

Media Context: The Material Evidence as an Archaeological Artefact

Whereas the previous chapters examined the sermon texts in terms of contents, the analysis returns now, in agreement with a discourse analysis, to the investigation of context. The media context was an essential dimension for Michel Foucault: it considers the mediality of sources with critical lenses, instead of simply using them to confirm a preconceived past. As a result, this chapter examines the manuscripts in which the relevant sermons appear. In agreement with Foucault, these are considered as archaeological artefacts: they are physical testimonies of the past; their texts existed through this media context in a specific historical context, where they likely had an impact.¹ One may suppose that specific interests facilitated their production, since the penning of texts was a laborious task in the medieval period, which required certain preconditions. The analysis thus addresses the following questions: What does the text look like as physical evidence? Which paratextual framings does it offer?² What devices for guiding orientation and use does the codex contain? How do parameters such as format, font size, or the state of survival present themselves? Which other texts or genres are present in the manuscript? In which different manuscripts does the same sermon text survive? How do different media contexts transform the purpose and meaning of the same text? Which institutional conditions may one assert concerning both composition and transmission of the surviving codices?³

1 See Richard Hunter Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "Introduction," in: *Authentic Witnesses* (Notre Dame, Ind. 1991), 1–4; David d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford 1985), 57–60; Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, UK 1996), 216. On liturgical manuscripts, see Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY 2017); Gaposchkin, "The Echoes of Victory: Liturgical and Paraliturgical Commemorations of the Capture of Jerusalem in the West," *Journal of Medieval History* 40/3 (2014), 237–259.

2 See Mary A. Rouse, "Statim invenire": Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page," in: *Authentic Witnesses* (Notre Dame, Ind. 1991), 192–197. On the concept of paratext, see Seraina Plotke, *Die Stimme des Erzählens: Mittelalterliche Buchkultur und moderne Narratologie* (Göttingen 2017), 63–65.

3 On the challenges of institutional attribution, see, e.g., Christoph Egger, "Die Suche nach dem archimedischen Punkt. Methodische Probleme der Erforschung von Skriptorien und

The media analysis shall demonstrate one crucial dimension: that these sources were vivid texts derived from preaching practice, which were intended to coalesce with preaching practice once more. These codices thus stand in opposition to another type of medieval manuscript: miscellanies, large-sized codices, and luxurious specimens, which indicate purposes of representation, collection, and preservation.⁴ Moving beyond a generic argument that sees a self-evident connection with practice in the penning of sermons, this chapter will show how such a connection can be established through the evidence. The following analysis considers only some significant examples from the pertinent corpus, whereas the manuscripts were always considered in the service of a holistic examination (see the section on methodology; the section on manuscripts in the bibliography; and table 2).⁵ The point of departure is thus always the specific sermon text whose crusade nature has been unearthed in the previous chapters, whereas this chapter locates it now in its media context. Texts of the 12th century often only survived as copies and not as originals or autographs—even though some examples seem to be originals or to bring us close to such. One can distinguish, on the one hand, a copy that does not care about preserving the original appearance, partly including new texts and hence producing typical miscellanies meant for preservation. On the other hand, there are codices that copied an original faithfully, keeping the original composition, that is, media context—perhaps because the replica still served a practical purpose.⁶

Buchproduktion im 12. Jahrhundert am Beispiel von Admont,” in: *Scriptorium*, ed. Andreas Nievergelt and Rudolf Gamper (Munich 2015), 375–390.

4 See, e.g., Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson, “Codicology,” in: *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Kwakkel and Thomson (Cambridge, UK 2018), 11–14; Constant J. Mews, “Scholars and Their Books,” in: *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Kwakkel and Thomson, 87–88.

5 The examples chosen depend of course on transmission. Some works survived only in a few or later copies such as Henry of Albano’s treatise (Ms. Troyes 509, fols. 93^v–177^v)—even though it is highly pertinent in terms of contents.

6 The observations discussed in this chapter stem from two sources: on the one hand, data provided by library catalogues and other publications (specific publications are cited in the notes; for the digital library catalogues, see the bibliography); on the other, my own observations when handling the codices, which sometimes modified existing data. There may remain potential for refinement, a task that I leave to those scholars with more profound expertise in codicology and paleography.

1 From Canterbury to Paris

The chapter on Jerusalem examined Peter of Blois' *Sermo 39* ascribed to the feast of the Archangel Michael, which explicitly broaches the events of 1187 and the First Crusade, developing a bold eschatological reading dependent upon the entanglement of earthly and heavenly Jerusalem. This sermon survived in three copies, which betray three different media contexts: this finding suggests that it was a vivid text intertwined with preaching practice. It was put to use on different occasions, thus resulting in divergent media contexts. The sermon's title is identical in all three copies: "In festo sancti michaelis." This indicates a certain stability of the text's purpose. The feast adheres to an eschatological dimension, which the sermon fuses with the historical events of 1187—but the text's setting varies:⁷

Ms. BL Royal 8 F XVII is a collection of Peter's works including the *Conquestio* (fol. 83^v, part of his letter collection) and his sermon collection, including *Sermo 39* (fol. 158^v).⁸ This is obviously a clean copy aiming primarily at preservation, whereas it does not betray entanglement with preaching practice (format: c.20 × 25 cm, 176 fols.).⁹ It comes from the monastery of Lesnes in London (see fol. 1^r), a house established in 1178, in honor of Thomas Becket; this reveals a connection with Canterbury (on this codex, see also below regarding the *Conquestio*).

Ms. BL Arundel 322 presents a different case: here *Sermo 39* is likewise part of Peter's sermon collection (fol. 77^r). However, the setting as well as the manuscript's composition are fundamentally different.¹⁰ The codex consists only of the collection, complemented by an unidentified text at the end of the codex (fol. 78^v, same hand). The library catalogue characterizes it as *distinctiones*, that is, a preaching aid meant for preparing the delivery of a sermon.¹¹

7 On the feast of the Archangel Michael and its eschatological dimension, see Nicole Bériou, *Religion et communication: un autre regard sur la prédication au Moyen Age* (Paris 2018), 417–433.

8 The codex also contains the examined texts of *Sermo 17* (fol. 129^v); 19 (fol. 132^v); 32 (fol. 147^v); and 52 (fol. 169^v).

9 Yet, the codex seems to have been a vivid artefact; glosses frequently accompany Peter's letters, partly contemporary, partly later (e.g., fols. 19^r; 53^v).

10 The codex also contains *Sermo 17* (fol. 28^r); 19 (fol. 31^v); 32 (fol. 63^v); and 52 (fol. 54^r).

11 'British Library: Catalogue Archives and Manuscripts'; see the bibliography. On the nature of *Distinctiones*, see Rouse, "Statim invenire," 206; Emmanuelle Kuhry, "Dictionnaires, distinctions, recueils de propriétés en milieu cistercien: outils pour la prédication, sources pour l'étude de la nature," in: *Les Cisterciens et la transmission des textes (XII^e–XVIII^e siècles)*, ed. Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk and Dominique Stutzmann (Turnhout 2018), 289–293.

Sermo 39 is the final text of the collection, and it ends abruptly halfway through (while still containing all the significant arguments, as discussed in the chapter on Jerusalem). Already a quick peek at the *distinctiones* shows parallels with *Sermo 39*: in both, the Temple features prominently; the *distinctiones* provide further material, allowing the recipient to expand on the motif when preaching.¹² The codex's shape corroborates a practical purpose: it has a handy size (c.12 × 18 cm, 124 fols.) with an unsteady script (instead of a clean copy meant for preservation). However, the generous font size makes it possible that such a book was even flipped open in front of the preacher while delivering a sermon.¹³

Ms. Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 2787, a hitherto unnoticed testimony of Peter's sermons, also reveals significant entanglement with preaching practice; yet, the sermon's setting (fol. 181^r) as well as the institutional context deviate significantly from the other two copies. This is a typical polygraphic collection of the Parisian milieu, comprising 155 sermons of several masters and Victorines. Peter of Blois occurs most frequently with 28 identified sermons, succeeded by Alan of Lille (22 pieces), whereas others follow with around ten texts (for example, Peter Comestor, Maurice of Sully, or Walter of Saint-Victor).¹⁴ An attribution to Peter is missing; the codex may even have been his editorial work, possibly in cooperation with Alan—or he included so many of his colleague's sermons because he held him in high esteem. Notably, the sermons of the two often appear in an alternating pattern: in several cases, there are sermons by both on the same feast—as if the intention was to compare the preaching of the two masters. Most of the texts in this codex are presented in anonymous form, a fact demonstrating that the material's practical usefulness was key, rather than preserving the works of a particular author (like in the copy from Lesnes).¹⁵ The physical appearance corroborates this argument: once more a handy size

12 Moreover, a quotation of Job 9:24 follows (fol. 79^r) aligned with the *ecclesia militans*; this reference is also present in the *Sermo 39* as well as in many other Third Crusade texts; see the chapter on the failure of crusades.

13 Furthermore, this manuscript contains many notes on audiences (more than in the PL), in particular *ad claustrales*. These notes may record the material's past use, whereas such notes are generally absent in Ms. BL Royal 8 F XVII, a codex meant for preservation (only two cases).

14 Likewise included are Peter's *Sermo 17* (fol. 145^v); *19* (fol. 158^r); and *52* (fol. 189^v). On the manuscript, see also Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille: textes inédits* (Paris 1965), 122–123; Stephen A. Barney, "Introduction," in: *Petri Cantoris distinctiones Abel*, CCCM 288 (Turnhout 2020), 220–222.

15 See Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole: la prédication à Paris au XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1998), 1:91.

(c.14×19 cm, 225 fols.), including an unsteady script. Yet, the font size is quite small, therefore this copy could not have served as a direct model while preaching.

Furthermore, the Paris manuscript offers some aids to usability, once again evidence of its practical nature, in particular a complete table of contents at the collection's outset (entitled: *hic sunt capitula sermonum*), including a numbering of the sermons, and organization according to the liturgical calendar (fol. 122^v). Title and number are repeated at the sermons themselves (in the form of a gloss), thus allowing a user to quickly find the texts listed in the contents. Appearance and composition suggest that these texts are *reportationes* penned by either an unknown scribe or Peter himself.¹⁶ Since the text of *Sermo 39* is broadly identical with the other two copies (the same is true for other sermons), this substantiates the argument put forward by Nicole Bériou and Louis-Jacques Bataillon for the 13th century: there are astonishingly few deviations between model text and *reportatio*, that is, between template and actual preaching.¹⁷ Moreover, the codex combines the sermon collection with Peter the Chanter's *Distinctiones*, another significant indication of its practical nature. The Chanter's work offers, for example, material for expanding on the motif of Jerusalem, and the chapter on Jerusalem discussed the fact that Peter of Blois used exactly this entry in one of his sermons (*Sermo 52*), which is also found in this codex (fol. 189^v).¹⁸ This manuscript is vivid testimony for Paris as a place of extensive preaching activities, and this already before the advent of the friars (none of the authors dates after 1200). It also shows that master Peter of Blois remained involved in this dynamic milieu despite being no longer a resident in the city.

The media contexts of Peter's *Sermo 39* demonstrate that this text is entangled with preaching practice in two of three cases, a dimension visible thanks to different parameters such as the expressive combination with *distinctiones*.

16 The codex often offers several sermons on the same feast; this may record sermons preached consecutively on the same day. On identifying *reportationes*, see Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:92–97.

17 Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:108; Louis-Jacques Bataillon, "Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons," in: *La prédication au XIII^e siècle en France et Italie* (Aldershot 1993), 21–22; Bataillon, "Sermons rédigés, sermons réportés (XIII^e siècle)," in: *La prédication au XIII^e siècle*, 75–77.

18 For the entry on Jerusalem, see Ms. BL Royal 10 A XVI, fol. 82^{r-v} and Ms. BNF lat. 10633, fols. 95^v–96^r as well as Petrus Cantor, *Distinctiones*, 529–534. Sermon collection and *Distinctiones* are penned in two distinct hands. However, harmonizing so well in terms of contents, the two parts seem to reflect an original composition, in which the collection has been replaced with a slightly later copy, likely due to avid use.

However, the two cases stem from different institutional settings: the London manuscript seems related to Peter's office in Canterbury (just like the copy from Lesnes), whereas the Parisian example indicates his involvement in the same city. The first fulfills the purpose of a model sermon collection, while the latter is even more strongly entangled with practice, likely holding *reportationes*. Both need to be placed in the historical context after 1187, since *Sermo 39* explicitly refers to this year's events. The testimony of Ms. Sainte-Geneviève 2787 suggests that Peter was engaged in hitherto unknown activities in Paris: either directly related to the Third Crusade or in the 1190s.

The media context of Peter's *Conquestio*, a well-known but never scrutinized crusade treatise, also delivers important insights. This text has been transmitted broadly; the analysis will limit itself to some meaningful examples (neglecting later copies). These point to two different institutional contexts, but also to two different purposes: the *Conquestio* sometimes appears as an independent text and sometimes (in the bulk of cases) as a part of Peter's letter collection—even though, considering its length and contents, it certainly transcends the purpose of a letter. At its outset, it has two addressees, which one copy replaced with two others: the text was apparently distributed as a letter in the service of crusade recruitment, while it can be described as a model sermon (containing manifold elements which are rhetorical and oral in nature). These findings are strongly reminiscent of Bernard of Clairvaux's crusade letters, likely Peter's models.¹⁹

Ms. BL Royal 8 F XVII is a miscellany of Peter's works that we have already encountered: here the *Conquestio* forms the collection's last letter (fol. 83^v), succeeded by the *Compendium in Job* (fol. 88^v) and his sermons (fol. 108^r, entitled as *exhortationes*). The manuscript therefore contains manifold materials concerned with crusading, including Peter's crusade call from 1185, which bears the title "Exhortatio vie terre Ierosolimitane succurratur," an exhortation to support the voyage to the land of Jerusalem (fol. 77^r, a few folios before the *Conquestio*). Note the fact that the label of genre is identical with that of the sermons.

19 See Alexander Marx, "The *Passio Raginaldi* of Peter of Blois. Martyrdom and Eschatology in the Preaching of the Third Crusade," *Viator* 50/3 (2019), 204–205; Michael Markowski, *Peter of Blois, Writer and Reformer* (PhD thesis, Syracuse University 1988), 307. For deviating addressees, see, e.g., Ms. BL Arundel 227, fol. 98^r. On Bernard's letters, see Christopher J. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass. 2006), 280–281; Kristin Skottki, "‘Until the Full Number of Gentiles Has Come in’: Exegesis and Prophecy in St Bernard's Crusade-Related Writings," in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 252–256.

Ms. Lambeth Palace 421 also includes the *Conquestio* among the letters (fol. 93^r); it is preceded by 1185's crusade call entitled "Exhortatio magna et pernecessaria vie terre Ierosolimitane succuratur" (fol. 85^r). The handy codex suggests a practical use (c.12 × 18 cm, 142 fols.); and similar to the combination with *distinctiones*, the letters are succeeded by short commentaries on all the books of the Bible (from fol. 109^r)—as if these were meant to provide further material.²⁰

Ms. BNF lat. 2954 follows the same pattern: inclusion in the letter collection (fol. 78^r) and a handy codex (c.13 × 15 cm, 193 fols.). Its texts betray once again a strong crusade focus, encompassing a number of crusade-related letters including 1185's call: each of these is labeled as an 'exhortatio.' The codex also holds the *Passio Raginaldi*, here likewise included among the letters (fol. 183^v). Its deviating title places it, just like the *Conquestio*, in the service of counteracting postponed crusade efforts: "Contra principes qui differebant transfretare et de cruce eius [Christi]" (Against the princes who postpone the passage over the sea and about Christ's cross). Did Peter or other protagonists also distribute the *Passio* as a letter, perhaps as an extension of its original purpose? This manuscript suggests such an adaptation.²¹

Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. misc. f.14 provides extraordinary evidence: it is the only copy that contains all three of Peter's crusade treatises, while it also indicates preaching practice. The codex consists only of his texts (another part has been added later), and it has a remarkably handy size (c.8 × 12 cm, 60 fols.).²² It also comprises numerous glosses that repeat parts of the main text; these are obviously meant as an aid to orientation. Similarly, several subheadings within the *Passio* (in red ink), which only exist in this copy, structure this lengthy text, for example, "De situ terre Ierosolimitane et destructione eius" (fol. 39^r). The manuscript's early date (c.1200) makes it possible that this may even be Peter's autograph, which directly served his preaching of the Third Crusade.²³ And,

20 The question of attribution is unresolved and insignificant for my argument: other copies suggest a Cistercian origin (Ms. Troyes 959, fols. 31^r–63^r; Troyes 854, fols. 1^r–53^v; Dijon 109). However, I did not consult these codices; the first also contains Alan of Lille's *Contra haereticos* (fols. 3^r–30^v).

21 Both crusade treatises identify themselves as *epistola* (Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 46; *Conquestio*, 84). On the manuscript, see also Robert B.C. Huygens, "Einleitung," in: *Petri Blesensis Tractatus Dvo*, CCCM 194 (Turnhout 2002), 10.

22 The relevant part: 60 fols.; altogether 93 fols. The order is: *Dialogus* (fols. 1^r–15^v); *Conquestio* (fols. 15^v–27^v); *Passio Raginaldi* (fols. 27^v–60^r). On the manuscript, see also Huygens, "Einleitung," 8–9; Richard W. Southern, "Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade," in: *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting (London 1985), 208.

23 Huygens noted that several passages of the *Conquestio* are missing in this manuscript; he

just like in the case of Ms. BL Arundel 322, a generous font size makes it possible to place this book before the preacher when delivering a sermon.

In conclusion, the *Conquestio* presents itself with two different purposes: on the one hand, the labeling as a letter; on the other, the absence of a specific paratext in the Oxford copy, while including it among Peter's other crusade treatises, which are clearly related to recruiting and preaching. In agreement, Ms. BNF lat. 2954 identifies the *Conquestio* as a sermon—despite including it among the letters: “Exhortatio ad subsidium terre sancte, et lamentationes et fletus ad bona opera,” an exhortation to come to the help of the Holy Land (fol. 78^r). The work represents, therefore, sermon material sent to several addressees, in order to promote crusade recruitment. Its title in some copies indicates the specific point in time when these efforts unfolded: “Conquestio super nimia dilatione itineris Ierosolimis” or “Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane” (The lament about delaying the voyage to Jerusalem). Just like Henry of Albano's treatise, this text reacted to the delays and internal Christian conflicts that obstructed the crusade endeavor as the year 1188 advanced. Peter used the medium of the letter to encourage mobilization after the great preaching tours and events: the erudite master provided others with material that is rhetorically elaborate and exegetically sound. The *Conquestio* thus provides evidence for how such a text's purpose, and hence its media transmission, may have developed. The institutional contexts (even though the exact origins of these codices are unclear) seem to agree with Peter's sermons, pointing on the one hand to Canterbury, especially the copy from Lambeth Palace, and on the other to Paris, where his treatise was likewise circulating (with further copies besides the example discussed, for example, Ms. BNF lat. 2605).

The next case remains within the institutional context of the archbishopric of Canterbury: Ms. Lambeth Palace 144 is likely the earliest copy of Peter's reform treatise, the *Compendium in Iob*. Several factors suggest that it may even have been his working copy: the codex seems to date to the 12th century;²⁴ an

concluded that a scribe eliminated these from an original version (Huygens, “Einleitung,” 9). However, due to the codex's early date and its idiosyncratic media context, I suspect that the process was the other way round: this was Peter's early version. This is corroborated when considering the missing passages; these focus on (a) the virtue of poverty and (b) place the text in the historical context of autumn 1188, that is, the delay of crusade preparations (see Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 94). The fact that the latter is absent from the early version indicates that the *Conquestio* originated already earlier in 1188, after Peter became aware of Jerusalem's loss—he adapted the text then into a letter, adding the note about the occasion. This agrees with the extended focus on poverty, since the delayed (and then failing) crusade efforts pushed moral reform to the fore.

24 The date requires discussion: the catalogue also notes a date in the 14th century; this,

authorial attribution is absent; the work's prologue is missing, while all other manuscripts include it; and throughout the text, one finds glosses with textual elements that are otherwise part of the main text (in both the PL and other copies). This codex sheds light on the work's genesis: it needs to be placed at the top of a stemma, whereas the version circulating already included all these glosses in the main text.²⁵ Peter's *Compendium* can be aligned with the reform movement, and it is telling that the same codex contains Gregory the Great's *Liber pastoralis* (from fol. 1^r), an essential cornerstone of this movement. Similarly, the treatise *Summa qui bene presunt* by Richard of Wetheringsett (from fol. 35^r) is not only evidence for reform efforts, but also an essential milestone in putting these into practice via preaching activities.²⁶ The explanation of *peccatis nostris exigentibus* refocused attention on moral reform; this was vitally fueled at the time thanks to recurring failure in the Holy Land. We might assume that this codex was solely concerned with reform efforts (the *Compendium* dates to the late 1170s), were it not for the fact that it contains another significant and hitherto unnoticed text. Immediately after the *Compendium*, one finds the "Certa relatio de situ Ierusalem" (fol. 117^r), which I only found in this manuscript. It offers not only a description of the Holy Land's places, but also broaches the event of 1187, referring to the losses of both the Cross and Jerusalem (especially fol. 118^v). It is possible that Peter authored it, drawing on his experiences during the Third Crusade—at least, it seems to belong to the Canterbury circle, the codex's institutional setting.²⁷ The inclusion of this treatise demonstrates that one needs to place the codex's reform-oriented texts within the situation after 1187, probably the ongoing efforts after the Third Crusade's

however, seems to refer to the part beginning with fol. 121^r (clearly separated from the former part; fol. 120^{r-v} is blank, and the two hands are fundamentally different). In the pertinent part (fols. 1^r–119^v), the latest texts come from Innocent III (*De misera humane conditionis*, mid-1190s) and Richard of Wetheringsett (*Summa qui bene presunt*) who is usually located in the early 13th century (see Joseph Ward Goering, *William de Montibus* (c.1140–1213): *The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto 1992), 87; Franco Morenzoni, *Des écoles aux paroisses. Thomas de Chobham et la promotion de la prédication au début du XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1995), 178–182). Thus, the pertinent part may date to the early 13th century, but it seems to represent a copy faithful to an original.

25 Only one other copy betrays parallels: Ms. Paris, Mazarine 677. It also lacks the prologue and contains the same glosses; it has obviously been copied from the Canterbury codex—but the Parisian copy offers additional passages at the end of the work (which I have not investigated). This codex's dating in the 13th century provides a *terminus ante quem* for dating the Canterbury codex.

26 See Goering, *William de Montibus*, 86–91.

27 *In principio* does not deliver further hits for the text. It is penned in a generic form, often formulating in the passive mode, instead of a pilgrim's personal vantage point.

failure. There is thus a logic as to why these texts are combined: the state of the Holy Land represented cause and incentive for these reform efforts; the media context points directly to the historical context of its composition. The existence of this archaeological artefact can be explained by specific interests that occupied the Canterbury circle at the time, interests that were closely aligned with crusading.²⁸

The Angevin context is also pertinent to the next example: the chapter on the Holy Land discussed Ralph Ardens' *In exaltatione sancte crucis* (*De tempore, Sermo 36*) and the chapter on the Cross relic one of his sermons *In festo omnium sanctorum* (*De tempore, Sermo 41*). The first delivers an exegesis of John 12:31–32, a tandem of two verses that evokes the impending Last Judgment and calls the audience to swarm to Jerusalem, the Judgment's venue, while demanding they follow Christ's example (for example, via 1 Pet. 2:21). It outlines repeatedly a *via* that should lead the audience to the *lumen*, a motif naturally located in the East, in order to become *fili lucis*. The second sermon develops an exegesis for Rev. 7:2–4, an equivalent of Ez. 9:4 (which is also cited in the text); it calls on the listeners to sign themselves with the *signum crucis* (Ralph also speaks of the *signati*). He embeds this discussion in a salvific topography, underlining a salutary East, and including several allusions to crusading such as the hint at the existence of Christians beyond the Latin orbit. He also emphasizes that they must assist God in holding Judgment, a deeply apocalyptic idea. The two sermons thus share a number of themes—albeit their motifs and biblical references vary: these are two complementary texts within the same spectrum of ideas. How do they appear in their media context? Three manuscripts are pertinent, belonging to two different contexts:

Ms. Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 2786 is by far the earliest copy of Ralph's sermons (13th cen.), and it consists solely of his collection. Only a few folios separate the two texts, and both are entitled by their opening verses: "Secundum Iohannem" (*Sermo 36*, fol. 77^r) and "Iohannis apostoli, omnium sanctorum" (*Sermo 41*, fol. 80^v). Such titles are common throughout the codex, which is organized according to the liturgical calendar and agrees overall with the order in the PL.²⁹ This is a typical Parisian manuscript: handy size (c.12 × 20 cm, 104

28 An interesting comparison is provided by Ms. Oxford, Bodley 409, where the *Compendium in Iob* is combined with Alan of Lille's *Ars praedicandi* and sermon texts of several authors including Innocent III. Subsequent to Alan's treatise, one finds model sermons different from the usual texts *ad status*, including his third sermon *De sancta cruce* (fol. 148^v). See the chapter on the Cross relic.

29 The manuscript also contains the examined texts of *Pars (I), Section 2, Sermo 23* (fol. 53^r) and *Sermo 48* (fol. 67^r).

fol.) and an incomplete table of contents at the outset, including the incipit of each sermon as an aid to orientation. Similarly, the lack of authorial attribution indicates the material's practical nature. It also shows signs of wear: several pages have been ripped out, mostly corresponding to a particular text—as if a preacher used these pages to deliver a sermon.³⁰

The two copies Ms. Oxford, Lincoln College 112 and Lincoln College 116 reveal another context; the two are broadly identical in both contents and composition: one was likely copied from the other. Both are part of the phenomenon that all copies of Ralph's collection—save for the Parisian codex discussed—belong to late medieval England (late 14th to late 15th cen.), in particular four copies from Oxford.³¹ Comparing these two with the Parisian codex, one can conclude that the original composition has been maintained. The two Lincoln College manuscripts are of little interest in codicological terms, being large-sized and probably aimed at preservation, perhaps for the purposes of studying at the university. However, their composition is noteworthy: both contain Ralph's prologue at the outset that indicates the collection's historical context as well as the impetus of popular preaching.³² And in both copies, *Sermo 41* immediately follows *Sermo 36* (unlike in the PL): first, *Sermo 36* entitled "In festo exaltationis sancte crucis ewangelium secundum Iohannem xii" (Lincoln 112: fol. 108^v; see also Lincoln 116: fol. 195^r); and then *Sermo 41* entitled "In die omnium sanctorum epistola Apocalypsis vii" (Lincoln 112: fol. 112^v; see also Lincoln 116: fol. 202^r). The sequence is indebted to the liturgical calendar, but it also agrees very well with their contents, since the two harmonize so perfectly. Ralph drafted two sermons with varying nuances, but belonging to the same spectrum of ideas. One could thus have preached the two to the same audience without being repetitive—and both show high crusade potential. Like with Peter of Blois, the codices indicate two different contexts stemming from the preacher's biography: on the one hand, the codex in Paris where Ralph was a master and whose media setting demonstrates the vivid Parisian milieu; on

30 This is the case at: fols. 67^v–68^r, 71^v–72^r, 79^v–80^r, 99^v–100^r; discussed by Ronald James Stansbury, "A Preliminary Manuscript Catalogue of the Sermon Collection by Ralph Ardent," *Studi Medievali* 42 (2001), 879. On the manuscript, see also Stansbury, *Preaching before the Friars: The Sermons of Ralph Ardent (c.1130–c.1215)* (PhD thesis, Ohio State University 2001), 121–123.

31 On all these codices, see Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 124–143; Stansbury, "Manuscript," 875–895. Lincoln 112 also contains the examined texts of *Pars (I)*, *Section 2*, *Sermo 23* (fol. 66^v); *Sermo 48* (fol. 82^r); and *Pars (II)*, *De tempore*, *Sermo 18* (fol. 95^r); *Sermo 19* (fol. 95^v). And Lincoln 116: *Pars (I)*, *Section 2*, *Sermo 23* (fol. 121^r); *Sermo 48* (fol. 148^r); and *Pars (II)*, *De tempore*, *Sermo 18* (fol. 171^v); *Sermo 19* (fol. 172^v).

32 See the chapter on immediate context.

the other, the Oxford group which likely stems from an earlier, now lost copy. Both are thus entangled with the institutional context of the university, yet embedded in different spatial and historical contexts, once more evidence for the material's vivid nature and use.

2 From Clairvaux to Paris

The example of Garnerius of Clairvaux leads into a different setting: he represents a Cistercian well integrated into the monastic milieu, yet his works' media contexts shed light on the entanglement of university and monastery. The existence and broad transmission of a collection of *Distinctiones* from his pen is significant evidence for this; but first, an example from his sermon collection is worth considering. The chapter on the Holy Land examined his *Sermo* 28 ascribed to the Assumption of Mary (15 Aug.), which survived in two copies from Clairvaux. Ms. Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 1301 offers the same attribution: "Item in assumptione, sermo 11" (fol. 98^r); whereas Ms. Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 970 lacks a title (space is left blank, fol. 62^v). However, the feast does not seem essential when considering its contents: Mary is only discussed in one paragraph regarding the wordplay of *virgo* and *virga*.³³ The text's preeminent concern is the Exodus from Egypt facilitated by Moses' *virga*, which divides the sea and paves thus the way to the Holy Land (opening with Ex. 14:16). As is common, Garnerius identifies the *virga* with the cross, pointing multiple times to its localization in the Holy Land; he also emphasizes its materiality, and connects it with the eschatological vision of John 12:31 (a parallel with Ralph). These are all strong indications of the specific Cross relic, while he understands the Exodus as a typological *exemplum* for contemporary events in the Holy Land. The two manuscripts in which *Sermo* 28 appears belong to the same institutional context, that is, Clairvaux, and date around the same time (early 13th cen.). They are of minor interest in codicological terms, being large-sized (both c.20 × 25 cm) and primarily meant for preservation. Practice-related indications are largely absent; this suggests another mode of production dependent on a monastic scriptorium. Yet, both copies' composition and contents suggest entanglement with matters beyond the abbey's walls: the two were likely copied from an original closer to practice. Troyes 970 in particular

33 Notably, Urban II originally planned the First Crusade's departure for this feast day (see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia 1986), 49).

must stem from another copy due to its largely incomplete state, for example, sermons' titles are often missing, but this cannot have been Troyes 1301: their composition is vastly different.

Ms. Troyes 970 only contains some sermons from Garnerius' collection; overall it is in an incomplete and unpolished state. *Sermo 28* forms the collection's last text, ending abruptly after a few lines (fol. 62^v).³⁴ An unidentified text in a different but contemporary hand follows thereafter (from fol. 63^r): a quick peek reveals significant parallels with *Sermo 28*; the unidentified text is concerned with Ex. 12 at its outset. As the chapter on the Holy Land discussed, this is an important reference in the Third Crusade's preaching. This juxtaposition in the manuscript evidence is thus expressive, and we have already encountered such a pattern: in Ms. BL Arundel 322, Peter of Blois' *Sermo 39* ended some lines before its actual conclusion and was succeeded by a text that reveals parallels with the sermon and hence offers further material. Yet, the incomplete state of Ms. Troyes 970 meant that this purpose was only rudimentarily achieved.

Ms. Troyes 1301 offers an extensive collection of Garnerius' sermons, complemented by his treatise *Contra Amaurianos*, which is intriguingly placed in between the sermons (fols. 141^r–154^r).³⁵ The codex consists of his works only: content, titles, and order broadly agree with the PL. Yet, one finds eight sermons, including one *Contra Iudaeos*, that are absent from the PL; this suggests that the PL's version stems from another copy (it contains sermons that do not exist in any of the two surviving manuscripts). *Sermo 28* is embedded in the liturgical calendar (fol. 98^r), succeeded by a sermon on Bernard of Clairvaux's feast.³⁶ The combination with *Contra Amaurianos* is expressive: this text addresses the heretical group of the Amalricians. Its setting in the midst of the sermon collection indicates that the treatise was also meant as preaching material and that the codex was not intended for intra-monastic purposes. The treatise is succeeded by his *Sermo 19* (separated by a simple line break), an Easter sermon that has been discussed in this study and certainly holds high crusade potential. The sermon drafts a strongly militant vision and presents the loss of the Ark as an *exemplum* to the audience "for resisting the enemies"

34 The manuscript also contains the examined texts of *Sermo 4* (fol. 8^v) and *Sermo 37* (fol. 34^v).

35 On the manuscript, see Paolo Lucentini, "Introduzione," in: Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Contra Amavrianos*, CCCM 232 (Turnhout 2010), v–vi; Clemens Baeumker, "Einleitung," in: Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Contra Amaurianos* (Münster 1926), ix–xvi.

36 Likewise comprised are the *Sermo 4* (fol. 11^v); 17 (fol. 138^v); 18 (fol. 67^v); 19 (fol. 154^r); 31 (fol. 125^r); and 37 (fol. 116^r).

(*exemplo nostris hostibus viriliter resistamus*)—the loss of the Cross relic suggests itself.³⁷ Unlike the rest of the collection, it is deprived of its place in the liturgical calendar, in order to be aligned with the treatise, whereas the corresponding place in the collection (fol. 71^v) offers another piece on Easter absent from the PL.

While the media context of Garnerius' sermons is largely indebted to a classic monastic production, their contents reveal extra-monastic activities; and as we know, he was involved in such. This makes it likely that the surviving manuscripts stem from a non-monastic specimen. As has already been seen with other examples, the media context can help in anchoring an author's activities in the historical context. Garnerius' collection of *Distinctiones* allows us to do the same: it shows that he was not only involved in a historical context beyond the monastery (the crusade), but also in another institutional context, the university. The *distinctiones* have been transmitted broadly, a fact that demonstrates how useful and widely disseminated this work was.³⁸ This study has already reviewed the question of attribution: two early manuscripts from Clairvaux identify Garnerius as the author, and many copies come from Cistercian monasteries.³⁹ However, many preserve it in anonymous form, a fact that indicates its practical nature. Other parameters encourage this, thus relating the work more to Parisian practices than to monastic ones: many copies have a handy size (such as Ms. Oxford, Laud Misc. 504; Oxford, Merton College 200; BNF lat. 588; Troyes 1697), and many consist only of the collection (such as Ms. BNF lat. 599; Troyes 32; Troyes 539; Troyes 392). These codicological patterns are likewise observable in other preaching aids such as Alan of Lille's *Ars praedicatorum* or Peter the Chanter's *Distinctiones*.⁴⁰ The exceptions are the six copies

37 Garnerius of Clairvaux, *Sermo 19*, 697. See the similar argument in: Hélinand of Froidmont, *Sermo 10*, 566. See the chapter on the Cross relic.

38 See Kuhry, "Dictionnaires," 335–337, listing 53 copies, 13 of them early (late 12th to early 13th cen.), among these, at least four seem to have originated outside of Cistercian monasteries.

39 See the chapter on immediate context. I thus disagree with: Kuhry, "Dictionnaires," 323–326; and Tuija Ainonen, "Making New from Old: Distinction Collections and Textual Communities at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century," in: *From Learning to Love*, ed. Tristan Sharp (Toronto 2017), 51–53. Both discussed the fact that the two copies naming Garnerius contain additional material, primarily from Peter the Chanter's *Distinctiones*. Both argued thus that Garnerius was the editor of these two codices but not necessarily the work's author. However, I do not see why one should doubt his authorship.

40 For Alan see, e.g., Ms. BL Add 10393 (likely the earliest copy of the *Ars*, late 12th cen.) or Ms. BNF NAL 335. For Peter see, e.g., Ms. BL Royal 10 A xv1 or Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2787. On further copies, see Barney, "Introduction," 132–134, 220–222, listing 14 codices in Paris (today); ten seem to have originally come from Paris. Twelve of the 14 date early (late 12th

from Clairvaux itself: even though these contain often only Garnerius' collection, many of them are large-sized, for example, Ms. Troyes 392 (c.35 × 25 cm). They betray a media context dependent on monastic production and likely meant for internal monastic use (reading, exegesis, but also preaching).⁴¹ Ms. Troyes 392 contains a note saying that Garnerius himself presented it to the monastery in 1220 (fol. 169^r); this was obviously not his personal copy meant for practical implementation, but a luxurious copy meant as a gift.⁴²

The codicological evidence thus reveals two different purposes: the copies from Clairvaux seem to belong to an intra-monastic arena, whereas the non-monastic manuscripts reveal strong resemblances with the Parisian production of such materials. The latter are thus entangled with a more dynamic practice. Considering their places of origin and institutional contexts corroborates the work's double purpose, since one finds some early copies beyond Clairvaux. This includes Ms. BNF lat. 588 dating to around 1200 and coming from Saint-Nicolas d'Herminiers, a Premonstratensian abbey near Paris, or Ms. Oxford, Merton College 200 dating to the early 13th century and, as a dedication shows, belonging to the early university milieu in Oxford.⁴³ Garnerius' work circulated early. Ms. BNF lat. 588 combines the *distinctiones* (here anonymous) with the texts of John's Revelation (from fol. 49^r) as well as some of Paul's letters (from fol. 87^r), including commentary on them in the form of the *Glossa ordinaria*.

to early 13th cen.). For other examples, see Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 2:671, 676; Jean Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris 1983), 141.

- 41 See, e.g., Kwakkel and Thomson, "Codicology," 14, asserting clear correlations between genre and a codex's size (but without considering sermons).
- 42 He commissioned the manuscript's illumination in Paris by the same artists who produced the first *Bibles moralisées* (see Patricia Danz Stirnemann, "Some Champenois Vernacular Manuscripts and the Manerius Style of Illumination," in: *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. Keith Busby (Amsterdam 1993), 1:206). See also Kuhry, "Dictionnaires," 323–326, 336; Barney, "Introduction," 252–255. Garnerius also gave a Bible codex to Clairvaux on this occasion: Ms. Troyes 577, fol. 326^v, where the dedication is noted. See André Vernet, *La bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle: manuscrits bibliques, patristiques et théologiques* (Paris 1997), 2:66–67.
- 43 On the first, see Kuhry, "Dictionnaires," 336; Anne Bondéelle-Souchier, *Bibliothèques de l'Ordre de Prémontré dans la France d'ancien régime: répertoire des abbayes* (Paris 2000), 1:154. On the second, see Barney, "Introduction," 175–176; Rodney Malcolm Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Merton College, Oxford: With a Description of the Greek Manuscripts* (Woodbridge 2009), 144. Noteworthy is also Ms. Lisbon, Alcobaca 410, coming from a Portuguese Cistercian monastery and dating to the early 13th century (see Barney, "Introduction," 123–126). On Premonstratensian involvement in the Third Crusade, see Stephen Bennett, *Elite Participation in the Third Crusade* (Woodbridge 2021), 36–38. The reader may recall that Ralph Ardens joined this order at some point (see Stansbury, *Before the Friars*, 98–101).

The combination that it offers thus moves in the other direction: from preaching aid to exegesis (a similar ensemble was visible in Ms. Lambeth Palace 421). Nonetheless, the *distinctiones* blend with preaching practice: at the collection's conclusion, separated by a simple line break, one finds an "Oratio ante predicationem dicens devote" (fol. 48^v), a prayer meant to precede preaching. The copy's early date is significant and may suggest a distribution from Paris; the example also shows how flexibly recipients used such a work. Another noteworthy specimen is Ms. Troyes 868, which combines the *distinctiones* with two sermon collections, those of Aelred of Rievaulx and Gilbert of Hoyland, two Cistercian colleagues. Dating to the late 12th century, it is the earliest copy (but incomplete).⁴⁴ It is possible that this was Garnerius' editorial work or composed under his patronage as abbot of Clairvaux. The combination of sermon collection and preaching aid as well as the inclusion of several preachers, exceptional for the monastic context, reveals clear resemblances with the Parisian production of such materials. The Cistercian apparently attempted to implement the Parisian methods in the monastic context, likely to provide his monks with preaching material (just as Henry of Albano did with his work). It would be worth investigating if the sermons of Aelred and Gilbert deliver crusade-fit texts—a task that I leave to other scholars.

3 The Epicenter of Paris and Its Emanation

The chapter on Jerusalem examined one of Prevostin of Cremona's sermons *In adventu domini*, which drafts meaningful connections between the different senses of Scripture. He emphasizes twice that Christ approached the heavenly Jerusalem *temporaliter* (reference is to Lk. 19:41 and Palm Sunday), an argument that engenders a concurrence between earthly and heavenly city. He concludes that Jerusalem now lies in ruins (a parallel with Peter of Blois and Gerald of Wales): this strongly indicates the events of 1187. Furthermore, the sermon underlines a blending of Corpus Christi and Holy Land (specifically the Mount of Olives), ending with the example of martyrs who received their palm branches in Jerusalem—the audience should follow suit. I only found this piece in one manuscript, Ms. BLAdd 18335; it contains a collection of Prevostin's

44 On the codex, see Kuhry, "Dictionnaires," 324–325, 336; Vernet, *Bibliothèque*, 2:533–535. Similar is Ms. Oxford, Laud Misc. 504, where Garnerius' collection is combined with sermons of Hugh of Saint Cher and Nicolas Byard (both 13th cen.): his collection was still considered a useful tool. Similar in Ms. Troyes 1697, where the *Distinctiones* are combined with an anonymous *Summa de vitiis*.

sermons that has not received any scholarly attention; its texts are entirely unpublished. The sermon appears therein with the title “De adventu domini” (fol. 11^r), embedded in other sermons that form a smorgasbord rather than a clear liturgical organization. The codex is divided in three parts, all penned by the same hand, consequently representing a purposeful composition. The text at stake belongs to the first part, a collection of 19 sermons, which is preceded by a prologue entitled “Sermones Prepositini accessus ad populum” (fol. 2^v), indicating that these materials were intended for popular preaching.⁴⁵ The prologue declares the goal of preaching against *idolatria* and *impüi*, related to an eschatological vision: the purpose of crusading surfaces thus significantly. Since the prologue represents a paratext, this suggests that this purpose was essential for the entire codex.⁴⁶ Whereas the relevant sermon focuses on Jerusalem, one finds some folios later another pertinent text with the title “Miraculum de sancta cruce” (fol. 24^r); it belongs to the genre *De sancta cruce*, which developed as a result of scrutinizing the relic’s loss.

The manuscript’s second part comprises Prevostin’s treatise *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (fols. 26^r–65^v), a work devoted to expounding the meaning of liturgical feasts, for example, Palm Sunday: a strong entanglement with preaching practice. The inclusion of *De officiis* thus mirrors the combination with *distinctiones* in other manuscripts; and Jessalynn Bird argued that such treatises were resources for crusade preachers.⁴⁷ The codex’s third part offers further sermons (14 pieces, from fol. 66^r), including three entitled “Quando volueris” (Whenever you want), three texts figuring as ultimate preaching models (fols. 81^v; 82^v; 84^v).

45 On the manuscript, see Georges Lacombe, *La vie et les oeuvres de Prévostin* (Kain 1927), 183–184. The prologue is also present in: Ms. Paris, Arsenal 543, fol. 235^r; Ms. Salzburg, St. Peter VI 32, fol. 51^r.

46 See the chapter on immediate context. The prologue of Martin’s collection likewise betrays the purpose of crusade preaching (Martin of León, *Liber sermonum, Prologus*, 31–32 and Ms. León, San Isidoro 11/1, fols. 1^r–2^r).

47 Jessalynn L. Bird, “The Victorines, Peter the Chanter’s Circle, and the Crusade: Two Unpublished Crusading Appeals in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Latin 14470,” *Medieval Sermon Studies* 48 (2004), 13; Bird, “Rogations, Litanies, and Crusade Preaching: The Liturgical Front in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries,” in: *Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations*, ed. Bird (Amsterdam 2018), 156; see also Longère, *Prédication*, 242–243. On Prevostin’s treatise, see Lacombe, *Prevostin*, 73–103. It survived in two further copies: Ms. BL Add 18325 and Ms. Salzburg, St. Peter VI 32. The first also contains several of Alan of Lille’s works including the *Ars praedicandi*. The latter also comprises sermons by Prevostin (fols. 51^r–62^v), thus offering the same combination as the copy investigated, partly with the same sermons, but none of those pertinent to this study. Lacombe asserted that both codices contain sermons dating before 1198 (Lacombe, *Prevostin*, 185–188, 199–200).

The first among these displays bold militant notes, using Eph. 6 and Job 7:1; it could well have served for crusade-related preaching. The codex's physical form corroborates a practical purpose: a handy size (c.12 × 18 cm, 167 fols.) and a composition clearly devoted to preaching activities. Yet, we do not know much about its (institutional) origins: neither the library catalogue nor the codex itself provide any information.⁴⁸ The fact that this specific composition only survived here makes it possible that Prevostin himself drafted it (in which case, this would be a faithful 13th-century copy).

The last example is represented by Alan of Lille, an eminent master, whose sermons are those with the broadest transmission among the authors investigated. As the chapter on immediate context delineated, one may divide them into three groups. The following two examples come from the largest group, whose transmission is most complex and multifarious, and it reveals a dynamic practice most compellingly. The chapter on the Cross relic discussed *inter alia* the text published in the PL and here always cited as “De sancta cruce (1).” It develops an argument about the Cross relic (and not only the cross generically, as discussed), departing from Cant. 7:9 and underlining the relic's materiality. It needs to be placed in the context after 1187, even though it does not broach the loss explicitly—unlike one of Alan's other Holy Cross sermons. As already seen with other examples, one observes complementary material that avoids being redundant.⁴⁹ The chapter on the Holy Land investigated his sermon with the incipit “O fugite de terra aquilonis,” which drafts an elaborate salvific topography, including the sea as a milestone. This text tackles requisite movements within this landscape, especially escaping the evil North, a call stemming from Zach. 2:10. It evokes the events of 1187 when asserting that they were cast out of Jerusalem because of their sins, just as it broaches the hardships of the Jerusalem pilgrimage. Both sermons survived in a number of copies, among them four that hold both:

Ms. Paris, Sainte-Geneviève 2787 is a codex we have encountered already with Peter of Blois, an essential testimony of Parisian preaching activities in the late 12th century. It indicates a hitherto unknown relationship between Peter and Alan. Since this conjunction exists only in this codex, it likely stems from a personal relationship, belonging to a specific context or occasion. Considering the contents of relevant sermons (and further material may be waiting in this vast collection), this was cooperation in the course of the Third Crusade: several texts either broach the events of 1187 explicitly or seem fundamentally

48 'British Library: Catalogue Archives and Manuscripts'; see the bibliography.

49 The other is: Alan of Lille, *De cruce domini*, ed. d'Alverny, 279–283.

informed by their shadow. The codex thus betrays a specific historical context: its sermons offer a reaction to these devastating events, that is, material related to crusade mobilization. Alan's sermon on the cross is therein entitled "In parasceve," that is, Good Friday (fol. 147^r), preceded by a similar sermon from Peter's pen (fol. 145^v, his *Sermo* 17).⁵⁰ The deviating title offers the same focus as "De sancta cruce," but, instead of the extraordinary genre, it applies a common liturgical label. The sermon on escaping the North bears the title "Sermo communis" (fol. 222^r), an expressive indication that it was meant for a broad audience; this agrees with its crusade focus.⁵¹ The manuscript contains further texts envisaging such a broad audience (or perhaps recording it in the form of a *reportatio*), among them a sermon "De communi exhortatione" (fol. 207^r) that deals with the destruction of Gaza and Ascalon.⁵²

Ms. Paris, BNF lat. 14859 is another example of Parisian preaching activities in the late 12th century. It also comprises sermons by Prevostin of Cremona (a combination of the two authors exists in several manuscripts). It represents a typical polygraphic collection of the Parisian milieu, likely even *reportationes*, but the composition suggests that these materials were prepared for future use.⁵³ Alan's sermon on the cross is entitled "In resurrectione dominica" (fol. 230^r), in functional agreement with the former copy.⁵⁴ The sequence in which it appears is illuminating: immediately after follows a Palm Sunday sermon by Stephen Langton (fol. 231^r), which Jessalynn Bird assessed as having high crusade potential.⁵⁵ Thereafter comes the well-known anti-heretical sermon (fol. 233^r) that Alan heard in southern France, as its elaborate title records. It is characterized both here and in the table of contents (fol. 178^r) as "communis," just like many other sermons in the collection.⁵⁶ A few folios

50 Peter's sermon is also crusade-related; see the chapter on the Cross relic.

51 The codex also contains several texts from his *Liber sermonum* such as a strongly militant sermon *De omnibus sanctis* (fol. 187^r), which shows crusade potential (yet, it is a generic model by nature): it broaches the Cross relic (*vexillum christiane religionis*) and cites Deut. 32:30. For other copies, see, e.g., Ms. BL Add 19767, fol. 97^r; Ms. BNF NAL 335, fol. 118^r.

52 According to *In principio*, this sermon exists only here.

53 See d'Alverny, *Textes*, 121–122; Phyllis Barzillay Roberts, *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto 1968), 58. A highly pertinent sermon by Prevostin (fol. 215^{r-v}) that discusses the events of 1187 has been considered on more than one occasion in this study. See the chapter on exemplary descriptions for the full text.

54 It is here attributed to Peter of Poitiers, an attribution clearly refuted by the other copies. Or did Peter use one of Alan's sermons that a listener recorded as a *reportatio*? Such a scenario is likewise possible.

55 Jessalynn L. Bird, "Preaching the Crusades and the Liturgical Year: The Palm Sunday Sermons," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 30 (2014), 23.

56 See d'Alverny, *Textes*, 14–15; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Preaching the Cross: Liturgy and Cru-

later, one finds his piece on escaping the North, here as “Item sermo magistri alanis sumptus ex ezechiël” (fol. 238^v), to which the collection’s table of contents adds the attribute of “communis” (fol. 178^r). Alan’s militant sermon on Job 7:1 appears slightly before (fol. 235^r); and the surrounding texts offer further sermons entitled *Ad populum* (for example, fol. 236^r) or *Sermo communis* (for example, fol. 251^v). A broad audience is envisaged—a parallel with the previous codex.⁵⁷ As a result, five crusade-related sermons gather here within eight folios (fols. 230^r–238^v): this is a noteworthy cluster of crusade materials. At the same time, the material avoids being redundant, an already familiar strategy: one sermon focuses on the cross, another on sacred topography, and another on militant imagery (the one on Job 7:1). These texts deliver different materials within the same spectrum of ideas, and the brace holding this spectrum together is clearly identifiable as the crusade.

The codex consists of two parts that were assembled later; the first is not relevant (Augustine’s commentary on Genesis); both bear the mark of ownership of Saint-Victor in Paris, its institutional setting. Bird demonstrated how important the abbey was for the production of crusade-related materials. It interacted closely with the city’s other institutions.⁵⁸ The relevant corpus offers further manuscripts from Saint-Victor—even though their authors were not canons of the abbey.⁵⁹ The codex in question betrays proximity to practice via its handy size (c.15 × 22 cm, 162 fols.) and an unsteady script.⁶⁰ It also offers numerous aids to usability and orientation, beginning with a short introduction listing its authors. The same page presents an extensive table of contents (fol. 178^r) cataloguing 75 sermons including title, number, and short incipit. Title and number are also found at the sermons themselves, often repeated in the form of a gloss, to procure visibility, and meant for quickly finding the texts listed in

sade Propaganda,” in: *Preaching and Political Society*, ed. Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout 2013), 23–25.

57 The sermon on Job 7:1 is also entitled “communis” in the table of contents.

58 See Bird, “Victorines,” 5–28; Bird, *Heresy, Crusade and Reform in the Circle of Peter the Chanter, c.1187–c.1240* (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 2001), 13–14, 121. On manuscript production in Saint-Victor, see also Richard Hunter Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Illitterati et uxorati: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (London 2000), 1:26–27.

59 See, e.g., Ms. BNF lat. 14591 (Hélinand); BNF lat. 14804 (Prevostin); BNF lat. 14937 (Maurice of Sully). The role of Victorine preachers in the late 12th century is still in need of investigation, for example, many of the authors in Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2787 are Victorines—even though this codex does not seem to come from Saint-Victor.

60 The relevant part: 162 fols.; altogether 339 fols. On the manuscript, see also d’Alverny, *Textes*, 121–122; Gilbert Ouy, *Les Manuscrits de l’abbaye de Saint-Victor: catalogue établi sur la base du répertoire de Claude de Grandrue (1514)* (Turnhout 1999), 2:388.

the table of contents (a parallel with Ms. Sainte-Geneviève 2787). The table is succeeded by a short collection of *distinctiones* (fols. 178^v–187^v) and a treatise (fols. 188^r–205^r) attributed partly to Hugh and partly to Richard of Saint-Victor, which fuses into the sermon collection (simple line break; from fol. 205^r). As already visible with other examples, such combinations are expressive. This codex thus unites several aspects examined in this chapter, while being permeated by crusade-related materials (which may be complemented in future beyond the texts identified here).

Ms. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale 219 leads into a different setting; it was composed in 1214 in the monastery of Cîteaux, as a note at the beginning reveals (fol. 2^v; see also fols. 4^r; 93^r).⁶¹ It evidences Alan's relationship with the Cistercians (whom he joined shortly before his death), but also entanglement with Parisian preaching practice and other matters beyond the abbey. It also contains Richard of Saint-Victor's *Liber exceptionum* and a biblical commentary by Walter of Saint-Victor, thus entwining three institutional contexts: the University of Paris, Saint-Victor, and the Cistercians. As a result, one can determine a Cistercian interest in the Parisian milieu. Alan's sermon on the cross appears therein as "Item sermo eiusdem de sancta cruce" (fol. 86^r); his sermon on escaping the North a few folios before, separated by a single text, as "Item sermo magistri Alani" and complemented by the gloss "Ezechiel" (fol. 82^v). The sequence in which the sermons appear is once again expressive: the Holy Cross sermon is succeeded by a text with the title "De anticristo" (fol. 87^v), which is absent from Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny's list of Alan's sermons.⁶² This text holds high crusade potential, speaking inter alia of the armies of the Antichrist assembling in Jerusalem.⁶³ The codex offers further relevant texts such as Alan's well-known anti-heretical sermon (fol. 73^v), his militant sermon on Job 7:1 (fol. 76^r), and several sermons entitled "ad populum" (for example, fol. 78^v).⁶⁴ It

61 On the codex, see d'Alverny, *Textes*, 120–121; Yolanta Zaluska, *Manuscrits enluminés de Dijon* (Paris 1991), 181–182; Jean Châtillon, "Introduction," in: *Liber exceptionum / Richard de Saint-Victor* (Paris 1958), 16–17.

62 See d'Alverny, *Textes*, 109–140.

63 The passage reads: "[...] venit Antichristus in Ierusalem cum exercitu suo, Goth et Magoth, et arma sua arripit, et eos interficit, sicut in apochalipsi legitur [...]" (fols. 87^v–88^r)—note the present tense. The sermon's first lines are taken from: Adso of Montier-en-Der, *De Antichristo*, 1131.

64 The last sermon is also present in: Ms. BNF lat. 14932, fol. 13^r and Ms. Reims 465, fol. 131^v. Both cases represent Parisian sermon collections that contain the text in anonymous form. The first also contains a sermon by Baldwin of Canterbury and betrays, therefore, that this Cistercian was also involved in Paris; it even identifies him as a *magister* (fol. 185^r). On this manuscript, see David N. Bell, "Introduction," in: *Baldvini de Forda opera*, CCCM 99 (Turnhout 1991), x.

offers 20 sermons from his pen altogether (fols. 72^v–92^v), a smorgasbord rather than a liturgical organization.⁶⁵ The texts transmitted here usually appear in polygraphic Parisian collections (often as *reportationes*); the two previous codices were two significant examples. However, this manuscript organizes them in a monographic manner, perhaps offering a ‘Best of’ of Alan’s preaching, and the numerous notes on audiences likely document past use. Despite having been produced in the monastery, it likely stems from another copy that Alan himself brought when entering Cîteaux, a codex that was likely unsuitable for preservation because of its diligent use in the service of preaching.

Alan’s sermons are found in the midst of the manuscript, embedded in Richard of Saint-Victor’s *Liber exceptionum*, which fuses without break into Alan’s texts (fol. 72^v), before being continued at the end of the same (fol. 93^r). Richard’s opus delivers a kind of handbook for using the Bible; such was certainly a valuable preaching aid, while Alan’s texts provide ready to use sermons, including a strong crusade focus.⁶⁶ Similar to the combination with *distinctiones*, Richard’s work makes it possible to find further material; and, just like with Garnerius’ *Distinctiones*, this was an attempt to transfer Parisian methods to the monastic context.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the beginning of the codex (fols. 2^v–3^v) delivers an illuminating anchoring in the historical context; it offers an annals-like list of historical events, many of them crusade-related, including Jerusalem’s loss in 1187 (*a capta Ierusalem a sarracenis*). The manuscript conveys a historical frame to which its sermon material belongs and to which it reacts—Alan’s sermons corroborate precisely this; they demonstrate how such may have been informed by historical events.

Ms. Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale 301 contains Alan’s Holy Cross sermon without a title (fol. 93^r), but its setting within the liturgical calendar suggests that it was here intended for *In exaltatione sancte crucis* (14 Sept.).⁶⁸ Whereas

65 D’Alverny states that only nine can safely be said to come from Alan’s pen (d’Alverny, *Textes*, 120–121)—but Alan was perhaps reusing material that others had originally penned.

66 On Richard’s work, see Châtillon, “Introduction,” 7–96; Ineke van’t Spijker, “The Literal and the Spiritual. Richard of Saint-Victor and the Multiple Meaning of Scripture,” in: *The Multiple Meaning of Scripture*, ed. Spijker (Leiden 2008), 225–231; and on a similar work by Hugh of Saint-Victor: Grover A. Zinn, “Hugh of St. Victor’s *De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris* as an *accessus* Treatise for the Study of the Bible,” *Traditio* 52 (1997), 111–134. Alan’s sermons are preceded by five of Richard’s sermons (fols. 68^v–72^v); I have not considered these, but one shows a focus on Jerusalem (fol. 70^r).

67 Such transmissions towards monasteries also happened with the *Glossa*; see Lesley Janette Smith, *The “Glossa ordinaria”: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden 2009), 171.

68 See d’Alverny, *Textes*, 143; Jean Longère, “L’Écriture sainte dans les Sermones uarii d’Alain

the focus on the cross remains, the liturgical ascription differs from the copies that aligned it with Easter. Only a few folios later, one finds the piece on escaping the North, also without a title (fol. 98^v). The codex comes from the important Benedictine house of Corbie (early 13th cen.) and evidences the wide circulation of Alan's materials.⁶⁹ Just like with the Cistercians, it reveals echoes of Parisian methods: a handy size (c.14×20 cm, 113 fols.); containing solely preaching material; anonymous transmission of the texts; and a clear font in a generous size—once more a codex that could have been flipped open before the preacher. It consists of two works: Alan's *Ars praedicandi* and his sermons, another example of the significant blending of preaching aid and sermon texts—but this is not the *Liber sermonum*, which is usually aligned with the *Ars*. The fact that the treatise is combined here with sermons that appear mostly in polygraphic Parisian collections reveals in this case more proximity to practice than is usually the case with the overall generic *Liber sermonum*.⁷⁰

The four codices each contain both of Alan's sermons, thereby delivering complementary material: the one sermon focuses on the cross, the other develops a broader salvific landscape. At the same time, these codices comprise much further material devoted to the crusading purpose, therefore one can conclude that the crusade was an important subject in these media contexts—and hence in the corresponding institutional and historical contexts. It has become clear how much these manuscripts are indebted to a vivid preaching practice, and how strongly they are dedicated to offering guidance and resources for such. These dimensions have surfaced even more strongly in

de Lille," in: *Alain de Lille, le docteur universel*, ed. Jean-Luc Solère (Turnhout 2005), 450.

69 On the manuscript, see d'Alverny, *Textes*, 116–117. On other crusade texts in Corbie around 1200, see Massimiliano Gaggero, "Western Eyes on the Latin East: The Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le Trésorier and Robert of Clari's Conquête de Constantinople," in: *The French of Outremer*, ed. Laura K. Morreale and Nicholas L. Paul (New York 2018), 93–94. The broad dissemination of Alan's sermons is likewise evidenced by Ms. BL Sloane 1580, which contains another copy of the sermon *Fugite de terra aquilonis* (fol. 106^v) including some interesting variants (see the chapter on the Holy Land).

70 A similar case is Ms. BL Add 19767, a clean copy and collection of Alan's works meant for preservation, penned in the 1230s in the Bavarian monastery of Ottobeuren (see fol. 216^r). Yet, its composition is telling and perhaps based on a copy closer to practice: (a) *Ars praedicandi* (fol. 1^r) including the eight sermons *ad status*; (b) *Liber sermonum* (fol. 52^r) including the sermon *Feria 11 intrante ieiunio* (fol. 72^r), which discusses the events of 1187 and is otherwise not part of the *Liber* (see the chapter on exemplary descriptions for the full text); (c) *Contra haereticos* (fol. 99^r); and (d) Peter the Chanter's *Verbum abbreviatum*, here entitled *Viaticum tendentis Iherusalem* (fol. 153^r). On the codex, see d'Alverny, *Textes*, 114–115.

Alan's case thanks to the multifarious transmission, likely because he was the one who spent most time in Paris among the relevant authors. The media contexts also revealed connections with several institutions (the university, Saint-Victor, the Cistercians): his sermons were widely disseminated and thus put to use. Concluding the examination, the two sermons will each be considered in another copy:

Ms. BNF lat. 3818 represents another polygraphic and practice-related codex of the Parisian milieu: handy size (c.17 × 23 cm, 64 fols.); the manuscript consists solely of the collection; and all sermons are transmitted anonymously. Furthermore, it frequently offers glosses in red ink (usually several per page) that provide keywords to the main text; this delivers an excellent aid to orientation meant for finding material quickly.⁷¹ Alan's cross sermon appears therein as "Sermo de passione domini" (fol. 53^r), without authorial attribution. One also encounters his sermon on Job 7:1 (fol. 60^v),⁷² and his "Sermo de cruce domini" (fol. 41^v), that is, his second Holy Cross sermon, which explicitly discusses the events of 1187 and has been published by d'Alverny.⁷³ Juxtaposing the two sermons *De sancta cruce* makes perfect sense: they complement each other without being repetitive, a familiar pattern. The manuscript comprises further crusade-related texts, including a "Sermo de beato petro apostolo" (fol. 33^r) lamenting that Saracens and heretics are prevalent "in our times" (*temporibus nostris prevaleant, videntur enim tam sarraceni quam heretici prevalere ecclesie dei*) (fol. 34^v).⁷⁴ The codex has 43 sermons altogether, of which only Alan's two pieces on the cross have been published. The rest also poses the question of attribution: I could only attribute one to Prevostin of Cremona thanks to another manuscript. Nothing seems to be known about the codex's origins, yet the early date (early 13th cen.) suggests that it was assembled either by Alan himself or someone close to him.⁷⁵ Whereas I considered only some of its texts,

71 See also Ms. BNF lat. 18172; this polygraphic collection comprises inter alia sermons by Alan and Prevostin; it comes from Notre-Dame in Paris (early 13th cen.) and also offers glosses with keywords to the main text.

72 A gloss betrays that the text encompasses more than spiritual warfare: "de diversis bellorum generibus" (fol. 61^v).

73 The sequence of sermons is once again noteworthy: a piece on *De sancto michael* follows (fol. 43^r), which drafts a bold militant and eschatological vision, while having a holistic understanding of warfare that encompasses both the spiritual and physical (corresponding gloss: "de triplici bello et triplici bellatore"). According to *In principio*, this is the only surviving copy of the sermon.

74 The same passage notes as a gloss *de diversis portis* identifying the heretics as *porte inferni*. On the motif of the gates, see the chapter on Jerusalem. According to *In principio*, this is the only copy.

75 On the manuscript, see d'Alverny, *Textes*, 123, who asserts a Parisian origin (paleographical indications).

it certainly holds further intriguing material on both the crusades and late 12th-century preaching in general.

Ms. Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale 195 represents an exceptional testimony that allows us to grasp Alan in a specific historical context.⁷⁶ It contains another copy of his sermon on *Fugite de terra aquilonis*, here without a title (fol. 116^v), and probably its earliest version (c.1200); which is embedded here in a monographic collection. Yet, an organization according to the liturgical calendar is not discernable, and sermons' titles are often missing. Only a few folios away, one finds Alan's sermon on Job 7:1 (fol. 112^v) as well as his "Sermo de clericis ad theologiam non accedentibus" (fol. 101^v), which hints at the events of 1187 and only survived here.⁷⁷ Furthermore, a hitherto unnoticed crusade-related sermon is presented with the incipit "Oriens splendor lucis eterne et sol iustitie" (fol. 96^v, without a title), likewise only surviving in this copy.⁷⁸ The manuscript has a handy size (c.12 × 20 cm, 122 fols.) with a clear and generously large script (once more, lying before the preacher seems very much possible). It consists of two parts that were assembled later; the second part is not relevant (from fol. 127^r).⁷⁹ The first (fols. 1^r–122^v) contains a collection of Alan's works. This miscellany, however, does not seem intended for preservation, but delivers a handbook for preaching activities, so suggests the codex's physical shape as well as its composition and contents. The works contained are: Alan's *Liber poenitentialis* (fol. 1^r), his *Ars praedicandi* (fol. 18^v), and a vast collection of his sermons. These total 51 pieces that one may divide into three groups: (a) the eight sermons *ad status* attached to his *Ars* (fols. 63^r–68^r), appearing here without titles, a fact that renders the *ad status* purpose *ad absurdum*; (b) a first section of 25 sermons, succeeding the former part with a simple line break (fols. 68^r–92^v); and (c) a second section with 18 pieces, separated from the former by a page break (but the same hand seems to continue). The last section is introduced with "Incipiunt sermones magistri alani" (fols. 93^r–122^v). Parts (b) and (c) contain 12 sermons from Alan's *Liber sermonum* as well as ten that have only survived in this copy.

76 On the codex, see d'Alverny, *Textes*, 114, 119–120.

77 See the sermon's examination in the chapter on institutional context.

78 Another copy may exist in Ms. Turin D.v.2, fols. 97^r–98^r—but I have not consulted this codex. See d'Alverny, *Textes*, 124; Joseph N. Garvin, "Introduction," in: Prevostin of Cremona, *The Summa contra haeticos: Ascribed to Praepositinus of Cremona* (Notre Dame, Ind. 1958), xxii–xxiv. This codex likewise originated in southern France (also early 13th cen.) and combines Alan's sermons with Prevostin's *Contra haeticos* (fols. 65^r–78^v), a significant juxtaposition.

79 See d'Alverny, *Textes*, 239. The relevant part: 122 fols.; altogether 192 fols.

Origin and contents suggest that this specimen stems directly from Alan's anti-heretical activities in southern France (1190s): one can determine a specific historical context for the development of this media context. The early date (c.1200) makes it possible either that this was his autograph serving his activities in the region or that he prepared therein material for others, drawing on his experiences (likely the latter). The correlation between historical context and manuscript is substantiated by the fact that the codex contains ten sermons that do not exist in any other copy: these did not circulate in the Parisian milieu. This agrees with the fact that this is a monographic collection with a loose organization—a parallel with Ms. Dijon 219, where we likewise came into contact with Alan's biography. Texts from his *Liber sermonum* and others of his sermons are mixed freely in the Toulouse copy, whereas the two groups are otherwise firmly separated in the transmission—save for Ms. Sainte-Geneviève 2787 for which the same practice-related argument has been formulated. These findings suggest that the author himself drew on his pool flexibly here, in order to assemble materials appropriate for the occasion.

The rich transmission of Alan's sermons makes it possible to substantiate several traits pursued in this chapter: the media contexts reveal a vivid historical practice permeated by crusade-related materials. Similarly, they point to various geographical and institutional contexts (University of Paris, Saint-Victor, Corbie, Cîteaux, southern France), demonstrating that his sermons were successfully disseminated, but they also bring us into contact with his biography, especially the copies from Cîteaux and Toulouse. The media contexts revealed how the same material can be organized differently, a fact that indicates different purposes or interests—from a monastic and classic liturgical organization to freely assembled repositories that reflect practice and specific historical contexts. However, it is a noteworthy result that the monastic copies tried to implement Parisian methods, probably because the copies were related to preaching efforts beyond the monastery's walls. The broad transmission conveys the fact that the texts also served others. The sermons being model-like but also crusade-specific demonstrate how an eminent master shaped the Third Crusade's agenda and supplied others with material that could well have found application beyond the specific expedition—and so it did, as the rich manuscript evidence shows.

4 Archaeological Artefacts of a Historical Practice

The questions formulated at the outset of the chapter are now resumed in order to conclude on the patterns observable in the pertinent corpus of sources: the

texts present themselves throughout as part of sermon collections, whether monographic or polygraphic, with the latter phenomenon largely limited to Paris. These codices, in which four of the nine preachers make an appearance, are overall closer to practice and thus likely closer to preaching events.⁸⁰ It is common scholarly assumption that such contain *reportationes*; this likely includes the copies investigated—yet, one sees that the texts are prepared for future usage.⁸¹ The paratextual framings vary, but they betray throughout that this is preaching material, that is, models for oral communication beyond the clerical milieu. The collections often follow the liturgical calendar, but how many sermons they contain can vary widely. The codices sometimes offer several pieces on the same feast, whereby one observes that those with high crusade potential are combined with those with little or no crusade potential. The aim was clearly to provide diverse materials for the same feast, that is, for different occasions and audiences.⁸² On the other hand, we have also encountered several codices with clusters of crusade material; these usually offer different but complementary material (for example, one sermon focuses on the cross, another on Jerusalem).⁸³ The thematic range covered by such clusters is certainly not coincidental: the crusade represents the brace holding them together; this makes it into the material's most plausible context of application.⁸⁴ In many cases, one finds practical aids to usability that allowed a recipient a quick way of operating: tables of contents, glosses, the numbering of the sermons, and organization according to the liturgical year.⁸⁵ Moreover, sermons often survived in anonymous form; this sometimes pertains to entire collections. The material's usability was essential here; the question of who penned it originally was of little interest.⁸⁶ The chapter frequently hinted at further crusade-related materials in the manuscripts (some has flown into this study's footnotes), including anonymous sermons, which often survived in a

80 Those four preachers are Peter of Blois, Baldwin of Canterbury, Prevostin of Cremona, and Alan of Lille. Furthermore, Hélinand of Froidmont and Ralph Ardens appear in monographic Parisian collections.

81 See, e.g., Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2787; BNF lat. 14859.

82 See, e.g., Ms. Troyes 1301; Paris, Mazarine 1041.

83 See, e.g., Ms. BNF lat. 3818; lat. 14859; Toulouse 195; Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 112 and 116.

84 Important approaches have already been developed as to Ms. BNF NAL 999 (see Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1:58–70, 2:676; Jessalynn L. Bird, "Crusade and Reform: The Sermons of Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999," in: *The Fifth Crusade in Context*, ed. Elizabeth Jane Mylod and Guy Perry (London 2017), 92–113).

85 See, e.g., Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2787; BNF lat. 3818; lat. 14859; Oxford, Lat. misc. f.14.

86 See, e.g., Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2786 and 2787; BNF lat. 3818; BL Sloane 1580; Amiens 301.

single copy (according to *In principio*).⁸⁷ This study focused on sermons attributable to an author; this provides us with better possibilities regarding historical anchoring, but anonymous texts are a vast and untrodden field that would complement the evidence on crusade preaching.⁸⁸ In the manuscripts under discussion, these reinforce the occurrence of crusade clusters, a dimension easily overlooked if only the texts of a specific author are considered.

The manuscripts' state of elaboration varies: sometimes, the titles of sermons are missing; sometimes, it is incomplete overall; sometimes, one detects traces of use such as the ripped-out folios in the Parisian codex with Ralph Ardens' sermons.⁸⁹ Completing such a manuscript was likely not a priority, since it worked in tandem with preaching (thus, time was perhaps lacking, in particular considering crusade mobilization), and could already have served its purpose in an incomplete state. The pertinent corpus does not offer clean copies with embellishing features and meant for preservation, but throughout one observes the practical nature of these books: these derived from practice and were intended to merge back into such practice. This is corroborated by their physical shape: one frequently encounters convenient sizes (both in terms of the size and number of pages) that a preacher could easily carry as his personal handbook.⁹⁰ Several examples have been discussed (examples of the opposite exist as well) where the font size is generous enough to allow a preacher to directly use the material during the delivery of a sermon.⁹¹ These codices are archaeological artefacts of a past discourse practice, in line with Foucault's understanding: each codex was likely the personal book of a specific preacher. These may have been the authors themselves, but in the bulk of cases, these were figures that we cannot identify today, yet they used these resources and thus disseminated the preaching agenda developed in these materials. Some codices were perhaps tied to a specific institution and hence available to more than one user (this is easy to imagine as a secondary adaptation, after a preacher's death).

Regarding the compilation with other texts, one can distinguish two types: some cases represent later copies mixing sermons with other genres and stem-

87 See, e.g., Ms. BNF lat. 3818.

88 On already identified sermons, anonymous and crusade-related, see Bird, "Victorines," 5–28; Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 2:681–682; Constantinos Georgiou, *Preaching the Crusades to the Eastern Mediterranean: Propaganda, Liturgy, and Diplomacy, 1305–1352* (New York 2018), 195.

89 Ms. Paris, St.Geneviève 2786; see also, e.g., Troyes 970; Toulouse 195.

90 See, e.g., Oxford, Lat. misc. f.14; BL Sloane 1580; BL Add 18335; Paris, St.Geneviève 2786; BNF lat. 3818.

91 See, e.g., Ms. BL Arundel 322; Amiens 301; Oxford, Lat. misc. f.14.

ming from an interest in preserving an author's works.⁹² In the bulk of cases, however, that is, in those where this chapter asserted a proximity to practice and author, sermons are usually only aligned with other preaching material. This significantly includes *distinctiones*, as visible in several cases, a genre that delivers further resources on specific motifs.⁹³ Some manuscripts even consist only of a sermon collection.⁹⁴ Such a media context is even more remarkable with later copies: even these do not blend sermons with genres removed from preaching—their transmission usually remains related to preaching activities, instead of freezing into a librarian act of copying.

It is worth pondering on the genres that are not combined with sermons: neither chronicles nor liturgical materials are present.⁹⁵ In those few cases that include other genres, these are either exegetical texts or reform treatises, that is, works also interwoven with preaching and its goals, at least in a wider sense.⁹⁶ Chronicles and liturgical texts, on the other hand, belonged to other registers, stemming from other interests and modes of production. Chronicles were literary products, even if they were subsequently used somehow. This is critically apparent in the case of later crusade chronicles such as those of the three Benedictines, which formulated the explicit goal of rhetorically and theologically refining earlier reports of the First Crusade.⁹⁷ A chronicle's form, its perception and selection of facts, and an individual's very decision to pen one were arbitrary acts. Their purpose was fundamentally different from the sermons, including the point in time when they were penned and the corresponding interests. Thus, it is not surprising that sermons and chronicles were not combined in the manuscripts, just as one must underline the essential distinction between prac-

92 See Ms. BL Royal 8 F XVII; BL Add 19767.

93 See, e.g., Ms. BL Arundel 322; Paris, St. Geneviève 2787; BNF lat. 14859; Troyes 868.

94 See, e.g., Ms. Paris, St. Geneviève 2786; BNF lat. 3818.

95 With a single exception: one codex combines Baldwin of Canterbury's sermon collection, including his *De sancta cruce*, with the *Historia Albigensium* of Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay (Ms. BNF lat. 2601; see Bell, "Introduction," ix–x). This case refers us to a specific historical context and, thus, to a potential application of the sermon material (by other users, since the chronicle dates after Baldwin's death).

96 See Ms. Dijon 219; Troyes 1301; BNF lat. 588; Toulouse 195.

97 See Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 135–152. As Rubenstein discussed, chronicles often appear in combination with mythical texts, for example, on Troy or Alexander the Great, a fact that corroborates their literary nature and the register to which they belong (Jay Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History* (Oxford 2019), 61, 235; see also Kristin Skottki, *Christen, Muslime und der Erste Kreuzzug: Die Macht der Beschreibung in der mittelalterlichen und modernen Historiographie* (Münster 2015), 240).

tical and artificial texts.⁹⁸ The fact that not even earlier chronicles, especially those of the First Crusade, were assembled with sermons demonstrates that those reports did not serve as immediate sources for preachers. Consequently, one needs to discard such scholarly ideas, at least for the late 12th century.⁹⁹ These results corroborate the textual hierarchy, as discussed in the chapter on institutional context: the Bible, harvested in different genres, and not actual information from the East, served in drafting the vision of the Holy Land.

Considering the same sermon text in different manuscripts yielded two essential results: first, the text remains broadly stable; deviations are minor or even non-existent. This is especially remarkable for cases where we have both model sermon and *reportatio*.¹⁰⁰ The concurrence of the two versions substantiates the argument already developed for the 13th century: one stuck closely to the text; deviations in preaching were less common than one might assume.¹⁰¹ Second, however, the manuscripts reveal essential deviations when it comes to paratext and media context: all codices under discussion are unique in their composition (see also below). This observation refutes the argument that the texts may have been stable because they were distributed in a standardized form and thus say little about practice. The manifold media contexts show adaptations by users (whoever they may have been), occasionally betraying varying purposes in different manuscripts. The case of Peter of Blois' *Conquestio* in particular revealed this: sometimes a model text for preaching, sometimes a letter.¹⁰²

It is another significant phenomenon that a sermon's title occasionally changes from copy to copy despite the fact that its text remains stable: the same text has been used on different occasions and feasts. The manuscripts some-

98 On the media context of chronicles, see Skottki, *Beschreibung*, 231–242; Jay Rubenstein, “Putting History to Use: Three Crusade Chronicles in Context,” *Viator* 35 (2004), 131–168; Damien Kempf, “Towards a Textual Archaeology of the First Crusade,” in: *Writing the Early Crusades*, ed. Kempf and Marcus Bull (Woodbridge 2014), 116–126; Stephen Spencer, “Two Unexamined Witnesses to Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon anglicanum* in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 371,” *Manuscripta* 62 (2018), 279–286.

99 See, e.g., Jessalynn L. Bird, “Preaching and Narrating the Fifth Crusade: Bible, Sermons and the History of a Campaign,” in: *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden 2017), 340. The same applies to pilgrim reports and *Chanson de geste*.

100 See, e.g., for Peter of Blois: Ms. BL Arundel 322 (model texts) and Paris, St.Geneviève 2787 (*reportationes*); or for Alan of Lille: Ms. Amiens 301 (model texts) and BNF lat. 14859 (*reportationes*).

101 See Bataillon, “Approaches,” 21–22; Bataillon, “Sermons rédigés,” 75–77; Bériou, *L'Avènement*, 1108.

102 See Oxford, Lat. misc. f.14 (model text) and, e.g., BNF lat. 2954 (letter).

times also contain notes on audiences.¹⁰³ Such adaptations may have been even quicker with the crusade endeavor, where historical events were dictating the pace: one had perhaps a suitable text, but ascribed to a distant feast, therefore one now used it for another feast, that is, the one offering the next occasion. Divergent titles can thus be read as evidence for the material's use; and it was especially historical events that made such adaptation necessary. The texts remain largely stable despite different implementations, probably because it would have been laborious (and unnecessary) to alter these elaborate models. If one intended to preach something else, one could simply use another model text. At the same time, however, the physical evidence shows that the materials were adapted for varying contexts. This may have included shifts from a crusade-specific use to another purpose, in particular in cases of generic model texts that this study labeled as 'sermons with possible crusade potential.'¹⁰⁴ The codices' places of origin and transmission include (institutional) contexts that point beyond the immediate sphere of the authors: this reveals an entanglement of several institutions, especially between university and monastery, but also an entanglement of institutions and historical events. It reveals specifically how one distributed crusade-related materials after 1187: the surviving manuscripts, even if later copies, are the outcome of these processes.¹⁰⁵ This invites us to reflect on the intentions behind copying: this was not a matter of replicating works for one's own library, but of preparing preaching materials for specific purposes, since interests existed in contemporary society—crusading, the war on heresy, reform ambitions—that generated a growing demand for such. The physical evidence thus substantiates the assumption that these texts reflect a vivid preaching agenda.

One detects two large categories of media contexts that indicate two institutional contexts: the Paris masters and the Cistercians. The examples of Peter of Blois, Ralph Ardens, Prevostin of Cremona, and Alan of Lille unearthed media settings multifariously entangled with a vivid preaching practice. Their texts are transmitted in varying form, precisely because they were agile and found application on different occasions. On the other hand, the Cistercian media

103 For divergent liturgical titles, see, e.g., Paris, St.Geneviève 2787 and Dijon 219 (Alan of Lille); or Ms. BL Royal 8 F xvii and Arundel 322 (Peter of Blois); for notes on audiences, see, e.g., Ms. BL Arundel 322; Dijon 219; BNF lat. 14859.

104 See the section on methodology.

105 In agreement, it belonged to a deacon's duties (an office that, for example, Peter of Blois held) to assist their bishops in supervising the diocese, for example, by inspecting local clerics' preaching skills and offering corresponding support, that is, preaching material (see Morenzoni, *Écoles*, 144–163; Matthew Anthony Doyle, *Peter Lombard and His Students* (Toronto 2016), 103).

contexts, even though they also deliver interesting results, are less dynamic; they conform to a more traditional production. As a result, some Cistercians such as Hélinand of Froidmont were entirely absent from this chapter—even though the contents of their texts are highly pertinent. The monks were more conservative in their approach, the masters more experimental.¹⁰⁶ The divergent institutional contexts between university and monastery produced different media contexts—but when analysing the texts, one observes numerous parallels in ideas and imagery. There are not any noticeable differences between the two groups, since these protagonists left their institutions when engaging in the crusades, taking available texts with them. One observes meaningful entanglements between university and monastery that should warn us about seeing two separate worlds.¹⁰⁷ Apart from the fact that we know about the involvement of specific monks in Paris, the manuscripts reveal permeability in a twofold manner: on the one hand, some monastic copies with sermons of Paris masters have survived (see the codices from Amiens and Cîteaux). On the other, one observes active attempts to implement the new Parisian methods, likely to provide the monks with sermon material, in particular Garnerius as the abbot of Clairvaux seems to have pursued such ambitions. This thus represents a distribution from the center of Paris to the monasteries; monastic preachers, however, were hardly received in the city.¹⁰⁸

Remarkably, all codices under discussion are unique: there are no two copies with the same composition. These are not model sermon collections as the Parisian book trade of the 13th century would know them.¹⁰⁹ Even though many of them have the character of models, the media context reveals agility and proximity to practice. This proximity is sometimes that of the author himself (as visible in some cases), but the phenomenon of the manifold, yet heterogeneous transmission betrays that many anonymous preachers and editors were

106 See Rouse, "Introduction," 2. Notably, both copies of Hélinand's sermons come from Saint-Victor (Ms. BNF lat. 14591 and Mazarine 1041; both with a note of ownership). This shows that he was likewise involved in the Parisian milieu. On the two copies, see Ouy, *Manuscripts*, 2:377–379.

107 This is corroborated, for example, by the fact that the Cistercians used the *Glossa* (see Hendrik Breuer, "Quia salus ex iudeis est' (Joh 4,22). Ein Textzeugnis der rheinischen Kreuzzugspredigt des Heiligen Bernhard von Clairvaux in der *Glossa ordinaria* des Codex 23 der Kölner Dombibliothek," *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Kölner Dombibliothek* 4 (2012), 115–174, esp. 123; Constance Brittain Bouchard, "The Cistercians and the *Glossa ordinaria*," *The Catholic Historical Review* 86 (2000), 183–192).

108 On the distribution of texts from Paris, see, e.g., Christopher de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Book Trade* (Woodbridge 1984); Peter H. Tibber, *The Origins of the Scholastic Sermon, c.1130–c.1210* (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 1983).

109 On the early Parisian book trade, see Rouse, *Manuscripts*, 1:21–33.

active in assembling the works of the well-known masters. The unique media contexts reveal situational adaptation and editorial work. Each manuscript thus represents evidence for putting the texts it contains to use. The phenomenon of the polygraphic collection is evidence for a venue where preachers assembled, to hear each other's sermons and to exchange material. Such activities must have been even more copious in the preparation period of the Third Crusade, considering the Parisian crusade council on *Laetare Jerusalem* (March 1188) or the visits of several preachers (Peter of Blois, Henry of Albano). Consequently, these sermon collections manifest historical change in physical form; following Mary Rouse, they survived so abundantly because they were answering a demand, but, as she emphasizes, this was not a demand for exegesis but for popular preaching.¹¹⁰

110 Rouse, "Statim invenire," 205–206; Rouse, "Introduction," 4.

TABLE 2A Manuscripts

	Origin of manuscript						
	Paris	Clairvaux	Canterbury / Southern England	Cîteaux	Corbie	Southern France	Southern German regions
Baldwin of Canterbury	BNF lat. 14932; BNF lat. 1252; BNF lat. 2601	Troyes 433; Troyes 876	Cambridge, Pembroke 159				
Peter of Blois	St.Gen. 2787		BL Royal 8 F XVII; BL Arundel 322; Bodl. Libr., Lat. misc. f.14; Lambeth Palace 144; Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168				
Ralph Ardens	St.Gen. 2786		Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 112 and 116				
Garnerius of Clairvaux	BNF lat. 588	Troyes 1301; Troyes 970; Troyes 392; Troyes 868; Troyes 32; Troyes 1697	Oxford, Merton Coll. 200				
Henry of Albano		Troyes 509					
Alan of Lille	St.Gen. 2787; BNF lat. 14859; BNF lat. 3818; BNF lat. 18172		BL Sloane 1580; Bodley 409	Dijon 211; Dijon 219	Amiens 301	Toulouse 195; Turin D.V.2	BL Add 19767; Würzburg M.ch. q.158

TABLE 2A Manuscripts (*cont.*)

	Origin of manuscript						
	Paris	Clairvaux	Canterbury / Southern England	Cîteaux	Corbie	Southern France	Southern German regions
Prevostin of Cremona	Arsenal 543; BNF lat. 14859; BNF lat. 18172		BL Add.18335			Turin D.V.2	Salzburg, St.Peter VI 32
Hélinand of Froidmont	Maz. 1041; BNF lat. 14591						
Martin of León							

TABLE 2B Manuscripts

	Nature codex / Proximity to practice				Historical context / Crusade nature			
	Monographic collection	Polygraphic collection	Combination with <i>Distinctiones</i>	Practical aids to usability	Entangled with biography preacher	Entangled with historical context	Cluster of crusade-related material	Indication crusade via prologue or other paratext
Baldwin of Canterbury	Troyes 876; BNF lat. 2601; Cambridge, Pembroke 159	BNF lat. 14932; BNF lat. 1252		BNF lat. 14932; BNF lat. 1252		BNF lat. 2601		BNF lat. 2601
Peter of Blois	BL Royal 8 F XVII; BL Arundel 322	St.Gen. 2787; Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168	BL Arundel 322; St.Gen. 2787	BL Arundel 322; St.Gen. 2787; Bodl. Libr., Lat. misc. f.14; Oxford, Magd. Coll. 168	St.Gen. 2787	Lambeth Palace 144	St.Gen. 2787	Bodl. Libr., Lat. misc. f.14; Lam- beth Palace 144
Ralph Ardens	St.Gen. 2786; Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 112 and 116			St.Gen. 2786	Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 112 and 116		Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 112 and 116	
Garnerius of Clairvaux	Troyes 1301; Troyes 970	Troyes 868	Troyes 392; BNF lat. 588; Troyes 868; Oxford, Merton Coll. 200; Troyes 32; Troyes 1697	Troyes 392; BNF lat. 588; Oxford, Merton Coll. 200; Troyes 32; Troyes 1697	Troyes 868; Troyes 392	Troyes 1301; Troyes 392	Troyes 1301	

TABLE 2B Manuscripts (cont.)

	Nature codex / Proximity to practice				Historical context / Crusade nature			
	Monographic collection	Polygraphic collection	Combination with <i>Distinctions</i>	Practical aids to usability	Entangled with biography preacher	Entangled with historical context	Cluster of crusade-related material	Indication crusade via prologue or other paratext
Henry of Albano					Troyes 509			
Alan of Lille	Dijon 219; Amiens 301; Toulouse 195; BL Add 19767; Turin D.V.2; Dijon 211; Bodley 409	St.Gen. 2787; BNF lat. 14859; BNF lat. 3818; BL Sloane 1580; BNF lat. 18172	St.Gen. 2787; BNF lat. 14859	St.Gen. 2787; BNF lat. 14859; Dijon 219; BNF lat. 3818; Amiens 301; Toulouse 195; BL Add 19767; BNF lat. 18172; Turin D.V.2; Dijon 211; Bodley 409	St.Gen. 2787; Dijon 219; Toulouse 195; Dijon 211	Dijon 219; Toulouse 195; Turin D.V.2	St.Gen. 2787; BNF lat. 3818; BNF lat. 14859; Toulouse 195; Dijon 219	Dijon 219; BL Add 19767; Turin D.V.2
Prevostin of Cremona	BL Add 18335; Arsenal 543; Salzburg, St. Peter VI 32	BNF lat. 14859; BNF lat. 18172	BNF lat. 14859	BL Add 18335; BNF lat. 14859; Salzburg, St. Peter VI 32; BNF lat. 18172			BL Add 18335; BNF lat. 14859	BL Add 18335; Arsenal 543; Salzburg, St. Peter VI 32
Hélinand of Froidmont	Maz. 1041; BNF lat. 14591							
Martin of León	León, San Isidoro II			León, San Isidoro II	León, San Isidoro II		León, San Isidoro II	León, San Isidoro II