

Cambridge University Press

0521590612 - Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross

Christoph T. Maier

Excerpt

[More information](#)

Part I

Cambridge University Press

0521590612 - Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross

Christoph T. Maier

Excerpt

[More information](#)

I

THE AUTHORS, THE SERMONS AND THEIR CONTEXT

FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY onwards, sermons concerning the crusade were preached on many different occasions. In the thirteenth century alone, crusades were fought against Muslims in Spain, Africa, the Holy Land and Apulia, the Mongols, non-Christian peoples in the Baltic, heretics in Languedoc, Germany, Italy and the Balkans, Orthodox Christians in Greece and the Hohenstaufen rulers and their supporters in Italy and Germany. These crusades were usually announced by sermons. Propagandists preached in order to recruit participants and collect money for the crusade. Sermons also marked the departure of a crusader or a crusade army. During the campaigns, the clergy accompanying the crusade armies regularly preached sermons in order to sustain the participants' enthusiasm or to give them courage on the eve of a battle or in moments of crisis. Last but not least, sermons concerning the crusade were also preached to those at home in the context of penitentiary processions and prayers in support of crusaders in the field. Indeed, the number of different types of crusade sermons preached at various times in late medieval Europe must have been immense.¹

Despite this, we are not particularly well informed about what exactly crusade preachers said in their sermons. As with sermons generally, crusade sermons were not the stuff of medieval chronicles or of other narrative accounts of the period. Although these sometimes mention that crusade sermons were preached, they seldom give details about their

¹ For a general survey of post-1200 crusading see J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A Short History* (London, 1987), 119–78, 221–54. For crusade propaganda see P. J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Medieval Academy Books 98; Cambridge, Mass., 1991). Also C. T. Maier *Preaching the Crusades. Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 28; Cambridge, 1994 and 1998).

Cambridge University Press

0521590612 - Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross

Christoph T. Maier

Excerpt

[More information](#)

4

Crusade propaganda and ideology

content. Most of our evidence for crusade preaching comes from manuscript sermon texts preserved in some of the many surviving sermon collections of the middle ages. But even here crusade sermons are few and far between. The main reason for this is that the majority of collections were arranged by liturgical dates to suit the requirements of clerics who had to preach regularly on Sundays and feastdays throughout the year. Even if there were preferred times for preaching the crusade, such as Lent or the feastdays of the cross, crusade sermons did not belong to specific liturgical dates. On the contrary, preachers had to be prepared to preach crusade sermons at any time of the year.²

The sermon collections which include most crusade sermons are those (few) in which the sermon texts were not arranged by liturgical themes or the dates of the church year. These are collections of memorable sermons by individual preachers and the so-called *ad status* sermon collections which presented model sermons addressing specific social groups. The large majority of crusade sermon texts in fact come from the *ad status* collections and it is with these that this book is concerned. All in all, there are only a handful of medieval *ad status* sermon collections.³ The first rudimentary collections of this type, written in the late twelfth century by Honorius of Autun and Alain of Lille, do not contain any crusade sermon texts. In the first half of the thirteenth century, James of Vitry for the first time prepared a comprehensive collection of *ad status* model sermons addressing a great variety of social groups, which included two models written for preaching to 'those who are or will become crusaders' (*ad cruce signatos vel cruce signandos*). The other two great *ad status* collections of the thirteenth century by Gilbert of Tournai and Humbert of Romans also feature several crusade sermon texts, as does the little known *ad status* collection by Bertrand de la Tour written at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Also included in this book are some of the crusade sermon texts by Eudes of Châteauroux which are presented as *ad status* model sermons in a mixed collection of sermon texts composed for feastdays and other special occasions.

The five authors whose *ad status* crusade model sermons are presented here all occupied a prominent place in the pastoral reform movement which originated at the University of Paris in the circle of Peter the Chanter around the year 1200 and which, in the course of the following

² Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 111–22.

³ D. d'Avray and M. Tausche, 'Marriage Sermons in *ad status* Collections of the Central Middle Ages', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 55 (1981), 71–119, here pp. 71–5.

Cambridge University Press

0521590612 - Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross

Christoph T. Maier

Excerpt

[More information](#)*The authors, the sermons and their context* 5

century, swept through many of the schools and universities in France and elsewhere.⁴ The pastoral reform movement was born out of a desire to reform the religious life of the laity by making the word of God more directly relevant to people generally, and to apply moral theology as it was studied in the academic circles of the schools to society at large. The issues that were addressed extended from matters concerning large sections of society, such as basic religious instruction, the teaching of penance or canon law regulations concerning marriage, to topics of concern to particular groups, such as war, government, the execution of justice or money lending. Although academic in origin, the reform movement aimed primarily to disseminate the teachings of moral theology outside the schools. Since the Church, as the guardian of orthodoxy, considered itself responsible for spreading the word of God, it was the clergy that was expected to communicate the ideas of the reformers to wider circles of society. This was a formidable task for which large sections of the clergy were unprepared, falling far short of the educational and moral standards expected by the reformers. As a consequence, the initial thrust of the reforms was directed towards improving the theological training and pastoral work of the clergy. This triggered the production in the schools and universities of didactic writings, usually called *pastoralia*, which were aimed at instructing the clergy in the basic elements of theology, doctrine and pastoral duties.⁵

For communicating with society at large, the main medium of the pastoral reform movement were sermons. Thus, the preaching reforms of the thirteenth century formed an integral part of the more general pastoral reform movement.⁶ In Paris, many in the circle of Peter the

⁴ J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants. The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970). F. Morenzoni, *Des écoles aux paroisses. Thomas de Chobham et la promotion de la prédication au début du XIII^e siècle* (Collection des Etudes Augustiniennes. Série moyen-âge et temps modernes 30; Paris, 1995), 67–95.

⁵ L. E. Boyle, 'The Inter-Conciliar Period 1179–1215 and the Beginnings of Pastoral Manuals', *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III*, ed. F. Liotta (Siena, 1986), 43–56. Boyle, 'Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care', *Proceedings of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Summer 1976*, ed. D. B. J. Randall (Medieval and Renaissance Series 8; Durham, N.C., 1979), 3–51. Morenzoni, *Des écoles aux paroisses*, 172–87.

⁶ For the preaching reform see J. Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris, 1983), 78–126. D. L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars. Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985). Morenzoni, *Des écoles aux paroisses*, 25–66. A. Forni, 'La "nouvelle prédication" des disciples de Foulques de Neuilly: intentions, techniques et réactions', *Faire croire: modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII^e au XV^e siècle* (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome 51; Rome, 1981), 19–37. R. Rusconi, 'De la prédication à la confession: transmission et contrôle de modèles de comportement au XIII^e siècle', *Faire croire: modalités de*

Cambridge University Press

0521590612 - Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross

Christoph T. Maier

Excerpt

[More information](#)

6

Crusade propaganda and ideology

Chanter were famous preachers and prolific writers of preaching aids. Accompanying the efforts at the university, diocesan synods, from the beginning of the thirteenth century, promoted regular preaching throughout the bishoprics on Sundays and the main feastdays of the liturgical calendar.⁷ In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council demanded that initiatives be taken throughout Christendom to appoint preachers in each diocese to support the bishop in spreading the word of God.⁸ These preachers were to be carefully chosen for their ability to preach well and to instruct people by word and deed.

In order to achieve the establishment of regular preaching throughout Christendom, it was necessary to educate and train a sufficient number of preachers. One of the principal means of doing so was the systematic production and dissemination of preaching aids for the instruction of preachers and as reference material for trained preachers. Throughout the thirteenth century, more and more preaching aids appeared: from handbooks of theology, such as *distinctiones* and *florilegia* and various types of *summae*, to treatises of preaching, the *artes praedicandi*, and collections of model sermons and *exempla*.⁹ These all provided inspiration and material for the large number of sermons that preachers were expected to address to the laity throughout the liturgical year.

In many ways the most useful of these preaching aids were the collections of ready-made model sermons. The vast majority of model collections were, for practical reasons, arranged by liturgical dates: collections of *sermones de tempore* or *dominicales* listed models for sermons to be preached on Sundays; *sermones de sanctis* or *de communi sanctorum* offered examples for sermons on saint's days. Judging by the number written between 1150 and 1350, such collections must have been

la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII^e au XV^e siècle (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome 51; Rome, 1981), 67–85. L.-J. Bataillon, 'Early Scholastic and Mendicant Preaching as Exegesis of Scripture', *Ad Litteram. Authoritative Texts and their Medieval Readers*, ed. M. D. Jordan and K. Emery, Jr. (Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies 3; Notre Dame, 1992), 165–98.

⁷ J. Longère, 'La prédication et l'instruction des fidèles selon les conciles et les status synodaux depuis l'antiquité tardive et jusqu'au Concile de Trente', *Colloque sur l'histoire de la Sécurité Sociale. Actes du 109^e Congrès Nationale des Sociétés Savantes, Dijon 1984*, vol. I (Paris, 1985), 390–418, here pp. 401. Morenzoni, *Des écoles aux paroisses*, 163–71.

⁸ *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo, P.-P. Ioannou, C. Leonardi et al. (Basle, 1962), 215–16.

⁹ D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 64–90. L.-J. Bataillon, 'Les instruments de travail des prédicateurs au XIII^e siècle', *Culture et travail intellectuel dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1981), 197–209. M. G. Briscoe and B. H. Jaye, *Artes Praedicandi, Artes Orandi* (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 64; Turnhout, 1992), 9–76. Morenzoni, *Des écoles aux paroisses*, 189–240.

Cambridge University Press

0521590612 - Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross

Christoph T. Maier

Excerpt

[More information](#)*The authors, the sermons and their context* 7

the mainstay of many preachers in the late middle ages.¹⁰ The *ad status* sermon collections, from which the majority of our crusade model sermons come, are rare in comparison.¹¹ This is because an *ad status* collection was, in practical terms, not so useful to most preachers since most preaching addressed mixed church communities rather than homogenous social groups. Nevertheless, the *ad status* collections were a typical product of the pastoral reform movement. These systematic collections of model sermons to different social groups reflected the concern of the reformists to tailor moral theology to various different kinds of people and to all aspects of human behaviour.

Although the instigators, and also many later supporters, of the preaching movement of the thirteenth century were secular clerics, the arrival of the two big mendicant orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans accounted for the reform movement's strength and success.¹² These two orders of mendicant friars came into existence at about the time when the reform movement began to gather momentum. Both orders made preaching to the laity their principal business and they founded schools, trained preachers and encouraged the production of preaching aids.¹³ Early on the two orders prominently established themselves at the University of Paris and developed close links with the secular reformist circles. In a certain sense, the Franciscan and Dominican orders were as much a product of the reformist tendencies of the thirteenth century as they were the main motors of pastoral reform.

The spectacular success and the rapid growth of the mendicant orders throughout Europe enabled them to build up an infrastructure which provided the medium of the sermon with channels for effective broadcasting and wide dissemination. It was ultimately because of the activities of the Franciscan and Dominican friars that preaching came to be the nearest that the middle ages had to a mass medium.¹⁴ This was also one of the main reasons why the mendicant orders became so heavily involved in the organisation of the crusades. One of the major problems affecting the crusade movement at the beginning of the thirteenth

¹⁰ J. B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, 11 vols. (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 43; Munich, 1969–90).

¹¹ D'Avray and Tausche, 'Marriage Sermons', 71–5.

¹² D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*.

¹³ D. Berg, *Armut und Wissenschaft. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Studienwesens der Bettelorden im 13. Jahrhundert* (Bochumer Historische Studien 15; Düsseldorf, 1977). J.-P. Renard, *La formation et la désignation des Prêcheurs au début de l'ordre de Prêcheurs 1215–1237* (Fribourg, 1977).

¹⁴ G. Steier, 'Bettelorden-Predigt als Massenmedium', *Literarische Interessensbildung im Mittelalter. DFG-Symposium 1991*, ed. J. Heinzle (Germanistische-Symposien-Berichtsbände 14; Stuttgart, 1993), 314–36.

Cambridge University Press

0521590612 - Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross

Christoph T. Maier

Excerpt

[More information](#)

8

Crusade propaganda and ideology

century was the lack of an effective propaganda structure. With the movement growing and moving into new theatres of war against heretics, non-Christian peoples in the Baltic and political enemies of the papacy, crusade propaganda undertaken by individually commissioned preachers and the resident secular clergy had become desperately inadequate. The building up of an effective propaganda machinery for the crusades was only possible with the help of the many well-trained Franciscan and Dominican preachers and thanks to the hierarchic structure of the two orders which allowed them to spread information quickly and effectively over large geographical areas. Their efforts made it possible for the papacy to control crusade propaganda and carefully allocate the resources of people and money for the many crusades organised in Europe throughout the thirteenth century.¹⁵

The universities and the pastoral reform movement of the thirteenth century, the propagation of preaching and the mendicant orders, the propaganda for the crusades – this was the world from which our five authors came and it was the world for which they wrote. With the exception of Bertrand de la Tour, whose academic career was divided between Paris and Toulouse, all the authors spent a considerable time in the reformist climate of the University of Paris, first as students and later as teachers; Eudes of Châteauroux even served as the university's chancellor for six years. All the authors were prolific writers of preaching aids and their sermon collections ranked among the most popular ones of their time and, indeed, of the entire later middle ages. Three of the five authors were mendicant friars, with two of them serving as heads of their respective orders. And finally, all but one of our authors can be shown to have played an important active role in propagating the crusades.

James of Vitry, the oldest of the five authors, was born sometime between 1160 and 1170.¹⁶ As a young man, he studied and later became a master at the University of Paris, which he left shortly before 1210. During this time, James came under the direct influence of Peter the Chanter and was thus closely connected with the beginnings of the Paris reform movement.¹⁷ In 1213, by then a canon of St Nicolas at Oignies, James preached the crusade against the Albigensian heretics in France and Lotharingia; after that he became a propagandist for the Fifth

¹⁵ Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*.

¹⁶ For James's biography see the brief sketch with further references in Hinnebusch's introduction to Iacobus de Vitriaco *Historia Occidentalis* (Spicilegium Friburgense 17; Fribourg, 1972), 3–7. See also J. Longère, *Oeuvres oratoires des maîtres parisiens au XII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1975), I, 31–3. A. Paravicini-Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e 'familiæ' cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254*, 2 vols. (Italia Sacra 18, 19; Padua, 1972), I, 99–109.

¹⁷ Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, 36–9.

Cambridge University Press

0521590612 - Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross

Christoph T. Maier

Excerpt

[More information](#)*The authors, the sermons and their context*

9

Crusade. Having been elected bishop of Acre, James accompanied the army of the Fifth Crusade to Damietta. He returned to Europe in 1225 and was made cardinal bishop of Tusculum in 1229.

During this last period of his life, between his return from the East and his death in 1240, James of Vitry spent a good part of his time writing sermon literature and a number of historical works.¹⁸ He composed a comprehensive series of sermon collections comprising the four classical types: *sermones de tempore*, *sermones de sanctis*, *sermones de communi sanctorum*, and *sermones vulgares* or *ad status*.¹⁹ As mentioned above, it is the *sermones vulgares*, the first full-scale *ad status* collection, which contain James's two crusade model sermons.

Like James of Vitry, **Eudes of Châteauroux** was a particularly gifted and successful preacher. Throughout his career, first as an academic at the University of Paris and then as a cardinal, preaching was one of the focal points of Eudes's activities. Born probably around 1190, he was a student at Paris from around 1210. He became a master there at some time before 1229 and his academic career was crowned by his election as chancellor of the university, a post which he held between 1238 and 1244.²⁰ As the successor to James of Vitry, Eudes was appointed cardinal bishop of Tusculum in 1244, a position which he held until his death in 1273.

Eudes of Châteauroux personally preached the crusades against the Albigenian heretics in 1226 and later also against the Mongols and the Muslims in the Holy Land; as cardinal, he masterminded the propaganda campaign for Louis IX's first crusade in France and later accompanied the French king on crusade to the East as papal legate.²¹

¹⁸ Longère, *La prédication médiévale*, 88–9. J. Longère, 'Quatres sermons *ad religiosas* de Jacques de Vitry', *Les religieuses en France au XIII^e siècle*, ed. M. Parris (Nancy, 1985), 215–300, here p. 217.

¹⁹ Schneyer, III, 179–221. See also James's introduction to the *sermones vulgares* printed in *Analecta Novissima Spicilegii Solesmensis Altera Continuatio*, ed. J. B. Pitra, 2 vols. ([Paris], 1885, 1888), II, 193.

²⁰ For Eudes's career see F. Iozzelli, *Odo da Châteauroux. Politica e religione nei sermoni inediti* (Studi e Testi 14; Padua, 1994), 23–42. M.-M. Lebreton, 'Eudes de Châteauroux', *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, IV, cols. 1675–78. Paravicini-Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia*, I, 198–209. A. Charansonnet, 'Du Berry en Curie: la carrière du Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190?–1273) et son reflet dans sa prédication', *Territoires et spiritualité dans le bas-Berry au Moyen Age* (Châteauroux, 1999), [forthcoming].

²¹ For the Albigenian crusade see N. Bériou, 'La prédication de croisade de Philippe le Chancelier et d'Eudes de Châteauroux en 1226', *La prédication en Pays d'Oc (XII^e–début XV^e siècle)* (Cahiers de Fanjeaux 32; Toulouse 1997), 85–109, here pp. 91–2. Also C. T. Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 48 (1997), 628–57, here pp. 640–54. The only evidence for Eudes's involvement in the preaching of the Mongol crusade is the references in his second model sermon, see Eudes II, 3, 4, 6.

Cambridge University Press

0521590612 - Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross

Christoph T. Maier

Excerpt

[More information](#)

After his return from the Levant, Eudes spent the majority of his time at the papal curia, where he pursued an active preaching career. Eudes edited and recorded many of the sermons preached in those years, including a series in which he commented on the progress of the Angevin crusade to southern Italy in the 1260s.²² He was thus much more deeply involved in the crusade movement than any of the other authors of *ad status* crusade sermons.

Although Eudes of Châteauroux wrote a number of theological works, his main literary activity consisted in writing sermons. Indeed, Eudes was one of the most prolific sermon writers of the thirteenth century, having left some 1,100 manuscript sermons to posterity.²³ Drawing much of the material for his model sermons from his own preaching, he produced a full series of *de tempore* and *de sanctis* sermons and a mixed collection of *sermones de diversis casibus* and *de communi sanctorum*. It is his mixed collection that contains the five *ad status* crusade sermons. Eudes was also a meticulous editor of his own sermons. After the first compilation, which he finished some time before 1261, Eudes re-edited all his collections in the later 1260s, changing some and adding new sermons. It was only his death that prevented Eudes from completing a third edition in the early 1270s.²⁴

Gilbert of Tournai, the most scholarly of our five authors, was born around 1200 and came to the University of Paris at an early age, where he was first a student and then became a master.²⁵ Around 1240 Gilbert resigned his academic duties in order to become a friar and he seems to have enjoyed a relatively quiet life as a member of the Franciscan house at Paris. There is a possibility that he joined Louis IX's first crusade to the Holy Land.²⁶ Whether or not he really did, as a member of the

For the Holy Land crusade see Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 61–4. P. Cole, D. L. d'Avray and J. Riley-Smith, 'Application of Theology to Current Affairs: Memorial Sermons for the Dead of Mansurah and on Innocent IV', *Historical Research*, 63 (1990), 227–47, here pp. 229–39.

²² Iozzelli, *Odo da Châteauroux*. See also C. T. Maier, 'Crusade and Rhetoric against the Muslim Colony of Lucera: Eudes of Châteauroux's *Sermones de Rebellione Sarracenorum Lucherie in Apulia*', *Journal of Medieval History*, 21 (1995), 343–85.

²³ Schneyer, IV, 394–483. See also A. Charansonnet, 'L'évolution de la prédication du Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190?–1273): une approche statistique', *De l'homélie au sermon. Histoire de la prédication médiévale*, ed. J. Hamesse and X. Hermand (Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Médiévales. Textes, Etudes, Congrès 14; Louvain, 1993), 103–42, here p. 104. Longère, *La prédication médiévale*, 92.

²⁴ Charansonnet, 'L'évolution', 114–16.

²⁵ For Gilbert's life and works see B. d'Amsterdam, 'Guibert de Tournai', *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, VI, cols. 1139–46. L. Baudry, 'Wibert de Tournai', *Revue d'histoire franciscaine*, 5 (1928), 29–61.

²⁶ This is unclear and will probably remain an unsolved question. If Gilbert was indeed the author of the crusade chronicle *Hodoeporicon primae professionis*

Cambridge University Press

0521590612 - Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross

Christoph T. Maier

Excerpt

[More information](#)*The authors, the sermons and their context* 11

northern French province of the Franciscans it is likely that Gilbert would have been involved in the preaching of the cross for this crusade.²⁷ Around 1260 he again taught at the University of Paris for a short period, before once more resigning his chair in favour of a life which gave him more time for his literary activities.

Gilbert left a vast corpus of writings including treatises on education, historical and hagiographic works, theological and devotional literature, sermons and reformist tracts. Gilbert was a well-known and highly esteemed author in his time both inside and outside the Franciscan order; he wrote for King Louis IX and his family and for Popes Alexander IV and Gregory X, and he was a very close associate of St Bonaventure, the Franciscan master general. Gilbert of Tournai's *ad status* sermons, which contain his three crusade model sermons, form part of one of the most comprehensive and also most popular corpora of model sermons by any individual author of the later middle ages.²⁸

While Gilbert probably wrote with a view to training Franciscan preachers, **Humbert of Romans** did the same for the Dominican friars. He, too, left a large corpus of writings, most of which were meant for the instruction of his fellow friars. Born around 1200, Humbert also went to the University of Paris as a young man, finishing his studies before becoming a friar in 1224.²⁹ He had a successful career within the Dominican order, making rapid progress. In 1226 Humbert became a *lector* at the order's house in Lyons and was its prior by 1237. In 1240 he was appointed provincial prior of the Roman province and four years later he succeeded Hugh of St Cher as the head of the northern French province of Francia. He finally served as master general of the Domini-

S. Ludovici regis ad partes transmarinas, as some scholars have claimed, he would have been on Louis IX's first crusade. But as the only known manuscript of this chronicle has been lost for some time, the question of its authorship must, for the time being, remain a moot point. For this discussion see E. Longpré in the introduction to his edition of Gilbert's *Tractatus de Pace* (Bibliotheca franciscana ascetica medii aevi 6; Ad Claras Aquas [Quarracchi], 1925), xii–xiii. G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-bibliographica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Franciscano*, 16 vols. (Ad Claras Aquas [Quarracchi], 1906–27), I, 219; II, 362–6. F. Cardini, 'Gilberto di Tournai. Un francescano predicatore della crociata', *Studi Francescani*, 72 (1975), 31–48, here p. 38.

²⁷ For the involvement of the French Franciscans in the propaganda for Louis's crusade see Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 62–9.

²⁸ Schneyer, II, 282–318.

²⁹ For Humbert's life and works see E. T. Brett, *Humbert of Romans. His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Studies and Texts 67; Toronto, 1984). M.-H. Vicaire, 'Humbert de Romans', *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, VII, cols. 1108–16. T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi* [in progress] (Rome, 1970ff), II, 283–95.