The Use of Direct Quotation from Canonization Hearing to Hagiographical *Vita et Miracula*

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The material presented here is just a tiny sample of the evidence that may be mustered to illustrate the integration of judicial testimony gathered at a canonization hearing into narrative biography. By the twelfth century many hagiographical sources were often based on eyewitness testimony to the saint's life and miracles reported in the course of a papal canonization process, a hearing conducted by the local bishop or statements recorded before a notary. Even prior to the formal adoption of the canon law procedures for the deposition of testimony and the conduct of an inquisition or inquiry, enshrined in the 1234 *Decretals* of Pope Gregory IX, many miracle collections in particular betray signs of some kind of official inquiry guided by the rules of evidence.[1] The adoption of Alexander III's 1161 demand that all cults and relics require papal approval merely hastened the growing reliance on legitimate evidence of a virtuous life and provable miracles as the foundation of sainthood, perhaps encouraged by the worrisome rise of heresy.[2]

Following Biblical precedent, the classic miracle demands the presence of bystanders who would become the voices of the faith and praise God after witnessing the supernatural intervention of the Christian deity. To cite just one early example, Stephen of Grandmont's (d. 1180) biographer Gerard Ithier noted that signs and prodigies are the surest ways of convincing non-believers.[3] He therefore

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[1] For some of the primary sources, see Henricus de Segusio [Hostiensis], *Summa aurea*, ed. Nicholas Soranzo (Lyons, 1537; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1962), fol. 187v; *Decretales Gregorii noni*, II.tit.20.c.52, in Emil Friedberg and Lewis Richter, eds., *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Tauchitz, 1879); Innocent IV, *Apparatus quinque librorum decretalium*, ed. P. Roselle (Venice: Johannes Hamman, 1610), pp. 546 ff.

[2] André Vauchez, *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981); Stephan Kuttner, "La réserve papale du droit de canonisation," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, N.S. 17 (1938), pp. 206-212; Eric Waldram Kemp, *Canonisation and Authority in the Western Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947).

[3] Jean Becquet, ed., *De revelatione Stephani*, in *Scriptores ordinis Grandimontensis*, in *Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis*, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), p. 284. Stephan of Liciaco, *Vita venerabilis viri Stephani Muretensis*, in ibid., pp. 121-124 contains extensive quotations on the occasion of the cardinal's visit to Stephan before his death.

provided extensive quotations from the words he had heard uttered by persons who had visited Stephen's tomb and experienced his miraculous powers.[4]

The canonization process itself, which heard the testimony of hundreds of friends, neighbors, and colleagues who either knew the putative saint or were touched by his or her charisma, was a further means of mobilizing the public in support of the church against its ideological and political foes. The feast days, indulgences, building campaigns, processions and other events related to the cult whipped up religious enthusiasm and attempted to create a wide consensus of support for both the saint and the church itself. Local patriotism and group identity were strengthened in the rivalry between families, professions, villages, towns, communes, and nations, as their relics and saintly heroes and heroines proved God's favor through the performance of miracles. The fullest canonization dossiers, such as those of Thomas of Hereford (d. 1282), Yves of Tréguier (d. 1303), John Buoni (d. 1249), Nicholas of Tolentino (d. 1305) or Celestine V (d. 1294) may contain the eyewitness testimony of up to a dozen persons concerning one miracle. For example, the lame and mentally disturbed Jeanne Laboisson from the small village of Crosses, about 10 kilometers from Bourges, was cured in January, 1263, due to the merits of the recently deceased Archbishop Philip of Bourges. This was reported in June, 1266, by twelve witnesses, including the victim herself, her family, neighbors and local clergy.[5]

A public exorcism viewed by hundreds of spectators, who personally witnessed the triumph of the faith over the incubi and succubi sent by the Devil, was perhaps the most effective and dramatic means of mobilizing the community in support of a burgeoning cult. The first posthumous public miracle in the cult of Bishop Thomas of Hereford, for example, occurred during the April, 1287, translation of his relics to a new burial site in Hereford cathedral. Edith, the wife of an iron merchant of Hereford, who had suffered emotional distress for slightly more than a month, was exorcised in presence of many witnesses, some of whom testified at Thomas' canonization hearing held twenty years later.[6] Such hearings typically elicited testimony, not only from ecclesiastics and members of the nobility, but also from members of the laboring classes, both urban and rural. These trials, along with their secular counterparts, are among the few sources of direct evidence concerning the lives of such persons, although the mediating role of court officials must not be discounted. The contents of such testimony adhered to the terms of a papal summons authorizing the commission and its agents to

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[4] *De revelatione*, in ibid., pp. 284-286.

[5] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. Lat. 4019, fols. 62ᵛ-65ᵛ. On this case see Michael Goodich, "Microhistory and the *Inquisitiones* into the Life and Miracles of Philip of Bourges and Thomas of Hereford", in *Medieval Narrative Sources*, ed. J. Goosens, L. Melis and W. Verbeke (Leuven: Mediaevalia Lovaniensia , 2001).

[6] On this case, see Michael Goodich, "Liturgy and the Foundation of Cults in the Thirteenth Century", to appear in *'De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem.' Essays on Medieval Law. Liturgy and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Y. Hen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).

investigate the life, miracles and reputation (or *fama*) of the putative saint. Little opportunity was given to the witnesses to stray from this pre-ordained procedure and they were often allowed to amend their testimony at a later date. Any miracle supported by conflicting testimony was also sure to be eliminated in the course of the curial discussions over the case prior to the publication of a final bull of canonization.[7] This often insured a kind of boring, cooperative uniformity among the witnesses, although one speaker might provide more evidence than another.

Such testimony was translated from the vernacular into Latin by court officials and was sometimes transformed into indirect speech in the sources that have reached us.[8] The oral testimony elicited at a canonization hearing then became the foundation for a variety of media through which the saint's reputation reached a wider public. Although much of this material was reworked into narrative form, these depositions, drawn from the nobility, ecclesiastics, and common folk, remained the evidentiary foundation of the saint's legend. The biographical sources most often represented a reworking of the raw material of the hearing into narrative form, in which the witnesses' statements were summarized and enhanced by the addition of traditional hagiographical *topoi* and Biblical or patristic allusions. The original words of the speakers, reported directly or indirectly, continued to be quoted in various versions of the legend, and members of the urban and rural classes not usually heard in official diplomatic sources were given a voice. The Latin and vernacular biographies, sermons, liturgical offices, and visual representations based on judicial hearings, were fed back to the believing public as a means of strengthening their faith and disseminating the official version of the saint's life and miracles. The use of testimony from a canonization hearing is clearest in those biographies that directly cite the trial as their source, such as Thomas Agni de Lentino's life of Peter Martyr, or Maurice Geoffroi's life of Yves of Tréguier.[9]

The employment of oral testimony as the foundation of subsequent biographies will be illustrated through several cases drawn from papal canonization dossiers. The earliest extant papal canonization record appears to be the trial of Galgano of Chiusdino (d. 1181), held at Montesiepi in Tuscany from 4 to 7 August 1185 under Pope Lucius III. Galgano's inquiry was conducted by Conrad of Wittelsbach, the cardinal-bishop of Santa Sabina, with the assistance of two pontifical delegates and indicates the involvement of professional notaries trained at Bologna and the curial bureaucracy in the organization of the canonization

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[7] See e.g., F. van Ortroy, ed., "Procès-verbal du dernier consistoire secret préparatoire à la canonisation du Célestin V," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 16 (1897), pp. 475-487.

[8] Christian Krötzl, "Zu Übersetzung und Sprachbeherrschung im Spätmittelalter am Beispiel von Kanonisationsprozessen," *Das Mittelalter*, 2 (1997), pp. 111-118.

[9] Thomas Agni de Lentino, *Vita et miracula Petri Maryrii*, in *Acta sanctorum*, 67 vols (Paris: V. Palme, 1684-1940), 29 April III: pp. 686-712; Maurice Geoffroi, *Vita Yvonis*, in *Acta sanctorum*, 19 May IV: pp. 562-578.

inquiry.[10] The oath taken by the witnesses is of the kind used in subsequent canonization trials and indicates a new effort to insure that the life and miracles would conform to the standards of proof found in Roman law. The canonization protocol also reports that Bishop Ugo of Volterra was present during the cure of a leprous woman at Galgano's shrine[11] and undertook a preliminary investigation, which is not extant.

The sworn statements of Galgano's own mother, Dionigia, and nineteen others survive from the papal inquiry. At least three biographies, including one by Roland of Pisa (1220), may be traced to this source and are a good example of the judicial foundation of many hagiographical biographies. Galgano's mother's words, which appear partly as indirect speech and partly as direct quotation citing herself, her son and others at critical moments of the hermit's early life, are repeated verbatim, but with rhetorical additions.[12] The trial testimony of Gerardino Bimdi or Brandi concerning the saint's advice on the occasion of the cure of his lame son also appears in the narrative biographies. Galgano's recorded words were, "Son, put your faith in God, and then your son will be freed and will be able to work with his hands."[13] In one subsequent biography they were slightly embroidered to become, "Son, put your faith in God, and he will be freed; your son will then work with his own hands, thanks to divine clemency."[14] On the other hand, when this same Gerardino and his son went on a pilgrimage to Galgano's shrine, the man's words to his father in this same biography accurately reflect the words found in the protocol, "If you can, son, try to go to the tomb of the holy man."[15]

In another case from the same canonization hearing, in the report of the rescue of Petruccio di Montarrenti's eight-year-old son from an accidental drowning,[16] Petruccio's testimony, which appears as indirect discourse ("dixit quod") is

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[10] Fedor Schneider, ed., "Der Einsiedler Galgano von Chiusdino und die Anfänge von San Galgano," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 17 (1914-24), pp. 61-77. Eugenio Susi, "La *Vita Beati Galgani* del Codice Laurenziano Pluto 90., Sup. 48," *Benedictina*, 39 (1992), pp. 316-340 contains a Vallumbrosian life; Franco Cardini, *San Galgano e il spada nella roccia* (Siena: Cantagalli, 1982), pp. 101-111 contains an Augustinian biography of the fourteenth century; Eugenio Susi, *L'eremita cortese. San Galgano fra mito e storia nell'agiografica tosca del xii secolo* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1993), pp. 185-213 for an anonymous Cistercian life. Rudolph Arbesmann, "The Three Earliest Vitae of St. Galganus," in *Didascaliae. Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda*, ed. Sesto Prete (New York: B. M. Rosenthal, 1961), pp. 1-37 deals with the interdependence of Galgano's biographies, but does not deal with the trial testimony on which these lives were presumably based.

[11] Schneider, p. 77; Susi, *San Galgano*, p. 105.

[12] Susi, *Vita*, pp. 332-335; Schneider, pp. 71-72.

[13] "*Fili, confide in Domino, liberabitur filius tuus et adhuc manibus suis laborabit*," Schneider, p. 73; Susi, *Vita*, p. 337; Susi, *L'eremita*, p. 39.

[14] Susi, *Vita*, p. 337: "*Fili, confide in Domino*, et *liberabitur; filius tuus et adhuc*, divina favente clementia, propriis *manibus laborabit*."

[15] Ibid., p. 337: "*Tempta, fili, si potes, ire usque ad tumulum beati viri*."; Schneider, p. 73.

[16] Susi, *L'eremita*, p. 40; Susi, *Vita*, p. 337; Schneider, p. 74.

almost fully copied in the later life, but again, with amplification. This may or may not reflect additional testimony that is not extant. The life and miracles of Galgano also probably immediately produced a series of frescoes in the rotunda at Montesiepi (no longer extant), an elaborate reliquary, and cycles by Lorenzetti (ca. 1340) and Andrea di Bartolo (ca. 1400/20), among others. Most of the scenes in these works can be traced back to the protocol, which illustrates how such testimony could reach an even wider audience through the visual arts.[17] For example, Dionigia's words describing Galgano's vision of St. Michael are depicted in several media. Her testimony that the saint was attacked by the devil as he lay in the forest between two beech trees[18] is illustrated on the extant reliquary of the saint's head.

In another early example of a papal canonization, the case of the Cistercian Abbot Maurice of Carnoët (1114-1191) was heard in 1222.[19] This hearing was severely criticized by Pope Honorius III due to serious imperfections in the deposition of witnesses, and a second inquiry was therefore held. According to the Benedictine editor of his two brief biographies, these works postdate the hearings, and, although short, contain quotes from the saint himself, his fellow monks and various *miraculés*. One biography directly cites the saint's humorous response to a conflict within his monastery concerning an infestation of rats, saying, "And what can we [do] about those rats? Everyone should keep his own shoes next to him or even keep them under his feet."[20] The words of an incubus or the demoniac herself are quoted ("I will go with him, I will go with him").[21] A knight, who sorely tortured one of his dependents in order to extort money, said, "Neither Maurice nor Andrew can free you from my hands."[22] The saint then appeared to him in a vision saying, "Why are you injuring this man who is under my protection?". In addition, the conversation between a father and his demoniac daughter, a request made to Maurice by the parents of a child who had drowned and the vow of a lame man are cited verbatim.[23] The second biography likewise cites directly some sailors and the saint himself, presumably on the testimony of his fellow monks.[24]

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[17] Lucie Gernez, "Reliques et images de saint Galgano à Sienne (xiie-xve siècles)," *Médiévales*, 28 (1985), pp. 93-117; Diana Norman, "The Commission of the Frescoes of Montesiepi," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 56.2 (1993), pp. 289-300. A seventeenth-century source reports that the twelfth century rotunda included frescoes depicting the saint's miracles, but these do not survive.

[18] Schneider, p. 73.

[19] Beda Plaine, ed., "Duplex vita inedita S. Mauritii Abbatis Carnoetensis Ordinis Cisterciensis (114-1191)," *Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner-und dem Cistercienser-Orden*, 7.2 (1886), pp. 375-393; 7.3 (1886), pp. 157-64.

[20] Ibid., p. 384: "*Et quid ad ratos ipsos possumus? Servet unusquisque suos (sotulares) vel in pedibus habeat.*"

[21] Ibid., p. 385: "*vado cum eo, vado cum eo.*"

[22] Ibid., p. 386: "*Neque Mauricius, neque Andreas poterunt te liberare de manu mea*" and "*Quare sic affligis hominem in meum patrocinium confidentem?*"

[23] Ibid., pp. 390, 392.

[24] Ibid., pp. 160, 161, 163.

The transformation of the testimony taken from a canonization trial in a subsequent narrative biography becomes more evident with the survival of papal canonization dossiers from the mid-thirteenth century. Three cases will be highlighted, those of William of Bourges (d. 1261), Richard of Chichester (d. 1253) and Edmund of Canterbury (d. 1240). All of these cases come from the classic age of papal canonization, when many of the precedents were laid down by a series of popes with legal training. Archbishop Philip of Bourges' dossier consists of three major sources: 1) a full canonization record from 1265/6, copied at the curia in 1331 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. MS. 4019); 2) a *Vita et miracula* based on the papal hearing; and 3) several miracles recorded in Bibliothèque Nationale. MS Lat. 5373A, fols. 1r-65r. This third source contains a stenographic summary of the number of witnesses for each miracle and the degree of their agreement. Philip's case was initiated as a result of petitions addressed to the pope by Louis IX of France and prominent French ecclesiastics. Hearings were held in 1265/6 under Popes Urban IV and Clement IV at Beaugency, Bourges, and Orléans. Forty-three miracles were recorded. In 1331, this case was revived under Pope John XXII, and an account of its history was made, along with a copy of the canonization hearing, which survive in the Vatican manuscript.[25]

The anonymously authored *Vita et miracula* may perhaps be classified as the kind of *summarium vitae* that was often submitted to the curia for consideration prior to canonization.[26] It summarizes most of the evidence and cites Philip's own words directly as reported either by those who were acquainted with him personally or by those who had visions of him addressing them prior to the performance of a miracle. The direct quotes were intended to highlight Philip's virtues such as perseverance in the face of adversity[27] and charity to the poor regardless of expense,[28] or the saint's directions for the fulfillment of a vow to a *miraculé* in a vision.[29] A reading of the life reveals at least twenty-five instances in which the author quotes the witnesses directly, introduced with the words, *dixit, dicens, testificatur*. This number rises to over fifty if the cases of indirect quotation are cited, largely among the miracles. One of Maurice of Carnoët's lives noted earlier, which also appears to be a *summarium vitae*, contains four Biblical citations and perhaps other literary allusions. The absence of any Scriptural citations or direct comparative allusions to other hagiographical literature in

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[25] For a history of the case, see Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. Lat. 4019, fols.1r-11r. On Philip, see A. Gandilhon, "3. Berruyer (Philippe)," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie écclésiastique*, eds. A. Baudrillart et al., 27 vols. to date (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1912-2000), vol. 8, pp. 892-897.

[26] *Vita sancti Philippi archiepiscopi Biturcensis*, in Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, eds., *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1717-26. repr. New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), vol. 3, pp. 1927-1946.

[27] Ibid., I.13.

[28] Ibid., I.5, 8.

[29] Ibid., I.8.

Philip's life and miracles, on the other hand, suggests more clearly the quasi-judicial nature of this biography.

The first part of Philip's biography, the life, simply rearranges the testimony according to the principal virtues of the saint. The miracles are divided into two parts; those that took place in his lifetime are reported individually, and the posthumous cases are reported according to the genre of miracle. One of the persons quoted directly is the pope, probably Innocent IV, on the authority of the Franciscan Guillaume de Ausillac, archdeacon of Châteauroux and Philip's confessor. He may well have been the author of this biography. Guillaume had heard reports of the bishop's conversation with the pope concerning the suspension of Hugh de la Tour, bishop of Clermont, in which the pope wondered at the archbishop's charity toward his adversary. The pope had exclaimed, "You pray for your adversary!"[30] To this Philip had responded, "I follow my patron the blessed Stephen [patron saint of the cathedral church at Bourges], who prayed for his persecutors."[31] Philip's life is based largely on clerical witnesses, who provide the direct quotes from the saint. Although the *miraculés* themselves were often laity, preference is given to the direct quotes of the clergy.[32] In the case of the testimony of the laity, the author prefers a more narrative account and indirect speech.[33] The exception is the direct quotation of an appeal to the saint made by bystanders concerning the son of a blacksmith, drowned in a vat, which reads, "Blessed Philip, perform a miracle for us." [34] This faithfully reproduces the words of the original Vatican protocol,[35] although the fuller words of the boy's mother do not appear in the biography.

A second case, which illustrates the transformation of the depositions at a canonization hearing into both a prose and poetic biography, at the same time retaining some of the original oral testimony, concerns Bishop Richard of Chichester (d. 1253). The investigating commission into Richard's life, miracles, and reputation was appointed by Alexander IV in 1256. The dossier was examined in 1261 by Odo of Châteauroux, cardinal-bishop of Tusculum (d. 1273) and his household, who was also to examine Philip of Bourges' case in the curia. Richard was canonized by Urban IV on 22 January 1262, with a bull probably written by the important papal notary Berardo of Naples.[36] Odo delivered a sermon in Richard's honor on this occasion, which contains a summary of contemporary scholastic notions of sainthood and the miraculous, as he was to do later at the

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[30] Ibid., I.6: "*Pro adversario tuo oras!*".

[31] "*Sequor patronum meum beatum Stephanum, qui pro persecutoribus exoravit.*".

[32] See *Vita sancti Philippi*, II.1 [pp. 1933-4], II.5 [p.1935], II.6, II.8, II.9.

[33] E.g., *Vita sancti Philippi*, II.10 ff. [pp. 1936 ff.].

[34] "*Beate Philippe, facias nobis miraculum.*" [*Vita sancti Philippi*, II.10, p. 1937 bottom].

[35] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. Lat. 4019, fol. 92r.

[36] F. Kaltenbrunner, "Römische Studien III: Die Briefsammlung des Berardus de Neapoli," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 7 (1886), pp. 21-118, 555-635, esp. 557, n.1. See also D. Lohrmann, "Caracioli, Berardo," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, ed. Alberto Ghisalberti, 55 vols. to date (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960-2000), vol. 19, pp. 313-317.

canonization of Hedwig of Silesia in 1267. Richard's canonization process does not survive. It may, however, be partially reconstructed with the aid of Urban's canonization bull, Odo's sermon, a life and miracles by the Dominican Ralph Bocking written between January, 1268, and November, 1272, and several additional miracles that appear in Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. MS 15033.[37] Bocking's work was translated into an Anglo-Norman French poem in about 1276/7 by Pierre d'Abernon of Fetcham for a lay audience at the request of a canon of Chichester.[38] It contains some miracles that occurred after the 1276 translation of the relics.

The Bocking life, which survives in two slightly different manuscripts, became the source for most of the summarized vernacular and Latin lives of Richard published subsequently.[39] It was commissioned by the Dominican Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, and dedicated to Countess Isabel of Arundel (d. 1282). Isabel was the patroness of several saints' biographies, some by the historian Matthew Paris. She had founded the abbey of Marcham in 1249, dedicated by Richard. In his lifetime Richard had cured one of her friends of blindness, the widow Alice Tyrel.[40] His first posthumous miracle was the cure of Isabel's nephew, the son of her half-brother Hugh Bigod, justiciar of England.[41] Hugh's son was named Richard, was under Richard's protection because he had been baptized by him, and was cured at Lewes castle. At the time of the miracle, the countess was probably staying with her full brother John Warenne, who had inherited the castle. Bocking's account of this miracle contains a long direct quote from a girl of noble family, named Joan. She had measured the boy's body – an English devotional custom – presumably in order to prepare a wick that would be the length of a candle to be dedicated to Richard. Joan's imprecation to Richard is cited, in all likelihood taken from the canonization record. This prayer was then translated by Pierre d'Abernon into its Anglo-French poetic version, although the girl may have uttered the original prayer in French.[42] The boy revived immediately and asked to receive the sacrament. His words are also quoted. It may be assumed that both of these quotations stem from the canonization hearing. Thus, oral testimony at a canonization hearing was then repeated in several versions of the saint's life. Such repetition of the vow prior to the performance of a miracle is the most common direct citation from a canonization record that passes into its various narrative versions. In order to distinguish magic from miracle, the commissioners

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[37] Ralph Bocking, *Vita et Miracula S. Ricardi*, in *Acta sanctorum*, 3 April I: 282-315; David Jones, ed., *Saint Richard of Chichester. The Sources for his Life*, in *Sussex Record Society* 79 (1993), pp. 71-75; *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum Parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Brussels: Societé des Bollandistes, 1893), vol. 3, pp. 294-299.

[38] D.W. Russell, ed., *La vie seint Richard evesque de Chycester*, Anglo-Norman Texts Society, 51 (London, 1995).

[39] David Jones, "The Medieval Lives of St. Richard of Chichester," *Analecta bollandiana*, 105 (1987), pp. 105-129.

[40] Bocking, *Vita et Miracula*, pp. 303-304.

[41] Ibid., p. 308.

[42] Russell, *La vie*, M131-147.

in such *inquisitiones* were typically asked to inquire "what words were used by those who sought to have said miracles performed, and how they invoked God and said..." saint.[43] Those exposed to hagiographical accounts would thus learn precisely what would be the most effective invocation of the saint.

The preservation of oral testimony was not limited to members of the nobility. Another miracle concerns a two-year-old boy named John, who had been crushed under the weight of a horse-driven cart laden with salt. It was driven by a drunken, beer-swilling carter through the village square near the market of Winterboume, near Lewes in Sussex, at noon on the feast of Mary Magdalene in July.[44] This village of Winterbourne was under the authority of Isabel of Arundel's brother, John. The boy's revival despite severe injury appears among those canonically proven miracles cited by Urban IV in his 1262 bull of canonization. In Odo of Châteauroux's paraphrase, this case refers to "a boy who had been killed when a heavily laden cart ran over his stomach [who] was revived through his merits. The print left by the wheel still remains on the boy's stomach." Again, Bocking's very detailed and dramatic account notes that the persons who witnessed the event and its aftermath included two local women riding in the cart, the boy's mother, Juliana, and his father Walter, villagers aroused by the accident, and the village priest and rector Gilbert. When he examined the injured child as they awaited the coroner, the curate Gilbert is quoted directly by Bocking saying, "There is no doubt that the boy is dead. It is no wonder, for even if a strong and robust man had been injured by such a heavy weight, he would certainly die; more so in the case of a young boy, not yet two years old. Let us leave since there is no further hope for his life."[45] Nevertheless, after entreaties from the grieving mother, and recalling rumors of Richard of Chichester's miracles, the priest is quoted as saying, "Let us all devotedly on bended knee pray to God that through the prayers of the blessed confessor Richard the spirit of life may be restored to the dead boy."[46] This led to the infant's recovery. Again, this report of the participation of the onlookers in John's revival reflects the question posed by the papal commissioners, inquiring, "whether, after said miracles had been accomplished, due to these miracles faith or devotion had grown among those persons at whose invocation or petition said miracles had occurred; or among those persons for

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[43] *Processus canonizationis Thomae de Cantilupo*, in *Acta sanctorum*, 2 October I: 585-586 for a prototypical papal charge to the commissioners in a canonization case. Richard's is not extant.

[44] Bocking, *Vita et Miracula*, p. 315. Another translation appears in Jones, *Saint Richard of Chichester*, pp. 102-105; see Jones, pp. 74, 78.

[45] "*Indubitanter*, inquit *mortuus est puer: nec mirum, si enim hominem robustum et validum tante moles oppressisset, omnino prorsus extinxisset. quanto magis puerulum tenellum, aetate necdum bimum? Recedamus*, inquit, *quia vitam de isto sperare ulterius non est* ..." (Bocking, p. 315).

[46] "*Unanimiter omnes et suppliciter ac devote genua flectentes Dominum deprecemur, ut B. Richardi Confessoris sui precibus huic extincto pusioni vitae spiritum dignetur infundere.*" (Bocking, p. 315).

whom the miracle had occurred; or among others to whom it became known; and they had glorified God."[47]

A comparison of Bocking's entire version of this miracle with Pierre d'Abernon's poetic text, including the priest's words,[48] indicates a very faithful translation, limited only by the demands of poetry. As in other canonization cases, Richard's inquiry had been preceded by a papal charge to the commission to investigate the putative saint's life, miracles, and reputation. Although in Richard's case such a document is lacking, it presumably contains the same detailed terms found in other such cases. Bocking's account is a summary of the trial evidence in narrative form. By comparing the papal charges in canonization cases to Bocking's text it may be possible to partially reconstruct the contents of the witnesses' testimony. The work is filled with direct quotations from the saint himself, those who knew him, and those who experienced and witnessed his miracles. The oral testimony that lay at the foundation of Bocking's work became the basis of a series of biographies of the saint in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although the fifteenth century *Legenda nova Anglie* retains only direct quotations from Richard himself, rather than from his devotees.

The third example is drawn from the relatively full canonization dossier of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury. This consists of several sources, including letters of postulation, eyewitness first person accounts, several recensions of his life made at Pontigny, and nearly contemporary biographies, including those by Matthew Paris and Eustace of Faversham, who was himself one of the speakers in the testimony of four of Edmund's associates, the *Quadrilogus* (which is in the form of first-person testimony). The relationship between these various sources has been traced by Hugh Lawrence.[49] Dependence on the testimony delivered at Edmund's canonization process is evident in all subsequent lives, including the later *lectiones* in British Library MS Royal 2D.VI. fols. 151^{r}-165^{r}.[50] Hardly a chapter in the Pontigny life lacks direct quotations, presumably drawn from the canonization hearing.[51] The early life of the saint contains considerable citation from his mother's words, including a vision in which she appeared to him after

[47] See supra, n. 41.

[48] Russell, *La vie*, M725-734, M751-56.

[49] Hugh Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon. A Study in Hagiography and History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 1-105. It is suggested that several of the lives are themselves based on a biography that is no longer extant, and that depended on the canonization protocol. See also his Matthew Paris, *The Life of Edmund*, trans. C.H. Lawrence (Oxford: Allan Sutton, 1996).

[50] British.Library, MS Royal 2D.VI. fols. 151^{r}-165^{r}, see e.g. 153^{r}-154^{v} for vision of his mother in a dream, 162^{v}, for quote in English, 163^{r}-164^{v} for Edmund's words to grieving monks at Pontigny, 164^{v} for his deathbed speech. See also *Vita sancti Edmundi* [the so-called Anonymous B], in British Library MS Cotton Faustina, fols. 180^{r}-183^{r}, esp. 181^{v} for the deathbed speech. Also *Vita sanctissimi Edmundi* [the Anonymous A], in British Library MS Vitellius C. XII, fols. 280^{r}-290^{r}, esp. 285^{v} for words of Edmund persuading a young man to take up the cross.

[51] Martène and Durand, *op. cit.*, 3, pp. 1775-1826 for Pontigny life.

death counseling Edmund to study theology.[52] This material was presumably supplied by his brothers Robert, Nicholas, a Cistercian of Boxley, a third brother who was a monk at Eynsham, or sisters Margaret and Alice, nuns at Catesby. Details of his life at Oxford and conversations he held there were probably supplied by fellow students or his own recollections as reported by members of the archbishop's *familia*; conversations that took place at Pontigny could have been reported by the monks. His miracles while alive also contain examples of dialogue that may well have been supplied by the *miraculés* themselves.

Quotations from the saint in English, French, and Latin appear throughout the various versions of his life, and were regarded as emblematic evidence of his sanctity. For example, in rejecting gifts, in a play on words he noted that the French words "*prendre*" (to take) and "*pendre*" (to depend or hang) differ only in one letter, and that the taking of gifts may lead to dependence on the giver.[53] On his deathbed, joyfully accepting the viaticum, he reportedly recalled a proverb he had heard from his mother and said in Middle English, "Men saith, game god en wombe, ac ich seggem game gos en herte," i. e. "It is said that pleasure enters the belly, but I now say it enters the heart."[54] This episode was also recounted in Innocent IV's 1246 bull of canonization, and thus received wide currency.

Only a few examples of how the oral testimony at a canonization hearing was later inserted into subsequent lives of the saints have been presented here. So as not to neglect Hungary, one well known local example are the many direct quotations of witnesses at Margaret of Hungary's 1276 canonization trial, which are to be found throughout the later *Vita* by Garin l'Évêque.[55] The question of how reliable the memory of witnesses at such trials may have been has not been addressed. The specific list of questions posed, the desire to court the goodwill of the authorities, the influence of post-event suggestions on the witnesses' perceptual experiences, the impact of stereotypes and expectations, and the extreme elasticity of human memory are just some of the issues that must be dealt with in formulating an answer to this problem.[56] Nevertheless, the persistence of the testimony at these hearings through a variety of sources and media confirms the close interdependence between the oral and written word in medieval hagiography.

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[52] The letter of postulation addressed by Oxford University in 1241 to the pope contains citation of Edmund's mother's words in a dream directing him to study theology. See Lawrence, *St. Edmund*, p. 291; see also Martène and Durand, 3, pp. 1839-1841.

[53] Martène and Durand, 3, p.1807.

[54] Martène and Durand, 3, pp.1815-1817: "Dicitur quod ludus in ventrem vadit, sed ego dico nunc ludus in cor tendit."; also *Quadrilogus*, in Lawrence, p. 201 (i. e. testimony of one of his biographers, Eustace of Faversham); Matthew Paris, *Vita S. Edmundi*, in Lawrence, p. 266.

[55] Garin l'Evêque, *Vita Margaretae*, in *Acta sanctorum*, 28 January III, pp. 900-906. The raw materials are found in Vilmos Fraknoi, ed., *Inquisitio super vita, conversatione et miraculis beatae Margarethae virginis*, in *Monumenta romana episcopatus Vesprimensis*, 4 vols. (Budapest: Collegium romanum historicorum hungarorum. 1896-1907), vol. 1, pp.163-384.

[56] Elizabeth Loftus and James Doyle, *Eyewitness Testimony: Criminal and Civil*, 2nd ed. (Charlottesville, Va.: Michie Company, 1992), pp. 68-74.

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THE SPOKEN WORD IN CONTEXT

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VOLUME 3

Oral History of the Middle Ages
The Spoken Word in Context

Edited by Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter

Krems and Budapest 2001

GEDRUCKT MIT UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER ABTEILUNG KULTUR UND WISSENSCHAFT DES AMTES DER NIEDERÖSTERREICHISCHEN LANDESREGIERUNG

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Cover illustration: The wife of Potiphar covets Joseph: "... erat autem Joseph pulchra facie et decorus apectu: post multos itaque dies iecit domina oculos suis in Ioseph et ait dormi mecum." ("... And Joseph was [a] goodly [person], and well favoured. And it came to pass after these things, that his master's wife cast her eyes upon Joseph; and she said, Lie with me."), Gen. 39: 6-7 (KJV). Concordantiae Caritatis, c. 1350. Cistercian abbey of Lilienfeld (Lower Austria), ms 151, fol. 244v (detail). Photo: Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit (Krems an der Donau).

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Preface

Oral culture played an instrumental role in medieval society.[1] Due to the lack of any direct source evidence, however, research into the functions and importance of oral communication in the Middle Ages must confront a number of significant problems. Only indrect traces offer the opportunity to analyze phenomena that were based on or connected with the spoken word. The 'oral history' of the Middle Ages requires the application of different approaches than dealing with the 20th or 21st century.

For some decades Medieval Studies have been interested in questions of orality and literacy, their relationship and the substitution of the spoken by the written word.[2] Oral and literate culture were not exclusive and certainly not opposed to each other.[3] The 'art of writing' was part of the 'ars rhetorica' and writing makes no sense without speech.[4] Any existing written statement should also be seen as a spoken one, although, clearly, not every oral statement as a written one. Authors regularly wrote with oral delivery in mind. 'Speaking' and 'writing' are not antonyms.

It is also obvious that "the use of oral communication in medieval society should not be evaluated . . . as a function of *culture populaire* vis-à-vis *culture savante* but, rather, of the communication habits and the tendency of medieval man

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[1] For the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, cf. Willem Frijhoff, "Communication et vie quotidienne à la fin du moyen âge et à l'epoque moderne: réflexions de théorie et de méthode," in *Kommuniation und Alltag in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Helmut Hundsbichler (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992), p. 24: "La plupart de gens vivait encore pour l'essentiel dans une culture orale et les procédés d'appropriation des idées passaient de préférence par la parole dite et écoutée, quand bien même on était capable d'une lecture visuelle plus ou moins rudimentaire."

[2] See Marco Mostert, "New Approaches to Medieval Communication?" in *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 15-37; Michael Richter, "Die Entdeckung der 'Oralität' der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft durch die neuere Mediävistik," in *Die Aktualität des Mittelalters*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz (Bochum: D. Winkler, 2000), pp. 273-287.

[3] Peter Burke calls the construct of "oral versus literate" useful but at the same time dangerous: idem, "Mündliche Kultur und >Druckkultur< im spätmittelalterlichen Italien," in *Volkskultur des europäischen Spätmittelalters*, eds. Peter Dinzelbacher and Hans-Dieter Mück (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1987), p. 60.

[4] Michael Clanchy, "Introduction," in *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), p. 6.

to share his intellectual experiences in the corporate framework."[5] Oral delivery was not "the sole prerogative of any socioeconomic class."[6]

For all these reasons, it is important to analyze the extent of and context, in which 'speech acts,' auditive effects, and oral tradition occur in medieval sources .[7] Research into the use of the spoken word or references to it in texts and images provides new insight into various, mainly social, rules and patterns of the communication system. It opens up additional approaches to the organization and complexity of different, but indispensably related, media in medieval society, and their comparative analysis.[8]

The spoken word is connected with the physical presence of its 'sender.' Speech may represent the authenticity of the given message in a more obvious way than written texts or images. Therefore, the use of 'speech acts' in written or visual evidence also has to be seen in context with the attempt to create, construct, or prove authenticity. Moreover, spoken messages contribute to and increase the lifelikeness of their contents, which may influence their perception by the receiver, their efficacy and success. Being aware of such a situation will have led to the explicit and intended use and application of the spoken word in written texts and images – to increase their authenticity and importance, too.

If one operates with a model of 'closeness' and 'distance' of communication with regard to the level of relation of 'senders' and 'receivers,' then the 'speech acts' or their representation have to be seen as contributors to a 'closer' connection among the participants of the communication process.[9] At the same time, however, speech might be evaluated as less official. One regularly comes across 'oral space'

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[5] Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei. Communication in the Middle Ages* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 19.

[6] Ibidem, p. 21. Cf. also Jan-Dirk Müller, "Zwischen mündlicher Anweisung und schriftlicher Sicherung von Tradition. Zur Kommunikationsstruktur spätmittelalterlicher Fechtbücher," in *Kommunikation und Alltag in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Helmut Hundsbichler (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992), p. 400: "Offensichtlich sind schriftliche und nichtschriftliche Tradierung von Wissen weiterhin relativ unabhängig voneinander, nachdem die Schrift längst dazu angesetzt hat, Inseln der Mündlichkeit oder praktisch-enaktiver Wissensvermittlung zu erobern. Die Gedächtnisstütze kann die Erfahrung nicht ersetzen, sondern allenfalls reaktivieren. Sie ist sogar nur verständlich, wo sie auf anderweitig vermittelte Vorkenntnisse stößt."

[7] Cf. W.F.H. Nicolaisen, ed., *Oral Tradition in the Middle Ages* (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1995).

[8] See, esp., Horst Wenzel, *Hören und Sehen, Schrift und Bild. Kultur und Gedächtnis im Mittelalter* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1995), passim.

[9] See also Stefan Sonderegger, ">Gesprochen oder nur geschrieben?< Mündlichkeit in mittelalterlichen Texten als direkter Zugang zum Menschen," in *Homo Medietas. Aufsätze zu Religiosität, Literatur und Denkformen des Menschen vom Mittelalter bis in die Neuzeit. Festschrift für Alois Maria Haas zum 65. Geburtstag,* eds. Claudia Brinker-von der Heyde and Niklaus Largier (Bern et al.: Peter Lang, 1999), p. 665: "Jedenfalls darf man sich bewußt bleiben, daß auch in den Texten des deutschen Mittelalters die Reflexe gesprochener Sprache eine bedeutende Schicht ausmachen, die besonders dann immer wieder hervortritt, wenn es um einen direkten Zugang zum Menschen geht, um einVerstehen aus unmittelbarer Partnerschaft heraus ..."

that has become institutionalized or more official by the application of 'written space.'[10] Simultanous employment of such different levels and qualities of messages must often have had considerable influence on their efficacy.[11]

The papers in this volume are the outcome of an international workshop that was held in February, 2001, at the Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest. Participants concentrated on problems of the occurrence, usage, and patterns of the spoken word in written and visual sources of the Middle Ages. They dealt with the role and contents of direct and indirect speech in textual evidence or in relation to it, such as chronicles, travel descriptions, court and canonization protocols, sermons, testaments, law-books, literary sources, drama, etc. They also tried to analyze the function of oral expression in connection with late medieval images.

The audiovisuality of medieval communication processes[12] has proved to be evident and, thus, important for any kind of further comparative analysis of the various levels of the 'oral–visual–literate,' i.e. multimedia culture of the Middle Ages. Particular emphasis has to be put on methodological problems, such as the necessity of interdisciplinary approaches,[13] or the question of the extent to which we are, generally, able to comprehend and to decode the communication systems of the past.[14] Moreover, the medievalist does not come across any types of sources in which oral communication represents the main concern.[15] Instead, she or he is confronted, at first glance, with a great variety of 'casual' and 'marginal' evidence.

We would like to thank all the contributors to the workshop and to this volume. Their cooperation made it possible to publish the results of the meeting in the same year in which it took place. This can be seen as a rare exception, at least in the world of the historical disciplines. The head, faculty, staff, and students of the Department of Medieval Studies of Central European University offered various help and support. Special thanks go to Judith Rasson, the copy editor of

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[10] This, e.g., could be well shown in a case study on the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela: Friederike Hassauer, "Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit im Alltag des Pilgers am Beispiel der Wallfahrt nach Santiago de Compostela," in *Wallfahrt und Alltag in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, eds. Gerhard Jaritz and Barbara Schuh (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992), pp. 277-316.

[11] Cf. Bob Scribner, "Mündliche Kommunikation und Strategien der Macht in Deutschland im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Kommunikation und Alltag in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Helmut Hundsbichler (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992), pp. 183-197.

[12] Wenzel, *Hören und Sehen*, p. 292.

[13] Cf. Ursula Schaefer, "Zum Problem der Mündlichkeit," in *Modernes Mittelalter. Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche*, ed. Joachim Heinzle (Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1994), pp. 374 f.

[14] Frijhoff, "Communication et vie quotidienne," p. 25: "Sommes-nous encore en mesure de communiquer avec la communication de jadis?"

[15] Michael Richter, *Sprache und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen zur mündlichen Kommunikation in England von der Mitte des elften bis zu Beginn des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1979), p. 22.

this volume, who took particluar care with the texts of the many non-native speakers fighting with the pitfalls of the English language.

Budapest, Krems, and Constance
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Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter