

CRUSADE  
PROPAGANDA  
AND  
IDEOLOGY

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MODEL SERMONS  
FOR THE  
PREACHING OF THE CROSS  
CHRISTOPH T. MAIER



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# I

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## 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.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> 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).

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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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

<sup>2</sup> Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 111–22.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

century, swept through many of the schools and universities in France and elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup> In Paris, many in the circle of Peter the

<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Collection des Etudes Augustiniennes. Série moyen-âge et temps modernes 30; Paris, 1995), 67–95.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

<sup>6</sup> 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<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> 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<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Faire croire: modalités de*

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 feasts of the liturgical calendar.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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*.<sup>9</sup> 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<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Collection de l'École 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.

<sup>7</sup> 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<sup>e</sup> Congrès Nationale des Sociétés Savantes, Dijon 1984*, vol. I (Paris, 1985), 390–418, here pp. 401. Morenzoni, *Des écoles aux paroisses*, 163–71.

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

<sup>9</sup> D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 64–90. L.-J. Bataillon, 'Les instruments de travail des prédicateurs au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Culture et travail intellectuel dans l'Occident médiévale* (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.



the mainstay of many preachers in the late middle ages.<sup>10</sup> The *ad status* sermon collections, from which the majority of our crusade model sermons come, are rare in comparison.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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

<sup>10</sup> 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).

<sup>11</sup> D'Avray and Tausche, 'Marriage Sermons', 71–5.

<sup>12</sup> D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*.

<sup>13</sup> 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).

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

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.<sup>15</sup>

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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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

<sup>15</sup> Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*.

<sup>16</sup> 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<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1975), I, 31–3. A. Paravicini-Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e 'familiae' cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254*, 2 vols. (Italia Sacra 18, 19; Padua, 1972), I, 99–109.

<sup>17</sup> Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, 36–9.

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.<sup>18</sup> 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*.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup>

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

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> 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].

<sup>21</sup> 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<sup>e</sup>-début XV<sup>e</sup> 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.

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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup>

**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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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.

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

<sup>23</sup> 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.

<sup>24</sup> Charansonnet, 'L'évolution', 114–16.

<sup>25</sup> 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.

<sup>26</sup> This is unclear and will probably remain an unsolved question. If Gilbert was indeed the author of the crusade chronicle *Hodoeporicon primaie profectiois*

northern French province of the Franciscans it is likely that Gilbert would have been involved in the preaching of the cross for this crusade.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup>

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.<sup>29</sup> 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 Francescano*, 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.

<sup>27</sup> For the involvement of the French Franciscans in the propaganda for Louis's crusade see Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 62-9.

<sup>28</sup> Schneyer, II, 282-318.

<sup>29</sup> 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.

cans from 1254 to 1263, before retiring to the convent at Lyons, where he stayed until his death in 1277.

Like Gilbert of Tournai, Humbert made use of his retirement to produce a number of writings, amongst which were his principal works on preaching. His *ad status* model sermons were part of his *De Eruditione Predicatorum*, a large didactic treatise on preaching, which he wrote between 1266 and 1277.<sup>30</sup> Although we have no direct evidence that Humbert preached the cross, he was certainly engaged in organising and conducting crusade propaganda. As provincial prior of the northern French province in the late 1240s and early 1250s, Humbert would have been responsible for organising the Dominican crusade preaching force in one of the most important recruitment areas for Louis IX's first crusade.<sup>31</sup> Probably arising from his duties as master general and the growing importance of the Dominicans' role as crusade propagandists, Humbert later spent much effort in promoting the crusades to the Holy Land. Towards the end of the 1260s he put together a preaching handbook for crusade preachers, the *De Predicatione Sancte Crucis*, while one part of his *Opus Tripartitum*, written as a deposition for the Second Council of Lyons, is entirely devoted to the question of the recovery of the Holy Land.<sup>32</sup>

Like Humbert, **Bertrand de la Tour** served as head of one of the two big mendicant orders. Like Gilbert of Tournai, he was a Franciscan and like James de Vitry and Eudes of Châteauroux he ended his life as cardinal bishop of Tusculum. By far the youngest of the five authors, Bertrand was born around 1265.<sup>33</sup> He became a friar early in life, studied at the University of Toulouse, but took his degree at Paris. Later on, Bertrand probably taught at both Paris and Toulouse universities. In 1312 he was elected provincial minister of the Franciscans' southern French province

<sup>30</sup> See S. Tugwell, 'Humbert of Romans's Material for Preachers', *De Ore Domini. Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages*, ed. T. L. Amos, E. A. Green and B. M. Kienzle (Studies in Medieval Culture 27; Kalamazoo, 1989), 105–17. S. Tugwell, 'De huiusmodi sermonibus textitur omnis recta predicatio: Changing Attitudes towards the Word of God', *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), 159–68.

<sup>31</sup> Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 62–3, 70–2.

<sup>32</sup> Humbertus de Romanis, *De Predicatione Sancte Crucis* (Nuremberg, 1495) and 'Opus Tripartitum', *Appendix ad Fasciculum Rerum Expetendarum et Fugendum*, ed. E. Brown (London, 1690), 185–229.

<sup>33</sup> For Bertrand's life see J. Goyens, 'Bertrand de la Tour', *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, VIII, col. 1084. P. Gauchat, *Cardinal Bertrand de Turre. His Participation in the Theological Controversy concerning the Poverty of Christ and the Apostles under Pope John XXII* (Rome, 1930), 31–55. B. Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960), 242–4.

of Aquitania. While holding this office, Pope John XXII sent him on several important diplomatic missions. As it turned out, these were the first steps of a successful career within the church hierarchy. Bertrand de la Tour became titular archbishop of Salerno in 1320, only to be promoted to cardinal presbyter of S. Vitale that same year. Three years later he was appointed cardinal bishop of Tusculum. Bertrand, however, did not lose touch with the Franciscan order. He took part in several of the order's chapters and in 1328–9 the pope made him administrator general of the Franciscans after the deposition of their general minister, Michael of Cesena.<sup>34</sup> Despite his closeness to the papal court and the Franciscan order, there is no evidence as to whether Bertrand was involved in any aspect of the crusade movement at any stage of his life.

Bertrand's vast corpus of over 1,000 model sermons dwarfs his other theological writings and bears witness to his Franciscan background and interests. In addition to a *de tempore et de quadragesima* and a *de sanctis et communi sanctorum* sermon series, Bertrand wrote a collection of *collationes abbreviate*, short model sermons, which includes his *ad status* sermons and in particular the three models for the preaching to crusaders.<sup>35</sup> Like Gilbert of Tournai's sermons, some of Bertrand's collections seem to have been among the most popular sermon materials of the later middle ages.<sup>36</sup>

Generally speaking, it is difficult to say how widely known and used the crusade model sermons collected here were. The collections in which they appear enjoyed various degrees of popularity, to judge from the number of surviving manuscripts.<sup>37</sup> By far the most manuscripts, between sixty and seventy, have survived for Gilbert of Tournai's *ad status* sermons. In part this must be due to the fact that they were easily available from the University of Paris stationers, on whose *pecia* list of 1304 they featured.<sup>38</sup> Next comes the collection by Humbert of Romans

<sup>34</sup> J. H. R. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), 321.

<sup>35</sup> Contrary to what I claimed in my *Preaching the Crusades* (p. 170, n. 1) there are only three crusade model sermons in Bertrand's *ad status* collection. At the time, I was misled by Schneyer, who identified the sermons as anonymous crusade sermons only in his listing of the Barcelona manuscript (for this see below, pp. 78–9) but not among Bertrand de la Tour's sermons. Schneyer was also mistaken when he listed as many as five crusade sermons. When I had finally seen all the manuscripts of Bertrand's *ad status* collection, it became clear from the rubrics that only three of the five models were designated for crusade preaching.

<sup>36</sup> Schneyer, I, 505–91. Longère, *La prédication médiévale*, 103–4.

<sup>37</sup> About the manuscripts see below pp. 74–9.

<sup>38</sup> *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and A. Châtelain, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889–97), II/1, 109, no. 642. See also d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 278.

which survived in just under twenty manuscript copies. It seems safe to assume that both these collections were widely used, presumably by fellow Franciscan or Dominican friars. This supposition is moreover supported by the fact that they found their way into print in the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries.<sup>39</sup> James of Vitry's *sermones vulgares* exist in at least fourteen manuscripts which indicates that they, too, must have been fairly well known. The *ad status* models by Eudes of Châteauroux and Bertrand de la Tour, on the other hand, probably never enjoyed a large readership, because only a few manuscripts of them are known today. For Bertrand's *ad status* model this is surprising since some of his other collections have survived in a great number of manuscripts. One must, however, be cautious not to read too much into the number of surviving manuscripts. On the one hand, we are dealing with chance survival and we do not really know why individual manuscripts have or have not been preserved through the ages.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, it is difficult to postulate the popularity of individual sermons on the basis of the popularity of a whole collection. Even notes in the margins are no safe guideline for the use of individual sermons,<sup>41</sup> because texts could have been used without obvious traces being left in the manuscript. However, while it is virtually impossible to prove whether these crusade model sermons – as opposed to the collections in which they appear – were read and used widely, crusade preaching aids such as these must have played a significant role in shaping a common approach to crusade propaganda amongst preachers of the cross.

Crusade model sermons have been studied before. Scholarly research started at the end of the nineteenth century with the first short studies by Röhricht, Lecoy de la Marche and Wolfram.<sup>42</sup> These three authors,

<sup>39</sup> Gilbert of Tournai's *ad status* sermons were printed at Louvain in 1473 and 1484, Paris in 1508 and 1513 and Lyon in 1511 (see Schneyer, II, 307), those by Humbert of Romans at Hagenau in 1508, Venice in 1603, Barcelona in 1607 and Lyon in 1677 in volume XXV of the *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* (see Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, II, 288).

<sup>40</sup> In a personal communication, Simon Tugwell, for example, suggested that the reason why so few thirteenth-century copies of Humbert of Romans's *ad status* sermons survived might be that they were already damaged at the time because of overuse.

<sup>41</sup> See for example the marginal notes on Gilbert of Tournai's first crusade model sermon in the M manuscript, fol. 98v.

<sup>42</sup> R. Röhricht, 'Die Kreuzpredigten gegen den Islam. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der christlichen Predigt im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 6 (1884), 550–72. A. Lecoy de la Marche, 'La prédication de la croisade au treizième siècle', *Revue des questions historiques*, 48 (1890), 5–28. G. Wolfram, 'Kreuzpredigt und Kreuzlied', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 30 (1886), 89–132.



however, only knew James of Vitry's models and were unaware that, around the same time, Cardinal Pitra published the full texts of the second model by James of Vitry and the first, second and third by Eudes of Châteauroux, as well as extracts from James's first and Eudes's fourth and fifth models.<sup>43</sup> But despite Pitra's edition, the study of crusade sermons was not revived until forty years later, when Valmar Cramer published the first full-scale study of crusade preaching.<sup>44</sup> Cramer's work did not create much interest in these texts; except for the occasional mention, the study of crusade sermons was not taken up again until quite recently.<sup>45</sup> In 1991, Penny Cole published a study of preaching in the context of the Holy Land crusade between 1095 and 1270.<sup>46</sup> In this overview study, Cole discussed the general development of crusade preaching over almost 200 years in the context of the history of the crusade movement. Alongside chronicle reports, preaching tracts and a number of texts from sermon collections, Cole included some of the *ad status* crusade model sermons in her study. Since then more manuscript crusade sermons have come to light.<sup>47</sup> Some recent articles have treated individual crusade sermons, including some which were preached in the context of crusades other than to the Holy Land.<sup>48</sup> There are now also modern editions of several manuscript crusade sermons from various types of sermon collections.<sup>49</sup>

The *ad status* model sermons for the preaching of the crusade form a

<sup>43</sup> *Analecta Novissima*, II, 310–15, 328–33.

<sup>44</sup> V. Cramer, 'Kreuzzugspredigt und Kreuzzugsgedanken von Bernhard von Clairvaux bis Humbert von Romans', *Das Heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 1 (1939) [= *Palästinahefte des Deutschen Vereins vom Heiligen Land*, 17], 43–204.

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, Cardini, 'Gilberto di Tournai'.

<sup>46</sup> Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*.

<sup>47</sup> See the list in Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 170–2 and p. 174 of the paperback edition (1998). N. Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la parole. La prédication à Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1998), 58–70. Bériou, 'La prédication de croisade'.

<sup>48</sup> See Cole, D'Avray and Riley-Smith, 'Application of Theology'. Maier, 'Crusade and Rhetoric'. Bériou, 'La prédication de croisade'. Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade'.

<sup>49</sup> Cole edited one sermon each by John of Abbéville, Roger of Salisbury and an anonymous author and two by Eudes of Châteauroux (*The Preaching of the Crusades*, 222–43). I myself published Eudes's three sermons about the Lucera crusade ('Crusade and Rhetoric', 376–85). The sermon collection by Frederick Visconti, including two crusade sermon texts, is about to be published by a team of French and Italian scholars. Nicole Bériou and I are in the process of publishing six sermons from the Albigensian crusade of 1226 by Philip the Chancellor and Eudes of Châteauroux to appear in the series *Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge*. References to all these sermons can be found in Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 170–2.

distinct group among crusade sermons. Most of them have never been studied or edited before. This book makes them available to students and scholars in the hope of stimulating new research. Like most model sermons, the *ad status* crusade sermons were primarily written as didactic texts and cannot simply be understood as records of sermons preached. Even though, when composing their models, the authors might well have drawn on the crusade sermons that they themselves had preached, they arranged their materials so as to make it easy for other preachers to use their models. To elucidate this point, chapter 2 explores the relationship between 'live' crusade preaching and the model sermons from the *ad status* collections. This concerns both the question of how 'live' preaching might have influenced the writing of crusade model sermons and the question of how preachers might have made use of the models in their own 'live' preaching. In many ways the conclusions drawn are tentative because they are necessarily based on circumstantial evidence. But the questions are well worth exploring as a way of better understanding the nature of the crusade model sermons as historical sources, counteracting the widespread assumption that they are straight-forward records of sermons that were actually preached.

Chapter 3 on the structure of the *ad status* crusade model sermons contributes towards an understanding of how the authors worked when composing their models and how the structure of the models determined the way in which other preachers could use them. This area of research is primarily concerned with the formal aspects of the sermon models and has as yet been little explored in sermon studies. Whether in this respect crusade model sermons are representative of model sermons generally remains to be seen. Chapter 4 is concerned with the way in which the crusade model sermons portray the activity of crusading. Although all the authors of *ad status* crusade model sermons came from a clerical and academic background, their views on crusading as they appear in their sermon texts clearly were of more than marginal importance. Their models no doubt reflected, as well as to some extent shaped, the prevailing public image of the crusade at the time. The three essays, as well as the appendix on the relationship between the models of James of Vitry and Gilbert of Tournai, are not meant to be the final word on the subjects treated. They are rather first inroads into as yet little explored areas of research.