LOMBARDUS, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, lib. II, dist. 8, cap. 4 (46), ed. I. BRADY, cura P.P. Collegii S. Bonaventurae (Spicilegium Bonaventurianum, 4–5), vol. 1–2, Grottaferrata 1971–1981, pp. 369–370. For a discussion on this part, see B. FAES DE MOTTONI, "Angelus imago Dei nel commento al libro II delle Sentenze di Bonaventura." *Doctor Seraphicus* 37 (1990), pp. 61–71.

<sup>18</sup> PETRUS LOMBARDUS, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, lib. II, dist. 8, cap. 1 (43), ed. BRADY, pp. 365–366.

<sup>19</sup> On the nature of demonic bodies, see the recent contribution of N. WEILL-PAROT, *Le vol dans les airs au Moyen Ages. Essai historique sur une utopie scientifique*, Paris 2020, pp. 67–80, especially pp. 77–78 on the aerial bodies of demons.

<sup>20</sup> William of Auvergne and his treatise *De universo*, namely the third part, chapter 25, is one of the favorite sources of Langenstein, who seems in turn to be one of Nicholas's sources. On Auvergne's conception on the union between humans and angels and his total refusal to accept any concupiscence or procreation between them, see J. BERLIOZ, « Pouvoirs et contrôle de la croyance : la question de la procréation démoniaque chez Guillaume d'Auvergne (v. 1180–1249) », *Razo* 9 (1989), p. 5–27 especially pp. 11–24.

<sup>21</sup> See the apparatus of sources.

since sin requires our consent [§32–33]. (4) Not all our bad thoughts are incited by the Devil, since, according to Augustine, some are produced by our free will [§34].

The third conclusion employs the distinction between the *morning* and *evening* knowledge of angels<sup>22</sup> that was announced in one of the *notabilia* [§5] at the beginning of the question: morning knowledge is knowledge of things in the divine Word, whereas evening knowledge is knowledge of things in their own genus [§5]. The conclusion affirms that, although angelic spirits can know the thoughts of humans with certainty in the Word via morning cognition (*in Verbo matutina cognitione*), they cannot know them with evidence via evening cognition without revelation (*cognitione vespertina sine revelatione*) [§35]. The arguments maintain, on the one hand, that only God knows the specific thoughts of humans and can reveal them, while, on the other, explaining how angels are capable of having knowledge of corporeal things [§36–40].

The discussion of this conclusion is longer than that of the two previous ones and includes six corollaries dealing with predicting the future, whether natural or depending on human free choice. (1) Demons and other angelic spirits can know by conjecture human thoughts by exterior signs and even the dispositions of free choice discursively via some effects [§41]. (2) Without revelation, angels cannot know the secrets of the human heart *in proprio genere* that have no connection with exterior effects and signs [§42]. (3) Demons cannot naturally foreknow future contingents with certitude, especially not those that depend on free choice, but they can only have probable knowledge of them through signs [§43–45]. (4) The capacity of astrologers to predict natural future events is far less than that of demons, and astrologers cannot predict anything at all with certainty concerning effects that depend on free choice, because such effects are not reflected in the heavenly bodies [§46–48]. (5) It thus follows that prognosticators of such effects without special revelation from God take away from divine honor by usurping from God what belongs solely to God or which is solely His to reveal [§49]. (6) Finally, demons are cleverer than astrologers and other diviners in foretelling the future, because when they are wrong, or it turns out that they lie they arrange for the blame to be attributed to an astrologer or a diviner and not to the art itself or to the demon [§50].

This question is significant for various reasons. First, it provides a hint about the doctrinal interests of Nicholas of Anaskilch, whom I presume to be Nicholas of Hönhartzkirchen, to whom no other writing has been ascribed. Second, the doctrine defended in the question mirrors some of Henry of Langenstein's constant concerns, namely his interest in the actions of demons<sup>23</sup> and his criticism of astrology and its use. Langenstein dedicates many pages to investigating how demons interfere with humans, especially in his first *principium* on the *Sentences* and at the end of Book II of his questions on the *Sentences*.<sup>24</sup> Although in certain

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<sup>22</sup> The morning and evening knowledge of angels is rooted in *De Genesi ad litteram* of Augustin, and also in Books XI and XII of *De civitate Dei*, and it is also analyzed by Bonaventura in his *Sentences* questions and by Thomas Aquinas. For a description of Augustine's position, see B. FAES DE MOTTONI, "Tommaso d'Aquino e la conoscenza mattutina e vespertina degli angeli," *Medioevo* 18 (1992), pp. 169–202, on Augustin see pp. 171–179. B. FAES DE MOTTONI, "La connaissance matinale de l'ange selon Bonaventure," in *Les philosophies morales et politiques au Moyen Âge. Moral and Political Philosophies in the Middle Ages*, Actes du IX<sup>e</sup> Congrès international de philosophie médiévale, ed. B. C. BAZÁN, E. ANDÚJAR, L. G. SBROCCHI, vol. 3, New York - Toronto - Ottawa 1995, pp. 1253–1262.

<sup>23</sup> Although Steneck did not dedicate his survey to this problem, he notes: "Exactly how demons influence men and the elements is a subject to which Henry devoted a great deal of time. He seems, in later years especially, to have had a profound interest in the evil forces that were at work in the world around him." N. H. STENECK, *Science and Creation in the Middle Ages. Henry of Langenstein (d. 1397) on Genesis*, Notre Dame-London 1976, pp. 38–41, here p. 41.

<sup>24</sup> Transcribed by Damereau in 1980, this edition is problematic in certain ways. A new edition, which also takes into consideration the manuscript ignored by Damereau, Alençon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 144, is under

respects he follows William of Auvergne's treatise *De universo*,<sup>25</sup> Langenstein succeeds in developing a strong position on demonic influence on humans.<sup>26</sup> It also appears that Langenstein was interested in angelology, not only in his writings, but also in his teaching, as is proven by another example stemming from Basel, UB, A X 44, f. 69v, where one finds the following question: *Utrum angelus possit aliquod corpus assumere in quo exercent opera vite*. The question itself is a summary of a debate and begins with an intervention by Langenstein:

“Master Henry of Hesse says that it could happen that the devil sees intuitively the cognition of a man and yet does not know to what that cognition would end objectively, and thus it could happen that he intuits the specific diversity of concepts and does not know what corresponds to any of them.”<sup>27</sup>

The discussion is followed by a list of titles indicating a concern for similar topics, with Langenstein always holding the discussion (*Magister Henricus de Hassia dicit*):

- Whether by bringing together the elements the Devil could arrange the matter for the introduction of the intellectual soul. (*Utrum dyabolus per comportationem elementorum posset materiam disponere pro introductione anime intellectualis*.)
- Whether, just as an angel produces local motion immediately, an angel can produce primary qualities immediately, that is, not by applying active elements to passive ones. (*Utrum angelus potest immediate producere qualitates primarias non scilicet applicando elementa activa passivis sicut ipse immediate producit motum localem*.)
- Whether the intellect reaches an effect before volition. (*Utrum intellectus prius attingat effectum, ... quam velle*.)

The subject matter of angelic cognition but also of demonic influence seems to be important for Langenstein and echoes a trend at the University of Vienna. Another manuscript copied by Rheinfelden, i.e., Basel, UB, A IX 92, which collects questions on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and is discussed in this volume by N. Corbière, should be considered another witness to this trend, since it amasses an interesting group of questions on angelic matters.<sup>28</sup>

Many of Langenstein's texts are replete with his permanent objection against the capacity of astrology to predict or to announce future events. The most relevant example is his

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production by Marco Toste. HENRICUS DE LANGENSTEIN, *Der Sentenzenkommentar des Heinrich von Langenstein Buch II-IV. Lateinische textkritische Ausgabe*, ed. R. DAMERAU, vol. 1–3, Marburg 1980–1987, pp. 135–151 (namely Book II, q. 3 contains a long reflection on demons' actions at work in relation with humans).

<sup>25</sup> See chapter 5 of T. B. DE MAYO, *The Demonology of William of Auvergne. By Fire and Sword*, Lewiston-Queenston-Lampeter 2007. For a broader perspective see A. BOUREAU, *Satan hérétique. Histoire de la démonologie (1280-1330)*, Paris 2004 and M. VAN DER LUGT, *Le ver, le démon et la Vierge. Les théories médiévales de la génération extraordinaire*, Paris 2004.

<sup>26</sup> For a guide to explore some of his positions, see N. CACIOLA, *Discerning Spirits. Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages*, (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past), Ithaca 2006, and for his opposition to modern prophecy, see A. VAUCHEZ, « Les théologiens face aux prophéties à l'époque des papes d'Avignaux et du Grand Schisme », *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 102/2 (1990), pp. 577–588; for Langenstein, see pp. 581–586.

<sup>27</sup> Basel, BU, A X 44, f. 69v: “Magister Henricus de Hassia dicit quod staret dyabolum videre intuitive cognitionem hominis et tamen non scire ad quid terminaretur objective, et sic staret eum intueri diversitatem specificam conceptuum et nescire quid <cuilibet> [quilibet *ms.*] responderet.”

<sup>28</sup> In Basel, UV, A IX 92, among 33 *distinctiones* connected with Book II, ten deal with angelic and demonic influence.

treatise *Tractatus contra astrologos coniunctionistas de eventibus futurorum*,<sup>29</sup> which reveals his strong opposition towards the use of astrology in foretelling the future. Hönhartzkirchen seems to be extremely familiar with Langenstein's position, which accords with his apparent proximity to Langenstein's circle, since he named Hönhartzkirchen as one of the executors of his testament. Discussing and defending Langenstein's theses during his training, Hönhartzkirchen's question is additional new proof of Langenstein's influence on the pedagogical process of teaching theology in Vienna.

Moreover, Hönhartzkirchen's question as reported in Basel, UB, A X 44 by Rheinfelden is an interesting case-study that leads to a better understanding of what was happening in Vienna during theological disputations. Its material state shows another side of the institutional history of the Faculty of Theology.

Codicologically speaking, a small detail should be analyzed. The question is on ff. 5r–6v and, without much effort, one can notice its abbreviated form. In short, Rheinfeldens's note appears to be like a list of titles (conclusions and corollaries) together with a list of authorities, introduced in support of the thesis announced by all these titles. The abundance of references is in contrast with other disputed questions from the manuscript, where it is easy to remark the absence of quotations or authorities. This might reflect Hönhartzkirchen's preference for using an artillery of authorities—biblical or canonical ones, like Augustine or Bernard—in order to reinforce his theses and to show his prowess, and an important aspect in his text, since Rheinfelden reproduces all the references.

Some large *marginalia* [§§ 11, 12, 19, 20, 30, 31, 51, 52] inserted in the blank spaces around the text make the editorial process quite difficult, since there are no precise signs of insertion to guide the reader to connect the marginalia to an argument from the text itself. They all are written with another ink—a fact that suggests that they were added to the initial text afterwards, after the question was copied. How should one interpret this situation?

It is possible that Rheinfelden had access to a *cedula* with elements of the question that circulated before the debate? Perhaps he first copied what was available to the colleagues, and possibly all the *marginalia* were recalled or gathered during or after the debate. One of these marginal notes [§§ 51–52] is not even on the same folia that transmit the question, since on f. 4v, at the end of the question of Paul of Geldern, one can read an objection to Hönhartzkirchen's question. This shows that, having run out of space on f. 5r, Rheinfelden then used the empty space at the end of the previous question. The content of *marginalia* is very similar; they all gather objections either to the conclusions or to the corollaries and are followed by a *responsiones* to these objections. This material might be the recollection of the oral exchange during the debate, which would explain why they were added at a later time.

Some of this paper is based on the hypothesis identifying the so-called *Magister Nikolaus Anaskelch* with *Nikolaus de Honharczkirchen*. Independent of this hypothesis, the question on angelic cognition that Rheinfelden attributes to Nicholas is yet another piece of a larger puzzle that sheds new light on the doctrinal interests displayed during the debates at the Faculty of Theology in Vienna just before 1400. The pivotal role played by Langenstein is again mirrored in the lines of arguments put forth during the debate. Rheinfeldens's notes reporting Nicholas's discussion are in the following appendix that reproduces Basel, UB, A X 44, ff. 5r–6v.

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<sup>29</sup> For the edition of this treatise, see H. PRUCKNER, *Studien zu den astrologischen Schriften des Heinrich von Langenstein*, Leipzig - Berlin 1933, pp. 139–206. I recently discovered fragments of this treatise recycled in Langenstein's *principium*. See my discussion in M. BRINZEL, L. CIOCA, *Homo est microcosmos. Henry of Langenstein's seminal ideas in public display. With an edition of his principium and his vesperis from Paris (1370–1375)* (Studia Sententiarum, 6), forthcoming.

*Ratio edendi:*

The transcription reproduces the orthography of the manuscript, e.g. *dyabolus* and *Ewangeliis*. The paragraphs of objections and their corresponding responses are further indented to highlight the fact that in the manuscript they are all introduced as *marginalia*. The paragraphs are numbered to help the reader follow the development of arguments. Book titles and Biblical quotes are presented in italics.



## Appendix

Magistri Nicolai de Anaskilch

Utrum spiritus angelici cogitationes hominum possint intueri

Basel, UB, A X 44  
ff. 5r-6v

Utrum spiritus angelici cogitationes hominum possint intueri.

[§1] Quod sic, quia possunt menti hominis illabi, igitur. Consequentia tenet, quia quod illabatur menti fit ei intimum, et per consequens cognoscit eius intima. Antecedens patet per Glossam super illo Luc. 4: *Ecce homo habens demonem*, ubi Glossa: *Intraverat dyabolus, unde exivit Christus*;<sup>i</sup> sed Christus non exivit de corpore, sed de spiritu; ergo dyabolus subintrat spiritum.

[§2] Oppositum patet per illud 3 Reg. 8: *Tu solus nosci corda hominum*.<sup>ii</sup>

[§3] Nota: quadruplex est spiritus, secundum Bernardum *Super Cantica*, scilicet divinus, angelicus, humanus et brutalis.<sup>iii</sup>

[§4] Nota secundo quod spiritus angelici in genere duplex est notitia, scilicet propria seu naturalis et revelata.

[§5] Item angeli beati est duplex notitia, scilicet matutina et vespertina. Matutina est cognitio rerum in Verbo divino, sed vespertina est rerum in proprio genere.

[§6] Nota tertio quod intueri est certitudinaliter seu evidenter cognoscere.

### <Prima conclusio>

[§7] **Conclusio prima:** quamvis spiritus angelici possint sibi corpora assumere, tamen non possunt in eis opera que proprie conveniunt vite animali ratione huius assumptionis perficere.

[§8] Prima pars patet ex diversis passibus Sacre Scripture, ut de angelo Thobie, de angelis apparentibus Abrahe.

[§9] Item Bernardus *Super Cantica* omelia 5:<sup>30</sup> “Discurrere et de loco ad locum moveri non est nisi corporum.”<sup>iv</sup> Sed angelus malus ad ministerium discurret et de loco ad locum movetur, et non per corpus naturaliter sibi unitum; igitur per corpus angelicum.

[§10] Secunda pars probatur, quia non uniuntur illis corporibus informative, ergo non vivificant illa corpora informatione. Sed opera animalis vite proprie non exercentur nisi mediante corpore vivo; igitur.

[§11] **Contra illud:** quando dicitur quod angelus existat extense, si extense existit, igitur in modo suo existendi est aliqua extensio que sit A et angelus sit B. Tunc

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<sup>30</sup> 5] 3 ms.

sic: A est B, igitur A est inextensum, igitur A non est extensio; et per consequens implicat contradictionem inextensum extense existere sine quantitate extendente.

[§12] Item, tunc Deus infinite extense seu quantitative existeret.

[§13] Item, angelus est indivisibilis, igitur indivisibiliter existit et inextensus, igitur inextense existit. Consequentia tenet: unumquodcumque qualiter est taliter existit, cum idem sit esse et existere.<sup>31</sup>

[§14] **Corollarium primum**:<sup>32</sup> Licet huiusmodi corpora appareant vivere, tamen ratione talis assumptionis non vivunt proprie.

[§15] **Secundum**<sup>33</sup>: etsi demon semen viri possit in uterum mulieris transportare, ipse tamen non potest naturaliter hominem generare.

[§16] Prima pars patet, quia potest esse succubus respectu viri et incubus respectu mulieris.

[§17] Secunda patet ex secunda parte conclusionis.

[§18] **Tertium**<sup>34</sup>: si demon vim generativam virilis seminis usque in uterum virginis potest conservare, tunc ipsa manente a viro incognita potest naturaliter generare. Ex quo sequitur quod aliquis potest esse alicuius pater naturaliter cuius matrem numquam cognovit carnaliter.

[§19] **Contra tertium corollarium** prime conclusionis, vel hoc esset per penetrationem; hoc non. Nec per corruptionem: tunc non esset virgo.

[§20] **Respondeo** quod esset virgo, licet in partu corrumperetur, non ante. Vel potest dici quod angelus <potest> facere forte dimensiones penetrare etc. Vide <de> ista corruptione Augustinum 14 *De Civitate Dei*.<sup>v35</sup>

### <Secunda conclusio>

[§21] **Secunda conclusio**<sup>36</sup>. Quamquam sit possibile spiritus angelicos hominum corpora penetrare et in eis morando ipsa vexare, ipsos tamen impossibile est hominis mentem propria virtute substantialiter inhabitare.

[§22] Prime secunde <conclusionis> pars ex multis locis Sacre Scripture, et specialiter ex Ewangeliis in quibus legitur homines [f. 5v] hominis a *spiritibus immundis vexatos*<sup>vi</sup> et demones per Christum et Apostolos a corporibus obsessis expulsos.

[§23] Item Augustinus *De Divinatione demonum* loquens de demonibus dicit: “suadent mirum et invisibilibus modis hominum corpora non sentiendo penetrando.”<sup>vii</sup>

[§24] Tertia pars probatur per Augustinum *De fide ad Petrum* dicentem: “Inest singulis spiritibus naturalis terminus a quo se invicem distinguuntur et unus in altero non est”;<sup>viii</sup> sed anima humana est spiritus; ergo non potest demon esse in ea seu ei illabi. Patet etiam per ipsum

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<sup>31</sup> contra illud – esse et existere] *add. in marg.*

<sup>32</sup> corollarium primum] *add. in marg.*

<sup>33</sup> secundum] *add. in marg.*

<sup>34</sup> tertium] *iter. in marg.*

<sup>35</sup> contra – civitate Dei] *add in marg.*

<sup>36</sup> secunda conclusio] *iter. in marg.*

*De*<sup>37</sup> *ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*<sup>ix</sup>, et allegat Magister distinctione 8 secundi: “Illabi anime illi soli possibile est qui eam creavit.”<sup>x</sup>

[§25] **Primum corollarium**.<sup>38</sup> Homines dicuntur obsessi a demonibus non quia illabantur anime, sed ratione inhabitationis corporum ipsorum et vexatione. Patet.

[§26] **Secundum**<sup>39</sup>: Demon potest humanos sensus illudere, sed non potest propria virtute cogitationes, vel affectiones anime immittere, sed ipsas excitando fugere.

[§27] Prima pars patet per Glossam Rabani Ex. 7: “Dyabolicis”, inquit, “figmentis magi spectantium oculos decipiebant, ut res in sua specie remanentes alie viderentur”.<sup>xi</sup>

[§28] Secunda pars patet per Bedam super illud Marc 15<sup>40</sup>, <11>: *nichil quod intrat os coinquinat hominem*. Ubi dicit: “Dyabolus non est malarum cogitationum immissor, sed incensor.”<sup>xii</sup>

[§29] Tertia<sup>41</sup> pars probatur, quia tam interius quam exterius potest fantasmata<sup>42</sup> offerre et obiecta<sup>43</sup> ad turpiter cogitandum et appetendum trahentia opponere, igitur potest ipsas excitando suggerere.

[§30] **Contra secundum corollarium** secunde conclusionis non videtur modus nec per transportationem specierum sicut in exemplo de virga Moysi que versa fuit in colubrum etc.

[§31] **Respondeo** quod quia illi species habuerunt serpentis Moysi, dyabolus in fantasmata flexit illas species ad illud obiectum, et igitur videbatur quasi serpens. Sed ponatur quod non vidissent serpentem; tunc species serpentis, quas habuerunt in fantasma vel tunc dyabolus potuit apportare speciem serpentis et flectere ad obiectum, scilicet virgam. Videtur quod hoc sit in potestate demonis, nec videtur inconueniens, sicut in simili, si quis intum se aspicit veride post totum quod videt apparet veride, sicut etiam in sompnis apparent montes aurei. Potuit etiam dyabolus flectere virgam magorum et movere ad modum serpentis etc.<sup>44</sup>

[§ 32] **Tertium**<sup>45</sup>: quod dyabolus potest facere nos peccare solum dispositive non principaliter effective.

[§ 33] Prima pars patet, quia sua suggestio disponit ad peccandum.

[§ 33] Secunda patet, quia non efficit peccatum nisi consentiamus. Unde Damascenus: “Demones violentiam inferre non possunt in nobis est suscipere eorum immissiones”;<sup>xiii</sup> igitur.

[§ 34] **Quartum**<sup>46</sup>: non omnis cogitatus malignus a dyabolo est suggestus. Patet per Augustinum *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*: “non omnes, inquit, cogitationes male a dyabolo excitantur, sed aliquoties ex nostri arbitrii motu emergunt.”<sup>xiv</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> de] ecc add. sed del.

<sup>38</sup> primum corollarium] iter. in marg. ms.

<sup>39</sup> secundum] iter. in marg. ms.

<sup>40</sup> 15] 7 in ms.

<sup>41</sup> tertia] nota add. in marg. ms.

<sup>42</sup> fantasmata] inferre sive add. sed del. ms.

<sup>43</sup> obiecta] turpiter cogitando add. sed del. ms.

<sup>44</sup> Contra secundum corollarium – modum serpentis etc.] add. in marg. f. 5r

<sup>45</sup> tertium] iter. in marg. ms.

<sup>46</sup> quartum] iter. in marg. ms.

### <Tertia conclusio>

[§ 35] **Tertia conclusio**<sup>47</sup>: Quamvis spiritus angelici possint cogitationes hominum cognoscere certitudinaliter in verbo matutina cognitione, tamen non possunt eas scire evidenter cognitione vespertina<sup>48</sup> sine revelatione.

[§ 36] Prima pars patet, quia Deus qui clarissime videt omnia potest eis revelare quecumque vult.

[§ 37] Secunda patet per illud<sup>49</sup> 1 Cor. 2: *nemo scit que sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui est in illo*. Glossa: “manifestum est enim cogitationes nostras a nullo sciri nisi ab animo nostro, quem Apostolus spiritum vocat.”<sup>xv</sup> Et Ier. 17: *pravum est cor hominis, et inscrutabile. Et quis cognoscat illud?*<sup>xvi</sup> Et respondet: *ego dominus scrutans corda*<sup>xvii</sup> etc.

[§ 38] Contra dicta in positione: nullus angelus potest aliquam rem corporalem cognoscere in proprio genere, igitur positio falsa. Antecedens probatur hoc esset per speciem extensam rei corporalis. Hoc non, quia angelus est indivisibilis et genus videtur quod non etc. Si dicatur quod non repugnat rem indivisibilem esse subiectum rei extense, adhuc contra: ponatur angelus in puncto indivisibili; tunc nulla species pertingit usque ad angelum, cum quelibet sit extensa et divisibilis.

[§ 39] **Respondeo** uno modo quod contra naturam angeli est indivisibiliter existere; sed quilibet coexistit extense alicui toti<sup>50</sup> spatio vel loco unus maiori alter minori secundum maiorem et minorem perfectionem ipsorum.

[§ 40] **Nota**: circa hoc de modo cognoscendi angeli in proprio genere quomodo angelus existens in A loco potest lapidem distantem cognoscere. Utrum per species vel aliter. Videtur quod non per species, quia ille species solum coexistunt illi loco in quo est angelus et subiective sunt in angelo, igitur etc. Potest responderi uno modo quod angelus cognoscit per species coexistentes sibi et sic est de natura angeli, et sic per speciem multiplicatam a lapide existens in certo situ cognoscit.<sup>51</sup>

[§ 41] **Corollarium primum**: Spiritus angelici possunt noscere cogitationes nostras per aliqua signa exteriora coniecturative, et similiter affectiones liberi arbitrii per effectus aliquos arguitive. Patet, quia multa signa exteriora et effectus colligantiam habent cum cogitationibus et affectionibus interioribus naturaliter. Ymmo sunt effectus talium cogitationum vel affectionum, ut gaudium, pallor etc. Quos effectus demones cognoscunt a talibus causis procedere, igitur quando vident eos arguunt tales<sup>52</sup> causas esse.

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<sup>47</sup> tertia conclusio] *iter. in marg. ms.*

<sup>48</sup> vespertina] *sint add. et del. ms.*

<sup>49</sup> illud] *1 add. sed del. ms.*

<sup>50</sup> toti] *sup. l. p. c.*

<sup>51</sup> Contra dicta – certo situ cognoscit] *add. in marg. f. 6r*

<sup>52</sup> tales] *tale ms.*

[§ 42] **Secundum:**<sup>53</sup> Angeli non possunt in proprio genere sine revelatione cognoscere secreta cordis que non [f. 6r] habet colligantiam cum aliquibus exterioribus effectibus et<sup>54</sup> signis.

[§ 43] **Tertium:** licet demones futura contingentia possint probabiliter prenoscere, tamen non possunt naturaliter ea et maxime que dependent a libero arbitrio certitudinaliter prescire.

[§ 44] Prima pars est Augustini *De divinatione*<sup>55</sup> *demonum* ubi loquens de demonibus dicit: “aliquando non que ipsi faciunt, sed que naturalibus signis futura precognoscunt, que signa in hominum sensus venire non possunt, antepredicunt.”<sup>xviii</sup>

[§ 45] Secunda pars patet ex secunda parte conclusionis, et etiam per Augustinum ubi supra<sup>xix</sup>. Unde dicit ibidem: in ceteris autem suis predictionibus “demonum plerumque fallunt et falluntur.”<sup>xx</sup> Et vocat ceteras predictiones, ut patet ibidem, illas que non procedunt de prophetia qua Deus loquitur per sanctos, angelos, et prophetas. Si enim<sup>56</sup> aliqua de illa audiunt, ut prenunciant in illa, nec fallunt nec falluntur, sed in aliis que etiam ex naturalibus signis prenunciant, quia per potentiam superiorem talia sepe repente immutantur.

[§ 46] **<Quartum>** Longe minus possunt astrologi quam demones aliquid causa predicere de effectibus futuris naturalibus, et nichil penitus certitudinaliter de effectibus a libero arbitrio dependentibus.

[§ 47] Prima pars patet, quia demones longe acutius vident causas huiusmodi<sup>57</sup> effectuum quam astrologi.

[§ 48] Secunda patet, quia huiusmodi effectus non relucent in astris nec demones hoc possunt qui tamen eis hoc suggerunt ad ipsorum deceptionem et aliorum.

[§ 49] **Quintum:** Sequitur quod talium effectuum prenunciatores sine speciali revelatione Dei detrahunt divino honori usurpantes<sup>58</sup> sibi quod solius Dei est vel qui ipse voluerit revelare.

[§ 50] **Sextum:** Astucius agunt demones in prenunciando futura quam astrologi et ceteri divinatores. Patet, quia quando decipiuntur vel mentiuntur ordinant quod culpa tribuatur astrologo vel divinanti et non arti vel demoni. Unde Augustinus *De divinatione demonum* de ipsis sic loquitur: “Sed ne apud cultores suos pondus auctoritatis amittant illud agunt, ut interpretibus suis signorumque suorum coniectioribus culpa tribuatur quando vel decepti fuerint vel mentiti.”<sup>xxi</sup>

[§ 51] **Contra tertiam conclusionem** questionis utrum spiritus angelici, quia angelus presens speciei potest cognoscere representatum, igitur presens cognitioni potest. Consequentia tenet, quia per ratio<nem> videtur, cum utrumque natum sit significatum representare potentie apte nate. Antecedes patet, quia alias non posset suggere<re> cogitationes angelus malus et commovere species in fantasia ad suggerandum nisi sciret hoc esse speciem mulieris, et hoc species equi, etc.

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<sup>53</sup> secundum] *iter. in marg. ms.*

<sup>54</sup> et] *p. c.*

<sup>55</sup> divinatione] *hominum add. et del. ms.*

<sup>56</sup> enim] *aliter add. et del. ms.*

<sup>57</sup> huius] *effectivuum add. et del.*

<sup>58</sup> usurpantes] *ysurpantes a. c.*

[§ 52] **Respondeo** quod secus est: de specie et cognitione diversa obiecta sunt. Cognitionis est motio potentie, species non, et videtur utrumque representativum esse. Circa hoc est alia difficultas, quia angelus potest speciebus actuare fantasiam hominis et ad talem actionem sequitur naturaliter talis cognitio in intellectu; igitur, cum sciat quid representant ille species, dyabolus potest cognitionem sequentem naturali ordine formare, nec potest voluntas intellectum avertere post suam actionem, licet ante posset forte, et igitur naturali ordine sequitur actio intellectus, etc. Potest concedi quod dyabolus potest scire cogitationes, sed non affectiones, quia est in libera potestate hominis etc. Etiam potest dici quod non de necessitate sequitur actio intellectus, quia illi qui in extasi sunt positi, isti non moventur per quamcumque actionem sensus.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>i</sup> Glossam – Christus] Glossa Luc. 4. Locus non inventus.

<sup>ii</sup> 3 – hominum] 2, Paral. 6, 30: *Tu enim solus nosti corda filiorum hominum.*

<sup>iii</sup> Quadruplex – brutalis] *Locus non inventus.*

<sup>iv</sup> Bernardus – corporum] ST. BERNARDUS, *Sermones in Cantica, Sermo 5*, (Opera Omnia, t. 4), (PL, 183), Paris 1879, col. 799C.

<sup>v</sup> Augustinus – Dei] AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *De civitate Dei*, lib. 14, 4, ed. B. DOMBART - A. KALB, (CCSL, 47, 48), Turnhout 1955, p. 417.

<sup>vi</sup> spiritibus – vexatos] Rom. 5, 16.

<sup>vii</sup> Augustinus – penetrando] AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *De Divinatione demonum*, c. 5, 9, ed. J. P. MIGNE, (PL, 40), Paris 1865, col. 586.

<sup>viii</sup> Augustinum – non est] <PS. AUGUSTINUS>, FULGENTIUS, *De fide ad Petrum*, ed. J. P. MIGNE, (PL, 40), Paris 1865, col. 762.

<sup>ix</sup> ipsum – dogmatibus] GENNADIUS, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, cap. 83, ed. J. P. MIGNE, (PL, 58), col. 999B, & c. 50 (PL 42), col. 1221. *Apud* PETRUS LOMBARDUS, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, Lib. II, dist. 8, cap. IV, ed. I. BRADY, (Spicilegium Bonaventurianum, 4-5), vol. 1, Grottaferrata 1971, p. 369, ll. 25-26.

<sup>x</sup> Magister – creavit] PETRUS LOMBARDUS, *Sententiae in IV*, Lib. II, dist. 8, cap. IV, ed. I. BRADY, p. 369, ll. 26-28.

<sup>xi</sup> Glossam – viderentur] *Glossam Rab. Exp.*

<sup>xii</sup> Bedam – sed incensur] Cf. BEDA, *In Marci Evangelium Expositio* II, 7, 20-21, ed. D. HURST, (CCSL, 120), Turnhout 1960, p. 522, ll. 1332-1334.

<sup>xiii</sup> Damascenus – immissiones] IOANNES DAMASCENUS, *De fide orthodoxa*, II, 4, (Translatio Burgundionis), ed. E. M. BUYTAERT, (Franciscan Institute Publications, 8), St. Bonaventura 1955, p. 77, ll. 33-35.

<sup>xiv</sup> Augustinum – emergunt] GENNADIUS, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, cap. 82, ed. J. P. MIGNE, (PL, 58), 999A.

<sup>xv</sup> Glossa – vocat] AMBROSIUS, *In I Corinth.* 2, 11, ed. J. P. MIGNE, (PL, 17), Paris 1879, col. 306.

<sup>xvi</sup> Ier. 17 – illud] Ier. 17, 9.

<sup>xvii</sup> Ego – corda] Ier. 17, 10.

<sup>xviii</sup> Augustini – antepredicunt] AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *De Divinatione demonum*, I, c. 5, 9, ed. J. P. MIGNE, (PL, 40), Paris 1865, col. 586.

<sup>xix</sup> Augustinus ubi supra] *vide supra.*

<sup>xx</sup> suis predictionibus – falluntur] AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *De Divinatione demonum*, I, c. 6, 10, ed. J. P. MIGNE, col. 587.

<sup>xxi</sup> Augustinus – mentiti] AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, *De Divinatione demonum*, I, c. 6, 10, ed. J. P. MIGNE, col. 587.

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<sup>59</sup> contra tertiam conclusionem – actionem sensus] *add. in marg. in f. 4v*