

**HANS-JOCHEN SCHIEWER**

German sermons in the Middle Ages

# GERMAN SERMONS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

HANS-JOCHEN SCHIEWER

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## I. DEFINITION

The sermon is one of the oldest genres of medieval vernacular literature. Indeed, at its very beginnings, before the year 800, German literature boasts of three fragmentary sermons by the so-called "Isidore Translator". The earliest reference to regular preaching in the vernacular and hence in German, is the *Admonitio generalis* of Charlemagne, which made preaching the bishops' duty<sup>1</sup>. With the German-Latin *Exhortatio ad plebem christianam* of the early ninth century we have the first textual evidence of preaching activity in German. In this chapter we shall take the beginning of the Reformation as the *terminus ad quem* for this investigation of the typology of medieval sermons in German. Hence, we will concern ourselves with a period of more than 600 years in our inquiry into the literary genre of the sermon.

It is appropriate here to make subdivisions regarding chronology and content and to establish boundaries between the sermon and other literary genres. We shall begin with a delineation of the text corpus.

<sup>1</sup> M. MENZEL, *Predigt und Predigtorganisation im Mittelalter*, in *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 111, H.2 (1991), p. 337-384.

### *A. Delineation of the text corpus*

The sermon bibliography by K. Morvay and D. Grube<sup>2</sup> exemplifies the dilemma facing literary scholars, philologists, theologians, and sermon researchers when they classify a text as a sermon. On the one hand, the bibliography includes texts for which it is possible to 'prove or directly infer from the text' the (intended or actual) delivery of the sermon; these include "traktatartige Bearbeitungen von Predigtvorlagen, vereinzelt auch Sendbriefe, deren Inhalt zuvor gepredigt worden ist" (tract-like adaptations of texts that were originally sermons, in rare cases reworkings of sermons using the epistolary form). On the other hand, there are also the kinds of texts, "die Formulierungen enthalten, welche auf die Predigtsituation hinweisen... Bei Texten, die keinerlei äußere Anhaltspunkte liefern, mußte anhand der inhaltlichen Struktur und des Aufbaus untersucht werden, ob es sich möglicherweise um eine Predigt handelt oder nicht" (which contain statements that allude to the preaching situation... Texts offering no external reference points have had to be investigated in light of the structuring of their content and their composition in order to determine whether it is possible to classify them as sermons). When in doubt, the editors always chose to include the text in question<sup>3</sup>. Borderline cases occur with increasing frequency in the later Middle Ages, especially since the "literature explosion" of the fourteenth century and the "transmission explosion" of the fifteenth produce large quantities of religious literature whose genre can only be ascertained with difficulty: in principle every religious text, every tract, every *Sendbrief* (circular letter) can be preached<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> K. MORVAY, D. GRUBE and K. RUH, *Bibliographie der deutschen Predigt des Mittelalters. Veröffentlichte Predigten*, München, 1974 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 47). All editions included in the bibliography are identified using the Morvay/Grube numbering system: T (= text group) + number, e.g., T 1 = "Isidore-Translator".

<sup>3</sup> Cf. K. MORVAY, D. GRUBE and K. RUH, p. xix.

<sup>4</sup> G.C. ZIELEMAN, *Das Studium der deutschen und niederländischen Predigten des Mittelalters*, in K.O. SEIDEL (ed.), *Sô predigent eteliche. Beiträge zur deutschen und niederländischen Predigt im Mittelalter*, Göttingen, 1982 (Göttinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 378), p. 5-48; V. MERTENS, *Predigt oder Traktat? Thesen zur Textdynamik mittelhochdeutscher geistlicher Prosa*, in *Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik*, 24 (1992), p. 41-43; H.-J. SCHIEWER, *Typ und Polyfunktionalität*, in

With regard to content, there are almost no significant differences between the tract and the sermon; and in considering the history of the text and its transmission, the two can seldom be distinguished from each other. The sermon as a text type or genre can be distinguished from other types of religious prose only through signals of orality within the text. In this case, it does not matter whether the signals can be derived from an actual "performance situation" or whether the situation is fictitious, since we are concerned with the literary genre "sermon", as established by textual evidence and not the oral — and therefore no longer tangible — phenomenon of religious proclamation. In German studies the notion of the "nun with a good memory", who wrote down the exact wording of a sermon she had heard, has been discarded. The general opinion is that concurrent recording of the text represents an exception in the sermon tradition, and in a majority of cases the sermons that have been preserved are held to have been written by the preachers and clergy themselves or else authorised by them<sup>5</sup>.

Consequently, the German medieval sermon is a literary phenomenon that lays claim to its own place in German literary history. In the last few decades the concept of literature in German studies has undergone a justified expansion — justified in view of the dis-

*Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik*, 24 (1992), p. 44-47; and U. STÖRMER, *In dubio pro sermone oder was ist eine Lesepredigt?* in *Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik*, 24 (1992), p. 48-52.

<sup>5</sup> P.-G. VÖLKER, *Die Überlieferungsformen mittelalterlicher deutscher Predigten*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 92 (1963), p. 212-227; K. RUH, *Deutsche Predigtbücher des Mittelalters*, in *Vestigia bibliae*, 3 (1981), p. 11-30; and H.-J. SCHIEWER, *Spuren von Mündlichkeit in der mittelalterlichen Predigtüberlieferung. Ein Plädoyer für exemplarisches und beschreibend-interpretierendes Edieren*, in *Editio*, 6 (1992), p. 64-79. However, one should also compare: the sermons of Johannes von Staupitz, *Salzburger Predigten 1512. Eine textkritische Edition*, ed. W. SCHNEIDER-LASTIN, Tübingen, 1990; K. RUH, *Fragment einer unbekanntes Predigt von Meister Eckhart aus dem frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 111 (1982), p. 219-225; W. WILLIAMS-KRAP, *Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg in Augsburg. Zum Predigtzyklus "Berg des Schauens"*, in J. JANOTA and W. WILLIAMS-KRAP (eds.), *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, 1996 (*Studia Augustana*, 7), p. 265-280; and K. RUH, *Riß, Heinrich OP*, in K. RUH (ed.), *Verfasserlexikon*, 8, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1992, cols. 83-86.

tinctive medieval conception of literature and the shifting status of texts with regard to function and genre, as attested, for example, by the existence of a rhymed version of a sermon by Berthold of Regensburg<sup>6</sup>.

### *B. Subdivision of the text corpus*

There is only scant textual evidence for the Old High German literary period (ca. 800-1050). Besides the German-Latin *Exhortatio ad plebem christianam* already mentioned above, which is from the early ninth century, there exist only the *Altdeutsche Predigtsammlungen A-C* (Old High German Sermon Collections A-C) (around 1100) with fragments from fourteen sermons in all, and from the Old Saxon region there is an All Saints' Day Sermon from the ninth century. The *Altdeutsche Predigtsammlungen A-C* are based on sermons by Augustine, Gregory, and Bede, the Old Saxon sermon likewise on a homily by Bede.

The bulk of the manuscript evidence of early German sermons dates from the late twelfth and early thirteenth century onwards, and that is where our systematic investigation must begin. And some thirty years into the thirteenth century the mendicant sermon *ad populum* in Germany, transmitted almost exclusively in Latin, marks a second type of sermon as can be most prominently seen in the Latin and German work of Berthold of Regensburg. A second path of development is the sermon within the framework of the *cura monialium*, which develops concurrently with the emergence of the new religious orders in the thirteenth century, especially the mendicants, and is closely connected with the general increase in the piety of semi-religious women in the late twelfth century. The first extensive, albeit heterogeneously composed collection from this sphere is the *St. Georgener Predigten* (St. Georgen Sermons), which appears from its transmission and content to have a Cistercian origin. The autochthonous mystical sermon in German is generally associated with the person of Meister Eckhart (around 1260-1328); however, it actually developed on a much broader plane and its influence lasted into the fifteenth century. The religious reform movements of the late four-

<sup>6</sup> F. PENSEL, *Reimfassung einer Predigt Bertholds von Regensburg über die Messe*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 117 (1995), p. 65-91.

teenth and fifteenth centuries, together with the establishment of prestigious preaching appointments in the cities had a marked influence on sermon production and activity. At the same time, and primarily in the secular sphere, the *plenarium* develops as one of the most successful methods for religious instruction of the laity by means of sermons. But chronology cannot be the sole criterion for grouping sermons for of course other divisions also afford insights into the history of the German sermon.

On the basis of the criteria regarding content and transmission outlined above, I propose the following classification as a background against which to characterise the preachers, the recipients, the place of sermons within the context of religious genres, their content, form, and transmission.

1. The early German sermon (beginning around 1170)
2. Thirteenth-century sermons of the religious orders *ad populum* and *ad monialium*
3. The mystical sermon
4. The sermon of the fifteenth century
5. The *plenaria* with gloss

### C. Preacher and reception

#### a) The early German Sermon

The body of texts constituting the group of early German sermons (those dating from between 1170 and 1230), is the only one in the history of the German sermon which is almost completely represented in scholarly editions and about which, thus, one can give fairly exact information regarding the quantity of sermons involved: about 830 sermons have survived, some of which are transmitted in parallel in various collections<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Only the sanctorale of the *Mitteldeutsche Predigten* (Middle German Sermons) and the *Tiroler Predigten* (Tirol Sermons) were not included in this list since for the former an edition still is lacking and for the latter the date of origin still needs to be clarified (cf. Note 15). Collection I of the *Leipziger Predigten* (Leipzig Sermons) was consciously excluded from the tally since in this case we are dealing with sermons that presumably were first produced in the middle of the thirteenth century (cf. V. MERTENS,

Broadly speaking, the early German sermons are model sermons intended to assist the clergy. Hardly anything is known of their authors and compilers. Probably they were written by members of the orders for delivery in the conventual or parish church on Sundays and holy days, since only on these days did the lay brothers and presumably lay members of the parish participate in the mass<sup>8</sup>. In addition, these sermons were probably intended for spiritual care in women's convents. Since there are indications that at least a portion of sermons originated with the Benedictines and among the Augustinian Canons<sup>9</sup>, that is, in orders that enjoyed a substantial share of the spiritual care of parish congregations around 1200, one may also suspect that some of them were intended *ad populum*. From a single compiler of a collection of early sermons, an Augustinian canon from Brixen, we learn in the Latin *proemium* his name and details concerning for what purpose but not for whom his sermon collection was intended<sup>10</sup>. He identifies himself as *Cunradus prespiter* and characterises the duty of a priest as including preaching in such a way that the people can understand him :

*Christi sacerdotibus dico, qui Christum amant, qui Christum et non se predicant, veruntamen maxime plebeis et popularibus prespiteris et quibus forsan librorum copia defuerit, et qui frequentius cum beata Martha circa exteriora solliciti et occupati fuerint et ob hoc rarius cum beata Maria ad pedes domini sedere, id est sancte lectioni operam dare potuerint; Ita tamen per omnia, ut quisque speret idem. Quapropter nec latinis verbis editum, quod etiam magistrorum querit ingenium, in ydioma ma-*

*Studien zu den "Leipziger Predigten", in Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 107 [1985], p. 240-266).*

<sup>8</sup> Cf. in addition the chapter by B.M. KIENZLE, *The Twelfth-Century Monastic Sermon*, *infra*, p. 279-280.

<sup>9</sup> M. MENZEL, *op. cit.*; N.F. PALMER, *Die "Klosterneuburger Bußpredigten". Untersuchung und Edition*, in K. KUNZE et al. (eds.), *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Editionen und Studien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Kurt RUH zum 75. Geburtstag*, Tübingen, 1989, p. 210-244 (Texte und Textgeschichte, 31).

<sup>10</sup> V. MERTENS, *Das Predigtbuch des Priesters Konrad. Überlieferung, Gestalt, Gehalt und Texte*, München, 1971 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 33).

*terne lingue prorupi, quo facilius pateat legenti et audienti ejus intuitus*<sup>11</sup>.

These comments can refer to lay brothers as well as to nuns; however, they do not preclude the use of the collection compiled by and presumably written in part by Priest Konrad as a sermon *ad populum*. The early German sermons give us no definite indication of their public in the texts themselves. Many of them seem to presuppose a monastic public, as the form of address *carissimi fratres* suggests; for others all references that could serve as guides are lacking<sup>12</sup>.

The worship service can be viewed as the location of early German preaching since sermons frequently refer to the liturgical framework of the mass. Some refer to the Gospel "just heard" or to the Epistle by cross-references and dispense with restating the text at the beginning of the sermon. Others attach a confession of sins directly to the sermon, although in these cases we are not dealing with penitential sermons. At the conclusion of a sermon there is in rare cases the demand for the congregation to raise their *Ruf* (cry), which must be related to a particular type of German religious song that had a place within the framework of the worship service<sup>13</sup>. Finally, antiphons, responsories, and other liturgical texts constitute popular sermon elements or subthemes as in the Latin sermon of the time and

<sup>11</sup> "I speak to the priests of Christ who love Christ and who preach Christ and not themselves, and I also speak to the common people and to secular priests, both those who perhaps lack an abundance of books and those who, along with the blessed Martha, often are anxious and busy about external things and on account of this more rarely are able to sit at the feet of the Lord with the blessed Mary, that is, to direct their attention to holy reading. So it is in all these cases that each one hopes for the same thing. For this reason I have proclaimed the word in my mother tongue and not in Latin, which requires the skill of teachers, in order that the contemplation of it may be more easily accessible to the reader and to the hearer." T 25, A.E. SCHÖNBACH, *Altdeutsche Predigten*, Bd. 3, Graz, 1891 (*Predigtbuch des Priesters Konrad*), p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also D. SCHMIDTKE, *Glossen zu den Sonntagsevangelien*, DPM, p. 101.

<sup>13</sup> V. MERTENS, *Der Ruf - eine Gattung des deutschen geistlichen Liedes im Mittelalter ?*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 104 (1975), p. 68-69.



often are introduced by the formulaic phrase *als wir singen unde lesen* (as we sing and read).

The large sermon collections provide sermons for Sundays and holy days of the church year. Sermons for the vigil of a holy day are rare and are not attested at all for some holy days. In the text corpus of the early German sermon there are only about half as many saints' sermons as those for Sundays and holy days<sup>14</sup>. Extant sermons prove that preaching on the holy days for Mary and on the feast days of the Apostles was of primary importance. Only in rare cases do sermons for holy days of less important saints appear. Regional connections still need to be examined for these cases<sup>15</sup>.

#### b) Thirteenth-century sermons of the religious orders

The term "mendicant sermon" can only be applied conditionally to the group of sermons that follows the early German model sermon, since Berthold of Regensburg, whose sermons appear to dominate this period of German preaching, was certainly a Franciscan, but rather an exceptional case. There is no doubt that Berthold preached in Latin as well as in the vernacular; however, the majority of the German sermons attributed to him are based on the attempt by his contemporaries and fellow Franciscans (especially those of the Augsburg convent)<sup>16</sup> to document precisely the importance of this

<sup>14</sup> W. WILLIMAS-KRAPP, *Mittelalterliche deutsche Heiligenpredigt-sammlungen und ihr Verhältnis zur homiletischen Praxis*, in DPM, p. 352-360.

<sup>15</sup> One exception are the *Tiroler Predigten*, in which we clearly have a sanctoral cycle and which attract notice because they include sermons for groups of saints and for saints otherwise not present in the early German sermon. However, it is still not clear if all the *Tiroler Predigten* really can be assigned to an early period. The manuscript in which they are transmitted dates from the fourteenth century. For some of the sermons, there are early parallel transmissions from the transmission context of the sermon book of Priest Konrad; however, there are none for the more unusual saints' sermons. For them an early date of origin seems rather less likely.

<sup>16</sup> K. RUH, *David von Augsburg und die Entstehung eines franziskanischen Schrifttums in deutscher Sprache* (1955), in V. MERTENS (ed.), *K. Ruh, Kleine Schriften*, vol. 2, Berlin-New York, 1984, p. 46-67; G. STEER, *Betelorden-Predigt als "Massenmedium"*, in J. HEINZLE (ed.), *Literarische Interessenbildung im Mittelalter. DFG-Symposion 1991*, Stuttgart-Weimar, 1994 (Germanistische Symposien. Berichtsbände, 14), p. 314-336.

popular preacher. The German-Latin macaronic sermons that are transmitted under Berthold's name and that in some cases represent German adaptations of Latin Berthold sermons also suggest this. The conclusion that Berthold himself is not the author of most of the sermons transmitted under his name is not new. The investigations of A.E. Schönbach<sup>17</sup> already furnished proof of the Latin models of the \*X- and \*Y-groups: the transmission group X<sup>1</sup>, which includes Sermons 1-35.37.38, could still have been produced during Berthold's lifetime (the middle of the 1260s) in the Franciscan convent in Augsburg. For all other transmission groups no similarly exact date of origin can be ascertained, but the Y-transmission could at least in part still date from the thirteenth century and the Augsburg area<sup>18</sup>. Nevertheless, even until most recently the texts invariably were considered to be individual texts whose rhetoric would afford insight into Berthold's actual manner of preaching<sup>19</sup>. Only with the new investigations by D. Neuendorff, which describe a very disparate textual history of the sermons, has it been shown that the versions we now have cannot always be counted on to provide information on Berthold's oratorical style: "Als Gebrauchstext 'Predigt' sind sie nicht in bestimmten Grenzen invariable Individualtexte, sondern dem Gebrauch geöffnete Variationstexte"<sup>20</sup>. Only with the German sermons of the so-called \*Z-group, which were intended for the *cura monialium*, is Berthold's authorship undisputed. However, the bulk of Berthold's surviving sermons and sermon outlines is in Latin. These observations on the German adaptations of Berthold's Latin sermons are in some ways characteristic of both other extensive and significant sermon collections in this division, the *St. Georgener*

<sup>17</sup> A.E. SCHÖNBACH, *Studien zur Geschichte der altdeutschen Predigt* (Wiener Sitzungsberichte 142/7 [1900], 147/5 [1903], 151/2 [1905], 152/7 [1906], 153/4 [1906], 154/1 [1906], 155/5 [1907]) (reprint: Hildesheim, 1968).

<sup>18</sup> D. RICHTER, *Die deutsche Überlieferung der Predigten Bertholds von Regensburg. Untersuchungen zur geistlichen Literatur des Spätmittelalters*, München, 1969 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 21).

<sup>19</sup> H.-J. SCHIEWER, *Spuren von Mündlichkeit*, *op. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> "The written text of a sermon as we have it does not represent a fixed and invariable discourse but rather a text open to variation to suit the occasion". D. NEUENDORF, *Predigt als Gebrauchstext. Überlegungen zu einer deutschen Berthold von Regensburg zugeschriebenen Predigt*, in DPM, p. 13.

*Predigten* and the *Schwarzwälder Predigten* (Schwarzwald Sermons). Both collections, each in its own way, indicate the involvement of several authors, and the transmission history of both collections shows practice-oriented adaptations.

Except for the Berthold tradition, anonymity characterises all other German sermon collections of the thirteenth century, the two collections just mentioned and Collection I of the *Leipziger Predigten* (Leipzig Sermons) and *Schmid's bairische Predigtsammlung* (Schmid's Bavarian Sermon Collection). Particular names, sometimes with affiliation — Brother Albrecht OP, Brother Alhart OFM, Brother Peter, Brother Thomas — are attached only to individual sermons, often enough sermons also attributed to Berthold. It is possible but by no means certain that some of these sermons may have been modified for the *cura monialium*. At the end of the thirteenth century, the number of Dominican authors known by name increases. Among them are Konrad of Weißenburg, Konrad of Eßlingen, Brother Wolfhart, and others like Ulrich Engelberti (Ulrich of Strasbourg), whose name is first handed down to posterity in the context of the *Kölner Klosterpredigten* (Cologne Monastic Sermons). A group of Dominican authors transmitted together is concentrated around 1300 in the district between Constance and Zurich set aside for the Dominicans to gather alms: these are Henry of Schaffhausen, Hugo of Konstanz, Konrad of Liebenberg, and Rudolf of Klingenberg. All these preachers are among the forerunners of Meister Eckhart, and their works constitute the prelude to the mystical sermons of Dominican provenance that developed at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Let us now turn to the prominent collections of the thirteenth century. One of the most influential and most widely circulated German sermon collections of the late Middle Ages is that of the *Schwarzwälder Predigten*, produced at the end of the thirteenth century and most probably of Franciscan origin. Transmission evidence suggests, however, that the collection, which consists of a temporal cycle (55 sermons) and a sanctoral cycle (46 sermons), was not created for use within its own order but rather as a model sermon collection *ad usum clericorum*. In contrast to older preaching manuals, the *Schwarzwälder Predigten* offer a striking qualitative advancement. Here we have exclusively sermons whose source for the temporal cycle are the *Sermones de tempore* of the Franciscan Conrad of Saxony and for the sanctoral cycle the *Legenda aurea* of the Domini-

can Jacques de Voragine. The Sunday and feast day sermons are distinguished by their independence from their model; they also offer a paraphrase of the day's pericope (occasionally of the Epistle as well), after the Latin *thema* and *dispositio*, and this paraphrase is followed by the German version of the *dispositio*, leading into a thematic sermon. Typical of the collection are the so-called *urkunden*, that is narrative *exempla*, mostly from the Old Testament, that are subsequently incorporated into an allegorical exposition. The Old Testament, especially the historical books, is interpreted in order to provide moral teaching. In transmission these *exempla* are frequently glossed, which suggests that moral interpretation received particular emphasis. Moreover, their prominence here turns this group of sermons into a sort of compendium of Old Testament stories in the vernacular. The doctrinal emphasis lies in God's grace and mercy<sup>21</sup>.

Comparable in origin and function are the sermons of Collection I of the *Leipziger Predigten* and *Schmids bairische Predigtsammlung*<sup>22</sup>. The latter has been transmitted to us only in fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts but can be dated to the late thirteenth century on the basis of internal evidence, chiefly references to contemporary events. The writer could have been a secular priest from the archdiocese of Salzburg. The collection itself consists of 55 Sunday sermons, the first five of which, however, do not form part of the annual cycle but rather provide sermons on Rupert, Stephan, and John the Evangelist, among others. For at least ten sermons, the *Sermones* of Odo of Cheriton served as the source, thus providing us with a further indication of the reception of contemporary French preachers in the German language<sup>23</sup>. The *Rheinauer*

<sup>21</sup> G. STAMM, *Studien zum "Schwarzwälder Prediger"*, München, 1969 (Medium Aevum, 18); H.-J. SCHIEWER, *Et non sit tibi cura quis dicat sed quid dicatur. Entstehung und Rezeption der Predigtcorpora des sog. Schwarzwälder Predigers*, in DPM, p. 31-54; W. WILLIMAS-KRAPP, *Mittelalterliche deutsche Heiligenpredigtsammlungen*, *op. cit.*; and H.-J. SCHIEWER, "Die Schwarzwälder Predigten", *Entstehungs- und Überlieferungsgeschichte der Sonntags- und Heiligenpredigten. Mit einer Musteredition*, Tübingen, 1996 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 105).

<sup>22</sup> H.-U. SCHMID, *Eine bairische Predigtsammlung des späten 13. Jahrhunderts*, in DPM, p. 55-91.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. N.F. PALMER, *Die "Klosterneuburger Bußpredigten"*, *op. cit.* for the reception of Geoffroi Babion.

*Predigtsammlung* (Rheinau Sermon Collection) is similar in content and form, but its late transmission in the fifteenth century and the lack of historical references prohibit its being shifted into the thirteenth century. It is, however, an isolated phenomenon in the fifteenth century.

The captivating power of the mendicant sermon *ad populum* in the vernacular is limited to chronicle reports about Berthold of Regensburg, because the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinian friars preserved their model sermon collections in Latin<sup>24</sup>. We can infer certain preaching activity among the mendicant orders in the *Schwarzwälder Predigten*, even though they remain strictly neutral with regard to social norms and political affairs within the orders. An awareness of this new type of preaching is documented in the vernacular by the *Buch der Rügen* (Book of Reproaches), a translation from the early fourteenth century of the *Sermones nulli parcentes*, in which it is expressly required that the sermon content and the *exempla* be adjusted to suit particular audiences. In reference to the Biblical contents of the sermon, especially passages from the Old Testament, this admonition follows :

“doch wolt ich, lieben bruoder mîn, / râten, ob ez möhte sîn, /  
swenn ir daz alte nû gesaget, / daz ir daz niwe niht verdaget. /  
ich mein daz niwe daz man siht / und aller tägêlich geschicht /  
von manger slahte sünden, / [...] / dâ von bit ich unde rât, / sît  
iu got enpholhen hât / ze lêren die kristenheit, / daz ir eim  
ieglîchem seit, / ob er des lebens des er lebt / mit got ist oder  
von im strebt...”<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> D.L. D'AVRAY, *The Preaching of the Friars. Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300*, Oxford, 1985.

<sup>25</sup> “Yet, my dear brothers, I want to advise you, if it is possible, that whenever you speak of the old that you do not conceal the new. I am referring to the new that one sees and that happens to everyone each day because of many kinds of sins ... thus I ask and counsel that since God has commanded you to teach Christianity that you proclaim it to every single person whether he is living a life that is in accordance with God's law or whether he struggles against God...”. *Buch der Rügen*, v. 151-157 and 161-166. T. VON KARAJAN (ed.), *Buch der Rügen*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 2 (1842), p. 6-92; H. KÄSTNER and E. SCHÜTZ, *Das alte sagen - daz niuwe niht verdagen. Einflüsse der neuen Predigt auf Textsortenentwicklung und Sprachgeschichte um 1300*, in J. DITTMANN et al. (eds.), *Erscheinungsformen der deutschen Sprache: Literatursprache*,

The *credo* of the new sermon, first employed by St. Francis and then transformed in theory and in practice by Jacques de Vitry, consists of the harmonisation of the sermon contents and the reality of the life of the recipients<sup>26</sup>. The German adaptations of the Berthold sermons still most closely approximate this demand, even if the oldest Berthold tradition, the X<sup>1</sup>-group, is actually not a *manuale curatorium* but a written text, of high literary quality intended to be read<sup>27</sup>. There is no evidence of Dominican sermons *ad populum* in German. Consequently, vernacular preaching by the new orders can be documented only in sermons intended for the spiritual care of women, even though the earliest such collection seems to be of Cistercian origins.

The collection of the *St. Georgener Predigten*, which originated in the second quarter of the century, constitutes an independent group within the thirteenth-century sermons of the religious orders. Since the time they were first transmitted, they served as readers and devotional books for the *cura monialium*. The individual sermons were compiled from various types of material (excerpts, series of quotations, tracts, sermons already written down, and possibly also sermons already delivered). Various members of the convent were perhaps involved in this work, as they might have been with the *Schwarzwälder Predigten*. According to K.O. Seidel, it is possible that the editor of the original collection was a confessor of the nuns who lived according to the Cistercian rule but were not incorporated into the order. Seidel stresses the self-teaching function of the *St. Georgener Predigten*, for the availability of sermon texts allowed for a certain independence in the study of the word of God. The development of the sermons within the Cistercian domain is highly probable<sup>28</sup>.

A group of eight sermons found in a German *Johannes-Libellus* of the fifteenth century provides insights into the early *cura moni-*

*Alltagssprache, Gruppensprache, Fachsprache: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Hugo STEGER*, Berlin, 1991, p. 19-46.

<sup>26</sup> H.-U. SCHMID, *op. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> D. RICHTER, *op. cit.*; A.J. HUBLER, *Ständetexte des Mittelalters. Analysen zur Intention und kognitiven Struktur*, Tübingen, 1993 (Basler Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 66).

<sup>28</sup> K.O. SEIDEL, *Die St. Georgener Predigten. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, Tübingen, forthcoming (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters).

*alium* of the Dominicans. The sermons constitute the most uniform text group of Dominican sermons for the Upper German area in the thirteenth century. They are among the first documented traces of vernacular Dominican *cura* in the thirteenth century that is the generation before Meister Eckhart. Four Dominicans, whose activity in the Constance-Zurich area can be proved, are identified as the authors. It must be presumed that the sermons were actually delivered in one or more communities of Dominican nuns in a form admittedly different from that of the written version and then, at the request of the nuns, recorded in versions authorised by the preachers. Thus, the sermons changed language and use very soon after coming into existence. A pulpit delivery by a Dominican charged with the *cura* of a Dominican nun's convent became a sermon to be read, which could then be used for devotion, meditation, and instruction<sup>29</sup>.

c) The mystical sermon

The mystical sermon developed primarily within the framework of the Dominican *cura monialium* and spiritual care of the laity. It had its precursors among the *St. Georgener Predigten*, which — shaped by Cistercian spirituality — were intended for the conventual domain and it should be remembered that Berthold also wrote *Sermones ad religiosas*. They are certainly among the oldest sermons for nuns but are quite different from the Dominican mystical sermons. In the former the appeal to obedience and discipline predominates, but the latter is not by any means limited to the *cura*; rather, it becomes the forum for a German theological discussion within the so-called German Dominican school of the early fourteenth century, which generally speaking centred on Eckhart and Dietrich of Freiberg (about 1250-1318/20). This debate was embodied in the Dominican sermon collection of *Paradisus anime intelligentis*, and vestiges of it are found in contemporary collections of more or less disparate

<sup>29</sup> H.-J. SCHIEWER, *Die beiden Sankt Johannsen, ein dominikanischer Johannes-Libellus und das literarische Leben im Bodenseeraum um 1300*, in *Oxford German Studies*, 22 (1993), p. 21-54; J. CONZELMANN, *Die Johannsen-Devotion im Dominikanerinnenkonvent St. Katharinental bei Dießenhofen. Ein Modellfall für Literaturrezeption und -produktion in ober-rheinischen Frauenklöstern zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts?*, in eds. V. MERTENS et al., *Predigt im Kontext. Internationales Symposium am Fachbereich Germanistik der Freien Universität Berlin vom 5.-8. Dezember 1996*, Tübingen, forthcoming.

homiletic material. The influence of the mystical sermon continues under Tauler, though it becomes more modest, extending well into the fifteenth century. Important contributions were made by such Franciscans as Marquard of Lindau († 1392) and Konrad Bömlin (1380-1449). Meister Eckhart is undoubtedly the central figure and the basis for the study of the mystical sermon. His education and his various positions in the Dominican order until the time of his heresy trial<sup>30</sup>, which concluded with the bull *In agro dominico* on 27 March 1329, are well known. K. Ruh's monograph<sup>31</sup> was the first to place Eckhart's biography and achievements within their historical context. Since an adequate treatment of his German sermons in the context of his complete German-Latin works is hardly possible here, I shall limit myself to references to research trends<sup>32</sup>: the focal point of the editing of Eckhart's German sermons has always been the question of authenticity<sup>33</sup>, which until recently has been influenced by both the heresy trial and the scant transmission. Recent re-orientation in research toward questions of transmission and text history has led to new a position in Eckhart research<sup>34</sup>, a position which relegates trial documents to a lesser importance than text transmission and textual history. In the end this new assessment has led to the discovery of additional Eckhart sermons<sup>35</sup>. Thus, the authentic Eckhart text is ap-

<sup>30</sup> W. TRUSEN, *Der Prozeß gegen Meister Eckhart. Vorgeschichte, Verlauf und Folgen*, Paderborn, 1988 (Rechts- und Staatswissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Görres-Gesellschaft, Neue Folge, 54).

<sup>31</sup> K. RUH, *Meister Eckhart. Theologe, Prediger, Mystiker*, 2nd edition, München, 1989.

<sup>32</sup> N. LARGIER, *Meister Eckhart. Perspektiven der Forschung, 1980-1993*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 114 (1995), p. 29-98; N. LARGIER, *Recent Work on Meister Eckhart. Positions, Problems, New Perspectives, 1990-1997*, in *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, 65 (1998), p. 147-167.

<sup>33</sup> J. QUINT, *Die Überlieferung der deutschen Predigten Meister Eckharts*, Bonn, 1932.

<sup>34</sup> G. STEER, *Echtheit und Authentizität der Predigten Meister Eckharts. Schwierigkeiten und Möglichkeiten einer kritischen Edition*, in G. STÖTZEL (ed.), *Germanistik - Forschungsstand und Perspektiven. Vorträge des deutschen Germanistentages 1984*, Berlin-New York, 1985, part 2, p. 41-50.

<sup>35</sup> F. LÖSER, *Als ich mê gesprochen hân. Bekannte und bisher unbekannte Predigten Meister Eckharts im Lichte eines Handschriftenfundes*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 115 (1986), p. 206-227; ID., *Einzelpredigt und Gesamtwerk. Autor- und Redaktortext bei*



proached through analysis of the work of medieval editors and compilers. These new textual efforts have also led to the discovery of a German Dominican school at the beginning of the fourteenth century<sup>36</sup>, with its intellectual centre in the *Studium generale* of the Order at Cologne<sup>37</sup>. This was also the place from which the followers of Eckhart undertook the dissemination and defence of the master's work after his death and condemnation. Among this group of writings are Heinrich Seuse's *Büchlein der Wahrheit* (Little Book of Truth) and especially the sermon collection *Paradisus anime intelligentis* (see below), besides the *Rechtfertigungsschrift* (Justificatory Report), the CT-recension of Eckhart's Latin works and the Basel anthology. The other German sermons by Eckhart are thoroughly discussed in connection with his activity as official visitor in the women's convents in the German Southwest, and they are viewed as a critical examination of a distinctive, feminine mystic piety as expressed especially in the Dominican sisters' lives<sup>38</sup>. A central aspect of Eckhart's preaching activity and homiletic mission thereby becomes the framework for understanding the content of his sermons; but at the same time Eckhart's use of the vernacular loses significance as a medium of theological and philosophical discourse di-

*Meister Eckhart*, in *Editio*, 6 (1992), p. 43-63; and ID., *Nachlese. Unbekannte Texte Meister Eckharts in bekannten Handschriften*, in DPM, p. 125-149; E. LÖSER, *Meister Eckhart in Melk*, Tübingen, 1999 (Texte und Textgeschichte, 48).

<sup>36</sup> R. IMBACH, *Die deutsche Dominikanerschule. Drei Modelle einer Theologia mystica*, in M. SCHMIDT and D. BAUER (eds.), *Grundfragen christlicher Mystik: wissenschaftliche Studententagung Theologia mystica in Weingarten vom 7.-10. November 1985*, Bad Cannstatt, 1987 (Mystik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Abt. 1, Bd. 5); A. DE LIBERA, *Introduction à la mystique rhénane. D'Albert le Grand à Maître Eckhart*, Paris, 1984 (Sagesse Chrétienne).

<sup>37</sup> L. STURLESE, *Die Kölner Eckhartisten. Das Studium generale der deutschen Dominikaner und die Verurteilung der Thesen Meister Eckharts*, in A. ZIMMERMAN and G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM (eds.), *Die Kölner Universität im Mittelalter*, Berlin-New York, 1989 (Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 20), p. 192-211.

<sup>38</sup> O. LANGER, *Mystische Erfahrung und spirituelle Theologie. Zu Meister Eckharts Auseinandersetzung mit der Frauenfrömmigkeit seiner Zeit*, München-Zürich, 1987 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 91).

rected explicitly toward a lay audience<sup>39</sup>. Eckhart's influence was considerable, even if in many cases it can be revealed only by a close reading of the text<sup>40</sup>, for his words can often be found assimilated into collections of aphorisms and excerpts and into compilations of tract literature over a broad area. His influence is more overtly discernible in the works of Heinrich Seuse and Johannes Tauler as well as in the sermon collections of the fourteenth century.

Before dealing with the most important collections that contain mystical sermons, a statement regarding the term "mystical" is necessary. This term is used here simply to characterise a certain period in the history of the medieval German sermon during which the *unio* or *cognitio dei experimentalis* became the central theme of written sermons<sup>41</sup>. This does not mean that during this period there were only mystical sermons. Older sermon literature continued to be handed down, and at the same time sermon collections, although not numerous, developed in which mystical questions find only a minor position<sup>42</sup>. The result is also a mixing of sermons with differing contents, as is demonstrated in the survey below.

<sup>39</sup> G. STEER, *Der Laie als Anreger und Adressat deutscher Prosaliteratur im 14. Jahrhundert*, in W. HAUG (ed.), *Zur deutschen Literatur und Sprache des 14. Jahrhunderts. Dubliner Colloquium 1981*, Heidelberg, 1983 (Reihe Siegen, 45), p. 354-367; and G. STEER, *Die Stellung des Laien im Schrifttum des Straßburger Gottesfreundes Rulman Merswin und der deutschen Dominikanermystik des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in L. GRENZMANN and K. STACKMANN (eds.), *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit. Symposion der Germanistischen Kommission der deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, 5, Wolfenbüttel, 25.-26. September 1981*, Stuttgart, 1984 (Germanistische Symposien. Berichtsbände, 5), p. 643-658.

<sup>40</sup> F. LÖSER, *Nachlese*, *op. cit.*

<sup>41</sup> A.M. HAAS, *Geistliches Mittelalter*, Freiburg (Schw.), 1984 (Dokimion, 8); S. KÖBELE, *Bilder der unbegriffenen Wahrheit. Zur Struktur mystischer Rede im Spannungsfeld von Latein und Volkssprache*, Tübingen, 1993 (Bibliotheca Germanica, 30); and N. LARGIER, *op. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> E.g., *Berliner Predigten* (Berlin Sermons), *Elsässische Predigten* (Elsass Sermons), Dietrich of Gotha, *Leipziger Predigten*; cf. V. MERTENS, *Der "implizierte Sünder". Prediger, Hörer und Leser in Predigten des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in *Zur deutschen Literatur und Sprache des 14. Jahrhunderts*, *op. cit.*, p. 76-114; T.R. JACKON, *Die Kürze des Exemplums. Am Beispiel der "Elsässischen Predigten"*, in K. GRUBMÜLLER et al. (eds.), *Kleine Erzählformen im Mittelalter. Paderborner Colloquium 1987*, Paderborn, 1988

The *Kölner Klosterpredigten* are a collection of disparate texts which includes sermon excerpts as well as more or less complete sermons. With one exception (a Franciscan), they are the work of various Dominican authors who probably, at least for a time, belonged to the Cologne Dominican convent at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. The sermons were intended for the *cura monialium* among other things and, according to current research opinion, were prepared in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The similarity in structure and function of the *Kölner Klosterpredigten* to the collection *Paradisus anime intelligentis* is striking, and thus it seems natural to suspect a specific Dominican model for the sermon book in the vernacular, which may have had its roots in the Cologne *Studium generale*. The singularity of the *Kölner Klosterpredigten* (largely transmitted as unique copies) and the absence of sermons by Eckhart, who at least for a time from 1280-1293 and 1323-1327 was in Cologne, is puzzling. According to the most recent research on the followers of Eckhart in Cologne<sup>43</sup>, the reason for this situation should probably not be associated with a conscious aloofness due to the trial; more probable is a doctrinal reason, which could have been caused by the formation of factions among the Dominicans in Cologne. A satisfactory solution to this question is hampered by the absence of a complete edition and by manuscript loss during the war.

The sermon collection *Paradisus anime intelligentis* is comparable in structure and intention to the *Kölner Klosterpredigten*, which date from the thirteenth century and which are numbered among the earliest transmission of German sermons by the Dominicans. This collection brings together 64 sermons, primarily by members of the Erfurt Dominican convent, among them 32 sermons by Meister Eckhart, who was the provincial of Saxony from 1303 to 1311. The other authors are Eckhart Rube (6), Giselher of Slatheim (5), Johannes Franke (5), Herman of Loveia (3), Florentius of Utrecht (3), Albrecht of Treffurt (2), and Helwic of Germar (2). In addition, there are three sermons by Hane the Carmelite and, as in the *Kölner Klosterpredigten*, one sermon by an anonymous Franciscan. Both the origin and

(Schriften der Universität-Gesamthochschule-Paderborn. Reihe Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, 10), p. 213-223; F. RAPP, *Un prédicateur strasbourgeois à l'époque de Tauler*, in *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 70, H.1 (1996), p. 125-135.

<sup>43</sup> L. STURLESE, *op. cit.*

the purpose of the collection have been controversial issues, but scholars agree that for the first time we are dealing with sermons that take up a theological debate between Dominicans and Franciscans in the vernacular. The nub of the controversy is the Dominican principle of the precedence of the intellect as a mean of transcendent knowledge in contrast to the Franciscan principle of *caritas*. This is expressed programmatically in the full title of the collection: "Dit buchelin heizit ein paradis der fornuftigin sele — Paradisus anime intelligentis". (This little book is called a paradise of the rational soul). The Dominican position is represented incisively in Sermon 41 by Giselher of Slatheim, and the opposing position of the Franciscans is in Sermon 62. The state of discussion concerning Eckhart's first Paris mastership set the stage for the edition of his texts<sup>44</sup>. The style of the sermons is to omit the homiletic elements in favour of an increased concentration on theology. For this reason B. Hasebrink sees the compiler of the *Paradisus anime intelligentis* as attempting to create a German preaching manual for Dominicans: "His efforts, I would suggest, are directed toward eliminating elements in the text which are aimed at the situation of preaching itself. The *Paradisus* collection reduces the texts recorded to their *materia*, thus creating a German-language sermon manual for Dominican preachers"<sup>45</sup>. In contrast, K. Ruh<sup>46</sup> maintains the opinion that the collection was assembled in the first decade of the fourteenth century in the Erfurt Dominican convent and represents an abridged adaptation from the 1340s in both of the transmitted versions. Accordingly the purpose of the collection was to document the Erfurt convent at its peak. This controversy notwithstanding, the *Paradisus anime intelligentis* constitutes the first extant autochthonous German-language theological debate. The question of models for the *Paradisus* still has not been elucidated satisfactorily. In addition, the nature of the transmission of

<sup>44</sup> K. RUH, *Meister Eckhart*, *op. cit.*; B. HASEBRINK, *Studies on Redaction and Use of the Paradisus anime intelligentis*, in HAS, p. 143-158; *Die Predigtsammlung 'Paradisus anime intelligentis'*. *Deutsche Mystik und dominikanische Theologie im Kontext der Eckhartüberlieferung*, eds. B. HASEBRINK et al., Tübingen, forthcoming.

<sup>45</sup> B. HASEBRINK, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

<sup>46</sup> K. RUH, *Meister Eckhart*, *op. cit.*

material from the *Paradisus* to both of the collections below has still to be clarified<sup>47</sup>.

The *Postil* of Hartwig of Erfurt is the most extensive partly mystical sermon collection of the fourteenth century. It includes 175 sermons and tracts as well as a prayer for the weekly days of fasting associated with the stations of the cross and for the Sundays of the church year, the high feasts, and some saints days. The sermons were transmitted in three forms: as postils, *plenaria*, and tract collections<sup>48</sup>. By no means do all these sermons have mystical content. Indeed, the sermons intended for the weekdays (generally Wednesday and Friday), frequently deal with the sermon text after the manner of the early homilies, that is, interpreted verse by verse, without a discernible continuous sermon theme. Because a name is mentioned in Sermon 92, it has been assumed up to now that the compiler of the *Postil* was Hartwig of Erfurt, a Franciscan. This assumption requires renewed examination, although the numerous other names from this area that appear in the manuscript suggest that the collection comes from Erfurt. The dating is relatively certain. Since the Franciscan poverty conflict and Henry of Ceva are mentioned in Sermon 73, we can posit a *terminus a quo* of 1321. And since Herman of Fritzlar used texts from the *Postil* for his *Heiligenleben* (Lives of the Saints), which he began in 1343, it can therefore be presumed that Hartwig compiled his collection between 1321 and 1343.

Nicolas of Landau was a monk in the Cistercian monastery of Otterberg near Kaiserslautern. His collection of *Sermones novi* was planned as a four-volume compendium, but only the first two volumes are extant. They provided model sermons for young preachers and to a large extent served also as a compilation of vernacular sermons, especially those from the *Paradisus anime intelligentis*. A definitive evaluation of the collection is not possible because an edition still is needed.

Another large collection that deserves mention is the *Heiligenleben* of Herman of Fritzlar, a compilation that reflects Herman's own

<sup>47</sup> G. STEER, *Meister Eckhart-Predigten in Handschriften des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in V. HONEMANN and N.F. PALMER (eds.), *Deutsche Handschriften 1100-1400. Oxforder Colloquium 1985*, Tübingen, 1988, p. 399-407.

<sup>48</sup> V. MERTENS, *Theologie der Mönche - Frömmigkeit der Laien? Beobachtungen zur Textgeschichte von Predigten des Hartwig von Erfurt. Mit einem Textanhang*, in *Literatur und Laienbildung, op. cit.*, p. 661-683.

idiosyncratic needs. The collection is arranged according to the months of the year and contains 86 sermons for the saints' feasts and feasts of the Lord. It draws upon vernacular collections which remain for the most part unknown.

A number of preachers among Eckhart's contemporaries have not yet been mentioned. They include John and Gerhard of Sterngassen as well as Nicolas of Strasbourg, among others. From Nicolas we have only sermon excerpts and drafts like those that in part are characteristic of the *Kölner Klosterpredigten*. Again, the abridged forms as opposed to fully formulated sermons indicate a characteristic aspect of the transmission of mystical sermon material. The material enters into compilations, which then are transmitted in the form of collections of aphorisms and tracts. The examination of this text group and an assessment of it for the history of the mystical sermon of the fourteenth century is still in its early stages. For important collections such as the *Spamersche Mosaiktraktate* (Spamer's Mosaic Tracts) there are not even any editions, although work on the text is underway. In the meantime it has been recognised with regard to these text-collages, that we are dealing with the products of a *compilatio*, a method which characterised university education as well as mendicant study centres<sup>49</sup>.

In an oft-quoted passage from his sermons, Eckhart refers to the fact that for him it is a question of truth, of divine truth, and that he is not prepared to make compromises with regard to either language or idea for the sake of an understanding of the truth: "wer dise rede niht

<sup>49</sup> U. WILLIAMS, *Vater ler mich. Zur Funktion von Verba und Dicta im Schrifttum der deutschen Mystik*, in R. BLUMRICH and P. KAISER (eds.), *Heinrich Seuses Philosophia spiritualis. Quellen, Konzept, Formen und Rezeption*, Wiesbaden, 1994, p. 173-188 (Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter, 17); B. HASEBRINK, *Zersetzung? Eine Neubewertung der Eckhartkompilation in Spamers Mosaiktraktaten*, in C. BRINKER et al. (eds.), *Contemplata aliis tradere. Studien zum Verhältnis von Literatur und Spiritualität*, Bern, 1995, p. 353-369; N. HATHAWAY, *Compilatio: From plagiarism to compiling*, in *Viator*, 20 (1989), p. 19-44; and A.J. MINNIS, *Late-medieval discussions of compilatio and the role of the compiler*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 101 (1979), p. 385-421; H.-J. SCHIEWER, *Uslesen. Das Weiterwirken mystischen Gedankenguts im Kontext dominikanischer Frauengemeinschaften*, in *Deutsche Mystik im abendländischen Zusammenhang. Neu erschlossene Texte, neue methodische Ansätze, neue theoretische Konzepte. Kolloquium Kloster Fischingen 1998*, Tübingen, 2000.

enverstât, der enbeküumber sîn herze niht dâ mite. Wan als lange der mensche niht glîch enist dirre wârheit, als lange ensol er dise rede niht verstân; wan diz ist ein unbedahtiu wârheit, diu dâ kômen ist ûz dem herzen gotes âne mittel"<sup>50</sup>. The position of Johannes Tauler (ca. 1300-1361) on this matter is quite different; his efforts revolve around "das Paradox der Vermittlung des Unvermittelbaren" (the paradox of the mediation of that which cannot be mediated)<sup>51</sup>. Tauler came from the Strasbourg upper class and was a friar there in the Dominican convent. He was educated during the time when early Dominican mysticism had reached its prime. From 1314 to 1324 Eckhart as vicar of the master general was frequently in Strasbourg, and John of Sterngassen taught there. Nothing is known of a direct teacher-student relationship between Eckhart and Tauler, in contrast to the situation with Heinrich Seuse. What is certain is that in his homiletic work Tauler is strongly influenced by Eckhart's thinking and theology and refers to him as the *minnenlich meister* (loving master)<sup>52</sup>. Despite Tauler's efforts to present in the sermon "so etwas wie Vollkommenheit der Gotteserfahrung" (something like the perfection of the divine experience)<sup>53</sup> as a thing that can be achieved by religious and laymen alike, in the background lies a philosophical conception of the *Seelengrund* (soul of souls), which is rooted in

<sup>50</sup> J. QUINT (ed.), *Meister Eckharts Predigten*, vol. 2 of *Meister Eckhart. Die deutschen Werke*, Stuttgart, 1971, Sermon 52, p. 506, 1-3. Translation from E. COLLEDGE, *Meister Eckhart. The Essential Sermons, Commentaries, Treatises, and Defense*, Ramsey (New Jersey), 1981, p. 203: "Whoever does not understand what I have said, let him not burden his heart with it; for as long as a man is not equal to this truth, he will not understand these words, for this is a truth beyond speculation that has come immediately from the heart of God."

<sup>51</sup> W. HAUG, *Johannes Taulers Via negationis*, in W. HAUG and B. WACHINGER (eds.), *Die Passion Christi in Literatur und Kunst des Spätmittelalters*, Tübingen, 1993 (Fortuna vitrea, 12), p. 78.

<sup>52</sup> E.g., T 113, F. VETTER (ed.), *Die Predigten Taulers aus der Engelberger und Freiburger Handschrift sowie aus Schmidts Abschriften der ehemaligen Straßburger Handschriften*, Berlin, 1910 (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 11), Nr. 15, p. 69, 26f.

<sup>53</sup> A.M. HAAS, *Deutsche Mystik*, in I. GLIER (ed.), *Die deutsche Literatur im späten Mittelalter, 1250-1370*, T. II: *Reimpaargedichte, Drama, Prosa*, München, 1987 (Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, 3/2), p. 271.

Albert the Great, Dietrich of Freiberg, and Eckhart<sup>54</sup>. However, Tauler's education within the order cannot be traced exactly, and there is no evidence that he ever attended the *Studium generale* of the Order in Cologne. Tauler saw as his main task the *cura animarum*, and in this respect he occupies the key position in imparting Dominican mystical teaching beyond the walls of the convent to the laity. As far as we now know, his work consists of 83 German sermons<sup>55</sup>. No systematic analysis of his teaching has yet appeared, but his exclusive use of the vernacular cannot be stressed enough. Through him the mystical sermon in the vernacular became a mass medium that was transmitted in more than 200 manuscripts and was printed repeatedly from 1498 onwards<sup>56</sup>. The fact that his work is focused on the laity and circulated among them is reflected in a story that makes a mystic figure of Tauler himself, a story which found its way into the printed editions: the *Meisterbuch* (Master Book) tells in dialogue form of the conversion of a *clericus* by a *laicus*, which leads to the priest withdrawing from the world for two years; only after he has been *ubernatürlich begobet* (miraculously endowed) by God can he preach successfully for the first time. In the printed editions the *clericus*, who is always anonymous in the manuscript versions, is identified with Tauler. The story is no doubt apocryphal, but it corresponds with anthropological conceptions and statements Tauler makes about himself in his homiletic work: on the one hand, he asserts that the divine experience after a long period of *arebeit* (struggle) is only possible, if at all, between the ages of 40 and 50<sup>57</sup>, and on the other hand, he indicates that he himself never attained perfect understanding of God<sup>58</sup>. Moreover, the identification of Tauler with the anonymous priest in the *Meisterbuch* refers to Tauler's connections to the *Gottesfreunde* (Friends of God) movement in the fourteenth century,

<sup>54</sup> L. STURLESE, *Tauler im Kontext. Die philosophischen Voraussetzungen des "Seelengrundes" in der Lehre des deutschen Neuplatonikers Berthold von Moosburg*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 109 (1987), p. 390-426.

<sup>55</sup> J.G. MAYER, *Die 'Vulgata'-Fassung der Predigten Johannes Taulers. Von der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 14. Jahrhunderts bis zu den Drucken*, Würzburg, 1999 (Text und Wissen, 1).

<sup>56</sup> G. STEER, *Bettelorden-Predigt als "Massenmedium"*, *op. cit.*

<sup>57</sup> T 113, F. VETTER, *op. cit.*

<sup>58</sup> T 113, F. VETTER, *op. cit.*, Nr. 41, p. 176, 1-5.



especially with Rulman Merswin. Merswin was a Strasbourg businessman and banker, and in 1347-1348 Tauler was his confessor. At the age of 40, in 1347, Merswin decided to embrace the life of a *deo devotus* and purchased in the abandoned Benedictine monastery Zum Grünen Wörth in Strasbourg in order to restore it as a centre for the *Gottesfreunde*. Officially it was governed by the Order of St. John, *de facto* the direction was incumbent upon three trustees from among the laity: it became a centre for the reception and production of religious literature in the vernacular (literature of the *Gottesfreunde*), of which the *Meisterbuch* is a part. The fictive and real connection between Tauler and the *Gottesfreunde* serves as an example of how successful his efforts were in conveying mystical ideas to a lay public by means of vernacular sermons to be read.

The St. John's monastery Zum Grünen Wörth will also serve as a reference point for the second major personality of this period whose vernacular work exerted a lasting influence. This is the Franciscan Marquard of Lindau (d. 15 August 1392), one of the most prolific authors of religious literature in the second half of the century. It is presumed that he was lector at the Strasbourg *Studium generale* of the Upper German Franciscan province in 1373; in 1377 and again in 1381/83 he was the *custos* of the Constance custody; and from 1389 until his death he served as provincial of the Upper German Franciscan province. According to a statement found in the manuscripts, he completed his sermon collection in 1389, relatively late in his career. It includes a total of 41 sermons whose sequence essentially follows the church year. His total literary production consists of 29 German and Latin works, most of which figure in a first inventory of works at the end of the fourteenth century. In a number of ways his German sermons resemble his own earlier sermons in content, and his reliance on sermon form influences the style of the tracts he wrote<sup>59</sup>. However, there are significant structural distinctions between the German and the Latin writings; the Latin writings exhibit to a greater degree to reliance on *articuli* (i.e. separable elements) which could be combined in new ways for teaching and preaching<sup>60</sup>. One hallmark of

<sup>59</sup> R. BLUMRICH, *Marquard von Lindau, Deutsche Predigten. Untersuchungen und Edition*, Tübingen, 1994 (Texte und Textgeschichte, 34).

<sup>60</sup> N.F. PALMER, *Latein, Volkssprache, Mischsprache. Zum Sprachproblem bei Marquard von Lindau. Mit einem Handschriftenverzeichnis der "Dekalogauslegung" und des "Auszugs der Kinder Israel"*, in J. HOGG

Marquard's sermons is the masterful combination of different sources and traditions to express a clearly independent spirituality and theology. In this regard most noteworthy is his high esteem for the Dionysian *theologia mystica* of the Franciscan tradition, which in the language of the German sermons makes the *für der minne* (fire of love) in the soul of souls into the decisive source of the *unio*, although his borrowings from Eckhart and Ruysbroeck are always anonymous<sup>61</sup>. The three-part sermons, homogenous in form, deal in each case with a thematic focal point (doctrine of God, eucharist, angelology) in six subordinate points, in most cases supplemented by *Questiones*. For this purpose Marquard frequently turns to knowledge related to natural sciences and does not shy away from dealing with theological controversies (*questio*). No special target group for the sermons can be determined on the basis of the texts themselves, although the theology and spirituality are offered in a stylised and literate German. The restriction of text transmission to the Alemannic dialect area, the occasional combination of Marquard's texts with the literature of the *Gottesfreunde* in the manuscripts, and his pastoral work in the Upper Rhine area, especially in Strasbourg, make it tempting to suppose a connection with the *Gottesfreunde* as one of the target groups intended by the author. However, the evidence up to now in support of this idea is still relatively sparse.

#### d) The sermon of the fifteenth century

Two phenomena have a decisive influence on the sermon in the fifteenth century: the religious reform movements, especially the Dominican observance movement, and the establishment of urban preaching offices that enjoyed a high level of prestige. The introduction of strict observance in the convents of the mendicant orders and at the same time the Benedictine reform movements and the *Devotio moderna* had a very stimulating effect on the production and reproduction of sacred literature within the monastic domain<sup>62</sup>. Taken as a whole, the literary history of the German sermon in the fifteenth

(ed.), *Spätmittelalterliche geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache*, Salzburg, 1983 (Analecta Cartusiana, 106/1), p. 70-110.

<sup>61</sup> R. BLUMRICH, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>62</sup> W. WILLIAMS-KRAPP, *Ordensreform und Literatur im 15. Jahrhundert*, in *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft*, 4 (1986/87), p. 41-51.

century is still to a great extent unfamiliar territory, though a “Repertory of Unpublished German Sermons” is in active production in Berlin<sup>63</sup>. The inventory of the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz alone consists of about 3000 sermons, of which approximately 2100 are unpublished. Moreover, the majority of the unpublished texts are from the fifteenth century. Such *lacunae* in our knowledge naturally limit present attempts to describe this material. Apart from the copying of older sermon collections — which cannot be precisely dated given the primarily anonymous transmission — there is the recording of sermons delivered by the lectors in the convents. This results in a kind of “house transmission” which can be adequately reconstructed for individual convents, provided the convent inventory has survived<sup>64</sup>. Often enough preachers from one order preached in houses belonging to other orders and thus the transmission of material does not always remain with its order of origin. In addition, a lively literary exchange develops between the urban mendicant convents of the women and those of the upper class, as is exemplified in the unique inventories of the Dominican convent St. Catherine’s in

<sup>63</sup> V. MERTENS and H.-J. SCHIEWER, *Erschließung einer Gattung. Edition, Katalogisierung und Abbildung der deutschsprachigen Predigt des Mittelalters*, in *Editio*, 4 (1990), p. 93-111; H.-J. SCHIEWER and C. VON SAMSON-HIMMELSTJERNA, *Computing Middle High German Sermons*, in *HAS*, p. 341-352; H.-J. SCHIEWER and V. MERTENS, *Repertorium der ungedruckten deutschsprachigen Predigten des Mittelalters. Der Berliner Bestand*, Bd. 1: *Die Handschriften aus dem Straßburger Dominikanerinnenkloster St. Nikolaus in undis und benachbarte Provenienzen*, Teil 1: *Die Handschriften Ms. germ. fol. 79 – Ms. germ. quart. 189*, Teil 2: *Ms. germ. quart. 190 – Ms. germ. oct. 69 ergänzt um Handschriften aus Leipzig, München und Paris*, erarbeitet von S. BEHNE, J. CONZELMANN, M. COSTARD, B. KRUSE, M. MECKLENBURG und H.-J. SCHIEWER, philologische Datenverarbeitung W. SCHNEIDER-LASTIN, Tübingen, 2000.

<sup>64</sup> A. RÜTHER and H.-J. SCHIEWER, *Die Predigthandschriften des Straßburger Dominikanerinnenklosters St. Nikolaus in undis. Historischer Bestand, Geschichte, Vergleich*, in *DPM*, p. 169-193; M. COSTARD, *Predigthandschriften der Schwestern vom gemeinsamen Leben. Spätmittelalterliche Predigtüberlieferung in der Bibliothek des Klosters Nazareth in Geldern*, in *DPM*, p. 194-222; ID., *Zwischen Mystik und Moraldidaxe. Deutsche Predigten des Fraterherren Johannes Veghe und des Dominikaners Konrad Schlatter in Frauenklöstern des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 69 (1995), p. 235-259.

Nuremberg<sup>65</sup>. In the vicinity of this convent are a large number of contemporary preachers, among them secular priests and regular clergy belonging to different orders<sup>66</sup>. Nuremberg is not an isolated case, but the quality of its surviving documents provides us with both fortunate and outstanding evidence. A comparable situation exists for St. Katharina in St. Gall and especially for Strasbourg<sup>67</sup>. Strasbourg in particular presents a culture of city-wide preaching, which makes it a model for urban sermon history<sup>68</sup>. This is evident, for example, in the first part of manuscript Ms. germ. qu. 206 of the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, which deals with a collection of sermons and sermon sections (short tracts) by authors identified by name; these were preached in various Strasbourg parish and convent churches between 1434 and 1437. According to an entry in the codex (fol. 42v) the collection had its origins in the initiative of Agnes Sachs, a Strasbourg woman. At least for a time, the manuscript itself belonged to the Dominican sisters of the community St. Nikolaus in undis in that city. Among its authors are regular and secular clergy:

<sup>65</sup> K. SCHNEIDER, *Die Bibliothek des Katharinenklosters in Nürnberg und die städtische Gesellschaft*, in B. MOELLER et al. (eds.), *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, Göttingen, 1983 (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 3. Folge, 137), p. 70-82.

<sup>66</sup> G.M. LÖHR, *Aus spätmittelalterlichen Klosterpredigten*, in *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, 38 (1944), p. 33-46, p. 108-120, p. 199-208; P. RENNER, *Spätmittelalterliche Klosterpredigten aus Nürnberg*, in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 41 (1959), p. 201-217; H. WALTER, *Prediger und Predigten aus cod. 114 der Sammlung Eis besonders das Werk Peter Kirchschlags*, in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 38 (1968), p. 71-97; A. LANG, *Materialien zum geistigen Leben des späten fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts im Sankt Katharinenkloster zu Nürnberg. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Predigten Johannes Diemars*, Heidelberg, Ph. Diss., 1969; A. WRIGGE, F. EISERMANN, *Der Nürnberger Pfarrer und Prediger Albrecht Fleischmann († 1444)*, in *Predigt im Kontext*, eds. V. MERTENS et al., Tübingen, 2000.

<sup>67</sup> A. RÜTHER and H.-J. SCHIEWER, *op. cit.*

<sup>68</sup> L. PFLEGER, *Zur Geschichte des deutschen Predigtwesens in Straßburg vor Geiler von Kaysersberg*, Straßburg, 1907; F. RAPP, *Réformes et Réformation à Strasbourg. Église et Société dans le Diocèse de Strasbourg (1450-1525)*, Paris, 1974 (Association des publications près les universités de Strasbourg. Collection de l'Institut des hautes études alsaciennes, 23).

Erhard of Dürningen, Hugo of Ehenheim OP, Gerhard Comititis OP, Konrad Bömlin OFM, Henry of Offenburg OESA, Peter of Gengenbach OP, and the secular priest Johannes Schoup of the Strasbourg Cathedral, who was one of the poorly paid predecessors of John Geiler of Kaysersberg. In his sermons Schoup complains about the corrupt cathedral clergy and characterises himself as *ein gedingeter knecht* (one hired to preach instead of the one in charge). His sermons represent a sophisticated type of parish sermon that is recorded relatively rarely in German in the fifteenth century. After a theme from the day's pericope a paraphrase of it follows in most cases. Schoup attaches importance to commentary on additional mass texts such as the Epistle, the *collatio*, the *introit*, etc. The pericope or the significance of the feast serves as the point of departure for additional remarks which follow a numerical scheme; thus, the five loaves of bread of the miraculous feeding signify the sacrament of penance, the miracles of Christ, the Holy Scripture, thankfulness, and eternal salvation. Catechesis and chastisement for vices are emphasised, and Schoup does not spare the clergy in his censure. In Schoup's opinion the preacher must be a model for the congregation, and listening to the sermons in a reverent manner is the *via regis* to salvation. Schoup also distinguishes between literate and illiterate listeners: to the latter he recommends the *leyen geschrift* (lay scripture), i.e., picture catechesis. If the religious institutions of Strasbourg in the first half of the fifteenth century are considered along with this manuscript, the result is an impressive profile of piety: Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Sack Brothers, and Carmelites resided in the city. The nuns of the Order of St. Clare were represented with two convents, and the Dominican nuns with seven. In addition, there were still 85 beguinages at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In light of this situation it is hardly remarkable that the pre-eminent personality among the holders of preaching offices, John Geiler of Kaysersberg, settled in Strasbourg in 1478 and assumed the newly created preaching office at the cathedral in 1479. He did not limit his preaching activity to the chancery in the cathedral but served other Strasbourg churches and especially women's convents as well, and his latter service is particularly well documented in manuscripts of the fifteenth century.

An exemplary case for the *cura monialium* in observant women's convents is a group of 33 sermons by Peter of Breslau OP. Peter of Breslau was the *Lesemeister* (lector) and confessor in the Dominican

convent of St. Nikolaus in undis and preached to the sisters a cycle of 24 sermons on the Passion of Christ in 1445. He supplemented the cycle with six additional feast and occasional sermons. The sermon that follows directly after the cycle, the sermon on the spiritual interpretation of Shrove Tuesday pastries for Quinquagesima, makes reference to the sermons of the cycle and thus constitutes a hortatory epilogue. Christ's Passion was one of the favourite themes for *Reihenpredigten* (serial sermons) in the fifteenth century, which in this case are held together by means of a common source, the *Buch des Lebens* or its original, the *Liber Vitae* of Konrad Dreuben. From the sermons themselves it is clear that each was preached on a Friday.

A figure comparable to Peter of Breslau is Konrad Schlatter, who was the prior of the Basel Dominicans between 1436 and 1454 and, as the evidence indicates, served the women's convent of Schönensteinbach and the Dominican sisters of the Steinen convent in Basel, both reformed convents. He died in Basel in 1458. Sixty sermons by Schlatter are extant in two manuscripts of the Dominican women's convent of St. Nikolaus in undis at Strasbourg, also a reformed community. Most of the works are serial sermons, and their themes are the nine dignities of Mary and the twelve Christian counsels. Eighteen serial sermons are produced for Lent, during which the themes of repentance, atonement, and Christ's Passion are the focus. In addition, among Schlatter's sermons there are *de tempore* sermons for the Sundays after Pentecost and six saints' sermons. A sermon-like *Sendbrief* (circular letter) and a Holy Spirit Sermon in the form of a religious *Sendschreiben* are included as well. The sermons are intended for the *cura monialium* — hardly surprising in view of Schlatter's role as confessor in women's convents. The homiletic intention is evident with the focus on Mary's virtues, among them diligence, devotion in prayer, and proper way of praying.

The list of comparable preachers could be continued, but for the fifteenth century, we need to concentrate on a representative case. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the texts of these authors still are unedited, and until recently this was also the case for Geiler's sermons. With his texts we again leave the monastic environment and encounter a phenomenon already noted above: where culture and piety intersect in the late medieval city, the monastic and parish sermons also intersect, especially in oral and written hortatory material. Geiler's sermon cycle *Berg des Schauens* (Mountain of Beholding), which he preached in Augsburg in 1488, deals with questions of the

contemplative life for a lay public, and here he acknowledges the influence of Jean Gerson<sup>69</sup>. Nineteen sermons altogether comprise the cycle, which he probably first preached during Advent of 1488: *per adventum all tag predigt er zu Johannis; ze möglich zwischen v und vi fieng er an*<sup>70</sup>. The sermon cycle is recorded in various versions from the Augsburg region, and in fact, Geiler himself is responsible for a reworked version, where form and style are adjusted to present the same content to the Strasbourg Dominican nuns and women penitents. This redaction is known as the Strasbourg version. This sermon cycle was then printed in this form in the *Predigten teutsch* (German Sermons), which was apparently published in 1508 *on sein wissen vnd zu thun* (without his knowledge and without any effort on his part). By following the program of his model Jean Gerson, which expressly demanded vernacular instruction for the laity at a high level, Geiler breaks with the educational monopoly of the established clergy. For this reason criticism of the clergy also is an integral part of his sermons (cf. Johannes Schoup). Moreover, he does not shrink from making complex theological and spiritual matters, which he sometimes simplifies, the subject of his sermons :

Geiler bekräftigt Gersons Auffassung, daß eine 'Theologia mystica' nicht elitäre Spiritualität sein dürfe, sondern eine Gebets- und Bußfrömmigkeit sein müsse, die bis zur mystischen Vereinigung führen und die auch jeder Gläubige unabhängig von seiner Bildung nachvollziehen könne<sup>71</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> H. KRAUME, *Die Gerson-Übersetzungen Geilers von Kaysersberg. Studien zur deutschsprachigen Gerson-Rezeption*, München, 1980 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen, 71).

<sup>70</sup> "Per adventum every day he preached in St. John's; when possible he began between 5 and 6". JOHANNES GEILER VON KAYSERSBERG, *Sämtliche Werke*, Erster Teil: *Die deutschen Schriften*, Erste Abteilung: *Die zu Geilers Lebzeiten erschienen Schriften*, Bd. 2, ed. G. BAUER, Berlin, 1991 (Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts, 139), p. 730.

<sup>71</sup> "Geiler corroborates Gerson's view that a 'Theologia mystica' should not be elite spirituality but rather must be a piety based on prayer and penitence, which can lead to mystical union and which every believer, regardless of his education, can realize." W. WILLIAMS-KRAPP, *Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg in Augsburg. Zum Predigtzyclus "Berg des Schauens"*, in *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, op. cit., p. 276.

This explicit turning to the laity is evident as well in aspects of Geiler's biography. He was born on 16 July 1445, the son of a city assistant clerk in Schaffhausen; he studied in Freiburg to the level of master and obtained the Doctor of Theology in Basel in 1475. The following year, as the result of a "citizens' initiative", he was granted a theological professorship in Freiburg, which, however, he wanted to relinquish in favour of a preaching office in Würzburg. Nonetheless, the Strasbourg mayor (*Altammeister*) Peter Schott was successful in bringing Geiler directly to Strasbourg in 1478. Obviously, the *simplices* already constituted the focus of Geiler's interest early in his career.

The theologians' openness to the needs of the laity in the second half of the fifteenth century was, however, not limited to Southwest Germany, but had its precursors already in the independent "Vienna School". The translation literature of the "Vienna School" was the result of the reorganisation of Vienna university carried out by Duke Albrecht III. Translation activity developed there especially in the first four decades of the fifteenth century. Among the central figures are Henry of Langenstein, Nicolas of Dinkelsbühl, Thomas Peuntner, Ulrich of Pottenstein, and Thomas Ebendorfer. Surprisingly few sermons, as opposed to other types of literature, were translated at the school. Far more prominent in the records are the Latin sermons of Henry of Langenstein, one of the leading figures of the Vienna School and a renowned theologian at Paris; however, only a single sermon by Henry is extant in translation. Likewise with the sermons of Thomas Ebendorfer: from among the numerous Latin sermon cycles, only four individual sermons have been translated into German under the name "Thomas Ebendorfer", and two additional German sermons are attributed to him. However, as the most recent research has shown, it is possible that additional German sermons by Ebendorfer are recorded under the name "Thomas von Wien" (Thomas of Vienna) among the *Basler Reformpredigten* (Basel Reform Sermons), which were preached in the convent of Dominican nuns "Ad lapides" in that city during the Basel Council. The German works of Thomas Peuntner, the confessor of Duchess Elisabeth, are reckoned among the "best-sellers" of the fifteenth century, even though he wrote only Latin and no German sermons. The sole exception with regard to German sermons in this "inner circle" of the Vienna School is Nicolas of Dinkelsbühl, the confessor of Duke Albrecht V and one of the most important representatives of the Melk reform movement.



Despite his having apparently written all of his sermons in Latin, many of them were translated into German all by the same editor. Among these are, on the one hand, *de tempore* sermons by Nicolas and, on the other hand, translations that can be traced back to the sermon collection *Tractatus octo*. The *de tempore* cycle is preserved in eight manuscripts, of which the two Melk manuscripts constitute a two-volume homiletic compilation. Some sermons are found in manuscripts which do not include the entire work. One of the manuscripts also contains Eckhart sermons, and a sermon by Johannes Bischoff (see below) is integrated into another. Manuscript transmission indicates that the *de tempore* sermons were less successful than the German sermons of the *Tractatus octo*, which are recorded in more than twenty manuscripts. The translation of the sermons is very free and was perhaps accomplished in consultation with Nicolas<sup>72</sup>. The German sermons of Nicolas of Dinkelsbühl were adopted independently from the sermon genre in the religious poems of Michel Beheim<sup>73</sup>. Johannes Bischoff, a Viennese Minorite and court preacher of Duke William of Austria, does not belong to the innermost circle of the Viennese men of letters. In the first decade of the fifteenth century Bischoff composed an *evangelistarium* consisting of a prologue, a winter and summer portion, as well as feast sermons. None of the seven related manuscripts which record the *evangelistarium* contain all parts of the collection. As is the case with other *evangelistaria* and *plenaria* Bischoff's too is not just simple glossing of the pericope texts, but an independent set of sermons that draw upon his commentaries. The intention of his sermons was to make accessible to the laity the interpretation of the Gospel independent of priests and preachers. At the same time, however, his sermons as well as those by Nicolas of Dinkelsbühl were used as model sermons which could serve as a prototype for the sermon *ad populum*.

A more detailed investigation of the contents and transmission of the sermons of the Vienna School has not yet been done. No statements can be made concerning the possible connections between the

<sup>72</sup> T. HOHMANN, *Nikolaus-von-Dinkelsbühl-Redaktor*, in K. RUH (ed.), *Verfasserlexikon*, 6, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1987, col. 1061; U. WILLIAMS, *Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl und sein Redaktor*, in *Predigt im Kontext*, eds. V. MERTENS et al., Tübingen, 2000.

<sup>73</sup> T. HOHMANN, *Deutsche Texte aus der "Wiener Schule" als Quelle für Michel Beheims religiöse Gedichte*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 107 (1978), p. 319-330.

sermons, especially those of Bischoff, and other collections. At present it can only be stated that the origin and transmission of German sermons confirms the close connection between the Viennese court and university as well as the reformed houses<sup>74</sup>.

e) Appendix: Low German sermons

To conclude this section let us glance at the Low German region, which has been neglected up to now<sup>75</sup>. What can be observed here is the same thing that can be observed for the literature of this language area in general: in contrast to the High German area transmission is scant and begins late. Consequently, the Low German sermon has not been the focus of sermon research. Only a few fragments from the thirteenth century are extant<sup>76</sup>. What is not yet known, is to what extent sermons or sermon collections recorded in Middle German were adapted in the area where the Low German was spoken. The *St. Georgener Predigten* (cf. Section I, 2) — which originated in the thirteenth century—seem to have travelled along the Rhine valley, not only into the Low German area, but also that of Middle Dutch. There are such close links between these areas, that one cannot overlook the latter when considering the Middle Low German literature<sup>77</sup>. Among the few sermon authors of stature known by name are Jordanus of Quedlinburg, who was active in the fourteenth century and whose reception extended into the Upper German area, and in the fifteenth century especially Johannes Veghe and Johannes Brinckerinck. Johannes Veghe, a member of the Brothers of the Common Life, is representative of the *Devotio moderna*. Born in the 1430's, Veghe studied at Paris and Cologne and entered the Brother House (Fraterhaus) in Münster in 1451. Beginning in 1481 he was rector of the Sister House of Marienthal in Münster, called Niesing. In this

<sup>74</sup> ID., *Nikolaus-von-Dinkelsbühl-Redaktor*, *op. cit.*, col. 1062.

<sup>75</sup> The most recent publication on this subject is R.D. SCHIEWER, *Die Entdeckung der mittelniederdeutschen Predigt: Überlieferung, Form, Inhalte*, in *Oxford German Studies*, 26 (1997), p. 24-72.

<sup>76</sup> *Wolfenbütteler Bruchstücke II* (Wolfenbüttel Fragments II), *Rothsche Texte aus Wolfenbüttel* (Roth's Texts from Wolfenbüttel); cf. K. MORVAY and D. GRUBE, *op. cit.*, T 45 and T 73g.

<sup>77</sup> K.O. SEIDEL, *Die St. Georgener Predigten und ihre Mitüberlieferung*, in *Die deutsche Predigt im Mittelalter*, *op. cit.*, p. 18-30; and ID., *Die St. Georgener Predigten. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, *op. cit.*

role he developed his preaching activity, which found expression in a manuscript of the Sister House<sup>78</sup>. This type of "house transmission" by confessors or visiting preachers is a characteristic of the reform movements of the fifteenth century, as we have already noted in the cases of Peter of Breslau and Konrad Schlatter. Veghe's collection consists of nineteen sermons which are arranged according to the church year but which have undergone thematic amplification. In his texts there are traces of "German mysticism" to be sure, but the *unio* theme is not his focus. Rather, he discusses themes that centre on the spiritual organisation of a religious community: friendship models for the God-man-relationship, teachings for the soul, and guidance for monastic life and obedience<sup>79</sup>. A comparative examination of the sermon literature of the religious reform movements is still in its infancy, but already noticeable parallels are evident<sup>80</sup>. Such an investigation, however, should focus not only on the "house transmission" of individual convents but also seek to understand the sermon literature of a town as a complete system. Thus a comparison of Geiler's sermons with those of Veghe seems worthwhile, and a *tertium comparationis* would be the reception of Gerson common to both. Although noticeable parallels are evident in a comparison of preaching activity of individual authors of the *devotio moderna* and of the Upper German Dominican observance movement, the library profile of the houses of the *devotio* reveals quite different aspects in comparison to Upper German reformed convents, especially when the findings are viewed from the perspective of sermon transmission<sup>81</sup>: if individual cases are generalised, in the *Schwesternhäusern* (sisters' houses) commonly disseminated sermon material from the thirteenth and fourteenth century (*St. Georgener Predigten*, Eckhart, Tauler) dominates; here the signals for oral delivery are reduced in favour of the treatise style. In this form sermons are found inconspicuously next to other types of religious literature in the manuscripts. Although in the Upper German reformed convents older sermon material is still preserved, the transmission reflects a greater interest in the documentation of preaching activity by lectors and confessors of the religious house itself as well as of the significant representatives of

<sup>78</sup> M. COSTARD, *Zwischen Mystik und Moraldidaxe*, *op. cit.*

<sup>79</sup> ID., *Zwischen Mystik und Moraldidaxe*, *op. cit.*

<sup>80</sup> ID., *Zwischen Mystik und Moraldidaxe*, *op. cit.*

<sup>81</sup> ID., *Predigthandschriften der Schwestern vom gemeinsamen Leben*, *op. cit.*; A. RÜTHER and H.-J. SCHIEWER, *op. cit.*

the observance movement. Intimate contact is documented again and again in the manuscripts: "Disse geischliche goetteliche lere vnd vermanuge het der erwürdige vnd geischliche vatter brüder cünrot schlatter bredier orden gesant von koelle her vff gon basel den swestern genant an den steinen zû basel bredier ordens von sunderer truwe vnd liebe" (Berlin, SBB-PK Ms. germ. (4°) 206, fol. 418r°)<sup>82</sup>.

#### *D. The plenaria with gloss*

Strictly speaking, the term *plenarium* can only be applied to those compilations which contain the translations of the Gospel and Epistle text for the Sundays and feast days of the *de tempore* cycle, and in which the Gospel text alone is glossed. Other compilations which are limited to the translation of the pericope are called *evangelistaria*. The *evangelistarium* is the commoner form in manuscript transmission; in the early printed versions it is almost completely replaced by the *plenarium*. The mass book with gloss constitutes a third stage of development. Since the transitions among the three groups are often indistinct, the common designation "*plenarium*" has come to be usual in the context of German studies and will be maintained here.

The *plenarium* manuscripts with gloss have developed since the fourteenth century as a new and trend-setting type of sermon transmission<sup>83</sup>. But the period when the *plenarium* flourished is in fact the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. The reasons for the sudden increase in *plenaria* with gloss after 1400 are most likely to be sought in the increasing and programmatic transfer of theological knowledge to the laity as we were able to observe, for example, in the writing of the "Vienna School". In the development of the *plenaria*, the pericope text and the sermon or the gloss usually do not constitute a unit but rather often evolve independently of each other. The sermons were compiled from different collections such as the *Postil* of Hartwig of Erfurt, the *Schwarzwälder Predigten* and *Schmids bairische Predigtsammlung*, among others.

<sup>82</sup> "This religious godly teaching and admonition was sent out of special faithfulness and love by the worthy and holy father Brother Konrad Schlatter OP from Cologne to Basel to the sisters known as those An den Steinen in the Basel Dominican Order".

<sup>83</sup> D. SCHMIDTKE, *op. cit.*

The development of *plenaria* presupposes the need of the readers to have at their disposal the texts of the mass, especially the pericope text and authorised commentaries on it. As V. Mertens explains<sup>84</sup>, the *plenarium* can be seen as evidence of the change in function of sermon books consisting of sermons on the pericopes of the mass, which at first were conceived of as aids for the preacher, later were read as devotional texts, especially in the convents, and finally served as private instruction for the laity. In the *Basler Plenar* (Basel *Plenarium*), first printed in 1514 by Adam Petri and reprinted five times thereafter, directions for reading from the *plenarium* are given :

Die teutschen bücher seind dar zû gût / das du an den gebannen tagen solt vnderwegen lassen vnnütz geschwetz vnd wort vnd nachreden. Das du darinn ledest / vnd deine kinder dar zû gewenest / das sy an den feyrtagen ir zeyt damit vertreyben / vnd darine lesen [...] Also thû du auch / hast du gütte bücher / lyß sy an dem sontag nach der predig / nach dem nachessen / vnd vnderweyß dein gesint / vnd sag inen was dar inn stand<sup>85</sup>.

Typical of the transmission of printed *plenaria* are the woodcuts which illustrate the text. They serve as an orientation when reading the Gospel text and also as a small image for devotional purposes.

A large portion of the *plenarium* manuscripts show their dependence on each other, and the printed *plenaria* are also closely related. As N. F. Palmer has shown, Stuttgart cod. bibl. 4° 22, which records a cycle of 52 short sermons, is of enormous importance in demonstrating this dependence. Numerous other *plenarium* manuscripts are related to the glosses of this "Stuttgart type", and different stages in

<sup>84</sup> V. MERTENS, *Das Verhältnis von Glosse und Exempel im Basler Plenar des Adam Petri von 1514*, in W. HAUG and B. WACHINGER (eds.), *Exempel und Exempelsammlungen*, Tübingen, 1991 (Fortuna Vitrea, 2), p. 223-238.

<sup>85</sup> "The German books are useful for the following reasons: that you should avoid useless chatter, words, and backbiting during the holidays. You should read in the books and accustom your children to this so that they spend their time with them on holidays and read in them [...] You should also do this: if you have good books, read them on Sunday after the sermon, after the evening meal and teach your servants and tell them what was in the books." Quoted from V. MERTENS, *Das Verhältnis von Glosse und Exempel*, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

the development of the text can be derived from it. There are also seven further types of *plenarium*, indirectly or directly dependent on the "Stuttgart type". These are related to it through the adoption or adaptation of some of its 52 short sermons, whether transmitted as manuscripts or as printed editions or both. Of special significance in the secondary text stages is the Heidelberg *Evangelistarium*, Cpg 55, which consists of 56 Gospel glosses, 23 of which correspond to the glosses of the "Stuttgart type". The common material of the "Stuttgart" and "Heidelberg" types, together with the respective material specific to each type, constitutes the basic corpus for the most widely circulated glosses of the German pericope books<sup>86</sup>. In addition, there are also numerous special cases where some mystical sermon material has been added to the manuscript. Besides the *plenarium* type of the postil of Hartwig of Erfurt we can count here the so-called *Plenar Friedrichs des Karmeliter* (*Plenarium* of Frederick the Carmelite), which is connected to the mystical sermon collections and is based in part on the *Postil* of Hartwig of Erfurt. Moreover, excerpts from this *plenarium* are found in the breviary made for Emperor Frederick III, though Frederick the Carmelite probably did not compile the *plenarium*. Only one passage in the Prologue to John, found in some manuscripts of the *plenarium* in a Christmas Mass, can be attributed to Frederick with certainty, and the supposition that the entire *plenarium* is Frederick's work is probably based on this passage.

## II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENRE: STRUCTURE, STYLE AND CONTENT

The preceding section clearly demonstrates how diverse and extensive the transmission of German sermons is during the Middle Ages. Consequently, a description of style, content, and language can only concentrate on a few examples. Here I have deliberately resorted to unpublished texts; in part because they offer the opportunity to develop criteria for judging more standard works in easily accessi-

<sup>86</sup> N.F. PALMER, *Deutsche Perikopenhandschriften mit der Glosse. Zu den Predigten der spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Plenarien und Evangelistare*, in *Vestigia Biblicae*, 9/10 (1987/88, recte: 1991), p. 273-296.

ble editions, and in part because they are be more representative of the multitude of unprinted texts.

### *A. The early German sermon*

In the early German sermon, one finds the form of the *sermo* as well as that of the homily for the *de tempore* sermons. With homilies, either the sermon text as a whole is placed preceding the exegesis, which is broken down into small segments, or each verse is interpreted directly following the corresponding portion of the text. The *Sermones* choose the most liturgical *incipit* as their theme. It is difficult to speak of the structure of saints sermons at all, since most of them are limited to a re-telling of the legend of the saint in question.

The language of sermons is simple and unaffected. Although the sermon is among the earliest types of prose in German literature, no peculiarities in style or use of neologisms can be discerned, as they can, for example, in lyric and epic. This simplicity is the more surprising since the early German sermon is also the first wide-spread attempt to deal with theology in the German language, although actually the early sermons tend to avoid theological fine points and to limit themselves to imparting basic Christian knowledge and principles. The sermons are apparently adapted for the most part from Latin models, even though direct translation from Latin prototypes can be demonstrated only for individual cases. Authorities cited or referred to include patristic authors, both classical and German, and preachers of the French cathedral schools.

With sample text N<sup>o</sup> 1, we have a typical Sunday sermon from among the early German sermons, that for the Twelfth Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost. The form of the sermon is a homily, its focus is the exegesis of the pericope text concerning the healing of a deaf-mute, Mc 7,31-36. In the introduction the preacher praises God for his miracles (lines 2-6) by referring to the indispensable Latin *incipit* Ps 76,14 f., which is amplified in the German translation with some words from a comparable passage in Ps 112,5. Thus, the introduction already points thematically to the miraculous healing of Jesus.

Then the preacher comments that God, when he was on earth as a man, always appeared in the places where he was most needed (line 7-9). The absence of differentiation among the persons of the Trinity

is a phenomenon encountered more frequently in the early German sermon than in later sermons. The verse-for-verse exegesis of the Gospel follows, usually allegorically, in some cases typologically or morally: Tyre is interpreted as *venatio* (hunt) since the heathens were a hunting ground of the devil (lines 10-12), and Sidon as *verecundia* (shame) since the people in this city were ashamed of God (lines 14-17). Jesus leaves these cities behind and then arrives in the region of the Ten Towns. The deaf-mute brought there to him represents the human race, which was deaf and dumb and no longer praised God (lines 19-23). Jesus leads the deaf-mute aside: Christianity should be separated from the Jews and the heathens (line 24f.). The region of the Ten Towns also symbolises the Ten Commandments. Jesus' fingers, which he places in the man's ears, are the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the spittle with which he touches the man's tongue the teaching of the Gospel. That Jesus looks toward heaven and sighs indicates that people should celebrate the Sunday sacraments with great devotion and with tears. Just as Jesus charges everyone to be silent about the miraculous healing, so too people should not do a good thing in order to be praised for it. But despite Jesus's prohibition people should praise God and his miracles. The preacher emphasises this again in the final sentence before he concludes the sermon with a phrase in Latin.

The language of the sermon is plain, and the contents are not presented with any rhetorical extravagance. There is, however, one striking feature: the absence of a translation of some Latin expressions, namely the quotations from Is 23,4 (line 15), Iob 21,14 (line 17), the words *sancti ewangelii* (line 31f), the concept of *dominica sacramenta* (line 34), the continuation of the penultimate sentence with *sed magis predicare et laudare* (line 44f), and the final phrase of the sermon (line 48). Except for biblical quotations that constitute independent sentences, all other untranslated Latin words and phrases are added into the German text as supplements while the Latin grammar is maintained. Such texts would presumably be unsuitable as readings for the laity whose Latin was not probably very far advanced. In contrast, a text such as this sermon fulfils the purpose of the model sermons, in that it which can be used and adapted by a priest (who knows Latin). The theological demands on the listeners are modest, entailing only a sketch of Salvation History (especially line 23f., 28-34). Nonetheless, such a sketch can also serve to estab-



lish an identity for the group "Christians". Moreover, concrete directions on how to act are given (lines 34f., 39-45).

Since model sermons tend toward a certain social neutrality, it is difficult to determine from the language, style, content just what particular group the early German sermon was aimed at. However, the fact that documentation of the vernacular sermon begins at the same time as the development of courtly literature could provide an indication of a possible target group. Those who supported vernacular literature in the twelfth and well into the thirteenth centuries were exclusively the nobility. As a rule admittance to the convents and monasteries, especially into the female branches of the old orders, was limited through the privileges of the nobility. Thus, it is an obvious supposition that the target group of the vernacular sermon around 1200 is the upper class of the laity and its *familia*, the *conversi* and members of the women's convents.

### *B. Thirteenth-century sermons of the religious orders*

The content and form of Collection I of the *Leipziger Predigten* can serve to show the connections of the early German sermon to the thirteenth-century sermons of the religious orders. The theme of Salvation History, so pervasive in the earlier sermons, is still of prime importance in some of these later texts, and for the sermon *De purificatione BMV* of this collection the same model can be presupposed as for the sermon on the same occasion in *Speculum ecclesiae deutsch* (cf. **Section III, 1**).

The origins and functions of the thirteenth-century sermons of the religious orders have been discussed above (**Section I, 2**); here I should like to describe trends of development in content and form. My remarks are valid, however, merely for portions of the evidence, since the different trends in sermon literature of this time are too disparate to be sketched as one uniform picture. However, it is ascertainable that the majority of sermons became independent of the liturgical texts and the theme of the feast day for which they were originally written. Frequently they refer to the occasion or its liturgical texts only by way of introduction or with the *incipit* and thereafter deal with a theme of faith and the need to increase one's piety.

The German transmission of the sermons of Berthold of Regensburg occupies a special position in all of its transmission branches

(X, Y, Z); this is especially true for the X-group and here for the Collection X<sup>I</sup> (=PS 1-35.37.38)<sup>87</sup>. That was composed while Berthold was still alive. The literary quality of this collection is unparalleled in medieval sermon history and probably best conserves the effect of Berthold's way of preaching in its directness and rhetorical impact: despite its relatively narrow distribution among the nobility (documented by four manuscripts, two fragments, and one special redaction), these texts can also be proved to have been in the hands of the clergy in the fifteenth century. This demonstrates how difficult it is to make generalisations. Such texts can always be seen only as dominant variants. The sermons of the X<sup>II</sup>-, X<sup>III</sup>-, and Y-branches never attain the literary quality of the X<sup>I</sup>-group.

The *Schwarzwälder Predigten* provide easily comprehended instruction in matters of faith at a high linguistic level; they are augmented by *exempla* related in an unusually broad and descriptive manner, especially *exempla* from the Old Testament. Their sources are primarily of mendicant provenance (Conrad of Saxony OFM, Jacque de Voragine OP). The sermons remain true to their models, following as they do the guidelines of the *artes praedicandi*. The result is a group of sermons that skilfully derive their arrangement from selected Biblical themes and, unlike the homilies of the early German sermon, expound only upon the day's gospel. The preferred method for the division of the sermon is the *distinctio*, the organization of the sermon according to content or a concept identified in the theme. *Subpartitiones* are avoided in the sermons as are *dilatationes*, which in the models of Conrad of Saxony are essentially a series of Biblical quotations about the theme in question. Indebted to the model with regard to division, the German texts are independent in exposition; this is most obvious in their effort to approximate thematically the day's gospel, which clearly links this type of sermon with the homilies of the early German sermon. However, this independence is valid only for the Sunday sermons. In contrast, the saints' sermons offer slightly expanded translations from the *Legenda aurea*.

For the *St. Georgener Predigten* neither a uniform structure nor a uniform ordering principle can be identified. Rather variety in the choice of theme and in structure appears to be the overriding principle of these sermons, which are not intended for specific occasions in

<sup>87</sup> Cf. K. MORVAY and D. GRUBE, *op. cit.*, T 48.

the church year. There are devotional and didactic texts as well as sermons with a scholastic structural organisation<sup>88</sup>. With regard to content there are instructions about living a moral life beside a discussion of theological problems such as the doctrine of the Trinity and that of communion.

The sermons of the Dominican *Johannes-Libellus* of the Upper Rhine develop their subject matter from the *incipit*, which, however, provides more of an occasion for speech than a reason for it. Numerous *membra* and *subpartitiones* divide the sermons. The most important themes are virginity, courtly love as related to spiritual love, virtues, and the capacity to suffer. The Dominican nuns realised that the virtue of chastity made the two Johns (the evangelist and the baptist) comparable, and their comparisons led to controversy in convents along the Upper Rhine about the superiority of one or the other saint. The preachers intervene as mediators in this competition, that had already become a literary *topos* (e.g. Caesarius of Heisterbach, Berthold of Regensburg, Heinzelin of Constance), and also request that both saints be honoured equally and, analogously, that no one confessor be given preferential treatment. Not only is this very specific instance in the daily life of the nuns considered in the sermons, but the preachers also try to relate earthly and divine reality through images and comparisons. Some sermons include meditative passages that could serve to edify and purify the listeners when the sermon was read.

Sample text N° 2 is a sermon by Rudolf of Klingenberg on John the Evangelist, as is revealed in its title in the manuscript (lines 1-2). A *dispositio* of the sermon is lacking. Following the abridged *incipit* the preacher speaks generally about the venerableness of the evangelist (lines 5-11) before he skilfully portrays his inspiration for the sermon through the Holy Spirit by stressing his own inability (lines 12-24). The paraphrase of the Gospel text from John 21,18-24 that follows is interpreted with a few explanatory words. Then the preacher announces that he will discuss three meanings of the Gospel with reference to Bede. The first point is the special love that Jesus had for John (lines 56-58). The meaning of the second point remains obscure because of unclear pronominal references and is not taken up again in the course of the sermon; it is a question of the greatness and

<sup>88</sup> K.O. SEIDEL, *Die St. Georgener Predigten. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, op. cit.

dignity of Jesus, which John understood better than all others (lines 58-59). The third point found briefly at the end of the sermon is the teaching that originated with John (lines 59-61). The primary emphasis of the sermon, however, is on the love that Christ felt for John. This theme is subdivided into numerous *membra* and *subpartitiones*, as is shown from the schematic description below. Only a relatively brief section is concerned with the teaching of the evangelist; here the preacher applies the image of four streams of Paradise (Gn 2,10) to the four works of the evangelist: the Gospel, the Apocalypse, and the two letters. Subsequently, the preacher forbids himself to speak about the reward that John received, but returns again to this theme via his narration of the evangelist's death. In the closing prayer he prays for a blessed end.

*Incipit* (line 3)

Introduction with the *topos* of lack of ability (lines 5-23)

Gospel with brief commentaries (lines 24-53)

Three things about John according to Bede (lines 54-61)

1. Jesus's love for John is demonstrated in three things: (lines 62-365)

a. John rests on Jesus' breast on Maundy Thursday (lines 94-209),

(1) because he loved Jesus so much (lines 113-154);

(2) on account of Jesus' tender words (lines 155-172);

(3) because of sadness (lines 173-189);

(4) on account of the noble food of communion (lines 190-209).

b. Jesus entrusted his mother to John (lines 210-317)

(1) the time of this care (lines 217-252)

(2) the type of care (lines 253-265)

(3) the person (Mary) who was entrusted to John (lines 126-317)

c. Jesus gave John a special robe that consisted of four parts (lines 318-365):

(1) the beautiful body (lines 359f);

(2) the nimbleness of the body (lines 360-362);

(3) the lightness of the body (lines 362f);

(4) immortality (lines 363-365).

2. omitted (see above)
3. John's teaching (lines 366-381)

John's reward and his assumption into heaven (lines 382-401)  
 Prayer with final phrase (lines 402-410)

Below I want to consider only individual sections of the sermon that are of special interest: within the first *membrum* the preacher is concerned with a general interpretation of Jesus' love for John, before he proceeds to the *subpartitiones*. He compares Jesus' love for his favourite disciple with the "worldly" love that a father has for his child and explains how such love expresses itself (lines 78-84). A similar comparison also is found somewhat later in the sermon when the preacher compares John's resting on Jesus' breast with the tokens of physical love (lines 115-119). The preacher uses this to enhance his argument: if such a thing takes place as part of the physical love between two people, how much stronger then did this need have to be for John, who was inflamed with divine love (lines 119-124)? The same comparison is drawn for the effect of Jesus' tender words on John (lines 162-167) and the sadness in expectation of separation (lines 181-189). In addition, the effect of good food and drink is compared with the effect of communion (lines 197-203). The preacher describes the love of a mother for her child as the greatest love that exists on earth. Jesus wanted to entrust this love to John by commending him to Mary as her son (lines 294-298). With the preacher's explanatory commentary that John's resting on Jesus' breast did not happen without a reason we obtain information about the preacher's understanding of *hofelich* (courtly). In the text the preacher says that it would have been *vngehofelich* (not courtly) if John had leaned on such a great man, such a noble emperor, without a reason (lines 108-110). Also of special interest is a section with meditative features that reminds us of the Passion prayers: Jesus' suffering on the cross is made palpable by a meditation on the injury to individual parts of the body. The preacher progresses from a more narrative manner of speaking in which he describes the humiliations of Jesus by the words of the Jews and the thief (lines 225-233) to a formalised, meditative mode and directs the attention of the hearers/readers to the head with the crown of thorns, the blindfolded eyes, the ears suffering on account of abuses, the mouth soaked with vinegar and gall, the hands and feet wounded with nails, and finally the entire martyred body (lines 233-243).

Clearly the sermon is concerned with figures and themes that were among the most interesting for the piety of late medieval women: the evangelist John and Mary, their chastity, the inner relationship between John and Jesus, and Christ's Passion. Regarding the relationship of John and Jesus the sermon shows a certain mystical influence. The exposition of the sermon's themes takes place primarily through the description and interpretation of individuals' relationships, only rarely through scriptural evidence or, as in the case of the typological use of Joseph from the Old Testament (lines 318-335), in the traditional exegetical way. Although the structure of the sermon as well as its rhetoric and its linguistic superiority identify the writer as a well-schooled preacher, we are not dealing with a "scholarly" sermon. There is no arguing of points; rather, the emphasis lies on affective understanding.

By means of the trenchant *vns* (us) in the sermon title (line 1), a "we" is established that can refer only to the women's convent as the place where the sermon was delivered. The Dominican nuns considered it to be a continuation of the preaching task of their brothers in the Order to use resources available to copy the sermons and compile sermon manuscripts. The title of our sermon indicates this.

### *C. The mystical sermon*

The themes of the mystical sermon are seldom connected to the liturgical texts of Sundays or feast days, although the preacher often returns to a word or theme of the liturgical texts and connects to it his exposition. The sermon is frequently divided according to the scholastic homiletic tradition. Meister Eckhart comments on the themes of his sermon in the following way :

Swenne ich predige, sô pflige ich ze sprechene von abegscheidenheit und daz der mensche ledic werde sîn selbes und aller dinge. Ze dem andern mâle, daz man wider îngibildet werde in daz einvaltige guot, daz got ist. Ze dem dritten mâle, daz man gedenke der grôzen edelkeit, die got an die sêle hât geleet, daz der mensche dâ mite kome in ein wunder ze gote. Ze dem vierden mâle von götlîcher natûre

lûterkeit — waz klârheit an götlîcher natûre sî, daz ist unsprechlich. Got ist ein Wort, ein ungesprochen wort<sup>89</sup>.

According to these remarks, Eckhart's sermons seem to focus more on his audience than on theological content, but they still do not contain any concrete directions for a mystic knowledge of God or even for a religious way of life<sup>90</sup>. *Abegescheidenheit* (detachment), *gelâzenheit* (abandonment), and passivity are rather prerequisites for a blessed revelation from God<sup>91</sup>.

The language of the mystical sermon is shaped by the need to find the corresponding terms to describe the theological and philosophical circumstances. Generally this occurs in the translation of Latin terms into German. But there is no new method involved, and the mystic lexicon can hardly be distinguished from the usual vernacular theological vocabulary. As A.M. Haas points out Meister Eckhart's work is part of a "literary series" from which it certainly does not stand out by virtue of neologisms and word-formations, but rather because of an *Appellstruktur* (affective structure) which Eckhart himself creates by his use of syntax and rhetoric, which is distinctive, but not entirely new<sup>92</sup>. Expression and syntax are determining factors for the new quality of mystical diction in the vernacular. Yet though this new quality is highlighted again and again in research (e.g., Ruh's discussion of the greater spiritual potential of the

<sup>89</sup> MEISTER ECKHART, *Deutsche Werke*, 2, *op. cit.*, Sermon 53, 528, 5-529, 2. Translated by E. COLLEDGE, *op. cit.*, p. 203: "When I preach, I am accustomed to speak about detachment, and that a man should be free of himself and of all things; second, that a man should be formed again into that simple good which is God; third, that he should reflect on the great nobility with which God has endowed his soul, so that in this way he may come to wonder at God; fourth, about the purity of the divine nature, for the brightness of the divine nature is beyond words. God is a word, a word unspoken."

<sup>90</sup> C. ORTMANN, *Eckharts Lehre für die Ungelehrten. Zum Verhältnis von Deutsch und Latein in der deutschen Predigt*, in K. GRUBMÜLLER (ed.), *Befund und Deutung. Hans FROMM zum 26. Mai 1979*, Tübingen, 1979, p. 342-391.

<sup>91</sup> Concerning Eckhart's position in the ambivalent triangle of philosophy, theology, and mysticism, see N. LARGIER, *Meister Eckhart. Perspektiven der Forschung*, *op. cit.*

<sup>92</sup> A.M. HAAS, *Meister Eckhart und die Sprache*, in A.M. HAAS, *Geistliches Mittelalter*, *op. cit.*, p. 193-214, here p. 199f.

vernacular)<sup>93</sup>, it has not yet proved possible to describe it with any degree of exactitude. The most recent attempts in this regard focus on linguistic techniques or derivations from the language of female mysticism in the thirteenth century<sup>94</sup>. In addition, B. Hasebrink has developed concrete descriptive techniques based on text linguistics in order to better understand “die Beziehung von syntaktischen Formen und textuellen Gestaltungsmustern, rhetorischen Figuren und kommunikativen Funktionen”<sup>95</sup>. And he has arrived at very far-reaching conclusions :

Einerseits relativiert Eckhart jede sprachliche Fassung des Verhältnisses von Gott und Mensch, indem er sie stets durch andere strukturäquivalente Varianten ersetzt... Andererseits verknüpft er diese Varianten durch ein Argumentationsverfahren, das die Forderung nach Gelassenheit folgerichtig aus der Seinslehre ableitet<sup>96</sup>.

Thus, the sermon becomes an “Angebot religiöser Selbstvergewisserung” (offer of religious self-certainty). This quite modern subjectivity arises, on the one hand, from the linguistic effort to grasp, and at the same time to relativize the relationship between God and man, and on the other hand from the de-functionalization of the sermon as a binding method of instruction in the Faith, which is a necessary consequence of this. However, Hasebrink understands this

<sup>93</sup> K. RUH, *Überlegungen und Beobachtungen zur Sprache der Mystik*, in R. HILDEBRANDT and U. KNOOP (eds.), *Brüder-Grimm-Symposion zur Historischen Wortforschung. Beiträge zu der Marburger Tagung im Juni 1985*, Berlin-New York, 1986 (Historische Wortforschung, 1), p. 24-39, here p. 25.

<sup>94</sup> B. HASEBRINK, *Formen inzitativer Rede bei Meister Eckhart. Untersuchungen zur literarischen Konzeption der deutschen Predigt*, Tübingen, 1992 (Text und Textgeschichte, 32); S. KÖBELE, *op. cit.*

<sup>95</sup> “The relationship between syntactic forms and textual form patterns, rhetorical figures, and communicative functions”. B. HASEBRINK, *Das Predigtverfahren Meister Eckharts. Beobachtungen zur thematischen und pragmatischen Kohärenz der Predigt Q 12*, in DPM, p. 151.

<sup>96</sup> “On the one hand, Eckhart relativizes each linguistic formulation of the relationship between God and mankind by always replacing it with other variants that are structurally equivalent... On the other hand, he links these variants by means of a method of argumentation that derives the appeal for abandonment logically from the teaching on the essence of being”. B. HASEBRINK, *Das Predigtverfahren Meister Eckharts*, *op. cit.*, p. 168.



as a theological discourse in the vernacular and sees in it the connecting link with the *Eckardus latinus*, where by switching languages theology is made accessible to the laity. This preoccupation of Eckhart sets a precedent, and we encounter it again to a lesser extent with Johannes Tauler, the "Vienna School," and John Geiler of Kaysersberg. But at the present time there is a great deal of controversy over the exact nature of the relationship between German and Latin. The spectrum ranges from Köbele<sup>97</sup>, who sees in the change of language a loss of clarity<sup>98</sup>, to Steer, who emphasises the structural equality of the German and Latin sermons<sup>99</sup>. It is important to remember that the mystical sermon, developed its own ideas expressly in the vernacular and was widely influential and frequently adapted. This wide distribution amplified possibilities of discussing theological problems in the vernacular.

The *Postil* of Hartwig of Erfurt demonstrates how mystical ideas enter into the German sermon of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries without supplanting the old traditions of scriptural exegesis. Besides authentic Eckhart sermons and other sermons of speculative mysticism, the *Postil* also includes those which have only a marginal mystagogical function and some others which apparently have no mystic content at all. In many cases one has the impression that the

<sup>97</sup> S. KÖBELE, *op. cit.*

<sup>98</sup> "Die Transformation ins andere Sprachmedium häretisiert die volkssprachliche Aussage, indem deren metaphorisch bzw. paradoxal realisierte Mehrdeutigkeit festgelegt erscheint". (The transformation into another linguistic medium makes the vernacular statement heretical since its metaphorical or paradoxical realized ambiguity appear to be established), S. KÖBELE, *op. cit.*, p. 164. Cf. W. HAUG, *Zur Grundlegung einer Theorie des mystischen Sprechens*, in K. RUH (ed.), *Abendländische Mystik im Mittelalter. Symposion Kloster Engelberg 1984*, Stuttgart, 1986 (Germanistische-Symposien-Berichtbände, 7), p. 494-508; C. ORTMANN, *Eckharts Lehre für die Ungelehrten*, *op. cit.*; F. TOBIN, *Meister Eckhart: Thought and Language*, Philadelphia, 1986 (The Middle Ages); ID., *Die Entzauberung der Sprache durch die Mystik: Eckhart und Seuse*, in J.F. POAG and T.C. FOX (eds.), *Entzauberung der Welt. Deutsche Literatur 1200-1500*, Tübingen, 1989, p. 147-164. In contrast, Tobin stresses the flexibility of the Latin terminology.

<sup>99</sup> G. STEER, *Zur Authentizität der deutschen Predigten Meister Eckharts*, in H. STIRNIMANN and R. IMBACH (eds.), *Eckardus Theutonicus, homo doctus et sanctus. Nachweise und Berichte zum Prozeß gegen Meister Eckhart*, Freiburg (Schw.), 1992 (Dokimion, 11), p. 127-168.

author or authors of the sermons thought it was part of "good form" to address mystical questions without, however, indicating an independent position on them. Problematic questions are often considered with a series of answers in the form of quotations from authorities — without ever dealing with the crux of the problem. In some cases the preacher limits himself completely to simple moral instruction. The sermons are often illustrated by *exempla* and in some cases by the (alleged) travel experiences of the compiler. As in most other sermons of this time the compiler/preacher refers to authorities of the past and the present as well as to the *Glossa ordinaria*.

The sermon for Ember Day in Advent, N° 3 in the Appendix, shows how mystical ideas were used in sermons which at the same time employed traditional forms of scriptural exegesis. The sermon belongs to a series of six sermons, which, as is revealed in the sermon for the Wednesday after the First Sunday in Advent, are to treat nine questions. The questions are usually dealt with at the end of the sermon, as in our example (lines 57-77), and are not logically connected with the other parts of the sermon. The sole connection is the *adventus*, the coming, the birth of Christ, the Eternal Word. On the Friday after the First Sunday in Advent the preacher discusses the question of what the birth of God in the soul is; on the Wednesday after the Second Sunday in Advent, how one should prepare and discern the birth of the Eternal Word in one's soul; on Friday of the same week, whether a person can purify his soul in such a way that God must come into it; then the three questions in our example follow; and finally on the Sunday in the Octave of the Feast of the Epiphany (!) the last two questions are addressed: what gifts does the person obtain in whom the Word of God is born, and how can one recognise those people in whom the Word of God has been born?

In the first two thirds of the sermon the preacher concerns himself with the first reading of the day, the prophecy of Isaiah, 2,2-4. The individual verses, in some cases even individual phrases, are interpreted one after the other. Verse 2 undergoes a typological as well as an eschatological-moral interpretation: Christ, the Eternal Word, took on a human form and in so doing elevated it. The "final time" has begun, and for this reason people must prepare themselves since later there will be no more time (lines 2-8).

The section following includes statements about the kind of preparation: the preparation is the union of human and divine nature, which once had no connection with each other (lines 9-11). Three

things which validate the Christian faith are added without grammatical or logical connection to this statement. First, the prophecies of the Old Testament with regard to Mary and Jesus are substantiated by the preacher with verses from the second reading of the day (lines 11-17), then the prophecies of Jesus himself (line 17-19), and finally the miracles of Jesus (line 19f.). After these remarks the preacher returns to the exegesis of the first reading of the day. Anagogical, allegorical, and topological interpretations are given for the house of God (line 25f.). The *sensus litteralis* is absent; in its place the house of God is described as the *heiligen geschrift*, the Holy Scripture (line 26). For the paths which the believers are to traverse, only moral interpretations are given (lines 33-41). On the other hand, verses 3 and 4 are interpreted typologically with regard to Jesus' coming (lines 41-48).

The six lines in which the preacher refers to the Gospel of the previous Sunday seem out of place in the sermon (lines 49-56). His statement *daz ich han an dem suntag gelaßen* (which I read on Sunday) appears to refer to the entire Gospel text concerning the inquiry of John the Baptist (Mt 11,2-11). However, a glance at the preceding sermons shows that the verses of Mt 11,2-5 were interpreted, but the testimony of Jesus about the Baptist was not considered. This material appeared to be so important to the preacher that he inserted it as an extra element in the sermon for Ember Day.

The final section of the sermon provides relatively clear answers to three complex mystical questions. However, these can be viewed only as encouragement to further thought since no explanatory statements follow. The first of the three questions — the fourth in the entire series of questions — inquires about the place in which the Eternal Word is born in the soul (line 57). The preacher brings together several answers: in the reason, in the will, in the "spark of the soul", in the mind, or in the innermost part of the human essence (lines 58-68). In some instances the answers are commented on briefly. The preacher himself considers the final answer to be the correct one, but he does not state that the others are incorrect (line 66f.). For the following two questions — how the soul and the body assist with the birth of the Eternal Word — the preacher provides an unambiguous answer in each case (lines 68-75). Nevertheless, none of the questions is dealt with authoritatively, but rather, they serve as an invitation to a meditation on questions.

Referring to the theme of the birth of the soul, the preacher concludes with a short prayer (line 75-77), and after the *Amen* he sums up by saying that the six questions have now been interpreted (line 77).

The sermon does not have any established structure, even though it is divided into various *membra* in the case of the three things which confirm the faith (lines 11-20).

The three questions with mystical content firmly bind the sermon to the context of the collection, as the uneven treatment of the nine questions in the week of Epiphany demonstrates. A connection with the sermon directly preceding is apparent in the continuing exegesis of the Sunday gospel. Thus, the preacher of this group of texts from the *Postil* must work under the assumption that he will be preaching to almost the same audience on each occasion. This suggests the use of the sermon within the monastic environment or as a *Lesepredigt*, a sermon to be read. On the other hand, the sermon does not build directly upon the previous sermons. Even if someone adapted it outside the context of the sermon series and the collection, the first part of the sermon in particular would be easy to understand and would fulfil its appellative and exhortative aims, which become apparent in the moral interpretations. In this way the sermon is also suitable for use in parish ministry. It is precisely its composition from a more traditional exegesis of the reading and from the speculative mystical questions that makes it of interest to more than one group of recipients. This may perhaps explain the great breadth of transmission of sermons by Hartwig of Erfurt.

#### *D. The sermon of the fifteenth century*

With regard to content and structure the sermons of the fifteenth century are extremely disparate. Besides sermons with mystagogical content we find exhortative, moralising, and meditative sermons; there are also sermons which interpret very simple Biblical texts. This variety is related to the different forms of piety in the convents of various orders and reform movements. Thus, sermons of the *Devotio moderna* seldom feature mystical themes, whereas the women's convents under Dominican rule, which in some cases had recourse to a long tradition of women's mystical texts, showed great interest in sermons with mystical content. In many cases the spiritual advisers

of these convents tried to counteract the visionary experiences that occur in seemingly epidemic proportions.

As a sample text, a sermon by Konrad Schlatter will be considered here since his sermons are a typical example for the Dominican *cura monialium* of reformed women's convents. The structure of Schlatter's sermons varies: frequently, no *dispositio* is evident, and the exposition often remains unclear. A division into individual parts with occasional subdivisions is maintained throughout. In the use of *kinder gottes* (children of God) as the form of address for the listeners/readers, Schlatter's sermons resemble those of Peter of Breslau. *Exempla*, frequently taken from the *Vitae patrum*, are found in almost every sermon. Bernard of Clairvaux is given precedence as the authority cited.

The sermon in question, which significantly is entitled *ein bredeg vf sant iacobus tag* (a sermon for St. James's Day) and not *ein bredeg vf sant iacobus* (a sermon about St. James) takes up the central sentences of the day's gospel, Mt 20,22, and develops the themes of the sermon in the *dispositio*: how many different chalices Christian theology knows of, which of them the believer ought to drink from, and how the believer should behave so that he can feel true *compassio* with Christ. Then the preacher turns to his first theme, the different chalices. The earthen, lead, golden, and silver chalices are treated in four *membra*. Each *membrum* is divided into three *subpartitiones*, which are dealt with at greater or lesser length. People should not drink from the earthen chalice since it contains arrogance, gluttony, and impurity, and the lead chalice is the chalice of the damned, who must drink three different types of bitterness from it in hellfire. In contrast the golden chalice is the chalice of the blessed. It contains heavenly joys. People are only permitted to drink from it once they have emptied the silver chalice, which purifies mankind. The five *membra* of the second theme, *compassio*, have no *subpartitiones*. They provide concrete support for believers who have difficulty in developing true *compassio*. In general the *membra* can be distinguished easily from each other. Only in II.4. and 5., the solitary place and the quiet time of meditation, is the separation indistinct. The example for which Bonaventure is given as the source is connected thematically to the second theme. At the conclusion of the sermon a third theme is introduced briefly, namely what is distinctive about James. Three greatly abridged statements about James are made: he is called the James "the Greater" since he was chosen earlier and

shed his blood first. Both statements must be interpreted in light of James the Less. The third measure of James's greatness is seen in the fact that Jesus took him along with John and Peter to the Mount of Olives.

The final sentence of the sermon appeals to the second theme, *compassio*, and adds a standard final phrase.

The sermon thus features a rigid structure and is an example of the so-called scholastic method of preaching. The structure is presented in detail below :

*Dispositio* (lines 2-8)

I. Introduction: the chalices (lines 9-12)

1. earthen chalice (lines 13-22)

- a. berries of arrogance (line 15)
- b. berries of gluttony (line 15)
- c. berries of impurity (line 16)

2. lead chalice (lines 23-44)

- a. bitterness of the physical suffering in hellfire (lines 25-31)
- b. bitterness of the absence of the beatific vision (lines 31-36)
- c. bitterness of the gnawing conscience (lines 36-43)

3. golden chalice (lines 47-53)

- a. delight in the beatific vision (line 49f.)
- b. delight in God (line 50f.)
- c. delight in possessing God for eternity (line 51f.)

4. silver chalice (lines 54-63)

- a. purification through a life in pureness, virtue, and good works (lines 57-59)
- b. purification through sanctification of the soul (lines 59)
- c. purification of body and soul through the sacrament (line 59f.)

II. Introduction: *Compassio* with the suffering of Christ (lines 64-69)

1. Observance of self-control (*mâze*) (lines 70-90)

2. Meditation on the suffering of Christ in prayer and by confession of sin in church (lines 91-103)

3. Meditation on the suffering of Christ by prayer in a solitary place (lines 104-115)
4. Meditation on the suffering of Christ by prayer at a peaceful time (lines 116-136)
5. Meditation on the suffering of Christ by remembering the suffering of the saints (lines 137-155)

*Exemplum* (lines 156-169)

(III.) The measure of James's greatness (lines 170-176)

1. James was chosen first (lines 171f.)
2. James was the first to shed his blood (line 172f.)
3. James was selected by Jesus along with Peter and John to accompany him to the Mount of Olives (lines 173-176)

Final phrase (lines 177-179)

The sermon gives information about its origin and its intended public; it is addressed to a group of female recipients, as is evident by the form *svnderin* (line 100) in the prayer presented by the preacher. In this regard the introductory sentence of the *exemplum* also is interesting; in it the preacher reports that Bonaventure writes *von einer novicien* (about a novice) of his Order. The form is clearly female, even if the *exemplum* itself tells of a boy in the following lines. Moreover, the naming of Dominicus (line 20) as the intercessor points to the Dominican order as the place of origin. The exhortation to moderation in fasting and prayer (line 75f.) could be viewed as an attempt to counteract the occasional excessive practices of piety in women's convents in the fifteenth century, even if the focus of the preacher's warning is gluttonous eating (lines 77-79). The instructions for proper *compassio* presuppose the life of a religious person simply in terms of the amount of time to be expended. The content of the *exemplum* also points to the domain of the monastic life. Thus, even without an exact knowledge of the author and the precise target group, the sermon itself provides a rather exact description of the conditions under which it developed<sup>100</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> For a comparison of this sermon with a text by Johannes Veghe for the same occasion, see M. COSTARD, *Zwischen Mystik und Moraldidaxe*, *op. cit.*

### *E. The plenaria*

The form of the *plenaria* sermons differs only slightly from the form, current since the twelfth century, for Sunday gospel sermons. Thus, the *plenaria* continue the tradition of the sermons on the pericopes. The preacher comments on a paraphrase of the pericope by explications and an exegesis of the gospel follows. Allegory is the preferred exegetical mode and reference points for moral interpretation as well as recommendations on how to conduct one's life are the focus throughout. Themes such as marriage and the family show that the intended audience of the *plenaria* is the laity and that the *plenarium* served as a kind of "Family Bible". Exempla are among the favourite organisational techniques in the *plenaria*.

## III. THE DISSEMINATION OF SERMONS: TRANSMISSION

### *A. The early German sermon*

The sermons are preserved in approximately 21 model sermon collections which were intended for spiritual advisers. The multiple transmission of some sermons in various collections points to partial overlap in transmission and partial use of common models. The arrangement of the sermon collections follows the liturgical year, blocks of the temporal cycle alternating with blocks of the sanctoral cycle. Only the *Züricher Predigten* (Zurich Sermons) and the *Basler Predigten* (Basel Sermons) do not conform to this model: the thirteen *Züricher Predigten*<sup>101</sup> being found in the private text collection of a cleric, and the ten *Basler Predigten*<sup>102</sup> constituting a separate block within a compilation manuscript which contains sermons of widely disparate provenance. However, since the manuscript which records the *Basler Predigten* dates from the fourteenth century, the possibility cannot be ruled out that it originally was part of a sermon cycle.

<sup>101</sup> K. MORVAY and D. GRUBE, *op. cit.*, T 32.

<sup>102</sup> ID., T 29.



The transmission of collections of early German sermons is meagre, and the collections frequently are extant in only one copy. The most important collections are the *Speculum Ecclesiae deutsch*, the *Oberaltaicher Sammlung* (Oberaltaich Collection), the collection of Priest Konrad, the *Millstätter Sammlung* (Millstatt Collection, previously the *Kuppitschsche Sammlung* [Kuppitsch Collection]), and the *St. Pauler Predigten* (St. Paul Sermons)<sup>103</sup>. To this list we can add the *Leipziger Sammlung* (Leipzig Collection)<sup>104</sup> from the early fourteenth century, which combines a total of seven sermon collections, six of which are from around 1200, as parallel transmissions attest.

In all there are roughly 75 manuscripts and fragments from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries that contain 830 sermons, some of which are recorded several times. Twenty one of the manuscripts have been dated to the twelfth century, but a new codicological and palaeographical assessment of the early German sermon manuscripts is an obvious *desideratum* in this field. With few exceptions these manuscripts are in a small format intended for actual use by preachers.

Although it still has not actually been proven, the appearance of the mendicant orders seems to have contributed to the end of the production, and with some qualifications, also to the end of the transmission of these sermon collections. For several decades new German manuals for the parish sermon do not appear to have been made. It is only with the *Schwarzwälder Predigten* at the end of the thirteenth century that there is once again a connection to the traditions of early German model sermon collections.

### ***B. Thirteenth-century sermons of the religious orders***

Transmission of the *Schwarzwälder Predigten* begins with a small-format parchment codex of the temporal cycle from the end of the thirteenth century, which strongly reminds one of the sermon collections from the beginning of that century. In all probability, with this codex we are dealing with the “collective” autograph of a group of authors. However, in 30 of the additional 34 manuscripts in which the *temporale* of the *Schwarzwälder Predigten* is recorded, it is not

<sup>103</sup> ID., T 9, T 23, T 25, T 34/35, and T 39 respectively.

<sup>104</sup> ID., T 17.

the text redaction of this manuscript that is used but rather a so-called vulgate version, which in its existing form must be the result of a "catastrophe" in transmission history. The short sermons for the Eighteenth to Twenty-Fifth Sundays after Pentecost differ so fundamentally from the adaptations of the other texts that we can rule out a planned new version of them for the definitive edition of Sunday sermons, of which the transmission offers some evidence. The *Schwarzwälder Predigten* consist of a temporal cycle with 55 sermons and a sanctoral cycle with 46. The quantity of extant manuscripts confirms that the temporal cycle constitutes the most popular sermon book of the Middle Ages. In this regard it is worth noting that the collection was used as a homiletic manual for spiritual advisers into the second half of the fifteenth century, as several individual manuscripts attest<sup>105</sup>.

The transmission of the *St. Georgener Predigten* is characterised by inconsistency. Tradition treats the corpus as including all manuscripts which contain more than five of the 46 sermons that constitute the collection. Of the 25 known manuscripts of the corpus only seven contain little or no additional text material. Apart from that, there are numerous manuscripts containing less than five sermons<sup>106</sup>. Already early on, the focus of the area where the manuscripts were dispersed was the entire course of the Rhine. Two manuscripts come from the south-east area (W, N), two additional ones from the East Middle German region (U, L), and one from the area of East Franconia (Be). Thus, the *St. Georgener Predigten*, like the *Schwarzwälder Predigten*, spans all literary regions of the German-language area, at least in a few representative instances. The collection was disseminated via the connections between the convents, even convents of different orders. It is this concentration of manuscript transmission in the monastic sphere that distinguishes the *St. Georgener Predigten* from the Berthold transmission and the transmission of the *Schwarzwälder Predigten*. In particular the *Schwarzwälder Predigten* served the laity as a work comparable to the *St. Georgener Predigten* in the monastic sphere. The late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are the focal point of transmission history. The copies from the fifteenth century occur predominantly in the context of religious reform and revival move-

<sup>105</sup> H.-J. SCHIEWER, "Die Schwarzwälder Predigten", *op. cit.*

<sup>106</sup> K.O. SEIDEL, *Die St. Georgener Predigten und ihre Mitüberlieferung*, *op. cit.*

ments; they play a role in the observance movement, in the libraries of the lay brothers, and in the domain of the *Devotio moderna*.

The Dominican *Johannes-Libellus*, which contains eight sermons of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, is extant only in an East Franconian-Bavarian manuscript of the fifteenth century. Some of the sermons are transmitted in parallel in other collections. All parallel manuscript versions situate the collection as well as the preachers in the area of the Upper Rhine, from where the model for the fifteenth-century manuscripts most probably derived. The convent St. Katharinenthal near Diessenhofen conforms in every respect to the site where the writing might have taken place. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was the most important convent for Dominican women in the district where the mendicants from Constance were permitted legally to collect alms. Meister Eckhart was a guest there, and Seuse seems to have spent some time in Diessenhofen. The *vitae* of the sisters from this convent provide information about the special interest the nuns took in the two St. Johns. The known transmission of the so-called "Hochalemannischer Prediger" (High Alemannic Preacher)<sup>107</sup> was produced in Katharinenthal and contains an anonymous parallel transmission of some of the sermons from the *Johannes-Libellus*<sup>108</sup>. When the first reformed women's convent of the Dominican observance movement was founded in 1397, seven sisters from Katharinenthal were re-assigned to Schönensteinbach, even though Katharinenthal itself never was reformed. Probably the sisters brought books along to the new convent. In the subsequent decades Schönensteinbach plays a key role in the reform of the convents of Dominican women, and there was a close literary exchange with the convent of St. Katharina in Nuremberg. Again and again sisters and manuscripts were sent to sometimes quite distant convents in order to press for adherence to strict observance in these communities. Since the literary exchange among the convents following strict observance was intense, it is conceivable that the *Johannes-Libellus* reached the Bavarian region by this means<sup>109</sup>. The eight ser-

<sup>107</sup> ID., T 60.

<sup>108</sup> The consequences for the collection of the "Hochalemannischer Prediger" are discussed in R.D. SCHIEWER, *Sermons for Nuns of the Dominican Observance Movement*, in ed. C. MUESSIG, *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, Leiden, 1998 (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 90), p. 75-92.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. concerning the "literature explosion" in the fifteenth century also Section III, 4.

mons on John the Evangelist, James the Great, John the Baptist, and Agnes are integrated into the *Libellus* according to a precise plan: following the biblical and legendary texts there is a sermon on John the Evangelist, attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux; then there is a *vita* of John, which is ascribed to an authority of the Dominican Order, Vincent of Beauvais. Given their number, the sermons of the Dominican spiritual advisers apparently serve as the principal interest of the collection; however, the impression of a hierarchical division of the codex emerges when these sermons follow only after biblical texts, legendary material, and texts of authorities. The first of the eight sermons is devoted to the family history of John the Evangelist via reference to James. The subsequent three sermons on John the Evangelist are linked with an additional three sermons on John the Baptist through a sermon on St. Agnes<sup>110</sup>.

### *C. The mystical sermon*

The transmission of the mystical sermon centres on the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Even though the writings of Meister Eckhart provided a kind of impetus for the production of mystical sermons, evidence for their transmission proves to be rather meagre, both for the German and for the Latin works. So far 86 of the German sermons of Meister Eckhart have been proven genuine, but an additional 60 are of questionable authenticity. A new evaluation of the transmission and text history will result in the classification of these texts as genuine in the fourth volume of the German works of Eckhart<sup>111</sup>. Eckhart's sermons are recorded in some more recent codices, but at least 90% of these are florilegia of aphorisms or mosaic tracts with in many cases unattributed sententia derived from Eckhart. F. Löser's renewed examination<sup>112</sup> of text transmission as well as textual evidence disregarded until now has led recently to surprising new findings, which are of critical importance for issues such as the structure of the text, the question of authenticity, and the scope of Eckhart's homiletic work. Perhaps one reason for the surprisingly limited transmission of works by such an influential theologian is the

<sup>110</sup> H.-J. SCHIEWER, *Die beiden Johannsen*, *op. cit.*

<sup>111</sup> G. STEER, *Echtheit und Authentizität der Predigten Meister Eckharts*, *op. cit.*

<sup>112</sup> F. LÖSER, *Als ich mê gesprochen hân*, *op. cit.*, and elsewhere.

lawsuit for heresy brought against him. In contrast, the more than 80 sermons of Johannes Tauler, which experienced wide dissemination during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were the only mystical sermons to make the transition into print: in fact the first manuscripts of the collected edition were prepared while Tauler was still alive. In the fourteenth century, however, the transmission was limited to the North Alemannic and Ripuarian area (along the course of the Rhine). Three redactions (w, k, n) are extant in the High German area; these merge to create the so-called *Großer Tauler* (Large Tauler), although gaps still exist. The *Kleiner Tauler* (Small Tauler) fills the gaps. The trio of cities from which the Tauler transmission emanated were Strasbourg, Augsburg, and Nuremberg; the south-east German region (Austria, Bohemia) was excluded. Printed transmission begins in Leipzig in 1498 (K. Kachelofen). In 1521 the Basel printer Adam Petri printed a version which Georg Carpentarii, the librarian of the Carthusian convent, augmented with extra material that cannot be attributed to Tauler. In 1548 a Latin translation by the Carthusian Laurentius Surius appears<sup>113</sup>.

Among the mystical sermon collections there are close transmission associations like those that we know from the early German sermon: the *Paradisus anime intelligentis*, Hartwig of Erfurt, the *Spamersche Mosaiktraktate*, Nicolas of Landau, and the *plenarium* of Frederick the Carmelite are part of this transmission complex.

The collection of the *Paradisus anime intelligentis* is extant in only two manuscripts and presumably harkens back to other models from which it was composed according to established arrangement criteria. The sermons by Eckhart contained therein are for the most part among his early works and show that the texts in the collection have undergone extensive adaptation. A careful examination of the method of adaptation and the status of the *Paradisus* within the Eckhart tradition remains to be done.

The *Postil* of Hartwig of Erfurt also includes Eckhart material. There are three, or, strictly speaking, four transmission types of the sermons of Hartwig of Erfurt: the *Postil*, which is extant in twelve manuscripts and one fragment, *Plenarium* I (five manuscripts), *Plenarium* II (six manuscripts), and the tract version (six manuscripts). The *Postil* shows evidence of contact with numerous other sermon collections and tracts, among them also such an early source as the

<sup>113</sup> J.G. MAYER, *op. cit.*

*Leipziger Predigten* (cf. early German sermon). Other points of contact are established with the *Heiligenleben* of Herman of Fritzlar, the sermon compendium of Nicolas of Landau, as well as sermons of Hane the Carmelite, those of Nicolas of Strasbourg, who was visitor of the Dominican province of Teutonia at the time when accusations were levelled against Meister Eckhart, sermons of Giseler of Slatheim, and the discourse among the "Twelve Masters of Paris". Five texts link the *Postil* with the *plenarium* of Frederick the Carmelite (*Plenarium II*).

The compendium of Nicolas of Landau is closely associated with the *Paradisus*. Like the *Paradisus*, it is extant in two manuscripts, one of which presumably represents the original from the middle of the fourteenth century. Neither of the two *Paradisus* manuscripts was of course Nicolas's model, but it can be presumed that a common source existed for both collections. In the collection of Nicolas of Landau we find, along with Eckhart's sermons, some by Hane the Carmelite (cf. Hartwig of Erfurt), Kraft of Boyberg (cf. *Spamersche Mosaiktraktate*), and Johannes Franke (cf. *Spamersche Mosaiktraktate*)<sup>114</sup>.

The *Spamersche Mosaiktraktate* are recorded in two sister manuscripts from the Lower Alemannic area. They exhibit borrowings of varying magnitude from the sermons of Meister Eckhart, Johannes Franke (cf. Nicolas of Landau), John of Sterngassen, Kraft of Boyberg (cf. Nicolas of Landau), Hartmann of Kronenberg, and Tauler. Furthermore, there are textual parallels with the collection of aphorisms of Engelhard of Ebrach and the corpus of the *St. Georgener Predigten*, the compendium of Nicolas of Landau, and the *Postil* of Hartwig of Erfurt. The routine borrowing of final phrases and of transitions and reference passages that serve no function in their new context contrasts with very homogeneously composed passages<sup>115</sup>.

The sermon collection of Marquard of Lindau is extant in six manuscripts, all of which belong in the context of the monastic reform movement of the fifteenth century, and thus embody a phase in text transmission which can come from only one of the reception areas conceivable for the sermon collection. A true single transmission exists only for Sermon 37 and this in seven manuscripts<sup>116</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> G. STEER, *Bettelorden-Predigt als "Massenmedium"*, *op. cit.*

<sup>115</sup> B. HASEBRINK, *Zersetzung? Eine Neubewertung der Eckhartkompilation in Spamers Mosaiktraktaten*, *op. cit.*

<sup>116</sup> R. BLUMRICH, *op. cit.*

#### *D. The sermon of the fifteenth century*

If one considers the production and transmission of literature in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, one discovers that although a large portion of the literature of the late Middle Ages was written in the fourteenth century, the transmission is concentrated in the fifteenth century. The frequently cited explosion of literary production in the fourteenth century is followed by an explosion in transmission in the fifteenth, which is closely connected with the religious reform movements of the late Middle Ages. Generally speaking, there is no current overview available regarding the quantity of extant sermon manuscripts. Only the sermons of John Geiler of Kaysersberg, those of Tauler, and the *plenaria* have appeared in early printed editions.

The example of the inventory of sermons of the Strasbourg female Dominican convent of St. Nikolaus in undis provides some insight into the quantity and type of sermon transmission of an observant female convent. A glance at the entire collection of manuscripts of the convent shows that the observance movement decisively characterised the inventory of this convent and established its literary activity: with few exceptions the manuscripts of the convent were produced within a single century, dating as they do from the second quarter of the fifteenth to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The beginning of manuscript collecting coincides with the introduction of strict observance (in 1431 at St. Nikolaus), and the end is marked almost exactly by the Reformation. The recording of texts reaches a high point with the increase in the number of homiletic volumes; this occurs around the middle of the century and runs parallel to the successful development of monastic reorganisation. From the Strasbourg convent 842 sermons are extant. These are transmitted with varying accompanying texts. Exactly half of the manuscripts considered here incorporate the sermons scattered and isolated within catechetical literature and tracts, among lessons and aphorisms, *vitae* and legends. In contrast, one quarter could be described as collected volumes by authors who are identified by name. These contain exclusively or primarily the sermons of one writer, with the occasional inclusion of pieces by the same author but from other genres. The final group consists solely of sermon collections. Altogether two thirds of the manuscripts transmit sermons whose author is either unknown or not named. However, there are 36

authors who are identified by name, as for example Johannes Tauler or the "house preacher" of the convent. A portion of the sermons belong to the "standard inventory" of each convent or are not from the fifteenth century. Among these are reckoned works of Pseudo-Augustine, the *St. Georgener Predigten*, and sermons by the three great German mystics of the fourteenth century: Eckhart, Tauler, and Seuse. In addition, there are fourteenth-century sermons of the Franciscan Marquard of Lindau and of Nicolas of Strasbourg, the temporary visitor of the Dominican province of Teutonia. Widely disseminated collections and authors of the fifteenth century are the so-called *plenarium* of Frederick the Carmelite, the sermon series of John Geiler of Kaysersberg, and the sermons of Konrad Bömlin, the *custos* of the Swabian Franciscan convent. A further group of sermons is typical of observant women, among which are the *Basler Reformpredigten* as well as the sermons of the confessors of the first reformed convents. Finally, of special interest are the sermons of the *Hausautoren* (house authors), that is, the religious who either preached in the convent of St. Nikolaus itself or elsewhere in Strasbourg. They endow the collection of sermons of this Dominican women's convent with its special character. Among them are the sermons of Konrad Schlatter, extant in two manuscripts, one of which records 60 sermons. The 22 sermons found in the second manuscript obviously are copied from the first. With regard to the Holy Spirit sermon found in two further manuscripts, a glance at the texts transmitted along with it proves interesting. In the one manuscript we find the sermon directly following the *Basler Reformpredigten*; in the other it is located among the Tauler sermons, which then are followed by the *Basler Reformpredigten*.

For a majority of the known sermons and sermon series of John Geiler of Kaysersberg we encounter a special case regarding transmission history since with few exceptions different editors are responsible for posthumous printing, and all of them had a varying amount of influence on the text<sup>117</sup>. The best known editor of Geiler's sermons is Johannes Pauli. Although work on a modern edition has begun, the text and transmission history of Geiler's homiletic work still is not clearly defined. This is especially true for the question of authenticity: the view persists that the majority of sermons extant in manuscript form and the texts upon which the different editors based

<sup>117</sup> H. KRAUME, *op. cit.*



the printed editions are unauthorised *reportationes*. Given the significance Geiler attached to the clerical profession, this conclusion should be examined anew<sup>118</sup>.

### *E. The plenaria with gloss*

The present state of research regarding *plenarium* transmission still does not allow for a firm classification of texts, especially since the number of texts extant in manuscript has still not been completely ascertained. An overview of the High German and Low German transmission is found in Reinitzer and Schwencke<sup>119</sup>.

## IV. PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION

In general it can be stated that literary attention to the medieval German sermon in the last decades clearly has focused on the area of transmission and text history. However, another significant area has not received adequate attention: the early German sermon. Given the early publication of most of the sermon collections and individual texts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the manuscript foundation of the early German sermons receded to a large degree into obscurity. Work by V. Mertens<sup>120</sup> has furthered knowledge of the text history, but the individual study by N.F. Palmer<sup>121</sup> of the *Klosterneuburger Bußpredigten* (Klosterneuburg Penitential Sermons) makes unmistakably clear that only a renewed examination of the manuscript tradition and of palaeographical dating can place the

<sup>118</sup> W. WILLIAMS-KRAPP, *Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg in Augsburg. Zum Predigtzyclus "Berg des Schauens"*, in *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts*, *op. cit.*

<sup>119</sup> H. REINITZER and O. SCHEWCKE, *Plenarien*, in *Verfasserlexikon*, *op. cit.*, vol. 7, 1989, cols. 737-763.

<sup>120</sup> V. MERTENS, *Das Predigtbuch des Priesters Konrad*, *op. cit.*; and *ID.*, *Studien zu den "Leipziger Predigten"*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 107 (1985), p. 240-266.

<sup>121</sup> N.F. PALMER, *Die "Klosterneuburger Bußpredigten"*, *op. cit.*

study of the early German sermon on a solid heuristic basis<sup>122</sup>. An additional problem is the *terminus a quo* of the autochthonous German sermons. Generally this development is attributed to the time of the mystical sermons and Eckhart. But if one defines the term "autochthonous" somewhat less rigidly and expands it in such a way as to include free adaptations of Latin models as well as those that augment the models, then sermons in German can be said to begin earlier. For the early German sermon Latin models generally are assumed; however, until now this has been demonstrated in only a few cases<sup>123</sup>. By and large one must make do with rather general parallels to the theology of the Church Fathers. One possible conclusion from this circumstance is, that the independent part played by the German-speaking authors or compilers in constituting text and content of early German sermons, may have been greater than has previously been supposed. However, detailed examinations of the theological content of these are lacking<sup>124</sup>. In general the contents of sermons have seldom been the focus of sermon research up to now. Only the mystical sermon, i.e., the sermons of Eckhart and Johannes Tauler, has been treated systematically in this regard. Given the gen-

<sup>122</sup> The new datings by K. SCHNEIDER, *Gotische Schriften in deutscher Sprache*, I: *Vom späten 12. Jahrhundert bis um 1300*, Wiesbaden, 1987, p. 252f., p. 247, p. 249f., p. 44-47, p. 179f., p. 254, p. 81-83, p. 188f., p. 23, and p. 62f., also make reference to this problem. In the Berlin research office at the Germanistic Section at the Free University for the "Repertorium der ungedruckten deutschsprachigen Predigten des Mittelalters" microfilms and photographs of all twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts and fragments which contain early German sermons are available.

<sup>123</sup> *Klosterneuburger Bußpredigten*, cf. N.F. PALMER, *Die "Klosterneuburger Bußpredigten"*, *op. cit.*; *Speculum Ecclesiae deutsch*, cf. H.-U. SCHMID, *Althochdeutsche und frühmittelhochdeutsche Bearbeitungen lateinischer Predigten des "Bairischen Homiliars"* (*Althochdeutsche Predigtsammlungen B, Nr. 2, 3 und 4 und C, Nr. 1, 2, und 3, Speculum Ecclesiae, Nr. 51, 52, 53 und 56*), Teil II: *Die deutschen und lateinischen Texte in synoptischer Darbietung mit einem textbegleitenden Kommentar*, Frankfurt a. M., 1986 (Regensburger Beiträge zur deutschen Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, Reihe B/Untersuchungen, 29/2).

<sup>124</sup> The dissertation of R.D. SCHIEWER, *Die "Millstätter Predigtsammlung" im Kontext der frühen deutschen Predigt. Theologischer Lehrgehalt in der Volkssprache um 1200*, Freie Universität Berlin, is almost complete.

erally recognised broadening of the concept of medieval literature<sup>125</sup> and of the significance of the "sermon" for the development of vernacular prose, these facts are astonishing, and they are true for all areas of sermon history, including Berthold of Regensburg, whose sermons of the X<sup>1</sup> group are generally reckoned of high literary quality.

The increasing recognition of the written sermon as a literary genre, subject to certain principles that characterise literary works, is replacing the old notion one still finds here and there that the extant sermons of the Middle Ages, mostly derive from unauthorised copies prepared during or after delivery. But this recognition should lead to a greater shift of focus to the textual strategies of the sermon with regard to each target group (convent sermon, sermon *ad populum*). Previous attempts can again be explored<sup>126</sup>; newer ones<sup>127</sup>, those especially which make connections with courtly literature, e.g., Hartmann of Aue, can be developed. In analysing courtly literature reference has been made again and again to borrowing from the genre "sermon," e.g., with the *Rolandslied* of Pfaffe Konrad<sup>128</sup> and with Gottfried's *Tristan*<sup>129</sup>; however, there have been only overtures of attempts to establish an actual link between courtly literature and the vernacular sermons<sup>130</sup>. On the other hand, the examination of the

<sup>125</sup> K. RUH, *Überlieferungsgeschichte mittelalterlicher Texte als methodischer Ansatz zu einer erweiterten Konzeption von Literaturgeschichte*, in K. RUH and H.-J. STAHL (eds.), *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Prosaforschung*, Tübingen, 1985 (Texte und Textgeschichte, 19), p. 262-272.

<sup>126</sup> H. FROMM, *Zum Stil frühmittelhochdeutscher Predigt*, in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 60 (1959), p. 405-417; W. FRÜHWALD, *Der St. Georgener Prediger. Studien zur Wandlung des geistlichen Gehaltes*, Berlin, 1963 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker, N.F., 9).

<sup>127</sup> N.F. PALMER, *Die "Klosterneuburger Bußpredigten"*, *op. cit.*

<sup>128</sup> H. BACKES, *Bibel und ars praedicandi im Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*, Berlin, 1966 (Philologische Studien und Quellen, 36).

<sup>129</sup> T. TOMASEK, *Die Utopie im "Tristan" Gotfrids von Straßburg*, Tübingen, 1985 (Hermaea. Germanistische Forschungen, N. F., 49).

<sup>130</sup> V. MERTENS, *Gregorius eremita. Eine Lebensform des Adels bei Hartmann von Aue in ihrer Problematik und ihrer Wandlung in der Rezeption*, München, 1978 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 67).

narrative components of the sermon is only in its infancy<sup>131</sup>. For the late Middle Ages this research is made more difficult because the bulk of the sermons remain in manuscript and we lack a comprehensive index of the manuscript contents. Pioneer work is being carried out with the "Repertorium der ungedruckten deutschsprachigen Predigten des Mittelalters" (Repertory of unpublished German Sermons of the Middle Ages), but Löser's research on the Eckhart tradition has shown what can still be discovered even in the reasonably well established works of a known author.

Since the middle of the thirteenth century, there have developed different types of sermons that are clearly recognisable and whose contents are distinguishable from each other. On the one hand, the German *cura monialium* emerges; on the other, the tradition of the pericope sermon leads to the *plenaria* of the fifteenth century. The mystical sermon appears as a new addition at the end of the century. In the case of the *St. Georgener Predigten* and the Z group of Berthold of Regensburg, early attempts at spiritual care are clearly perceivable, but the *Schweizer Predigten* (Swiss Sermons), already documented in the fourteenth century as part of the transmission complex of the *St. Georgener Predigten*, cannot be so easily contextualized. A more or less dependable determination of the time of development of many anonymous sermons is possible only under fortunate circumstances, as in the case of the *Johannes-Libellus* described above. Until we have a description of the content and a determination of the sources of many sermon collections recorded in the late thirteenth, the fourteenth, or even the fifteenth centuries, we will lack a system of co-ordinates which can be developed into a sermon history which will provide us with an outline of chronology, a history of the order in question, and a history of piety. The material in which sermons are found embedded, such as collections of aphorisms and mosaic tracts, must also be included.

The characterisation of the content of the late medieval pericope sermon, whose literary value is not highly esteemed as a rule, would offer insights into the everyday advice and counsel, and important foundations would be laid for the evaluation of lay piety and the as-

<sup>131</sup> H.-J. SCHIEWER, *Ein maere ist daz - Narrative Exempla in der frühen deutschen Predigt*, in H. HAFERLAND and M. MECKLENBURG (eds.), *Erzählungen in Erzählungen. Phänomene der Narration in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, München, 1996 (Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren deutschen Literatur, 19), p. 199-219.

assessment of the spiritual horizon of the *simplices*<sup>132</sup>. In addition, the pericope sermon emerges as the favoured medium for narrative *exempla* of all types, and these *exempla* could be examined in context in these texts<sup>133</sup>.

The state of research with regard to Eckhart cannot be documented here, but the phenomenon of the mystical sermon is not limited to Eckhart and his immediate circle. The survival of the mystical sermon in disparate collections (e.g., Hartwig of Erfurt), the connection with the *Gottesfreunde* movement, and the tradition and influence of the mystical sermon in the fifteenth century<sup>134</sup> all deserve further attention. Precisely in the area of the monastic reform movement we find contradictory tendencies: older mystical traditions (e.g. *vita* literature, Eckhart/Tauler/Seuse reception) are being revived, but at the same time sermons preached by the observance preachers integrate these older traditions into a program reflecting the policy of the order to control carefully the extent of actual mystic practices. These currents working with each other and against each other, the literary exchange among the individual reformed convents, and the mutual influence of the great reform movements still need additional detailed studies before a clear overall picture can be presented.

In conclusion, we return again to the problem of "oral vs. written form", a focal point of discussion in German sermon research. However, the nature of the question can be seen to have shifted: the issue is no longer how things are put into writing, but rather whether the orality precedes writing or proceeds from it, that is, whether a text attributed to the literary genre "sermon" was first preached and then written or vice versa. In other words the history of the medieval sermon is inextricably intertwined with the history of preaching in the Middle Ages. On the one hand, the primacy of preaching may not lead inevitably to the copying of a sermon; on the other hand, ser-

<sup>132</sup> D. SCHMIDTKE, *op. cit.*

<sup>133</sup> T.R. JACKSON, *op. cit.*; V. MERTENS, *Das Verhältnis von Glosse und Exempel, op. cit.*

<sup>134</sup> Cf. W. WILLIAMS-KRAPP, *Frauenmystik und Ordensreform im 15. Jahrhundert*, in *Literarische Interessenbildung im Mittelalter, op. cit.*, p. 301-313; H.-J. SCHIEWER, *Auditionen und Visionen einer Begine. Die 'Selige Schererin', Johannes Mulberg und der Basler Beginenstreit. Mit einem Textabdruck*, in T.R. JACKSON et al. (eds.), *Die Vermittlung geistlicher Inhalte im deutschen Mittelalter. Internationales Symposium, Roscrea 1994*, Tübingen, 1996, p. 289-317.

mons — even model sermons themselves — need not be tested empirically. The linking of a copied version with an actual pulpit delivery on a certain occasion and day is likewise not a guarantee that the oral and written versions are identical. The range of possibilities with regard to the reverse process from the written form back to the oral is no smaller. Signals external to the text in the manuscripts, such as *marginalia*, aids in interpreting, glosses, layout, and an index of themes and *exempla* seem to indicate an intended or virtual orality<sup>135</sup>. It is precisely in the literate domain that useful information may be expected: for it is here, that the lines of transmission of German and Latin texts converge; scribes, compilers, and editors, all of whom are accustomed to writing in Latin, revise and adapt German sermons or add vernacular glosses to Latin sermons for delivery. Apart from this aspect, the connection between the text of the sermon and the liturgy deserves special attention. We also need to filter out text-immanent criticism of preachers and preaching, and gather information from other types of sources about pastoral theory and practice, so that the dynamics and tension between the sermon as an oral and as a written phenomenon can be described in an appropriate way. In this way the prerequisites would be established to test the validity of the thesis formulated most recently regarding the relationship of Latin and the vernacular in Eckhart's works: "Freilich ist evident, daß noch die Schriftlichkeit der volkssprachlichen Predigt mehr Mündlichkeit transportiert (oder fingiert ?) und eine größere Dynamik des Redevollzugs spiegelt als die lateinische Schriftsprache"<sup>136</sup>.

<sup>135</sup> V. MERTENS, "Texte unterwegs". *Zu Funktions- und Textdynamik mittelalterlicher Predigten und den Konsequenzen für ihre Edition*, in D. BUSCHINGER and W. SPIEWOK (eds.), *Mittelalterforschung und Edition. Actes du Colloque Oberhinrichshagen bei Greifswald 29 et 30 Octobre 1990*, Amiens, 1991 (Wodan, 6; Jahrbücher der Reineke-Gesellschaft, 1), p. 75-85; H.-J. SCHIEWER, *Spuren von Mündlichkeit*, *op. cit.*; ID., "Die Schwarzwälder Predigten", *op. cit.*

<sup>136</sup> "It is certainly evident that the written form of the vernacular sermon still signifies (or feigns?) more of the oral nature and reflects a greater dynamic of the act of speech than the Latin literary language." S. KÖBELE, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

## V. EDITIONS

The following list contains the most important editions of medieval German sermons before 1974 as well as a complete list of texts edited since 1974. Editions of sermon collections and individual texts that appeared before this time were included in the sermon bibliography compiled by K. Morvay and D. Grube.

- K. MORVAY and D. GRUBE, *Bibliographie der deutschen Predigt des Mittelalters. Veröffentlichte Predigten*, München, 1974 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 47).

a) The Old High German sermon

- MONTAG, U., *Neue Fragmente der Wessobrunner Predigten*, in *Befund und Deutung*, eds. K. GRUBMÜLLER et al., Tübingen, 1979, p. 228-239 (text: p. 234-237).

b) The early German sermon

- LEYSER, H., *Deutsche Predigten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, Quedlinburg-Leipzig, 1838 (Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen National-Literatur, Bd. 11, Teil 2) [*Leysersche Predigten // Leipziger Sammlung*].
- MELLBOURN, G., *Speculum Ecclesiae*, Diss. Lund, 1944 (Lunder Germanistische Forschungen, 12).
- PALMER, N.F., *Die "Klosterneuburger Bußpredigten". Untersuchungen und Edition*, in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Editionen und Studien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Kurt RUH zum 75. Geburtstag*, eds. K. KUNZE et al., Tübingen, 1989 (Texte und Textgeschichte, 31), p. 210-244 (text: p. 230-238).
- ROTH, K., *Deutsche Predigten des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Quedlinburg-Leipzig, 1839 (Bibliothek der gesamten deutschen National-Literatur, Bd. 11, Teil 1).
- SCHMID, H.-U., *Althochdeutsche und frühmittelhochdeutsche Bearbeitungen lateinischer Predigten des "Bairischen Homiliars"* (*Althochdeutsche Predigtsammlungen B, Nr. 2, 3 und 4 und C, Nr. 1, 2, und 3, Speculum Ecclesiae, Nr. 51, 52, 53*

- und 56), Teil II: *Die deutschen und lateinischen Texte in synoptischer Darbietung mit einem textbegleitenden Kommentar*, Frankfurt a. M., 1986 (Regensburger Beiträge zur deutschen Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, Reihe B/Untersuchungen, 29/2).
- SCHNEIDER, K., *Neue Funde frühmittelhochdeutscher Handschriftenfragmente in Philologische Untersuchungen, gewidmet Elfriede STUTZ zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. A. EBENBAUER, Wien, 1984 (Philologica Germanica, 7), p. 392-397.
  - SCHÖNBACH, A.E., *Altdeutsche Predigten*, Bd. 1, Graz, 1886, reprint: Darmstadt, 1964. [*Leipziger Predigten*]
  - ID., *Altdeutsche Predigten*, Bd. 2, Graz, 1888, reprint: Darmstadt, 1964. [*Oberaltaicher Sammlung*]
  - ID., *Altdeutsche Predigten*, Bd. 3, Graz, 1891, reprint: Darmstadt, 1964. [*Predigtbuch des Priesters Konrad*]
  - VIZKELETY, A., *Ein neuer Fund zu den 'Leipziger Predigten' aus Ungarn*, in *Durch aubenteuer muess man wagen vil*, ed. E. HOFMEISTER et al., Innsbruck, 1997 (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Germanistische Reihe, 57), p. 513-521 (text: p. 516-518).
  - WACKERNAGEL, W., *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete*, Basel, 1876. [Nrr. I-XIII: *Züricher Predigten*; Nrr. XIV-XVI: *Bruchstücke des 12. Jahrhunderts aus W. Wackernagels Altdeutschen Predigten*; Nrr. XVII-XXXV: *Basler Predigten*; Nrr. XXXVI-XL: *Weingartner Predigten*; as well as sermons from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries]
  - WHISNANT, N.E. (ed.), *The "St. Pauler Predigten" (St. Paul MS. 27.5.26). An Edition*, Diss. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1978.

The following machine-readable texts are based on earlier editions :

- WISBEY, R.A. and REINECKE, A., *Speculum ecclesiae [computer file]: eine frühmittelhochdeutsche Predigtsammlung: machine-readable texts*, prepared by R. WISBEY, revised by A. REINECKE, St. Katharinen, 1991 (Halbgraue Reihe zur historischen Fachinformatik. Serie C. Datenbasen als Editionen, 8).
- ID., *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete [computer file]: machine-readable texts*, prepared by R. WISBEY, revised by A.



- REINECKE, St. Katharinen, 1991 (Halbgraue Reihe zur historischen Fachinformatik. Serie C. Datenbasen als Editionen, 7).
- KONRAD, DER PFAFFE (!) (12th century): ID., *Altdeutsche Predigten III [computer file]: machine-readable texts*, prepared by R. WISBEY, revised by A. REINECKE, St. Katharinen, 1991 (Halbgraue Reihe zur historischen Fachinformatik. Serie C. Datenbasen als Editionen, 6).
  - ID., *Altdeutsche Predigten II [computer file]: die Oberaltaicher Sammlung: machine-readable texts*, prepared by R. WISBEY, revised by A. REINECKE, St. Katharinen, 1991 (Halbgraue Reihe zur historischen Fachinformatik. Serie C. Datenbasen als Editionen, 5).
  - ID., *Deutsche Predigten des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts [computer file]: machine-readable texts*, prepared by R. WISBEY, revised by A. REINECKE, St. Katharinen, 1991 (Halbgraue Reihe zur historischen Fachinformatik. Serie C. Datenbasen als Editionen, 4).

c) Thirteenth-century sermons of the religious orders

- BANTA, F.G., *Predigten und Stücke aus dem Kreise Bertholds von Regensburg (Teilsammlung Y''')*, Göppingen, 1995 (Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 621).
- BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG: *Vier Predigten. Mittelhochdeutsch/Neuhochdeutsch*, trans. and ed. by W. RÖCKE, Stuttgart, 1983 (Reclams Universalbibliothek, 7974).
- BERTHOLD VON REGENSBURG: *Welt und weltliches Treiben im Spätmittelalter: aus den Predigten des Volks- und Sittenpredigers Berthold von Regensburg (gest. 1272)*, ed. G.E. SOLLBACH, Hamburg, 1994.
- GRIESHABER, F.K. (ed.), *Deutsche Predigten des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1844-1846, 2 parts in 1 vol., reprint: Hildesheim-New York, 1978 [*Schwarzwälder Predigten*].
- PENSEL, F., *Reimfassung einer Predigt Bertholds von Regensburg über die Messe*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 117 (1995), p. 65-91.
- PFEIFFER, F., *Berthold von Regensburg*, Bd. 1, Wien, 1862; photomechanischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe mit einem Vorwort von K. RUH, Berlin, 1965 (Deutsche Neudrucke. Reihe: Texte des Mittelalters).

- ID. and STROBL, J., *Berthold von Regensburg*, Bd. 2, Wien, 1880; photomechanischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe mit einer Bibliographie und einem überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Beitrag von K. RUH, Berlin, 1965 (Deutsche Neudrucke. Reihe: Texte des Mittelalters).
- RIEDER, K., *Der sogenannte St. Georgener Prediger aus der Freiburger und der Karlsruher Handschrift herausgegeben*, Berlin, 1908 (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 10). [Nrr. 1-35, 67, 76-86: *Schweizer Predigten*; Nrr. 36-66, 68-75: *St. Georgener Predigten*]
- SCHIEWER, H.-J., "Die Schwarzwälder Predigten", *Entstehungs- und Überlieferungsgeschichte der Sonntags- und Heiligenpredigten. Mit einer Musteredition*, Tübingen, 1996 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 105), text: p. 356-408.
- SCHMIDTKE, D., *Lastervögelserien. Ein Beitrag zur spätmittelalterlichen Tiersymbolik*, in *Archiv*, 212 (1975), p. 241-264 (text: p. 261-263).
- SCHMITT, P., et al. (eds.), *Fest- und Heiligenpredigten des "Schwarzwälder Predigers"*, München, 1982 (Kleine deutsche Prosadenkmäler des Mittelalters, 14).
- WILLIAMS-KRAPP, W., *Das Gesamtwerk des sog. 'Schwarzwälder Predigers'*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 107 (1978), p. 50-80 (text: p. 66-80: *De Nativitate Deo*).

d) Mystical sermons

- BLUMRICH, R., *Marquard von Lindau, Deutsche Predigten. Untersuchungen und Edition*, Tübingen, 1994 (Texte und Textgeschichte, 34).
- CORIN, A.L., *Sermon de J. Tauler et autres écrits mystiques, I.: Le Codex Vindobonensis 2744*, Paris, 1924 (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. 33).
- ID., *Sermon de J. Tauler et autres écrits mystiques, II.: Le Codex Vindobonensis 2739*, Paris, 1929 (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. 42).
- JOSTES, F., *Meister Eckhart und seine Jünger*, Freiburg (Schwz.), 1895 (Collectanea Friburgensia, 4).

- LÖSER, F., *Nachlese. Unbekannte Texte Meister Eckharts in bekannten Handschriften*, in DPM, p. 125-149 (text: p. 146-149).
- MEISTER ECKHART, *Die deutschen und lateinischen Werke*, hg. von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, Stuttgart, 1936.
- Abteilung I: *Die deutschen Werke*, hg. u. übers. von J. QUINT.
  - Bd. 1: *Meister Eckharts Predigten* (1-24), 1958.
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## VI. POINTS OF INTEREST FOR RELATED DISCIPLINES

The vernacular sermon provides material for the following medieval disciplines: history of piety, narrative research, liturgical history, history of education, lexicology, onomastics, library history, folklore, and art history.

The sermon genre can serve as a model for most of the historical disciplines because the religious instruction of the laity and the female religious was one of the most important tasks of the church, and it occurred to a great extent within the confines of the German sermon. Widely dispersed thematically, the medieval sermon reaches not only the few who could read but also classes far removed from the literary tradition. In this respect the sermon is among the most important genres of medieval literature from the perspective of literary history, literary sociology, historical theology, the liberal arts, and linguistics.

However, the German sermon must yet be discovered as a source for most related disciplines. The reason for this certainly lies in its limited accessibility, but also in the lack of interest of theologians and church historians in the vernacular sermon. Frequently, the sermon — again with the exception of the mystical sermon — is not original, not up to date. The vernacular sermon harkens back to that which is well established, that which in the Latin sermon was said earlier and in an unequivocal way — at least that is the perception.

On the other hand, Protestant theology, which ought naturally to have an interest in the vernacular communication of issues of faith, has up to now taken almost no notice of the pre-Reformation sermon.

## VII. SAMPLE TEXTS

### *Preliminary remarks*

For both texts which are recorded without adequate punctuation (Rudolf of Klingenberg and Konrad Schlatter), punctuation was added according to the following principles: the period marking the end of a sentence is introduced at the earliest point possible. For *daz/das/dasz* a comma is inserted if no relative clause follows. Except for cases in which the sentence construction is exceptionally complicated, no additional commas are added. Interrogatory statements end with a question mark. The first letter of a sentence is capitalised.

These provisions are not valid for the sermons of the Millstätter Sammlung or the Postil of Hartwig of Erfurt; these works have ample rhetorical punctuation, and there is no need to elaborate by inserting additional marks.

For all sermons the following apply: proper names are capitalised. Verbatim speech and biblical quotations are furnished with single quotation marks. Dittography and obvious scribal errors as well as deletions in the manuscripts are omitted or corrected without comment. References to biblical quotations are supplied, and connections to the liturgy are indicated wherever possible.



*A. Millstätter Sammlung (around 1200). Dominica tertia decima post pentecosten*

*Transmission:*

*Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Ms. germ. qu. 484, fol. 95r-95v (olim Staatsbibliothek Berlin)*

(95r) Domjnica. xij<sup>a</sup>.

>Quis deus magnus sicut deus noster. Tu es deus qui facis mirabilia.< (*Ps 76, 14f.*) >Wêr ist vber dîe wêrlt so gewâltek< sprîchet der psalmista >so vnser hêrre. Er ist iz der dîv zeichen tvt.< 5 da ze himele. vnde hîe jn êrde. Swer ovch îe dehein zeichen getêt. der hêiligen. der begîe sie jn dême nâmen vnsers herren.

Vnser hêrre gôt mine karissimi do er jn dirre wêrlte wâs; als ein ander mennische. do kôm er alzan ân die stât da er dîe wesse. die 10 siner gnâden dvrftik wârn. Als mân vns hîvte list an dême hêiligen ewangelio. (*Mc 7, 31-36*) Wîr lesen dâz vnser herre gîe von der stat Tyro. Tyrus sprichet uenatio. ein gejâgede. wând div heidenschaft wâs elliv. des vientes geiâide. Wând die mennischen dîe er sô fvr gevâzzet. da hat gôt niht mite ze tvne. Von der fvr er. vnde fvr per Sydonem. Sydon daz sprichet uerecundia. ein schâme. als dâ stêt.

15 >Erubescere Sydon ait mare.< (*Is 23, 4*) Wande sîe sich schâmten mines trehtines; vnde wâren ovch die livte die ze gôte sprachen.

>Scientiam uiarum tuarum nolumus.< (*Iob 21, 14*) Da kôm er jn eine gêngene. dîv hîez Decapoleos id est regio .x. ciuitatum. da zehen 20 bvrge jnne wâren. Da brâhten sîe jme zv einen vngehörten vnde einen stvmmen. vnde baten jn daz erm hvlfe. Der tôre vnde der stvmmen. bezeichent allez mennischez kvnne. daz ertôret vnde erstvmmet wâs von dême gôtis lôbe. Den nâm er vnde fvrten vf hôher vôn der mênige. wând die cristenheit. die er jm selbe erwêlte. dîe schiet er von den jvden. vnde von der heidenschêfte. Daz er fvr

25 dvrh die gêngene Decapoleos. da die zêhen pvrge jnne wârn. daz bedîvtet. jlla x. precepta. dîv zêhen gebôt vnsers hêrren. Moysi. die er jm gâp. daz sie die mennischen behâlten solten. Er lîe jm die vinger jn dîe ôren. Die vinger bezeichent dona sancti spiritus. die

30 gâbe des hêiligen geistes. die dîv cristenheit enphîe. Do w̄rden ir  
 hôren v̄f getân. daz sie vernâmen daz gôtis w̄rt. Er r̄vrte mit der  
 speicheln sine z̄vngen. Div speichel bedivtet die lêre sancti  
 ewangelii. da von die cristen mennischen gelêret w̄rden. ze rêden  
 den rêhten gelôvben. Er sach v̄f ze himele. vnde ersv̄fte. Da mite  
 35 birn wir gelert. swênne wir begen deheine dominica sacramenta daz  
 wir vnser andâht vil v̄erre ze gôte lâze sv̄ln. vnde ovch mit vnsern  
 zehern. Er sprâch. >Effeta. Tu dich ōf.< dû w̄rden im sinîv ôren.  
 vnde sin zv̄nge. sa ōf getan. vnde ledik. vnde be(95v) ḡvnde sa ze  
 redene rêhte. der vor des v̄ble rêdte. vnde vnrêhte. der beḡvnde dô  
 40 ḡvt ze rêdene. Do verbôten er jn. dâz sîez nîeman seiten. Daz hât vns  
 gôt âver zeinem bilde lâzen. swenne wir iht ḡvtis t̄vn. sô ne sv̄ln wirz  
 dâr v̄mbe niht t̄vn daz wir dar v̄mbe gelôbet wêrden. niwan daz gôt  
 dir von geêret wêrde. Nv sv̄ln wir t̄vn als dîe ḡvten lîvte tâten. so erz  
 jn hârter verbôt. so sie jn hârter lôbten. Wând iz ist reht. daz wir  
 v̄nsers hêrren gnâde vnde siniv w̄nder niht sv̄ln verswigen. sed m̄agis  
 45 predicare. et laudare.

Mine karissimi. n̄v sv̄ln wir den lôben. der elliv dink geschâffen  
 hât. tâk vnde nâht zallen ziten. vnde sv̄ln daz wêrven. zim. daz wir  
 dar kômen m̄vzen. Vbi ipse vivit et regit per omnia secula.

***B. Rudolf von Klingenberg (around 1300). De sancto Johanne apostolo***

*Transmission:*

*Pommersfelden, Gräflich Schönbornsche Bibliothek, Ms. 120 (olim 2868), fol. 89ra-97rb*

*(89ra)* Dise predige prediget vns vnser lieber vater bruder Rudolff von Clingenberg von dem grossen herren sant Johannes ewangelista.

*(89rb)* Conuersus Petrus. (Io 21, 20)

5 Es ist heut ein hochzeit eines hohen himel fursten. Des lob vnd  
 des wirdikait ist als groß, das sich alle heiligen vnd alle engel frewen  
 seiner wirdikait vnd seiner glorie in dem himel. Vnd ist sein lob vnd

sein wirdikait als manigualtiklich, dz alle maister erstummen müssen  
 an seinem lobe vnd das in alle scrift ze volle nit geloben mag nach  
 10 seiner wirdikait. Vnd ist sein ere vnd sein glorie als tieff vnd als  
 hoch, das dauon erschreckent alle die die in der helle seint.

Seit ich nu hewt predigen sol von disem hohen himeln fursten so  
 mag ich wol sprechen als Jeremias sprach do in vnser herre auß sant  
 ze predigen in ein fremdes lant. Do sprach er: >Herre ich kan nit  
 15 reden. Ich bin ein kint.< (*Ier 1, 6*) Do antwurt im vnser herre vnd  
 sprach: >Ich wil mit dir<sup>1</sup> sein vnd (*89va*) wil dich leren was du reden  
 solt.< (*Vgl. Ier 1, 7f.*) Nu bedorft ich wol der hilffe vnd der genade  
 vnsers herren, das ich disen hohen heiligen den grossen herren sant  
 Johannes des tag hewt ist etwie vil geloben kund nach seiner ere vnd  
 20 nach seiner wirdikait. Nu troste ich mich eines wortes das sprach  
 vnser herre ze seinen jungern: >Ir seint nit die da redent sunder der  
 gaist ewers vaters der redet in ju.< (*Mt 10, 20*) Nu sul wir die predige  
 anvahen.

Sant Johannes schreibet vns selber in dem ewangelio: >Vnser  
 25 herre gieng ze einem mal nach seiner vrstend mit seinen iungern vnd  
 sagt in was in kunftig was vnd sprach sunderlich ze sant Peter:  
 »Petre volg mir nach.« Vnd kunte im da mit, das er im nach solt gen  
 an den galgen des creuces vnd das er den tot vnd die marter solt  
 leiden die er im vor gelegt hett. Vnd sprach also: »Petre do du iunck  
 30 (*89vb*) warest do bandest du dich selber vnd giengest wa du woltest.  
 So du aber alt wirst so wirt dich ein ander binden vnd wirt dich furen  
 da du nicht hin wilt.« Vnd do vnser herre also geredte mit sant Peter  
 do kert sich sant Peter vmb vnd sach den iunger an den Ihesus  
 minnet vnd der im vnder dann nach gieng, der da rwet auff den  
 35 brusten vnsers herren in dem essen vnd der da sprach ze vnßerm  
 herren: »Herre wer ist der der dich verraten wil?« Vnd sprach sant  
 Peter ze vnßerm herren: »Was sol dann diser tun? War sol er komen  
 oder wie sol es im ergen?«< (*Vgl. Io 21, 18-21*) Sant Peter den  
 duncket, das vnser herre mer sunder minne het zu sant Johannes  
 40 denn ze im oder ze den andern. Vnd dauon do hat er gerne gewisset  
 wie es im ergen solt vnd redte mit vnßerm herren also ob er sprech:  
 >Herre seit du mir also bose vnd also iemerliche mere (*90ra*) gesait

<sup>1</sup> Ms. die.

hast so hort ich auch gerne was du im sagen woltest, war er komen  
sol oder was du mit im tun wellest.< >Do antwurt vnßer herre sant  
45 Peter vnd sprach: »Petre was get dich das an? Jch wil das er also  
beleib vncz das ich kome.« Vnd von dem wort daz vnser herre  
sprach do stund ein murmel vnd ein argwenliche rede auff vnder den  
iungern vnd verstunden es also, das diser iunger niemer ersterben  
solt. Aber vnser herre der sprach nit, das er nyemer ersterben sol. Er  
50 sprach: »Ich wil, das er also beleib vncz das ich kome. Petre was get  
dich das an.« Dicz ist der iunger der vrkunde gibt von allen den  
dingen die geschriben seint. Vnd wisen wir, das sein vrkund war  
ist.< (Io 21, 22-24)

Dicz ewangelium kundet vns drey dinck von dem grossen herren  
sant Johannes ewangelista vnd bedewt es der groß lerer Beda der da  
55 gehaissen ist in der heiligen geschrift der erber (90rb) priester. Das  
erste das er vns bedewtet das ist die sunderlich minne die vnser herre  
ze sant Johannes het fur die andern alle. Das ander ist die grosse vnd  
die wirdikait seines sones den er empfangen hat ob in allen. Das  
60 dritte ist die susse vnd die minnikliche lere die er auß gossen hat in  
alle die welt.

Das erste das vns das ewangelium kundet das ist die sunderliche  
vnd auß genomen minne die vnßer herre zu sant *Johannes*<sup>2</sup> het. Er  
het die andern alle lieb vnd minnet sie sunderlich. Vnd hat sie  
55 außewelt als er selber sprach: >Jch hab euch außewelt von aller der  
welt vnd hab euch geminnet in der selben minne als mich mein vater  
geminnet hat.< (Vgl. Io 15, 9) Die minne die der vater hat ze dem  
sune die was an masse. In der selben masse vnd in der selben sterck  
vnd mit der selben kraft minnet vnßer herre sein iunger. Er zaigte in  
70 (90va) auch sein minne an dem dienst damit das er in die fusse  
wusch vnd an der gab die er in gab. Wann er gab in sein blut ze  
einem tranck vnd sein fleisch ze einer speise. Vnd von den allen die  
er außewelt het vnd die er sunderlich minnet da nam er auß in einen  
der im sunderlich lieb was vnd dem er mer außgenomene minne  
75 erzaigte denne den andern allen. Daz was der groß herre sant  
Johannes ewangelista. Dauon haisset er an der schrift: >Dicz ist der  
iunger den Jhesus minnet.< (Io 21, 20) Also haisset chainer mer.

<sup>2</sup> *Missing.*

Vnser herre der tet recht als ein vater der lieber kinde vil het vnd auß  
 den allen ains minnet das im sunderlich lieb ist vnd dem er vß  
 80 genomene zaichen der minne erzaiget fur die andern alle. Wapey  
 mercket man das? Das tut man da bei. Er trautet es dick ze im vnd  
 hat es alle wege (90vb) gerne bei im. Vnd so er in fremde lant wil so  
 enpfilht ers dem aller gutlichen seinem frewnt. Er legt im auch gerne  
 85 sunderliche klaider an. Also tet auch vnser herre seinem geminten  
 iunger dem guten sant Johannes. Wann er zaigte im die auß genomen  
 minne die er alle zeit ze im het fur alle sein iunger sunderlich an  
 dreyen dingen. Zu dem ersten male erzaiget vnser herre sant  
 Johannes sein lieb an dem minnicklichen trawten vnd vmb halsen  
 das er im tet. Ze dem andern male erzaigt er im seine außgenommen  
 90 minne daran, das er im als recht gutlich beualh seinem aller liebsten  
 freunde do er von dißer welt schaiden wolt. Ze dem dritten male  
 zaigt er im seine grosse minne an dem sunderlichen klaide damit er  
 in geklaidet hat fur alle heiligen.

Das erste damit vnser herre sant Johannes (91ra) sein  
 95 außgenommen minnen zaigte die er alle zeitt ze im hat das was, das er  
 in also lieblich wmbhails vnd in als minnicklich ze im trewte an dem  
 grossen dunerstag da er mit seinen iungern saß ob dem tische vnd in  
 Judas yeczogen geben het in den tot. Do redte er die minnicklichsten  
 vnd die sußten rede die er ie geredet auf dem ertreich. (Vgl. Io 13-  
 100 17) Wan so man die scrift vnd die ewangelium alle durch liset so  
 vindet man nicht, das vnser herre ie also sussiklich rette als des  
 tages. Vnd do er also rette do saß sant Johannes aller nehest bei im.  
 Wann er hat den sitte wa vnser herre was, das er da ze im trang vnd  
 alle wege an im klaibte. Vnd von diser rede do wart sant Johannes  
 105 als vol genade vnd sussikait, das er sich selber in im selber nit  
 enthalten macht. Vnd naigte sich nider vnd (91rb) erlândte sich an  
 vnser herren. Vnd legte sein haubt auf sein hercze vnsers herren. (Io  
 13, 23) Dicz naigen geschach nit ane sach. Wann het er sich geleinet  
 110 auf ein also hohen herren vnd auf ein also edeln kaiser an sache so  
 wer er gar vngehofelich gewesen. Aber das im vnser herre gestattet,  
 das er sich an in laint, das gibt mir ein vrkunde, das er sunderlich  
 tugent vnd genad an im erkant fur die andern alle.

Nu vinde ich vier groß vnd außgenommen sache dar vmb sich der  
 lieb sant Johannes naigte auf vnser herren. Die erste sache was die

15 grosse minne die er het ze gott. Ir sehent wol so ein mensch bei dem  
 andern siczet das im von herczen lieb ist vnd es im zartlich vnd  
 minniklich geberde erzaiget so komet der mensche etwenne von im  
 selben, das er sich nit enthalten mag. (91va) Er muß sich neigen auf  
 sein geminntes hercze. Seit diß geschicht an lieplicher minne so  
 20 gedenck ein iglich mensch wie sant Johannes were do er vol was der  
 gotlichen minne. Wann unßer herre erzaigte im als vil zartlicher vnd  
 minniklicher geberde, das er von im selber kam vnd das sein hercze  
 als inbrunstig wart von gotlicher minne, das er sich nit enthalten  
 macht. Er muß sich naigen auf gotes hercz. Die minne hat die nature,  
 25 das sie vngeleiche dinck ein andern gleichet. Nu hat die minne sant  
 Johannes geleichet vnd mit got vereiniget, das er got als gewaltig  
 wart, das er sich geturstiglich auf in legte vnd im das gemese wart,  
 das er rwete auf dem der himel vnd erde mit seinem gewalt auf  
 enthaltet. Dauon macht er wol sprechen ze seinem geminneten als da  
 30 (91vb) gescriben stat in der minne buch: >Leg mich an deinen arm  
 als ein zaichen vnd truck mich auf dein hercz als ein insigel.< (Ct 8,  
 6) So spricht vnser herre her wider ze sant Johannes: >Mein  
 geminter hat mir ein purd mit mirren gelegt auf mein hercz.< (Vgl.  
 Ct 1, 13) Bei diser purd ist vns bedewtet der gut sant Johannes  
 35 ewangelista. Wann alle die mirre gibt gutten vnd edeln schmack.  
 Also gab er alle zeit gut bilde seinen eben menschen vnd leuchtet  
 alle tugent auß im: minne, diemütikait, gedultikait, senftmutikait. Er  
 was als senftmutig vnd als einualtig recht als ein kindlein. Wir  
 vinden gescriben, das die zwelfpoten ze einem mal krigeten welcher  
 40 vnder in der hochst were. Do nam vnser herre ein kint vnd stelte es  
 inmitten vnder sie vnd sprach: >Es sei den, das ir euch bekerent vnd  
 (92ra) werdent als dicz kint ist so komet ir niemer in die reich der  
 himel.< (Mt 18, 1ff.) Nu screibent die lerer, das dicz sant Johannes  
 wer. Vnd wann ein zweifel daran ist vnd wir der warhait nicht  
 45 enwissen so wil ich es laßen beleiben vnd wil nicht mer dauon  
 sagen. Sant Augustinus der screibet an einer stat von der minne vnd  
 spricht also: >Das geminnet wil allwege zegefugt werden in daz  
 geminnet vnd wil alwege bei im sein vnd geschaidet sich niemer  
 50 gerne von im.< Wann nu der liebe sant Johannes alle sein minne als  
 gar von allen zergencklichen dingen hat gezogen dauon wart sein  
 gaist vnd gottes geist vereiniget mit ein ander in der minne. Vnd

wann sein gaist vnd gottes gaist inwendig vereiniget werden dauon muß er sich auch außwendig neigen auff gottes hercz. Wan er (92rb) machte im mit leiplicher berurde nit neher komen.

- 155 Die ander sache darvmb sich sant Johannes naigte das was von den sussen vnd minniklichen worten die vnser herre redet. Wan von den worten da wart sant Johannes hinfliessend von sussikait vnd von minne. Wann sie giengen im näher denn den andern allen. Da von singen wir von im, das er hin fließende wart von sussikait vnd von  
160 genade do er getranck von dem brunnen des ewigen lebens<sup>3</sup>. Da von macht er sich nit enthalten. Er muß sich naigen auf das hercz von dem im die genade vnd die sussikait alle geflossen was. Wann das geschihet auch an lieplicher minne so ein mensche mit dem andern lieplich vnd minniklich redet, das im sein hercz zerflusset von minne  
165 gegen seinen lieben. Seit diß geschihet an lieplicher minne so mercke ein (92va) iglich mensche wie vil billicher es denn geschehe an der gotlichen minne. Wann do der außfluß des lebendigen brunnen samenthaft floß in sant Johannes da was billich, das sein sele vnd sein hercz zerfloß von minne. Davon macht er wol sprechen  
170 als da gescriben stet in der minne buch: >Mein geminter hat zu mir geredet. Dauon ist mein sele vnd mein hercze hin fließenden worden von sussikait vnd von minne.< (Vgl. Ct 5, 2.5)

- Die dritte sach dar vmb sich sant Johannes naigte auf gotes hercz das was von rechter trawrikait. Wann da vnßer herre mit seinen  
175 iungern geredte, das einer vnder in were der in verratten het in den tot (vgl. Io 13, 21) vnd in gesaget, das er leiplich von in geschaiden wolt, da wart sant Johannes als we von iamer vnd von traurikait. Wann als vil er mer sunder lieb innen was worden vnd trostes von got dann (92vb) die andern alle als vil wart im auch wirs vnd hatte  
180 mer traurikait vnd iamers do vnser herre von in schaiden wolt vnd auch von der angst vnd von der not der er an im sach. Wann als ein geminnetes von seinem geminten schaiden muß vnd es im vrlaub geben wil so erzaiget es sich im sunderlich lb vnd trucket es zu im an sein hercz vnd wirt groß iamer vnd trawrikait da. Also tet auch vnser  
185 herre seinem geminneten iunger dem guten sant Johannes do er

<sup>3</sup> See *Versus for the 27.12.*, *Breviarum Romanum I*, Regensburg, s. d., p. 90.

liplich von im schaiden wolt. Do erzaigte er im seine grosse vnd  
ausgenommen lib vnd legt in an sein arme vnd truckt in auf sein  
hercz als gutlich vnd als minniklich recht als er sich sein wol geniten  
wolt. Vnd wart groß iamer vnd trawrikait da.

Die vierde sach dar vmb sant Johannes sich naigte auff gottes  
hercz das was (93ra) von dem sussen tranck vnd von der edeln  
speise die er empfangen hat. Die andern iunger hetten auch das selbe  
tranck vnd die selben speise empfangen. Sie furet aber chainem als  
wol noch enpfieng chainer als vil sussikait vnd genade dauon als er.  
Er was als vol genade vnd sussikait wurden von diser speise vnd was  
als truncken worden von minne, das er sich nider legen must vnd  
nindert rwen wolt wan auf gottes hercz. Ir wissent wol so ein mensch  
susses tranck getrincket das im lustlich ist so begert es sein allezeit ie  
mer vnd ie mer. Also geschach auch dem guten sant Johannes. Do er  
das susse tranck vnd die edeln speise versuchte da wart sie im als  
lustlich vnd als begirlich, das sein hercze als in hicziklich enbran  
darnach. Des benuget in nit wie vol er dicz tranckes vnd diser speise  
worden was. Er begert (93rb) ir allezeit ie mer vnd ie mer. Vnd  
dauon do naigte er sich auf das hercz von dem im die begirde vnd  
der lust alle geflossen was. O wie ein groß wunder das was. Er hat  
die speise empfangen vnd was ir vol worden inwendig vnd legte sich  
do außwendig auf die selben speise die er empfangen hat. Wann er  
wolt seine rwe nindert anders wa haben darvmb das er inwendig vnd  
außwendig vereiniget wurd mit der speise.

Zu dem andern mal erzaiget vnser herre dem guten sant Johannes  
seine minne daran, das er in als recht gutlich beualh. Dise beuelung  
mercke ich an dreyen dingen. Sich ich ze dem ersten male an in  
welcher zeit er in beualh so ist es groß. Sich ich den zu dem andern  
mal an in welcher weise er in beualh so ist es noch grosser. Sich ich  
aber zu dem dritten mal an wem (93va) er in beualh so ist es aller  
groste.

Sich ich zu dem ersten mal an in welcher zeit vnser herre den  
guten sant Johannes beualh so ist es groß vnd ist ein zaichen auß  
genomener lieb. In welcher zeit beualh vnser herre sant Johannes?  
Das tet er do er an dem creuce stund vnd vnser frawe vnd sant  
Johannes vnder dem creucz bei im stunden. Also schreibt sant  
Johannes selber in seinem passio: >Vnse frawe stunt vnder dem



creucz vnd der iunger den got minnet.< (*Vgl. Io 19, 26*) Er beualh in  
 in der grewlichsten zeit vnd an dem iemerlichsten tag vnd in der  
 225 grosten arbeit die er ie erlait auf dem ertreich. Wann er was in der  
 angst vnd in der not des grimmen todes vnd hanget iecz an dem  
 galgen des creuczes vnd leit großen spot von den die in martern. Die  
 fursten der iuden stunden vor im vnd wegten ire häubt gegen im vnd  
 sprachen: >Waffen dicz (*93vb*) ist der der da sprach er wolt den  
 230 tempel zer storen vnd wolt in in dreyen tagen wider machen.< (*Vgl.*  
*Mt 27, 40*) Er laid auch etwas von dem schacher der bei im hieng.  
 Wann der sprach ze im: >Bistu gottes sun so behalt dich selber vnd  
 vns.< (*Lc 23, 39*) Er laid auch an dem haubte. Wann das was im  
 durch graben mit der dürnen crone. Er laid auch an den augen. Wann  
 235 die waren im verbunden. Er laid auch an den oren. Wann er hort die  
 lasterlich wort die sie mit im redten. Er laid auch an dem munde.  
 Wann er wart getrencket mit essig vnd mit gallen. Er laid auch an  
 den henden. Wann er hanget an den scharffen negel die im geslagen  
 waren durch seine hende. Er laid auch an den fussen. Wann er stund  
 240 auf den weczen negel der im geslagen was durch sein fusse. Er laid  
 auch an allem seinem leib. Wann er was durch wunt (*94ra*) vnd  
 durch sert von den grimmen slegen die er empfangen hat do in die  
 iuden gaiselten an der seule. Vnd wie groß sein not vnd sein arbeit  
 was vnd die angst des bittern todes doch wolt er nit vergessen der  
 245 minne die er het zu seinem lieben iunger dem werden sant Johannes.  
 Wann er erzaigte im sunderlich vnd außgenomen lieb daran, das er  
 in beualh seiner lieben muter. Wann er beualh sannt Johannes vnser  
 frawe ee das er im sie beualh. Er sprach e >frawe sich dein sun< e  
 dacz er sprach >sich dein muter<. (*vgl. Io 19, 26*) Er beualh in auch e  
 250 sein selbes gaist. Wann er beualh in e seiner muter e das er sein  
 selbes gaist beualh seinem vater. Er sprach e >frawe sich dein sun< e  
 das er sprach >vater in dein hant beuilh ich mein gaist<. (*Lc 23, 46*)

Sich ich ze dem andern mal an in welcher weiß vnser herre sant  
 Johannes beualh (*94rb*) so gibt er mir ein vrkund auß genomener vnd  
 255 sunderlicher lieb. An welcher weiße beualh er in? Er sprach: >Muter  
 sich da dein sun.< Er sprach nit >Muter sich da dein vetter< oder  
 >dein swester sun<. Er sprach auch nit: >Sich da dein kint.< Er  
 sprach: >Sich da dein sun.< Wir lesen in der schule, das filius sich  
 als vil deütet als ein minne. Dauon sprach vnser herre: >Muter sich

160 da dein minne.< Recht als ob er sprech: >Seit ich nu von dir  
schaiden wil so beuilh ich dir meinen geminntten. Darvmb nenne ich  
dirn ein minne wan ich in vncz her allezeit geliebt han mit sunder  
minne vnd mit sunder lieb in meinem herczen. Also beuilh ich dir in  
nu, das du in inwendig habest in deinem herczen mit sunderliche  
165 minne vnd mit außgenomen lieb fur alle menschen.<

Sich ich ze dem dritten mal an wem vnser herre sant (94va)  
Johannes beualh so gibt es mir ein vrkund grosser vnd vnmessiger  
lieb die er ze im hat. Wem beualh vnser herre sant Johannes? Beualh  
er in sant Peter? Nein er. Das were nicht großes dinges gewesen.  
70 Beualh er in sant Jacob? Nein er. Het er in sant Jacob oder einem  
andern botten beuolhen das wer auch nicht gros dinges gewesen.  
Wem beualh er in doch? Er beualh in dem aller liebsten vnd dem  
getrewesten frewnd den er auf ertreich ie gewan. Daz was sein raine  
vnd sein zarte müter Maria. Warvmb beualh er in vnßer frawen fur  
75 alle menschen? Das tet er darvmb wann er ir geleich was an der  
keuschait vnd an der rainikait. Dauon sprach sant Jeronimus: >Ein  
maget wart beuolhen einer megde.<<sup>4</sup> Nu mocht etwer sprechen:  
>Warvmb lobet man sant Johannes rainikait als vil vnd als großlich  
fur ander heiligen rainikait? (94vb) Er screibet doch von im selber,  
80 das er ein frawe wolt han genomen.< Er macht wol sein willen  
neigen zu der gemähelschaft, das doch sein rainikait noch sein  
keuschait chain mase noch chain flecke dauon enpfieng. Wann solt  
die mähelschaft die rainikait masen so wer auch vnser frawen  
rainikait nictes wert gewesen. Wan sie wart auch gemähelt. Also  
85 screibt sant Lucas in dem ewangelio, das sie gemähelt wart einem  
man der hieß Joseph. (Vgl. Lc 1, 27) Vnd die mähelschaft was als  
raine vnd als keusch, das sie dauon nie masen noch nie flecke  
enpfieng. Also was auch sant Johannes mähelschaft lauter vnd rain  
an alle masen. Es muß ein raine mähelschaft sein da vnßer herre  
90 selber vnd sein zarte müter vnd die heiligen zwelff botten hin gelegt  
waren. Wann nu sant Johannes rainikait geleich was vnßer frawen  
rainikait (95ra) dauon do wolt in auch vnser herre nyemant bevelhen  
wann ir allaine. Wie beualh vnßer herre sant Johannes vnser frawen?  
Er beualh irn in der grosten minne vnd lieb die auf dem ertreich sein

<sup>4</sup> See *Responsorium for the 27.12., op.cit.*

295 macht. Das ist die liebe die ein muter zu irm kinde hat. Wann er  
 beualh irn also, das er wolt, das er ir andre sun wer. Vnd als vnßer  
 herre ir sun was von nature also wolt er, das sant Johannes ir sun wer  
 von genade. Dauon sprach er: >Muter sich da dein sun.< (*Io 19, 26*)  
 Vnßer herre Ihesus Christus der was vnßer frawen erstborner sun  
 300 vnd wart ir kundet von dem furst engel Gabriel. (*Vgl. Lc 1, 26-33*)  
 Aber sant Johannes was ir ander sun vnd wart ir kundet von vnßern  
 herren selber an dem creucze. Vnserm herren Ihesum Christum den  
 enpfieng sie von dem heiligen gaist. Sant Johannes den enpfieng sie  
 von dem sun an dem (*95rb*) creucze. Sie gebar vnßern herren Ihesum  
 305 Christum mit grosser freude vnd glorie. Aber sant Johannes den  
 gebar sie in dem grosten sere vnd bitterkait das sie auf dem ertreich  
 ie gewan. Vnßern herren Ihesum Christum den speiste sie mit  
 leiplicher speise. Aber sant Johannes den speiste sie mit gaistlicher  
 speise. Wan da ist chain zweifel an. Er wurd dick gespeiset von den  
 310 sussen vnd gotlichen worten die da giengen von irm magetlichem  
 munde. Wann sie waren dike bei ein ander mit manigen  
 minniklichem vnd heiligem kose. Vnd wann vnse frawe der gohait  
 mer innen was worden vnd si lauterlich erkant denn ie chain creature  
 dauon hatte sie mer kunst vnd gotlicher weishait denn ie mensche  
 315 auf dem ertreich. Nu wen die lerer, das sant Johannes seiner weishait  
 vnd seiner kunst vil von vnser frawen neme (*95va*) vnd das er seiner  
 scrift vil geschriben hab von ir lere.

Ze dem dritten ezaigten vnser herre seinem außerwelten iunger  
 dem guten sant Johannes seine minne an dem sunderlichen klaide  
 320 das er im gab fur alle heiligen. Er gab sant Peter vnd sant Jacob vnd  
 sant Andreas vnd den andern allen iglichem ein newe klait. Wir  
 lesen in Genesis, an einem buch daz screibet her Moyses, von einem  
 alten patriarchen. Der hieß Jacob. Der het zwelf sune. Vnd vnder den  
 allen do was einer der hieß Joseph der was im lieber denn die ander.  
 325 Dem gab er ein sunderlich klaid das er chainem mer gab wan dem  
 allaine. Als da geschriben stat: >Er gab im einen rock der was als  
 wunderlich gemacht das nie man dauon nit gesagen kan.< (*Vgl. Gn*  
*37, 3*) Aber den andern allen gab er newer ein gemaines klaid. Bei  
 disem alten patriarchen ist vns bezaichent vnßer herre Ihesus  
 330 Christus. Bei den zwelf (*95vb*) sun seint vns bezaichent die heiligen  
 zwelfbotten. Bei seinem lieben sun Joseph ist vns bezaichent der

groß herre sant Johannes des tag hewt ist. Bey dem wunderlich klaid  
 das er seinem lieben sun Joseph an legte ist vns bezaichent das  
 wunderlich<sup>5</sup> klaid damit vnser herre seinen geminten iunger den  
 335 guten sant Johannes klaidet hat. Er hat im an gelegt ein sunderliches  
 klaid fur die andern alle es wãrn die zwelfpotten oder die marterer  
 oder die megde. Den gab er allen nur ein gemaines klaid. Das was,  
 das er sie klaite an der sele mit der klarhait des himelischen lones.  
 Aber sant Johannes den hat er klaidet an sele vnd an leibe mit der  
 340 klarhait der himelischen gloria. Sein leip hat ieczo empfangen die  
 klarheit vnd die schon die ander heiligen leibe enpfahent an dem  
 iungsten tag. Man vindet sant Peters vnd sant Jacob vnd der (96ra)  
 marterer vnd der megde vnd ander heiligen gepain auff ertreich ze  
 Rome vnd ze Koln vnd ze Trier vnd an allen steten in der cristenhait.  
 345 Vnd hat das vnser herre dar vmb getan, das er wil, das ir gebaine vnd  
 ir heiltum geeret werde von den leuten. Aber sant Johannes gebaine  
 vindet man nindert auf dem ertreich. Das gibt mir ein vrkund, das  
 vnser herre wil, das sein heiltum vnd sein gebaine geeret werden von  
 den engeln vnd von den heiligen in dem himelreich. Wir vinden  
 350 gescriben, das die sunne nach dem iungsten tag siben schoner wirt  
 denn sie yeczo sei. (Is 30, 26) Nu ist das der cristen gelauben, daz  
 wir an dem iungsten tag ersten sullen mit sele vnd mit leibe vnd das  
 wir siben stund schoner sullen werden den den die sunne den sie sei.  
 (Vgl. Mt 13, 43) Dise klarhait vnd dise schon hat sant Johannes leib  
 355 yeczo (96rb) empfangen. Dauon zweifel ist des nit der das minste  
 lichtein neme das an seinem leib ist vnd es seczet in den luft an den  
 himel es erleuchtet alle die welt vnd gebe mer liechtes vnd klarhait  
 denn hundert tausent sunnen. Wan vnßer herre hat im yeczund an  
 gelegt ein klaid das ist das gemacht von vier stucken. Das erste ist<sup>6</sup>  
 360 schon vnd klarhait des leibes. Das ander ist schnellikait, daz sein leib  
 also schnell ist, das er mer denn uber tausent meile fert in einem  
 augenblick ob er wil. Das dritte ist kleinfügi, das sein leip wol durch  
 tausent maure keme e das ein bra zu der ander geslüge. Das vierde ist  
 vntotlich, das weder gebreste noch arbeit noch chain we an im  
 365 nyemer mer geuallen mag.

<sup>5</sup> Ms. wundiklich.

<sup>6</sup> Missing.

Nun solt ich sagen von der nützen lere die die cristenhait von im  
 (96va) enpfangen hat. Dauon wil ich nun ein wenig sagen. Wir  
 vinden geschriben, das ein brunne entspringet in dem paradeyß an  
 der stat die da haißet ein stat der zartnuß. Vnd der brunne tailt sich  
 370 in die vier ende der welt. (Vgl. Gn 2, 10) Vnd dauon wirt das ertreich  
 fruchtber vnd berhaft. Bei dem paradeiß ist bezaichent vnser herre  
 Ihesus Christus. Bey der stat der zartnuß ist bezaichent das  
 minniklich hercze vnßers herren. Bei dem brunnen der da entspringet  
 auß der stat der zartnuß ist vns bezaichent der grosse herre sant  
 375 Johannes ewangelista. Wann da er rwet auf dem zarten vnd  
 minniklichen herzen vnser herren Ihesu Christi da wart der außfluß  
 der sussikait vnd der genade als groß, das er alle die werlt fruchtber  
 vnd berhaft hat gemacht mit seiner lere. Vnd als sich der brunne  
 tailt in die vier ende der welt also hat er (96vb) seine lere getailt in  
 380 die vier ende der cristenhait. Das ist das ewangelium vnd  
 Appocalipsi vnd zwai buch die er geschriben hat von der minne.

Ich solt auch sagen von dem grossen vnd sunderlichen lone den  
 er enpfangen hat in dem himelreich. Das wil ich alles laßen beleiben  
 vnd wil nur ein wenig sagen von seiner hinuart wie wirdiglich er  
 385 geladen wart von disem ellend. Vnd seit sein hinuart vnd sein ladung  
 als gloriert was da bei merckent wie groß vnd wie wirdig auch denn  
 der lon ist den er enpfangen hat von der beschawende vnser herren.  
 Wir lesen also von im, das er an sein ende kam vnd von diser welt  
 schaiden wolt, das im vnßer herre Ihesus Christus erschain mit  
 390 grosser glorie vnd klarhait vnd bracht mit im die hohen himel  
 fursten. Das waren die (97ra) heiligen zwelff botten. Wann die  
 waren e alle fur gevarn. Er bracht auch mit im dar die menig der  
 werden engel vnd der hohen heiligen. Es sol auch niemant daran  
 zweifel do vnßer herre Ihesus Christus kam mit den zwelf botten vnd  
 395 mit der menig der heiligen vnd der engel er brecht auch mit im dar  
 seine raine vnd seine zarte muter, die werden kunigin von  
 himelreich. Wann es was billich, das sie zegegen war da ir lieber sun  
 geladen wart ze der ewigen wirtschafft. Vnd do vnser herre mit also  
 grosser herschafft vnd glorie ze im kam do sprach er: >Kum her mein

00 außewelter vnd mein geminter. Wann es ist zeit, das du wirtschaft  
habest mit mir vnd mit *deinen* lieben brudern<sup>7</sup>.<

Nu sull wir vnßer herren bitten das er vns laße geniesen seines  
lieben vnd seines geminten (*97rb*) iunger des guten sant Johannes  
05 des tag hewt ist vnd der frolichen vnd glorie der ladung damit er in  
lude von disem ellend. So wir von diser welt schaiden sullen, das er  
vns gerüch lieplich vnd gutlich enpfach vnd vns helff, das wir komen  
fur das angesicht vnser herren. Vnd vns da nieten seines gotlichen  
vnd seines wuneklichen antlucz iemer mer an ende. Das vns da  
10 widerfar, das helff mir vnd in der vater vnd der sun vnd der hailig  
geist. Amen.

*C. "Postille" Hartwigs of Erfurt (between 1321 and 1343) Feria  
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*Transmission:*

*Frankfurt, Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek, Ms. germ. qu. 3 (olim II  
30), fol. 13r-14v*

(*13r*) Vber die episteln auf den mytwochen in der goltuasten

Es spricht Ysaias >in den letzten tagen sol bereit werden. der  
perg ein haüs dez herren. vnd sol erhöhet werden vber die himel.<  
(*Is 2, 2*) Daz ist gesprochen von der menscheit vnser herren Jesu  
5 Cristi. die daz ewig wort an sich genomen hat. vnd hat sie gesatz  
vber all himel. >Die letzten zeit.< daz ist die zeit do wir ietzünd  
ynnen sein. Wer die versaumet. der mag kein (*13v*) zeit nymmermer  
gehaben.

10 bereitung ist ein berurung vngeleicher ding. oder widerwertiger  
ding. vnd meint die vereingung menschlicher natur. mit götlicher  
natur die so vngeleich vnd so verr von ein ander waz. Drew dinck  
bestetigent ser vnsern christen gelaüben. Daz erst ist daz die

<sup>7</sup> *Ms.* meinem lieben bruder.

propheten alles daz gesprochen haben. daz Cristus gelebet vnd gelert hat. Als die ander letz spricht. >Aus der würtzel Yesse. sol wachsen ein gert.< (*Is 11, 1*) daz meint vnser lieben frawen. >Aus der gerten sol wachsen ein blüm.< (*Is 11, 1*) daz meint Cristum. der sich nennet ein blüm dez veldes. Daz ander daz vnser gläuben vestent. daz ist daz Cristus vor sagt seinen iüngern. alle die dink die im geschehen solden. Daz dritt ist. die großen zeichen die Cristus tet. die dy natür niht vermoht.

>Zu im sullen fliehen alle diet vnd vil volkes.< (*Is 2, 2-3*) daz meint alle gelaübig menschen. die sullen in in hoffen. Also spricht Dauit >herr lös mein sel. (*Ps 114, 4*) Wan ich bin zu dir geflohen.< Vnd sullen sprechen >gen wir zu dem haüs Jacob. vnd zu dem haüs dez herren.< (*Is 2, 3*) Got hat vierley haus. daz himelrich. vnd die christenheit. vnd die heiligen geschrift. vnd eines heiligen menschen sel. >Wann er sol selber kumen vnd sol vns leren sein weg. vnd wir sullen wandeln in seinen pfaßen.< (*Is 2, 3*) Es wer ein groß danckperkeit gewessen. daz vns got het einen engel gesant. der vns geleret het. vnd erlost het. Nu hat er ez selber getün. dar vmb können wir im nymmer voldanken. Es waz auch beßer wan wir müsten den engel ymmer liep haben gehabt. der vns erlöst het. Nü sullen wir in Allein liep haben. wann er es selber getan hat. Die weg vnsers herren sein die gebott gottes. die pfaß. daz sein die rett gottes. Als armüt vnd keuscheit. Armüt hat mangel tot veint. auf ertrich. vnd mangel morder vnder leyen vnd vnder pfaßen. vnd die dar auf gesetzt sint. von der heiligen christenheit. vnd bestetiget. die süchent manig falsch gelosen. (*14r*) Wie sie im dieplichen entrinnen. Keuscheit hat ouch mangel tot veint. schon kleider. vnd große wirtschaft. vnd klein vbüng. vil klaffens weib vnd mann mit ein ander. ditz sint die veind der keuscheit. >Die Ee ist aus gegangen von Syon.< (*Is 2, 3*) daz meint daz alle gebot sein gegeben vmb laüterkeit dez lebens. Also spricht Sanctus Paulus. >die Ee ist dem gerechten niht gegeben sunder dem vngerechten.< (*I Tim 1, 9*) >Daz wort gottes get aus von Jerüsalem.< (*Is 2, 3*) Daz meint daz das ewig wort mensch wart. >Sy sullen ir swert versmiden in pflüg eysen. vnd ir sper in sicheln.< (*Is 2, 4*) daz meint da Cristus geporn wart. do waz alz gut frid auf ertreich. daz niemant waz wider den andern.

Ich nym daz Ewangilium. daz ich han an dem suntag gelaßen.  
 50 >Johannes ist niht ein ror. daz geiaget wirt von dem wind.< (*Mt 11,*  
 7) daz ror wachset von bösem gründ. vnd ist innen hol. vnd wirt  
 schir beweget. Aber Johannes waz von küniklichem vnd von  
 pristerlichem gesleht. vnd waz vol götlicher mynn. vnd beweisset die  
 mit den werken. Daz dritt in moht niemant bekeren von der warheit.  
 55 Wann er sprach die warheit vnerschroklichen. Dar vmb sprach  
 Cristus. >er ist ein lücern prinend vnd leuhtend.< (*Io 5, 35*)

Nü ist ein frag in welcher stat der sel daz ewig wort geporn wirt  
 Die ersten sprechen in der vernüft. Wann sie got aller geleichest ist  
 Die andern sprechen es werd geporen in dem willen. Wann er ein  
 60 frey kraft der sel ist. Die dritten sprechen in dem teyl daz do heizet  
 der fünck der sel. Wann er got aller nehst ist. Die vierden sprechent  
 in der verborgenheit dez gemütes. Wann als oft der mensch enpfeht  
 ein guten gedancken. von der menscheit vnsers herren. oder von dem  
 ewigen wort. oder in einer newen lüst von got oder in einem versten  
 65 einer newen warheit. Als oft wirt daz ewig wort in der sel geporn.  
 Die fünften sprechen. vnd mit den halt ich es. ez werd geporn in dem  
 aller innigist dez wesens. vnd disses werden gewar alle die kreft der  
 sel. (*14v*). Die fünfte frag wie heldet sich die sel dar zu. Sie trittet in  
 ein laüter leyden. vnd lezzet got würken. nach allem seinem willen.  
 70 Die .vj. frag wie haltet sich der leichnam dar zü. er ist in einer stillen  
 rwe. daz er kein bewegung mag haben aller seiner gelyder. Wan  
 die obersten kreft haben die nydersten ein gehollet. vnd daz wessen  
 der sel. hat die obersten kreft ein geholt. vnd stent alle in einer stillen  
 rwe. vnd dar vmb wirt daz ewig wort geporn geleichleich in dem  
 75 geist vnd in dem leib. kinder daz wir dirr gepürt smecken vnd  
 enpfinden müßen. daz geb vns der ewig got Amen. Nü sin der frag  
 .vj. auz geleit.



*D. Konrad Schlatter OP (†1458). De sancto Jacobo**Transmission:*

*Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. germ. qu. 208, fol. 227r-232r*

(227v) Ein bredeg vf sant Iocobus tag

Man liset in dem ewangelio, daz vnser herre froget Jacobum vnd  
 Johannem vnd sprach: >mögent ir den kelch trincken den ich  
 trinchen?< (*Mt 20, 22*) Nû kinder gottes ir werdent hören wie  
 5 maniger leyge kelch man in der geschrift vindet vnd welle wir  
 trincken sont vnd welle nut. Vnd werdent ouch hören eine froge wie  
 sich der menschen schicken sölle vnd ördenlich halten, daz ime  
 daz liden vnsers herren zû hertzen gange.

Nû kinder vf den ersten sin wie meniger leyge kelche sigent die  
 10 bewert sint von der cristenheit. Do sprechent die lerer, daz vier leyge  
 kelche sint. Aber wir söllent ir nit aller trincken. Wenne Ihesus  
 ladet vns nit zû in allen.

Der erste ist vnd heisset ein yrdenscher kelch der von erden  
 gemaht ist. Vnd in den kelch werdent getrucket dryger leyge beren  
 15 die die bösen kint dirre welte trinckent. Daz ist hoffart, gritikeit vnd  
 vnreinikeit. Wenne alle menschen sint geneiget vf hoffart vnd  
 gritikeit vnd vf vnreinikeit. Zû disem kelch der von der erden gemaht  
 ist ladet vns Ihesus nit. Dar vmb lesent wir, daz (*228r*) got dryge  
 20 füren strolen liesz schiessen von der driger svnde wegen. Vnd wer  
 Maria vnd sant Dominicus gesin, daz sú nit für die welt gebetten  
 hettent, er hette die menschen gelossen vnder gon von diser driger  
 svnden wegen.

Der ander kelch ist ein kelch der verdampneten vnd wurt  
 genennet ein swerer bligener kelch. In den kelch werdent dryge  
 25 bitterkeiten getrucket. Die erste ist, daz die pin die sú hant got durch  
 alle ir glider. Wenne sant Thomas sprichet: >kvnt der mensche mit  
 der mynsten tegelichen svnden in daz fegefúr die er hie nit het ab

geleit er müsz me pin dar vmb liden denne vnser herre an dem krütze  
 gelitten het.< Nû het er doch me gelitten denne alle marterer ie  
 30 gelittent. Müstu denne vmb ein klein lachen me liden so gedencke  
 waz grosser pin denne in der hellen ist. Die ander bitterkeit ist; daz  
 sú dez frölichen ane blickes gottes eweklichen müssent mangeln.  
 Vnd müssent die in dem ewigen leben sint in grossen fröuden sehen  
 so sú in so grosser pin sint. Vnd so vil ist ouch ir pin dester grösser.  
 35 Doch noch dem júngesten tage wurt inen daz selb genomen, daz sú  
 nit me in daz ewige leben können gesehen. Daz dritte ist vber alle  
 (228v) mosse bitter vnd vnidelich. Daz ist daz nagen vnd biszen der  
 concientzie. Wenne got git ynen daz sú wissent vnd bekennent wie  
 lihteklich sú ewig leben verdienet hettent. Dar vmb der wurm der  
 40 concientzie hört niemer vf zû nagen vnd zû biszen. Dar vmb  
 spricht ein lerer: >Do ist schrygen vnd weinen vnd klappen der  
 zene. Daz kint verflüchet die müter.< Vnd svnderlich die hie mit ein  
 ander gesúndet hant. Nû ist es in dirre zit, het eines liden, siht es  
 denne ein anders ouch in liden so ist es ime destelichter, daz es nit  
 45 allein also erbeit selig ist. Aber daz ist dort nit. Ie me dar kvnt ie  
 mynre trost do ist.

Nû kinder einen ander kelch ist vnd der wurt genant ein guldiner  
 kelch. Vsz dem kelche trincket nieman denne die in gotte dot sint.  
 Vnd die selben trincken drú ding vsz disem kelche. Daz erste ist got  
 50 eweklich mit fröuden sehen, daz ander, daz sú got ewekliche  
 niessent, daz dirte, daz sú got ewekliche besiczent vnd in niemer me  
 verlierent. Nû kinder vsz disem kelch mag nieman trincken denne  
 die in ewiger selikeit sint.

Wiltu aber noch disem ellende ouch vsz disem guldenen kelch  
 55 trincken so müstu vor vsser den vier kelchen<sup>1</sup> leren (229<sup>r</sup>) trincken.  
 Vnd daz ist ein sylberer kelch. Vsser disem kelch trincket man ouch  
 drú ding. Nû daz silber ist luter vnd klor. Daz ist, daz du zû dem  
 ersten dinen lip vbest in aller reinikeit vnd in tugenden vnd in allen

<sup>1</sup> I. e. the fourth chalice.

güten wercken, dor noch die sele in aller heilikeit, zû dem dritten  
 60 mole sele vnd lip mit dem kostbaren blûte, daz du wol der froge  
 mögest antwurten also er sprach: >Mögent ir trincken den kelch  
 den ich trincken?< (*Mt 20, 22*) >Jo ich mag in wol trincken. Vnd  
 gistu mir liden, daz wil ich ouch gerne durch dinen willen liden.<

Nû vf einen andern sin. Bi dem kelch zû trincken sont wir verston  
 65 daz liden vnsers herren. Nû Ihesus ladet vns, daz wir vsz dem kelch  
 sont trincken. Wiltu nû vsz dem kelche trincken so müstu ein  
 geistlicher marterer werden. Jo one allen zwifel nymmest du sin war  
 so wil ich dich trösten, daz du zû betrachtunge dez lidens vnsers  
 herren kvnst.

70 Zû dem ersten wiltu ein andehtiger betrachter werden dez lidens  
 vnsers herren Jhesu Cristi so hört dir zû, daz du lerest sûchen vnd  
 ouch finden, daz du daz mittel haltest in allen dingen. Vnd kanst du  
 es nit gantz finden so lûge doch, daz du daz mittel haltest in den  
 (229<sup>v</sup>) tûgenden die got durch dich wûrcket in tugentlichen wercken.  
 75 Nû möhtest du sprechen: >Wie sol ich daz mittel halten?< Wenne  
 es ist, daz du ördenlich fastest so man vasten sol vnd bettest so man  
 betten sol vnd dich ördenlich haltest in essen vnd in trincken vnd nit  
 der vnordenlichen begirdelicheit zû der spise gnûg bist svnder der  
 notdurft. Wenne du ordenlich wûrckest alle dine werg so haltest du  
 80 daz mittel. Vnd ie me du sin tûst je me du daz mittel haltest. Vnd alle  
 die wile du daz nit tûst so kanstu daz mittel nit halten. Vnd solt ouch  
 allewegen glich ston in glvcke vnd in vnglücke. Dar vmb sprichet  
 sant Bernhart: >Ein ieglich cristen mensche sol glich werden eime  
 vierortechten stein. Welhen weg man den keret so stot er allewegen  
 85 vf dem spitze.< Wiltu nû, daz dir daz liden vnsers herren zû hertzen  
 gange so müst du lügen wellen weg dir liden zû kvmp, es sù ynner  
 oder vsser von got oder von den creatures, daz du allewegent glich  
 standest. Fellet dir glücke zû so solt du dich sin nit vber haben.  
 Vellet dir liden zû so soltu got dangber sin. Vnd solt allewegen glich  
 90 ston in glücke vnd in vnglücke.

Nû merckent einen andern sin. Wiltu daz (230<sup>r</sup>) dir daz liden  
 vnsers herren zu hertzen gange vnd sigest wie grop vnd vngeschicket

du wellest so mahtu doch daz wol tûn. Daz ist wenne du in die kirche gost so soltu betrahten daz liden vnsers herren. Vnd solt dar  
 95 vnder lossen löffen dine svnde die du wyder die x gebot hest geton. Also wie so du bettest so gedencke: >Ach almehtiger got du hest gebotten, daz ich dich lieb sol han obe allen dingen. Dar vmb hestu din rosevarwes kospar blût vergossen vnd den bitterm dot gelitten durch minen willen vnd hest mir dinen lip geben zû einer spise vnd  
 00 din blût zû einem trancke. So bin ich eine grosse svnderin vnd han den glústen mines libes gelebet.< Vnd bekenne denne, daz du manigvalteklich wyder in hest geton. Wenne sant Gregorius sprichet: >Got lot daz gemûte niemer daz sich werlich in sünden bekennet.<

Zû dem dirten mole. Wil dich daz alles nut helffen, daz din hertze  
 05 beweget werde zû mitliden, so soltu me tûn. Du solt lügen, daz du ein gerüwig zit vnd ein gerüwig stat vsz welest, ein heimeliche stat von den creaturen, daz du von ynen nit gehindert werdest. Vnd gedencke wie sant Bernhart sprichet: >O túre sele gezieret mit  
 (230v) gottes glichnisse. O túre sele die got mit dem glouben gemehelt ist zû einer brut. O túre sele die erlöset ist mit dem werden blût Jhesu Cristi. O túre sele waz hastu zû tûnde mit fleysch vnd mit den creaturen. Wenne du bist doch erhebet an daz crúzte in die hymelsche selikeit.< Vnd nim fur dich daz sant Gregorivs sprichet: >Ich enheisse den nit cristen dem die marter Cristi nit zû  
 10 hertzen got.<

Nû möchtest du sprechen: >Ich kans nit betrahten, daz es mir zû hertzen gange.< Daz ist nit vnbillich. Du hest ein verworren vngerüwig hertze vol kifelns vnd vnnvtzer gedencke vnd bilde. Die  
 20 lont dir daz liden Cristi nit zû hertzen gon. Dar vmb wenne du daz liden Cristi fruchtberlich wilt betrahten so lüge, daz du habest ein heimeliche stat vnd ein stille gerüwige zit zû mitter naht oder zû mitten dage. Wenne so ist daz hertze noch denne nit verbildet mit vsserlicher verbildvng vnd bekvmbernisse. Wenne sant Bernhart sprichet: >Daz gebet vnd betrahten ist den sússe.< Vnd gedencke  
 25 wie Davit sprichet: >Media nocte. (Ps 118, 62) Miten jn der naht ston ich vf dich zû veriehen.< Vnd ein altvatter sprichet: >Die svnne

het mich me vber schynnen ich habe got gedienet zû dem vierden  
 mole.< So du wilt daz liden vnsers (231r) herren betrahten jst es  
 denne daz dir liden vnd bekorvng zû vellet. Wenne daz geschiht  
 130 gewönlich wenne sich der mensche flisset gûtes zû tûnde vnd sich  
 aller gernest andehteklich zû gotte wil keren, daz ime denne aller  
 meist lidens zû vellet vnd an gevohten wurt mit böser bekorvng.  
 Jst, daz dir sörglich ding zû vellet vnd du nit weist wie du dich solt  
 halten, so lûge, du solt es alles dinem bihter fûr legen vnd sinen rot  
 135 dar ynne haben. Vnd solt yme ouch folgen. Anders du kvnst niemer  
 zû fryden.

Zû dem fünften mole. Wenne du merckest, daz dich din eigen  
 v̄bvng nût went helffen ze mitliden so soltu louffen zû den  
 heiligen. Vnd nim fûr dich Maria vnd Iohannes. Vnd gedencke wie  
 140 die in liden sint gesin vnder dem krütze. Vnd gedencke waz Maria  
 lidens hatte do sù irem lieben kinde sach sin hertze brechen. Nim me  
 fûr dich. Gedencke an daz mynne rûffen daz sant Andres det gegen  
 dem crütze. Nim me daz demütige vsserwelen sant Peters. Daz er  
 sich selben vnwürdig hatte, daz daz crütze obe sich gekeret waz.  
 145 Vnd erwelet, daz ime daz höbet gegen der erden gekert war. Nim fûr  
 dich daz mynne fasz sant Paulvs der sprach: >Ich wil nût können  
 den in dem krütze Cristi.< (vgl. Gal 6, 14) Nim sant Lucas der daz  
 crütze vnd daz liden (231v) vnsers herren allewegen trüg in sinem  
 hertzen. Wenne du betrahtest, daz die lieben heiligen also mitliden  
 150 hat gehan, jst denne din hertze ein erlöschener kol es wurt  
 entzvndet werden ouch in mitteliden. Wenne sant Bernhart sprichet:  
 >Ich mag vmb gon daz mer vnd daz ertrich. Vnd ich envinde dich  
 nienen gûter Ihesus denne an dem crütze.< Dar vmb wer in welle  
 finden der sûche in an der stat do er ist, daz ist an dem crütze. Daz ist  
 155 in erbeit vnd in liden.

Nû hörent ein exempel vnd schribetz Bonaventura von einer  
 noviczien sines ordens. Der hatte gar grosse hitze vnd mynne do er  
 in den orden kam. Vnd viel yme aber dar noch abe vnd wart lewe  
 vnd viel in einen wyder mût, daz er gedohte er wolte vsser dem

160 orden gon. Vnd do kam vnser herre Ihesus Cristus. Vnd erschein  
 yme vnd trüg ein grosz swer krütze vf sinem rúcken. Vnd ging vnder  
 dem crütze also obe er vallen wolte vnder dem crütze. Vnd waz  
 durch verwunt vnd mit sinem rosevarwen blúte vbergossen. Vnd  
 sprach zú dem júngeling: >Hestu nit ein mitliden mit mir?< Do  
 165 sprach der júngeling: >Io ich. Jch wil gerne daz crütze fúr dich  
 tragen.< Do sprach vnser herre: >Du wilt doch vsser (232r) dem  
 orden gon. Vnd wilt daz crütze von dir werffen. Wiltu mir daz crütze  
 helffen tragen so blib in dem orden.< Also wart do der júngeling  
 bekert vnd bleip do in dem orden.

170 Nû kinder es ist húte dez grossen sant Jacobes dag. Er ist wúrdig  
 noch dem nammen vnd noch wúrdiger in sime leben. Wenne man  
 nennet in den grossen sant Jacop wenne er E erwelet waz. Zú dem  
 andern mole waz er der erste der sin blút vergosz. Zú dem dirten, daz  
 in Ihesus in heimelicheit mit yme nam. Wenne do er in sin liden ging  
 175 an den berg Oliveti do nam er mit yme Petrum, Jacobum vnd  
 Johannem. (Mt 26, 37)

Daz wir nû daz liden vnsers herren also betrahten in mit liden,  
 daz wir ewige fróude do durch besitzent. Dez helffe vns der vatter  
 vnd der sun vnd der heilige geist zú allen ziten. Amen.