

From Oral to Written and Back: A Sermon Case Study¹

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“Orality” takes on a twofold meaning of “orality” with respect to sermons.² It becomes the center of attention in the relation of the text to the oral performance of a sermon is concerned. Sermons, preserved in written form, demonstrate peculiar features that may be designated as “rhetorics of orality.”

The source that I have chosen is the anonymous collection of 111 Latin sermons *per totum annum* from the Benedictine monastery of St. Lambrecht (Styria, Austria). The collection is preserved in a sole manuscript written in the last third of the thirteenth century, now kept in Graz University Library as MS 841.

Although we do not have any information on this source other than that present in the text itself, it is plausible to suggest the local provenance of the manuscript. The script in which MS 841 is written is typical of the manuscripts produced in the scriptorium of the Styrian Benedictine house of St. Lambrecht in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.³ There are also reasons to believe that the texts collected in this manuscript originated in St. Lambrecht. The choice of saints whose names figure in the sermon titles is significant in this respect. These are Lambert/Lambrecht,⁴ “our patron;” John the Baptist; Mary Magdalene; John the

¹ I express my gratitude and indebtedness: to P. Benedikt Plank for sharing his knowledge and his works on the history of St. Lambrecht, to Maria Mairold for the personal attention and help in manuscript attribution; to Nicole Bériou for letting me read the manuscript version of the book on Federico Visconti [now published as *Les sermons et la visite pastorale de Federico Visconti archevêque de Pise, 1253 – 1277*, critical edition by Nicole Bériou and Isabelle Le Masne de Chermont (Rome: École française de Rome, 2001)], and to Aaron Ya. Gurevich for pointing to the comparable features in sermons of Berthold of Regensburg.

² Patrick Geary suggested using the term “vocality” in this connection, meaning “vocalization of the written text”, as opposed to “orality,” the culture of the illiterate.

³ Anton Kern, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*, 2 (Vienna: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1956), passim; Maria Mairold, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*, 3 (Vienna: Georg Prachner, 1967), passim.

⁴ Ista verba dicta sunt de Domino nostro Ihesu Christo et de sancto Lamberto, patrono nostro [fol. 40r, sermon (in the following #) 37].

Evangelist; Lawrence; Blaise; Peter. All the other saints are patron namesakes of the parish churches in the vicinity of St. Lambrecht.⁵

These sermons, with the exception of three or four, are almost certainly an "original"⁶ work by an anonymous preacher.⁷ This fact *se ipso* makes this collection interesting. Another significant feature of this source is its uniqueness. No identical or similar collection of sermons are found in any other library of Styrian monasteries. Moreover, in St. Lambrecht, the native monastery of this collection, neither this collection as a whole nor its parts were reproduced in later times, the manuscript bears no traces of having been studied after it was bound in the fifteenth century.⁸ The sermons must have had a local and transient relevance for a rather limited timespan.

Against this background it is worth asking if these sermons were ever actually delivered or whether they represent a private activity of some unnamed Benedictine brother whose "cabinet preaching" was never considered good enough to be copied and distributed.

Contentwise, the collection looks like a typical miscellany of model sermons for various occasions.⁹ The sermon topics in general do not constitute a regular yearly cycle or a thematic series. A suitable criterium for assembling these sermons, it appears, was that all of them were intended for special occasions. In most cases the framework for preaching was created by a popular liturgical feast followed by a procession, as, for instance, Candelmas, the consecration of a church, or a patron saint's day. We also have at least two sermons, one of them entitled *De cena Domini* and the other *ad populum*, which seem to have been delivered at the opening of a session of the ecclesiastical court.¹⁰ Other occasions still await eventual identification, if it is ever possible, of course.

Anton Schönbach, the first researcher to leave an exhaustive study of this source, attempted to prove that most of the sermons had indeed been delivered at one

⁵ Benedikt F. Plank, "Das Stift St. Lambrecht und seine Pfarren im Spiegel der Landesfürstlichen Visitationsprotokolle des 16. Jahrhunderts," Hausarbeit am Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung (Vienna, 1980), pp. 12-13; Anton E. Schönbach, "Miszellen aus Grazer Handschriften 12: Der Prediger von St. Lambrecht," *Beiträge zur Erforschung Steirischer Geschichte*, 33 (1903), pp. 21-22.

⁶ Taking into account the usual medieval practice of composing sermons with the help of and on the basis of multiple preaching tools and models, one should be aware that these pieces are "original" in the sense that no immediate prototypes have yet been established for them.

⁷ Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit 1150-1350*. vols. I-IX (Münster: Aschendorff, 1969-90), vol. I, p. 493; vol. III, p. 719; vol. IV, pp. 49, 757.

⁸ Schönbach, "Miszellen," p. 5.

⁹ It was usual for medieval books on *artes praedicandi*, that is, collections of model sermons, to present sermons for very special and very momentary occasions, such as, e.g., the king's entry into town.

¹⁰ Schönbach, "Miszellen," pp. 35-42.

or another identifiable occasion. On the basis of both internal and external evidence, Schönbach established exact historical backgrounds for a number of sermons, dating from 1239 to the late 1260s. For example, we have one sermon supposedly preached in 1265 on the consecration of the main basilica of the monastery after a fire in 1262.¹¹ Yet, there are many more sermons in the collection that are not likely to be dated with any certainty.

Who was the audience for these sermons? Provided that the preacher was a local Benedictine monk, would he not be primarily concerned with the salvation of his fellow brethren? However, from these 111 sermons only a small number are explicitly addressed to *fratres*.¹² Schönbach contended that most of the sermons from MS 841 were intended for the local public, composed, most probably, of peasants. Hence the label *Bauernprediger*, currently attached to the presumed author of these sermons, in the Austrian literature.¹³

Unless greeting his audience as *fratres*, the preacher usually speaks to uncertain *karissimi*. There is also a distinct category of sermons that lack any salutation.¹⁴ From the theological viewpoint, most of the latter sermons are most sophisticated: they abound in quotations, enumeration of arguments, and other typical features of scholastic discourse. These "professorial sermons" have different lengths, one of them taking up ten pages, in contrast to another one only two half-pages long! Either too short or too long for a speech, so these sermons are not likely to have ever been delivered as they are. In the absence of an addressee and the complete absence of allusions to local events or figures, these impersonal collections of quotations with rare connecting phrases are probably templates, models for further use.

The sermons for *karissimi* are the most primitive theologically. If quoting, the preacher refers exclusively to the Bible; often he uses appropriate *loci* from the Old Testament, the Psalms he quotes by heart, as is appropriate for a Benedictine monk. In these sermons there are almost no references to the Church fathers. The sermons for *karissimi* are the most local-bound. It is in these sermons that the preacher speaks of the local saints, Lambert and Blaise,¹⁵ discusses political events such as the invasion of the Hungarian king,¹⁶ or explains what the feast of Corpus Christi is all about.¹⁷ Could these sermons indeed have been designed for peasants?

¹¹ #33, Schönbach, "Miszellen," p. 46.

¹² ##17, 34, 77, etc.

¹³ *Geschichte der Literatur in Österreich von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 11/1, ed. Fritz P. Knapp (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1999). pp. 359-363.

¹⁴ ##15, 19, 20, 45, 46, 47, 48, 54, 55, etc.

¹⁵ ##37 and 38 respectively.

¹⁶ Ad presens etiam karissimi possunt hec verba recitare, hoc est de expeditione domini nostri ducis qui pro defensione terre sue et nostre, omnes pugnare valentes convocavit. Audivit enim quod rex Ungarie inimicus suus dixerit, *Persequar et comprehendam divicias* etc. (Exod. 15:9) Multos enim ut audimus sarracenos Christum nescientes et Christiani nominis religioni invidentes ad se

The sermons for *fratres* are much closer to the sermons for the simple folk, for *karissimi*, than to the impersonal *professorial* models. Certainly, the sermons for *fratres* are marked by greater depth and insight in theological matters. Before the people the preacher referred only to the Bible, while for the brethren he used remarks that make one conclude that he must have made a more profound study of the Holy Scriptures.¹⁸

In the early Middle Ages monks often exercised pastoral care in place of secular clergy, especially in remote regions.¹⁹ However, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was rather unusual for the Benedictines to administer *cura animarum* for the laity: they limited themselves to the right of the private church to appoint priests to affiliated parishes.²⁰ Extant examples of thirteenth-century Benedictine preaching are few because Benedictines enclosed within their monasteries and preached – if ever – to the brethren only.²¹ What if the collection from St. Lambrecht is indeed a rare instance of Benedictine preaching to the laity?

congregavit, ut deleat nos, et terram suo dominio subponat, ecclesias Dei destruere intendit et omnes occidere more gladii vult, sicut quondam fecit Nabuchodonosor... . Omnem namque populum de diversis partibus ad dominum nostrum ducem congregatum persequi vult, comprehendere intendit, spoliare conatur in virtute potentie sue gloriatur. Clamemus ergo ad Dominum qui pharaonem... submersit cum omni exercitu suo... ut dominum nostrum ducem cum omnibus conservet et adjuvet, et nostros homines et aliarum ecclesiarum incolomes et sanos reducat, et hostes in virtute sua confidentes deiciat. (fol. 24r, #21).

¹⁷ Festum enim istud (corporis Christi) ex ordinatione divina est inventum ad Christianorum utilitatem et ad religionem divinam confirmatum est. Quidam papa Romanus Urbanus nomine considerans hominum negligentiam et eorum fragilitatem quia tempore Dominice Cene sicut ab ecclesia ab antiquis patribus statutum fuit confessione mundari deberent et communione facere corporis et sanguinis Christi, interesse deberent se plures absentaverunt diversis negociis impediti, diem istum instituit, in cantu novo, in legendis, et ut devotius interesse curarent, magnam indulgentiam omnibus concessit et dedit. (fol. 25r, #23).

¹⁸ E.g., on the use of repetitions in the language of the Old Testament: Duplici adhortatione filia Syon iubetur gratulari, dum dicit Dominus, *Gaude et letare* (Lam.4:21), hec duo verba unam habent significationem sed duplicis leticie important adhortationem. Quare fit hoc? Divina Scriptura talem habet modum, ut quandocumque rumor delectabilis et proficiuus gaudium importans debet alicui nunciari, sub iteratione verborum replicare consuevit sicut e converso de malis imminetibus solet alios duplicato nomine premunire ut ibi: *Hierusalem, Hierusalem que occidis prophetas* etc. (Mt. 23:37) (fol. 20r, #17).

¹⁹ Cf. Lortz, Joseph, *Istorija Cerkvi, rassmotrennaja v svyazi s istorijej idej* (*Geschichte der Kirche in ideengeschichtlicher Betrachtung*), vol. I (Moscow: Khristianskaja Rosssija, 1999), p. 314.

²⁰ Dinzelbacher, Peter, "Osnovnye tendencii religioznogo razvitiia Germanii v epohu vysokogo Srednevekovja" (Basic tendencies of religious development in Germany in the High Middle Ages), in *Other Middle Ages: Festschrift A. Ya. Gurevich*, eds. I. V. Dubrovskij et al. (Moscow and St. Petersburg: CGNII INION RAN, Universitetskaya kniga, 2000), p. 148.

²¹ From among 129 extant sermons of Jacques de Fumes, the abbot of the Benedictine house of St.-Bertin (1230-38), many were preached to the brothers of other Benedictine monasteries; at least two sermons were delivered – by special invitation – to the Cistercians, but none was directed at

Schönbach arrived at his conclusions concerning the *Bauernpredigt* based on specific features of the source: topics and occasions of sermons, themes elaborated therein, sporadic vernacular words, and so on. However, external historical evidence also confirms the possibility of Benedictine preaching to a lay audience. Because of the particular historical settings of St. Lambrecht, secular priests in the villages around these monasteries were sometimes replaced by monks from the mid-twelfth century.²² In 1420 the abbots of St. Lambrecht made a treaty with the Salzburg archbishop that stipulated their special right to appoint priests to affiliated parishes, either secular or from the ordained monks, who were to administer the pastoral care of the residents.²³ Although we have no documentation for the thirteenth century, the situation then is likely to have been the same, whether *de facto* or *de iure*. It is clear from some phrases in the text that the preacher was simultaneously the priest who served the mass.²⁴ He would have delivered a sermon in course of the mass, right after the Gospel reading.²⁵ This evidence on the priestly functions of the preacher reinforces an assumption that a Benedictine brother from St. Lambrecht could preach to the laity, most probably peasant parish audience.

I also believe that, apart from local parishioners, the preacher from St. Lambrecht could also speak to the motley public coming to Mariazell, the famous pilgrimage site founded and managed by St. Lambrecht.²⁶ I am not yet able to provide convincing textual proof for this hypothesis but it is known for certain that the monks from St. Lambrecht served as priests and confessors for the pilgrims.

Taking all these facts and suppositions into account, one may consider the collection from St. Lambrecht as one of the rarest examples of sermons addressed to

the laity. See Gérard De Martel, "La collection des sermons de Jacques de Furnes: Le sermon sur Ruth 1.22," *Sacris Erudiri: Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen*, 32 (1991), pp. 343-393 and idem, "Les deux sermons de Jacques de Furnes en l'honneur de saint Winnoc," *Sacris Erudiri: Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen*, 33 (1992-3), pp. 343-367.

²² Benedikt Plank, *Geschichte der Abtei St. Lambrecht: Festschrift zur 900. Wiederkehr des Todes-tages des Gründers Markward von Eppenstein 1076–1976* (St. Lambrecht, 1978), p. 22.

²³ "Für diese Kirchen erhält der Abt das Recht, nach Belieben Mönchen oder Weltpriestern die Seelsorge zu übertragen und die Vikare auch wieder abzusetzen." (Plank, *Das Stift St. Lambrecht und seine Pfarren*, p. 8).

²⁴ Tercium est quod corpus Christi hodie hic sumitur in altari, quia non solum ego qui celebro et conficio et sumo corpus Cristi, sed omnes fideles et casti et mundi, indubitanter corpus Christi mecum sumunt, si non visibiliter et secundum fidei meritum hoc fiet. (fol. 39r, #35); ... et corpus Christi sumitur hic, id est a sacerdote me licet indigno conficitur et vice vestra sumitur hodie pro omnibus vobis (fol. 54v, #49); Asto certe iam sacris indutus vestibus et ipsum non solum pro me sed pro vobis omnibus offeram super aram ... (fol. 58v, #51).

²⁵ Hic exponatur evangelii textus, et postea subde (fol. 9r, #8); Verba ista karissimi sunt veritatis hoc est Domini nostri Ihesu Christi qui tale habent intellectum, exponas secundum literam ewangelium quo dicto agrediaris. (fol. 54r, #49); Hic exponatur eis textus ewangelii quo facto procedat sic. (fol. 59v, #52).

²⁶ Plank, *Geschichte der Abtei St. Lambrecht*, pp. 22-23.

the local rustic population, in contrast to multiple sermons addressed to burghers. However, a reservation should be made. For the time being there is no evidence to verify whether or not many of these sermons were ever delivered. We may finally have to be content with the following cautious statement: these texts were written with the rustic public in the author's mind and they could have been delivered to a rustic audience.

The texts we have are in Latin. Some of them indeed may have been read out in public as they are, that is, the present text closely reproduces the words of the preacher or speech faithfully reproduced a text written beforehand. However, this may only be the case with a few sermons like the "professorial" ones and, perhaps those for the monks, as they could possibly have understood spoken Latin.

The rest of sermons, including all those for *karissimi*, represent a template rather than a ready-to-use speech. By necessity the preacher had to speak in the vernacular, since he wanted to be understood.²⁷ Therefore, what we see may be either an initial Latin draft of the German speech or the final Latin redaction of the original German speech.²⁸ The latter may be, in fact, a collation of the first draft and the oral delivery, with a certain additional editing implied. There are other options as well, making it rather difficult to determine the place for any given case on the scale between oral and written.

Among other factors that led Schönbach to identify the audience of these sermons as thirteenth-century Styrian peasantry was the fact that the texts, as we have them now, demonstrate apparent traces of "having been spoken in vernacular."²⁹ Regarding the word order and syntactic constructions, I leave it for the German native speaker, as was Schönbach, to judge whether they are typically German. There are also a few German interjections in the text, such as *Helf uns sande Marie* (fol. 57v), which was purportedly a popular song,³⁰ or *Nu bite wir den heiligen geist* (fol. 59r). These facts alone, nevertheless, bear no witness except for the fact that the preacher himself thought in German and prepared to speak to German-speakers.³¹ German inclusions are not marginal remarks. Written in the same script on the same lines as the rest of the text, they had been part of the text that the scribe had before his eyes when he produced the manuscript. The presence of the vernacular may indicate translation from the original vernacular into Latin (oral → written) after preaching, or

²⁷ Berthold of Regensburg was so much concerned with the audience's understanding that he often asked them, "*Versteht ir min tiutsche?*" Frank G. Banta, "Berthold von Regensburg," in *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte*, ed. M. Greschat, vol. 4 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1983), p. 9.

²⁸ Schönbach, "Miszellen," p. 14.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³¹ There is also a wordplay – *abval* = *apfel*, *abfall* (Schönbach, "Miszellen," p. 59): *Item in isto tempore (in Capite jejunii) jejunamus, quia mundus tunc cepit, scilicet in vere, et Adam comestione nos peccato subiecit. Unde pomum in nostra lingua dicitur: abval.*

translation from the "original" Latin into the vernacular for consequent preaching (written → oral). Had the German inclusions in the text been the remnants or reminiscences of the original German oral presentation consequently translated into Latin, why would they be left without translation? They do not seem to be so important as to be preserved in original in the final Latin redaction. Rather, one would believe that the preacher noted down a fitting passage from a vernacular song, to remember it later in his speech, when he was just preparing the first draft for it.³²

The text also shows another feature that fits well in the context of preparatory notes. These are typical, rather needless connecting phrases like: "You want to know about it? Listen, and I will tell you."³³ I believe that these phrases would have been eliminated in the final redaction of the text.

The third argument to support the thesis that we have drafts rather than final versions is the fact that most texts look like broad outlines rather than finished products. In some cases there is only a rough "skeleton" of a would-be sermon, made of quotations with short connecting sentences in between. In other more elaborate cases, one observes a steady logical development of the argument, but still some parts are just hinted at by the remarks such as "Here you can narrate the example of a hermit who saw someone who went to the church carrying the devil's bonds upon him and came back from the church delivered ..."³⁴ or "Here explain what kind of indulgence that was."³⁵

Should one conclude, therefore, that the manuscript from St. Lambrecht contains first drafts by an anonymous preacher who, for some reason, wanted to preserve them for the future as they were, imperfect and momentarily relevant?

Schönbach believed that the manuscript consisted of after-delivery notes although he could not tell that for certain.³⁶ Even if this were the case, there are numerous indications in the text that the author or the later editor of the text foresaw the possibility of re-fashioning the text for some other occasion as well. For instance, he recommended: "Here, if you deign, appropriately speak about confession ...",³⁷ or "Here you may introduce much about the annunciation, and then you add *moraliter* the following ...",³⁸ or "Here, if time permits, much can be said [about the four

³² "Diese deutschen Brocken dienten am ehesten als Erinnerungsstücke für jemand, eventuell für Berthold [von Regensburg], der nach einer lateinischen Vorlage deutsch predigte." (Frank G. Banta, "Berthold von Regensburg," p.10).

³³ E.g., Vis tu scire homo, tunc disce. Ecce ego docebo te. (fol.17r, #14).

³⁴ Hic potes dicere exemplum de eremita qui vidit unum a diabolo ligatum ad ecclesiam ire et solutum redire. (fol. 24r, #21).

³⁵ Hic expone qualis sit indulgentia. (fol. 25r, #23).

³⁶ Schönbach, "Miszellen," p. 15.

³⁷ Hic si expedire videris, loquere de confessione. (fol. 2r, #1).

³⁸ Hic multa de annunciatione introducas, et tandem moraliter hec adice. (fol. 4v, #3).

virtues],”³⁹ or “*You must have a belt on*, meaning, avoid gluttony, but this is not to be expounded before the poor, for they do not have extra food or drink”.⁴⁰ These suggestions make me think that we deal with the second redaction that left the first drafts generally unchanged but expanded them so as to make them more “model-like,” more general, less time- and situation-bound. In other words, the aim of this redaction was to make a proper preaching tool.⁴¹ In contrast to Schönbach’s viewpoint, I contend that in the present texts two layers of editing can be discerned: notes that the preacher made for himself when writing the first draft, like *Hilf uns sande Maria*, and directions for a preacher-to come made in the course of the after-delivery editing, like *Here, if time permits*, ...

To my mind, these texts present us with different stages of the written word being converted into the spoken and, perhaps, back from the spoken word to the written.⁴² Or, if we deal with a cabinet preacher, then we observe how he imagined the transition from the text to the oral presentation.

I also want to point to some interesting features of the sermons addressed to *karissimi*. Perhaps this was a generally accepted way of preaching, or, maybe, our preacher thought that peasants ought to be addressed in this way, since his “professorial” sermons are absolutely different in this respect. In any case, a peculiar characteristic common to many pieces throughout the St. Lambrecht collection is their literary, fictitious orality. I shall explain what I mean.

These sermons demonstrate the structure that was typical of “modern” thirteenth-century preaching and was, in turn, brought about by new developments in rhetorics.⁴³ The entire sermon is built on a thematic Biblical verse introduced in the beginning. This “theme” is usually followed immediately by the “protheme,” another verse that allows the preacher to introduce a little “sermon within a sermon” before proceeding to the actual theme. Within the protheme the preacher either explains to his audience the role of a preacher or discusses the importance and the force of the Divine Word or calls the listeners’ attention toward the spiritual benefits ensuing from a sermon. The protheme is closed by a call to common prayer that unites the preacher

³⁹ Hoc est IIII virtutibus ... De quibus si tempus admitteret multa poteris dicere. (fol. 26v, #24).

⁴⁰ [Sic autem comedetis illum renes vestros accingetis calciamenta habebitis in pedibus tenentes baculos in manibus etc. (Exod. 12:11)] Accingi debes ut caveas gulam, sed de hoc non multum coram pauperibus est dicendum, qui non habent superflua comedere et bibere. (fol. 28v, #26).

⁴¹ Cf. *Les sermons et la visite pastorale de Federico Visconti*, chapter 3, “La constitution du recueil des sermons de Federico Visconti,” section 3, “Un instrument de travail.”

⁴² Cf. *Les sermons et la visite pastorale de Federico Visconti*, chapter 3, “La constitution du recueil des sermons de Federico Visconti,” section 2, “Des états de rédaction divers”; see also Dieter Richter, *Die deutsche Überlieferung der Predigten Bertholds von Regensburg: Untersuchungen zur geistlichen Literatur des Spätmittelalters* (Munich: Beck, 1969), pp. 225–241.

⁴³ See David d’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), and Nicole Bériou, *L’avenement des maîtres de la Parole à Paris au XIIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Institut d’études augustiniennes, 1998).

and his audience.⁴⁴ After the protheme the preacher returns to the thematic verse and develops it in one or another way. He may either interpret the entire phrase or break it into parts or give an exegesis of one or several important words from the phrase.

The introductory part of a sermon seems to be the only part of the text that is usually fully and coherently spelled out in the collection from St. Lambrecht. In contrast, the development is most often just outlined, roughly sketched, as I have mentioned above. It is in the development of a sermon that the text displays the features of an oral speech.⁴⁵

This interpretation is based on distinctions. Those are often numbered, as was common in the age of scholastics as well as nowadays: "Three things are noted in these words ...," "In which we must note two things ...," "Since angels serve us in three ways: the first, the second, the third ...".⁴⁶ Numbering apparently facilitated comprehension of the argument, especially if perceived by hearing only. The logical relation of parts of the text is signaled by repetitions like: "You have heard about this ... Now hear about that," or "You've listened well to this ... still you should listen to that."⁴⁷ Repetition is also used to create oppositions, one of the favourite devices of rhetorics: "Many are used to work and give all their belongings in order to avoid the death of the body, and few work and give their belongings in order to avoid the death of their soul."⁴⁸ Oppositions are often rhymed, probably for easy memorization.⁴⁹ The

⁴⁴ E.g., sermon *De Apostolis*: [Theme] *Estote prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbe*. (Mt.10:16) [Protheme] *Si separabis preciosum a vili, quasi os meum eris*. (Jeremias 15:19) Ad quemlibet predicatorem loquitur verba ista. Tu predicator si preciosum, id est animam hominis separaveris a vili, hoc est a peccato, quasi os meum eris. Omnis predicator est os Domini. Unde: *Os enim Domini locutum est* (Isa. 58:14). Non est in voluntate loquentis nec clamantis, sed in gratia Spiritus Sancti. ... Vox predicatoris laborat exterius sed Spiritus Sanctus cooperator est interius. Unde ipse Dominus in evangelio dicit: Qui audit mandata mea et servat ea, similabo eum uno sapienti. [Call to a common prayer] Rogate ergo Dominum ut det voci sue vocem veritatis, ut sermo noster animam vestram a peccatis separet et Spiritu Sancto nos impleat. [Return to the theme] Unde dicite: *Estote prudentes sicut serpentes* etc. (fol. 22v, #20).

⁴⁵ Comparable features are found in the German sermons of Berthold of Regensburg [Aaron Ya. Gurevich, *Srednevekovyj mir: kul'tura bezmolstvujuschego bol'shinstva* (Stumme Zeugen des Mittelalters: Weltbild und Kultur der einfachen Menschen) (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1990), pp. 184-192].

⁴⁶ E.g., Christus tres dietas pro nobis fecit: primam. ... secundam. ... tertiam (fol. 3v, #2); Tria in his verbis notantur. (fol. 14v, #13); Serva tantum ista tria. ... (fol. 17r, #14); In quibus nobis duo notantur. (fol. 17v, #15); Nam angeli in tribus servant nobis. (fol. 22r, #19).

⁴⁷ Audistis modo ... Audite vero (fol. 2r, #1); Karissimi, bene modo audistis ... adhuc audire debetis (fol. 3r, #2); Audistis modo uno modo, unde sancta Maria nominetur amara ... Adhuc dico vobis secundo modo et ipsa tibi Maria dicet. (fols. 58v-59r, #51).

⁴⁸ Multi solent laborare et omnes res suas dare ut mortem corporis evadant et pauci laborant ut ... mortem anime evadant. (fol. 4r, #2).

thematic verse in full or some of its words are repeated many times throughout the sermon to stress their importance and to better impress their meaning upon the listeners.

The monotony of a “talking head” seems to have been the main danger that the preacher tried to avoid. He used various tactics to create an illusion of a live multi-lateral talk.

The argument is moved forward, the distinctions are announced, and the sermon receives its internal structure with the help of short questions and answers.⁴⁹ Those serve several purposes simultaneously. They draw attention of the public, make understanding easier, and create an impression of a dialogue between the preacher and his audience:

And what does it signify? – Of course, the Lord’s passion ... And how did he come to the tree [of the cross]? – Definitely, riding a donkey he came to Jerusalem today.”⁵¹

In this case, however, it is clear that this is the preacher himself both asking and responding. Non–the less frequently the preacher anticipates questions from his audience. These are usually characteristically ignorant:

Perhaps you’re deliberating why people are still dying. And, perhaps, you think that since Maria had removed the eternal death, no one should die forever? This is not so;

Put on your belt etc. Three things should be noted here ... You simpletons perhaps think for yourself: These three I can well implement: I have a belt on, I wear shoes, and I also have a good stick. This is not as you think. Another meaning is hidden in these words that I want to teach you;

In this connection you perhaps ponder silently: Why are you saying that we are in the dusk although the day is already more than bright and, besides, we have candles in our hands?⁵²

⁴⁹ Non vere, quia Dominus non attendit materiam ligni sed victoriam signi, non floris pulchritudinem sed virtutum habilitatem (fol. 3r, #2); Si homo diligitur et non Deus, nichil est, et si Deus diligitur et non homo, parum prodest. (fol. 38v, #35).

⁵⁰ Nicole Bériou asserts that this technique was common for many preachers of the period, *Les sermons et la visite pastorale*, chapter 5, “Un art de prêcher,” section 3a, “Une technique familière.”

⁵¹ Et quid designat hoc? Certe passio Domini ... Et quomodo venit ad arborem? Certe hodie in asino venit in Hierusalem. (fol. 2r, #1).

⁵² Forte cogitatis inter vos, quod adhuc homines moriuntur ... Et forte cogitatis si sancta Maria amovit mortem eternam nullus debet mori eternaliter? Non est ita. (fol. 6v, #5); *Renes vestros accingetis* etc. (Exod. 12:11) Tria ponuntur hic que notare debetis ... Tu simplex qui audis ista forte cogitas apud te: Ista tria bene possum implere. Cunctus sum, calciamenta fero, baculum etiam bene habeo. Non est ita ut tu putas. Aliud latet in verbis istis quod te homo docere et intelligere volo. (fol. 28v, #26); Adhec forte cogitatis tacite sic: Quomodo dicitis nos esse in tenebris, maxime cum dies iam clara videatur, et insuper lumen habeamus in manibus? (fol. 57v, #51).

Sometimes the question to the audience comes from the preacher: "Why, *karissimi*, did the Lord say that about John the Baptist? You certainly think he had no reason. Not really ..." ⁵³ The preacher also prompts the public to respond to his words: "Just tell me if you understood, tell me if today any of you wants to open for Christ so that the latter will enter to him." ⁵⁴

The preacher devises conversations between the beholder and the characters of his sermon. Often, although not always, these conversations contain Biblical references. In combination with rather colloquial words added by the preacher the effect might at times even be comic.

And you will be told: Here is a horrible monster, you dare not enter here but you will be thrown down to hell ... And they will receive you saying: *Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord*, there you will see him perfectly, and by seeing you will love him, and by loving him you will have eternal joy ...;

But Christ, like a good and pious father, calls us with exhortations, petitions and even follows us saying: *Return, return, o Sulamith*, it is you who abandoned me and despised me, forgetful of me, return to me, and *I will draw you unto me to the heavens*. ⁵⁵

Sometimes the preacher makes celestial characters converse with each other:

Some angels were not aware of the incarnation of Christ, so today, seeing him ascend in heaven, they were surprised and asked each other: *Who is this who cometh from Edom*, that is who comes from the earth?

or

He sent his son from the arch of heaven into the world, thus telling him: My son, *go into Egypt*, tell the pharaoh to *let my people go*, for *I have seen their tribulation*. That is, you must assume flesh from the Virgin and converse in Egypt, which is called dusky, to deliver my people from the yoke of the pharaoh, that is, from the yoke of devil. And the son responded: *By the word of thy lips I have kept me from the paths of the destroyer*. ⁵⁶

⁵³ [*Inter natos mulierum non est maior* etc. (Mt. 11:11)] Quare hoc, *karissimi*, dixit de eo Dominus? Putatis sine causa. Non vere ... (fol. 12r, #11).

⁵⁴ Modo dicatis mihi si intellexistis, dicatis mihi si hodie aliquis ex vobis velit aperire Christo, ut intret ad ipsum. (fol. 14r, #13).

⁵⁵ Et dicetur ad te: Ecce monstrum horribile non intrabis huc sed cum asinis in infernum proicieris (fol. 4r, #2); ... Vos suscipiunt dicentes: *Intra in gaudium Domini tui* (Mt. 25:21, 25:23), ibi ipsum perfecte videas, et videndo diligas, et diligendo eterna gaudia habeas (fol. 4r, #2); Sed Christus sicut bonus et pius pater revocat nos exhortationibus, petitionibus et etiam sequitur nos dicens, *Revertere revertere Sulamith* (Cantic. 6:12), hoc est tu qui dereliquisti me et despexisti me, mei oblitus revertere ad me, et ego traham te post me ad celum (Jhn. 12:32) (fols. 10v-11r, #10).

⁵⁶ Unde etiam angeli aliqui incarnationem eius ignorabant et hodie videntes eum ascendentem in celum admirati sunt dicentes: *Quis est iste qui venit de Edom* (Isa. 63:1), id est qui venit de terra? (fol. 11r, #10); Filium misit ab arce celi in mundum, unde taliter dixit: *Fili descende in Egyptum* (Gen. 46:3), *dic pharaoni* (Eze.31:2) *ut dimitteret populum meum* (Exod. 8:32) quia vidi

In some cases the preacher, the listeners and the celestial characters all participate in the discussion:

Let us ask the Blessed Virgin Mary: Tell us, purest Virgin, why did you come to the temple with your son even though you remained unviolated in any part of your body? – So that I could demonstrate to you the form of humility and would set you an example of justice. For my son in birth, on conversation of his earthly life, was poor in death and always taught poverty and humility. Therefore if you wish to approach him you must do the same.⁵⁷

Whose voice was that, Mary's or the preacher's?

In one sermon the polyphony of voices reaches its maximum. One immediately imagines King Solomon as a tricky school-teacher, giving riddles to his eager but not very smart pupils:

Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners? Lord Solomon proposed a plausible question about the Blessed Virgin saying, *Who is she that looketh forth*, etc. Although for a long time there was no one who could answer him, there were, nevertheless, five persons to be found who could well give detailed responses to his question. One of them was Lord Moses. So say you, Moses, who is that so beautiful, so glorious? – The table of shewbread. – In the Lord's name, he responded wonderfully when asserting that she was the table of shewbread. You are saying, o Moses, that she was the table of shewbread? – I'm saying so. – Why? – On the table of shewbread there was *a golden pot that held manna*. – What was this golden pot for? What is so wonderful if ever on this table there was a golden pot? You did not answer well. – No, I responded you the best, o Solomon. The pot with manna on the table are the flesh and soul of Christ in Mary. She is called the table, that is, of shewbread, because the heavenly bread, that is the Body of Christ, provides manna for anyone hungry for justice, as Christ said: *I am the living bread which came down from heaven ...* – Let also another one speak, whoever knows better who she is. The second is Lord Isaiah. – Say then you, Isaiah, say, say, what seems to you or what is now about her, say who she is. – A blossoming rod. – See how he has answered, what a contradiction in responses. – I do not contradict, I corroborate in the sense and truth. – Tell then, why is she a rod? – Let it be. The rod is humble and erect

afflictionem ejus (Exod. 3:7). Hoc est carnem debes assumere de virgine et in Egypto quod tenebre dicitur conversari, ut liberes populum meum de jugo pharaonis, id est diaboli. Et filius respondit: *Propter verba labiorum tuorum pater ego custodivi vias duras*. (Ps. 16:4)(fol. 4v, #3).

⁵⁷ Queramus a beata Maria: Dic nobis mundissima virgo, quare venisti cum filio tuo ad Templum cum tu inviolata ex omni parte fueris? Ideo ut formam humilitatis vobis ostenderem et exemplum iusticie vobis ponerem. Filius enim meus innatus in conversatione vite, in morte pauper fuit, et semper paupertatem et humilitatem docuit. Unde similiter si ad ipsum pervenire vultis facere debetis (fol. 18v, #16).

upright. It is moved and scabbled by the wind and yet it does not fall off its root. Why? Because it is flexible and yet firmly rooted. The same way the blessed Virgin Mary, who of the entire world exposed in herself examples of humility saying, *For he hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden* ... – Let another one come forth, whoever claims to know who is so beautiful. The third one is Lord Jeremiah responding to Solomon. – Say, then, Jeremiah, who she is? – A burning pot. – By God, this one gives a wonderful response when saying that the Blessed Virgin is a pot. – Truly, she is a pot. Since a pot is made of clay, and the Blessed Mary through the first ancestor originates, like us, from the clay of earth. But this pot is also called burning. Don't you know that a potter exposes a vase made by his art to the test by fire: if it does not break in fire but endures, he approves of it and, thus reinforced, returns it to the people's use. So also God the maker of creatures ... – Let also another one come up, whoever knows who she is. The fourth one is Lord Daniel who stands ready to answer. – Speak also you Daniel, say, say if you know who she is. – A mountain. – You see how he responded saying that the Blessed Virgin is a mountain? – Yes, the Blessed Virgin is the mountain of which the stone is carved, without help of hands, which grew up to a huge mountain and filled the entire universe. The stone carved without help of hands is Christ born of the Virgin without male interference ... – The fifth should speak to respond who she is. I think that he knows her better than all others, since they were brought up in the world, while he studied the discipline in the loftest mountains of the divine school. He is Archangel Gabriel. Say also you, Gabriel, who she is. – She is full of grace ...⁵⁸

⁵⁸ [In Nativitate S. Marie] *Que est ista que progreditur sicut aurora consurgens pulchra ut luna electa ut sol terribilis ut acies ordinata* (Sol. 6:9) Dominus Salomon de beata virgine questionem laudabilem proposuit dicens: *que est ista* etc. Nec erat permultum tempus qui vere sibi poterat respondere, tandem inventi sunt quinque qui decenter responsione sua questionem enodaverunt. Primus ex hiis est dominus Moyses. Dic ergo tu Moyses que sit ista tam pulchra tam preclara? Mensa propositionis. In nomine Domini, iste mirabiliter respondit, affirmans eam esse mensam propositionis. Dicis o Moyses ipsam esse mensam propositionis? Dico. Quare? Audite. In mensa propositionis posita erat *urna aurea in se continens manna* (Heb. 9:4). Quid sibi vult in hac mensa *urna aurea*? Quid miri si olim in illa mensa fuit *urna aurea*. Non bene respondisti. Immo optime respondi tibi o Salomon. Audi ergo, *urna aurea corpus Christi. Manna in urna, anima Christi in corpore. Urna simul et manna in mensa, caro et anima Christi in Maria. Hec dicitur mensa, scilicet propositionis, quia omni esurienti iusticiam prebet manna panis celestis, hoc est corpus Christi qui dicit: Ego sum panis vivus qui de celo descendi* ... (Jhn. 6:41, 51) Dicat et alius si quis noverit melior que sit ista? Secundus enim est dominus Ysaïas. Dic ergo tu Ysaïas, dic dic, quid tibi videtur vel constet de illa, dic que sit ista. Florens virga. Videte, qualiter iste respondit, qualiter discordant in responsione. Non discordo, sed concordo sensu et veritate. Dic ergo quare sit virga. Fiat. Virga humilis est et in altum est erecta. Vento agitur et inpingitur, et tamen a radice non corrumpitur. Quare? Flexibilis est tamen firmiter radicata. Sic beata virgo Maria, humilitatis exempla ex universo mundo in se exponens dicens: *Respexit Dominus humilitatem ancille sue*

This example speaks for itself. The preacher from St. Lambrecht fashioned his sermons as many-sided conversations, thus using the fiction of oral communication as a literary method. In the written text he imitates an oral discourse. Perhaps, he considered the “orality”/“vocality” of a sermon to be a genre requirement? Even when there is no telling whether the text was ever delivered as an actual sermon we can observe the author’s strategy of creating his “sermon” as spoken word.

(Lk. 1:48) ... Accedat et alius qui dicat se nosse que sit ista tam formosa. Tercius est et dominus ieremias respondens Salomoni. Dic ergo ieremia que sit illa? Olla succensa. Per Deum iste mirabili utitur responsione dicens beatam virginem esse ollam. Verum est. Olla est. Olla enim ex luto conficitur et beata Maria de primo parente de terra plasmato nobiscum originem traxit. Olla etiam, hec dicitur succensa. Scitis nempe quod figulus vas arte sua factum in igne probandum exponit, si in igne non crepat sed perdurat approbat et sic duratum ad usus hominum confert. Sic Deus figulus figmentorum ... Procedat et alius qui noverit que sit ista. Quartus est dominus Daniel qui ad respondendum stat paratus. Dic et tu Daniel dic dic, si nosti que sit ista. Mons. Videte qualiter hic respondit dicens beatam virginem esse montem. Ita mons est beata virgo de quo precisus est lapis sine manibus qui crevit in montem magnum et implevit universum orbem. Lapis sine manibus precisus de monte Christus est sine virili cooperatione natus de virgine ... (fol. 30r) Quintus dicat respondens que sit ista. Puto quod iste melius eam pre ceteris congnoverit presertim cum isti in mundo edocti iste in supernis montibus divine scole disciplinam didicerit. Iste enim est archangelus Gabriel. Dic et tu Gabriel que sit ista. Ista est gratia plena ... (fol. 30v, #28).

ORAL HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES
THE SPOKEN WORD IN CONTEXT

Edited by Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter

MEDIUM AEVUM QUOTIDIANUM

SONDERBAND XII

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The Spoken Word in Context

Edited by Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter

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Cover illustration: The wife of Potiphar covets Joseph: "... erat autem Joseph pulchra facie et decorus aspectu: 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 indirect 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

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'époque moderne: réflexions de théorie et de méthode," in *Kommunikation 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 life-likeness 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’

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 Hundsichler (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 ein Verstehen aus unmittelbarer Partnerschaft heraus ...”

that has become institutionalized or more official by the application of 'written space.'¹⁰ Simultaneous 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 processes¹² 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

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 Hundsbieler (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 Heinze (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 particular care with the texts of the many non-native speakers fighting with the pitfalls of the English language.

Budapest, Krems, and Constance
December 2001

Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter