

JOHANN ULRICH SURGANT'S *MANUALE CURATORUM PREDICANDI* AS A PRODUCT OF MEDIEVAL INTELLECTUAL HERITAGE IN BASEL LIBRARIES

THE EXAMPLE OF KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION AT THE TURN OF THE HAND-WRITTEN AND PRINTED BOOK CULTURE EPOCHS

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Manuale curatorum predicandi – the treatise on the art of preaching written by Basel scholar Johann Ulrich Surgant in 1502 – is usually classified as a humanist and nearly proto-reformation work. The paper disputes this classification; it provides several analytical textual probes to show the deep dependence of the *Manuale curatorum* on the older scholastic tradition. Following on from former research, a few relatively well-known high and late medieval *artes praedicandi* are identified as the main sources of Surgant's writing. Moreover, the study aims to trace specific manuscripts or early prints in Basel libraries, which could have been directly used by the author-compiler.

Keywords: Johann Ulrich Surgant – *Manuale curatorum predicandi* – Basel – *ars praedicandi* – preaching – libraries – Latin literature

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Manuale curatorum predicandi prebens modum, tam Latino quam vulgari sermone practice illuminatum, cum certis aliis ad curam animarum pertinentibus, omnibus curatis tam conducibilis quam salubris is the full title of the treatise on preaching (a sort of manual for preachers) written by Basel scholar Johann Ulrich Surgant at the very beginning of the 16th century.¹ This relatively well-known source² is one of the last pieces of a medieval text

¹ During the whole study, the first edition of the Johann Ulrich Surgant's *Manuale curatorum predicandi* (printed in 1503 at the Basel printing house of Michael Furter) is referred to (hereafter MC with Roman numeral for the book designation and Arabic numeral for the chapter designation) – four digitized copies preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (hereafter BSB) München (4 Inc. c. a. 1835; Res/4 Liturg. 370; Res/4 Hom. 1451; Res/4 P.lat. 1166 m) are available online: <<https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV010298107>> (December 21, 2022).

² There exist two (even though relatively old) principal works about Johann Ulrich Surgant and his literary work, especially about *Manuale curatorum predicandi*. The older of them deals with the high and late medieval homiletical theory and (using a comparative approach) its influence on the Surgant's treatise. It is the indispensable monograph for any further textological research: Dorothea ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie und das Manuale curatorum des Johann Ulrich Surgant*, Basel–Stuttgart 1956 (Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 58). The younger of them – the five-part (+ appendices) study published as an article in instalments – pays attention to the *Manuale curatorum predicandi* especially from its third to the fifth section: Jürgen KONZILI, *Studien über Johann Ulrich Surgant (ca. 1450–1503)* [Teil 1], *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 69, 1975, pp. 265–309; [Teil 2–3; Teil 4–5], 70, 1976, pp. 107–167, 308–388; Anhang I–II, 71, 1977, pp. 332–392. There is also one unpublished dissertation at University of Göttingen (that I had no

type called *ars praedicandi*.³ It is often mentioned as an example of a theoretical religious text, even though still medieval at the very core, already influenced by humanism, which anticipates a new way of theological thinking on the eve of the Reformation.⁴ However, this classification seems to be based on a historical context rather than the text itself – which is the hypothesis that should be proved in the following paper. I will try to illustrate it with a few comparative analyses showing Surgant's work as a typical example of the medieval intertextual tradition defined by compiling various sources and the so-called composite authorship.⁵ Further, this article aims to point out some hypothetical Surgant's inspirations in Basel libraries, in order to get an idea of the possibilities of the academic writer at that time as well. First, however, the historical context should be outlined in brief.

Johann Ulrich Surgant⁶ was born sometime around 1450 in Alsace (town Altkirch) in a noble family. He matriculated at the artistic faculty of the Basel university in 1464,

chance to study): Johannes MEINHARDT, *Predigt, Recht und Liturgie. Studien zur prinzipiellen Homiletik des späten Mittelalters auf Grund von Ulrich von Surgants Manuale curatorum*, Theol. Diss., Göttingen 1959. Except for the above-mentioned crucial works, *Manuale curatorum* is often recalled in a wide range of literature. See notes n. 4, 6, 10, 75.

³ See the main literature dealing with the mediaval *artes praedicandi*: Harry CAPLAN, *The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching*, *Speculum* 4/3, 1929, pp. 282–289; IDEM, *Classical Rhetoric and the Medieval Theory of Preaching*, *Classical Philology* 28/2, 1933, pp. 73–96; IDEM, *Mediaeval Artes Praedicandi* [1]. *A Hand-List*, Ithaca 1934 (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 24); IDEM, *Mediaeval Artes Praedicandi* [2]. *A Supplementary Hand-List*, Ithaca 1936 (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 25); Thomas-Marie CHARLAND, *Artes praedicandi. Contribution a l'histoire de la rhétorique au Moyen Âge*, Ottawa–Paris 1936 (Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales d'Ottawa 7); Susan GALLICK, *Artes praedicandi. Early Printed Editions*, *Mediaeval Studies* 39, 1977, pp. 477–489; Marianne G. BRISCOE – Barbara H. JAYE (eds.), *Artes praedicandi. Artes orandi*, Turnhout 1992 (Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 61); Siegfried WENZEL, *The Art of Preaching. Five Medieval Texts and Translations*, Washington 2013; IDEM, *Medieval 'Artes Praedicandi'. A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure*, Toronto 2015.

⁴ Apparently, this point of view is probably anachronically determined (especially in the evangelical historiography) by knowledge of the subsequent historical development, i. e. the Swiss Reformation. Classification of the *Manuale curatorum predicandi* as a proto-reformation and humanistic work can be found e.g. in the following works: Johann Jakob HERZOG, *Das Leben Johannes Oekolampads und die Reformation der Kirche zu Basel*, I, Basel 1843, p. 44; Rudolf CRUEL, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*, Detmold 1879, p. 601; August BERNOULLI, *Surgant, Johann Ulrich*, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XXXVII, Sturm (Sturmi) – Thiemo, Leipzig 1894, pp. 165–166; Fritz SCHMIDT-CLAUSING, *Johann Ulrich Surgant, ein Wegweiser des jungen Zwingli*, *Zwingliana* 11, 1961, pp. 287–320, passim; Rudolf HIRSCH, *Surgant's List of Recommended Books for Preachers*, *Renaissance Quarterly* 20/2, 1967, pp. 199–210, there pp. 199–200; Alfred EHRENSPERGER, *Der Gottesdienst in Stadt und Landschaft Basel im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Zurich 2010, pp. 23–24; IDEM, *Geschichte des Gottesdienstes in Zürich Stadt und Land im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Reformation bis 1531*, Zurich 2019, pp. 129–132. How tendentious some parts of Surgant's work can be perceived, if they are placed in the same line with the later reformation thinking, was noticed (from the point of view of Catholic historiography) already in the 1860's by M. Kerker, who wrote: „Es gilt natürlich auch von Vergleichung das bekannte Sprüchwort: *omnis similitudo claudicat*, und man muß den ganzen streng katholischen Charakter des Werkes kennen, um dieselbe nicht misszuverstehen.“ Moritz KERKER, *Die Predigt in der letzten Zeit des Mittelalters mit besonderer Beziehung auf das südwestliche Deutschland*, *Theologische Quartalschrift* 43/3, 1861, pp. 373–410, there p. 380.

⁵ For the theory of medieval authorship, see Alastair MINNIS, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages. Second Edition, with a New Preface by the Author*, Philadelphia 2010; here especially the chapter *Literary Theory and Literary Practice*, pp. 160–210.

⁶ The following summary of Surgant's life and career is based mainly on J. KONZILI, *Studien über Johann Ulrich Surgant* [1]. Elemental biographical data in the form of brief mentions, dictionary entries or non-comprehensive *curricula vitae* are included also in several other works; see Charles SCHMIDT, *Histoire littéraire de l'Alsace à la fin du XVI^e et au commencement du XVII^e siècle*, II, Paris 1879, pp. 54–57; A. BERNOULLI, *Surgant*; Rudolf WACKERNAGEL, *Geschichte der Stadt Basel*, II/2, Basel 1916, pp. 857–858; Paul ROTH, *Surgant, Johann Ulrich*, in: *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, VI, Saint-Gelin – Tingry, Neuenburg 1931, p. 611;

where he obtained a baccalaureate two years later.⁷ He graduated “in via antiqua”,⁸ i. e. in the intellectual tradition of late-scholastic realism, represented especially by Johann Heynlin of Stein, who taught there from 1464 to 1466.⁹ Surgant seems to have been greatly inspired by him. Thus, it is probably no coincidence that after Stein’s transfer to the Paris university, also Surgant appeared there along with Johann Reuchlin and Johann Amerbach (later famous Basel printer). There is no need to discuss in detail the well-known fact that Surgant belonged to the circle of humanistic intellectuals connected with Paris and Basel.¹⁰

Johann Heynlin of Stein was coming back to Basel repeatedly during the 1470s and 1480s. After 1484, he was appointed preacher in Minster and also canon of the Cathedral chapter house. In 1487, he entered the Carthusian monastery in Kleinbasel, where he died nine years later.¹¹ Johann Amerbach established his own printing house in Basel in the

Eberhard STRICKER, *Elsässer Rektoren an der alten Universität Basel*, Annuaire de Colmar 5, 1939, pp. 67–81, there pp. 77–78; D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie*, pp. 7–14; Andreas HEUSLER, *Geschichte der Stadt Basel*, Basel 1957⁵, p. 104; Edgar BONJOUR, *Die Universität Basel von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart 1460–1960*, Basel 1960, p. 64; F. SCHMIDT-CLAUSING, *Johann Ulrich Surgant*, pp. 291–301; Paul STINTZI, *Johann Ulrich Surgant*, Annuaire de la Société d’histoire sundgoviennne / Jahrbuch des Sundgauvereins 1961, pp. 147–148; Guido KISCH, *Die Anfänge der Juristischen Fakultät der Universität Basel 1459–1529*, Basel 1962 (Studien zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Basel 15), pp. 83–86; Andreas M. BURG, *Surgant, Johann Ulrich*, in: Josef Höfer – Karl Rahner (Hgg.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (zweite, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage), IX, Rom – Tetzl, Freiburg 1964, col. 1192; Franz Josef WORSTBROCK, *Surgant, Johann Ulrich*, in: Wolfgang Stammer et al. (Hg.), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* (zweite, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage), IX, Slecht, Reinhold – Ulrich von Liechtenstein, Berlin–New York 1995, col. 544–547; Erich WENNEKER, *Surgant, Johann Ulrich*, in: Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz (Hg.), *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, XI, Stoss Veit – Tieffenthaler Joseph, Hamm 1996, col. 273–275; A. EHRENSPERGER, *Der Gottesdienst in Stadt*, pp. 23–24; IDEM, *Geschichte des Gottesdienstes in Zürich*, pp. 128–129.

⁷ Hans Georg WACKERNAGEL (Hg.), *Die Matrikel der Universität Basel*, I, 1460–1529, Basel 1951 (hereafter MUB), p. 52.

⁸ Universitätsbibliothek (hereafter UB) Basel, AN II 9 (*Matricula facultatis arcium*), p. 191.

⁹ See Max HOSSFELD, *Johannes Heynlin aus Stein. Ein Kapitel aus der Frühzeit des deutschen Humanismus* [Teil 2], *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 7, 1908, pp. 79–92, there pp. 79–92; Friedrich SANDER, *Johannes Heynlin von Stein, ein Lehrer Reuchlins*, in: Hermann Wahl (Hg.), *Pforzheimer Geschichtsblätter* 1, 1961, pp. 65–81. For dividing the faculty members into two sides – realists and nominalists, see Wilhelm VISCHER, *Geschichte der Universität Basel. Von der Gründung 1460 bis zur Reformation 1529*, Basel 1860, pp. 138–180; E. BONJOUR, *Die Universität Basel*, pp. 86–89. For the problem of universals at the end of the Middle Ages (in general), see Gerhard RITTER, *Studien zur Spätscholastik*, II, *Via antiqua und via moderna auf den deutschen Universitäten des XV. Jahrhunderts*, Heidelberg 1922 (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 7. Abhandlung); Heiko A. OBERMAN, *Via Antiqua and Via Moderna. Late Medieval Prolegomena to Early Reformation Thought*, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 48/1, 1987, pp. 23–40; Maarten J. F. M. HOENEN, *Via Antiqua and Via Moderna in the Fifteenth Century. Doctrinal, Institutional, and Church Political Factors in the Wegestreit*, in: Russell L. Friedman – Lauge O. Nielsen (eds.), *The Medieval Heritage in Early Modern Metaphysics and Modal Theory, 1400–1700*, Dordrecht 2003, pp. 9–36.

¹⁰ Cf. F. SCHMIDT-CLAUSING, *Johann Ulrich Surgant*, pp. 306–316; R. HIRSCH, *Surgant’s List*, p. 199; J. KONZILI, *Studien über Johann Ulrich Surgant* [1], pp. 284–287; Heribert SMOLINSKY, *Kirche und Religion in Basel um 1501*, Basel 2002 (Vorträge der Aeneas-Silvius-Stiftung an der Universität Basel 38), passim. In addition to those above mentioned, Surgant’s schoolmates and later colleagues at the faculty of law, Sebastian Brant and Bernhard Oeglin, should be also listed in that circle of late medieval Basel humanists. Cf. Andreas STAEHELIN, *Sebastian Brant, 1458–1521*, in: Idem (Hg.), *Professoren der Universität Basel aus fünf Jahrhunderten. Bildnisse und Würdigungen*, Basel 1960, p. 18; G. KISCH, *Die Anfänge der Juristischen Fakultät*, pp. 77–80.

¹¹ Cf. M. HOSSFELD, *Johannes Heynlin aus Stein* [2], pp. 166–196; IDEM, *Johannes Heynlin aus Stein. Ein Kapitel aus der Frühzeit des deutschen Humanismus* [Teil 3], *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 7, 1908, pp. 235–431, there pp. 235–311.

1470s and became one of the most important printers in the town.¹² Surgant also settled in Basel in 1470 and he certainly stayed in touch with both of these colleagues. He returned from France with Licentiate as a *magister parisiensis* and started to teach at the artistic faculty (dean 1474 and 1478).¹³ At the same time, he studied at the faculty of law in Basel, where he graduated with the title *decretorum doctor* in 1479. From that time on, he taught at this faculty (dean 1483/84, 1489/90, 1496/97),¹⁴ and even became rector of the Basel university four times during his academic career (1482/83, 1487, 1494/95, 1501).¹⁵

Besides his university career, Surgant also acted in the ecclesiastical administration. He was ordained a priest in 1472 and served as a rector of a parish church of St. Theodor in Kleinbasel (diocese Konstanz) almost all the time of his priesthood (from 1473 – with a short break in 1489¹⁶ – until his death in 1503). Moreover, he became a canon of St. Peter’s Collegiate chapter probably sometime in the 1380s. He proved to be a skilled administrator in his office as he established the systematic register of those baptized in the church of St. Theodor and other administrative records.¹⁷ According to his pastoral duty, he also preached regularly to his parishioners. This is probably the main reason why Johann Ulrich Surgant edited and published a collection of patristic homilies called *Homiliarius doctorum* (collected initially by Paulus Diaconus in the 8th century) in Nicolaus Kessler’s printing house.¹⁸ The practical effort to help ordinary priests in preparing their own sermons led Surgant also to a theoretical interest in preaching. His treatise *Manuale curatorum predicandi*, finished in 1502 and printed at Basel already a year later,¹⁹ is precisely the result of that focus. The repeated publication of this work not only in Basel (1503, 1504, 1506, 1508, 1514) but also in Strasbourg (1506, 1516, 1520) and Mainz (1508) shows its wide popularity in the first two decades of the 16th century, especially in the Rhine region. Surgant’s manual was even put in a list of twelve books recommended to all parish priests by the synod of Basel diocese in October 1503.²⁰

The *Manuale curatorum predicandi* consists of two volumes (books),²¹ but only the first of them contains the theory of preaching and practical instructions on how to create and deliver sermons. The second part includes instructions and liturgical texts for sacramental rites also in the vernacular language (German), useful for parish rectors and administrators.

¹² Cf. Alfred HARTMANN (Hg.), *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, I, Basel 1942, pp. XIX–XXIII; Barbara C. HALPORN (ed.), *The Correspondence of Johann Amerbach. Early Printing in Its Social Context*, Ann Arbor 2000, pp. 3–5.

¹³ MUB, p. 374.

¹⁴ MUB, p. 371. For Surgant’s career and work in the faculty of law, see G. KISCH, *Die Anfänge der Juristischen Fakultät*, pp. 83–86, 327–329.

¹⁵ MUB, pp. 173, 197, 230, 262, (366–367).

¹⁶ Surgant temporarily resigned from the function of a parson at St. Theodor probably due to his new occupation of chapter dean at St. Peter. J. KONZILI, *Studien über Johann Ulrich Surgant* [1], p. 300.

¹⁷ See J. KONZILI, *Studien über Johann Ulrich Surgant* [2], pp. 107–113.

¹⁸ Two digitized copies of *Homiliarius doctorum* (printed in 1493 at the Basel printing house of Nicolaus Kessler) preserved in the BSB München (2 Inc.c.a. 3650; 2 Inc.c.a. 2881) are available online on those links: <<https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV035717821>>; <<https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV023373623>> (December 21, 2022). Cf. J. KONZILI, *Studien über Johann Ulrich Surgant* [2], pp. 113–114.

¹⁹ Surgant gives the date of completion of his work at the end of the prologue: “Ex Basilea VIII. Idus Novembris, anno millesimo quingentesimo secundo.” MC I, Prologus.

²⁰ F. SCHMIDT-CLAUSING, *Johann Ulrich Surgant*, p. 299; R. HIRSCH, *Surgant’s List*, p. 200; J. KONZILI, *Studien über Johann Ulrich Surgant* [1], p. 265.

²¹ With the headlines: “Primus liber est de arte predicatoria et continet vigintiquinque considerationes”, MC I, Registrum libri primi; “Liber secundus de practica artis predicatorie iuxta vulgare theutonicum”, MC II, Registrum, f. 68r.

Within this, there is a large space²² devoted to officiating at the period- and local-specific service (so-called *Predigtgottesdienst*) containing only preaching, some prayers and catechetical formulas (prayers for those dead and other intercessions, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Creed, the Ten Commandments), announcements and sometimes also separated communion or indulgences with the confession of sins. This reduced service without *canon missae* (celebrated usually in vernacular)²³ developed in the late Middle Ages (especially in the southern German regions) from older substitutive forms of liturgy for common lay people.²⁴ A strong emphasis on the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures was the main feature of this rite. Thus, preaching became – instead of the Eucharist – the centrepiece of collective celebration. About twenty years later in the same geographical area, the first reformed liturgy was based exactly on the custom of *Predigtgottesdienst* (Ulrich Zwingli even took the Surgant's codification as a direct model).²⁵ The second book of *Manuale curatorum*, therefore, represents a unique (although regionally specific) testimony of late medieval standards in terms of liturgical practice, which, even though still Catholic, is already prefiguring the upcoming reformation development. This fact probably contributed to the above-mentioned classification of the manual as a proto-reformation piece.²⁶

In this way, Johann Ulrich Surgant offered to readers a comprehensive guide to everything related to religious speech (content, aim, form, as well as liturgical context) in this two-part treatise.²⁷ For purpose of this paper, I shall focus solely on the first volume – a representative of the *ars praedicandi* text type – which offers a somewhat different perspective than an accent on the continuity of liturgical framework and reform tendencies would. To better realize the scheme of the first book of the treatise, the headlines of all its twenty-five chapters, called *considerationes*, that follow the introductory parts (*Prologus*, *Tabula alphabetica*, *Registrum primi libri*), are transcribed here:

²² The first eight chapters out of a total of twenty (MC II, chap. 1–8, ff. 69r–93r). The other chapters deal with the rites for marriage (chap. 9–10, ff. 93r–100r), spiritual care for those sick (last communion, chap. 11, ff. 100v–102v; last rites, chap. 12, ff. 102v–110v; exhortations and prayers before death, chap. 13, ff. 110v–113v), indulgences at feast-days (chap. 14, ff. 113v–116r), preparation for the communion in the time of Lent and reception of excommunicated persons back into the church (chap. 15, ff. 116r–119r), different customs at holding sermons within the liturgical program in parishes (chap. 16, ff. 119r–199v), prayers at processions (chap. 17, ff. 119v–121r), veneration of holy relics (chap. 18, ff. 121r–122r) and the control duties of church authorities (chap. 19–20, ff. 122r–127v).

²³ Surgant offered the German and even the French form of the main prayers and catechetical formulas in the fifth chapter of the second part of the *Manuale curatorum predicandi* (MC II, chap. 5, ff. 80r–81v).

²⁴ For *Predigtgottesdienst* alias *pronaus* or *praeconium* (in general), see Eberhard WEISMANN, *Der Predigtgottesdienst und die verwandten Formen*, Kassel 1955 (Leiturgia 3), pp. 15–27; Eberhard WINKLER, *Der Predigtgottesdienst*, in: Hans-Christoph Schmidt-Lauber – Karl-Heinrich Bieritz (Hgg.), *Handbuch der Liturgik. Liturgiewissenschaft in Theologie und Praxis der Kirche*, Leipzig–Göttingen 1995, pp. 248–270; Andreas ODENTHAL, *Pfarrlicher Gottesdienst vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit. Eine Problemskizze aus liturgiewissenschaftlicher Perspektive*, in: Enno Bünz – Gerhard Fouquet (Hgg.), *Die Pfarrei im Späten Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 2013 (Vorträge und Forschungen 77), pp. 157–212, there pp. 186–187; A. EHRENSPERGER, *Der Gottesdienst in Stadt*, pp. 23–24; IDEM, *Geschichte des Gottesdienstes in Zürich*, pp. 116–128, 132–140.

²⁵ A. EHRENSPERGER, *Geschichte des Gottesdienstes in Zürich*, p. 540.

²⁶ For a detailed description of the second book of *Manuale curatorum predicandi*, see J. KONZILI, *Studien über Johann Ulrich Surgant* [2], pp. 118–119; [3], pp. 133–167; [4], pp. 308–374; [5], pp. 375–388. Cf. F. SCHMIDT-CLAUSING, *Johann Ulrich Surgant*, pp. 297–301; Willem Frederik DANKBAAR, *Die Liturgie des Predigtgottesdienstes bei Johann Ulrich Surgant*, in: Martin Greschat – Johann F. Gerhard Goeters (Hgg.), *Reformation und Humanismus. Robert Stupperich zum 65. Geburtstag*, Witten 1969, pp. 235–254.

²⁷ Jürgen Konzili defined the *Manuale curatorum predicandi* as “[...] sowohl predigt- wie liturgiegeschichtlich [...] Surgants Hauptwerk.” J. KONZILI, *Studien über Johann Ulrich Surgant* [2], p. 115.

Consideratio prima – Quid sit predicatio et que sunt eius privilegia (ff. 1r–3r)
 Consideratio secunda – Quis possit predicare (ff. 3r–5v)
 Consideratio tertia – Quid sit predicandum (ff. 5v–8v)
 Consideratio quarta – Qualis debeat esse predicatio (ff. 9r–11r)
 Consideratio quinta – De quadruplici Scripture sensu (ff. 11r–12v)
 Consideratio sexta – Quod modus predicandi sit necessarius (ff. 12v–13r)
 Consideratio septima – De variis modis predicandi (ff. 13r–15v)
 Consideratio octava – De partibus integralibus sermonis (ff. 15v)
 Consideratio nona – De populi salutatione (ff. 15v–16r)
 Consideratio decima – De thematis propositione (ff. 16r–18r)
 Consideratio undecima – De introductione (ff. 18r–20r)
 Consideratio duodecima – De invocatione divini auxilii (ff. 20r–22r)
 Consideratio tertia decima – De divisione thematis vel dicendorum et subdivisione (ff. 22r–23r)
 Consideratio quarta decima – De prosecutione partium divisionis (ff. 23v)
 Consideratio quinta decima – Quod predicatio assimilatur arbori (ff. 23v–24v)
 Consideratio sexta decima – De amplificacione sermonis (ff. 25r–39r)
 Consideratio septima decima – De auctoritatum applicatione (ff. 39r–40r)
 Consideratio duodevicesima – De regulis vulgarisandi (ff. 40r–42v)
 Consideratio undevicesima – De convenientia et differentia rhetorice divine cum rhetorica
 humana (ff. 43r–45v)
 Consideratio vicesima – De memoria (ff. 45v–58v)
 Consideratio vicesima prima – De pronunciatione (ff. 58v–60v)
 Consideratio vicesima secunda – De condescensione (ff. 60v–61r)
 Consideratio vicesima tertia – De viciis et cautelis predicantium (ff. 61r–65v)
 Consideratio vicesima quarta – De conclusione sermonis (ff. 65v–66v)
 Consideratio vicesima quinta – De libris amminiculativis huius artis (ff. 66v–67v)

Obviously, some chapters deal with purpose, others with rules or structure or technique or many other aspects connected with preaching. *Manuale curatorum* represents a very exhaustive treatise, which could be classified as the first type (a) of *artes praedicandi* in Sigfried Wenzel's three-level typology according to the comprehensiveness of the discussed issues.²⁸ Generally, it seems to be one of the most voluminous works in comparison with the medieval standard of this genre. Such a syncretic writing needed to reflect a long tradition of theoretical thinking in this field – not only as a result of the practical experience with the pastoral duties (i. e. reflection of author's own practice) but also by the textual transmission of several older theories and paradigms (i. e. compilation of sources). So, what exactly can be established about Surgant's workflow?

²⁸ “[...] it may embrace a multitude of aspects including the preacher's moral life and study, his articulation and gestures while preaching, and the actual form of his sermon. The extant medieval works that are thus labelled by modern scholars deal with such aspects, even if not all of them contain them all. One can, therefore, distinguish between several types: (a) comprehensive *artes praedicandi*, which do all these things, (b) complete ones, which deal only with sermon structure, (c) limited ones, which treat only a single aspect of this sermon structure, such as ways of development.” S. WENZEL, *Medieval 'Artes Praedicandi'*, p. 3.

Just as the *Homiliarius doctorum* was edited by Surgant on the basis of one manuscript preserved in the Basel Cathedral library (as stated in the preface),²⁹ also the *Manuale curarum predicandi* was probably created with the help of books available in Basel at that time. Naturally, our knowledge of the author's range of sources remains always somewhat hypothetical. However, Surgant provided us with a sort of clue to speculation. There is a list of recommended literature for preachers in the last chapter of the first book (*consideratio XXV: De libris amminiculativis huius artis*), containing almost a hundred writings of ecclesiastical authors from the fourth to the fifteenth century.³⁰ It represents the earliest really comprehensive bibliography, which has no parallel in any older *ars praedicandi* (except for a few recommended titles expressed at the end of the treatise by Henry of Hesse)³¹ nor in similar genres. The register does not enumerate the sources actually used in the preceding text (it should have served as a useful aid for priests in creating their sermons, not as a summary of the author's textual references in the modern sense), but it could offer some information on Surgant's manner of handling literature.

Rudolf Hirsch supplemented all the titles cited in the bibliography with information about their editions printed before 1503 (i. e. the date of the first publishing of the *Manuale curarum predicandi*). Hirsch's research shows that almost all the writings in the bibliography had been already printed at that time and about one third of them were printed in Basel.³² Johann Ulrich Surgant probably really compiled the bibliography using (at least partly) incunables, as he explicitly mentions before the second part of the recommended literature ("Sunt et alii plures sermologi infra notati, quos impressos vidi").³³ Basel, one of the most important centres of printing in western Europe,³⁴ certainly offered university scholars many opportunities to come into contact with a large number of contemporary printed book production. Nevertheless, the practice of copying and reading manuscripts was still maintained not only in the university but mainly in monastic libraries.³⁵ Thus, Surgant had more options to get access to required texts, whether in printed or manuscript form.

²⁹ "Inveni nuper in egregia insignis ecclesie Basiliensis biblioteca vetustissimum preclarumque opus omeliarum et postillarum excellentissimum quattuor ecclesie doctorum et quorundam aliorum in evangelia per anni circullum, tam de tempore quam de sanctis, occurrentia cum plurimis sermonibus sanctorum patrum hinc inde sparsim interpositis. Et quamvis superiori tempore omeliarius eorundem doctorum iuxta ordinationem christianissimi Romanorum patricii, venerande memorie Karoli Magni, Francorum et Longobardorum regis, exemplo Pipini, genitoris sui, accensi, qui cunctas Galliarum ecclesias suo studio Romane traditionis cantibus decoravit, impressus fuerit, quia tamen longe plures sermones doctorum et sanctorum patrum in prememorato nostre Basiliensis ecclesie libro scripto reperti sunt [...]" *Homiliarius doctorum*, Prologus.

³⁰ MC I, chap. 25, ff. 66v–67v.

³¹ There are only six items in the short list at the end of the tract of Henry of Hesse, which is incomparable to the comprehensive bibliography in the *Manuale curarum predicandi*. Cf. Harry CAPLAN, "Henry of Hesse" on the Art of Preaching, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 48/2, 1933, pp. 340–361, there p. 359.

³² R. HIRSCH, *Surgant's List*.

³³ MC I, chap. 25, f. 67r. The quoted statement follows the first part of the bibliography composed mostly of common spiritual literature (including the Bible) and preceded an enumeration of more specific preaching literature such as collections of sermons, postillas, florilegia, tractates on preaching etc. Besides that, Surgant mentions the recent edition of Bible printed in Basel together with the Glossa ordinaria and postilla of Nicholas of Lyra ("[...] Bibliam nunc Basilee impressam cum Glosa ordinaria et Nicolai de Lira [...]") Ibidem), and at the very end, he concludes the chapter: "Et plures alii impressi et non impressi, quos nequaquam vituperandos seu vilipendos dico. Nemo enim est quin aliquid sit studii consecutus." Ibidem, f. 67v.

³⁴ See Pierre L. Van der HAEGEN, *Der frühe Basler Buchdruck*, Basel 2001.

³⁵ For the relationship between manuscript and printed book production at the end of the Middle Ages (in general), see Tilo BRANDIS, *Die Handschrift zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Versuch einer Typologie*, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 72, 1997, pp. 27–57; Hans E. BRAUN, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, in: Michael

Of course, the author, even though a scholar and a teacher at the university, was not thoroughly familiar with all the items in the bibliography.³⁶ Most of the listed works of church fathers and other ecclesiastical writers (as well as collections of sermons and other ‘practical’ aids for preachers)³⁷ were not reflected in the text of the *Manuale* itself. On the other hand, the text seems to be strongly influenced by the high and late medieval treatises on preaching. Dorothea Roth was the first to point out the general correspondences between Surgant’s work and the medieval tradition of *artes predicandi*.³⁸ Thanks to her primary findings, we can continue exploring the intertextuality of Surgant’s writing and its place in the process of transmission of genre patterns with particular textual probes. It is now enabled to trace certain relations (or even concordances) between the *Manuale curatorum predicandi* and its possible sources, moreover, to point out hypothetical connections with the concrete copies of manuscripts or early prints located in Basel libraries at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries.

In addition to many other likely or certain sources (such as treatises of Guibert of Nogent,³⁹ Alan of Lille,⁴⁰ William of Auvergne,⁴¹ Humbert of Romans,⁴² Pseudo-Bonaventure,⁴³ John of Wales⁴⁴ and Thomas Waleys⁴⁵), especially one ‘group’ of *artes* (all of them very popular in the late Middle Ages) is worth noting because *Manuale curatorum* is strongly influenced by them. This ‘group’ contains a few writings classified as treatises of Henry of Hesse,

Stolz – Adrian Mettauer (Hgg.), *Buchkultur im Mittelalter. Schrift – Bild – Kommunikation*, Berlin–New York 2005, pp. 215–242; Bettina WAGNER, *Von Experiment zur Massenware. Medienwandel im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, in: *Als die Lettern laufen lernten. Medienwandel im 15. Jahrhundert. Inkunabeln aus der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, Wiesbaden 2009, pp. 12–23; Diane E. BOOTON, *Manuscripts, Market, and the Transition to Print in late Medieval Brittany*, Farnham 2010; Julia BOFFEY, *Manuscript and Print in London c. 1475–1530*, London 2012; Harold LOVE, *The Manuscripts after Coming of Print*, in: Michael F. Suarez – Henry R. Woudhuysen (eds.), *The Book. A Global History*, Oxford 2013, pp. 197–204; Cristina DONDI, *Printing Revolution 1450–1500. I cinquant’anni che hanno cambiato l’Europa. Fifty Years that Changed Europe*, Venezia 2018.

³⁶ Rudolf Hirsch assumes: “Surgant cannot have expected the users of the *Guide* to read or consult all or even most of these titles (unless they had a very broad academic interest in homiletics). His list was a sort of bibliography compiled by a widely read teacher and priest. The reception of some entries [...] and some particularly obscure ones give rise to the question whether even Surgant was truly familiar with all the titles.” And hereafter: “It is likely, that most, if not all, the titles were available in the libraries of Basel and in nearby monasteries.” R. HIRSCH, *Surgant’s List*, p. 210.

³⁷ For the proportion of individual ecclesiastical authors in the bibliography, see R. HIRSCH, *Surgant’s List*, p. 210.

³⁸ D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie*.

³⁹ See S. WENZEL, *Medieval ‘Artes Praedicandi’*, p. 4, n. 2. For a description of the content of the treatise, see D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie*, pp. 32–36.

⁴⁰ See S. WENZEL, *Medieval ‘Artes Praedicandi’*, pp. 4–5, n. 3. For a description of the content of the treatise, see D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie*, pp. 36–43.

⁴¹ See H. CAPLAN, *Mediaeval Artes* [1], pp. 29–30, n. 179; IDEM, *Mediaeval Artes* [2], p. 23, n. 179; T.-M. CHARLAND, *Artes praedicandi*, pp. 39–42; S. WENZEL, *Medieval ‘Artes Praedicandi’*, pp. 9–10, n. 8. For a description of the content of the treatise, see D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie*, pp. 48–54.

⁴² See T.-M. CHARLAND, *Artes praedicandi*, p. 47; S. WENZEL, *Medieval ‘Artes Praedicandi’*, p. 12, n. 11. For a description of the content of the treatise, see D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie*, pp. 54–64.

⁴³ See H. CAPLAN, *Mediaeval Artes* [1], p. 20, n. 114; T.-M. CHARLAND, *Artes praedicandi*, pp. 30–33; S. WENZEL, *Medieval ‘Artes Praedicandi’*, pp. 8–9, n. 7. For a description of the content of the treatise, see D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie*, pp. 65–76.

⁴⁴ See H. CAPLAN, *Mediaeval Artes* [1], p. 5, n. 7; pp. 13–14, n. 62; IDEM, *Mediaeval Artes* [2], p. 3, n. 7; p. 11, n. 62; T.-M. CHARLAND, *Artes praedicandi*, pp. 55–60; S. WENZEL, *Medieval ‘Artes Praedicandi’*, pp. 12–13, n. 12. For a description of the content of the treatise, see D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie*, pp. 76–86.

⁴⁵ See H. CAPLAN, *Mediaeval Artes* [1], p. 10, n. 32; T.-M. CHARLAND, *Artes praedicandi*, pp. 94–95; S. WENZEL, *Medieval ‘Artes Praedicandi’*, pp. 21–23, n. 22. For a description of the content of the treatise, see D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie*, pp. 102–117.

Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas, Maurice of Leiden and Jacob of Fusignano. These texts were often copied and later also printed together.⁴⁶ They are also interconnected in terms of content, sometimes even formulation. That points out certain ideological dependencies among them, regardless of the diversity in their preserved manuscript versions.⁴⁷ It can be declared here, that Surgant's *ars praedicandi* continues in this range of related preaching manuals.

The treatise of Henry of Hesse (from the late 14th century)⁴⁸ is the shortest of those four. Surgant used it probably only as an inspiration, not as a direct model. Some similarities between Hesse's and Surgant's texts could be found in the parts dealing with the explanation of different types of preaching according to their textual structures. While Surgant distinguishes five modes of preaching in the seventh chapter of his *Manuale curatorum predicandi (consideratio VII: De variis modis predicandi)*,⁴⁹ Hesse describes only four of them.⁵⁰ However, Surgant directly names Henry of Hesse in the tenth chapter (*consideratio X: De thematis propositione*) as the authority on the issue of choosing the appropriate theme for the sermon, which proves that Surgant really knew Henry's work.⁵¹ Mostly, however, the textual concordance of these two *artes* is not so much literal; it is rather an approximate similitude of a few discussed topics. Thus, it is impossible to evaluate, whether Johann Ulrich studied one of the three printed versions of this tract (published up to that time)⁵² or some unknown manuscript exemplar. The situation is very different for the other writings from the 'group', quoted very literally in many places of the *Manuale curatorum*.

⁴⁶ For the joint preservation of these texts within hand-written or printed textual sets, see H. CAPLAN, "Henry of Hesse", pp. 341–344.

⁴⁷ In his brief study of Henry of Hesse's treatise, Harry Caplan outlined the great diversity and (to this day) unexplored textual traditions of these (as well as many others) medieval *artes praedicandi*. H. CAPLAN, "Henry of Hesse", pp. 341–343. Research activity focusing on the mutual textual relations of this late medieval material (in terms of making clear the genesis and interconnection of the different extant versions) still has no satisfying results.

⁴⁸ See H. CAPLAN, *Mediaeval Artes* [1], p. 7, n. 14; pp. 36–37, n. 222; IDEM, *Mediaeval Artes* [2], pp. 3–4, n. 14; T.-M. CHARLAND, *Artes praedicandi*, pp. 43–44; S. WENZEL, *Medieval 'Artes Praedicandi'*, pp. 25–26, n. 25. For a description of the content of the treatise, see D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie*, pp. 137–140.

⁴⁹ MC I, chap. 7, ff. 7r–15r.

⁵⁰ H. CAPLAN, "Henry of Hesse", pp. 348–356 (The Harry Caplan's edition within this paper is based on two early prints from the 15th century).

⁵¹ "Debet autem thema habere secundum Henricum de Hassia et alios doctores condiciones sequentes: [...]" MC I, chap. 10, f. 16v. This introductory statement is followed by a list of conditions for the correct theme, borrowed by the Hesse's treatise:

Henry of Hesse (H. CAPLAN, "Henry of Hesse", p. 349)

Thema debet esse: de Biblia sumptum; bene quotatum; quantitatem habens; qualitatem habens; non nimis breve; non nimis longum; sensum habens perfectum; conveniens dici; terminis predicabilibus ornatum.

Surgant (MC I, chap. 10, f. 17r)

	Autenticum	
	De Biblia sumptum	
	aut carmine divine laudis	
Thema	Bene quotatum	terminis
debet esse	Quantitatem habens	predicabilibus
	Qualitatem habens	ornatum
	Non nimis breve	
	Sensum habens perfectum	
	Conveniens dici	

⁵² Ludovicus HAIN (ed.), *Repertorium Bibliographicum in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD*, II/1, Stuttgart 1831, pp. 10–11, n. 8397, 8398, 8399.

Even the mentioned chapter *De variis modis predicandi* seems to be influenced much more by Pseudo-Aquinas's tract⁵³ than by the one of Henry of Hesse. The anonymous author (probably a member of the Dominican order, referring explicitly – but falsely – to the authority of St. Thomas Aquinas)⁵⁴ offered, sometime in the 15th century, three modes of preaching to his readers. The third of them is described by very close wordings like the third modus in Surgant's manual:

Pseudo-Aquinas (*Tractatus sollennis*, f. 10r)

Tertius modus et ad propositum nostrum. Primo predicator thema suum dicere debet in Latino sub silentio, post hoc introducere dictum unum in vulgari, videlicet:
 Dominus noster Ihesus Christus det hominibus viventibus gratiam et misericordiam, ecclesie sue pacem, nobis autem peccatoribus post hanc vitam vitam sempiternam.

Deinde resumatur thema per expressum in vulgari et post hec potest elicere vel recipere ex themate suo unam prelocutionem loco evangelii, et istam prelocutionem potest facere per similitudines, moralitates vel proverbialia sive naturalia vel aliquando etiam potest fieri ex certis auctoritatibus adductis. Et ista prelocutio alio nomine dicitur prothema, quia ante divisionem thematis et ante principalem materiam sermonis exprimitur. Et nota, quod in prelocutione sive prothema non debet fieri prolixitas, ut thema cum suis principalibus materiis sermonis locum exprimendi habere possit.

Surgant (MC I, chap. 7, f. 14r)

Tertius modus est cum assumptione thematis in Latino sub silentio, quasi cum probatione auctoritatis unius vel plurium vel sola quotatione, et deinde introducere salutationem ad populum in vulgari sermone in hanc vel similem sententiam: Dominus noster Iesus Christus det omnibus viventibus gratiam et peccatorum remissionem, defunctis misericordiam et requiem eternam, ecclesie sancte divinam pacem et benedictionem, nobis autem peccatoribus miseris post hoc exilium vel post hanc miseram vitam vitam sempiternam et perpetuam felicitatem. Quicumque hoc desideraverint, dicant devoto corde Amen.
 Deinde resumitur thema per expressum in vulgari eliciendo ex themate unam prelocutionem sive introductionem, et istam facere potest per auctoritates, per similitudines, per moralitates, proverbialia seu naturalia.

Et ista prelocutio dicitur ab eis prothema, quia fit per approbationem terminorum predicabilium in themate positorum. Et nota, quod in prelocutione tali sive prothemate non debet fieri prolixitas, ut principalis materia sermonis locum habere possit.

In a similar way, concordances between Surgant's and Pseudo-Aquinas's texts could be found in parts (among others) dealing with the four senses of the Scripture (*consideratio V: De quadruplici Scripture sensu*)⁵⁵ and the vices to avoid when preaching (*consideratio XXIII: De viciis et cautelis praedicantium*).⁵⁶ As no manuscript of this Surgant's source survives

⁵³ See H. CAPLAN, *Mediaeval Artes* [1], p. 36, n. 217; T.-M. CHARLAND, *Artes praedicandi*, pp. 85–88; S. WENZEL, *Medieval 'Artes Praedicandi'*, pp. 37–38, n. 40. For a description of the content of the treatise, see D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie*, pp. 140–147.

⁵⁴ According to the introduction to the treatise: "Tractatus sollennis de arte et vero modo predicandi ex diversis sacrorum doctorum scripturis et principaliter sacratissimi christiane ecclesie doctoris Thome de Aquino, ex parvo suo quodam tractatulo, recollectus, ubi secundum modum et formam materie presentis procedit." Digitized copy of the Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas's treatise called *Tractatus sollennis de arte et vero modo predicandi* (printed in 1483 at the Memmingen printing house of Albrecht Kunne) preserved in the BSB München (Res/4 P.lat. 1474) is available online on this link: <<https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV017694048>> (December 21, 2022). Harry Caplan published this treatise in English translation: Harry CAPLAN, *A Late Medieval Tractate on Preaching*, in: Alexander Magnus Drummond (ed.), *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James Albert Winans*, New York 1925, pp. 61–90.

⁵⁵ MC I, chap. 5, ff. 11r–11v; cf. Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas, *Tractatus sollennis*, ff. 5v–6r.

⁵⁶ MC I, chap. 23, ff. 61v–65r; cf. Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas, *Tractatus sollennis*, ff. 8r–9v.

in Basel libraries, it is likely that he was working with a printed exemplar. In addition to the most widely circulated edition printed by Albrecht Kunne in 1483,⁵⁷ also other copies (sometimes even mixed with other texts of a similar nature) might have been available in Basel at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries.⁵⁸ However, since the treatise of Pseudo-Aquinas is itself a compilation of older works of this genre, it is not possible to evaluate in all the cases whether some of the researched textual sections were taken by Surgant from here or elsewhere.

To this day, we lack exhaustive intertextual analysis of the relationships between the texts of that ‘group’. It is certain that the treatise of Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas is the youngest of them and has absorbed entire long parts from the treatises of Maurice of Leiden and Jacobus of Fusignano. Since the Pseudo-Aquinas’s and the so-called Leiden’s⁵⁹ treatises have the same incipit, some catalogues of medieval *artes praedicandi* register these two writings as several versions of the same one or they completely omit one of them.⁶⁰ Dorothea Roth has already pointed out that the resemblance between these two texts is far from extensive as comparing their incipits might suggest.⁶¹ Even so, there is no dispute that the anonymous author of the so-called Pseudo-Aquinas’s treatise worked primarily with Maurice’s tractate. This fact also corresponds to some parts of the *Manuale curatorum predicandi*. For example, at the beginning of the first chapter (*consideratio I: Quid sit predicatio et que sunt eius privilegia*), Surgant develops the famous definition of preaching by Alan of Lille using borrowed formulations:

⁵⁷ See note n. 54. Cf. Ludovicus HAIN (ed.), *Repertorium Bibliographicum in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD*, I/1, Stuttgart 1826, p. 162, n. 1362. At least, two copies of this incunable (owned by the Carthusian monastery in Kleinbasel in the 15th century) are preserved in the UB Basel, FJ IX 12:2; H IV 7:2.

⁵⁸ Cf. L. HAIN (ed.), *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, I/1, pp. 161–162, n. 1351–1361. Four of these prints (recorded under the numbers 1352–1355 in the Hain’s *Repertorium*) should contain the *ars* of Henry of Hesse together with Pseudo-Aquinas’s treatise. According to Harry Caplan’s findings, this information is not true – the mixed editions contain completely different texts under the false designation. H. CAPLAN, “Henry of Hesse”, p. 341. At least, one more printed copy of Pseudo-Aquinas’s treatise (printed in 1477 at the Nuremberg printing house of Friedrich Creussner; the exemplar owned by the Carthusian monastery in Kleinbasel in the 15th century) is preserved in the UB Basel, DA III 31:4. Cf. L. HAIN (ed.), *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, I/1, p. 162, n. 1358.

⁵⁹ This *Tractatus de modo predicandi* is preserved in several different hand-written versions, but only one of them attributes this work to Maurice of Leiden. Thus, the authorship of this theologian (living probably at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries) is based just on one manuscript dated 1452: Stiftsbibliothek Admont, ms. 596, ff. 88v–105r.

⁶⁰ Harry Caplan noticed in his incipit-catalogue that several manuscripts of this treatise are very close (in some aspects) to the printed editions of Pseudo-Aquinas’s writing and he distinguished two main groups of the tractate with incipit “Communicaturus caritative” – mutually very different in terms of wording and textual structure: “A study of the MSS. of this compilation, one of the best of medieval tractates on preaching, would be very desirable. The MSS. listed above show great differences; at least two tractates are here represented [...]” H. CAPLAN, *Mediaeval Artes* [1], pp. 9–10, n. 27; IDEM, *Mediaeval Artes* [2], pp. 5–6, n. 27. Sigfried Wenzel registers only the *Tractatus sollemnis* of Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas; he completely omits its older model. S. WENZEL, *Medieval ‘Artes Praedicandi’*, pp. 37–38, n. 40. The so-called Maurice’s treatise is registered separately in T.-M. CHARLAND, *Artes praedicandi*, p. 70. For a description of the content of the treatise, see D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie*, pp. 118–131.

⁶¹ D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie*, pp. 146–147.

Maurice of Leiden (*Tractatus de modo predicandi*, UB Basel, A VII 45, f. 170v)

Predicacio scilicet verbalis vel vocalis est manifesta et publica verbalis instructio fidei et morum, hominum informacioni deserviens, ex rationum semita et euctoritatum fonte proveniens vel procedens.

Quas periculas declarat ipse Alanus per ordinem sic: manifesta, inquam, debet esse predicacio, quia in manifesto est proponenda. Unde Christus ait: *Quod in aure audistis, predicate super tecta*. M[a]l[thei] X.

Si enim occulta esset predicacio, suspiciosa esset et videretur redolere heretica dogmata.

Publica debet esse, quia non uni sed pluribus proponenda est.

Si enim uni tantum proponeretur, non esset proprie predicacio, sed doctrina.

Pseudo-Aquinas (*Tractatus sollennis*, f. 3r)

Unde predicatio verbalis vel vocalis, de qua hic loquimur, est manifesta publica instructio fidei et morum, hominum informationem deserviens, ex rationum semita et auctoritatum fonte procedenda.

Erit igitur predicatio manifesta,

quam si esset occulta, suspiciosa esset et videretur includere heretica dogmata.

Erit enim publica, quia non uni sed pluribus proponenda est.

Si enim tantum uni preponeretur, non esset proprie predicatio, sed doctrina.

Surgant (MC I, chap. 1, f. 1r)

Vel sic secundum Alanum: Predicatio verbalis est manifesta et publica instructio fidei et morum, hominum informacioni deserviens, ex rationum semita et auctoritatum fonte procedens.

Dicitur venerabilis, quia tres sunt species predicationis, ut infra dicitur. Dicitur manifesta, quia in manifesto est proponenda.

Unde Mat[theus] X dicit: *Quod in aure audistis, predicate super tecta*. [...]

Si enim occulta esset predicatio, suspiciosa esset et videretur redolere hereticum dogma.

Unde si uni tantum proponenda esset, non diceretur predicatio, sed doctrina.

In parts like this, it is sometimes hard to distinguish whether Surgant used Pseudo-Aquinas's or Maurice of Leiden's text as a model (this particular situation is even more complicated because the whole passage is a very close quotation of Alan of Lille).⁶² However, the concordance with Maurice seems to be wider and a little more literal in the demonstrated comparison.

Likewise, other excerpts from Maurice's work (barely found elsewhere) were transmitted to *Manuale curatorum*. Looking at the sixth chapter (*consideratio VI: Quod modus predicandi sit necessarius*) dealing with the proper way to preach, Surgant uses similar wording as Maurice of Leiden, including the comparison between a preacher and a baker. Just as it is not enough to have good flour and an oven, but one also needs to understand the production process to bake bread, it is not enough to have the right preaching aids (such as various florilegia, collections of distinctions and so on), but one also needs to understand the preaching rules to compose and deliver the right sermon:

⁶² Cf. Alanus DE INSULIS, *Summa de arte praedicatoria*, in: Alani de Insulis, doctoris universalis, opera omnia, tomus unicus, ed. Jacques Paul MIGNE, Paris 1855 (Patrologia Latina 210), col. 109–198, there col. 111–112.

Maurice of Leiden (*Tractatus de modo predicandi*, UB Basel, A VII 45, ff. 168v–169r)

Nec arbitreris in communibus sermologis et libris predicabilibus hunc modum tibi traditum esse, ubi plus administratur materia, circa quam operaberis, quam modus circa eam operandi. Modi sic non sufficit ad recte et bene facere panes habere bonam farinam et cetera requisita, nec ad bonum aurifabrum sufficit habere argentum, aurum et instrumenta et cetera quequam requisita, sed requiritur etiam ars dirigens in operando, sic et hic. Huic dicit Aristoteles III Rethoricorum: Non sufficit habere, quod oportet dicere, necesse est hoc, ut oportet dicere. Ut oportet inquam in eo modo, quo oportet, et negocium ipsum et auditorium qualitas exiget et requirit.

Surgant (MC I, chap. 6, f. 12v)

Neque arbitremini in communibus sermologis seu libris sermonum hunc modum traditum esse, quia ibi plus administratur materia, circa quam operari oportet, quam modus circa eam operandi. Sicut etiam in simili non sufficit ad recte et bene facere panes habere bonam farinam et bonam fornacem seu bona instrumenta, sed etiam requiritur ars dirigens in operando, sic et hic in proposito nostro. Preterea dicit Aristoteles tercio Rethoricorum: Non sufficit habere, quod oportet dicere, sed requiritur et oportet ipsum negocium dicere, prout qualitas auditorum exiget et requirit.

It is worth noting that Johann Ulrich Surgant secondarily adopted even the quotation of Aristotle (albeit modified) from Maurice. This medieval practice of compiling authorities using secondary literature is still not unusual for such a humanist as Surgant allegedly was. At the end of the same chapter, he reduces Maurice's quotation of William of Auvergne in a similar way; and after that, he concludes the *consideratio* by following Leiden's commentaries:

Maurice of Leiden (*Tractatus de modo predicandi*, UB Basel, A VII 45, f. 169v)

Huic est, quod ad predicandum alios allicere volens Wilhelmus Parisiensis in tractatu suo de penitencia ait: Erogatio verbi Dei tanto Deo gravior est erogacione bonorum temporalium, quanta vita animarum vita corporum melior est, quin iimo inter omnia huius vite viatori ad salutem necessaria virtus divini verbi obtinet principatum. Tante namque virtutis est predicatio, quod revocat ab errore ad veritatem, a viciis ad virtutes, prava commutat in recta et aspera convertit in plana. Instruit fidem, erigit spem, inflammat caritatem, evellit nociva, plantat utilia et fovet honesta. Est enim via vite, scala virtutum et ianua paradisi [...]

Surgant (MC I, chap. 6, f. 13r)

Et Guillelmus Parisiensis in suo tractatu de penitentia ait,

quod inter omnia huius vite viatori ad salutem necessaria est auditio verbi Dei, quia virtus divini verbi obtinet principatum. Tante namque virtutis est predicatio, quod revocat ab errore ad veritatem, a viciis ad virtutes, prava commutat in recta et aspera convertit in plana. Instruit fidem, dirigit spem, inflammat caritatem, evellit nociva, plantat utilia et fovet honesta. Est enim predicatio via vite, scala virtutum et ianua paradisi.

The author of *Manuale curatorum praedicandi* had to work with a manuscript form of the text in those cases. No printed edition of Maurice's *Tractatus de modo predicandi* existed at that time and it does not exist to this day. The only known medieval manuscript of this treatise in Basel (written sometime in the middle of the 15th century, preserved in the Basel university library, A VII 45) belonged to a Dominican monastery at the end of the Middle Ages.⁶³ University scholar and priest Johann Ulrich Surgant was probably allowed to visit this monastic library. It is no coincidence that the Order of Preachers owned several items of

⁶³ UB Basel, A VII 45, ff. 167r–211r. Cf. online-catalogue: <<https://swisscollections.ch/Record/991170457064205501>> (December 21, 2022). For the library of the Dominican monastery in Basel, see Philipp SCHMIDT, *Die Bibliothek des ehemaligen Dominikanerklosters in Basler*, Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde 18, 1919, pp. 160–254, there p. 198, n. 93 (incomplete information about the manuscript).

preaching literature,⁶⁴ such as this codex containing not only the treatise of Maurice of Leiden (ff. 167r–211r) but also a tractate about the four senses of Scripture with register (*Compendium de quattuor sensibus sacrae scripturae*, ff. 133r–145v; *Tabula sensuum sacrae scripturae*, ff. 146v–147r), which is the topic treated in the fifth chapter of Surgant’s manual, as well as the other of *artes praedicandi* from the above-defined ‘group’ – the treatise of Jacob of Fusignano (ff. 51r–68v). All this information indicates that Surgant really held this manuscript in his hands.

While Maurice’s treatise is the longest of the sources within the ‘group’, Fusignano’s writing is the oldest and most sophisticated one. This work, written by Dominican friar Jacob of Fusignano at the beginning of the 14th century,⁶⁵ is characterized by its orderly structure even the strictly logical argumentation, and it qualitatively surpasses all the other described sources. Fusignano’s writing served evidently as an inspiration for all of them, for Pseudo-Aquinas and Surgant even more, however. Almost half of that treatise (called usually *Libellus artis predicatorie* or similar way) is occupied by descriptions of several exegetical procedures and techniques (so-called *dilatatio* or *amplificatio*). These parts are widely and very literally adopted by Surgant in the sixteenth chapter of the *Manuale curatorum* (*Consideratio XVI: De amplificacione sermonis*).⁶⁶ For example, a passage dealing with methods of interpreting biblical names could serve us as a probe. In both texts, the issue is illustrated by three etymological eventualities of the name “Israel”, which may reflect (under certain circumstances) the three different meanings of an object of the preacher’s interpretation:

⁶⁴ Cf. overview in P. SCHMIDT, *Die Bibliothek*, p. 181.

⁶⁵ See H. CAPLAN, *Mediaeval Artes* [1], pp. 20–21, n. 115; p. 36, n. 220; IDEM, *Mediaeval Artes* [2], pp. 16–17, n. 115; T.-M. CHARLAND, *Artes praedicandi*, pp. 48–49; S. WENZEL, *Medieval ‘Artes Praedicandi’*, pp. 17–18, n. 17. For a description of the content of the treatise, see D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigttheorie*, pp. 87–102.

⁶⁶ While Fusignano distinguished twelve modes that might be used for interpreting Holy Scriptures, Pseudo-Aquinas reduced this number to nine. On the contrary, Surgant increased the total list of these recommended “modi amplificandi” to the final fifteen. Cf. the enumerations in all three tracts:

Jacob of Fusignano (*Libellus artis predicatorie*, chap. 7, ed. S. WENZEL, pp. 38–40)

Modi vero, quibus sermo dilatari potest, sunt duodecim:

Primus modus est per concordancias auctoritatum;
 secundus modus est per verborum discussionem;
 tercius modus est per multiplicationem sensuum seu expositionem;
 quartus modus est per nominis interpretationem et descriptionem;
 quintus modus est per comparationes et diversas expositiones;
 sextus modus est per synonymorum multiplicationes;
 septimus modus est per rerum proprietates;
 octavus modus est similitudines;
 nonus modus est per oppositi assignationem;
 decimus modus est per divisionem totius in partes;
 undecimus modus est per considerationem seu assignationem causarum et effectuum;
 duodecimus modus est per ratiocinationem.

Pseudo-Aquinas (*Tractatus sollemnis*, ff. 4r–4v)

Modi vero prolongandi sermonum habent fieri novem modis:

Primo per concordantias auctoritatum;
 2^o per verborum discussionem;
 3^o per rerum proprietates;
 4^o per multiplicem expositionem sive multitudinem sensuum;
 5^o per similitudines et naturalia;
 6^o per oppositi assignationem, videlicet correctionem;
 7^o per operationes;
 8^o per nominis interpretationem;
 9^o per synonymorum multiplicationem.

Surgant (MC I, chap. 16, ff. 25r)

Sunt autem quindecim modi, quibus sermo amplificatur seu dilatatur, sicut per:

nominis interpretationem;
 verborum discussionem;
 synonymorum multiplicationem;
 concordantias auctoritatum;
 expositionem multiplicem et sensuum varium;
 comparationes;
 varias compositiones;
 rerum proprietates;
 similitudines;
 oppositorum assignationes;
 divisionem in partes;
 ratiocinationem;
 colores rhetoricales;
 causas et effectus;
 questiones et dubia.

Jacob of Fusignano (*Libellus artis predicatorie*, chap. 10, ed. S. WENZEL, pp. 54–56)

Qui ergo sermonem vult dilatare per nominis interpretationem, attendat diligenter an nomen, quod in auctoritate ponitur, habeat plures interpretationes, et illam, que ad suum propositum prosequendum fuerit, utilior assumat, obmissis aliis. Verbi gratia: *Israel* interpretatur “videns Deum,” vel “princeps cum Deo,” aut “fortis directio Dei.” Si ergo in auctoritate sit nomen *Israel* et predicator velit loqui de fortitudine, assumat ultimam interpretationem huius nominis et dimittat alias, que ad fortitudinem non pertinent. Potest nichilominus duas vel tres interpretationes aut plures assumere, prout oportunum viderit ad suum propositum prosequendum. Puta, si dicatur sic:
Iste sanctus vere figuratur per *Israel*, quia ipse fuit “videns Deum” per sublimem contemplacionem. Item, quia fuit “princeps cum Deo” per ecclesiasticam prelationem. Item, quia “fortis directio Dei” per commissi populi regulationem. Ecce qualiter facta est dilatatio per omnes interpretationes huius nominis *Israel*.

Surgant (MC I, chap. 16, ff. 25r–25v)

Nominis interpretatione attendendo diligenter an nomen, quod in themate vel auctoritate aliqua positum est, habeat plures interpretationes, et tunc illam, que magis ad suum propositum conducit, assumat, obmissis aliis. Verbi gratia:

Israel interpretatur “videns Deum,” vel “princeps cum Deo,” vel “fortis discretio Dei.” Si ergo in auctoritate habes hoc nomen *Israel* et predicator velit loqui de fortitudine, assumat ultimam interpretationem eius et dimittat alias, que ad fortitudinem non pertinent. Posset tamen duas aut tres interpretationes assumere, prout oportunum fuerit ad suum propositum prosequendum. Puta sic:

Iste sanctus n[omen] vere figuratur per *Israel*, quia fuit “videns Deum” per sublimem contemplacionem. Et quia fuit “princeps cum Deo” per ecclesiasticam prelationem. Item, quia fuit “fortis discretio Dei” per populi commissi regulationem. Ecce qualiter facta est regulatio per omnes interpretationes huius nominis *Israel*.

This and many other patterns were taken over by Surgant with only small linguistic deviations from Jacob of Fusignano.⁶⁷ The question arises again as to what form of the source was directly used to create the *Manuale*; whether manuscript or early print. In addition to the hand-written book A VII 45, Surgant had the opportunity to study another manuscript of Fusignano’s *Libellus* in the Dominican library, written in parchment codex from the 14th century, presently placed in the Basel university library, B IX 4 (ff. 77r–88v).⁶⁸ Exploration of both the Dominican manuscripts did not show any significant textual parallels to the *Manuale curatorum predicandi* (in terms of more precise wording contrary to Sigfried Wenzel’s semi-critical edition)⁶⁹ that would allow us to identify one of these exemplars as the undoubted model directly (i. e. physically) used by Surgant.⁷⁰ Moreover, Harry

⁶⁷ Just for comparison cf. the parallel (even though very reduced) passage in Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas’s *Tractatus sollemnis* (based on the tenth chapter of Fusignano’s *Libellus artis predicatorie* as well) on f. 7v.

⁶⁸ UB Basel, B IX 4, ff. 77r–88v. Cf. online-catalogue: <<https://swisscollections.ch/Record/991170524804705501/Holdings?openHierarchy=true#tabnav>> (December 21, 2022). Cf. Gustav MEYER – Max BURCKHARDT, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, Abteilung B: Theologische Pergamenthandschriften, Band 2: Signaturen B VIII 11 – B XI 26, Basel 1966, pp. 128–131; P. SCHMIDT, *Die Bibliothek*, p. 226, n. 328 (incomplete information about the manuscript).

⁶⁹ S. WENZEL, *The Art of Preaching*, pp. 3–95 (chapter I: *Jacobus de Fusignano*).

⁷⁰ Trivial findings like those highlighted are not serious indicators:

Jacob of Fusignano
(*Libellus* ..., chap. 10,
ed. S. WENZEL, p. 56)

[...]
quod in auctoritate **ponitur**, habeat
plures interpretationes
[...]
Si ergo in auctoritate **sit nomen**
Israel et predicator velit loqui
de fortitudine, assumat ultimam
interpretationem **huius nominis** et
dimittat alias
[...]

Jacob of Fusignano
(*Libellus* ..., chap. 11, UB
Basel, B IX 4, f. 84r)

[...]
quod in auctoritate **ponitur**,
habeat plures interpretationes
[...]
Si ergo in auctoritate **sit hoc**
nomen Israel et predicator velit
loqui de fortitudine, assumat
ultimam interpretationem
nominis et dimittat alias
[...]

Jacob of Fusignano
(*Libellus* ..., chap. 11, UB
Basel, A VII 45, f. 62r)

[...]
quod in auctoritate **positum est**,
habeat plures interpretationes
[...]
Si ergo in auctoritate **sit hoc**
nomen Israel et predicator velit
loqui de fortitudine, assumat
ultimam interpretationem
nominis et dimittat alias
[...]

Surgant (MC I, chap. 16,
f. 25r)

[...] quod in themate vel
auctoritate aliqua **positum est**,
habeat plures interpretationes
[...]
Si ergo in auctoritate **habes hoc**
nomen Israel et predicator velit
loqui de fortitudine, assumat
ultimam interpretationem **eius**
et dimittat alias
[...]

Caplan and Thomas-Marie Charland register two other Basel manuscripts of Fusignano's work (A VIII 7; F IV 8).⁷¹ None of them, however, does include the source.⁷² On the other hand, even the assumption of Dorothea Roth that Surgant used a print, not a manuscript, as a model⁷³ cannot be reliably verified nor refuted; incunables of Fusignano's text were available in Basel at the time as well.⁷⁴

To make really clear that Johann Ulrich Surgant follows the tradition of the late scholastic treatises of Henry of Hesse, Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas, Maurice of Leiden and Jacob of Fusignano, let's have a brief look at the one last motif – likening a scholastic sermon to a tree.⁷⁵ This example of allegoric imagination, common to the 'group' of *artes praedicandi* (except for Henry of Hesse), enables us to better perceive the medieval way of understanding the preaching as something that 'organically' grows out of a piece of Holy Scripture.

The depiction of a tree is not, however, connected with all the manners of preaching; it is related only to the specific preaching genre typical for the high and late scholasticism called thematic sermon, scholastic sermon or *sermo modernus*. This source type is characterized by schematically structured exposition based on a short biblical passage called *thema* (mostly just one sentence) divided into several, usually three, parts (so-called *divisio thematis*), which should be further hierarchically subdivided.⁷⁶ A structure like this really resembles the branching of the tree growing from the trunk of the Word of God, thus fruit on the branches (which means the revelation of the divine Truth) have to share the same nature. The prescribed procedure must be followed strictly, in order for the sermon to have the right effect; as Maurice of Leiden suitably explicated and Surgant took over the same passage from him to the fourteenth chapter of the *Manuale curatorum (consideratio XIV: De prosecutione partium divisionis)*:

⁷¹ H. CAPLAN, *Mediaeval Artes* [1], pp. 20–21, n. 115; T.-M. CHARLAND, *Artes praedicandi*, p. 49.

⁷² Cf. online-catalogue: <<https://swisscollections.ch/Record/991170513619705501>>; <<https://swisscollections.ch/Record/991170499904705501/Holdings?openHierarchy=true#tabnav>> (December 21, 2022).

⁷³ "Surgant hat nach höherstehendem Werk der Fusignano gegriffen. Als Vorlage diente ihm wohl der Druck, nicht die Handschrift." D. ROTH, *Die mittelalterliche Predigtheorie*, p. 173.

⁷⁴ At least, one printed copy of Jacob of Fusignano's treatise (printed in 1487 at the Köln printing house of Johannes Koelhoff; the exemplar owned by the Carthusian monastery in Kleinbasel in the 15th century) is preserved in the UB Basel, Inc 3:7. Cf. L. HAIN (ed.), *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, I/1, p. 425, n. 7400.

⁷⁵ For this issue, see Otto A. DIETER, *Arbor Picta. The medieval tree of preaching*, *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 51/2, 1965, pp. 123–144; Moritz WEDELL, *Zachäus auf dem Palmbaum. Enumerativ-ikonische Schemata zwischen Predigtkunst und Verlegergeschichte (Geilers von Kaisersberg Predigen Teütsch, 1508, 1510)*, in: René Wetzel – Fabrice Flückiger (Hgg.), *Die Predigt im Mittelalter zwischen Mündlichkeit, Bildlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit / La prédication au Moyen Age entre oralité, visualité et écriture*, Zürich 2010, pp. 261–304, there pp. 287–290; M. Jennifer BLOXAM, *Preaching to the choir? Obrecht's Motet for the Dedication of the Church*, in: Benjamin Brand – David J. Rothenberg (eds.), *Studies in the Cultural History of Medieval and Renaissance Music. Liturgy, Sources, Symbolism*, Cambridge 2016, pp. 263–292; Lidia GRZYBOWSKA, *Arbor Praedicandi. Some Remarks on Dispositio in Mediaeval Sermons (on the Example of Sermo 39 "Semen Est Verbum Dei" by Mikolaj of Blonie)*, *Terminus* 21/2, 2019, pp. 169–196.

⁷⁶ For the structure of the scholastic sermon (in general), see Beverly Mayne KIENZLE (ed.), *The Sermon*, Turnhout 2000 (Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental 81–83), pp. 370–374; 470–477, passim; S. WENZEL, *Medieval 'Artes Praedicandi'*, pp. 45–85.

Maurice of Leiden (*Tractatus de modo predicandi*, UB Basel, A VII 45, ff. 207v–208r)

[...] predicare est arborisare.
Caveatis in membris divisionis vel eciam subdivisionis, si necessaria fuerint subdivisionis membra, a materiis omnino impertinentibus ipsi principali, cum enim membra divisionis sint ut rami, ideo fructus doctrinarum in eis tradendarum participare debent naturam stipitis, i[d est] principalis, vel saltem attributionem ad ipsum habere debent.

Surgant (MC I, chap. 14, f. 23v)

Quia praedicare est arborisare, ut infra dicemus. Cavendum est summopere in membris divisionis vel etiam in membris subdivisionis, si sint ibi membra subdivisionis, a materiis omnino impertinentibus ipsi principali, quia cum membra divisionis sint ut rami, fructus doctrinarum in eis tradendarum participare debet naturam stipitis, i[d est] principalis, vel saltem attributionem ad ipsum habere debet.

For both, Surgant and Maurice, “predicare est arborisare”. This allegoric statement used to be sometimes falsely attributed to Jacob of Fusignano.⁷⁷ That mistake was probably caused by the fact that the Dominican Jacob was the first one, who expressed the “similitudo arboris” in written form. The fifteenth chapter of the *Manuale curatorum (consideratio XV: Quod predicatio assimilatur arbori)* is based on Fusignano’s vision, but probably not directly. Not only Surgant, but also Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas was earlier influenced by Fusignano’s simile to vegetation. Slightly altered wording of Pseudo-Aquinas’s version seems to manifest a bit more similarities with Surgant’s text:

Jacob of Fusignano (*Libellus artis predicatorie*, chap. 6, ed. S. WENZEL, p. 36)

[...] quod predicatio videtur arbori simulari. Arbor enim cum ex radice in truncum conscenderit et truncus in principales ramos pululaverit, adhuc ipsi principales rami in alios secundarios multiplicantur, sic et predicatio,

postquam ex themate in prelocutionem processerit, tanquam ex radice in truncum,

ac deinde ex prelocutione in principalem divisionem thematis tanquam in ramos principales,

debet ulterius per secundarias distinctiones multiplicari.

Pseudo-Aquinas (*Tractatus sollemnis*, f. 9v)

Predicatio assimilatur arbori reali. Sicut enim arbor realis procedit de radice in truncum et truncus in principales ramos pollulat

et rami principales in alios multiplicantur, sic predicatio,

primo ex themate tanquam ex radice in truncum, i[d est] prelocutionem vel prothema, procedit,

ac deinde ex prelocutione sive prothema in principalem divisionem thematis tanquam in ramos principales, et rami principales thematis debent ulterius per secundarias divisiones multiplicari, i[d est] in subdivisiones prout patet exemplum in arbore sequenti.

Surgant (MC I, chap. 15, ff. 23v–24r)

[...] quod predicatio assimilatur arbori. [...] Arbor realis procedit ex radice per venas introducentes ad truncum, [...] truncus per dictum humorem in principales ramos pullulat, adhuc autem principales rami in alios ramos secundarios multiplicantur. Sic assimilando predicationem arbori reali dicimus, quod predicatio ex themate tanquam ex radice conscendit ad invocationem divini auxilii, sine quo nihil fieri potest [...]

Deinde truncus ex introductione et divini auxilii invocatione in ramos principales dividitur, hoc est in principales partes sermonis. Postea ille principales partes in alios ramos multiplicantur,

ut in figura arboris hic videre potestis.

Also, the pictorial appendix to the edition of Pseudo-Aquinas’s treatise from 1483⁷⁸ was probably the direct inspiration for the scheme at the end of the fifteenth chapter of Surgant’s

⁷⁷ Fernando Rodríguez de la FLOR, *El diagrama. Geometría y lógica en la literatura espiritual del Siglo de Oro*, in: Manuel García Martín (ed.), *Estado actual de los estudios sobre el Siglo de Oro*, II, Salamanca 1993, pp. 839–852, there p. 841; Moritz WEDELL, *Zachäus auf dem Palmbaum*; p. 287; L. GRZYBOWSKA, *Arbor Praedicandi*, p. 170.

⁷⁸ Digitized picture as the appendix to Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas’s *Tractatus sollemnis* (printed in 1483 at the Memmingen printing house of Albrecht Kunne) preserved in the BSB München (Einbl. VII, 18 a) is available online on this link: <<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb00101831?page=,1>> (December 21, 2022). See note n. 54. Cf. figure n. 2 in the Illustration section II.

work.⁷⁹ A woodcut published by Albrecht Kunne as a supplement to *Tractatus sollemnis*, depicting a sleeping prophet (symbolizing the Holy Scriptures, i. e. the *thema* of the sermon) and a tree growing from his body, branched by the *divisio thematis* and further subdivided into several *prolongationes*, strikingly resembles a hand drawing in a manuscript of the Bavarian State Library in Munich (so-called *Arbor picta*, Clm 23865, ff. 19v–20r).⁸⁰ It is clear that both pictures are based on the same visual tradition inspired apparently by Fusignano’s description. Otto A. Dieter, who dealt with the development of this visualization, did not know the woodcut and assumed that commentary at the very end of the Pseudo-Aquinas’s treatise (related – in fact – to the attached depiction)⁸¹ itself functioned as an imaginative stimulus instead of a graphic illustration.⁸² Since he wasn’t convinced of the existence of that graphics, he even suggested that Surgant might have derived his image (submitted to the printer Michael Furter) directly from that *Arbor picta* on the double sheet of the Munich manuscript – because he classified the folio as secondary transferred from another codex, therefore, hypothetically available to Surgant in some (unknown) codex.⁸³ This hypothesis seems highly unlikely to me. Although my opinion is uncorroborated as well, it seems much more likely that Surgant was acquainted with the visualization of the ‘sermon tree’ through the incunable of Pseudo-Aquinas’s tractate. In nine printed editions of *Manuale curatorum predicandi*, three types of the vegetal scheme are known, but only the first of them could have been directly based on Surgant’s vision.⁸⁴ However, all of them are quite reductive and highly schematic compared to the previous tradition (cf. all the figures n. 1–5), even though it echoes the same scholastic idea of the sermon as a tree growing in the full control of God, just regulated by a preacher applying certain exegetical and rhetorical methods, like a gardener trimming a tree into some shape. In any case, Surgant exploited the old pattern of plant ‘allegory’ in all its aspects, including the visual one.

⁷⁹ Three types of the schematic diagram of a tree as an illustration of the fifteenth chapter (*Quod predicatio assimilatur arbori*) of Surgant’s *Manuale curatorum predicandi* are known. The first (and the most widespread) of them (cf. figure n. 3) was probably created in the printing house of Michael Furter. It is found in all the Basel prints of this printer (1503, 1504, 1506, 1508, 1514), even in the edition of Strasbourg printer Johann Prüss (1506). The second graphic type (cf. figure n. 4) depicting an oak tree with two lateral branches and a stump instead of the middle branch (similar to the depiction at the end of the Pseudo-Aquinas’s treatise, cf. figure n. 2) appears only in the edition published by Johann Schöffler in Mainz (1508). The third type (cf. figure n. 5) depicts a very unsightly tree resembling a head of cabbage. This type completely lacks the function of the scheme, as there are no legends (even headlines) in this illustration. The third ‘Druckstock’ was used in the Strasbourg prints of Johann Schott (1516) and Johann Knobloch (1520).

⁸⁰ BSB München, Clm 23865, ff. 19v–20r. Cf. figure n. 1.

⁸¹ Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas, *Tractatus sollemnis*, ff. 10v–12v. This final textual section (“Sequitur arbor. Sequitur consequenter reliqua spectancia ad arborem sequentem /// patet ex textu et verbis Christi”) commenting on the attached tree-diagram is not included in all the early prints of the Pseudo-Aquinas treatise. Cf. L. HAIN (ed.), *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, I/1, p. 161–162, n. 1351–1362.

⁸² O. A. DIETER, *Arbor Picta*, pp. 125–126.

⁸³ “[...] photographic reproduction of the Munich *Arbor picta* show peculiar markings along the crease line through the vertical middle of the design which seemed to us to indicate that it might earlier have been stitched into an older folio; if this should be true, this older folio may have been the source from which Surgant derived his accurate knowledge of the Fusignanionian text, and the *Arbor picta* which he may have found in it may have motivated him to include a comparable design in his treatise. Surely it is possible, also, that the *Arbor picta*, if it ever was in it, had already been removed from the copy of Fusignano’s treatise which Surgant had in hand.” *Ibidem*, p. 143.

⁸⁴ That is the most widespread typus (cf. figure n. 3) printed first time in the first edition of *Manuale curatorum predicandi* (1503) – the only one published before Johann Ulrich Surgant’s death. See note n. 79.

Conclusion

The above-presented demonstrations are sufficient to prove the substantial dependence of Johann Ulrich Surgant on the older scholastic tradition. All those analytical probes put Surgant's work in quite a different light than the contextual information about the author's personal connections with the humanistic intellectuals not only at the Basel university. Although Surgant belonged to the circle of late medieval scholars close to "studia humaniora", his way of thinking about spiritual rhetoric and exegesis was firmly rooted in late scholasticism, and there is almost no indication in the text itself to classify the first book of *Manuale curatorum predicandi* as a proto-reformation work.⁸⁵ On the contrary, this treatise seems to be the last of a long series of typically medieval *artes praedicandi*.

I tried to show how much of an influence a group of a few late medieval treatises, linked together very closely by themes and way of exposition, had on Surgant. I included the works of Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas, Maurice of Leiden, Henry of Hesse and Jacob of Fusignano (arranged here approximately from the youngest one to the oldest) into this 'group' defined in this way. Finally, it can be argued that Surgant's manual completes that group. He eclectically selected many textual excerpts from his sources and created a kind of mosaic from them – exactly according to the medieval way of literary creation, which we would call compilation rather than authorship from the current point of view.⁸⁶

However, the aim of this paper was not to present a comprehensive intertextual analysis or to cover all the transmission of *topoi* and motifs from older texts (after all, it is not possible either, because the particular *artes praedicandi* and preserved versions of them – often very different from each other – are so interconnected in terms of formulation and content that it would be foolish to hope for a reliable identification of all the source material in one partial study). Instead, the study attempted to provide an insight into the style of work and thinking of a scholar and preacher at the turn of the epochs of hand-written and printed book culture. But even from what has been shown, the long continuity of the medieval interpretative concepts can be observed.

The question of specific manuscripts or prints, that Johann Ulrich Sugrant could have worked with, has not been satisfactorily resolved. Apart from the manuscript A VII 45 of the Basel university library, from which Surgant likely drew the text of Maurice of Leiden (if not the one of Jacob of Fusignano as well), no other manuscripts or incunables, that the author must have held in his hands, have been clearly identified. However, the mere outline of his possibilities sheds a bit of light on the whole issue. The extensive bibliography at the very end of the first volume of the *Manuale curatorum predicandi* enables us to say that he was very well acquainted with contemporary printed book production. After all, his former schoolfellow, close friend, and finally neighbour in Kleinbasel was Johann Amerbach – one of the Basel printers who significantly participated in

⁸⁵ Cf. note n. 4.

⁸⁶ For the issues of unclear distinction of the roles of author and compiler in the Middle Ages, see A. MINNIS, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, pp. 94–103.

publishing many Carthusian manuscripts in print.⁸⁷ Perhaps not only Amerbach, but also Surgant was visiting (in the 1480s and 1490s) their former teacher and friend Johann Heynlin of Stein in the Carthusian monastery, where the old professor deposited his extensive library after he entered the order.⁸⁸ Stein was also a famous preacher in his time and Surgant was probably affected by him.⁸⁹ When Johann Ulrich was writing the *Manuale*, Heynlin was already dead, but his books (manuscripts, as well as several early prints) remained in the Carthusian monastery in Kleinbasel, in the immediate neighbourhood of Surgant's parsonage of St. Theodor.⁹⁰

Unfortunately, there is no indication in the *Manuale curatorum*, of how much Surgant might have used the university library or the libraries of the Basel chapter houses. However, it seems very likely that he was repeatedly visiting the Dominican monastery for study purposes. Thus, the conclusion of all the findings might read: The famous, often reprinted and probably very used work *Manuale curatorum predicandi* is not only a product of a well-educated, intelligent and deeply religious man, but also a product of medieval intellectual heritage in Basel libraries.

⁸⁷ For illustration, see Fritz Schmidt-Clausing's narration: "[...] Nicht weit entfernt, auf dem Wege zur Rheinbrücke, wohne Johannes Amerbach [...] Hier war das offene Haus eines Mannes mit länderweiten Verbindungen und mit der Grandeza eines Massekaufmannes, der graduierte Schüler Heynlines, der große Gönner der Kartause, der ungefähre Altersgenosse und Pariser Kommilitone Surgants. Es kann wohl nicht anders gewesen sein, als daß diese beiden Lebensfreunde oft einander begegnet, häufig gemeinsamen Weges waren, der eine zur Universität, der andere zu seiner Offizin im Totengäßlein, dicht bei St. Peter. Oder ostwärts, zur Kartause, aus deren berühmter «Klosterliberei» mit ihren damals schon 1200 Bänden Amerbach sich die Handschriften entlieh, um deren Erstdruck dem Kloster zu übergeben. Die Kartause war das geistige Zentrum ganz Basels und stand bei der Bevölkerung in so hohem Ansehen, daß sie neben der Universität als eine Art Akademie galt. [...] Nächst den Benediktinern haben die Kartäuser, besonders die im Margarethental, das Verdienst, durch Fertigung von Handschriften, die sie nun Hans Amerbach und sein «Compagnons» Hans Froben und Hans Petri (die drei Hansen) zum Druck übergeben konnten, die fontes der Nachwelten zu haben." F. SCHMIDT-CLAUSING, *Johann Ulrich Surgant*, pp. 313–314. For the publishing activity and co-operation of the three Basel printers Johann Amerbach, Johann Petri and Johann Froben (so called "three Johanns") at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, see B. C. HALPORN (ed.), *The Correspondence of Johann Amerbach*, pp. 207–272. For the library of the Carthusian monastery in Kleinbasel, see Carl Christoph BERNOLLI, *Über unsre alten Klosterbibliotheken*, Basler Jahrbuch 1895, pp. 79–91, passim; Monika STUDER, *Bibliotheca cartusiae Basiliensis. Die Bibliothek der Basler Kartause mit besonderem Fokus auf die Zeit unter Prior Heinrich Arnoldi (1449–1480)*, in: Johanna Thali – Nigel F. Palmer (Hgg.), *Raum und Medium. Literatur und Kultur in Basel in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Berlin 2020 (Kulturtopographie des Alemannischen Raums 9), pp. 287–314. Two-volume hand-written catalogue of the Carthusian library from 1520 is preservend in UB Basel, AR I 2 (*Registrum pro antiqua bibliotheca cartusiae Basiliensis*); AR I 3 (*Registrum pro nova bibliotheca cartusiae Basiliensis*).

⁸⁸ See M. HOSSFELD, *Johannes Heynlin aus Stein* [3], pp. 392–393.

⁸⁹ When Surgant explains recommended workflow, how to begin the preaching with the invocation to God and prayers for help to deliver a correct spiritual speech, he explicitly refers to his teacher, friend and famous preacher: "Et sic vidi valentes doctores servare, etiam preceptores meos, quorum unus fuit doctor Iohannes Henlin de Lapide, canonicus et predicans maioris ecclesie Basiliensis, doctor theologus Parisiensis etc." MC I, chap. 12, f. 21r. For the potential influence of Heynlin's sermon on *Manuale curatorum praedicandi*, see J. KONZILI, *Studien über Johann Ulrich Surgant* [1], pp. 271–272; F. SCHMIDT-CLAUSING, *Johann Ulrich Surgant*, pp. 310–311. On preaching work of Johann Heynlin of Stein, cf. M. HOSSFELD, *Johannes Heynlin aus Stein* [3], pp. 360–375, 395–398; Hans von GREYERZ (Hg.), *Ablaßpredigten des Johannes Heynlin aus Stein (de Lapide)*, 28. September bis 8. Oktober 1476 in Bern, Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern 32/2, 1934, pp. 113–171.

⁹⁰ See Rudolf WACKERNAGEL, *Beiträge zur geschichtlichen Topographie von Klein-Basel*, in: Historisches Festbuch zur Basler Vereinigungsfeier, Basel 1892, pp. 221–335.

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VOJTĚCH VEČEŘE

***Manuale curatorum predicandi* Johanna Ulricha Surganta jako produkt středověkého intelektuálního dědictví v basilejských knihovnách** Příklad přenosu vědění na přelomu epoch rukopisné a tištěné knižní kultury

RESUMÉ

Článek pojednává o první knize dvousvazkového spisu *Manuale curatorum predicandi*, jenž se řadí ke scholastickému žánru *ars praedicandi* (tj. pojednání o kazatelském umění), sepsaného na samém začátku 16. stol. učencem, právníkem, kazatelem, farářem u sv. Theodora v Malé Basileji a několikanásobným rektorem Basilejské univerzity Johannem Ulrichem Surgantem (cca 1450–1503). Navzdory vžitě představě, že tato relativně známá kazatelská příručka (poprvé vydaná tiskem r. 1503 v Basileji) představuje humanistické dílo předznamenávající nový způsob teologického myšlení v předvečer reformace, se již dřívější bádání snažilo poukázat na její kontinuitu se staršími, vrcholně a pozdně scholastickými texty obdobného druhu. Předkládaná studie toto poznání dále prohlubuje a pomocí textových sond poukazuje na plošné (obsahové i formulační) shody Surgantova díla se skupinou několika středověkých *artes praedicandi* (traktáty Jakuba z Fusignana, Jindřicha z Hesenska, Mořice z Leidenu a tzv. pseudo-Tomáše Akvinského). Ve světle těchto zjištění je třeba spis *Manuale curatorum* vnímat jako součást (či přímo završení) dlouhé středověké tradice charakterizované kompilačním přístupem a implicitní i explicitní intertextualitou.

Vedle dílčích komparací textu *Manuale curatorum* s vybranými úseky jeho pravděpodobných zdrojů dochází v rámci článku též k hypotetickým úvahám o konkrétní podobě pracovního postupu univerzitního intelektuála Johanna Ulricha Surganta vzhledem k jeho studijním možnostem v Basileji na přelomu 15. a 16. stol. Seznam doporučené literatury vhodné pro kazatele, zařazený na konec prvního dílu *Manuale curatorum* formou závěrečné kapitoly, ukazuje, že byl Surgant dobře obeznámen s dobovou tištěnou produkcí, která právě v Basileji sledovaného období dosáhla jednoho ze svých historických vrcholů. Vedle toho však Surgant zřejmě pracoval i se staršími rukopisnými knihami, s nimiž se mohl obeznámit v bohatých knihovních fondech basilejských klášterů, kapitul a univerzity. V rámci studie se s jistou mírou pravděpodobnosti podařilo určit jeden kodex (dříve v majetku dominikánského konventu, dnes uložený v univerzitní knihovně pod signaturou A VII 45), který měl Johann Ulrich Surgant při sepisování svého díla zřejmě k dispozici. Surgantovy vazby na kartuziánskou knihovnu, univerzitní knihovnu či jiné basilejské sbírky té doby však zůstávají spíše hypotetické a lze je předpokládat pouze na základě jeho osobních kontaktů, profesního života a geografické blízkosti.

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