Fictive Audience. The Second Person Singular in the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard of Csanád[1]

Előd Nemerkényi

The principal sources for the life of bishop Gerard of Csanád are his legends from the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. He was a Benedictine monk in the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice who later went to Hungary and became tutor of Prince Emeric, son of King Stephen of Hungary. After living as a hermit in Bakonybél, he was appointed bishop of Csanád by King Stephen, where he established a cathedral school. He was killed in the pagan revolt of 1046 and canonized in 1083.[2] There is also information on his works: the *De divino patrimonio,* a commentary on Saint Paul's Letter to the Hebrews, another on the First Letter of John, his sermons in honor of the Virgin Mary as well as a fragment of a homily collection.[3] However, his only work extant in its entire length is the *Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum,* an exegetical treatise on the book of the prophet Daniel (3.57-65) – written in Hungary. It survives in a single manuscript, copied in the late eleventh century (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6211). So far, the text has been edited three times.[4] Its orthography,

---

[1] This paper is part of a research project on *Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary: Eleventh Century.* See Előd Nemerkényi, "Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary: Problems and Perspectives," in *Tradita et Inventa: Beiträge zur Rezeption der Antike,* ed. Manuel Baumbach (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2000), pp. 37-58.

[2] See Imre Madzsar, ed., "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum,* vol. 2 (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), pp. 461-506. On the legends, see Gábor Klaniczay and Edit Madas, "La Hongrie," in *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines á 1550,* ed. Guy Philippart, vol. 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), pp. 113-114, 138-140. See also Remig Békefi, *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (A history of the chapter schools in Hungary until 1540) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910), pp. 70-78; Gino Damerini, *L'Isola e il Cenobio di San Giorgio Maggiore* (Venice: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1969), pp. 14-16; Luigi Canetti, "Gerardo di Csanád," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani,* vol. 53 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1999), pp. 359-361.

[3] See H. Barré, "L'oeuvre Mariale de Saint Gérard de Csanád," *Marianum* 25.3-4 (1963), pp. 262-296; Felix Heinzer, "Neues zu Gerhard von Csanád: Die Schlußschrift einer Homiliensammlung," *Südost-Forschungen* 41 (1982), pp. 1-7.

[4] Ignác Batthyány, ed., *Sancti Gerardi episcopi Chanadiensis scripta et acta hactenus inedita cum serie episcoporum Chanadiensium* (Karlsburg: Typis Episcopalibus, 1790), pp. 1-297, corrected by Pongrácz Sörös, "Collatio codicis olim Frisingensis, nunc Monacensis cum edi-

vocabulary, grammar, syntax, and style are still to be studied. The language is sometimes confused and does not always conform with the standards of eleventh-century Latin prose, even though the author's education relied considerably on the seven liberal arts – usually under the influence of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville. Further problems include the impact of biblical, liturgical, and classical Latin as well as the author's knowledge of Greek.[5] Preparing the text for the

---

tione comitis episcopi Batthian," in *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* (A history of the Benedictine order of Pannonhalma), ed. László Erdélyi, vol. 1.1 (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1902), pp. 579-586, reviewed by Géza Istványi, "Die mittellateinische Philologie in Ungarn (Geschichte, Lage und Aufgaben)," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 4.1 (1940), p. 209; Gabriel Silagi, ed., "Gerardi Moresenae aecclesiae seu Csanadiensis episcopi Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum," in *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio mediaevalis*, vol. 49 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), henceforth: *CCCM* 49, reviewed by Tibor Klaniczay, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 84.4 (1980), pp. 544-546; Béla Karácsonyi and László Szegfű, eds., *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresanae aecclesiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum* (Szeged: Scriptum Kiadó, 1999), reviewed by Hedvig Sulyok, *Nuova Corvina*, 7 (2000), pp. 8-12 and Előd Nemerkényi, *Budapesti Könyvszemle* 12.4 (2000), pp. 402-405.

[5] See Tibor Hajdu, "Sz. Gellért «Deliberatio» cz. művének méltatása" (Analysis of the «Deliberatio» of St. Gerard), in *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* (A history of the Benedictine order of Pannonhalma), ed. László Erdélyi, vol. 1.1 (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1902), pp. 381-397; Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, *Von der Mitte des zehnten Jahrhunderts bis zum Ausbruch des Kampfes zwischen Kirche und Staat* (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung and Oskar Beck, 1923), pp. 74-81; Ferenc Ibrányi, "Szent Gellért teológiája" (The theology of Saint Gerard), in *Emlékkönyv Szent István halálának kilencszázadik évfordulóján* (Jubilee studies dedicated to the nine-hundredth anniversary of the death of Saint Stephen), ed. Jusztinián Serédi, vol. 1 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1938), pp. 493-556; Kálmán Guoth, "A magyarországi latinság helye az egyetemes latinságban" (The place of Hungarian Latinity in universal Latinity), in *Emlékkönyv Szentpétery Imre születése hatvanadik évfordulójának ünnepére* (Jubilee studies dedicated to the sixtieth birthday of Imre Szentpétery), eds. Bernát L. Kumorovitz and Loránd Szilágyi (Budapest: Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó és Nyomda Rt., 1938), pp. 176-177; András Bodor, "Szent Gellért Deliberatio-jának főforrása" (The principal source of the Deliberatio of Saint Gerard), *Századok* 77.4-6 (1943), pp. 173-227, János Horváth, *Árpád-kori latinnyelvű irodalmunk stilusproblémái* (Stylistic problems of the Latin literature in Hungary in the Árpád period) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954), pp. 110-115; Endre Ivánka, "Das 'Corpus Areopagiticum' bei Gerhard von Csanád (†1046)," *Traditio* 15 (1959), pp. 205-222; Károly Redl, "Probleme in der Deliberatio des Bischofs Gerhard," in *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Welt*, vol. 2, *Römisches Reich*, ed. Elisabeth Charlotte Welskopf (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1965), pp. 349-366; Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik, "The Importance of Gerard of Csanád as the First Author in Hungary," *Traditio* 25 (1969), pp. 376-386; Jean Leclercq, "Saint Gérard de Csanád et le monachisme," *Studia Monastica* 13.1 (1971), pp. 13-30; László Szegfű, "La missione politica ed ideologica di San Gerardo in Ungheria," in *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, ed. Vittore Branca (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1973), pp. 23-36; László Mezey, *Deákság és Európa: Irodalmi műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlata* (Literacy and Europe: the beginnings of Hungarian literary culture) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), pp. 117-122; Balázs Déri, "Szent Gellért-szövegproblémák" (Textual problems of Saint Gerard), in *Egyházak a változó világban* (Churches in the changing world), eds. István Bárdos and Margit Beke (Esztergom: Komárom-Esztergom

critical edition in the *Corpus Christianorum,* Gabriel Silagi suggested that the work featured *die Fiktion des Dialoges.*[6] Through a close examination of the role of the addressee and the persons named explicitly in the *Deliberatio* and, more importantly, the function of the second person singular verbs and pronouns, the following discussion offers a Latinist way of exploring how this fiction of a dialogue applies to the relation between orality and literacy in order to produce a fictive audience and how this literary convention fits into a wider linguistic and social context.

Before turning to the second person singular, one has to observe Gerard's preface to his treatise. The title itself, probably not by the author, reads as follows: "The *Deliberatio* of Gerard, bishop of the church of Maros, on the song of the three boys to the scholar Isingrim" – *ad Isingrimum liberalem.*[7] The addressee of the work, Isingrim, is otherwise unknown – previous research has connected him to Admont in Styria but scholars have set forth opposing views about Isingrim being a bishop or an abbot there.[8] Anyhow, out of the titles of the eight books of the treatise, seven stress the person of the addressee: *Item eiusdem* (that is, of Gerard) *ad eundem* (that is, to Isingrim).[9] This indicates that on the one hand Gerard has a real audience in mind whom he usually addresses in the second person singular: *tue familiaritati* – "o your friendship"[10] (elsewhere, he uses the term *germanitas* – "brotherhood"),[11] *tui similes* – "the ones similar to you,"[12] *tua... dilectio* – "your esteem."[13] In the preface, one also discovers the literary conventions of modesty: *quod examinandum postulasti* – "what you demanded me

---

Megye Önkormányzata, 1991), pp. 387-389; Franz Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters,* vol. 2, *Die Zwischenzeit vom Ausgang des karolingischen Zeitalters bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1992), pp. 488-489; József Török, "Gherardus de Venetis auctor et monachus? (Un clerc médiéval et la Bible)," in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo,* eds. Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995), pp. 203-209.

6 Gabriel Silagi, *Untersuchungen zur 'Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum' des Gerhard von Csanád* (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1967), p. 13.

7 *CCCM* 49, 1: *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresenae aecclesiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum ad Isingrimum liberalem.*

8 See Ignác Batthyány, ed., *Sancti Gerardi episcopi Chanadiensis scripta et acta hactenus inedita cum serie episcoporum Chanadiensium* (Karlsburg: Typis Episcopalibus, 1790), p. xxvii; Germain Morin, "Un destinataire bavarois du dernier ouvrage de saint Gerard?" *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* 8.3 (1939), pp. 272-273; Lajos J. Csóka, "I benedettini e l'inizio dei rapporti letterari italo-ungheresi," in *Italia ed Ungheria: Dieci secoli di rapporti letterari,* eds. Mátyás Horányi and Tibor Klaniczay (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967), p. 14; Gabriel Silagi, *Untersuchungen zur 'Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum' des Gerhard von Csanád* (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1967), pp. 5-8.

9 *CCCM* 49, pp. 1, 26, 39, 56, 79, 108, 135.

10 *CCCM* 49, p. 43.

11 *CCCM* 49, p. 148: *breviter Isingrimi mei dulcissime germanitati expediam ...*

12 *CCCM* 49, p. 45.

13 *CCCM* 49, p. 148.

to examine," *difficillimum sumas* – "consider it very difficult," *tue postulationi satisfacere* – "to satisfy your demand," *tibi ... ad libitum obviare* – "to meet your pleasure."[14] The convention of combining modesty and satisfying the demand of a friend figures later in the work as well: *tibi ... supra potentiam satisfaciam* – "so that I satisfy you beyond my capacities,"[15] *instigatus a te ipso* – "instigated by you."[16] Gerard also admits that Isingrim could have treated the subject a lot better[17] and that he thinks Isingrim is also interested in interpreting the Bible.[18] On the other hand, however, he does not always address Isingrim in the second person singular. He also mentions him as a member of the *divinum collegium* – "divine order" in the third person singular.[19] In a different context, he applies the term *divinum collegium* to the three boys in the book of Daniel.[20] Besides Isingrim, Gerard names three more contemporaries. The first friend is a presbyter, called Dodo – Gerard sent some books to Isingrim by him.[21] The second friend is a certain holy brother, Andrew, who keeps bothering Gerard to write another work but the author would rather fulfill the request of Isingrim than that of Andrew.[22] He adds furthermore that he has already composed a booklet for Andrew: it was the *De divino patrimonio*.[23] Finally, the third friend is the learned Abbot Richard who is currently in possession of this work of Gerard.[24] Of the three contemporaries named explicitly in the work, Dodo is completely unknown so far.[25] It has recently been suggested that Andrew might be identical with the martyr hermit, Saint Zoerard-Andrew whose legend was written by Bishop Maur of Pécs in

---

[14] *CCCM* 49, p. 1. See Tore Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces: Studies in Literary Conventions* (Stockholm, Göteborg, and Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell, 1964), pp. 134-141.

[15] *CCCM* 49, p. 28.

[16] *CCCM* 49, p. 32.

[17] *CCCM* 49, p. 38: *accessi ad carmen misteriale, quoquo modo desiderans investigare, quod tu mirabilius solius cordi esset, quiveras perlibare ...*

[18] *CCCM* 49, p. 43: *te quoque avidum talium reseracione non dubito ...*

[19] *CCCM* 49, p. 27: *nostro in fratre divini collegii Isingrimo ...*

[20] *CCCM* 49, p. 29: *Divini quidem divini collegii viri ...*

[21] *CCCM* 49, p. 32: *sive te enim ex parte haec non ambigo quondam per presbiterum Dodonem a nobis accepisse.*

[22] *CCCM* 49, pp. 140-141: *Te autem avidissimum sciens de omnibus auditorem, immo et prestantissimum relatorem, potius ab aliis quam a tuis gratanter subducar. quamlibet sanctus noster frater Andreas a nostro semper in hoc ipso collo dependat, cuius nimirum imperio non satisfacere delinquere non mediocriter est. et tandem quod iussisti, de omnibus nos interim cogit silere sibique solius inpensum inpendere, ne quidem tue inpensu caream gratie.*

[23] *CCCM* 49, p. 153: *Supra autem hoc in libello de divino patrimonio. quem nuperrime in tabellis solius ad Andream divinum fratrem exemplicavi ...*

[24] *CCCM* 49, p. 178: *In libello autem, quem ad Andream presbiterum divine germanitatis virum de divino patrimonio expressimus, qui nunc apud abbatem Richardum. incontaminatum Christi famulum divinitus eruditum. est ...* It is not clear, however, whether *qui* refers to the *libellus* or to *Andreas*.

[25] See Silagi, *Untersuchungen*, p. 9.

the mid-eleventh century.[26] Richard, however, has securely been identified with Abbot Richard of Saint Vannes in Verdun who, according to the report of Adémar of Chabannes and others, traveled to the Holy Land via Hungary where he may have met not only King Stephen but also Gerard himself.[27] Consequently, Isingrim, Dodo, Andrew, and Richard can be considered Gerard's real audience, to whom he refers in his *Deliberatio* at random. The extraordinary number of occurrences of the second person singular in the work, however, raises the question whether they were the author's only intended audience.

Without considering his numerous biblical and patristic quotations, Gerard's own words, mainly verbs, in the second person singular reveal much of his attitude towards his audience. In a conversational fashion, he uses the present imperative active *vide* – "look" four times.[28] Parallel to this, he also writes *si vis aspicere ad hec* – "if you want to have a look at these."[29] Besides the image of looking, however, the metaphor of intellectual attention is rather expressed with various forms of the verb *audio*. Its perfect indicative active, *audisti* – "you have heard" occurs twenty-six times in the work.[30] Influenced by the Bible, this form appears in many cases in the expression *dictum audisti*, modeled on Jesus' Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel according to Matthew.[31] Just as Jesus was delivering a sermon, so Gerard maintains the fiction of an oral discourse. He also features the ablative absolute construction *te audiente*.[32] The conversational style of the literary piece is even more plausible in the following sentence: "Indeed, it is all

---

[26] See Béla Karácsonyi and László Szegfü, eds., *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresanae aecclesiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum* (Szeged: Scriptum Kiadó, 1999), p. xi. See also Imre Madzsar, ed., "Legenda SS. Zoerardi et Benedicti," in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*. vol. 2 (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), pp. 347-361.

[27] See Adémar of Chabannes, "Chronicon," in *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio mediaevalis*, eds. P. Bourgain, R. Landes, and G. Pou, vol. 129 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), p. 184. See also Ernst Sackur, *Richard. Abt von St. Vannes* (Breslau: Druck der Breslauer Genossenschafts-Buchdruckerei, 1886), pp. 93-98; Richard Landes, *Relics. Apocalypse. and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes. 989-1034* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 157. For further sources on Abbot Richard's sojourn in Hungary, see Albin Ferencz Gombos, ed., *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendentium ab anno Christi DCCC ad annum MCCCI*. vol. 1-3 (Budapest: Szent István Akadémia, 1937-1938), pp. 15-17, 1200-1202, 2613. See also Sándor Eckhardt, "I. Endre francia zarándokai" (The French pilgrims of Andrew I), *Magyar Nyelv* 32.1-2 (1936), p. 38, Géza Birkás, *Francia utazók Magyarországon* (French travelers in Hungary) (Szeged: Universitas Szegediensis, 1948), p. 8.

[28] *CCCM* 49, pp. 13, 15, 141, 166: *Vide miraculum dialectice. hoc autem viso erubesce ad philosophiam piscatoris. et disce melius scire a rustico reciatore quam a perito Aristarco et philosopho Ponsuphoclete.*

[29] *CCCM* 49, p. 140.

[30] *CCCM* 49, pp. 7, 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 20, 21, 21, 21, 24, 41, 45, 61, 65, 66, 69, 73, 75, 137, 141, 142, 144, 169, 171, 175.

[31] *CCCM* 49, pp. 7, 17, 41, 65. The models are Matthew 5.21, 5.27, 5.33, 5.38, 5.43.

[32] *CCCM* 49, p. 20. For *te audiente*. see also Cicero, *Brutus* 44.2, *In Verrem* 2.3.132.

terrible what is said, believe me, my holiest brother. The ones who speak about the world are certainly not from God, as your holiest ear has heard ..."[33] The rhetorical question *vis audire* – "do you want to hear" appears twenty-four times throughout the work.[34] Both the present indicative active *audis* – "you hear"[35] and the present imperative active *audi* – "listen"[36] occur ten times in the *Deliberatio*. Resembling a dialogue between master and disciple, five of these imperative forms appear in the expression *si queris ... audi* – "if you ask ..., listen."[37] A parallel to this is the expression *si queris ... disce* – "if you ask ..., learn," which occurs seven times in the text.[38] Another variant, *si queris ... recurre* – "if you ask ..., return" is also used.[39] One of the quasi-conversational sentences sounds like this: "Do you say: which one? If you ask this, listen carefully, consider this attentively and write this doctrine on the tablets of your heart ..."[40] Further subjunctives and imperatives requiring the attention of the audience include *advertas* (along with *ausculta*), *adverte*, and *animadverte*.[41] Other aspects of orality can be discerned in the use of the present subjunctive passive *audiaris*: "Listen ... so that you will be listened to ..."[42] Gerard's audience, however, is not a passive one. The author himself formulates some questions on behalf of his partner and the introduction of these sentences is six times *inquis* – "you say."[43] The fiction of a dialogue appears here very clearly: "You ask me: why do you explain such words?"[44] The indicative form *dicis*[45] and the subjunctive *dicas*[46] figure three and four times, respectively. Gerard also uses the terms *invenis* – "you find"[47] and *invenies* – "you will find."[48] Whereas the present tense is read only once, the future occurs nine times. Another

[33] *CCCM* 49, p. 16: *Terribile autem totum quod dicitur, mihi crede, beatissime frater. Ex Deo nimirum non peribentur, qui de mundo loquuntur. ut tua beatissima auris audivit...*

[34] *CCCM* 49, pp. 18, 20, 48, 55, 57 (MS, fol. 53r: *audire* on the margin by a corrector's hand), 89, 119, 121, 122, 124, 124, 124, 126, 126, 126, 127, 127, 129, 130, 141, 144, 161, 162, 164. For *vis audire*, see Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 1.77, Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri magni* 7.1.28, 9.3.6, Horace, *Epistulae* 1.1.48, Martial, *Epigrammata* 14.198.1, Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.3.11, Plautus, *Mercator* 886.

[35] *CCCM* 49, pp. 12, 26, 52, 53, 62, 62, 141, 163, 163, 176.

[36] *CCCM* 49, pp. 7, 11, 19, 20, 23, 88, 142, 145, 152, 173.

[37] *CCCM* 49, pp. 7, 20, 88, 142, 145.

[38] *CCCM* 49, pp. 12, 17, 19, 24, 142, 152, 173.

[39] *CCCM* 49, p. 15.

[40] *CCCM* 49, p. 145: *Quam, inquis? Si queris, audi solius, intente considera et hanc doctrinam scribe in tabulis cordis tui ...*

[41] *CCCM* 49, pp. 27, 62, 91.

[42] *CCCM* 49, p. 173: *Audi ... ut audiaris ...*

[43] *CCCM* 49, pp. 8, 11, 88, 145, 145, 162.

[44] *CCCM* 49, p. 8: *Quur talia in dictis prosequeris, inquis?*

[45] *CCCM* 49, pp. 16, 90, 166 (*dicis* here addresses John the apostle): *Quid loqueris, Iohannes? Tu illos doces, dicis tamen ...*

[46] *CCCM* 49, pp. 12, 30, 69, 115.

[47] *CCCM* 49, p. 63.

[48] *CCCM* 49, pp. 3, 8, 9, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24: *et tunc nos plenissime veraces invenies* – its biblical parallel is Ecclesiasticus 15.8.

frequently used expression of the author is *non/ne/nec dubites* – "do not doubt:" it appears sixteen times.[49] The exceptional use of the same verb in the third person singular, *ut nemo dubitaret* – "so that nobody doubt" just proves the rule, namely that Gerard generally uses the second person singular.[50] Similarly, he applies three times the subjunctive form *non/nec/nil estimes* to tell his audience: "do not think."[51] Apart from these typical uses of the verbs in the second person singular, although there are many more, one should as well refer to the instances of the present form *deliberas* and the imperative *delibera* – "deliberate" since the title of the work itself is also *Deliberatio*.[52] Finally, it is significant that Gerard, excerpting the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus, inserts an expression into the adapted passage: *ut doctus es* – "as you know." Thus, he is definitely adjusting the text of Cassiodorus to his own conversational style.[53]

In addition to the verbs, there is an abundance of pronouns in the second person singular. Various cases of the personal pronouns read twenty-three times,[54] those of the possessive pronouns appear thirteen times.[55] Of the latter, the pronoun *tuus* has an ironic overtone apparently directed against the dialecticians, the representatives of secular learning: *tuusque Socrates* – "and your Socrates"[56] and *tuus Porphirius* – "your Porphyry."[57] This attitude is also reflected in his sharp remarks: "you would also agree with us in this, were you not embraced by the arms of Cicero;"[58] and "if Chrysippus would not be an obstacle for you."[59] Gerard states explicitly, however, that he is addressing a learned audience: "For this book is not being written to the one who is ignorant of these, however, we should commend the divine words not as much to the ignorant but rather even to the best experts."[60] This formulation has a double implication: it shows that Gerard's attitude towards secular learning is at least ambivalent and, more importantly, that his audience does not consist of Isingrim alone. The second person plural possessive pronouns, "one of yours," also appear in his *Deliberatio* in the context of secular learning

---

[49] *CCCM* 49, pp. 12, 13, 14, 15, 26, 29, 30,37, 44, 54, 81, 89, 103, 142, 167, 167.
[50] *CCCM* 49, p. 30.
[51] *CCCM* 49, pp. 13, 51, 89.
[52] *CCCM* 49, pp. 21, 146.
[53] *CCCM* 49, p. 149: *Istas sic quidem litteras. ut doctus es. non ratio humana repperit* ... See R.A.B. Mynors, ed., *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), p. 52: *Istas siquidem litteras non ratio humana repperit* ...
[54] *CCCM* 49, pp. 1, 3, 5, 8, 13, 20, 27, 28, 32, 32, 33, 38, 39, 43, 55, 62, 66, 68, 85, 85, 140, 154, 157.
[55] *CCCM* 49, pp. 1, 16, 32, 33, 40, 40, 43, 45, 70, 140, 141, 145, 148.
[56] *CCCM* 49, p. 40.
[57] *CCCM* 49, p. 33.
[58] *CCCM* 49, p. 5: *In hoc quoque nobis aderis. nisi brachiis Ciceronis astringaris.*
[59] *CCCM* 49, p. 13: *nisi Crisippus obstaculum tibi fiat* ...
[60] *CCCM* 49, pp. 34-35: *Nec enim huic scribitur liber. qui talia ignoret, quamlibet non tantum ignorantibus, quam etiam optime scientibus dicta nos oporteat commendare divina.*

when he indirectly quotes the pagan Roman authors Terence[61] and Lucretius[62] – probably through the mediation of Isidore of Seville. In contrast, Gerard also uses the first person plural, "one of ours," perhaps referring to Saint Jerome.[63] Apart from exploiting the possibilities given by grammar, he also draws the attention of his audience to the circumstances of real life in order to lighten the tone of his abstract exegetical treatise: "we could say more but the lack of scribes and parchment does not allow this;"[64] "for the pen already tires us and the time is here to appease our hunger;"[65] "before our time goes past" – the latter expression occurs seven times in the work.[66]

Without considering Gerard's quotations, the frequency of occurrences of the second person singular yields the following grammatical distribution (the numerals refer to the page numbers of Silagi's edition) – present indicative active: *admittis* 18, 108, *audis* 12, 26, 52, 53, 62, 62, 141, 163, 163, 176, *cessas* 33, *deliberas* 146, *dicis* 16, 90, 166, *dirigis* 39, *doces* 40, *geris* 39, *habes* 11, 23, 157, *inquis* 8, 11, 88, 145, 145, 162, *invenis* 63, *legis* 141, *op(b)tas* 27, 146, *potes* 41,

---

[61] Terence, *Andria* 68: *obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.* W.M. Lindsay, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 1.36.3, 2.9.12, 2.11.1, 2.21.14, *CCCM* 49, p. 158: *Unus autem ex vestris: Veritas, ait, odium parit.* The same quotation from Terence occurs in Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia* 89, Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 8.5.4. For its occurrences in medieval hymns and proverbs, see Guido Maria Dreves, ed., *Analecta hymnica medii aevi.* vol. 21.2, *Cantiones et muteti: Cantiones festivae, morales, variae* (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1895), pp. 124-125; Hans Walther, ed., *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi.* vol. 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), p. 674. See also E.K. Rand, "Early Mediaeval Commentaries on Terence," *Classical Philology* 4.4 (1909), pp. 359-389; Einar Löfstedt, "Klassische Dichterreminiszenzen im Mittelalter," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 9.1 (1948), pp. 138-139; Egon Maróti, "Terenz in Ungarn," *Altertum* 8.4 (1962), p. 243; Yves-François Riou, "Les commentaires médiévaux de Térence," in *Medieval and Renaissance Scholarship,* eds. Nicholas Mann and Birger Munk Olsen (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1997), pp. 33-49.

[62] Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 4.133: *caelo qui dicitur aer.* W.M. Lindsay, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 13.4.3, *CCCM* 49, p. 23: *Unus autem vestrum ait celum quod dicitur aer* ... The same quotation from Lucretius occurs in Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.91, Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 1.52, 1.58, 5.18, 9.20, 10.899. See also J. Philippe, "Lucrèce dans la théologie chrétienne du IIIe au XIIIe siècle et spécialement dans les écoles carolingiennes, 3.," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 33.2 (1896), pp. 125-162.

[63] *CCCM* 49, p. 80: *unus ex nostris* ...

[64] *CCCM* 49, p. 177: *Multa dici possunt, sed penuria scriptorum atque membranarum non patitur.*

[65] *CCCM* 49, p. 78: *Quia vero iam nos stilus fatigat tempusque iminet reficiendi esuries* ... See also *CCCM* 49, p. 105: *quamlibet tempus instet et nos iam stilus fatiget, CCCM* 49, p. 134: *stilo nos fatigante, calce vero hore terminum exposcente* ...

[66] *CCCM* 49, pp. 6, 9, 20, 33, 47, 134, 168: *antequam nos hora praetereat* ... The expression in classical Latin: Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 3.64: *Nec quae praeteriit, hora redire potest.* In the Bible: Matthew 14.15: *hora iam praeteriit.* Mark 6.35: *iam hora praeterivit.* See also *CCCM* 49, p. 11 *(hora autem nos expectat),* 44 *(hora elabitur).* 55 *(quia vero nos hora praeterire festinat),* 179 *(quia vero iam hora nos cogit ad horas).*

67, 153, *queris* 7, 12, 15, 17, 19, 20, 24, 88, 142, 142, 145, 152, 173, *recurris* 153, *vis* 18, 19, 20, 48, 55, 57, 62, 67, 89, 119, 121, 122, 124, 124, 124, 126, 126, 126, 127, 127, 129, 130, 140, 141, 144, 154, 161, 162, 164; perfect indicative active: *audisti* 7, 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 20, 21, 21, 21, 24, 41, 45, 61, 65, 66, 69, 73, 75, 137, 141, 142, 144, 169, 171, 175, *iussisti* 141, *postulasti* 1; pluperfect indicative active: *quiveras* 38; future indicative active: *comprobabis* 24, 85, *invenies* 3, 8, 9, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24; perfect indicative passive: *doctus es* 68, 149, *es hortatus* (deponent) 37; present subjunctive active: *admittas* 152, *advertas* 27, *(a)estimes* 13, 51, 89, *cognoscas* 34, *dicas* 12, 30, 69, 115, *dubites* 12, 13, 14, 15, 26, 29, 30, 37, 44, 54, 81, 89, 103, 142, 167, 167, *ignores* 34, *sapias* 9, 167, *scias* 41, *sumas* 1; perfect subjunctive active: *aderis* 5; imperfect subjunctive active: *considerares* 52, *scires* 52, 55; present subjunctive passive: *astringaris* 5, *audiaris* 173, *exprimaris* 66, *innitaris* 66, *suffoceris* 66; present imperative active: *adverte* 62, *animadverte* 91, *audi* 7, 11, 19, 20, 23, 88, 142, 145, 152, 173, *ausculta* 27, *considera* 145, *crede* 16, *delibera* 21, *disce* 12, 16, 17, 19, 24, 90, 142, 152, 166, 173, *erubesce* 166, *exerce* 154, *fer* 39, *intellege* 52, *lege* 24, *recurre* 15, 24, *scribe* 145, *sume* 21, 66, *tracta* 68, *vide* 13, 15, 141, 166; personal pronoun: *a te* 32, *te* 3, 20, 32, 39, 43, 62, 68, 85, 85, 140, 154, *tecum* 8, *tibi* 1, 5, 13, 27, 28, 157, *tu* 33, 38, 55, 66; possessive pronoun: *tua* 16, 148, *tuam* 32, *tue* 1, 43, 141, *tui* 45, 145, *tuis* 140, *tuo* 70, *tuos* 40, *tuus(que)* 33, 40; vocative case: *beatissime frater* 16, *frater carissime* 51.

To summarize the function of the second person singular in the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard of Csanád, one has to keep in mind that a great deal of the Latin texts produced in the Middle Ages, that is, liturgical ones, were based on oral performance. Interpreting his work, which was not composed for the purpose of liturgical practice but very much influenced by it, involves interpretation of the problem of the *vox paginarum* being read aloud.[67] From this point of view, the use of the second person singular in the work is a literary convention in a linguistic and a social context – both with a long tradition. The linguistic tradition is based on the classical models of ancient Greek and Roman literature. In classical Latin, the indefinite second person singular, referring to an indefinite subject, functions as a means to create a didactic dialogue or to make a statement personal. In post-classical Latin, a gradual shift puts the stress on the reference to an unreal person and an imaginary or fictive audience in order to involve the reader, present and future. From the linguistic perspective, the syntax and style as reflected in the use of the second person singular in Bishop Gerard's work is an eleventh-century product of this tradition.[68] From the perspective of the social context, however, the

[67] See Josef Balogh, "«Voces Paginarum:» Beiträge zur Geschichte des lauten Lesens und Schreibens, 1-2.," *Philologus* 82.1-2 (1926), pp. 84-109, 202-240. See also Paul Saenger, *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).

[68] See J. B. Hofmann and Anton Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), p. 419. See also Kristine Gilmartin, "A Rhetorical

Deliberatio was probably not written for reading aloud in a monastic or cathedral community. The fact that only one manuscript of it survives also excludes this possibility. Anyhow, be it produced for silent reading or reading aloud in solitude, its written references to orality are by no means manifestations of oral transmission as an alternate tool of communication besides, or to challenge, the use of the written language. On the contrary: the social context shows that the *Deliberatio* is also a product of the tradition of a fictive orality *(fiktive Mündlichkeit)* which goes back to the patristic authors.[69] Creating a fictive audience, Gerard's use of the second person singular illustrates the significance of the fiction of orality in a literary setting – a common feature of both classical and medieval Latin.

Figure in Latin Historical Style: The Imaginary Second Person Singular," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 105 (1975), pp. 99-121.

[69] See Hanna Vollrath, "Oral Modes of Perception in Eleventh-Century Chronicles," in *Vox intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*. eds. A.N. Doane and Carol Braun Pasternack (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp. 102-111; Karl Suso Frank, "Fiktive Mündlichkeit als Grundstruktur der monastischen Literatur," in *Viva vox und ratio scripta: Mündliche und schriftliche Kommunikationsformen im Mönchtum des Mittelalters*. eds. Clemens M. Kasper and Klaus Schreiner (Münster: Lit Verlag, 1997), pp. 51-74, M. B. Parkes, "Reading, Copying and Interpreting a Text in the Early Middle Ages," in *A History of Reading in the West*, eds. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), pp. 90-102.

ORAL HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES
THE SPOKEN WORD IN CONTEXT

Edited by Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter

MEDIUM AEVUM QUOTIDIANUM

SONDERBAND XII

=

CEU MEDIEVALIA

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

niederösterreichkultur

copy editor: Judith Rasson

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).

Alle Rechte vorbehalten
– ISBN 3-90 1094 15 6 (Krems)

All rights reserved.
No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the permission of the Publishers.
– ISBN 963 9241 64 4 (Budapest)
– ISSN 1587-6470 CEU MEDIEVALIA

Published by:

Medium Aevum Quotidianum. Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der materiellen Kultur des Mittelalters, Körnermarkt 13, A-3500 Krems. Austria,

and

Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Nádor utca 9, H-1051 Budapest, Hungary.

Printed by Printself, Budapest.

Table of Contents

Preface 7

Michael RICHTER, Beyond Goody and Grundmann 11

Tom PETTITT, Textual to Oral: the Impact of Transmission
on Narrative Word-Art 19

Előd NEMERKÉNYI, Fictive Audience. The Second Person Singular in the
Deliberatio of Bishop Gerard of Csanád 39

Katalin SZENDE, Testaments and Testimonies. Orality and Literacy
in Composing Last Wills in Late Medieval Hungary 49

Anna ADAMSKA, The Kingdom of Poland versus the Teutonic Knights:
Oral Traditions and Literate Behaviour in the Later Middle Ages 67

Giedrė MICKŪNAITĖ, Ruler, Protector, and a Fairy Prince:
the Everlasting Deeds of Grand Duke Vytautas
as Related by the Lithuanian Tatars and Karaites 79

Yurij Zazuliak, Oral Tradition, Land Disputes, and the Noble Community
in Galician Rus' from the 1440s to the 1460s 88

Nada ZEČEVIĆ, Λέξις γλυκεῖα. The Importance of the Spoken Word
in the Public Affairs of Carlo Tocco
(from the Anonymous *Chronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia)* 108

John A. NICHOLS, A Heated Conversation:
Who was Isabel de Aubigny, Countess of Arundel? 117

Tracey L. BILADO, Rhetorical Strategies and Legal Arguments:
'Evil Customs' and Saint-Florent de Saumur, 979-1011 128

Detlev KRAACK, Traces of Orality in Written Contexts.
Legal Proceedings and Consultations at the Royal Court
as Reflected in Documentary Sources from 12th-century Germany 142

Maria DOBOZY, From Oral Custom to Written Law:
The German *Sachsenspiegel* 154

Martha KEIL, Rituals of Repentance and Testimonies
at Rabbinical Courts in the 15th Century 164

Michael GOODICH, The Use of Direct Quotation
from Canonization Hearing to Hagiographical *Vita et Miracula* 177

Sylvia SCHEIN, Bernard of Clairvaux's Preaching of the Third Crusade
and Orality 188

Michael BRAUER, Obstacles to Oral Communication in the Mission
of Friar William of Rubruck among the Mongols 196

Elena LEMENEVA, From Oral to Written and Back: A Sermon Case Study 203

Albrecht CLASSEN, Travel, Orality, and the Literary Discourse:
Travels in the Past and Literary Travels
at the Crossroad of the Oral and the Literary 217

Ulrich MÜLLER and Margarete SPRINGETH, "Do not Shut Your Eyes
if You Will See Musical Notes:" German Heroic Poetry
("*Nibelungenlied*"), Music, and Performance 236

Jolanta SZPILEWSKA, Evoking Auditory Imagination:
On the Poetics of Voice Production in
The Story of The Glorious Resurrection of Our Lord (c. 1580) 248

Jens T. WOLLESEN, Spoken Words and Images
in Late Medieval Italian Painting 257

Gerhard JARITZ, Images and the Power of the Spoken Word 277

List of Contributors 295

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

---

[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'

---

[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

---

[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
December 2001

Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter