
Augustinian Prior Oswald Reinlein: A Biography of an Anti-Hussite Preacher

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Oswald Reinlein does not belong among the major figures of Bohemian – and even less – of world history. This Augustinian prior of Vienna and Nuremberg was just one among the many fifteenth-century pioneers of monastic reform, and the value of his literary efforts was not more than average. His name appears in the surveys of the literary activities of the Austin Friars, and marginally also in the literature about the Augustinian Observance in the Germanophone countries. He was discovered for Czech history (like many others) by František M. Bartoš, whose findings were utilised by Václav Flajšhans, Amedeo Molnár, and František Šmahel. Anežka Vidmanová has published the passages from Reinlein's writings that deal with Jan Hus. That, however, exhausts the attention paid by Czech scholarship to this opponent of Hussitism.¹ Even so, his life and work are not devoid of interest. In a way his activities can be viewed as more or less typical. Reinlein was by no means the only spokesperson for the monastic reform among the opponents of the Bohemian Reformation. It is the task of future historical scholarship to illuminate the role of monastic orders in the struggle against the Bohemian “heresy”. Yet, even preliminary probings indicate a considerable concern of religious orders with the issue of Hussitism.² The problem of heterodoxy was considered relevant to the issues of reform and thus it found its way into the cross hairs of the monastic representatives. A major source of information concerning the events in Bohemia was the monastic network, especially reports from the monks who had been expelled from the Bohemian and Moravian monasteries. In the case of the Augustinian Province of Bavaria, to which Reinlein belonged, the Hussite question was exacerbated by a provision

¹ F. M. Bartoš, “Husitika a bohemika několika knihoven německých a švýcarských” [Hussitica and Bohemica in Several German and Swiss Libraries], VKČSN (1931) 8–10; idem, *Husitská revoluce 2* [České dějiny II/8] (Praha, 1966), 7–8; V. Flajšhans, “M. Io. Hus Sermones in Capella Bethlehem I,” VKČSN (1938) XIV; *Husova výzbroj do Kostnice* [Hus's Armaments for Constance], ed. František M. Dobiáš, Amedeo Molnár (Praha, 1965) 15; František Šmahel, *Die Hussitische Revolution* (Hannover, 2002) 2:1380; Anežka Vidmanová, “Stoupenci a protivníci Mistra Jana Husi” [The Supporters and the Opponents of Master Jan Hus], HT 4 (1981) 49–56.

² See Pavel Soukup, “Zur Verbreitung theologischer Streitschriften im 15. Jahrhundert. Eine antihussitische Sammelhandschrift aus der Erfurter Kartause,” SMB 1 (2009) 231–257.

that – until the restoration of the Bohemian Province – its taxes had to be covered by the monasteries of Bavaria.³

From another vantage point, however, Reinlein's writings relevant to the problem of Bohemia were unique. His polemical treatise, *Tractatus pro cruce signatis*, as far as I know, is the only extant sermon collection calling for a crusade against the Bohemian reformers. Reinlein preached it in Vienna in the spring of 1426, and subsequently rewrote the text that is known today in two manuscripts. Considering its initial function as a crusading sermon, this text occupies a special position in polemical literature. With its relentless attacks against the heretical Bohemians, it nevertheless becomes a part of the polemical deluge against the Hussites, which flooded almost the entire Europe of Latin Christendom in the early fifteenth century. The study of these polemical treatises is only in its beginnings. It is an extensive theme, the outlines of which only gradually emerge out of a welter of undigested manuscript materials. Before arriving at more general conclusions, it will be necessary to undertake less ambitious studies, such as the present one, which will treat individual writers and texts. What follows, presents a biographically oriented portrait of Reinlein, which seeks to revise certain assertions, which have appeared in scholarly literature. It also describes the historical circumstances of Reinlein's rally against the Bohemian reformers in 1426. The contents of the treatise are put aside for the time being, inasmuch as their treatment requires further textual study.

Oswald Reinlein (sometimes also Reindel) was born in Nuremberg. It can be so assumed from the sobriquet *de Nüremberga*, which appears attached to his name and which is also substantiated by a document of the Nuremberg town council, which refers to him as "a son of our town."⁴ It is true that in his Viennese sermons of 1426 several times, and quite emphatically, he speaks of Austria as his native land (*patria*), but this is merely a rhetorical device. Calling for the defence of the "Austrian fatherland", he merely seeks to identify with his listeners. Similarly, he refers to Albrecht V as "our Duke and Lord."⁵ It is not known when and where Reinlein was admitted into the order of Mendicant Augustinians, but it was probably again in Nuremberg.⁶ He himself provides the earliest report of his activity in the order in his narrative

³ *Compendium seu Notata ex registris vel commentariis archivi generalis (1728–1730)*: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 8423, 171. Let us note that the Austrian lands, together with the Bohemian ones and other regions, at that time all belonged to the extensive Bavarian Province of the Augustinians.

⁴ Nürnberg, Staatsarchiv, Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Briefbücher, Nr. 11, fol. 100v-101r (ad 26. 9. 1434).

⁵ München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 8365, fol. 167ra; Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. I, 78, fol. 68va.

⁶ According to Emil Reicke, *Geschichte der Reichsstadt Nürnberg von dem ersten urkundlichen Nachweis ihres Bestehens bis zu ihrem Eubergang an das Königreich Bayern 1806* (Nuremberg, 1896) 686.

about Jan Hus. He maintains that, at the time of Hus's greatest popularity as a preacher, he resided in Prague as preacher at St. Thomas's Church in Malá Strana, and dates this period to 1411–1413. Anežka Vidmanová rather prefers the years 1409–1411. There is no other documentary evidence of Reinlein's stay in Prague.⁷ If (in agreement with older literature) his death is dated after 1466, he must have been very young at the time. We can only guess, whether he was dispatched from Nuremberg to Prague for practical training, or to help with preaching. Similarly, the length of his stay remains a puzzle. Bartoš claims that Reinlein arrived to preach the crusade at Regensburg in 1420 and surmises that he participated in sentencing to death by fire the German Hussite Ulrich Grünsleder.⁸ Thus, he identifies Reinlein with Magister Oswald, whom the chronicler Andrew of Regensburg mentions in reference to this date. I do not consider this identification correct, especially because there is no evidence that Reinlein had received a Master's degree. Moreover, Magister Oswald did not preach in Regensburg, but merely brought a copy of the papal crusading bull, *Omnium plasmatoris*.⁹ Participation in Grünsleder's trial is not explicitly connected with this Magister Oswald. The chronicler merely states that the heretic was arrested at the behest of the bishop, and "most carefully investigated repeatedly by various doctors and men learned both in scripture [*sacra pagina*] and canon law."¹⁰ In any case, the preaching during the execution of the unfortunate Hussite emissary was done by the Austin Friar, Bertold Puchhauser of Regensburg. However, Reinlein's path would cross with Bertold's in the future, when the latter would become the Provincial of Bavaria.

Reinlein is for the first time recorded in official documents in Vienna, where he already held a position as Prior. His presence there is noted in the years 1422–1426. It is, however, probable that he had held this office for an entire decade.¹¹ It is possible that he was called to Vienna earlier in order to carry

⁷ Vidmanová, "Stoupenčí a protivníci" 52. Reinlein does not appear in Jaroslav Kadlec, *Das Augustinerkloster Sankt Thomas in Prag vom Gründungsjahr 1285 bis zu Hussitenkriegen* (Würzburg, 1985); nor among the members of Prague University in Josef Trížka, *Životopisný slovník předhusitské pražské univerzity 1348–1409* [Biographical Dictionary of the Pre-Hussite University of Prague, 1348–1409] (Prague, 1981) 432.

⁸ Bartoš, *Husitská revoluce* 2:7–8 n. 2.

⁹ Andreas von Regensburg, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Georg Leidinger (Munich, 1903) 367. According to the chronicler, Oswald arrived at Regensburg, when Prague was besieged by the first crusade; at the same time, however, he mentions a copy of the bull made in Kutná Hora on 16 August 1420, and its promulgation at the Synod of Salzburg on 28 August, so that it is possible that Oswald did not arrive until September of that year.

¹⁰ "... sepius per diversos doctores atque peritos viros tam in sacra pagina quam in iure canonico fuisset diligentissime examinatus," *ibid.* 350.

¹¹ *Geschichte der Stadt Wien II/2*, ed. Albert Starzer (Vienna, 1905) 882 n. 2, and Friedrich Rennhofer, *Die Augustiner-Eremiten in Wien. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Wiens* (Würzburg, 1956) 266, give the span 1422–1425. He is located in the following year, thanks to a mention in the *Tractatus exhortatorius*. This refutes the erroneous assertion of Bartoš, *Husitská revoluce* 2:7, that Reinlein resided in Nuremberg during his anti-Hussite campaign.

out a reform of the Augustinian monastery. The duke himself, Albrecht V, was interested in the purge of the monastery, located in the proximity of his castle. As early as April 1420, his request for the introduction of Observance was approved by the Provincial Chapter in Vienna, and the following year by the Prior General and Pope Martin V.¹² These briefs were approved on 17 January 1422 by the Dean of the Metropolitan Chapter in Passau, who issued the relevant rulings of implementation. Prior Oswald had already participated in these proceedings.¹³ The introduction of the strict statutes of the so-called Saxon Congregation of Austin Friars was completed only in February 1423, when Oswald submitted all the documents to the certification by the notary public in the great chamber of the ducal chancellery.¹⁴ On 16 March of the following year, the Observant Monastery in Vienna – according to the wish of Duke Albrecht – was subordinated directly to the Prior General.¹⁵ The moral and institutional rebirth of the monastery also attracted the attention of patrons. Magister Bertold Starkh of Basel, Duke Albrecht's personal physician, made it a condition of his donation to the Viennese Augustinians that the introduction of the Observance would be implemented to its proper end. The hermitage, founded by Johann Neydecker, was likewise transferred to the Augustinians in order to maintain its Observance, and Reinlein was authorised to determine its membership.¹⁶

In 1426, Oswald assumed the function of a crusade preacher with the task of inciting the participants in Albrecht's campaign against the Hussites in Moravia. He was again in Vienna at the turn of the year 1432, when he delivered a cycle of thirty-eight sermons on the fifteen signs of the Last Judgment.¹⁷ Sometime during 1432, however, he probably resigned from the office of prior. In the fall of 1434, he departed for Basel to seek the permission from the prior general of his order to undertake a pilgrimage to Aachen. The passage through his native Nuremberg is documented by the town council's appeal

Also the designation as the Bohemian Prior (Vidmanová, "Stoupenci a protivníci," 50) is based on an error (instead of "prior immeritus in Boiemia," one must read "... in Vienna").

¹² *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien II/2*, ed. Karl Uhlirz (Vienna, 1900), 48, no. 2138a (24. 6. 1420); 55, no. 2168a (12. 7. 1421); 55, no. 2170a (18. 8. 1421).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 58–59, no. 2185a (17 January 1422).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 64–65, no. 2208 (11 February 1423). "Bruder Oswalt" appears once more in the sources in the same year as the representative of the monastery in the capacity of feudal lordship; *ibid.* 66, no. 2215 (28. 5. 1423). Furthermore, a charter for the Teutonic Knights of Vienna issued by Reinlein on 24 July 1424 survives, see *Die Urkunden des Deutschordens-Zentralarchivs in Wien*. Regesten III, ed. Marian Tumler and Udo Arnold (Marburg, 2007) 949, no. 3168.

¹⁵ *Compendium ex registris*, 298–303. On the introduction of the Observance in Vienna, see Rennhofer, *Die Augustiner-Eremiten in Wien* 146–148.

¹⁶ *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien II/2*:63–64, no. 2205 (28. 12. 1422), Oswald's reverse *ibid.* 64, no. 2207 (2. 1. 1423). On Neydecker's foundation, see *Compendium ex registris*, 296–297 and 161 (30. 7. 1423).

¹⁷ Adolar Zumkeller, *Manuskripte vom Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mitteleuropäischer Bibliotheken* (Würzburg, 1966) 342–343, no. 730.

to the Augustinian General, Gerhard of Rimini. The Nurembergers petitioned for Reinlein – who had successfully reformed the Viennese monastery and remained inactive for two years – to be tasked with the introduction of Observance in the monastery of Nuremberg.¹⁸ In the beginning of October 1434, Reinlein arrived at Basel, where Prior General Gerhard participated in the council. In the following period, Reinlein seems to have passed through Aachen, but he mostly remained in Gerhard's entourage.¹⁹ On 26 December 1434, at the wish of the Nuremberg town council, Gerhard of Rimini entrusted the representative of the Saxon Reforming Congregation, Heinrich Zolter, with the introduction of the strict Observance in the Augustinian monastery of Nuremberg. Oswald was to be his assistant, and after Zolter's departure remain in Nuremberg in the role of Vicar General. By the end of January 1435, the town council gratefully notified Gerhard that Oswald had embarked on his task.²⁰

The imperial city of Nuremberg played a role in the monastic reform similar to that of Duke Albrecht in the case of Vienna. Reinlein undertook the first steps under the tutelage of Zolter and with the support of town offices. In his letter of 1435, Zolter expressed his support for the reform and recommended that the monastery rely on the protection of the secular power – the mayor and the town council. Zolter also obtained for the Nuremberg Augustinians from the Bishopric of Bamberg permission to preach and to hear confessions, which in any case had been guaranteed by the bull *Super cathedram* of Boniface VIII. Afterwards, he evidently left Nuremberg, entrusting the rest of the reform work to Reinlein. On 5 May, the Prior General confirmed Oswald's authority, including the resettlement of the brethren resisting the submission to Observance to other friaries.²¹ This became one of the main apples of discord, with which Reinlein could not cope alone. The evicted brethren appealed to the Chapter of the Bavarian Province with complaints against the brutality of Prior Reinlein and Lector Konrad of Zenn. The Nuremberg council backed the two accused before the Provincial Bertold of Regensburg and the Chapter, as well as the Legate Giuliano Cesarini. Wielding the authority

¹⁸ Briefbücher, Nr. 11, fol. 100v-101r (26 September 1434).

¹⁹ Compendium ex registris, 306 and 180 (permission for pilgrimage, 4–11 October 1434; need for Reinlein's presence in Basel, 3 November 1434).

²⁰ The commission of 26 December 1434 in the Latin abstract Compendium ex registris, 307–309 and 180, see also the German abstract in *Oeconomia des Closters der Brüder Einsiedel des Ordens sanct Augustini der Observantz teutscher Landes in Nürnberg*: Nürnberg, Landeskirchliches Archiv, Rep. 10b: Kirchenvermögen, Nr. 197, fol. 107v-110r (the jurisdiction of Oswald's vicariate was valid for the monasteries of Nuremberg and Windsheim). Letter of Nuremberg council of 30 January 1435: Briefbücher, Nr. 11, fol. 192v-193r.

²¹ Zolter's letter is inserted in the retrospective report about the reforms of the Nuremberg Augustinians in the manuscript Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V, 73, fol. 14v-15r and 109v-110r; see the registrum in *Oeconomia*, fol. 110v. The letter of the Bamberg official is also abstracted there, 111r-111v. Confirmation in Compendium ex registris, 310 and 182.

of the council, Gerhard of Rimini gave support to Reinlein in the letters of 18/19 January and 15/16 September 1436. In addition, he solicited the aid of the town councils of Nuremberg and Windsheim, and ordered the Provincial, Georg of Schönthal to make sure that the brethren – who had left in connection with the introduction of Observance – returned the valuables, with which they had absconded.²²

All these efforts, however, were in vain. Already in August 1436, the Nurembergers notified Cesarini and Gerhard that the insubordinate group of Augustinians had forced Reinlein and Zenn to resign.²³ Evidently, neither the two Augustinians nor the supporting authorities recognised the resignation, inasmuch as Reinlein continued to be called Prior in official documents. Nevertheless, he set out for the Council of Basel, where he sought to reverse the unfavourable situation. Responding to his and Zenn's petition, the Council on 27 January 1437 commissioned Georg, the Abbot of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Giles in Nuremberg, to continue the reform of the local Augustinian monastery, which Georg attempted to advance with his decree of 7 July of the same year.²⁴ In February 1437, Gerhard of Rimini decreed that nobody else but the Prior General had the right of visitation for the Nuremberg monastery. Since this right was another contested point in the jurisdictional dispute between the Provincial Schönthal and the reforming camp, this step constituted clear support for Reinlein's vicariate. The reform in Nuremberg was also to be strengthened by the appointment of three new Observant brethren, perhaps Reinlein's acquaintances from Vienna.²⁵ Not even this measure, however, helped to save Reinlein's position, and in the end he resigned from the office of prior. In the fall of 1437, he obtained permission to visit the Holy Sepulchre, and most likely he departed for the Holy Land. The following year, the provincial Georg of Schönthal took over the reform of the Nuremberg monastery.²⁶ The situation had then rather stabilised, because in the year 1441 Reinlein exercised the function of sub-prior.²⁷ The reforming efforts with respect to the Nuremberg Augustinians, however, extended into the 1460s, and still continued to be plagued by disputes.²⁸

²² Compendium ex registris, 311–312 and 182.

²³ Briefbücher, Nr. 12, fol. 85v–86r and 90r (9./13. 12. 1435); Compendium ex registris, 311; Briefbücher, Nr. 12, fol. 247v–248r (11. 8. 1436).

²⁴ Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V, 73, fol. 13r–14r, 106r–109r; regestum in Oeconomia, fol. 114r–115r.

²⁵ Compendium ex registris, 312 and 182. A certain Ludwig from Vienna was included among the new friars.

²⁶ Ibid., 314 (13. 10. 1437) and 185 (13. 9. 1437); Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V, 73, fol. 15v–16v and 110r–111v (3. 8. 1438).

²⁷ Nürnberg, Stadtarchiv, A1 – Urkunden, 1441 Aug. 1 (Rep. 5. I. 13).

²⁸ On the reform of the Nuremberg Augustinians, see Julie Rosenthal-Metzger, "Das Augustinerkloster in Nürnberg," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 30 (1930) 1–106 at 77–80, see also the lists on p. 96 and 98 (the author refers to the first reform with the participation of Zolter and Reinlein already in the year 1420; I consider

The last remaining trace of Reinlein is his mediation “On the Seven Mortal Wounds of Christ on the Cross,” the manuscript of which – just like certain other codices with Reinlein’s writings – stem from the Augustinians of Munich. If we assume with Adolar Zumkeller that the manuscript date of 1466 is also the time of its composition, it would likewise become the date *post quem* for Oswald’s passing.²⁹ The literary work of Reinlein still awaits a critical analysis. Zumkeller’s list includes, in addition to the piece about Christ’s wounds, two thematically kindred *dubia* in the same manuscript. Oswald is further credited with a series of sermons for Sundays and Feast Days as well as the aforementioned homiletical cycles against the Hussites (1426) and on the Last Judgment (1432). His authorship of the quadragesimal *Ductus est Iesus* is questionable.³⁰ It may be noted in passing that this Lenten collection resembles Oswald’s cycles by the practice of inserting an identical verse into the header of each sermon (*Ductus est Iesus* [Mt 4,1] in the quadragesimale, *Erunt signa in sole* [L 21,25] in sermons on Last Judgment, and *Certa bonum certamen* [1 Tm 6,12] in the exhortation of the crusaders).

Henceforth attention will focus on the treatise against the Hussites, named in the explicit of the Nuremberg manuscript as *Tractatus exhortatorius pro cruce signatis contra Hussitas et alios inimicos fidei fratris Oswaldi de Nurmberga ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini*. As noted earlier, it was discovered by Bartoš, who paraphrased several excerpts from it.³¹ Other scholars were especially taken by the passage, in which Reinlein recalls Hus’s reputation, which he noticed during his stay in Prague at second hand. Oswald appends his narrative to the explication of Chapter 13 of the Apocalypse. He compares the Bohemian Reformation to the seven-headed beast, which received its strength from the dragon, namely, Hus. He applies John’s words “the whole country followed this beast in wonder” to the homiletical success of Hus. This vogue, however, is attributed to populist manipulation and to deception. Allegedly, after his sermons, Hus invited the masters for something to eat and also other people came to his dwelling. In the kitchen, however, they found nothing other than *pulmentum*, that is,

this assertion mistaken); Josef Hemmerle, *Die Klöster der Augustiner-Eremiten in Bayern* (München-Pasing, 1958) 10–11 and 66–70; Johannes Kist, “Klosterreform im spätmittelalterlichen Nürnberg,” *Zeitschrift für bayerische Kirchengeschichte* 32 (1963) 31–45 at 38–40, who relies on the preceding literature. On the reform efforts of Augustinian Generals, see Ralph Weinbrenner, *Klosterreform im 15. Jahrhundert zwischen Ideal und Praxis. Der Augustinereremit Andreas Proles (1429–1503) und die privilegierte Observanz* (Tübingen, 1996) 86–92 (with Reinlein mentioned at p. 89).

²⁹ Adolar Zumkeller, “Die Lehrer des geistlichen Lebens unter den deutschen Augustinern vom dreizehnten Jahrhundert bis zum Konzil von Trient,” in *Sanctus Augustinus vitae spiritualis Magister* (Rome, 1959) 2:238–339 at 306.

³⁰ Zumkeller, *Manuskripte* 340–343, no. 725–731. For a brief explication of *De quindecim signis*, see Zumkeller, “Die Lehrer” 307–309.

³¹ Bartoš, “Husitika” 8–10.

a sort of simple vegetable stew (*varmuže* in Old Czech).³² When they wondered, Hus asked them for patience. After a while, various messengers began to bring cooked, baked, fried and marinated fish. Hus commented, “Look, my dearest brethren, how God takes care of the faithful. I myself would never be able to provide such dishes. Let us acknowledge God’s benefaction, give him thanks, and correct our lives. Let us note the decay of the church, how gold has tarnished on the head and the colour of the limbs has changed, and how there is not anybody, who is a benefactor, except for the one and only.” According to Reinlein, Hus meant himself as the one and only.

In my opinion, this tale – despite its malice – may capture some of Hus’s strategy of gaining adherents by an illustrative example, his ability to utilise living situations as *exempla*, serving his own basic agenda. Even a positive relationship to modest hospitality with piscine delicacies might not be incompatible with Hus’s character as we know it. Reinlein’s narrative strategy, however, is obvious. He wished to warn the Austrian crusaders against the trickiness of the heretics, whose agitation may appear superficially sympathetic. An example based on his personal experience with the (by then) legendary leader of the opponents was to endow his testimony with particular trustworthiness and power to convince. Reinlein utilised a standard topos of the heretic, who skilfully hides his corruption under the cover of holiness and thus gains new adherents. “They admired his moderation and asceticism,” Oswald writes further, “because they assumed that he was satisfied with a gruel. He instead enjoyed exquisite delicacies, supplied to him by a group of matrons.”³³

After this excursus, let us turn to Reinlein’s homiletic performance in Vienna. He states in the prologue that he began writing his opus on Good Friday (29 March 1426), and that he presented it *wlgari audientie*, that is, to the German lay public. Unfortunately, it is unknown, in which church this event took place, whether in the Augustinian Church (*Augustinerkirche*), or in St. Stephen’s Cathedral (*Stephansdom*). In my opinion, either was possible: in the Augustinian Church he definitely preached his *Sermones de quindecim signis*, but the Cathedral is plausible, because the cathedral canon, Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, gave permission for the preaching of the Cross. Nevertheless, the incentive for the homiletical performance stemmed from Duke Albrecht V. The colophon of the treatise gives the date of its completion as the vigil of the feast of Peter and Paul, that is, as 28 June 1426, from which Bartoš deduced a quarter-of-a-year duration of Oswald’s homiletical campaign.³⁴ An

³² Klaret’s dictionary gives *varmuže* as the equivalent of the vague term *pulmentum*, which – just like the biblical *pulmentarium* – could mean anything from a side serving to a meat dish, or possibly a portion of any meal. The Old Czech term is derived from the German *warmes Mus* (a warm mash); *Altsächsisches Wörterbuch* understands the expression *warmmōs* as cooked vegetables.

³³ Vidmanová, “Stoupenci a protivníci,” 49–52.

³⁴ Bartoš, “Husitika,” 9.

analysis of the formal structure of the treatise, however, does not confirm such an assumption. Based on the internal cross-references in the text, it may be concluded that Oswald preached every day, or almost every day, during the entirety of April 1426 and the June date marks the casting of his sermons in literary form.³⁵

What were the circumstances of assigning to Oswald the role of a preacher of the Cross; in other words what was the situation on the south-eastern front against the alleged Bohemian heretics in 1426? The start of that year was marked by a heightened activity at the papal curia. After Cardinal Branda da Castiglione completed his second legation and returned to Rome, Martin V entrusted the organisation of a crusade against the Bohemians to Giordano Orsini. Simultaneously with his appointment as a legate, the pope issued on 16 January 1426 a new crusading bull, *Salvatoris omnium*. Orsini left Rome and set out for Germany on 19 March.³⁶ Bartoš assumed that Reinlein's campaign was a part of the diplomatic preparation of Orsini's legation.³⁷ It is, however, necessary to take into consideration the fact that the war against the Hussites moved organisationally along two tracks. It was organised, on the one hand, from Rome with the help of the crusade *instrumentarium*; on the other hand, by local princes as a frontier war, or – at the level of the Roman King and the Electors – as a defence of the Empire (*Reichskrieg*). In December of the previous year, King Sigismund, on the initiative of the Electors, convoked the Imperial Diet, which was to discuss the further struggle against the Hussites. The place and time was Vienna on 9 February 1426.³⁸ The choice of the location was not accidental, because the Austrian Lands were increasingly threatened on their northern border by attacks of the Bohemian heretics, and already in the fall of 1425 Sigismund had rendered military assistance to his son-in-law Albrecht V in an – albeit not particularly successful – campaign.³⁹ In fact, on the day after the appointment of the new legate, Martin V appealed to the two monarchs for a joint struggle and destruction of Hussitism.⁴⁰ On 8 January, Albrecht convoked the estates of his lands to Vienna to obtain additional resources for defence. On 8 February – on the day before the opening of the Imperial Diet, the Austrian Diet granted

³⁵ On this point, see Pavel Soukup, "Preaching the Cross against the Hussites, 1420–1431," in *Partir en croisade à la fin du Moyen Âge. Financement et logistique*, ed. Daniel Baloup and Manuel Sánchez Martínez (forthcoming).

³⁶ Birgit Studt, *Papst Martin V. (1417–1431) und die Kirchenreform in Deutschland* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 2004) 621.

³⁷ Bartoš, *Husitská revoluce* 2:7.

³⁸ *Deutsche Reichstagsakten* 8, ed. Dietrich Kerler (Gotha, 1883) [= DRTA 8] 436–437, no. 367 (8. 12. 1425).

³⁹ Ferdinand Stöller, "Österreich im Kriege gegen die Hussiten (1420–1436)," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* NF 22 (1929) 1–87 at 32–36, summarily also Petr Čornej, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české* [A Comprehensive History of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown] 5. 1402–1437 (Prague, 2000) 503–504.

⁴⁰ E. M. Lichnowsky, *Geschichte des Hauses Habsburg* 5 (Wien, 1841) CCXII, no. 2391.

funds for continued defence against the Bohemian heretics, who were harming the land “with murders, robberies, arson, and otherwise.” In return, the Duke prohibited imports of competing Hungarian wines and then called up the troops to Laa for 24 February.⁴¹ In the meantime, Sigismund’s Imperial Diet concluded almost before it even opened. Because of the insufficient attendance by the princes of the empire, the king announced on 10 February the convocation of a new Diet in Nuremberg for May.⁴² In the meantime, the Bohemian warriors also took to the field. The Bohemians in anticipation of their enemies’ tactics attacked the bases of support for Friedrich of Saxony and Albrecht of Austria on the Bohemian-Moravian territory. In the months of spring, they seized the Lichtenstein domains of Valtice, Podivín, and Mikulov, and later also Břeclav.⁴³ The news of this offensive must have reached Vienna already in March 1426. Albrecht shifted to Korneuburg north of Vienna, where he was joined by Sigismund from Bratislava in early April.⁴⁴ Precisely at this time, Albrecht and close associate of his court, the Viennese theologian, Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, commissioned Reinlein to preach for the future crusaders.

The articulate Augustinian, as we know, began his performance in the Easter setting on 29 March. After he had spent the night in a shelter in Klosterneuburg,⁴⁵ the Portuguese Prince Pedro arrived with three hundred stout warriors just for the start of Oswald’s homiletical campaign. This second son of King John I, the Duke of Coimbra and elder brother of the famous Henry the Navigator, had undertaken a long journey through central and east-central Europe.⁴⁶ Allegedly, he was exiled for three years by his father for murdering a knight. This information was recorded by the chronicler Andrew

⁴¹ Augustin Neumann, *Nové prameny k dějinám husitství na Moravě* [New Sources for the History of Hussitism in Moravia] (Olomouc 1930) 61–62, no. 21, regestum in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien II/2:79*, no. 2272 (8. 2. 1426). See also H. J. Zeibig, *Die kleine Klosterneuburger Chronik (1322 bis 1428)*, Monumenta Claustroneoburgensia I (off-print from Archiv für Kunde Österreichischer Geschichtsquellen 7, 1851) 23, and Stöller, “Österreich im Kriege” 37–38. The troops had not gathered at the appointed time, and Albrecht was still in Vienna on 28 February, see *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien II/2:80*, no. 2276.

⁴² DRTA 8:443–444, no. 375. For the voluminous literature on both diets, see Wilhelm Baum, *Kaiser Sigismund. Hus, Konstanz und Türkenkriege* (Graz, 1993) 200.

⁴³ Josef Válka, *Dějiny Moravy I. Středověká Morava* [The History of Moravia. I. Medieval Moravia] (Brno, 1991) 136–137.

⁴⁴ Stöller, “Österreich im Kriege” 40; the King’s presence is documented here for 1–4 April, see *Itinerar König und Kaiser Sigismund von Luxemburg 1368–1437*, ed. Jörg K. Hoensch (Warendorf, 1995) 111.

⁴⁵ Zeibig, *Die kleine Klosterneuburger Chronik* 24; see also Ferdinand Opll, *Nachrichten aus dem mittelalterlichen Wien* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar, 1995) 128.

⁴⁶ On Pedro’s travel to Central Europe, see Francis M. Rogers, *The Travels of the Infante Dom Pedro of Portugal* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961) 37–45; Miroslav Svoboda, “Proč byl v roce 1426 u Břeclavi portugalský princ?” [Why was a Portuguese prince near Břeclav in the year 1426?], *Jižní Morava* 47 (2011) 41–50.

of Regensburg, who noted the Prince's passage through his town and his preceding petition for a safe conduct submitted in Bruges on 4 February.⁴⁷ Pedro aimed to meet Sigismund who, however, in the meantime had left Vienna for Bratislava. He utilised his stop in the Austrian capital to deposit there a collection of prayers which were composed by his father John as a spiritual weapon for the warriors against the Bohemian heretics. This occurred on Good Friday, that is in direct connection with Oswald's preaching.⁴⁸ The Prince remained in the Danubian area until late in the year. In August, he participated in the unsuccessful Austrian siege of Břeclav and in the autumn, in Sigismund's service in the last battle of Pipo Spano at Orşova, where his small contingent was entirely routed by the Turk.⁴⁹

Albrecht's siege of Břeclav was the sole result of the great military preparations of 1426. It is true that right after Easter Albrecht convoked another *Landtag* into Vienna for 21 April, but apparently with meagre result.⁵⁰ During the month, when Reinlein thundered his crusading sermons, Albrecht most likely was trying to convince the Austrian estates about the need to strike against the southern bridgehead of the heretics in Moravia. Afterwards, in mid-May the *Reichstag* met in Nuremberg. Sigmund himself failed to come for health reasons, and Albrecht likewise was absent.⁵¹ On the other hand, Cardinal Giordano Orsini made his appearance at last. On 17 May, he delivered a militant opening speech, promising rich material bounty, as well as spiritual benefits from the struggle against the Bohemian heretics.⁵² Nevertheless, the coordination of the crusading forces failed. While the Saxons, the Meisseners, and the Thuringians were utterly defeated at Ústí nad Labem on 16 June, Albrecht did not march against Břeclav until August. The campaign suffered from the lack of soldiers and equipment. The Duke's

⁴⁷ Andreas von Regensburg, *Sämtliche Werke* 332–333.

⁴⁸ "Oratio porrecta per dominum regem Portugallie, que dicenda est pro salute eius et omnium pugnancium contra perfidos hereticos Huzzitas. Anno Domini 1426 in magna sexta feria." Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, CCI 80, fol. 130v. I have edited and discussed this document in "Portugalský král a husité. Příspěvek k dějinám křížácké liturgie" [The King of Portugal and the Hussites. A study in the history of crusading liturgy], in *O felix Bohemia! Studie k dějinám české reformace*, ed. Petr Hlaváček (Praha, 2013) 90–104.

⁴⁹ Pedro is noted at Břeclav by *Aenae Silvii Historia Bohemica*, eds. Dana Martínková, Alena Hadravová, and Jiří Matl [Fontes rerum Regni Bohemie, 1] (Prague, 1998) 130 and indirectly by Zeibig, *Die kleine Klosterneuburger Chronik* 23–24. He is recorded in Sigismund's army by *Eberhart Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Kaiser Sigmunds*, ed. Wilhelm Altmann (Berlin, 1893) 204 and Jörg K. Hoensch, *Kaiser Sigismund. Herrscher an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit 1368–1437* (Munich 1996) 342. The Portuguese Prince, who fought at Břeclav in 1426, is erroneously called John in Czech literature (Válka, *Dějiny Moravy* 1:137; Čornej, *Velké dějiny* 5:467). The Portuguese interest in central Europe continued; in 1430, Pedro's cousin participated in the *Reichstag* at Nuremberg, see DRTA 9, ed. Dietrich Kerler (Gotha, 1887) 424–425, no. 336 and 406, no. 317, see also Nuremberg bribes 431, no. 342.

⁵⁰ Stöller, "Österreich im Kriege" 41.

⁵¹ See also DRTA 8:496–497, no. 409.

⁵² DRTA 8: 483, no. 401; Studt, *Papst Martin V.* 625–627.

desperate calls for help – sent repeatedly from the siege encampment to Vienna in October 1426 – permit us to follow literally mile by mile the approach of the saviour of heretical Břeclav, the host of Prokop the Bald.⁵³

The situation, which I have just tried to sketch, confirms that the campaigns against the Bohemians bred tensions between the papal crusade and the local homeguard. As a preacher of the Cross, Reinlein represented the curial model, but at the same time he had to take into account the current Habsburg and Luxembourg policy. In my opinion, the survey of events shows that Reinlein was not Orsini's man, as Bartoš had assumed. His commission was clearly bestowed by Nicholas of Dinkelsbühl, who in turn was authorised in 1421 – as it is documented – by Cardinal Branda, the real architect of the crusade against the Bohemians. Orsini did not get into the act until the summer of 1426, by which time Brother Oswald had fallen silent. On 1 September of that year, the legate authorised the Viennese provost at St. Stephen's, William of Durs, to grant indulgences to the crusaders, which incidentally was one of the last acts of his legation.⁵⁴ This appointment apparently became a bone of contention in the crusading microcosm of Vienna. In February 1427, the Pope was forced to confirm explicitly Castiglioni's earlier authorisation of Dinkelsbühl and state explicitly that the termination of Branda's Legation did not invalidate Nicholas's function of the crusading preacher (combined, of course, with the granting of indulgences).⁵⁵ This episode, among others, indicates the complex jurisdictional frame of the crusade, as well as the disputes contributing to the fatal failures of the crusading campaigns.

Concerning the heretical neighbours, Reinlein showed an absolute rigidity, admitting of no other outcome than their complete destruction. At the time when Prior Reinlein preached his sermons against the Bohemian heretics, there began, however, surfacing simultaneous efforts for an irenic solution of the heretical crisis, that is, making it disappear without the use of violent force. Calls for a public disputation were a leitmotiv of the Bohemian reformers' declarations, which after the mid-1420s were gaining a better chance of response.⁵⁶ At the same time in the Roman Catholic camp, there was an

⁵³ *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien* II/2:82–83, no. 2291–2294; Neumann, *Nové prameny* 62–64, no. 23–25. On 10 November, Albrecht went as far as to promise a compensation for their expenses for the war against the heretics, see Jodok Stülz, "Regesten aus dem fürstlichen Archive zu Eferding (12.)," *Notizenblatt. Beilage zum Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen* (1853) 236–240 at 237, no. 277; Stöller, "Österreich im Kriege" 42–43.

⁵⁴ *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien* I/4, ed. Anton Mayer (Vienna, 1901) 128, no. 4041; Städt, *Papst Martin V.* 633.

⁵⁵ *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia* VII/2, ed. Jaroslav Eršil (Prague, 1998) 668, no. 1715 (6. 2. 1427).

⁵⁶ Franz Machilek, "Die hussitische Forderung nach öffentlichem Gehör und der Beheimsteiner Vertrag von 1430," in *Husitství – reformace – renesance*. Sborník k 60. narozeninám Františka Šmahela [Hussitism, Reformation, and Renaissance: Festschrift for the Sixtieth Birthday of František Šmahel], eds. Jaroslav Pánek, Miloslav Polívka, and Noemi Rejchrtová (Prague, 1994) 2:503–527.

increasing desire for a dialogue with the Utraquists, albeit motivated politically and pragmatically. Yet, in 1426, Orsini designated Sigismund's desire for a rapprochement with the Bohemians as a diabolical intention. A year later, his successor, Cardinal Beaufort, was still chastised by the pope for permitting a theological disputation with the heretics. Yet the course of events clearly aimed – via the Bratislava meeting and the Judge of Cheb – at a peaceful solution.

How can we assess Reinlein's *Tractatus* from this vantage point? The author indisputably belonged among the irreconcilable wing of the Roman Catholic propagandists. This is logically explicable by the circumstances of his work's origin. It was a call for a crusading campaign, which was the epitome of a bellicose solution of the Bohemian question. This approach was, for instance, upheld by the President of the Council of Basel, Giuliano Cesarini, as late as the opening of the General Synod. The militant Roman Catholic, Oswald Reinlein, represents the type of person who has not been in the forefront of scholars' interest. Historians' attention is rather attracted by the conciliar negotiations with the Bohemians and by any possible early signs of a tolerant approach to religious dissent. Oswald never touched upon Hussite theology, much less disputed with them. For historical scholarship, the mediocre Reinlein is obviously less interesting than the intellectual giants, who raised their quills against the heretics. For Reinlein, the Utraquists' theology lost any interest, as soon as it was classified as heresy. In his sermons, he then focused on the questions of why and how to exterminate the heretics. Thus, he represents an approach, which has been called "inquisitorial" or "crusading."⁵⁷ It would be, however, an error to dismiss the simple-minded individuals like Reinlein, as brainless propagandists and war mongers. On the contrary, they represented a fairly influential group in the political, if not even in the ecclesiological, spectrum of the Roman Church, as it then existed. The current which they represented – although dammed into the background during the discussion of the *compactata* – still lurked there as one, albeit latent, variant of subsequent development. The future would demonstrate its re-emergence, for instance, in the person of John Capistrano or under Pius II, as once more the dominant ecclesiastical approach.⁵⁸

(Translated from the Czech by Zdeněk V. David)

⁵⁷ Josef Válka, "Zikmund a husité. Jak zakončit (husitskou) revoluci" [Sigismund and the Hussites. How to end the (Hussite) Revolution], *Časopis Matice moravské* 128 (209) 3–33, here 13–14.

⁵⁸ This study was supported by a grant from the Czech Science Foundation (GA ČR) "Anti-Hussite Polemics and the Czech Question in the Fifteenth Century" (404/09/P605).