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Piety as a Call to Action: Christian Devotion Encouraged through Representations of the Adult Life of Christ

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By

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ABSTRACT

Piety as a Call to Action: Christian Devotion Encouraged through Representations of the Adult Life of Christ

By

Caitlin Koford

This study examines a set of model sermons written by Maurice de Sully c. 1160CE. The sermons were extremely popular throughout the later middle ages as evidenced by their existence in eighty-four manuscripts from the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, and nineteen printed editions from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The sermons are evidence of an unexplored trend in Christian piety focused on the adult life of Christ including his parables, miracles, and ministry that stands in contrast to the more well-known affective piety of the later Middle Ages, which tends to focus on the early life and Passion of Christ. Maurice de Sully did not promote passive reflection on the Passion but rather encouraged ordinary believers to reform their behavior, and actively lead good, Christian lives by participating in confession, receiving penance and by spreading the Christian Word. He did so using stories from the adult life of Christ, taken from the New Testament. The image cycles associated with the sermons of Sully also represent this trend in devotion.

Chapter one concerns the twelfth century world of Maurice de Sully in Paris, and the model sermon collection that he wrote there. While the sermons of Maurice de Sully are less studied than those of his more academically inclined contemporaries, such as Peter Comestor, Peter the Chanter and Peter Lombard, I reveal the ways in which his sermons actually relay pertinent theological information, especially concerning the Gospels, to lay

audiences. Chapter two addresses the actual reception of the sermons and their intended message by investigating them in their manuscript context. The focus is on vernacular manuscripts and their use by lay audiences. Chapter three turns to an in-depth look at one fourteenth-century manuscript in particular, BnF français 187, in which the form of piety expressed in Maurice de Sully's sermons is particularly evident. In this manuscript the sermons of Sully are highlighted by a beautiful narrative image cycle focused on the adult life of Christ, which I analyze.

Chapter four steps away from Maurice de Sully and his model sermon collection. In this chapter I examine the long and short versions of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi,* an extremely influential and heavily used devotional text also created in the mid-fourteenth century that survives in both Latin and the vernacular. The *Meditationes* serves as a most valuable study in devotional trends, and I use the contents of the long version of the MVC to enhance my study of the sermons of Sully. Finally, chapter five moves forward from the fourteenth century to the late fifteenth century, when Maurice de Sully's sermons first appear in print in Chambéry, the capital of the duchy of Savoy, in 1484CE. The sermons were reprinted a total of nineteen times, and several of the prints contain woodcut illustrations. This chapter investigates the narrative woodcut illustrations found in the 1484 printed edition, in particular. This image cycle, like the one found in BnF français 187, also focuses on the adult ministry of Christ and highlights the teaching potential of Maurice de Sully's sermons.

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Introduction

The world watched in shock as Notre Dame burned in Paris, France this past April. But very few people would recognize the name of the man responsible for the twelfth century renovations that led to the iconic gothic cathedral. Maurice de Sully (c. 1120-1196), bishop of Paris, left his legacy in the Parisian skyline; he also left his legacy in a model sermon collection. His intention in writing the sermons was not to create a body of work versed in the theological debates of his time, but to create a succinct, digestible source for priests and the laity alike. Though vastly understudied, that set of model sermons impacted lay life for more than three centuries, encouraging confession and penance, inspiring proper moral behavior, and offering a trend in devotion focused on the adult life of Christ according to the Gospels.

This dissertation encompasses several connected investigations surrounding the model sermon collection of Maurice de Sully, and the form of piety I believe they promote. I trace the sermons from their initial creation sometime between 1168 and 1175, through their manuscript tradition and all the way into the mid-sixteenth century, when the sermons were printed for the last known time. In studying the sermons over time and in various forms I am less concerned with the genre of sermon literature and more concerned with understanding how the sermons functioned as a theological and devotional source for the laity. Reaching beyond the constructs of genre has allowed me to uncover just how influential Maurice de Sully's model collection was for lay life, and understand how they inspired an active form of devotion that encouraged participation in church sacraments, taught Christians to avoid sin,

inspired a sense of evangelism and used the adult life of Christ according to the Gospels to do so, thereby relaying the New Testament in the process.

I also move beyond an exploration of the written content of the sermons by exploring their visual representation, specifically in one fourteenth century manuscript, BnF français 187. In this manuscript the sermons are highlighted by over 40 beautifully illuminated narrative images on the adult life of Christ, including his parables and miracles. Woodcut images also appear within more than half of the printed texts of his sermons and at least three of the editions that are illustrated focus heavily on the adult ministry of Jesus, as well. Thus, the pictorial cycles associated with the sermons continued to encourage the same form of piety as the written content did.

Overall, through the dissertation I aim to unveil the ways in which these model sermons and their afterlife in both manuscript and print contribute to our understanding of Late Medieval lay devotion and Late Medieval lay access to the Bible. There are many ways that Christian men and women expressed their devotion just as there are many ways that lay Christians learned the Scriptures. New scholarship must take into account the common late Medieval Christian, and move away from a sole focus on the clergy, men associated with the Paris schools and academic life, or those members who stand out as exceptions to the community (especially in regard to Christian devotional practices).

There are three fields of thought that stand to benefit tremendously from incorporating the model sermon collection of Maurice de Sully and its afterlife in both manuscript and print into their studies. Firstly, those scholars who investigate the academic developments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries should include Maurice de Sully in their breadth of research. While his sermons were not a predominant source used by future Late

Medieval scholars and sermonists, the sermons conveyed the new ideas of the Paris schools to lay audiences, thus bridging a gap between the clerical and academic elites and lay Christians.

Maurice de Sully has been marginalized in the scholarship up to this point because he is often overshadowed by his more academically inclined contemporaries, men like Peter the Chanter.[1] The study of major twelfth century developments, such as those surrounding the concept of purgatory, the necessity of confession and penance, and knowledge and organization of the Bible, have focused on the scholars involved in those movements, and the ways in which those concepts developed, rather than on the ways in which those developments penetrated the lives of everyday Christians. Even studies on sermon literature from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries tend to focus on academic sermon literature, and the ways in which ecclesiastical concerns were reflected in the sermons, rather than on the reception of sermons by lay audiences.[2]

The emphasis on academics is especially true for the study and use of the Bible, which was considered a central book in the Paris schools. Maurice de Sully's sermons are not the intellectually hailed *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor, nor are they the Gospel glosses of Peter the Chanter and Stephen Langton, used in the schools. However, they do convey stories from the New Testament in a way that sticks very closely to the written word of the Gospels. In fact, portions of his sermons have been mistaken for both the actual Gospel, and for gospel commentaries.[3] Like the *Historia Scholastica* and the glosses, they are

[1] See for instance, John W. Baldwin, *Masters Princes and Merchants: The School Views of Peter the Chanter & His Circle.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.
[2] Nicole Bériou, *L'avénement des maîtres de la Parole: la prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 1998), 52.
[3] See chapter two: MS Boder 147 & MS Douce MS 270

concerned with revealing biblical knowledge to an audience. But it is not the audience that scholars of the twelfth century have paid attention to—it is a lay audience, rather than an academic one.

In her acclaimed study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, focused on twelfth century theologians, Beryl Smalley states that a history of Bible studies "must take account of institutions and movements; it must be written mainly as a history of scholars."[4] However, in studying the theological movements of the twelfth century in this way scholars have overlooked an opportunity to truly understand the ways in which major developments surrounding theology and the Bible influenced lay Christianity, and this is where Maurice de Sully's model sermon collection has the most to offer.

This leads to the second field of research that should include studies on the sermons of Maurice de Sully. New scholarship is emerging in which scholars look at the variety of ways that the laity accessed the Bible. These studies are less concerned with the Bible as a complete book, or the ways in which biblical content emerged from the Paris schools, and more concerned with the ways in which lay Christians actually learned the Scriptures. The understanding from these studies is that lay audiences pulled from a variety of sources to learn the Bible, whether it was individual books of the Bible, the content of sermon literature, through gospel harmonies, Passion narratives, or a combination of all of those sources.[5]

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[4] Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), Xvii.

[5] For new scholarship on lay access to the Bible see: Margriet Hoogvliet, "Encouraging Lay People to Read the Bible in the French Vernaculars: New Groups of Readers and Textual Communities," Church History and Religious Culture, 93 (2013); Margriet Hoogvliet, "The Medieval Vernacular Bible in French as a Flexible Text: Selective and Discontinuous Reading Practices" in *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible.* Ed. Eyal Potleg and Laura Light (Boston: Brill, 2013); Corbellini, Sabrina, Mart van Duijn, Sizan Folkerts and Margriet Hoogvliet. "Challenging the Paradigms: Holy Writ and Lay Readers in Late Medieval Europe." *Church History and Religious Culture* 93 (2013); Corbellini, Sabrina and Margriet Hoogvliet. "Artisans and Religious Reading in Late Medieval Italy and Northern France (ca. 1400-ca. 1520)." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 43 (2013).

Maurice de Sully's sermons not only convey scriptural knowledge on the life of Christ, particularly his ministry, but the sermons are also bound with additional biblical literatures in manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thus, scholars should study both the content of his sermons as well as the manuscript tradition of the sermons, including the additional material the sermons are bound with, particularly in the vernacular. Doing so will certainly enhance studies on the ways in which the laity accessed and used the Bible.

The final school of thought that ought to pay attention to Maurice de Sully's model sermon collection includes scholars who focus on medieval piety, including lay piety. Overwhelmingly, scholarship on Late Medieval piety focuses on affective devotion to a suffering Christ. However, future research must include studies on lay interests in Christian practical morality and moral reform. This element of lay piety remains understudied, and it points to the adult ministry of Christ, rather than his early life and Passion, as a source of inspiration.

Maurice de Sully's sermons are an excellent source for understanding an active form of devotion focused on the adult ministry of Christ. As I have stated, his sermons are an important source on the Bible, particularly the adult life of Christ according to the New Testament. They also urged lay audiences to participate in Church sacraments such as confession and penance, and continually reminded Christians to avoid sin. They often combined these important elements of Christianity, teaching the Christian how to behave properly and engage with the Church using stories from the adult life of Christ according to the Gospel as an example to the Christian. The manuscript evidence for this trend also demonstrates that it was a form of devotion accessed by Christians from a variety of social

backgrounds, and most importantly, this didactic devotion seems to have interested both men and women.

To date, the focus on the affective characteristics of Late Medieval Christian devotion have led to an emphasis on gender, and a particular focus on women. Caroline Walker Bynum's study on food and Christianity highlights the corporeal elements that linked medieval women in particular to affective devotions.[6] In her book on affective meditations Sarah McNamer argues that an entire emotion, compassion, became so feminized through affective devotions to a suffering Christ between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries that by the late fifteenth century, laymen writing Middle English Passion Lyric actually demonstrated an aversion to the Passion. According to McNamer this was because the men had to grapple with the masculine pressures of society while writing "feminized feelings" toward a suffering Christ.[7] But the study of a devotion focused on morality and a knowledge of the Gospels offers us an understanding of a wider, non-gendered expression for Christian piety.[8]

In asserting that this form of devotion should be considered in scholarship on Late Medieval piety I do not intend to suggest that the gendered elements of affectivity are unfounded. Rather, the exploration of additional strands of Late Medieval piety allows for a deeper understanding of the many, varied types of devotional expression that existed for all Christians.[9] Additionally, the study of different strands of Late Medieval piety and the ways

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[6] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
[7] Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 177.
[8] Rachel Fulton argues that affective devotion to the suffering Christ is not feminine, nor should it be studied along gendered lines. For more on her argument against the gendered aspects of affective devotion see: *From Judgement to Passion: Devotion to Christ & The Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press), 2002.
[9] Rachel Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion: Devotion to Christ & the Virgin Mary, 800-1200;* Likewise,

in which those various forms intersect, allows for a deeper understanding of when and how gender did play a role in devotion. For instance, perhaps the Passion Lyrics from the men Sarah McNamer analyzed did avoid certain feminine elements in their works. But the knowledge of a trend in devotion focused on the adult life of Christ and not on the Passion, which reaches back to the twelfth century, forces us to ask if devotional sources that leave out the Passion are indeed avoiding something gendered, or simply pulling from a different form of piety altogether?

Beyond the written elements of Maurice de Sully's sermons, though, they are a particularly interesting case study because of the associated narrative image cycles of the adult life of Christ, which I mentioned above.[10] For, it is not simply in studies concerning devotional literature that affectivity emerges as the central force. Studies on the visual elements of devotion reveal an emphasis on the suffering of Christ on the cross, and of the suffering of his mother, Mary.[11] But the visual program associated with the sermons of Sully suggests an interest in pictorial cycles of the entire life of Christ. While there is only one manuscript related to the sermons that contains illuminations for the adult life of Christ, a study of those images opens up new avenues for exploring the visual representations of Christ in Late Medieval devotion.

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while many scholars focus on the feminine elements of books of hours, other scholars see them as family objects. See: Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400-1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England: 1400-1580*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

[10] Manuscript BnF français 187, which is discussed in detail in chapter 3, and three of the printed editions of his sermons (1484, 1489 and 1501), discussed in chapter 5. Likewise, there are two manuscripts that contain content from his sermons, which are accompanied by images: BnF français 6447 and MS Bodmer 147 (see chapter 2 for more details).

[11] For studies on affectivity in art see: Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996; *The Passion Story: From Visual Representation to Social Drama.* Ed. Marcia Kupfer. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008.

In fact, my study of the image cycle associated with the sermons of Sully led me to investigate an image cycle associated with the *Meditationes Vitae Christi,* a Late Medieval devotional text known for its particularly affective tone. Manuscript BnF ital. 115, one of the most heavily illustrated copies of the MVC from fourteenth-century Italy, also reveals a visual interest in the adult ministry of Christ. This particular copy is an Italian translation of the long, Latin version of the *Meditationes*. It contains nearly one hundred chapters on the life of Christ, most of which are highlighted with illustrations. Nearly fifty of those are on the adult ministry of Christ, and contain illustrations that portray his adult ministry. While scholars of the *Meditationes,* including those who have researched MS ital. 115 and its image program, continue to focus on the affective elements of the text, a detailed analysis of the entire source reveals an interest in the entire life of Christ, including his ministry, just as the sermons of Maurice de Sully do.

Continued study of the sermons of Maurice de Sully will enhance the above mentioned fields. The sermons reveal that Maurice de Sully was skilled in relaying important Church doctrine to lay audiences, thus making him a very important figure in the twelfth-century. He maintained consistency with his contemporaries in terms of the content of his sermons, but his focus was on the salvation of lay Christians. Because of this focus, his sermons are an extremely significant source for understanding lay access to the Bible – they stick very closely to the written word of the Gospels, therefore offering lay audiences an opportunity to learn scripture. Finally, both the biblical content of the sermons and the evidence for the ways in which the sermons were received from the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries unveils a form of devotion focused on active, moral living on behalf of the Christian, which was inspired by the adult life of Christ. Further studies on this particular

aspect of Late Medieval piety will strengthen our understandings of the ways in which Christians drew on multiple examples from the life of Christ to achieve a pious life.

Chapter I.
Maurice de Sully and His World

In the year 1160, after just one year as Bishop of Paris, Peter Lombard passed away. The canons of the cathedral were left with the job of finding a replacement, and so, as legend has it, they approached the current king, Louis VII, with the daunting task. Louis asked the canons who the best man in the Church of Paris was. They offered him two names in response: Peter Comestor (Pierre le Mangeur) and Maurice de Sully. The king then asked, "which of the two has demonstrated the most firmness, the most zeal for issues concerned with the salvation of souls, and which one has been involved in preaching and other acts of charity?"[12] The canons responded that it was Maurice who was more concerned with the salvation of souls, more passionate about preaching, more compassionate for those who live a practical life. Comestor, on the other hand, was more useful for the science of the scriptures. So, the king responded by saying, "Choose the more zealous one for the government of souls; reserve the more educated one for the direction of the schools."[13]

This thirteenth-century tale of Maurice de Sully's appointment as Bishop of Paris is illustrative of the way in which he was remembered immediately after his death—for his reputation as a great preacher in the twelfth century, and as a man who concerned himself with the salvation of lay people.[14] Beyond his reputation as a preacher, a set of model sermons with a large manuscript tradition that survives today in a variety of capacities,

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[12] "Quesivit quis eorum esset fervenencior in eis que pertinent ad salute animarum et virilior, quis magis vacaret predicacioni et aliis occupacionibus subvencionis animarum," Étienne de Bourbon, "De Cautela in Electione Prelatorum" *ed.* M. Lecoy de la Marche. *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d'Érienne de Bourbon, dominicain du XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Libraire de la Sociéteé de L'histoire de France, 1877), 418.

[13] "Fervenciorem animarum regimini assumite, studiosiorem regimini scolarum reservate" Étienne de Bourbon, "De Cautela in Electione Prelatorum" *ed.* la Marche. *Anecdotes historiques,* 418.

[14] This account of Maurice de Sully's appointment as Bishop of Paris is also recounted and analyzed in a more recent work by Victor Mortet, *Maurice de Sully, évêque de Paris: Étude sur l'aministration épiscopale pendant la seconde moitié du XII siécle*. Mem. Soc. Hist. de Paris 16 (1889), 22-23.

written by Sully sometime between 1168 and 1175, and intended for the ears of common lay men and women, serves as a testament to his preaching abilities. The original language of the model sermon collection is debated, though the current trend in thought is that he wrote the sermons in Latin and they were translated into French shortly thereafter. Regardless of their original language, however, it is absolutely clear that the vernacular sermons were intended for consumption by a lay audience, and the manuscript tradition of the sermons demonstrates that they indeed had a large impact on the laity.

Through his sermons Sully encouraged lay audiences to participate in confession, to do penance, and avoid various sins, all in order to lead good Christian lives in the hopes of achieving salvation. He conveyed these messages by providing a very close retelling of a Gospel story, usually followed by an explication of the significance of each story. Imbedded in the significance is a lesson for Christians about proper moral behavior. While the sermons grew extremely popular in France, England and Italy in the high and later Middle Ages, little is known about the man himself. Nor are the sermons, which can be found in nearly ninety extant manuscripts and nineteen printed editions from the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries, a major part of the scholarship on sermon literature, or on late twelfth-century Paris, where Sully lived and wrote them, or on devotional literature, a field in which these sermons clearly had an influence.

Yet, while the sermons are generally overlooked by most scholars in the fields mentioned above, new scholarship focusing on preaching, confession, and the education of lay audiences on the principles of Christianity, such as material by Andrew Reeves and Beata

Spieralska-Kasprzyk, does point to Maurice de Sully as an influential figure of the twelfth century. [15]

In this chapter I focus on Maurice de Sully himself, and the ways in which his sermons fit into existing scholarship on twelfth-century Paris, preaching and sermon studies. I will demonstrate that his work is actually a testament to the twelfth-century renaissance he played a part in, despite the fact that his sermons were very much intended for a lay audience (and therefore often simplified), rather than for the more educated classes, especially theologians and academics. His contemporaries, such as Peter Comestor, Peter the Chanter and Peter Lombard, whose works on preaching and theology catered to a more educated group, have received far more attention than has the model sermon collection of Sully.

While I will explore the ways in which the sermons are a product of twelfth-century Paris, I will also demonstrate that they contributed to ideas that became very important in the following centuries. However, I will not address the degree to which these ideas reached the laity in this chapter. In chapter two I will discuss the extreme popularity of the sermons, as evidenced by their extensive manuscript tradition, further emphasizing the importance of Sully's work and the influence it had in later centuries.

The Administrative History of Maurice de Sully

Before discussing the intellectual details of Maurice de Sully and his world it is important to situate him administratively. As legend suggests, Sully's great skills as a preacher led to his appointment as Bishop of Paris in 1160. He took the place of Peter Lombard, well known for his *Sentences*, an extremely popular text that was used as a

[15] See: Beata Spieralska-Kasprzyk. "Prêcher sur le prêche. La réflexion de Maurice de Sully sur l'importance et la nature de la prédication," Medieval Sermon Studies Vol. 61, No. 1 (2017), 73-80; Andrew Reeves. *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and the Articles of Faith.* Leiden: Brill, 2015.

textbook in the cathedral schools. The text was also heavily used by later theologians of the twelfth century, and future generations.[16] Thus, Sully followed in the footsteps of a man who left a lasting impression on twelfth-century and Late Medieval theology.

Before his appointment as bishop, though, very little is known about Maurice de Sully. C.A Robson includes some brief biographical information on Sully in his edition of the French translation of the sermons, as does Jean Longère in his book chapter "Maurice de Sully: l'éveque de Paris (1160-1196), le prédicateur."[17] But the authoritative source of information on Sully's life is Victor Mortet's book on Sully's administrative life, written in 1890. It is unclear exactly when Maurice de Sully was born, but he was from a small city, Sully-sur-Loire, not far from Orléans.[18] He arrived in Paris around the year 1140 CE, and remained there until his death in 1196.[19] During those years he was a teacher and preacher and was heavily involved in church administration.

It is impossible to know the particulars of what he did from 1140 to 1159, but Mortet traced two potential leads as to his whereabouts by searching records from the diocese of Paris. The first source is a charter of Bishop Étienne de Senlis from 1142, which records a witness "Mauritius clericus," and the other is a charter from the Bishop of Paris in the year 1147, which also contains the name "Mauricius subdiaconus." Mortet found no other "Maurice" to attribute these signatures to. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated with absolute

[16] Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 148.
[17] C.A. Robson. *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily: With the Text of Maurice's French Homilies from a Sens Cathedral Chapter MS.* Blackwell, 1952; Jean Longère, "Maurice de Sully: l'évêque de Paris (1160-1196), le prédicateur," in *Notre Dame de Paris: Un manifeste chréstien (1160-1230),* ed. Michel Lemoine (Turnhout: Brepols), 2004.
[18] Victor Mortet. *Maurice de Sully, évêque de Paris: Étude sur l'aministration épiscopale pendant la seconde moitié du XII siécle*. Mem. Soc. Hist. de Paris 16 (1889), 1.
[19] Mortet, *Maurice de Sully, éveque de Paris,* 4.

certainty that this is Maurice de Sully. However, if the names do refer to him, that means Sully was a clerk in 1142, not long after arriving in Paris, and a subdeacon by 1147.[20]

After becoming Bishop, Sully undertook an extensive building project, the reconstruction of Notre Dame. In fact, this may be the effort for which he is most well-known today. When we think of twelfth-century Paris, Notre Dame and great gothic churches come to mind, and Sully was definitely at the center of the large reconstruction project at Notre Dame during the second half of the twelfth century.[21] However, at the time, both the size of the physical project itself, and his efforts to finance this building project, were met with disapproval from others in his administration. Peter the Chanter, whom I will discuss in more detail further along in the chapter, served as chanter of Notre Dame from at least 1184. According to John Baldwin, it fell within the Chanter's duties to offer advice and support to the Bishop on his building project.[22] Baldwin suggests that while the Chanter never directly mentions Sully or the construction of Notre Dame in his writings, at least in the sources known to scholars today, he was extremely critical of large and fancy building projects, often quoting scriptures to justify his opinions.[23]

This building project also called for Sully to reorganize the parish structure of the Ile-de-la-Cité since Notre Dame could no longer perform the services of a parish church, as it had been doing prior to construction, and this was likely met with opposition as well. By 1182 Sully had divided the island into 14 parishes, conforming those parishes to the

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[20] Mortet, *Maurice de Sully, éveque de Paris,* 6.
[21] Nicole Beriou, "Maurice et Eudes de Sully et la cathédrale de Paris," in *Notre-Dame de Paris 1163-2013: Actes du Colloque Scientifique Tenu au Collège des Bernardins, à Paris, du 12 au 15 décembre 2012.* ed. C. Giraud (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 19-28.
[22] John W. Baldwin, *Masters Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter & His Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 66.
[23] Baldwin, *Masters Princes and Merchants,* 66. Baldwin sites the Chanter's biblical commentaries as well as his *Verbum Abbreviatum* as sources that demonstrate his opposition to large building projects. Specifically, MS Paris Maz. 176, fol. 124ra for the Biblical commentary and *PL,* 205: 255-259, the short version, for the *Verbum.*

existence of previously existing churches.[24] In Peter the Chanter's work *Verbum abbreviatum* there is a chapter titled, "Against the multiplication of churches and altars," in which the Chanter promotes the idea that each town should have a single church, and that large cities should only have a few churches, all under the authority of one major church.[25] Baldwin speculates that these opinions were directly tied to the administrative and building decisions of Maurice de Sully. This is very likely the case, but Sully's decision is unsurprising when one considers his reputation as someone who cared for Christians, and the salvation of their souls. More parishes might have meant more administrative work, but creating those parishes around pre-existing churches allowed for the continued participation of lay Christians in their already established communities.

The Chanter was also very critical, it seems, of the ways in which Sully acquired the money to sustain the construction of this massive church. In one of his works Peter the Chanter noted that prostitutes wanted to present the church with gifts. In fact, Thomas of Chobham, a contemporary of the Chanter and Sully, recorded that the prostitutes in Paris did offer a stained glass window to Notre Dame. The Chanter and Chobham, in addition to Stephen Langton, another contemporary theologian, discussed the morality of accepting donations from prostitutes in their works. It seems the men agreed that such donations were necessary from prostitutes – they needed to give alms to the church for their own salvation. Nevertheless, it seems they all agreed such donations should be given and accepted in private so as not to offer the wrong impression to the general public.[26]

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[24] Baldwin, *Masters Princes and Merchants,* 69. See also: Adrien Friedmann, "Notre-Dame et les paroisses de Paris au XIIIe siècle," in *Huitième centenaire de Notre-Dame de Paris, 1967,* ed. J. Vrin (Paris: Librairie Philosophique, 1967), 53-59.
[25] Baldwin, *Masters Princes and Merchants,* 70.
[26] Baldwin, *Masters Princes and Merchants,* 68. Baldwin sites Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum, PL,* 205: 257B and C.

Despite whatever controversies Maurice de Sully encountered in his administrative role as Bishop of Paris, it seems he was very well liked at the time of his passing. Certainly his reputation post mortem demonstrates that he was known for his great faith and preaching. In fact, there is a story about Maurice de Sully on his death bed, which was recirculated by several men in years to come. According to this particular story, Maurice lay dying in the Abbey of Saint-Victor. Canons brought him unconsecrated bread, but he somehow knew immediately, sent the bread back, and demanded the consecrated sacrament.[27] Unfortunately, due to his weakened state he could not take the consecrated host.[28]

Whether or not the story holds any truth, the fact that it was retold by so many men indicates his lasting reputation as a holy man. And in fact, just a handful of years after his life ended, he was mentioned as a fantastic preacher by Pope Innocent III. In a quote cited by Michel Zink, Innocent calls Maurice de Sully a very experienced preacher, "periti admodum in officio praedicand."[29] Thus, his reputation post mortem was very good, beyond any negative feedback he received for his building project, as it seems he was remembered as both a great spiritual figure and a great preacher.

Sully's administrative role demonstrates that he was engaging with many of the great master theologians who show up so often in modern ecclesiastically focused histories of the twelfth century. He took over as Bishop of Paris for Peter Lombard, was pitted (according to

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[27] In *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Holy Women,* Caroline Walker Bynum discusses the Eucharistic miracles of several women, which resemble this story about Maurice de Sully. Mary of Orignies, who vomits out an unconsecrated host (117); Ida of Léau, who cannot eat regular food, only consecrated food, during her fits (117); Lidwina of Schiedam who also vomited out an unconsecrated host (128).

[28] Baldwin, *Masters Princes and Merchants,* 157. The primary source cited for this information is: Robert of Courson, *Summa,* fol. 169vb in MS Paris BN 14524.

[29] Zink, *La Prédication en Langue Romane,* 36. Originally from the letters of Innocent II, Anagni, 24 Dec. 1201, cited by V. Mortet in *Maurice de Sully, éveque de Paris, Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris* 16, 1889, 132.

legend) against Peter Comestor in the running to be Bishop, and Peter the Chanter worked with him as chanter of Notre Dame for many years. Yet, in contrast to those other figures, he shows up much less often in scholarly literature focusing on the major theological debates of the time. I believe this is due to the type of written material Sully left behind, rather than the content of his written work. While concerned with his building project, Sully was also very concerned with creating sermon material that was accessible to lay audiences, and his reputation during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries certainly demonstrates this. Thus, he was less preoccupied with engaging in deep academic theology, like many of his predecessors and contemporaries. This is evident when it comes to his most successful body of writing, the set of model sermons.

In contrast, Peter Lombard's *Sentences* were a standard text in the schools at Paris, and remained influential to academic and theological thinkers in centuries to come. Peter the Chanter worked through the issues of his time and provided content for future theologians in the form of disputations, questions and lectures (through his involvement in university life). Finally, Peter Comestor is responsible for perhaps the most famous work produced by these men, the *Historia Scholastica,* which was not only a very important university textbook, but influenced later translations and adaptations of the vernacular Bible. There is no doubt that these men and their textual contributions influenced the coming centuries.[30] Yet the work of Maurice de Sully did as well, though in different ways, for different audiences.

[30] For information on the contributions of all three men see: John Baldwin, *Masters Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter & His Circle.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970. For Peter Lombard, see: Marcia Colish, *Peter Lombard.* Leiden: E.J Brill, 1994. On Peter Comestor, see: Mark J. Clark, *The Making of the Historia Scholastica, 1150-1200.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2015.

Peter Comestor, Maurice de Sully, and the History of the Vernacular Bible

Over the course of the twelfth century, the Bible became a central focus in the curriculum of the cathedral schools in Paris. Out of this focus, many glosses, commentaries and theological works concerning the Bible emerged. Modern scholarship on the history of the Bible tends to focus on these academic, Latin writings that developed in the twelfth century, many of which did influence the growing interest and dissemination of the Bible in both Latin and the vernacular, as well as the creation of the Bible as the book we recognize today. Yet, much less attention has been given to what access lay audiences actually had to biblical material, and the ways in which twelfth-century works influenced the dissemination of biblical material in vernacular languages to lay audiences. Maurice de Sully's model sermon collection is a great example of material that represented the ideals of the twelfth-century academics, and developed out of the same circle, but which had a much more direct effect on lay knowledge of the Bible.

Beginning in the first half of the twelfth century, well before Sully wrote his sermons, works that focused on biblical commentaries emerged, the most influential commentary being the *Glossa Ordinaria*, attributed to Anselm of Laon (d. 1117).[31] However, the *Gloss* likely took several years to complete and is the work of a variety of contributing authors. Of course, these glosses were in Latin, intended for use by scholars and students. They were designed with the main biblical text in a central column, and the biblical commentaries on either the left or right of the various passages included, and they serve as one indication of

[31] G.W.H Lampe, ed., *Cambridge History of the Bible: The West From the Fathers to the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 197.

the growing importance of knowledge about the Bible and biblical history in the twelfth century.[32]

Biblical glosses, along with Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, influenced the creation of another great work focused on the Bible, the *Historia Scholastica;* all three were heavily used as textbooks in the schools. The *Historia Scholastica* demonstrates, just as the glosses do, the intense twelfth-century scholarly interest in understanding the Bible. The *Historia* was written by Peter Comestor in Paris around the year 1170 (similar to the sermons of Sully) as a biblical summary for students of the Cathedral schools. In fact, Peter Comestor lectured on the *Gloss* in the schools, and Mark J. Clark argues that it was actually Comestor's experience in using the *Gloss* to teach that led to his creation of the *Historia Scolastica.*[33] His aim was to create a chronological work of history, based on the Bible, which was understandable and enjoyable for students. Comestor achieved his goal; the text saw immediate success as a textbook, and late twelfth-century teachers of theology like Stephen Langton lectured on the *Historia* not long after its composition.

This growing interest among theologians and academics of the twelfth century to understand the Bible as history also directly influenced the ways in which future Bibles were created. By the thirteenth century Bible production had increased, the size of the Bible became much smaller and more portable, and the order of the books of the Bible became much more established, resembling something we would recognize today.[34] This reorganization of the books in the Bible came to be known as the 'Paris Bible,' which was a single volume Latin Bible with an ordering of the Biblical books much resembling that of

[32] de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible*, p. 109.
[33] Mark J. Clark, *The Making of the Historia Scholastica, 1150-1200* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2015), 46.
[34] de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible*, 114-121.

modern Bibles. Christopher de Hamel directly relates this ordering of the Bible to the influence of the Paris schools during the twelfth century, and the importance they placed on historicizing biblical material.[35]

The twelfth-century theologians and their focus on the Bible as history influenced not only Latin Bibles, but Bibles in the vernacular, as well. The oldest known translation of the Bible into Old French is what is now known as the *Old French Bible,* translated sometime before 1260 when the oldest known manuscript of this translation was created.[36] The translation has received far less attention than other examples of the Bible in the vernacular, and is not always acknowledged in the scholarship. There are, however, two much more commonly acknowledged Old French translations of the Bible from the Middle Ages: 1) The complete Bible from the fourteenth century, commissioned by King Charles V, and 2) the *Bible Historiale,* translated by Guiart des Moulins between 1291 and 1295.[37] Interestingly, the *Bible Historiale* is not actually a Bible, but rather a translation of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica.* In fact, the *Bible Historiale* is an edited version of the *Historia,* translated and added to, to include extracts from the Bible. This text exists in two different manuscript traditions. The first is the exact translation of Guiart's *Bible Historiale,* which has a rather small manuscript tradition. The second, with a much bigger manuscript tradition, consists of most of the *Bible Historiale,* coupled with translations from none other than the *Old French Bible*. [38]

[35] de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible*, 121.
[36] BnF français 899
[37] Clive R. Sneddon, "The Old French Bible: The First Complete Vernacular Bible in Western Europe," in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity* ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 298.
[38] Sneddon, "The Old French Bible: The First Complete Vernacular Bible in Western Europe," 299.

The latter text is known in French as the *Bible Historiale Complétée.* It is actually about two thirds of the *Old French Bible*, combined with Guiart's *Bible Historiale,* though he remained the sole author associated with the entire text. This combined text is what the earliest printers chose to print, rather than either the *Old French Bible* or the *Bible Historiale.* Clearly, Peter Comestor's textbook, created to be digested by students in the Paris schools, served an important purpose in the history of the vernacular Bible and does, indeed, deserve its place in modern academic conversations about the history of the Bible.

Current scholarship on biblical dissemination tends to focus on texts that influenced later biblical works, rather than on lay ownership of works containing biblical material. Thus, Peter Comestor also emerges in this scholarship as an important figure in the diffusion of biblical material. For instance, in an article entitled, "Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase, and the Medieval Popular Bible," James H. Morey not only argues that Peter Comestor's work influenced the dissemination of the Bible, but he also suggests that due to its frequent paraphrase, "the *Historia* was the single most important medium through which a popular Bible took shape, from the thirteenth into the fifteenth century, in France, England, and elsewhere."[39] The Bible was disseminated in the vernacular by means of sermons, homilies, commentaries, dramas and picture bibles, and Comestor's work had a heavy influence on all of these things. [40] Morey's evidence in the article rests on councils like Lateran IV, and statutes, which name the *Historia* as part of a core curriculum in both France and England, and on a variety of vernacular texts, many of which are poems containing biblical stories, that he suggests drew in various way from the *Historia.* Thus, Morey is not demonstrating

[39] James H. Morey, "Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase, and the Medieval Popular Bible," *Speculum*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (Jan., 1993), 6.
[40] Morey, "Peter Comestor," 6.

lay ownership of Comestor's works, but rather suggesting that his work influenced various other texts that reached lay audiences.

Yet, other non-academic works from the twelfth century directly reached lay audiences, and these sources cannot be ignored if we are to understand the ways in which the laity learned the Bible. As mentioned above, Morey notes that one of the ways the laity accessed the Bible was through sermons and homilies. This is decidedly the case for the sermons of Maurice de Sully, which were consumed by lay audiences for centuries after their creation. Though he does not factor into scholarship on the creation of a vernacular Bible, he should absolutely be considered in emerging scholarship on lay access to the Bible. In a recent article, "'Car Dieu vault estre serui de tous estaz': Encouraging and Instructing Laypeople in French from the Late Middle Ages to the Early Sixteenth Century", Margariet Hoogvliet looks at wills and post mortem inventories to assess the types of religious books that people were gifting in France. Her assessment is that many of the texts were didactic, offering the laity information on the Bible, and teaching the Lord's prayer and the Apostles' Creed. In fact, Sully's sermons do all of those things—they contain translations of both the Creed and the Lord's prayer, and are didactic in nature in that they teach Gospel material through direct quotations from the Gospels. While she does not mention his work in this particular article, perhaps because his sermons did not show up in the source material she was looking at, or they are not properly attributed to him, Sully's sermons reflect the types of materials turning up in conversations on lay access to the Bible, and their content should therefore be included in future conversations on lay education of biblical material.

A recent book by Andrew Reeves that is centered on the religious education of the laity in England does in fact spend a significant amount of time on Maurice de Sully (likely

because he focuses on lay education). In his 2015 book, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and the Articles of Faith*, Reeves details the ways in which the laity, and those whom he calls the "modestly educated" clergy, learned Christian doctrine in England.[41] The sermons of Maurice de Sully are among the texts that helped educate these people; they saw great popularity in thirteenth-century England. He suggests that these sermons were particularly accessible to the laity and modestly educated clergy because of the straightforward way in which Sully constructed them, and the fact that the sermons do not assume previous knowledge of scriptural stories.

It is extremely important to note that Sully's sermons did not assume previous knowledge of the scriptures. Rather than focus heavily on intense theological concepts, the sermons served to educate the general population on the content of the Gospels and Christ's life. Through those stories Maurice de Sully sought to promote an active, moral Christian lifestyle. While he did not contribute formal, Latin texts to the corpus of twelfth-century works that influenced the vernacular Bible in the ways that a text like Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* did, his efforts in the twelfth century nevertheless reflect a desire to present the Gospels to a wide audience.

Not only do they reflect a desire to educate lay audiences, but the evidence suggests the sermons did so to a very significant degree. This effort is no doubt grounded in the larger, twelfth-century movement toward understanding the entirety of the Bible. Granted, it was not an academic audience, or a necessarily educated, elite audience, that Sully wished to feed with his material, but rather a general, lay public. Nevertheless, his model sermon collection was incredibly influential and widely used, and demonstrates one of the important ways in

[41] Andrew Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and the Articles of Faith* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), XII.

which twelfth-century concerns for understanding Bible history were digested by the laity for years to come. In providing these stories he connected lay audiences to the trends of the highly academic world in Paris by bringing them a portion of the Bible, the New Testament. This allowed common men and women to understand the history of the life of Christ as it occurred in the Gospel stories.

When you read Sully's sermons it becomes clear just how closely he sticks to the biblical stories of the Gospels, thus indicating how easy it would have been to absorb the Bible by hearing or reading the sermons. There is no added, extra-biblical information in his retelling of the Gospel story. For example, in Sully's sermon for the second Sunday after Epiphany, which retells the Gospel story of the healing of the leper, Sully states:

> The Holy Gospel presently tells us that when Our Lord God had delivered the new law on a mountain, and he had made the first sermon that he ever made on Earth, many people followed him. And so a leper came, prayed to him, and said to Him: 'Lord, if you wish, you can make me clean and cure me of leprosy.' And our Lord said to him: 'I do wish that.' He extended his hand, he touched the leper, and said: 'be made clean;' and quickly he was cleansed of his leprosy.[42]

In the Bible, Matthew 8: 1-3, the Gospel reads:

> When Jesus had come down from the mountain, great crowds followed him; and there was a leper who came to him; and knelt before him saying, "Lord, if you choose, you can make me clean." He stretched out his hand and touched

[42]C.A. Robson, *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily with the Text of Maurices French Homilies, from a Sens Cathedral Chapter ms.* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952). Sermon 4, line 3, 91: *Li sains evangiles d'ui nos raconte que Nostre Sire Deus, com il ot livre la novele loi en une montaingne, e il ot fait le premerain sermon qu'il onques fist en terre, si le sivirent maintes gens. Si vint uns liepros, si l'aora, e si li dist: 'Sire, se tu vuels, tu me pues munder e saner de ma leper.' E Nostre Sire li dist: 'Si vueil,' si estendi sa main, si atoca le liepre, e si dist: 'Soiés mondés'; e eneslespas fu cil mondés de sa lipre.*

> him saying, "I do choose. Be made clean!" Immediately his leprosy was cleansed.[43]

It is clear that Sully took his inspiration directly from Matthew 8: 1-3. He reveals the story of the healing of the leper as it occurred in the Gospel, thus providing his audience with the knowledge of that biblical story.

This pattern continues throughout his sermons, whether they be a retelling of Christ's healing miracles, food miracles, or a parable. In his sermon on the Parable of the Sower, for instance, Sully states:

> The Gospel presently tells us that one time many men gathered around Our Lord; when He saw that a lot of men had come to Him, he talked to them in parables and he said to them: 'There was an honorable man, who went to sow his seed, and while he sowed some of his seed fell along the road, and a part was trampled on by those who passed along the way, and so the birds ate it. The other part of his seed fell on rock, and when it germinated, it was dried out, because it did not have any liquid in order to grow, which is why it was not able to grow. The third part fell on thorns, and the thorns strangled it. The fourth part fell on good Earth, and it thus produced up to a hundredfold.[44]

In this sermon Sully is clearly relying on the Gospel of Luke 8:4-15 for his retelling of the story, and he continues to do so for several lines. Luke 8:4-15 reads:

> When a great crowd gathered and people from town after town came to him, he said in a parable: 'A sower went out to sow his seed; and as he sowed,

[43] All Biblical translations are from *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (Oxford: University Press, 2007).
[44] Robson, sermon 7, line 3, 91: *Li evangiles d'ui nos raconte que une fois asamblerent a Nostre Segnor pluisors gens; e com il vit que si grans gens estoient venu a lui si parla a els par samblance e si lor dist: 'Il se fu uns prodom, qui ala semer se semence; e com il semoit, si cai une partie de sa semence lés la voie, e si fu marcie de cels qui trespas- soient la voie, e si le mangierent li oisel. L'autre partie de sa semence cai sor piere; e com ele fu nee, si seça, por ço qu'ele n'ot point de umor par coi ele poist croistre. La tierce partie si cai sore spines, e les espines l'aoscierent. La quarte partie si cai sor bone terre, e si fist fruit dusqu'a .c. dobles.*

> some fell on the path and was trampled on, and the birds of the air ate it up. Some fell on the rock; and as it grew up, it withered for lack of moisture. Some fell among thorns, and the thorns grew with it and choked it. Some fell into good soil, and when it grew, it produced a hundredfold.'

These are just two very brief examples of the ways in which Sully's sermons served as a great source for lay biblical knowledge on Gospel material, particularly the adult life of Christ.

Maurice de Sully's sermons stick so closely to the Gospels that they were actually mistakenly sited as the Gospels in one thirteenth-century manuscript. Michel Zink published an article in 2009 titled, "Le remploi, marque du temps perdu et du temps retrouvé," which investigates MS Bodmer 147, a manuscript that contains the Arthurian Tales, and that also has a few of Maurice de Sully's sermons. In this manuscript, the Arthurian heroes repeat lines from what looks like the Gospels, followed by commentary. Zink discovered that the commentary is actually taken directly from Maurice de Sully. Subsequently, the Gospel translations, originally thought to be taken from the French Bible of the thirteenth century, were found to have been taken directly from the beginning of Sully's sermons.[45] Zink states, "the translations of the Gospels also correspond each time to the beginning of the sermon, which translates or paraphrases the Gospel of the day."[46] Beyond this observation by Zink,

[45] Françoise Vielliard made this assertion by comparing Bodmer 147 to BnF français 899, which is thought to be the best manuscript evidence for the thirteenth-century Old French Bible: Françoise Vielliard, "Un Texte Interpolé du Cycle Du Graal (Bibliothèque Bodmer, Manuscrit 147)," *Revue d'histoire des textes,* 4 (1974), 295.

[46] Michel Zink, "Le remploi, marque de temps perdu et du temps retrouvé," in *Remploi, Citation, Plagait: Conduites et Pratiques Médiévales (X-XII siècle* 2009), ed. Pierre Toubert, Pierre Moret (Madrid : Casa de Valázqvez, 2009), 4.

though, it has not been noted in modern scholarship that the Gospel translations in Sully's sermons are extremely similar to the text of the French Bible of the thirteenth century.[47]

This French Bible that was thought to be the source of the biblical quotes in Bodmer 147 is referred to as the *Old French Bible* in American scholarship. Indeed, this is the same Bible mentioned at the beginning of this section, which was combined with the *Bible Historiale* (the vernacular translation of Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*) to create the *Bible Historiale Complétée.* Thus, while academic scholars like Peter Comestor created material that influenced a lot of later biblical works, Maurice de Sully was equally as influential in that he created a body of work specifically designed for consumption by a lay audience—one that resembled the Gospels incredibly closely.

There is one more way in which Maurice de Sully contributed to the dissemination of biblical knowledge, and that is through his preaching. Sully's reputation as a great preacher serves as another indication that he was influential in circulating biblical knowledge. Scholarship on preaching tends to acknowledge Sully, and his particular reputation. Yet, somehow, the material he preached does not factor as heavily into scholarship on sermon literature. This is likely due to the fact that a more academic style of sermon emerged out of the twelfth century, and that more academic genre of sermons tends to be the focus of modern scholarship on late twelfth-and thirteenth-century sermon literature.

Preaching & Sermons

There are two very important ways in which Maurice de Sully contributed to the world of preaching. The first is the fact that he promoted preaching to lay audiences so much,

[47] Zink, "Le remploi, marque de temps perdu et du temps retrouvé," 4.

both in his synodal sermon to preachers, which acted as an important guide, but also within the body of his sermon collection, by reminding listeners of the importance of hearing the word (of the Bible) as delivered by preachers. The second way he contributed is through his simplicity of prose, which allowed for diverse lay audiences to understand the important material he presented for preaching. The simplicity Sully promoted in preaching, as indicated by the sermon collection, is one of the main reasons he is discussed in modern scholarship. French and English scholars who research preaching in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries such as Michel Zink, Jean Longère, Nicole Bériou and C.A. Robson all mention this simplicity as a key element to the success of Sully's model sermon collection.[48] Most recently, Polish scholar Beata Spieralska-Kasprzyk has worked on the ways in which Sully focused on the importance of preaching itself.[49] Yet, despite these modern studies, his model sermon collection does not draw scholarly attention as a particularly influential body of work, especially in the field of sermon studies, in particular.

This may be due to the fact that his style does not lend itself to the complexity that became popular in academic sermons in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nor is it necessarily part of the earlier, homiletic tradition; his work stands out as a bridge between old and new styles. Yet, while his sermons read as more rudimentary than other theological

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[48] Michel Zink. *La Prédication en langue romane avant 1300*. Paris, Honoré Champion, Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 1976; Jean Longére, "Maurice de Sully, L'évêque de Paris, le Prédicateur," in *Notre Dame de Paris: un manifeste chrétien,1160-1230. Colloque organisé a l'institut de France le vendredi 12 décemnre 2003 par l'Association* "Rencontres médiévales européennes" présidée par Monique Cazeaux, éd. Michel Lemoine. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004; Nicole Bériou. *L'avénement des maîtres de la Parole: la prédication à Paris au XIIIe siêcle*. Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 1998; C.A. Robson. *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily: With the Text of Maurice's French Homilies from a Sens Cathedral Chapter MS*. Blackwell, 1952.

[49] Beata Spieralska-Kasprzyk, "Prêcher sur le prêche. La réflexion de Maurice de Sully sur l'importance et la nature de la predication," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 61:1 (2017), 73-80.

works from the time, he nevertheless educated lay audiences on the very material that mattered to the twelfth-century theologians and academics he lived amongst, particularly the Bible, and specifically the Gospels of the New Testament. Simple prose allowed for easy digestion of the material he presented. Therefore, his contributions to both preaching and sermon literature cannot be overlooked.

In his synodal sermon Maurice de Sully lays out three things a preacher must have for success:

> The first thing that the priest must have, is a holy life, by which he must surrender himself to God, and by which he must give a good example to all those who will see him… The second thing that he must have, is wisdom and knowledge, with which he must guide the souls that he has to govern... The third thing that is necessary for the priest, is preaching, through which he must be the guardian/ protector of God's flocks.[50]

What stands out in Maurice de Sully's synodal sermon is the degree to which the laity was important to him. A priest's job was to govern the souls of God's people, to set a good example for them. For Sully, a priest was able to do so through the art of preaching. By successfully preaching to lay men and women, the priest protected them against the evils of this world, and guided them towards a proper understanding of what it meant to be a Christian.

The importance of preaching, and of listening to what a preacher has to say, continues throughout Sully's sermon collection. In fact, in 2017 article "Prêcher sur le prêche. La

[50] Robson, Sermon i, line 23, 79-82: *La premeraine chose que li prestres doit avoir, c'est sainte vie, par quoi il doit soi mesisme render a Deu, e par coi il doit bone essample doner a tos ceus qui le verront…La seconde chose qu'il doit avoir, si est la discretions e la science, par coi il doit conseillier les anmes qu'il a a governer… la tierce cose qui est besoignable al provoire, si est li predications, par coi il doit estre garde des oeilles Damedeu.*

réflexion de Maurice de Sully sur l'importance et la nature de la predication," Beata Spieralska-Kasprzyk aptly notes that his sermons encourage both the act of preaching and the act of listening to preachers. She analyzes several moments in various sermons that demonstrate just how important preaching was to Maurice de Sully. One such sermon is the sermon for the fifth Sunday after Lent. Sully states:

> Gentlemen, in this speech you can hear that whoever is of God and who loves God, willingly hears about him. And whoever is not of God and does not care about God, does not care to hear His word. There are many people on Earth who are so malicious and therefore so far removed from God, that when they hear that one begins to speak of God, they immediately contradict the word of God, only if they are sufficiently rich or powerful to dare to do it. "Lord," they say, "you talk too much, you keep us here too long. Continue the service and let us go about our business. " These are obviously the sons of the Devil, sons of that same father of whom Jews were the sons, those who would not listen to the word of God, and to whom God says: "you are sons of that father who is the Devil." These men who hate the word of God and oppose it, let them never suppose that they are sons of God, or that they are of him, or that they belong to him.[51]

Spieralska-Kasprzyk does not spend a great amount of time analyzing this particular passage (her translation actually stops at: "those who would not listen to the word of God"). What she does say, however, is that this is a dramatization on behalf of Sully, intended to characterize

[51] Robson, sermon 13, line 13, 104-105: *Segnor, en ceste parole poés oïr que cil ki est de Deu e ki Deu aime, qui il ot volentiers de lui parler; e cil ki n'est de Deu, e ki de Deu n'a cure, que il n'a cure de sa parole oïr. Si sunt maintes gens en terre, ki sunt de si grant malissce, e issi eslongié de Deu, que quant il oent comencier a parler de Deu, se il sunt de si grant rechece, ne de si grant poissance, que il l'osent faire, isnelement contredient la parole de Deu. "Sire", font il, "trop parlés, trop nos tenez ici, faites le service, si nos laissiés aler en nos besonnes?". Cist sunt apertement fil al dyable fil a icelui pere cui fil furent li Geuiu, ki la parole Deu ne volrent oïr, e cui Nostre Sire dist: 'Vos est[es] fil de celui pere ki dyables est.' Itels gens, ki si heent la parole Deu a la contredient, ja mar cuideront que il soient fil Deu, ne qu'il soient de lui, ne qu'il pertiegnent a lui*.

those who do not listen to the word of God. I would add that through this dramatization and characterization, Sully uses another important technique: fear. Those who do not hear the word of God are not simply bad, they are children of the Devil, as stated by God himself. Sully attempted to instill fear in his listeners by linking those who did not hear the words of God as presented by the preacher to the Devil.

Thus, the sermon elevates the role of the preacher as the one who portrays the word of God to the people and has the power to keep the people free from the grips of the Devil and to enable them to be children of God. It also sets out a clear job for the laity: listen to the preacher. Sully's convictions are supported by the fact that he relies directly on biblical material; this sermon in particular uses various direct quotes from John 8: 44-48.

The second way in which Maurice de Sully contributed to preaching is his particular style: uncomplicated, straightforward, and didactic. As stated above, the French and English scholars who research preaching note the characteristics of Sully's style. In *La Prédication Médiévale,* Longère suggests that the characteristic style of the Bishop of Paris "is the simplicity of prose and the insistent reminder of the moral work of the Christian."[52] Michel Zink also reiterates this point, noting the practicality of the sermons as a key element of their continued success. [53] They are the only sermons in a Romance language, Zink asserts, preserved in a number of manuscripts. In her book *L'avénement des maîtres de la Parole: la prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle,* Nicole Bériou briefly looks at Sully's contributions to preaching, concluding that he was interested in educating the laity and helping less-educated preachers with their ability to preach effectively.[54] English scholar C.A. Robson strikes a

[52] Jean Longère, *La Prédication Médiévale* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1983), 88.
[53] Michel Zink, *La Prédication en langue romane avant 1300* (Paris, Honoré Champion, Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 1976), 36.
[54] Nicole Beriou, book *L'avénement des maîtres de la Parole: la prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle* (Paris:

similar tone while analyzing the sermons of Sully, stating: "Maurice dominates his material and is not overawed by it; he practices the art of omission and provides simplified summaries and definitions which may prove irritating to the proficient but are essential for the beginner."[55] All of these scholars rightly recognize the simplicity, brevity and easily understood nature of Maurice de Sully's sermons, yet, the reason that simplicity is absolutely important is rarely discussed in any detail. The simplicity of Sully's work is important because he presented material that was imperative for the laity to understand – stories from the adult life of Christ according to the Gospels, and critical activities for Christians to participate in such as penance and confession. The simplicity of his sermons is also extremely important because it was effective; for modern scholars, then, the sermons can shed light on the ways in which the laity learned Christian doctrine and biblical material.

Biblical education in the Paris schools was, as previously discussed, of growing importance throughout the twelfth century. Sully's simplicity of preaching, as made clear through his collection of model sermons, demonstrates the way a lay audience was exposed to that growing interest in the Bible. Recent scholarship focused on preaching and the laity is starting to engage with the sermons of Sully as lay biblical education. In "Early Scholastic and Mendicant Preaching as Exegesis of Scripture," L.J. Bataillon looks at what the average lay person knew of the Scriptures based on preaching. While Sully does not factor heavily into his discussion, he does note the concise nature of his preaching, and the effect that must have had on lay listeners. He states: "…the bishop begins by telling the whole story of the liturgical Gospel and then gives a short moral application. This was a very simple kind of

Institut d'études augustiniennes, 1998), 28.
[55] Robson, *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular*, 31.

preaching but probably rather well adapted to the psychology of the hearers."[56] By the whole story of the liturgical Gospel, Bataillon means the Gospel reading for the day. The manuscript tradition surrounding these sermons, which I will discuss in chapter two, allows for a full understanding of just how important Sully's words on the Gospels were to a lay audience, and demonstrates that indeed, his simple prose was very well adapted to the "psychology of the hearer."

This didactic clarity in his preaching, evident time and again in his set of model sermons intended to aid preachers, is what sets Sully apart from his contemporaries. This key characteristic is exactly what allowed his sermons to serve as an effective tool for educating the laity on Gospel material, and probably one of the reasons Sully's sermons remained popular for centuries to come. His emphasis on the importance of preaching from the Gospel lesson and of listening to what is preached, likely helped the continued success of the sermons as well.

Nevertheless, there is a specific change in preaching that happened around the start of the thirteenth century, which is often seen as a shift in the ways people preached, that helps to explain why the contributions of Maurice de Sully's sermons are often overshadowed in modern scholarship on sermon studies. As Phyllis Roberts suggests, the change is often seen as a transition from "the simple patristic homily to the more complex sermon of the high and later Middle Ages."[57] She goes on to define exactly what is meant by both homily and sermon:

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[56] L.J. Bataillon "Early Scholastic and Mendicant Preaching as Exegesis of Scripture," in *Ad Litteram: Authoritative Texts and Their Medieval Readers*, ed. Mark D. Jordan and Kent Emery, Jr. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 169.
[57] Phyllis Roberts, "The 'Ars Praedicandi' and the Medieval Sermon," in *Preacher Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages,* 42.

> *Homilia* or homily referred to the kind of preaching where a biblical passage, normally read during the Mass, was explained phrase by phrase and was, therefore, a commentary on the gospel Mass. The term *sermo,* or sermon, came into use by the thirteenth century and was applied to the type of preaching where a short quotation, also taken from the liturgy of the day, was divided at length and developed according to the rules of the *ars praedicandi.*[58]

While there are hundreds of *ars praedicandi* from the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, making it difficult to say with any certainty that there was a specific formula or set of rules they each followed, it is clear that a general formula emerged, known as thematic preaching. Thematic preaching consisted of a sermon that introduced a theme (taken from Scripture), followed by a protheme, then a restatement of the theme followed by its development using examples. By the end of the thirteenth century the protheme had become a sermon within a sermon, and the themes of these sermons became increasingly intricate. This thematic preaching, or what Roberts calls a "scholastic or university sermon," became extremely complex: "In its fully developed form, thematic preaching was a systematic, logical form of preaching in sharp contrast with the relative informality and lack of structure of earlier medieval homilies."[59] The manuals that were written for the creation of this kind of sermon were also written in Latin, for the most part.

It is this scholastic, intricate form of preaching that receives so much attention from modern scholars studying sermons in the twelfth and thirteenth century. It is also the more academically inclined men, like Peter the Chanter, and their influential works (both sermons and other types of work) that seem to overshadow Sully and his contribution to pastoral care

[58] Roberts, "The 'Ars Praedicandi' and the Medieval Sermon," 44.
[59] Roberts, "The 'Ars Praedicandi' and the Medieval Sermon," 50.

in the second half of the twelfth century. Sully's sermons certainly do not fit the description of an intricate, often complicated, thematic (academic) sermon. Scholars who acknowledge Sully tend to place his sermons in a category closer to the earlier homiletic tradition, which I agree with.[60] Nevertheless, while his sermons tend toward the simpler, earlier traditions of preaching, they cannot be overlooked as influential sources in future centuries, though not in the same way as the academic sermons of his contemporaries.

Theologians like Peter the Chanter were interested in providing content for sermons through disputations, questions and lectures. They worked through very complicated theological issues. Future preachers involved in the more modern, academic style of preaching were able to take bits and pieces from the Chanter's work. In contrast to this, Sully's sermons were intended to educate a less educated audience and therefore he spent little time dissecting the theological issues of the time. Rather, he presented easily understood lessons to a lay audience, using Jesus and the Gospel stories as his gateway. In turn, less-educated preachers and laity alike circulated these sermons, rather than a more educated, theological elite taking bits and pieces of them for their own sermons and literary works. This does not mean, however, that Sully was not interested in the concerns of the time. Nor does it mean that they are not addressed in his work. On the contrary, upon examining his sermons, it is clear that he actually presented preachers and the laity with the very ideals of his time, not only when it came to the Bible, but also in regards to important theological concepts emerging and changing in the twelfth century such as Purgatory, confession and penance.

[60] Bataillon "Early Scholastic and Mendicant Preaching as Exegesis of Scripture," 169.

Purgatory, Confession and Penance

At the beginning of the twelfth century, there was no distinct concept of Purgatory as we know it today. While some people did conceive of a sort of middle existence between the saved and the damned, Purgatory as a distinct, specific place had yet to be developed. By the end of the twelfth century, however, the concept of Purgatory as a specific location had been formed. Maurice de Sully is not referenced in modern scholarship as someone who contributed to new theories of Purgatory in the twelfth century. However, through his model sermons he certainly relayed to lay audiences important concepts of purgatorial punishment that developed throughout the century.

French scholarship on Purgatory tends to look at its development throughout the twelfth century, rather than the ways in which these new theories that morphed into Purgatory, reached lay audiences in the years to come. Jacques Le Goff's influential book, *The Birth of Purgatory,* focuses on the development of the concept of Purgatory and thus does not investigate the ways in which the concept was disseminated. Nevertheless, Le Goff's work is important in understanding what Maurice de Sully's contemporaries, the theologians and academics of the twelfth century, theorized about purgatorial punishment and places of Purgatory, and how that eventually led to Purgatory as a distinct place. These theories and developments are important to note as they allow one to understand the ways in which Sully's sermons actually fit in to, and promoted, the concepts of Purgatory that developed around him.

Le Goff lists four main clerics of the twelfth century who contributed to this development in significant ways. They are: Hugh of St. Victor, St. Bernard, Gratian of

Bologna and Peter Lombard.[61] Le Goff relies on scholarship by Jean Longère to suggest that during this time a "systematic account of the end of time" began to take shape, which happened by working through ideas on the end of the world, the resurrection of the dead, the last judgment and the fate of the soul.[62] Each of the men listed worked through these ideas in important ways, leading to the development of Purgatory, the distinct place.

Hugh of St. Victor speculated that those who were to be saved would pass through a purgatorial fire, and emerge stronger. He posited: "those who leave this life with certain sins, even though they be righteous and destined to eternal life, are tortured there for a time in order to be purged," but he goes on to say that it is uncertain where this pain and torture take place.[63] Le Goff suggests that Hugh's musings on the matter did not necessarily offer any new ideas; rather he drew from Augustine and Gregory the Great. But his writings do point to the renewed interest in the matter, and the desire in the twelfth century to understand where, exactly purgatorial punishment took place.

As for St. Bernard, Le Goff suggests that the main text on Purgatory that is attributed to him was not actually his work. Rather, he investigates two sermons by Bernard that demonstrate his position very clearly. In the sermons, Bernard mentions "places of purgation" and that the souls that inhabit these dark, dirty places do so "since in this life they were not afraid to inhabit these places in thought."[64] Bernard also conceives of three hells, believed to be a lower hell, a middle hell (in which Purgatory takes place), and an upper hell on Earth. However, Bernard never actually says the word Purgatory. He couldn't have, Le Goff posits, because the concept as a distinct place did not exist yet.

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[61] Jacques LeGoff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 142.
[62] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory,* 142.
[63] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory,* 144.
[64] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory,* 145.

Gratian of Bologna contributed to the development of Purgatory in a slightly different way. Le Goff looks at Gratian's *Decretum,* particularly chapters 22 and 23, not for the ways in which they contribute to the concept of Purgatory as a place, but for the way they reiterated the importance of other actions that are tied to the idea of Purgatory, such as actions by the living on behalf of the dead, involvement with the church, alms, etc.[65]

Finally, Peter Lombard, mentioned earlier as the predecessor to Maurice de Sully as Bishop of Paris, influenced the development of Purgatory in his work the *Sentences* (*Sententiae*). Le Goff sees his contributions to the development in two primary places in the text: distinctions 21 and 45 of book 4. Distinction 21 treats the sacraments of baptism, confirmation and the Eucharist, and ends with a discussion of penance. Through these discussions Lombard seems to have a concept of a hierarchy of sins; depending on the sin the soul would be purged "more or less quickly."[66] In distinction 45, Lombard reiterates the ideas of Augustine when he breaks down types of people: the entirely good, the not entirely wicked, and the entirely wicked. But Lombard adds two more categories as well: the medium good and the medium bad. This is extremely important as it signifies a move away from "extremes." In other words, it demonstrates the idea of a middle ground.[67]

Thus, these are the men who contributed to the renewed interest in concepts of purgatorial punishment, and questions of where that punishment might take place. But it wasn't until the second half of the twelfth century that the place, Purgatory, came into existence. Le Goff believes that Peter Comestor was either the inventor of Purgatory, or at least one of the earliest people to use the idea. He says, "what I am suggesting is this: that

[65] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory,* 146.
[66] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory,* 149.
[67] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory,* 149.

before 1170 Peter used the then current expression of 'purgatorial fire,' and that, as his ideas developed between 1170 and his death in 1178 or 1179, he used the neologism '*purgatorium,'* which, on this view of the matter, must have been introduced in the decade 1170-80."[68] After this, one of the first theologians to use the concept in his writing was Peter the Chanter, who treats the concept of Purgatory in relation to penance. He believed people either went straight to Heaven, straight to Hell, or, that those with venial sins attached to them went to Purgatory where a punishment was inflicted on them.

What emerges from all of these men and their thoughts on purgatorial punishment is a concept of a scale of differing types of people from good to bad, a hierarchy of sinful behavior, and the idea that one must pay for sins in the form of punishment. So, where does Maurice de Sully fit into this major twelfth century development? First and foremost, Sully does not use the word Purgatory in his sermons. His contributions are not in the form of promoting a concept of Purgatory the place, which makes absolute sense given his intended audience. Sully was writing his model sermons sometime between 1168 and 1175, which is the very period of time when Comestor was solidifying his ideas on the matter, leading to his use of the actual term, Purgatory. Because Maurice de Sully wrote his model sermon collection with the intention of guiding lay audiences toward salvation, it seems logical that he was not out to work through his ideas on developing concepts, or to use new terminology. Yet, while he does not use the term, nor posit any possible scenarios for purgatorial punishment, Sully does indeed reflect the ideas of the twelfth century in that he has a concept of a hierarchy of sins, he encourages the avoidance of sins to ensure eternal life and he understands sins as a debt that must be paid off, either in this life, or the next.

[68] Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory,* 157.

Scholarship that tends to focus on lay life, rather than academics or the Church, is more likely to highlight Sully's involvement in disseminating important knowledge on Purgatory, and the related concept of penance and confession. For instance, in his book, *At Play in the Tavern: Signs, Coins and Bodies in the Middle Ages,* Andrew Cowell explores the tavern in medieval France. He sees the tavern as an important place in the discussion of issues such as usury and Purgatory, and how sin became "economically quantified," to the degree that Purgatory was viewed as a labor market.[69] In his discussion of the economy of the tavern, he investigates a play in which sin emerges as a debt equivalent to money. While this detail of a medieval play is not important to my project, he does use a sermon written by Maurice de Sully to demonstrate the system of sin and debt he is talking about.[70]

The sermon Cowell refers to is sermon 44, on the Parable of the Debtor. Cowell only quotes briefly from the sermon: " Debt signifies sin…for each of us goes into debt with God at some time, when he does wrongly and sins."[71] This portion of the sermon is indeed important as it represents the fact that sin was conceived as a debt to God, like a financial debt. Cowell makes an excellent point that in fact, the invention of Purgatory "was a response to the evolving possibility of quantifying sin and penance in exact terms to monetary debt."[72] Thus, in this view Sully's concept of sin and debt does contribute to concepts of Purgatory. When even more of this sermon on the Parable of the Debtor is investigated, it becomes clear that Sully was indeed operating in a twelfth-century mindset, in which he understood sin as a debt to God, which must be paid. He also understood that the

[69] Andrew Cowell, *At Play in the Tavern: Signs, Coins, and Bodies in the Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 6.
[70] Andrew Cowell, *At Play in the Tavern,* 143.
[71] *"La dete senefie pecie… quar lors s'endete cascuns envers Dieu; quant il mesfait e il pecie"* From CA Robson
[72] Andrew Cowell, *At Play in the Tavern,* 143.

payment would be determined based on the severity of the sin committed (a hierarchy of sin). In his exegesis of the moral significance of the parable of the debtor in the Gospel of Matthew, Sully explains:

> Good people, this is the significance of our Lord, who is king of heaven and the Earth and of all the creatures in the sky and on the Earth. The servant whom the king settled an account with signifies us, the ones who must be servants to Our Lord, and for whom we will settle accounts, in the end, of our souls and of our works and of our words and of our thoughts. The debt signifies sin, for each of us goes into debt with God at some time, when he misbehaves and he sins. The big debt of 10 marks of gold signifies the big sins, which is like fornication, adultery, murder, usury; the small debt signifies the lesser sins, like vulgar and hard speech when used towards one's neighbor. Sometimes there is a man who commits homicide or another damnable sin: that one is indebted toward God by a big debt; but when he desires to settle an account with God on the Day of Judgment, he believes he sinned, he is humble, he makes confession, he cries mercy to God; and God, who is pious and merciful, He takes pity on him, He pardons everything, as the king did with his servant with the ten marks of gold that the servant could not pay. [73]

Clearly, Sully understands that different debts must be paid for different sins. While this does not demonstrate an awareness of a place to pay off various sins, it nevertheless exemplifies that people will undergo different punishments depending on the severity of their accumulation of sins at the end of their lives, and that their fate is ultimately up to God. In

[73] Robson, Sermon 44, line 30, 166: *Bone gent, c'est senefiance de Nostre Segnor, qui est rois del ciel e de la terre e de totes le creatures qui sont el ciel e en la terre. Li serjans cui li rois mist a raison senefie nos meismes, qui devons estre serjant Nostre Segnor, e a cui nos rendronsraison, a la fin, de nos ames e de nos uevres e de nos paroles e de nos penses. La dete senefie pecié, quar lors s'endete cascuns envers Deu, quant il mesfait e il peche. La grans dete de .x. mars d'argent senefie les grans peciés, si com est fornications, avolteres, homcides, husure; la petite dete senefie les menus peciés, si comest vilaine parole e dure quant l'on la dit a son proisme. Ore avient tele ore est qu'uns hom fait a homicide u un autre pecié dampnable: cil est endetés envers Deu de grant dete; mais quant il entent que Deus le metra a raison au jor del joise, si cuide estre dampnés, si s'umilie, si se fait confés, si crie merci a Deu; e Deus, qui est pius e misericors s'en a pitié, si la pardone tot, si com li rois fist a son serjants les .x. mars d'argent qu'il ne li pot soldre.*

other sermons throughout his model collection Sully demonstrates an awareness of the potential to go to different places in the afterlife depending on one's sins. He refers to concepts such as "la mort pardurable," translated as "eternal death," often clarifying that eternal death "c'est es paines d'infer" ("is the pain of fire"). He also refers to "la glorie pardurable" translated as eternal glory (life).[74]

Overall, Maurice de Sully was not directly involved in the creation of Purgatory as a distinct place, and he certainly did not use the word as Peter Comestor or Peter the Chanter did. He was, however, concerned with sin and certainly had a concept of sin as a debt to God. He reiterated that God makes the ultimate judgment on where one ends up in the afterlife. While his sermons show no indication that he was working through concepts of purgation in the afterlife, this makes absolute sense given the fact that he wrote these sermons with common lay people in mind. He was not out to work through new ideas but rather to present practical material to the laity. In doing so his focus is more on the present life, on Earth, and ways in which men and women could participate in certain activities with the church in this life, to ensure eternal well-being in the next life. Thus, while he does not directly contribute to conversations on Purgatory, he is certainly not saying anything controversial compared to his contemporaries when it comes to concepts of sin and the ways in which those sins are repaid. Subsequently, his focus on proper action in this life leads to great contributions in two other developing concepts of the twelfth century: penance and confession.

Just as with Purgatory, the scholarship on penance and confession does not tend to look at the ways in which lay audiences were introduced to the ideas. Instead, the scholarship looks at the ways in which the academics and theologians of the twelfth century conceived of

[74] These particular quotes are taken from Robson, Sermon 43, 165.

penance and confession, how their theories led to knew bodies of work on these matters, and how they portrayed these ideas to the clerical men who would be administering penance and listening to confession. Yet, when the ways in which Maurice de Sully's twelfth-century counterparts thought about these activities is laid out, it is clear that Sully once again fits into the narrative quite well; through his sermons he relays information on penance and confession to lay audiences, with beliefs that align with those of both his predecessors and contemporaries. Thus, just as is the case with Purgatory, while Sully is not at the forefront of creating new theories, or making works to help the more educated, elite groups of society, he portrayed important, relevant Christian material to the lay audiences who needed to understand it for their own salvation.

In his introduction to the edited volume, *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages,* Peter Biller succinctly lays out the history of confession leading up to Lateran IV in 1215, when annual confession was established as a requirement for every Christian in Western Christendom; twelfth-century intellectual developments contributed to this. He points to the history of penance and the idea of inner contrition, as previously discussed, as one of the main factors contributing to this requirement. However, he also makes a very poignant observation- one that indicates exactly where Maurice de Sully should, and does, fit into this history. Biller admits that modern scholarship in the field, including the essays in the volume he is introducing, focuses more on the church, than on the laity:

> Most have also paid more attention to the Church and its clergy (the Church legislating about confession and the clergy being instructed in its administration) than to the laity. In other words, their work has been mainly rooted in a historiographically older world in which *ecclesiastical* history predominated. Less of their work has been influenced by the newer genre of

> *religious history*, whose most salient feature was that it brought into the center of the stage lay people and their 'lived religion.'[75]

As his observations suggest, the theological thinkers mentioned time and again, Peter Abelard, Peter Lombard, Peter the Chanter, emerge as the main contributors to these ideas throughout this edited volume.

In particular, Peter the Chanter is one of Sully's contemporaries regarded as a key innovator of ideas on penance, and he did indeed spend a good deal of time on concepts of penance. In fact, in one of the Chanter's main works, the *Summa de Sacramentis et Animae Consiliis,* which is a collection of his *questiones*, penance takes up over half of the work. He was not concerned with encouraging penance, as we will see Sully was, though, so much as he was concerned with providing instruction for the people who were to administer penance.

The Chanter identified four important elements in penance: infusion of grace, contrition of heart, confession by mouth, satisfaction of deeds.[76] The first two, of course, are internal elements of penance and the idea of internal contrition became very important in the twelfth century. This concept was first formulated by Peter Abelard in the first half of the twelfth century, and later popularized by Peter Lombard.[77] Lombard was also concerned with the external actions associated with penance, primarily confession. For Lombard, the external, vocal act created shame in a sinner and necessitated the "advice and aid" of the Church to "render satisfaction."[78] Peter the Chanter very much adopted the ideas of Lombard, but he took his work a step further by providing specific examples (cases) of sin

[75] Peter Biller, "Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction" in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages,* ed. Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis (Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 1998),
[76] Baldwin, *Masters Princes and Merchants,* 50.
[77] Baldwin, *Masters Princes and Merchants,* 50.
[78] Baldwin, *Masters Princes and Merchants,* 50.

for the confessor. This detail contributed greatly to the development of penance. In fact, John Baldwin suggests this contribution inspired the literature known as 'guides to confessors.'[79]

These penitential guides emerging during the twelfth century were similar to synodal statutes, which were well established long before the twelfth century. The opening of Sully's model sermon collection actually is a synodal sermon, which includes reference to some penitential canons. However, Baldwin uses Sully's synodal sermon, and a particular reference to one of the penitential canons that he provides to priests, as an example of a way he was antiquated compared to his contemporary, the Chanter. Baldwin notes that since the early middle ages, penitential canons served as aids to priests administering penance. But these were old, rigid, long lists. Eventually, these lists were omitted from works dealing with penance, and did not appear in the guides to confessors. The reason these canons became antiquated over time is that the particular circumstances of a committed sin became very important, which is something the earlier statutes did not focus on. Peter the Chanter, on the other hand, was among the twelfth-century theologians to encourage confessors to look into the details of the circumstances rather than just the nature of the sin itself.

However, to see this as a reason to suggest Maurice de Sully was antiquated in his thinking is not entirely justified. Once again, Sully was not writing to create new, academic material. He wrote his sermons to encourage preaching, to aid preachers with the salvation of souls, and to provide lay audiences with the practical information they needed to be good Christians. Given his intended audience, and the immediacy of his work, it is entirely logical that he did not include new theories on a given subject emerging at the very time he was writing. Likewise, the mention of an antiquated penitential canon (antiquated to modern

[79] Baldwin, *Masters Princes and Merchants,* 53.

historians, in hindsight), in his synodal sermon, does not mean that the remainder of his body of work did not relay very important knowledge on penance and confession to lay audiences.

In fact, a close examination of his sermons reveals that Maurice de Sully was at the forefront of promoting confession and penance to lay audiences. In a 2017 publication by William Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in Thirteenth-Century England,* in which he explores lay religious life and pastoral care in England, Campbell unsurprisingly (and correctly) mentions the influence of Peter the Chanter on pastoral handbooks. However, he also suggests that in the beginning, the spread of pastoral awareness was slow due to a lack of material available for what he calls the "run-of-the-mill priest." He notes that one of the works inspired by Peter the Chanter and intended for this purpose, the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* of Gerald of Wales, was "too long, too demanding and too expansive for the great mass of parish clergy."[80] So, Campbell lists some other texts that were more accessible and relatable to parish priests, and still demonstrate the growing desire for pastoral care. One of those texts was the set of model sermons by Maurice de Sully. He also rightly notes that the sermons are among one of the only texts that can be said to have had a wide circulation in England.[81] Thus, while theologians like the Chanter emerge as great thinkers who influenced various trains of thought in future centuries, the sermons of Sully can be seen as a source that was actually accessible, and well used, by the general public.

These parish priests and their lay audiences were not at a disadvantage for having Maurice de Sully's sermons as a guide. Sully's sermons relay, albeit in basic ways, the information twelfth-century scholars debated and worked through quite successfully. In

[80] William Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 29.
[81] Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care,* 29.

sermon 9 of his collection, which includes instruction on penance, Sully mimics one of the early twelfth-century thinkers who contributed to ideas of penance and confession, Abelard. In a chapter titled "From the Ordeal to the Confession" included in the edited volume mentioned above, *Handling Sin,* John Baldwin notes that Abelard divided penance into three elements: *penitentia, confessio,* and *satisfactio.* Maurice de Sully relied on Abelard when he conceived of these three elements as: *repentance de courage, la confession de la bouce, la penitence.*[82] Sully understood the importance of internal contrition, which Abelard and Lombard had both promoted before him. Like Lombard, he also placed importance on external confession, *confession de la bouce.* This breakdown is also similar to the ways in which Peter the Chanter conceived of penance, mentioned above (infusion of grace, contrition of heart, confession of mouth, satisfaction of deeds).

Upon translating the contents of Sully's sermon on penance, and the three elements of penance, even further, it is evident that he clearly laid these principals out in a digestible way for a lay audience:

> Now you must know that there are three things which the sinner must do if he wants to be able to reconcile with God. The first is the repentance of the heart; because first the sinner must repent for his sins because he has done wrong towards God, by bad thoughts, by bad deeds, by bad speech, by bad desires; and when he has remembered his sin in his heart and he is well aware, he must passionately repent, and cry of it because he has angered his Creator, and because he is worthy of losing his glory and of being damned to the fire of Hell.
>
> After the repentance of the heart, it is confession by mouth by which one must reconcile himself with God; because as soon as he repents of his sin in his

[82] John Baldwin, "From the Ordeal to the Confession," in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages.* Ed by Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis (Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 1998), 201.

heart, he must not stop here, but right away he must soon go to his priest, and humble himself and kneel before him, and cry to him mercy, and confess to him his sin by his mouth and say how and when he did it. There are those who want to place an excuse on their sin, and say, "Lord, I can never stop this, I am in such company that I cannot help myself nor hold back from committing this fault," and by that they want to *amend and adorn* their sin. But this thing a good man must not do who wants to reconcile himself to God; but just as he wants to sincerely seek the love of God, in this way he must sincerely confess his sin.[83]

The third thing, is penance: the fasts, the attentiveness, the prayers, making alms, and all of those things that the priests encourages of the sinner in the name of penitence. These three things: repentance of the heart, confession of the mouth, penance that the priest encourages, are necessary for those who wish to reconcile with God, and prepare for (towards) Easter so that you are truly able to receive the body of God for the salvation of your bodies and your souls; and thus if with time you desire to prepare for and make confession, then rest assured and certain that your prayers will be heard by our Lord and that he will receive with grace your alms and Lenten fasts that you have observed.[84]

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[83] This paragraph of the translation was taken from Marissa Galvez in her work, "The Voice of the Unrepentant Crusader,"114. Only minor changes have been made.

[84] Robson, sermon 9, line 14, 98. Paragraph 1: *Or devés savoir que trois coses sont par coi li om pecieres se doit e puet accorder a Nostre Segnor. La premeraine est la repentance del corage; quarpremierement se doit li pecieres repentir de son pecié par coi il est mesfaiss envers Deu, u par mal penser, u par mal faire, u par mal parler, u par mal veoir; e com il avra son pechié ramembréen son corage | e porpensé bien, si s'en doit asprement repentir, e plorer de co qu'il a corecie son creator, e qu'il a tel cose faite qu'il est dignes de perdre la soie glorie e d'estre dampnés el fu d'infer.* Paragraph 2: *Apres la repentance del cuer, si est la confessions de la bouce par coi on se doit acorder a Deu; quar lues qu'il s'en repent en son cuer de son pecié, ne se doit il pas iluekes arrester, ancois doit tost venir a son provoir, e soi humilier e ageneillier devant lui, e crier li merci, e regehir li son pecié par sa bouce, e dire comment e quantil l'a fait. Il i a de tells qui vuelent metre essonie en lor pecié, e dire: 'Sire, jo n'en puis mais, jo sui en tele compaignie que jo ne m'en puis garder ne tenir de cest mesfait faire,' e par co vuelent dauber e dorer lor pecié. Mais ce ne doit pas prodom faire qui se vuelt acorder a Deu; mais ausi com il vuelt parfitement conquerre l'amor Deu, issi doit il parfitement regehir son pecié.* Paragraph 3: *La tierce cose, si est la penitence: li geuners, li veillers, li orisons, les aumosnes faire, e totes iceles coses que li prestres encarge au peceor par non de penitence, Icés trois coses, la repentance del cuer, la confessions de la bouce, la penitence que li prestres li encarge, sont besongnables a cels qui se vuelent acorder | a Deu, e apareillier contre la sainte Pasque que vos le voir cors Deu puisiés recevoir a salveté de vos cors e*

Sully had a very clear understanding of proper, internal contrition, which he set forth in his model sermons. The sinner needed to be truly aware of his or her sins, and acknowledge them in his or her heart. Repentance in the heart needed to be passionate, and lead to tears, because the person was aware that he or she hurt God in sinning. This was the first step toward a reconciliation between God and the sinner. Only then did the sinner go to confession. Nevertheless, this seems to be a very important step for Sully. The sinner *must* go to the priest immediately after repentance of the heart. After completing these two steps, the sinner received a penance from the priest. Thus, not only does Sully follow his predecessors and contemporaries in instructing the laity on penance, he absolutely contributed to the systemization of confession in the twelfth century, leading to the necessity of annual confession.

Andrew Reeves, whose scholarship is mentioned above and who often focuses on lay education of Christian doctrine in England, cleverly notes in "Teaching Confession in Thirteenth-Century England: Priests and Laity," that the most basic principal in confession was getting across to the laity that they must go to confession in the first place.[85] Sully's sermons do this quite well. They repeat the need to go to confession not only in the sermon on instruction on penance, but time and again throughout the model collection. In fact, in the very article just mentioned Reeves looks at Sully's sermons in particular, not only because the manuscript evidence suggests ownership by parish priests (which I will explore in the

de vos ames; e se vos volés issi par tans apareillier e faire confés, donques soiés seur e certain que vos proieres seront oies devant Nostre Segnor, e qu'il vos aumosnes, e le saint Quaresme que vos avrés geuné, recevra en gré. The second paragraph of this translation was aided by a translation done by Marisa Galvez in: "The Voice of the Unrepentant Crusader: 'Aler M'estuet' By the Chatelain D'Arras."

[85] Andrew Reeves, "Teaching Confession in Thirteenth-Century England: Priests and Laity," in *A Companion to Priesthood and the Holy Orders in the Middle Ages,* ed. by Greg Peters & C. Colt Anderson (Boston: Brill, 2015), 273.

following chapter), but also because, like me, he notes the particular concern Sully had for demonstrating to a lay audience the necessity of confession.

Maurice de Sully often used the healing miracles of Christ to encourage confession. He relayed the miracle stories according to the Gospel, and then ascribed significance, relating the various elements of the miracle to elements in the Christian's life. For example, in Sully's sermon for the second Sunday after Epiphany, which relays the story of the healing of the leper, Sully relates lepers, and leprosy, to various types of sin:

> The leper signifies the sinner, and leprosy represents the sins. The sore represents the small pardonable sins, like being too careless, or anger which is quickly passed, excessive laughter, excessive play (*joer* can also be indulging in the flesh); leprosy signifies the great damnable sins, like fornication, adultery, usury, robbery, theft, gluttony, avarice, and all those sins by which man is damned and certain to lose the love of God and of all his friends…
>
> Now you have heard the miracle and the significance, now consider if you are clean of this leprosy; and if you are clean, make sure that you do not separate from the company of the Lord God; and if you are a leper by damnable sin, cry mercy to God, who gave bodily health to the leper, so that he will give you spiritual health. Come to confession, and abandon your sins, and be absolved of them, and show penance, and do this in such a way that it is of profit to you, and you will thus have health and eternal life.[86]

[86] Robson, sermon 4, line 13, 91. *Li liepreus senefie les peceors, e la liepres les peciés. La roigne senefie les menues peciés pardonables, si comestre trop nices, e ire qui tost est trespassee, trop rire, trop joer, la liepre senefie les grans peciés dampnables, si com est fornications, avolteres, usure, roberie, larecins, glotonie, ivrece, e tos ices peciés par quoi homest dampnés e seurs de perdre l'amor de Deu e de ses amis…*
Ore avés oie la miracle e la senefiance, or esgardés se voz estes net de ceste liepre; e se vos este net, gardés que vos ne soiés deservé de la compaignie Damedeu; e se vos estes liepros par pecié dampnable, cries merci Deu, qui al liepros dona la sante coporel, qu'il vos doinst la santé esperitel. Venés a confession, e deguerpissiés vos pechiés, e en soiés asols, e en recevés penitence, e si le facies issi qu'ele vos profit, e issi avrés la santé e a vie pardurable…

In this sermon, Sully uses Christ's miracle of the healing of the leper to demonstrate how a Christian can remain in good spiritual health in order to achieve eternal life. The sinner is like the leper, and the sin is the leper's sore; the severity of the sin equates to the size of the sore, once again demonstrating that Sully understood that there was a hierarchy of sins. While the leper was made clean through a miracle enacted by Christ, the Christian listening to this sermon was encouraged to be made clean through participating in important Church activities: confession and penance. So, in the process of teaching his audience an important story in the life of Christ as told in the Gospels, Maurice de Sully also encouraged confession and penance, and demonstrated how important the Church was for salvation.

This happens time and again in his sermons. In his sermon for the second Sunday in Lent, which retells the story of the healing of the daughter of the Canaanite woman according to Matthew 15, 21-22, Sully states that the woman signifies the Church and her daughter signifies the soul of a Christian in sin. Christ delivered the woman's daughter from the Devil, and he can free all bad men and women from the Devil if "they repent of their sins and they go to a truthful confession…"[87] In the very next sermon for the third Sunday in Lent, which recounts the story of the healing of the dumb man (Luke 11), Sully again states the importance of going to confession and of doing penance: "go to a truthful confession, confess and abandon your sins, make your penance…"[88] Christ healed the dumb man and returned the power of speech to him by freeing him from the Devil and sin. Sully's message is that confession and penance do the same for a Christian.

[87] Robson, sermon 10, line 54, 101: *e il s'en reprentent de lor pecié e vienent a voire confession…*
[88] Robson, sermon 11, line 42, 102: *venés a voire confession, regehisiés e deguerpissiés vos peciés, faites vos penitances…*

Clearly, it was not only the act of going to confession, but of making a sincere confession and abandoning sin that was important. Thus, Sully demonstrated to his lay audiences the very things theologians like Abelard, Lombard and the Chanter were concerned about, mentioned above: inward contrition demonstrated by a truthful, spoken confession. This necessity also demonstrated the great importance of the Church in a Christian's life.

Maurice de Sully created an extremely important body of work, his model sermon collection, because that worked relayed essential information about Christianity to lay audiences. His sermons encouraged people to avoid sin, they demonstrated that some sins were worse than others thereby showing a hierarchy of sin, and that sins needed to be repaid to God. In doing so, Sully expressed the need to go to confession, to confess sincerely and with feeling and to make penance. They do all of these things by retelling stories from the life of Christ according to the Gospels in very straightforward ways, and in a way that sticks very closely to the actual content of the Gospels, thereby teaching lay Christians biblical material in the process. His model collection very clearly represents twelfth-century concerns, though in much more basic ways than his more academically inclined contemporaries. It is imperative that his work be acknowledged and studied if modern scholars are to understand the ways in which lay audiences learned Christian doctrine, the Bible, and how and why to participate in the Church.

Chapter II.
Maurice de Sully's Sermons Received

In chapter one I demonstrate that while the more academically inclined contemporaries of Maurice de Sully received much of the scholarly attention in regards to major twelfth-century developments in Christian theology, Sully's sermons actually convey important information about confession and penance as well as biblical material, specifically about the adult life of Christ according to the Gospels. In this chapter I will rely on manuscript evidence to demonstrate the degree to which his sermon collection penetrated the lives of Late Medieval Christians, specifically the lay populations.

To date I have collected evidence concerning a total of eighty-four manuscripts that contain all or a major portion of the sermons of Maurice de Sully. Thirty-seven manuscripts are in the vernacular and forty-seven are in Latin; all but two manuscripts are bound with additional material.[89] The majority of the manuscripts are dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although some can be traced back to the twelfth century, and there are some that were compiled as late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Most of the manuscripts for which there is a traceable history originated in France and England, with a few from Italy and one from Germany (MS Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 7623).

The number of manuscripts alone demonstrates their popularity, but the history of ownership, as well as the additional contents the sermons were bound with, reveal their importance as both a didactic, devotional source to the laity (primarily in the vernacular

[89]In the vernacular, Oxford's Bodleian Hatton 67 contains just the sermons of Maurice de Sully and according to C.A. Robson, some notes in a charter hand. See: C.A. Robson, *Maurice de Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), 63. BnF latin 3831 contains just the sermons in Latin. See: Jean Longère, *Les Sermons Latins de Maurice de Sully: Évêque de Paris (1196): Contribution à l'histoire de la tradition Manuscrite* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, publishers, 1988), 77.

manuscripts, but apparent in some of the Latin manuscript sources as well), and as an important model sermon source for theologians and Religious (as evidenced in the Latin manuscript sources).

The Latin Manuscripts

While what is known about the ownership of these manuscripts is revealing, it is difficult to determine the ownership history for the majority of manuscripts in both Latin and the vernacular. In total there is some evidence of ownership for twenty-six of the eighty-four manuscripts; seventeen of the vernacular manuscripts, and nine of the Latin manuscripts. Additionally, two of the Latin manuscripts indicate more modern ownership.[90] The Latin manuscripts were often owned by monasteries or clergy: MS 187 located at the Newberry Library in Chicago contains an illegible inscription on the front endpaper from an Augustinian convent, Oxford manuscript Merton College 249 contains an inscription from two different fourteenth-century bishops, Guillaume Reed and Thomas Tryllek, a manuscript now located in Troyes, France, Bibliothèque municipal 1100 belonged to the Cistercians, MS Universitatsbibliothek 441 in Leipzig, Germany belonged to a convent of preachers, Bibliothèque municipal 638 in Rouen, France, once belonged to the Abbey of Ouen, Oxford MS e Museo 222 contains an inscription from the Abbey of St. Mary de Darly (Derbyshire), and MS Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 7623 in Munich, Germany contains an inscription that says it is a book of the Monastery of Understorf.[91]

[90] Manuscripts Paris, BnF n.a.l. 223 and Bibliothèque Mazanine 999 contain inscriptions for ownership in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, respectively.
[91] Information for Newberry Library MS 187 can be found online at: https://webvoyage.carli.illinois.edu/nby/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=2&ti=1,2&SC=Redirect%7CN&SA=Maurice%2C%20of%20Sully%2C%20Bishop%20of%20Paris%2C%20approximately%201120%2D1196&PID=lo0ROkhMDqWXrUAVCBwjFxD&SEQ=20190804132804&SID=3 All other ownership information listed can be found in: Jean Longère, *Les Sermones Latins*

Only one of the Latin manuscripts contains sound information for a very specific, individual owner. BnF latin 13574, belonged to Étienne d'Amiens, also known as Etienne d'Abbeville, canon of Amiens. Etienne d'Abbeville left forty manuscripts, including this one, to the Sorbonne in 1288.[92] His manuscripts thus appear in a catalogue from the Sorbonne, established in 1388. While only twenty-four titles from his collection that are listed in the catalogue have been found, those found nevertheless offer insight into the types of materials owned and used by a secular cleric and university professor in the thirteenth century.[93] In addition to Maurice de Sully's sermons (MS BnF Lat. 13574), Etienne possessed a variety of texts, including: two Bibles, the Golden Legend, the Psalter of Peter Lombard, the summa of vices and virtues, books from classical authors like Ovid, Aristotle and Seneca, and five volumes of sermons, including those of Maurice de Sully.[94] In addition to the sermons of Sully, Etienne owned sermons from Nicolaus of Hanquevilla and Guillelmus Peraldi and two collections of sermons composed by various authors.

The manuscript containing the sermons of Sully is bound with two short, anonymous texts on the Creed.[95] It contains no annotations, indicating that it was not among the more used texts owned by Etienne d'Abbeville.[96] However, Madeleine Mabille asserts that based on Etienne's corpus of manuscripts, and the notes that he did take in some of the texts, he appeared to be a moralist – he was less interested in the theological debates of the day. His

De Maurice de Sully, Évêque de Paris (1196): Contribution à l'histoire de la tradition manuscrite (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, publishers), 1988.
[92] Longère, *Les Sermones Latins de Maurice de Sully,* pp. 138 and 116.
[93] Madeleine Mabille, "Les manuscrits d'Étienne d'Abbeville conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris," Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes 132, no. 2 (1974), 245-246.
[94] Mabille, "Les manuscrits d'Étienne d'Abbeville conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris," 246.
[95] Longère, *Les Sermones Latins de Maurice de Sully,* 117.
[96] Mabille, "Les manuscrits d'Étienne d'Abbeville conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris," 250.

most detailed notes, she mentions, relate to: "sin, penance, contrition, hell…"[97] Thus his interests align with the contents of Maurice de Sully's sermons, and it is therefore not surprising that the sermons were a part of his manuscript collection.

Only one Latin manuscript indicates potential ownership by the laity: at the end of Maurice de Sully's sermons in manuscript BnF Lat. 16463 there are five lines of text dedicated to the three daughters of Anne and Joachim and their marriages.[98] Besides the sermons of Sully, this manuscript contained sermons by various authors including: Stephen of Tournai, Alan de Lille, Peter Comestor, Stephen Langton, Guerric of Igny and Anselm of Canterbury.[99] Although not owned by laity, Oxford Merton College 249, listed above for its ownership by two different bishops (Guillaume Reed and Thomas Tryllek), is mentioned by Andrew Reeves as a text that was accessible to parish priests in England, and therefore likely reached the laity due to its particular pastoral use. Reeves suggests that the manuscript was in the Rochester cathedral library before it was sold by bishop Tryllek, and that books in cathedral libraries were often borrowed by parish priests.[100]

Besides these two indications of interaction with lay audiences, the ownership evidence for the Latin manuscripts overwhelmingly points to their immediate use by academics, clerics or monastic populations. The particular content the sermons of Sully were bound with in the Latin manuscripts suggests this as well; the sermons are more often than not bound with additional sermon literature including a large number of manuscripts that contain sermons from the more academically inclined contemporaries of Maurice de Sully:

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[97] Mabille, "Les manuscrits d'Étienne d'Abbeville conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris," 247: "à la pénitence, à la contrition, à l'enfer…"
[98] Longère, *Les Sermones Latins De Maurice de Sully,* 142.
[99] Longère, *Les Sermones Latins De Maurice de Sully,* 138.
[100] Andrew Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and Articles of Faith,* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 79.

Peter Comestor, Stephen Langton, and Peter Lombard[101]. In the case of one manuscript now located in Cambrai, France, Bibliothèque municipal 582, the sermons are bound with Lombard's *Sentences*, which, as I discussed in chapter one, was very popular text for university students. Other twelfth-century thinkers whose works appear bound with the sermons of Sully include Hugh of St. Victor and Richard of St. Victor[102]. The fact that Maurice de Sully's sermons are bound with those of his contemporaries further supports my claims in chapter one that the content of his sermons, though geared toward educating a less learned population, contained material that was important for, and relevant to, Christian theology from the late twelfth century on.

In two cases the Latin sermons of Sully are bound with *Ars Praedicandi* (BnF latin 14925 and Paris, Arsenal 769), which, as I mention in chapter one, is a text that existed in hundreds of manuscript copies and laid out various rules for preaching. This compilation points to the use of the sermons as a model sermon collection – one that aided preachers in their vocation. There are also two manuscripts in which the sermons of Maurice de Sully are bound with *synodalia,* which were collections of statutes from synods (decisions on doctrinal issues). In France and England clergy were required to carry these statutes in books, *synodales.*[103] Thus, the presence of *synodalia* in these particular manuscripts indicates their strong pastoral focus.[104]

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[101] For **Comestor**: BnF latin 14934, BnF latin 14925, BnF latin 568, Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Lat. 105, Avingnon, France Bibliothèque municipale 591, Cambridge University Library Gg I 5, BnF latin 13432, Orleans, France, Bibliothèque municipale 199, BnF latin 14937, BnF latin 16463; For **Langton**: Oxford, Digby 149, BnF latin 12420, Oxford Bodley Misc. 443, BnF latin 16463; For **Lombard**: BnF latin 14925, Rouen, France Bibliothèque municipale 638, Cambridge University Library Gg I 5

[102] For **Hugh of St. Victor**: BnF latin 568, Oxford Hatton 26, BnF n.a.l. 223, Avignon, France, Bibliothèque municipale 591, Cambridge University Library Gg I 5; For **Richard of St. Victor**: BnF latin 14934, BnF latin 1233, Paris Bibliothèque Sainte-Genevieve 1210, Paris, Arsenal 272, BnF n.a.l. 223, Orleans, France, Bibliothèque municipale 199

[103] Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and Articles of Faith,* 35.

[104] Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and Articles of Faith,* 80.

The first of the two manuscripts is Oxford, Bodley 443, a Latin manuscript from the thirteenth century that contains Stephen Langton's Canterbury statutes, a collection of exempla and *distinctiones* on the structure of the Bible, in addition to the sermons of Maurice de Sully.[105] The second, which I will discuss in more detail below, is a vernacular manuscript also from the thirteenth century, Oxford, Ashmole 1280. The use of Maurice de Sully's sermons by parish priests provides a link between the Latin and vernacular manuscript traditions – in both cases there is evidence that some manuscripts were used for homiletic purposes. In the vernacular, however, there is also abundant evidence for their direct use by lay audiences.

The Vernacular Manuscripts

As stated, seventeen of the vernacular manuscripts indicate past ownership. Of those seventeen, nine manuscripts, more than half, can be traced directly to the laity. Within those nine manuscripts there is a variety of lay ownership represented: both men and women, and diverse social backgrounds. The remainder of the vernacular manuscripts were owned by religious institutions such as monasteries, abbeys and convents. Regardless of ownership, though, the content of the vernacular manuscripts is far different from that of the Latin – there are very few cases of the sermons being bound with additional sermon literature. Rather, they often appear bound with devotional literature, biblical texts and didactic material. Furthermore, in some cases where ownership is not known, there is still clear evidence of their use for the benefit of the laity.

[105] Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and Articles of Faith,* 81.

One such vernacular manuscript with no known ownership, but which appears geared toward lay audiences, written in Anglo Norman and now located at the Bodleian library, is Oxford, Ashmole 1280.[106] It was very likely used by parish priests, as argued by Andrew Reeves, as it contained *synodalia* (like Oxford, Bodley 443 in the Latin). There are also several other factors that indicate that the manuscript was used for homiletic purposes. It is a very small and worn manuscript, which demonstrates its portability and indicates that it was heavily used. Likewise, in addition to the sermons of Maurice de Sully and the *synodalia,* the manuscript contains random medical information including an English prayer to ease childbirth. The prayer is also from the thirteenth century, though written in a different hand from the rest of the manuscript. It repeats, at least in part, *Hail be yow holie crowche*. The prayer, as described by Mary P. Richards, links the pain of the mother in labor to that of Mary in labor with Christ, and it was to be uttered by the woman herself. It ended with three Pater Nosters and three Ave Marias, which is further evidence that the manuscript was a manual for a parish priest.[107] The inclusion of this prayer, which directly influenced the lives of lay women, demonstrates the degree to which the contents of a parish priest's hand book (in this case the prayer and the sermons of Maurice de Sully) reached lay audiences.

Another vernacular manuscript now located at Oxford, Douce MS 270, was also very likely used by parish priests and contains all of the sermons of Sully as well as information for lay audiences, including: written material on how children grow in the womb (perhaps another piece of information of interest to women, in particular) and a life of St. Nicholas

[106] I made my own observations of this manuscript in person in the summer of 2017 but some additional information can also be found in C.A. Robson's "Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily," 63.
[107] Mary P. Richards, "A Middle English Prayer to Ease Childbirth," *Notes and Queries* 27 (1980), 292.

written by Robert Wace, a Norman poet.[108] This manuscript is also a very good example of the degree to which Sully's sermons relayed important biblical information to the laity.

According to a note in the manuscript, which was written by Francis Douce, keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum from 1807-1811:

> "This manuscript seems to have been written in England by some Norman monk about the year 1197…
> Fol. 1 is a work concerning the manner in which children grow in the mother's womb
> Fol. 2 a calendar in which is noted some obits of priests, in a character used in the region of (illegible)
> Fol. 9 to fol. 84 a gloss or commentary upon various texts of the New Testament. Fol. 12 is the Apostles Creed …"

He later added an amendment to the bottom of his original note that reads: "I have discovered that the work beginning on fol. 9 is a collection of sermons composed by Mauribus de Soliaco who was bishop of Paris in 1163…" Upon Douce's initial investigations of the manuscript, he mistook the sermons of Sully for commentary on texts of the New Testament. It is only later that he learned that the biblical *commentary* was a collection of sermons, written by Maurice de Sully, and updated his notes. It is not surprising that the sermons were mistaken for biblical commentary since, as I suggest in chapter one, they stick very closely to the written word of the Gospels.

There is also the very unique, late thirteenth-century manuscript written in French and now located in Cologny, Switzerland, Bodmer 147, which I discussed in chapter one, in

[108] I reviewed this manuscript in person in the summer of 2017. In another note left by Francis Douce, he suggests that the Life of St. Nicholas would have been sung allowed to a lay audience. This MS is also described by C.A. Robson in "Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily," 63-64.

which Sully's sermons were also overlooked and mistaken for Gospel material. The provenance of Bodmer 147 is unknown, though a fourteenth-century inscription reads, "Antoney de Racygnano est." Antony remains unidentified, though likely from France or Italy.[109] As previously discussed, the manuscript contains the Arthurian romance tales, written in prose. In this particular retelling of the story, the heroes of the legend repeat translations from what was once thought to be the Gospels, but which are actually borrowed from Maurice de Sully's sermons. In addition, the manuscript also contains commentary on the Creed and the Pater Noster, rightly attributed to Maurice de Sully, and two of his sermons (**19** and **20** on the apostle's lament and Rogations, respectively). The manuscript also contains a biblical commentary, in which portions of the Gospel commentary are also taken directly from Maurice de Sully. Michel Zink noted this in 2009, which I also discuss in chapter one. Upon further investigation of this manuscript, though, the use of Maurice de Sully's sermons in the biblical commentary section is far more involved than simply the copying of some of his written word.

The first sixteen folios of this manuscript contain the said commentaries on the Gospels, which in the text itself begin, "Ci commencent les euvangiles." The first several chapters proceed in a way similar to the *Meditationes Vitae Christi,* including chapters on the Annunciation, Mary's visit to Elizabeth, the angel Gabriel's appearance to Joseph, the Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, the flight into Egypt, return from Egypt, and Christ's baptism. The following chapters, which begin the adult life of Christ, not only use the written text of Sully's sermons, but follow the same order as his sermon collection, as well – the ministry chapters of this biblical commentary align perfectly with sermons **3** through **13** of

[109] *A Companion to the Lancelot-Grail Cycle,* Ed. Carol Dover (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 231.

Sully's sermon collection. The biblical stories recounted are: the wedding feast at Cana (sermon **3**), the healing of a leper (sermon **4**), the calming of the storm (sermon **5**), the parable of the workers in the vineyard (sermon **6**), the parable of the sower (sermon **7**), the healing of the blind man (sermon **8**), the temptation of Christ (sermon **9**), the healing of the daughter of the Canaanite woman (sermon **10**), the healing of the dumb man (sermon **11**), the feeding of five thousand (sermon **12**), and Christ preaching to the people (sermon **13**). Following this, the text returns to the more affective moments of Christ's life, detailing his Passion. Most chapters in this portion of the manuscript contain illuminations that highlight the written biblical story, including all chapters that align with Sully's sermons.[110] Thus, it is not simply that some of the text of Sully's sermons were used, sprinkled throughout the commentary section of this manuscript. Rather, his sermon collection influenced an entire section of this particular compilation of the life of Christ.

In addition to these stories from the New Testament, this particular manuscript also contains books from the Old Testament, including: Genesis, Judith, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees. Overall, the contents of the manuscript, including the combination of biblical material with the Arthurian tales as well as the illuminations portraying Christ's life, suggest that it was enjoyed as both a didactic and devotional text. It also demonstrates that Maurice de Sully's text was viewed as a useful substitute for the Gospel story itself.

Other manuscripts in the vernacular corpus also combine the sermons of Maurice de Sully – a stand-in for the Gospel narrative – with Old Testament biblical material. Oxford, Bodleian Corpus Christi 36, from the late thirteenth century, includes stories from the Old

[110] A digitized copy of the manuscript can be found through the Bodmer Library website: https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/fmb/cb-0001
Further research is needed to understand the extent to which the adult ministry section of this Gospel commentary uses the sermons of Sully. In some cases, it appears that very large sections are directly copied.

Testament and most of the sermons of Sully (sermons **i-iii**, **1-22**, **52**, **23-51**, **57**, **55**).[111] BnF français 6447, also from the late thirteenth century (c. 1275) includes Genesis, Judges, Kings and Maccabees as well as all of the sermons of Sully except for **48** and **53**.[112] While not much is known about MS Corpus Christi 36, including its ownership history, there is an abundance of information on BnF français 6447.

This particular manuscript was created in Flanders, likely for the Countess of Flanders, and its large size, decoration, and gold initials reveal its status as a luxury product.[113] In addition to the Old Testament material and the sermons of Maurice de Sully, the manuscript contains a legendary and more affective details from the life of Christ. Maureen Boulton analyzed the contents of the manuscript, revealing that the legendary is introduced by four texts on the life of Christ and Mary. The texts are actually three sermons on the Nativity, Epiphany and the Purification, and the fourth text is a short prose version of the Gospel of Nicodemus. The Gospel of Nicodemus is an apocryphal gospel in which the actions against Christ leading up to and during the Passion are retold through the testimony of those who witnessed it. While it does elaborate on the final moments of his life, it is far less emotional than other Passion narratives such as the *Meditationes Vitae Christi,* and puts an emphasis on the healing nature of Christ.

Together, the four texts do not narrate the entire life of Christ, but rather detail the moments from his young life and Passion. Interestingly, in a footnote Boulton reports that the sermons for the Epiphany and Purification are based on sermons by Maurice de Sully, and

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[111] C.A. Robson, *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily,* 64.
[112] C.A. Robson, *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), 64 & 69.
[113] Maureen Barry McCann Boulton, *Sacred Fictions of Medieval France: Narrative Theology in the Lives of Christ and the Virgin, 1150-1500* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), 200.

indeed they are (sermon **2** on the Epiphany and sermon **54** on the Purification). I have also found that while the sermon on the Nativity is much longer than Sully's sermon, at least portions of his sermon on the Nativity (sermon **51**) can also be found within the text of the Nativity sermon in BnF français 6447.[114] These four texts of the manuscript are also each highlighted by one illumination: the Nativity, the offering of gifts by the Magi, the presentation of Christ at the temple (Purification), and Christ before Pilate, which marks the beginning of the Gospel of Nicodemus.

This compilation of sources on Christ's early life and Passion is followed by a lengthy legendary, which is then followed by the majority of Maurice de Sully's sermons. The sermons, of course, reveal an abundance of information on the adult life of Christ according to the Gospels. Thus, what you have is a complete retelling of the life of Christ, surrounding a legendary. This is yet another example of Sully's sermons being used as a source for biblical knowledge. The combination of these textual sources, including representation of the entirety of Christ's life and a legendary, as well as the illuminations reveal a hybridity of the affective and the didactic, just as MS Bodmer 147 does.

Maurice de Sully's sermons are bound with the Gospel of Nicodemus in two other vernacular manuscripts, as well. The first manuscript is MS C.S. 99 located at the Laurentian Library in Florence, Italy. It was created c. 1370 and while its original provenance is unknown, it was recorded in an inventory at Camaldoli Monastery in 1623.[115] The second manuscript is BnF français 187, a fourteenth-century manuscript owned by the Visconti family of Milan. This manuscript is heavily illuminated, including illuminations for the

[114] The manuscript is digitized via Gallica: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90075392/f242.item The Nativity sermon begins on folio 115r but the online digitization does not contain references to the folios. On this scanned copy, the Nativity begins on page 240.
[115] This information was obtained from an email correspondence with the library.

Gospel of Nicodemus, and is the only extant illuminated copy of Maurice de Sully's sermons (at least it is the only extant illuminated copy of his sermons when properly attributed to him and used in their recognizable context as sermons). The contents of said manuscript are the focus of the following chapter, and I will therefore not discuss them here in great detail. However, once again the combination of the majority of Maurice de Sully's sermons with the Gospel of Nicodemus offered a rather complete retelling of the life of Christ, one that could be used for both devotional and didactic purposes. Also, like BnF français 6447, BnF français 187 contains a legendary of saints' lives, and MS C.S. 99 contains two saints' lives, the Life of St. Giles and the Life of St. John the Baptist.[116]

While the two lives in C.S. 99 might seem random, they are actually very suitable texts to find bound with the sermons. They are mentioned in an article by S.C. Aston, "The Saint in Medieval Literature," as two lives in particular that were often bound with vernacular sermon literature. In the article he suggests that saints' lives were a sort of *exemplum* closely linked to sermons, and he also engages with the fact that these vernacular literatures were intended for lay audiences.[117] The life of St. Giles is also known as a masterpiece in terms of saints' lives written in Old French. The vernacular translation of the Life of St. Giles is not simply a copy of the Latin as many other saints' lives are; rather the author elaborated on the Latin by adding in "picturesque descriptions, rhetorical monologues, sharp, witty, dramatic dialogues, and mimetic portraits of contemporary life…"[118] Within the life, Giles is represented as an ascetic who flees life. However, as William Calin points

[116] There is also one manuscript from the municipal library in Chartres, France, MS 333, that contained a legendary of fifty saints' lives. The manuscript burned in a fire at the library in 1944, but it is described by C.A. Robson in *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily,* 66.
[117] S.C. Aston, "The Saint in Medieval Literature," *The Modern Language Review* 65, no. 4 (1970), 24-25.
[118] William Calin, *The French Tradition and the Literature of Medieval England,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994),

out, he is sought out by people time and again and must continually flee. Thus, his asceticism is actually active –he must constantly be in action in order to flee. The fact that this life was written in the vernacular, and contains vivid, elaborate descriptions, coupled with the content of the life of St. Giles, in which he actively maintained the Christian lifestyle he wanted, made it a good, didactic source for a lay audience.

The combination of the sermons with a Passion narrative and a legendary is also evident in another vernacular manuscript, Paris Arsenal 3684. MS Arsenal 3684 is a fifteenth-century text that was owned by an alderman, Androyn Roucel of Metz, and later by Jehan de Housse, Lord of Hung in Lorraine, who donated the manuscript to the Brigitttines of Plessy in 1634. It contains an extensive legendary and in the midst of the saints' lives, a text titled "Passion de Jésus Christi." The legendary is followed by the majority of the sermons of Maurice de Sully.[119] This manuscript is also heavily illuminated with 155 miniatures, although according to C.A. Robson none of the illustrations occurs in the section dedicated to the sermons.

The vernacular manuscript evidence suggests on multiple occasions that Maurice de Sully's sermons were often used as a substitute for the Gospels. They are bound with Old Testament material, and also with devotional material concerning the more affective moments of Christ's life — his birth and Passion. These combinations create versatile vernacular Bibles for the laity. While abridgments of biblical material were once controversial in terms of their actual relationship to the Bible, more recent scholarship is beginning to consider the variety of biblical materials that could be combined in numerous

[119] JONAS Répertoire des textes et des manuscrits médiévaux d'oc et d'oïl, http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/consulter/manuscrit/detail_manuscrit.php?projet=73344 and C.A Robson, *Maurice de Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily,* 67.

ways to create texts that offered the laity access to the Scriptures. Margriet Hoogvliet argues that the French vernacular Bible was actually a flexible text – her aim is to investigate the ways in which readers actually used the Scriptures, versus suggesting what should or should not be considered the Bible.[120]

The complete New Testament was available in French in the late Medieval period by way of the *Bible Historiale Complétéé* and the *Bible française du XIII^e siècle*. As I discussed in chapter one, the *Bible Historiale Complétéé* was actually a combination of the *Bible Historiale* (a translation of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*) with translations from the *Old French Bible.* Interestingly, in her argument for the French vernacular Bible as a flexible text, Hoogvliet suggests that studies of the vernacular Bible as a fragmented text have been overshadowed, potentially because of the scholarly attention given to the *Bible Historiale.* Yet, while complete New Testament texts such as these were available, the manuscript evidence suggests that New Testament material was more often disseminated in "fragmented and sometimes paraphrased form," and that these fragments were "presented to their readers as reliable representatives of the Bible itself."[121] The manuscript evidence for the sermons of Maurice de Sully certainly suggests this as well, and his sermons are indeed mentioned as a biblical source in her article.[122] Sources such as sermons, pericopes and lectionaries as well as individual biblical books could all be combined to create a flexible Bible for the laity.

There are also Gospel harmonies –a combination of all four New Testament Gospels. The most well-known of these is Tatian's *Diatessaron,* a Gospel harmony written in the

[120] Margriet Hoogvliet, "The Medieval Vernacular Bible in French as a Flexible Text: Selective and Discontinuous Reading Practices," in *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible,* ed. Eyal Poleg and Laura Light (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 286.
[121] Margriet Hoogvliet, "The Medieval Vernacular Bible,"290.
[122] Margriet Hoogvliet, "The Medieval Vernacular Bible," 287.

second century. While it circulated widely in Late Medieval Italy (Sabrina Corbellini has gathered manuscript evidence for thirty-three Gospel harmonies in Northern Italy from the second half of the fourteenth century to the first half of the fifteenth), and was indeed read by lay audiences, it was actually never translated into French.[123]

As for Gospel harmonies in French, Margriet Hoogvliet identifies two anonymous harmonies in addition to the *Bible Historiale*. She traces each one to a manuscript source, but they do not survive in large numbers, nor were they were circulated widely.[124] Rather, Lives of Christ and Passion narratives were extremely popular and well circulated. She calls these sources biblical harmonies that focus on a particular aspect of Christ's life. What is so interesting about the sermons of Sully, though, is that they recount accurately translated stories from the Gospels, specifically from the adult life of Christ, and are often combined with these other sources focused on particular moments from Christ's life, like the Passion. These combinations of various harmonies with the sermons of Sully thus created very complete narratives for the entire life of Christ.

While many of the vernacular manuscripts I have analyzed so far were owned by elite members of society, there is evidence that common laymen and women owned the sermons of Maurice de Sully as well. These manuscripts also reveal a similar pattern to those owned by the more elite members of society: they often combine the sermons with devotional literature, specifically Passion narratives, creating a complete life of Christ.

A late thirteenth-century manuscript at the BnF, français 1822, found its way into the hands of a carpenter, Jehan Lasne, and later a miller, Pierre Acquary, in the fourteenth

[123] Sabrina Corbellini, "Reading, Writing and Collecting: Cultural Dynamics and Italian Vernacular Bible Translations," *Church History and Religious Culture* 93 (2013), 199.
[124] Margriet Hoogvliet,"The Medieval Vernacular Bible," 294.

century. This manuscript combines the sermons with devotional literature, including *La Passion Deu*.[125] The manuscript is described in detail by C. Pinchbeck in, "A Medieval Self-Educator." He notes the fact that the sermons are often a "bare" translation of the Gospel story; in other words, they very directly relay the biblical story to a reader. He also describes *La Passion Deu,* which recounts in detail the last week of Christ's life including, "Palm Sunday, Christ's betrayal, His trials before Pilate, His scourging, the procession to Calvary, the incident of thieves, Christ's agony, last words, death, descent into Hell, resurrection and ascension."[126] Again, this manuscript combines sermon literature on the adult life of Christ, with stories from his Passion, thereby creating a very complete narrative of the life of Jesus.

Another manuscript from the fifteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 1302, follows the same trend. Manuscript 1302 reveals ownership by two laymen, Jehan Bray and later by Pierre Choppin, neither of whom appears to be of noble status as their names are inscribed without titles. [127] This manuscript also combined the sermons of Maurice de Sully with a Passion story.

There are also several manuscripts that do not combine the sermons of Sully with other moments from Christ's life, but which were owned by common laymen and women and nevertheless were used for biblical education. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 129 C 4 contains several inscriptions that reveal its ownership and intended use. There is one name inscribed, Philippe de Clèves, but the prologue also addresses an unnamed woman. Additionally, the prologue also makes clear that the sermons were intended to educate lay

[125]BnF Archives et manuscrits https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc475768 and C.A. Robson, *Maurice de Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily,* 69.
[126] C. Pinchbeck, *A Medieval Self Educator,* 3-4.
[127] Margriet Hoogvliet, "The Medieval Vernacular Bible," 290.

readers on the scriptures.[128] Manuscript 90 located in the municipal library of Charleville, France created around 1300 contains an inscription that says it was lent to a merchant, Simmonet, for life, by a monastery. This manuscript combines many of the sermons of Sully with other religious information and devotional literature, including: the Ten Commandments, The Fifteen Joys of Our Lady and the Miracles of our Lady.[129]

Finally, there is also one Italian manuscript, Pisa 41, which was copied by a man named Taddeus in the prison of Genoa in 1288. It was later in the possession of the Dominicans of St. Catherine's in Pisa.[130] The additional material bound with the sermons in this manuscript is not known; however its initial copying in the prison of Genoa represents yet another layer of dissemination into lay life in Late Medieval Europe.

Clearly the sermons penetrated the lives of lay men and women of diverse social backgrounds. In the vernacular tradition it is especially evident that the sermons were used as a source of biblical information on the life of Christ. They served a didactic purpose, but could be combined with affective material, which often led to a retelling of the entire life of Christ from his birth to his Passion. Contrary to the vernacular manuscripts, in the Latin the sermons are bound with other sermon literature including sermons written by Sully's academically inclined contemporaries. While there is little evidence of any direct ownership by the laity, the Latin manuscripts also indicate that the sermons were used for homiletic purposes and therefore intended for consumption by lay audiences, as is the case for the Latin manuscripts that combine the sermons with *Ars Praedicandi* or *synodalia.*

Investigating the sermons in their manuscript context, rather than simply analyzing

[128] Margriet Hoogvliet, "The Medieval Vernacular Bible," 293.
[129] Robson, *Maurice de Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily,* 66.
[130] Robson, *Maurice de Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily,* 73.

the sermons themselves, reveals the popularity of Maurice de Sully's corpus throughout the later middle ages. While the Latin manuscripts do not demonstrate the same degree of direct influence over lay populations, they nevertheless demonstrate that the sermons of Maurice de Sully contained pertinent information for preaching and could be used alongside the written material of his academic contemporaries. The fact that the sermons are found in both Latin and vernacular manuscripts, bound with a variety of material that complemented the lives of academics, clerics and the laity alike, demonstrates the timeliness and utility of their contents. It also demonstrates that Maurice de Sully's sermons bridged a gap between the world of the schools and the Religious, with ordinary lay Christians.

Chapter III.
Illustrated Sermons in a Fourteenth-Century Manuscript

The model sermons of Maurice de Sully suggest that an unexplored trend in Christian piety existed in the high and late Middle Ages. This trend encouraged knowledge of the adult ministry of Jesus and active participation in the sacraments, the spreading of the word, and of personal moral reform. In chapter one I demonstrated the degree to which the sermons promoted this knowledge of Gospel material and relayed important information about church sacraments within the context of the twelfth century, and in chapter two I highlighted just how popular the sermons actually were, based on their very large manuscript tradition in the centuries that followed. In this chapter I will investigate the contents of one fourteenth-century manuscript in particular, created in Italy between 1320 and 1330 CE and now located at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, France. The devotional trend the sermons promoted is especially evident in the visual program of the manuscript as well as in the choice of texts that were copied into the manuscript along with Maurice's sermons.

The folios of manuscript BnF français 187 are filled with beautiful illuminations that tell the story of the adult life of Christ, his parables, miracles and ministry and accompany the sermons of Maurice de Sully. In fact, it is the only extant illuminated copy of his sermons. As I have already argued, Sully did not promote passive reflection on the Passion but rather encouraged ordinary believers to reform their behavior, and actively lead good, Christian lives by participating in confession and by spreading the Christian word. He did so using stories from the adult life of Christ, taken from the New Testament. Over a century later, the only existing illuminations of Sully's sermons in this fourteenth-century manuscript focused overwhelmingly on images of Jesus' preaching or on his parables, visually representing the written message of the sermons. Thus this manuscript, particularly the

illuminations, demonstrate a conscious decision to carry the trend in piety promoted in the twelfth century by Maurice de Sully, into the fourteenth century. It also demonstrates, I argue, that the sermons were indeed received in a way that emphasized the teaching potential of the Gospels, intended as a source to educate the laity on the adult life of Christ and encourage moral reform through engagement with the Church.

Beyond the sermons of Maurice de Sully, the manuscript includes an abridged legendary of the lives of saints, the *Elucidarium* (a didactic text written as a dialogue between student and teacher, by Honorius Augustodunensis c. 1096-1101), the Gospel of Nicodemus, an apocryphal gospel with an emphasis on Christ's Passion and descent into Hell, and the story of *Barlaam et Josaphat,* which, while adapted from a story about the Buddha, was read by its medieval European audience as a story about receiving and spreading Christ's message.[131] There are no illuminations associated with the *Elucidarium.* However, seven illuminations accompany the short legendary, the Gospel of Nicodemus contains ten illuminations, and there are two illuminations associated with the story of *Barlaam et Josaphat*. The remaining forty-six illuminations appear within the sermons of Maurice de Sully. It is not simply the illuminations associated with Sully's sermons that promote the type of piety I identify in the sermons themselves. Overall, the contents of this manuscript, both written and visual, suggest that all the material was compiled to serve as a didactic aid to lay Christians. The devotion expressed in this manuscript, armed with ample illuminations, stands in contrast to the better-known affective piety of the high and later Middle Ages.

[131] Donals S. Lopez Jr. and Peggy McCracken, *In Search of the Christian Buddha: How an Asia Sage Became a Medieval Saint* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014).

The Physical Manuscript

Manuscript français 187 is now located in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, France. According to a detailed analysis done by François Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset, it was created sometime between 1320 and 1330 CE. The copyist was likely a Frenchman working in Italy and the text is written in a "slightly Italianized standard French."[132] While the entire history of ownership is not known, scholars postulate that it was originally created for the Visconti family. Interestingly, there is an inscription that appears on an opening folio that reads "Iste liber est illustris domine Blanche de Sabaudia" or, "this book belongs to the illustrious lady Blanche of Savoy." Blanche (or Bianca) was married to Galeas II Visconti, and was the mother of Gian-Galeazzo Visconti.[133] She lived from 1336 to 1387, and therefore, based on the BnF dating of the manuscript, she was the second owner. Or, perhaps the third owner if she inherited the book from her husband upon his death, as C. A. Robson suggests.[134]

Blanche was also known to love books, and owned many.[135] After the death of her daughter-in-law, Isabella, she raised her granddaughter, Valentina. Valentina was eventually married to Duke Louis of Orleans, brother of King Charles VI (a strategic marriage aligning her father, Gian-Galeas Visconti, with France). When she left for France, Valentina took many of her grandmother's books from Pavia with her.[136] It is unclear if BnF français 187 was among the manuscripts that Valentina took to France. However, folio 117 of the manuscript offers insight into another, later owner: "De Pavye au Roy XII," Or, "From Pavia

[132] Robson, *Maurice de Sully,* 68-69.
[133] Avril and Gousset, *Manuscrits Enlumines d'origine Italienne,* 145.
[134] Robson, *Maurice de Sully,* 69.
[135] Dorothy Muir, *A History of Milan Under the Visconti* (London: Methuen & Co. LTD, 1924), 210.
[136] Muir, *A History of Milan Under the Visconti,* 213.

to King XII," that is, King Louis XII. King Louis XII was the grandson of Valentina, and while it is unclear exactly how Louis XII got the manuscript, it is possible that he inherited it through his grandmother. It is also possible, however, that he acquired the manuscript when he conquered Milan in 1499 during the Second Italian War.[137]

The physical manuscript is 390 by 260 mm (about 10 by 15 inches). In person the manuscript is quite heavy and cumbersome. Since it was made for a lay family, is not of a particularly mobile size, and contains images, it was likely displayed in the home for both devotional and didactic purposes. Given the likely cost of such an elaborate product, the manuscript may also have served as a mark of status for the Visconti family. The first portion of the manuscript, which contains the sermons of Maurice de Sully, is much more heavily used than the second half of the manuscript, as indicated by page markings, wax drippings, and wear from the places where fingers turned the pages.

The manuscript contains nearly the entire model sermon collection of Maurice de Sully, with the exception of sermons fifty-four ("The Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary"), sixty ("The Parable of the Net") and sixty-two ("The Parable of the Tares"). The remaining individual texts that make up this manuscript contain their own headings, separating each source from the other, except for the short legendary, which continues without introduction following the sermons of Sully. Each individual saint's story is, however, titled. While the sources are all distinct, a brief analysis of each text as well as the illuminations, reveals the ways in which the sources pair quite well with the sermons of Sully and the way the manuscript functions as a whole to both educate and encourage a very active Christian piety.

[137] Michael Mallett and Christine Shaw, *The Italian Wars 1494-1559: War, State and Society in Early modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 49.

In order to understand, however, the ways in which the illuminations demonstrate a continued, fourteenth-century, support for the piety the written texts express, it is necessary to understand the major trends in medieval visual depictions of the life of Jesus.

Illustrated Lives of Jesus

While the textual content of Sully's sermons is not unusual in the context of the twelfth century, an image cycle representing Christ's adult life, his ministry and parables, certainly was unusual. C.M. Kauffmann suggests that parable illumination was relatively scarce in the medieval period.[138] Thus, it is intriguing that the artists of this manuscript illuminated ten parables throughout the section containing Sully's sermons, including: The Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard, The Parable of the Sower, The Parable of the Good Shepherd, The Parable of Dives and Lazarus, The Parable of the Wedding Banquet, The Parable of the Unjust Steward, The Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, The Parable of the Good Samaritan and The Parable of the Unforgiving Debtor.[139] Beyond the parables, the majority of images focus on Christ's healing miracles rather than on the young life of Christ, or his Passion, even though it is those images that scholars like Anne Derbes suggest became so popular around this time.

In her discussion of thirteenth-century Italian narrative cycles of the life of Christ, Derbes points out that no topic is more common than the "story of Christ's suffering and death on the cross." [140] It is indeed striking, then, that this fourteenth-century manuscript features so few images of the Passion. In total the manuscript contains just two images of

[138] C.M. Kauffmann, "The Sainte-Chapelle Lectionaries and the Illustration of the Parables in the Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 67(2004), 2.
[139] For a complete list of images in BnF français 187 see **Appendix I**
[140] Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy,* p. 2

Christ infancy and young life (the Adoration of the Magi on folio 5, and the Presentation at the Temple on folio 33v), six images from the Passion narrative (though only two of the actual Crucifixion, which are both on folio 62v) and a total of thirty-six illuminations that represent the adult ministry.[141] If the medieval period was marked by a desire to depict the suffering that Christ endured, why did this manuscript focus so heavily on an entirely different part of Christ's life? Furthermore, it is not simply in images depicting the actual Crucifixion that other artists demonstrated the imagined brutality of the Passion, but also in images of the mocking, the crowning of Jesus with the crown of thorns, and his bearing of the cross. In an essay on medieval Passion scenes, James Marrow argues that the intention of such images was to draw attention to the brutality of the entire event of Christ's death. He concludes:

> One of the principal motives behind the evolution of treatments of the Passion during the late middle ages was to provoke readers and beholders to increasingly intense responses to the magnitude and the singularly horrific character of the Passion. They appealed to the emotions, unleashing feelings not only of empathy and compassion, as they were intended to do, but also of offense, resentment, and anger, and an impulse to focus blame on those capable of such unparalleled cruelty. [142]

Thus, it was not simply to portray a suffering Christ in the very moment of death, but to portray the brutality of his betrayers and murderers throughout the passion process; the entire Passion narrative is important, not only his Crucifixion.

[141] For a list of images on the adult ministry and correlating folio numbers see appendix I, starting with the Wedding at Cana on folio 6.
[142] James M. Marrow, "Inventing the Passion in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Passion Story From Visual Representation to Social Drama* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 52.

Not only was it quite common to depict scenes from the Passion, but it was quite rare to depict Christ's parables and miracles. Frederic William Farrar wrote about miracle and parable images from the medieval period, and on their general rarity stating: "The great medieval masters, whether German or Italian, far more rarely chose for their subjects the Parables, the Miracles, or the great sermons of Christ, than they chose the events of his earliest years and of his last days."[143] Yet, it is those parables and miracles from the adult life of Christ that the illuminations in this manuscript depict most frequently.

Overall, the images associated with the sermons do not attempt to evoke a sense of sadness or anger at the suffering endured by Christ in his life at all. Instead, the images highlight a very able bodied Christ, who is powerful in his ability to work miracles, persuasive in his teachings, and commendable in his just actions. The images portray scenes from Christ's life according to the Gospels, sticking closely to the written word of Sully's sermons, and thus serving to educate the beholder through visual representations, just as the written material does.

While the legendary of saints' lives in français 187 does contain graphic images of suffering, these images do not portray Christ's suffering. This, as I will explain below, demonstrates that the artist did not have an aversion to portraying suffering, but rather did not focus the image cycle on the suffering of Christ because it was not the intended message, nor was the purpose of the images to stir a deep emotional response. Likewise, while the section of this manuscript containing the Gospel of Nicodemus does portray scenes from the Passion of Christ, those particular illuminations do not detract from the didactic nature of the manuscript (there are two images of the Crucifixion out of the sixty-seven images total). In

[143] Frederic William Farrar, *The Life of Christ As Represented in Art,* (New York: MacMillian and Co, 1894), 304.

fact, those illuminations within the Nicodemus section stick closely to the text of the apocryphal gospel, and do not go out of their way to evoke any powerful emotional response. Additionally, taken together, the images associated with the sermons of Sully and the images associated with the Gospel of Nicodemus create an image cycle for the life of Christ that is complete; by combining the more didactic, adult representations of Christ's life with the affective, suffering moment of his death on the cross, the manuscript actually tells the entire story of the life of Jesus. Together the images serve a didactic purpose by educating the viewer on all moments of Christ's life rather than continually stimulating an emotional response by only representing scenes from his death. In this manuscript you see a devotion linked to education rather than affect.

To a modern viewer it may not seem surprising that all the images in BnF français 187 reflect the written content of the texts so closely, and thus avoid an over-representation of the more affective devotion that was so popular during the fourteenth century. However, it was not uncommon for the images depicted in a given manuscript to represent scenes entirely different from the actual written content. For instance, in an essay on books of hours and biblical education in the Middle Ages, Christopher de Hamel notes that the familiar images of Christ's infancy and Passion found in books of hours do not accurately portray the written content of the material. He suggests, in fact, that the books often contained information on the Scriptures, yet the pictorial cycles offered a different means for devotional mediation - the affective. They portrayed scenes of Mary, or Jesus in his infancy and in the moments of his suffering during the Passion.[144]

[144] Christopher de Hamel, "Books of Hours: 'Imaging the Word,'" in *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition* (London: The British Library, 1998), 142.

When you consider this fact, as well as the fact that it was much more common to portray moments from Christ's birth or Passion than from his adult ministry, the image cycle of BnF français 187 indeed stands out as a representation of a unique, didactic form of piety aimed at New Testament education of the laity. The illuminations found in BnF 187 support the fact that Sully's sermons were not only intended to educate, but were received by lay audiences as a text that represented New Testament Gospel material on the life of Christ in a more balanced way, rather than focusing exclusively on his early life and Passion, as affective devotional texts often did.

The significance of the illumination cycle in BnF français 187 also stands out when compared with other manuscripts dealing with Gospel material that contain narrative image cycles. BnF français 152, a French *Bible Historiale* is one such fourteenth-century manuscript singled out for its extensive illumination cycle. In her book on fifteenth-century illustrated Dutch Bibles, Sandra Hindman points specifically to BnF français 152 as unique, not only because of the number of images within the text (344, which is close to the number in the Dutch Bibles that are the focus of her investigation), but also because the images in this *Bible Historiale* occur within the text rather than at the beginning of chapters or as historiated initials.[145] Of course, the illuminations that occur with Sully's sermons in BnF françias 187 appear within the written text as well.

BnF français 152 contains forty-two images associated with the life of Christ according to the New Testament, which provides a good comparison with the forty-six images alongside the sermons of Sully in BnF français 187. However, unlike the illuminations for Sully's sermons, the illuminations for the *Bible Historiale* in BnF français

[145] Sandra Hindman, *Text and Image in Fifteenth-Century Illustrated Dutch Bibles* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 42.

152 represent far fewer moments related to Christ's ministry, including the healing miracles and parables. In fact, BnF français 152 only contains one parable illumination, the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, and five images representing Christ's miracles, including: the healing of the demonic at Capernaum, the resurrection of the widow's son, the healing of the deaf mute, Christ and the adulterous wife, and the resurrection of Lazarus. In contrast, as previously stated, français 187 contains nine parable illuminations as well as ten miracle scenes, mostly healing miracles, but also the multiplication of bread and the calming of the storm. The image cycle associated with the New Testament in BnF français 152 actually represents far more scenes from the young life of Christ and his Passion, than from his adult ministry.[146]

Legendary

The short legendary of saints' lives serves to strengthen the type of devotion that comes across in Sully's sermons and the associated imagery. The legendary of saints' lives contains seven illuminations, including: the martyrdom of Saint Agatha, the Annunciation, Miracle of the Holy Cross, the beheading of Saint Paul, Saint Marguerite (in which the dragons mouth has completely engulfed the head of Marguerite), the martyrdom of Saint Andrew, and the physical torture of Saint Agnes. While illuminations of suffering martyrs might be read as an attempt to stir an emotional response in the viewer, I do not believe that was the intended purpose. Rather, the images of martyrdom reminded the reader that lay people went to all lengths to behave in a proper Christian fashion; their acts culminated in martyrdom, the ultimate sacrifice for Christ. In highlighting these acts the intended purpose

[146] For a chart comparing the images in BnF français 187 and BnF français 152 see **Appendix II**

was not to insinuate that one should attempt to become a martyr, but rather to demonstrate devotion to Christ as a call to action, as opposed to devotion as interior reflection. While the images depict graphic scenes of torture, the martyrs are all portrayed as very composed. The expression on all of their faces is one of tranquility – the faces are not distorted or reflective of any pain.

(Saint Agatha, Fol. 38v)


(Saint Paul, Fol.40v)


(Saint Andrew, Fol. 42)

The images that occur in this short legendary demonstrate that both the compiler and artist for this manuscript did not have any aversions to depicting torture; the images are startling in their depiction of brutality. Thus, given the lack of images portraying Christ's suffering in other portions of the manuscript, it is apparent that depicting the suffering of Christ was simply not the focus of the artist.[147]

One such image depicting the startling brutality and torture endured by a saint is that of Saint Agatha, who is depicted with her chained arms outspread while two men cut off her breasts. Agatha was martyred in 251CE after holding steadfastly to her Christian faith. Prior to her actual death, however, one of her breasts was removed and she was placed in jail.[148] The illumination does not shy away from the details of Agatha's situation. Her arms are extended above her head, hands bound and breasts exposed. Two men at either side of her hold up small saws or knives as if in the act of removing the breasts. It is a striking reminder of the torture she endured as a Christian, all the while maintaining composure and holding to her faith.

Other images in this section are equally as startling. Paul is depicted with his head fully removed from the body. A man stands with the sword that cut his head off, and blood drips from Paul's bare neck. Finally, Saint Andrew, while not as gruesome, is depicted upside-down on a cross. All of these illuminations depict moments of great suffering, yet that is not the moment of Christ's life that the illuminations in this manuscript, as a whole, focus on. This indicates that the piety expressed in this manuscript was not focused on suffering, but rather on devotion to Christ through action. It is in one's actions as a Christian that piety

[147] I am working on transcribing portions of this legendary for future translation.
[148] Fernando Lanzi and Gioia Lansi, *Saints and Their Symbols: Recognizing Saints in Art and in Popular Images* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2004), 88.

is expressed. In the case of these saints, just action and devotion to Christ culminated in their martyrdom, which served as the ultimate example to lay Christians that they could act for Christ as a sign of faith.

The *Elucidarium*

While the legendary contains a handful of illuminations, many of which depicted the stories of martyrs in detail, the next text represented in this MS, the *Elucidarium,* contains no images. However, the contents of the written text contribute to the overall devotion expressed in the manuscript. The *Elucidarium,* a popular work translated into most vernaculars, and translated here into French, was written by Honorius Augustodunensis sometime around the years 1096-1101CE. It presents a dialogue between a student and teacher in which major tenets of the Catholic faith are addressed. In Honorius's own words, the text is divided into three parts: on God (divine things), on the Church (sacraments, sin) and on the promise of eternal life.[149] Scholars such as V.I.J Flint suggest that the text was initially written as a didactic source for church reform, intended to guide pastors. He suggests: "these chapters," (those affiliated with the second part of the text on the Church – i.e. sacraments) "with their emphasis on shared work in the community, reinforce the suggestion that the *elucidarius* was written for active, yet relatively humble, pastors."[150] Just as Sully's sermons were intended to aid preachers in the community, this text was originally intended to guide pastors in their communities.

[149] V.I.J Flint, "Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg," in *Authors of the Middle Ages: Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West* Volume II, Nos. 5-6, ed. Patrick J. Geary. (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorium, 1995), 6.
[150] V.I.J Flint "Honorius Augustodunensis," p. 130.

The text is didactic, no doubt intended to teach a reader (with the original intention of teaching pastors) through the contents of this conversation between teacher and pupil. Honorius, like Maurice de Sully, was concerned with the Christian education of his intended audiences. Thus, it is not surprising that the texts are bound together in a manuscript that teaches its audience about the entire life of Christ, and encourages active moral reform of the individual and engagement with the Church's sacraments.

The Gospel of Nicodemus

The Gospel of Nicodemus is a bit different in that it is not an outwardly didactic text. In fact, it is known as a source that recounts the Passion of Christ. While it is indeed that way, the source does not contain affective moments from the death of Christ in the way the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* does, for instance. Rather, the text, though apocryphal, recounts the story of Christs Passion in a rather non-emotional way, presenting the story as a history to be told, recounting the actions and accusations against Christ through the testimony of others. This particular apocryphal gospel also recounts the ministry of Christ in an important way. While he is on trial with many calling for his death, people step forward to testify to his healing powers, including testimony that he healed a blind man, a paralytic, a leper, a bowed man, and a bleeding woman.

Unsurprisingly, given the didactic tone of the manuscript, the illuminator of BnF français 187 chose to represent two of these healing miracles in the image cycle for the Gospel of Nicodemus. Both the healing of the paralytic and the healing of a blind man are illuminated for this story.[151] While the healing of a blind man is not represented in the image cycle for the sermons of Sully, the healing of a paralytic is. The decision to represent these

[151] Healing of a Paralytic, Folio 61v; Healing of a Blind Man, Folio 61v .

healing episodes, one of which had already been represented in the section containing the sermons, further suggests that the adult life of Christ as represented in the Gospels was the focus of this manuscript, intended to offer Christians an understanding of the entirety of his life.

Nevertheless, this portion of the manuscript does recount the Passion of Christ, and contains two separate images of his Crucifixion, as well as images of Christ before Pilate and the descent from the cross (both also part of the overall Passion imagery cycle James Marrow discusses).[152] All of these images, of course, reflect the more popular affective tone of the Late Medieval period. Yet they are not the focus of the manuscript, nor do they detract from the didactic nature of the overall image cycle. In her 2016 book *Translating Clergie: Status, Education, and Salvation in Thirteenth-Century Vernacular Texts,* Claire M. Waters argues that the Gospel of Nicodemus was in fact a didactic text that was often combined with other material of a similar nature. One of the manuscripts she references to support this claim is BnF français 187. While she goes no further than to mention this particular manuscript and its written contents, it is interesting that she understands it to be aimed at "inculcating a basic knowledge of faith."[153]

As for the Gospel of Nicodemus in particular, Waters notes the story of the good thief, originally found in the Gospel of Luke but retold in the Gospel of Nicodemus, as one of particular importance for teaching. The good thief acknowledged Christ as God, experiencing, as Waters puts it, "a moment of knowledge." He recognized himself as a sinner and confessed to Christ. Before doing so, he also first responded directly to the bad thief,

[152] Christ Before Pilate, folio 62v; Both images for the Crucifixion, folio 62v; Christ's Descent from the Cross, folio 63.
[153] Claire M. Waters, *Translating Clergie: Status, Education, and Salvation in Thirteenth-Century Vernacular Texts* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 96.

acting as a sort of preacher in relaying his new-found knowledge and beliefs to him.[154] The emphasis on confession as an opportunity to be saved certainly fits into the didactic tone of BnF français 187, and in particular pairs nicely with the message of confession found in many of Sully's sermons. Also, one of the illuminations of the Crucifixion found in this section of the manuscript does indeed depict Christ in between the two thieves, thus highlighting the importance of their interactions with him.

(Crucifixion, Fol. 62v)

(Crucifixion, Fol.62v)

Nevertheless, the two illuminations for the crucifixion highlight an important moment for affectivity. In the image on the left Mary is quite calm and her hand gestures point to adoration, rather than sorrow. However, to the right of Christ John the Baptist bows his head and holds his right hand up to his face in a gesture of grief.[155] In the image on the left, Christ is centered between the two thieves. John appears on the right side of the frame again, this time holding his cloak to his face, which is a restrained gesture of grief. [156] Mary's hands are

[154] Waters, *Translating Clergie*, 96-104.
[155] Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 27 and 60.
[156] Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art,* 97.

crossed over her chest, in prayer. The two illuminations do demonstrate emotion, but the figures are controlled, and they do not detract from the didactic focus of the manuscript.

The manuscript also contains an image of Joseph of Arimathea receiving a letter, which, I argue, offers a similar lesson to beholders of BnF français 187. Joseph was an important figure in all four Gospels; he is the man who asked Pilate for Christ's body so that he could properly wrap it in linen and lay it in his own tomb.[157] In the Gospel of Nicodemus Joseph returns to Arimathea after burying Christ and is approached by two high priests from Jerusalem who ask him why he treated Christ's body as he did? He replied that Christ was a good and just man. Upon this response he was imprisoned.[158] However, after meeting to discuss the means by which he should die, the priests opened the door of his prison only to find that Joseph was no longer there. Shortly thereafter they learned that Jesus had risen from the dead. Once the priests had a change of heart concerning the nature of Christ, they reached out to Joseph of Arimathea via letter, apologizing for sinning against both him and God. In the days following this reconciliation, Joseph offered his testimony of how it was that he escaped the imprisonment. He testified that it was Jesus who returned to him, freed him from the prison, and returned him to his house. In doing so, Jesus pointed specifically to the way in which Joseph had treated his body upon his death. The story is important as it yet again highlights the action of the individual as a powerful devotional tool. It demonstrates that just action leads to direct rewards – Joseph begged for, and buried, the body of Jesus despite the fact that he was a convicted criminal, demonstrating the power of standing up for one's own beliefs in the face of opposition. Not only was he saved from imprisonment by Christ

[157] *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (Oxford: University Press, 2007). Matt 27:57-58; Mark 15:43; Luke 23:50-54; John 19:38-40.
[158] *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations,* trans. Alexander Walker (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1870), 137.

himself, but Joseph also emerged as a wise and noble man in the eyes of the priests who once persecuted him. The story likely encouraged medieval Christians to remain steadfast in their beliefs and devotion to Christ, and the decision to illuminate Joseph receiving his apology from the priests furthered that message.

(Joseph of Arimathea and the Messenger, Folio 64v)

Therefore, yet another illumination associated with the Gospel of Nicodemus highlights a story focused on the actions of a lay Christian. Both Joseph and the good thief served to encourage an active piety, focused on proper behavior in this life and spreading the word of the Gospel message about Jesus. While the Gospel of Nicodemus does represent a Passion narrative, recounting the suffering moment of Christ's death, it also served to encourage the same type of devotion that Sully's sermons did: active participation in one's own faith, dedication to God, saying confession, and preaching Jesus' message. The illuminations that

accompany this portion of the manuscript also support this devotional trend and certainly helped to strengthen the didactic message.

Barlaam et Josaphat

The final portion of the manuscript, *Barlaam et Josaphat,* is a popular medieval story of Josaphat, an Indian prince who converted to Christianity, and Barlaam, the teacher who converted him. Today we know that the story derived from the life of Buddha, but it was many centuries before the Christian West questioned the legitimacy of these two men as their own, unique Christian saints. This story of the converted prince and his unsupportive father circulated in many manuscripts, and even in print via the *Golden Legend* (a collection of saints' lives).[159]

The story of Buddha likely moved out of India via the silk road system, and was then translated into middle Persian. An Arabic text, *Bilawhar and Budhasaf,* preserves many episodes of the life of Buddha, and was likely a translation from the Persian source.[160] From the Arabic version this story was transformed into the Christian text, translated into both Greek and Latin, and finally, into many Romance languages. While different versions diverged from those original translations, the core story remained the same. Namely, that a king locked his son away, but the son wished to see the world. A monk got word of the princely son, and went to the court disguised as a merchant. He spoke of the hidden treasures he brought with him, those treasures being Christianity.

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[159] Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints,* trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). For examples of MSS containing the story of Barlaam and Josaphat see: Milan, Biblioteca trivulziana MS 89; Paris, BnF français 1049; Naples, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III MS. VIII.B.10; Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipal MS 83.

[160] Donald S. Lopez Jr. and Peggy McCracken, *In Search of the Christian Buddha: How an Asian Sage Became A Medieval Saint* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014), 54.

In the French vernacular, the story was first translated in the thirteenth century by Gui de Cambrai. His translation of the text sticks closely to the Greek and Latin translations in terms of content, and maintains a didactic nature. However, it was added to and elaborated upon in a way that indicates its intended lay audience. Of the didacticism enhanced for a lay audience in the vernacular, Donald S. Lopez Jr. and Peggy McCracken state: "…it popularizes those lessons, putting them into verse couplets and adopting the conventions of vernacular literature genres."[161] The Christian lessons in the story remained the same, but the ways in which the stories were told were changed in a way that captivated secular audiences.

While the two images associated with this portion of the manuscript do not necessarily support the overall devotional trend (they are two very straightforward representations of the story placed at the beginning of the text – the first is a representation of the prediction of Josaphat's future, in which he appears in a temple as a baby with his parents. The second is an illumination of Barlaam and an adult Josaphat sitting together), the written content does do so. Interestingly, in educating Josaphat, the monk (Barlaam) used parables from the Gospel to teach the prince. He told Josaphat of seeds that were thrown on bad soil, on thorns, and on good soil. The good soil represents the faithful, in whom the word of God (the seed) will grow.[162] The parable of the sower is also the basis for Sully's seventh sermon in his model collection, and one of the sermons for which there is an illustration in BnF français 187. The parable provides a particularly didactic message, intended to encourage people to hear the word of God (the seed), and allow it to grow within them (to carry it with them) and to spread the seed through teaching. Thus, with its use of parables and

[161] Donald S. Lopez Jr. and Peggy McCracken, *In Search of the Christian Buddha,* 149.
[162] Donald S. Lopez Jr. and Peggy McCracken, *In Search of the Christian Buddha,* 99. This particular parable begins on folio 79 in BnF français 187.

the message of conversion, the story of Barlaam and Josaphat conformd to the overall didactic message of BnF français 187.

Analysis of Sermon and Image

The didactic message of BnF français 187 truly comes to life when the sermons of Maurice de Sully and their correlating images are analyzed. As previously stated, the sermons themselves are not out of the ordinary for Maurice de Sully and the time in which he was writing. Yet the messages of the sermons taken with the vast number of illuminations that represent them are striking in the context of a fourteenth-century devotional text.

To begin, a remarkable forty-six of the sixty-four illuminations in this manuscript accompany the portion dedicated to Sully's sermons. The images cover a range of topics from the parables, to miracles, seven of which have to do with curing various maladies and three of which demonstrate Jesus' triumph over the Devil or demonic creatures. Of those illuminations, only two convey a sense of sadness, or appear to try and evoke any sort of sentimental emotion in the viewer regarding the life of Christ. The first is an illumination of the Apostles lamenting after Christ announced his impending departure from Earth. The image clearly depicts the sadness on the apostle's faces, who all appear with downturned mouths, looking at one another. Two of the apostles also have their hands raised to their mouths, which is a gesture of fear and grief.[163]

[163]Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art*, 27.


Lamentation of the Apostles, Fol.15v

Yet, while the illumination may provoke a certain sense of sadness, when taken with the text of the sermon, the message does not encourage sympathy with the Apostles, or compassion for Christ based on his impending death. The sermon is based on John 16: 5-7 and states: "None of you asks me 'where are you going?' Rather, you are filled with grief because I have said these things. But very truly I tell you, it is for your good that I am going away."[164] In the sermon, Sully describes how sad the apostles felt at the thought of losing Christ, but that they were ultimately comforted by the promise of the Holy Spirit. He continues the sermon by encouraging Christians to behave in a decent, or "good" way: "...these things are written for us, they are an example and encouragement for us to leave the bad and do good."[165] He encouraged them to act like the apostles, but in doing so he did not mean to feel sad and lament the death of Christ. Rather Sully encouraged his audience to "despise the bad earthly

[164] John 16: 5-7
[165] Robson, sermon 19, line 27, 130: *'ces choses sunt escrites por nos, ces sunt example e amonestement que nos laissum le mal e facum le bien*.'

comforts, the bad joys, the bad delights."[166] To live like the apostles was to live in dedication to Christ by behaving well.

Rather than encourage internal affective reflection on the events taking place (Christ's impending death on the cross and the sorrow of the apostles), Sully encouraged his audience to reflect on their own actions. The story is written not to display sadness or evoke compassion for Christ and his Apostles, but to encourage the audience to do good acts in this life and to participate in the church's sacraments to ensure the benefits of eternal life. Thus, the goal of Maurice de Sully was not to encourage meditations on suffering, even though the apostles displayed sadness, but to demonstrate the ways in which the apostles served as good role models for the laity. Likewise, in portraying the apostles as sad, the artist was not taking a creative stand, attempting to produce an affective response from the viewer—rather he represented the Gospel story of John 16: 5-7 as told by Maurice de Sully, which, of course, resembled the story as it was told in the New Testament.

[166] Robson, sermon 19, line 32, 130: '*despire les malvais terriens confors,' 'les malvais joies,' 'les malvais deliz.'*


Lamentation of Christ over Jerusalem, Fol.22

The second illumination demonstrating sadness depicts Christ lamenting over Jerusalem, and is accompanied by a sermon for the tenth Sunday after Pentecost. Christ's sorrow is much less obvious in this illumination compared to the lamentation of the Apostles. However, the text of the sermon is inspired by, and quotes, Luke 19: 41-44. Sully clearly repeats the biblical story in which Christ cried while overlooking Jerusalem. Sully states, "Our Lord God went toward the city of Jerusalem one time; and when he came toward the city he started to cry, and he said: ' If you could know the bad that is to come...' This Gospel story, which was written after the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, was clearly intended to depict Jesus as foretelling that destruction. But for later generations Jesus' tears came to be seen as addressing those people who did not recognize him as the Lord, and pointing to the fact that they could have known peace if they had they only recognized him. In his sermon, Sully suggests that Jerusalem signified a soul in sin. He continued, "Jerusalem signifies in this Gospel the soul which is in sin, and throughout this world its experience of

great (sinful) joy..." [167] He goes on to remind people to make sure they are not living in sin, so that they are worthy of eternal life, unlike those people addressed by Christ.

Sully's interpretation of Christ's lamentations over Jerusalem required that his audience recognize their part in the stories of the Gospels. Jerusalem represented a soul in sin, and Christ cried over that sin. Therefore, the Christian was responsible for his or her own proper behavior so as to not fall into sin, which made Christ weep. While there is an emotional element to this illumination and the sermon, it is not the focus of the message. Devotion in this instance was not about reflecting on the fact that Christ is sad and enduring emotional hardship. Rather, devotion was centered on the fact that the individual's proper, non-sinful behavior controlled whether or not Christ wept. It is in the action of the individual rather than affective feelings for Christ that devotion occurs.

One of the most striking examples of this devotion is represented in the illumination associated with the sermon for Easter Sunday. One might suspect a scene depicting Jesus's empty tomb, or one of his resurrection appearances. However, the image for the Easter Sunday sermon portrays a sick man in bed receiving communion. The text of the sermon itself is unique in that it encourages communion rather than announcing the resurrection of Christ. Scholars such as Hughes Oliphant Old have remarked on this, as well as the fact that Sully focused on lay morality and proper virtues and vices, rather than simply focusing on devotion.[168] While Sully focused on proper moral behavior in the late twelfth century, the choice to illuminate a man receiving communion on his death bed demonstrates a conscious

[167]Robson, sermon 32, line 7, 150: *'Nostre sire Deus vint une fois vers la cite de jerusalem; e quant il in vint vers la cite, si commenca a plorer, e si dist: 'Se tu coneusces le mal qui t'est a venir...' Jerusalem senefie en ceste evangile l'ame qui est en pechie, e parmi tot co demaine son tens a grant joie…'*
[168] Old. *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures,* 325.

effort to highlight the importance of good behavior, in particular participating in the sacraments, nearly 150 years later in the fourteenth century.

Liturgy – Sacrament, Fol. 13

There is one other illumination associated with the sermons of Sully that seems a bit peculiar in the context of medieval art, but the choice of scene yet again demonstrates the overall focus of the manuscript: biblical education and an encouragement of proper Christian action. The sermon on the Nativity, sermon fifty-one in the collection, titled "Sermon on the Birth of the Lord" is accompanied by an illumination of the Annunciation of Christ's birth to the shepherds. Sully's sermon does indeed retell this story from the Gospel, Luke 2: 8-14, in addition to recounting the basics of Christ's birth in Bethlehem.

Annunciation to the Shepherds, Fol.32v

It is curious, though, that the artist chose to illustrate the portion of the sermon focused on the shepherds, rather than Christ's birth in Bethlehem, a scene of the Christ child and Mary, or the Adoration of the Magi (i.e to represent some form of the Christ child). Instead, the portion of the text that this image focuses on entails the angel appearing to the shepherds to announce the birth of the Messiah. The shepherds repeat that which they heard the angel say and subsequently go to see Him: " 'Glory be to God in the highest, and on Earth peace to man and good will.' The shepherds, when they heard this, spoke together, and also traveled together to Bethlehem, and found our Lord just as the angel had told them ..."[169] Sully uses this particular episode, particularly the actions of the shepherds, to demonstrate the

[169] Robson, sermon 51, line 31, 175: *'Glorie soit a Deu en haut, e en terre pais as homes de bone volente.' Li pastor, si com il oirent ce, si parlerent ensamble, e alerent ensamble en Belleem, e trouverent Nostre Segnor si com li angeles lor avoit dit.'*

importance of total belief in Christ as the Messiah. Again, this instills in the reader a sense of action necessary in Christian devotion. The Shepherds repeated the words of the angel and proceeded to find the Christ child without hesitation. There is not a sense of meditation in this depiction of Christ's birth, but rather a sense of action on the part of the laity in actively seeking out Christ, and in believing the words spoken to them. The artists' choice to illustrate this very active part of the story is a reflection of the devotion and education that this manuscript was meant to promote.

Other illuminations in the sermon cycle, accompanied by the text of the sermons, also promote a call to action for the individual Christian. Many of the sermons that retell the Gospel stories of Christ's parables and miracles are accompanied by very straightforward visual depictions of those stories. For example, a sermon on the Parable of the Sower contains an image of a man sowing seeds, and a sermon on the healing of a leper contains an image of Christ healing a leper:


The Parable of the Sower, folio 8


The Healing of the Leper, folio 6v

In fact, of the ten sermons dedicated to one of Christ's healing miracles, six are visually represented with straightforward illuminations in the manuscript. Those include: the healing of a leper, the healing of the demonic mute, the healing of the deaf mute, the healing of the

ten lepers, the healing of the dropsy, and the healing of the paralytic. Likewise, of the thirteen parables represented in the text of Sully's sermons in this manuscript, ten of those parables are visually represented, including: the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard, the Parable of the Sower, the Parable of the Good Shepherd, the Parable of the Rich Man and Poor Lazarus, the Parable of the Wedding Banquet, the Parable of the Unfaithful Steward, the Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, the Parable of the Good Samaritan, the Parable of the Wedding Feast (different illumination from the wedding banquet) and the parable of the unforgiving debtor.

As I noted in chapter one, Maurice de Sully often used the healing miracles of Christ, like the miracle of the healing of the daughter of the Canaanite woman, to encourage the act of confession. In this particular healing miracle, Jesus healed the daughter of the Canaanite woman after the woman had demonstrated her great faith to him. In the sermon, Sully likened the possessed daughter to a soul in sin, and the woman of great faith, her mother, to the Church. In order to be like the mother, he encouraged repentance and confession from the Christian.[170]

[170] Robson, sermon 10, 101.


The Healing of the Daughter of a Canaanite Woman, folio 9v

In the above illumination, Jesus appears in the center of the frame facing the Canaanite Woman, attending to her request for help. The choice to highlight many of the healing stories with illuminations not only taught people about those stories from the adult life of Christ, but pointed the fourteenth-century readers to the importance of confession as indicated by the text of the sermon.

Many of Sully's sermons mention the Devil, and his very real presence and threat to Christians. The Devil served as a warning and reminder to behave properly by provoking a sense of fear within the listener. A handful of images also illustrate demonic creatures, such as the one associated with the parable of Lazarus and the rich man, further demonstrating the very real threat he posed in this world. In the illumination of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, the rich man is burning. A demonic creature holds a pitchfork to him, while his soul is removed from his body through the mouth by another Devilish creature. Contrary to this, the soul of Lazarus (a poor man) is being removed by an angel. Yet, the text does not

encourage Christians to give up their wealth; rather it encourages almsgiving and proper treatment of the poor –action. Sully says, "let us give alms, let us do well for the poor, who pray for us...When we give them our alms, it does good for their bodies, but we do much more for our souls..."[171] Wealth did not make a Christian bad, but Christians needed to treat the poor well, and also perform almsgiving. By not performing these good works (caring for the poor and giving alms), a wealthy Christian was bad. Thus, while the Devil in this image may have invoked fear, that fear was meant to inspire the Christian, and remind him or her of a responsibility to the poor and therefore the Church.

The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, Fol. 17v

[171] Robson, sermon 24, line 76: *' Faisons aumosnes, faisons bien as povres, qui proieront por nos... Quant nos lor donons nos aumosnes, lor faisons bien as cors, mais nos faisons molt miels a nos anmes.'*

(The Temptation of Christ, Fol. 9)

Another illumination, the Temptation of Christ, is less startling but still clearly reminded readers of the very real threat of the presence of the Devil in this world. The image accompanied the ninth sermon in Sully's collection, which provided instruction on penance. In the sermon, Sully used the biblical story of Christ's fast and temptation in the desert (Matthew 4: 1-2) in order to demonstrate the way in which a Christian should remain steadfast in his or her faith. The illumination, likewise, depicts the Temptation of Christ as he sits in the desert holding an open book that reads "non in solo pane" (not by bread alone).[172] The Devil stands beside him, holding out bread in an act of temptation. In the sermon Sully describes the way in which people can heed the example from Christ and say, "Go, Devil! Because man does not live by bread alone, but by the word which comes out of the mouth of

[172] Avril and Gousset, *Manuscrits Enlumines d'origine Italienne,* 143.

God!"[173] Again, the Christian is reminded of his or her need to take action in order to remain a faithful Christian; it is the Christian who must follow in Christ's footsteps and be strong in the face of any worldly temptations.

The overwhelming focus of the illuminations in the BNF français 187 is on the adult life of Christ, particularly his miracles and teachings through the parables. Taken with the written content of Maurice de Sully's sermons, which is where the majority of illuminations exist, it is clear that this religious manuscript highlights a form of piety that focused on external behavior and proper actions rather than on internal reflections and mediations on the suffering Christ. Those proper actions included the avoidance of adultery, almsgiving, receiving penance, confession, and generally relying on the Church to keep away from the temptations of the world. The other texts in this manuscript, as well as the accompanying imagery, also served a didactic purpose and encouraged active participation in the church. Taken together the manuscript, especially the sermons and images associated with Sully, served to teach lay audiences about the entirety of Christ's life, and encouraged Christians to lead active lives connected to the Church through penance, confession, almsgiving, and generally leaning on the word (which, of course, required knowledge of the Scriptures).

All of this is not to say that a form of devotion focused on Christ's Passion and meditations on suffering was not important and popular, but that a form of pious devotion that did not focus on that aspect of Christ's life existed earlier than suspected. This earlier form of devotion displayed in the BnF français 187 may have influenced a later trend in printed religious texts (including Sully's sermons and various printed Bibles), which do not

[173] Robson, sermon 9, line 76, 99: *'Va, diables! Quar hom ne vit mie solement de pain, mais de la parole qui ist de la boce Deu.'*

include images of the Passion, but tended to focus on his adult life, including miracles and the parables.

Chapter IV:
The Extra-Biblical and the Biblical: The *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and Devotion

The *Meditationes Vitae Christi,* an extremely popular devotional text of the later Middle Ages, is famous for its particularly affective tone. It is known as a text that helped elicit emotional responses from readers by elaborating on scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin Mary that are not specified in the Bible, particularly in relation to the Infancy and Passion. Yet the most commonly referenced version of the *Meditationes,* what is known as the *grosse text*, consisting of c. 108 chapters, is not simply affective. Rather, this text focuses on the entirety of Christ's life, including his ministry, making it an interesting study alongside the sermons of Maurice de Sully. The many chapters dedicated to his adult life and ministry do not lend themselves to the type of affectivity that his early life and Passion do, and they are therefore often overlooked in scholarship examining the *Meditationes.* Nevertheless, despite overlooking a major component of this *grosse text* and its possible origins, many scholars believe it is the original version*,* likely written sometime after 1320 by Johannes Caulibus.

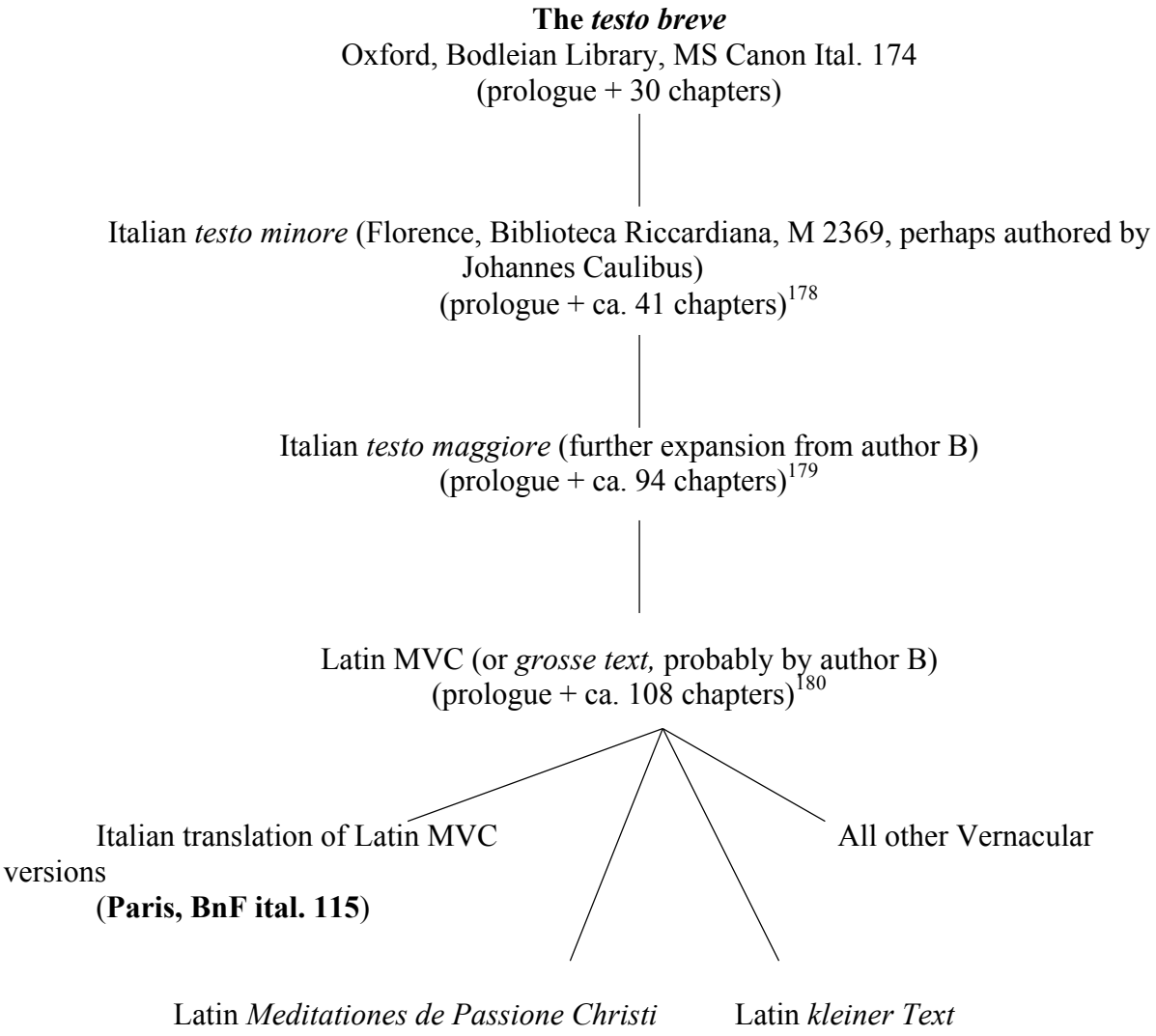
Not every version of the *Meditationes* contained the ministry, though. This calls into question whether the *grosse* version is, in fact, the original text of the *Meditationes*. There is, for instance, a short, 30-chapter version that contains only those aspects of the *Meditationes* that seem particularly affective in nature (i.e. there is no ministry of Christ). Sarah McNamer has worked with this 30-chapter version extensively, and claims that it is the "best surviving representation of the original" *Meditationes.*[174] This version, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon Ital. 174, is written in Italian and "possesses an artistic integrity that all other extant

[174] Sarah McNamer, "'New Light on the Date and Authorship of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi'*: some initial responses to Peter Tóth and David Falvay." Posted on February 4, 2015.

Italian and Latin versions lack."[175] The manuscript, referred to by McNamer, and in this chapter, as the *testo breve*, is the only surviving copy of this particular variety of the *Meditationes*[176]. From this version, McNamer argues, all others descend. My own reading of the consistent differences between the *testo breve* version and the longer version supports this reading:

[175] Sarah McNamer "The Origins of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*," Speculum 84 (2009), 908.
[176] Sarah McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: The Short Italian Text* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018).

Table 1 – Genealogy of the Versions of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi, According to McNamer:* [177]



[177] This Chart is based on one that Sarah McNamer uses in her book, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: The Short Italian Text,* XXXVII.
[178] Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1269; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Gadd. 187; Forence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 1358; Notre Dame, Indiana, Snite Museum MS Acc. 1985.25.
[179] Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale MS N.A. 350
[180] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 256; Oxford, Bodleian Library, CCC 410; Munich, Bayerische Casanatense, 500; Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 91; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 102; London, British Museum, Harleian 217; London, British Museum, Harleian, 3174; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 12297; Vatican, Lat. 4257; Leipzig, Universitas-Bibliothek, 801; Toulouse, Bibliotheque publique, 218.

McNamer investigates many aspects of the *testo breve* in comparison to the longer, *grosse text,* in order to establish that it is indeed the original version. She claims the original *testo breve* was written by a Poor Clare in Pisa for a woman, and that it was likely written earlier than the usual dating for the *Meditationes*. She proposes that the *testo breve* contains reference to a text, the *Memoriale* of Angela of Foligno (1248?-1309), which began to circulate in Tuscany c. 1300. This puts the *terminus post quem* for the *testo breve* at 1300, and this date is supported by the fact that the *testo breve* cites no other sources composed after 1300, nor are there any allusions to historical events after that date. Thus, the *testo breve* could have been written as early as the first decade of the fourteenth century.[181] The earliest manuscript evidence for copies of the MVC are in Italian, and most belong to the *testo minore* group. McNamer identifies eighteen of these manuscripts from the first half of the fourteenth century.[182] Since the *testo breve* is likely the original version it must have been written prior to the copying of the *testo minore* manuscripts. Thus, she places the creation of the *testo breve* text somewhere between 1300 and 1325, with a redactor composing revisions between 1325 and 1340, and then all other, longer versions (the *testo maggiore* and the *grosse* texts) after that.[183]

In one of McNamer's most basic, yet telling arguments for the originality of the *testo breve* version of the MVC she states that the belief that the *grosse* version of the text is the original has only persisted so long "in part because the text has never been subjected to a close reading. Like many texts hailed for their influence, the MVC has been more admired than read."[184] My own reading of the chapters concerning the adult ministry of Christ in the

[181] McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Christ,* CXXVi.
[182] McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Christ,* CXXVii.
[183] McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Christ,* CXLVi.
[184] McNamer "The Origins of the *Meditationes,"* 911.

grosse text supports McNamer's analysis.[185] Rather than highly emotional pleas with the reader to contemplate Mary and Christ's humility or poverty, or to meditate on their sufferings, which is how the stories from his young life and Passion proceed (chapters **1** through **17** deal with Christ's young life and chapters **69** through **100** focus on the details of his final days, including the Passion), the ministry chapters (chapters **19** through **44** and **59** though **68**) turn to a much more straightforward approach to biblical stories from the adult life of Christ. While there are moments of affectivity in a few chapters of this central section of the longer version of the text, the majority of the ministry section of the *Meditationes* is didactic, and it rarely mentions Mary. There is also an extremely long and complicated section in the *grosse* text on the active and contemplative life (chapters **45** to **58**). This section, which includes extensive quotations by Bernard of Clairvaux, is difficult to follow. It differs remarkably from the chapters on the ministry, which are straightforward in their didactic approach.

Simply put, the *grosse* text feels disjointed, and the best explanation for the disjuncture—especially in light of the shorter, *testo breve*—, is that it is a compilation of writings from different authors. It seems logical that the original form of the *Meditationes* started as a short text with a distinct theme. A redactor, or several redactors, added to an original, succinct text in order to further educate readers on the life of Christ and how to learn from his example.

[185] My analysis is based on a reading of the English translation of the long Italian version of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* found in BnF italien 115. This manuscript is transcribed and translated by Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green: *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS. ITAL. 115.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.

McNamer takes these redactions as an attempt to tone down the affectivity of the text, to correct "depictions of a perhaps too human Christ" and to make the virgin "more regal and demure." [186] However, I do not see these additions to the text as an attempt to detract from compassionate literature (they do remain a part of the overall narrative). Rather, I take these more straightforward stories, often didactic, as an attempt by the redactor or redactors to enhance the text with the complete story of the life of Christ, according to the Gospels. Of course, the section on the ministry is without a doubt far less emotionally driven than the sections on his early life and passion, and Christ is far more regal (he is performing miracles) while Mary hardly plays a role. However, I break with McNamer's assertion that devotional literature as well as art and drama focused "nearly exclusively on the Infancy and Passion," rather than on the ministry of Christ.[187] The ministry is indeed an addition to the *Meditationes,* but it is not odd to see it in devotional literature. I argue here that the decision to add the ministry to the *Meditationes* is an indication of a growing, fourteenth-century interest in both textual and visual representations of the adult life of Christ, and the Gospel stories as a whole. This interest in the adult ministry could be combined with more affective examples from Christ's life, to create a hybrid, accessible devotional tool for lay audiences, as is the case with the *grosse text* of the *Meditationes.*

This trend is also apparent in the heavily illuminated fourteenth-century manuscript (c. 1310-1320) from Northern Italy, BnF français 187, containing the sermons of Maurice de Sully, which I analyzed in the previous chapter. Sully's sermons in BnF français 187 served as an excellent source for lay knowledge on the adult life of Christ, including his ministry, as they stick very closely to the word of the Gospels. Of course, the manuscript also contains

[186] McNamer "The Origins of the *Meditationes,"* 909.
[187] McNamer "The Origins of the *Meditationes,"* 918.

the Gospel of Nicodemus (an apocryphal gospel that focuses on Christ's Passion), thus creating a rather complete narrative for the life of Christ. Several of the vernacular manuscripts analyzed in chapter two also combine the ministry of Christ, via Maurice de Sully's sermons, with literatures concerning his young life and Passion.[188] Thus, the growing interest in the adult life of Christ is already apparent in the sermons of Sully as early as the late twelfth century. Subsequently, the visual evidence for such a trend seems to emerge in the fourteenth century.

Placing the *Meditations* in the context of larger devotional trends occurring in the fourteenth century strengthens the claims for the originality of the short, affective version of the text. Rather than simply compare different versions of the *Meditationes* with one another, or compare the *Meditationes* with other Passion narratives, I am suggesting that the longer, *grosse* version of the text is part of a development that demonstrated a growing interest, especially among the laity, in the entire life of Christ as depicted in the Gospels. This trend was present by the late twelfth century, but emerged even more clearly in the fourteenth.

In fact, there is a growing body of scholarship on lay access to biblical material that suggests that there was an increased desire among Late Medieval Christians to understand the entire life of Christ as represented in the Gospel stories. In recent years, scholars such as Sabrina Corbellini and Margriet Hoogvliet have worked to demonstrate that laymen and women had much more access to biblical knowledge than previously thought, and that these people were particularly involved in combining their active, daily lives with religious devotion as inspired by the Gospel narrative. Corbellini, Hoogvliet and Bart Ramakers stress that according to long held traditional views, medieval lay audiences in particular had

[188] MSS BnF français 1822; BnF français 6447; Florence, Laurentian Library C.S. 99; Paris Arsenal 3684; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 1302

minimal access to religious texts. They note, by contrast, the impact of literacy on medieval towns, as well as the "massive" presence of religious and Biblical texts, as evidence for a much broader, varied approach to religious material by lay audiences.[189]

One particular example of a text that inspired Late Medieval Christians to combine their active lives with devotion, which is partially analyzed in Corbellini and Hoogvliet's article, "Artisans and Religious Reading in Late Medieval Italy and Northern France (ca. 1400- ca.1520)," is *The Garden of Prayer* or *Giardino della Orazione.* This source, written c. 1454 by a Franciscan in the vernacular, instructs lay men and women in particular to meditate on the life of Jesus as represented in the Gospel stories. It states:

> It is necessary to make an effort and to study diligently in order to learn the complete life of Jesus Christ and to have his life in every moment fixed in your memory. This will only be possible if you are ready to learn it thoroughly and carefully. It is thus essential to be acquainted with the life of Jesus Christ from the very beginning, the Nativity, until the moment of his Ascension, as is narrated in the Gospels…[190]

While this is later than the original composition of the *Meditationes* it does demonstrate that Franciscans were involved in educating the laity on the entirety of Christ's life, and that this was well established by the fifteenth century.

There is also earlier evidence for this via the Gospel harmonies that I mentioned briefly in chapter 2, all written between the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century, from Northern Italy. Sabrina Corbellini has collected thirty-three

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[189] Sabrina Corbellini, Margriet Hoogvliet and Bart Ramakers, "Introduction: Discovering the Riches of the World," in: *Discovering the Riches of the Word: Religious Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern* (Boston: Brill, 2015), 3.
[190] Sabrina Corbellini, "Uncovering the Presence: Religious Literacies in Late Medieval Italy," in: *Discovering the Roches of the Word: Religious Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern* (Boston: Brill, 2015), 68.

manuscripts that contain harmonies of the four Gospels. Among those manuscripts, the majority are copied on paper and written in a form of cursive commonly found in personal or professional documents for merchants and artisans.[191] The implication is that they were written by and for laymen and women. Additionally, one third of these manuscripts contain marks of ownership for laypeople. Finally, Corbellini has also discovered that a number of Italian vernacular biblical texts were copied by laypeople, the earliest copy of which she traces back to the fourteenth century. The copyists liked to include their names, professions, and where they lived. For instance, in MS 1356 from Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, a copy of the penitential psalms and a Gospel harmony, Corbellini notes: "the scribe concluded his writing activities on 10 February 1372 and 'signed' his manuscript with his name (Laino di Bartolomeo Laini), his profession (a notary involved in the business transactions of the Spini, a Florentine merchant family), and his place of residence (San Miniato).[192] This manuscript evidence suggests that there was a broad interest in the life of Christ according to the Gospels.

It is not a stretch, then, to see why the ministry of Christ would be added to a text like the *Meditationes*, which became very popular among lay men and women across Europe. Both the manuscript evidence for the sermons of Maurice de Sully and the long version of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, demonstrate that Late Medieval audiences had a desire to know the Gospel stories, inclusive of the adult life of Christ. And it is not simply in BnF français 187, with the sermons of Maurice de Sully, that you find an image cycle that supports this devotional trend. There is also an entire narrative image cycle in a manuscript

[191] Sabrina Corbellini, "Reading, Writing, and Collecting: Cultural Dynamics and Italian Vernacular Bible Translations," *Church History and Religious Culture* 93 (2013), 196.
[192] Corbellini, "Reading, Writing, and Collecting," 199.

of the long version of the MVC, which reveals an interest in the entire life of Christ, including his ministry.

The Italian translation of the *grosse* text listed in the genealogy chart above, ital. 115, now located at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, also incorporates images, including illustrations of the adult ministry of Christ. The manuscript may have been created sometime between 1340 and 1350 in Pisa.[193] Though written in Italian, this particular translation sticks very closely to the *grosse,* Latin text. [194] While the manuscript is missing the last quarter of the complete text (it abruptly ends at chapter 75, which is just before the chapter that introduces meditations on the Passion), it does contain the section on the ministry of Christ. This copy of the *Meditationes* has received particular attention from historians, literary scholars and art historians over the years because it is the most illustrated copy of the *Meditationes* in existence, with 193 images in total.

Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green undertook a translation of ital. 115 in 1961. They were compelled to translate the text and print it alongside the images as they appear in the manuscript, but since ital. 115 abruptly ends with chapter 75, they completed their translation using the *grosse* Latin text to fill in the last fourth of the *Meditationes.* The result is a printed text that is 100 chapters long (including the chapters on the Passion) and includes every image that appears in BnF ital. 115. However, Ragusa and Green did not analyze the images in any detailed way as their goal in publishing this translation was simply to make the material available for future researchers. A detailed analysis of the text of ital. 115, in

[193] Holy Flora, *The Devout Belief of the Imagination*: the Paris Meditationes vitae Christi and female Franciscan Spirituality in Trecento (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2009), 18.
[194] Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, trans. *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS. ITAL. 115* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), xxii.

addition to the illustrations, reveals that a fourteenth-century audience was interested to learn the entirety of Christ's life and the Canonical Gospels.

One scholar who has devoted time to the illustrations in BnF ital. 115 is Holy Flora. Interestingly, Flora notes that art historians often turn to the *Meditationes* to demonstrate the impact they had on art. She states, "art historians in particular have long studied the MVC and its supposed impact on iconographic innovations and the new interest in narrative and emotionalism that characterized the early Renaissance." Nevertheless, she notes, illustrated manuscripts remain "largely unstudied, despite this text's assumed links to art."[195] While Flora is right to point out the general lack of scholarship on the actual images associated with the *Meditationes,* her work only looks at the images of ital. 115 in one specific context. Flora rightly believes the manuscript was created for a group of Poor Clares in Pisa, Italy, and she therefore investigates the art in ital. 115 in a particularly female context. In doing so, she focuses on those images and stories that she finds to be most didactic for the Poor Clares and their lifestyles (often those stories and images concerning the life of Mary). However, she does not devote time to the remainder of the image cycle in ital. 115, which is extremely important for understanding the larger devotional context of the manuscript. While the manuscript was indeed likely created for Poor Clares, the inclusion of images detailing Christ's ministry and the miracles is suggestive of a broader, non-gender specific interest in the adult life of Jesus.

The images are also particularly interesting as someone left specific instructions for an artist next to the open spaces in the manuscript where illustrations were intended to go. Both Isa Ragusa and Holy Flora point specifically to the image cycle in ital. 115 as an

[195] Flora, *The Devout Belief of the Imagination*, 17.

indication that it was created as a devotional guide for women, and Flora suggests that the instructions that occur alongside the images are an indication of its use by nuns, in particular. For, she says, the specific instruction for images suggests that an advisor had a vested interest in controlling the image program, and thus the didactic messages within the text.[196] However, reading the images and their instructions as indicative of someone's desire for a specific image program ignores the fact that the entire life of Christ is represented within the instructions and their images.

The last illustration in the manuscript occurs in chapter **39** (titled *Of the Retribution of Relinquishing All*), and is unfinished. However, the instructions for illustrations occur throughout the text until chapter **75**, where, as mentioned above, the manuscript ends. Therefore, it is likely that the lost portions of the manuscript contained instructions for an artist as well, though it is impossible to know for sure. Nevertheless, what is certain about ital. 115 is that the intention was to illustrate most of the manuscript (save for the rather long section of the text on the active versus contemplative life, which contains no instruction for illustration), including both the early life of Christ and his adult ministry. The fact that scenes throughout the life of Christ were illustrated, or were intended to be represented as the artistic instructions demonstrate, does not reveal a calculated selection of particular narratives to represent, but rather a complete approach to illustrating the entire life of Christ, including both affective and didactic moments, extra-biblical and biblical alike. This furthers my argument for a growing interest in representing the entire life of Christ, both textually and artistically, in the fourteenth century.

[196] Holly Flora, "The Charity of the Virgin Mary in the Paris *Meditations on the Life of Christ* BNF, ital. 115," *Studies in Iconography* 29 (2008), 58.

Likewise, when I investigated the number of illustrations in the book dedicated to both Christ's young life and the ministry, I determined that both portions of his life received a similar amount of attention. There are two images that are a part of the prologue, so I do not associate them with the section on the young life of Christ or the ministry. Beyond those two images, though, there are 111 images associated with the first 17 chapters on the young life of Christ. There are 80 images associated with his public ministry, which appear over the course of 21 chapters (18 through 39, with chapter 39 having the final, unfinished illustration in the manuscript). However, between chapters 39 and 75 there are instructions for an additional 99 images. While the artist never got around to illustrating them, it is clear that whoever left the instructions intended for those scenes to be part of the overall image cycle. Of those 99 instructions, 61 of them had to do with the public ministry, while 38 had to do with the Passion of Christ, starting with his entry into Jerusalem. If one considers the instructions for illustrations that never came to be, that leaves the following breakdown: 111 images associated with the young life of Christ, 141 images associated with the adult ministry of Christ (80 of those were actually illustrated) and 38 intended images of the Passion. It is likely that the lost portion of the manuscript contained more instructions, especially for those chapters on the Crucifixion, but it is impossible to know. Nevertheless, it is clear that the ministry of Christ was important to whoever left the instructions. The entire life of Christ, not just those portions associated with his suffering, or those that include Mary, were important for a reader to understand and visualize.

Analysis of Manuscript BnF ital. 115

In the remainder of this chapter I will explore both the written content and the images of BnF ital. 115, the Italian version of the *grosse text,* and make note of whether or not the chapters I am analyzing appear in the *testo breve* (the short original text) as well. I will do so in order to demonstrate the ways in which the chapters dealing with the ministry of Christ are very distinct from the more affective portions of the *Meditationes,* indicating that they are part of a later addition to the original text intended to educate readers on the entire life of Christ according to the Gospel stories. Likewise, my investigation of the images will demonstrate that the illustrator stuck closely to the written content of the text, and therefore conveyed both messages that were affective, and those that were didactic.

While I will go beyond an investigation into Mary's role in the *Meditationes*, she is indeed a rather important aspect of the text, especially in chapters 1 through 17, and she is certainly one of the elements of this source that enhances its particularly affective nature. It is very important to understand the role that Mary plays in the first 17 chapters of the long version of the MVC in order to understand how different the next 50 chapters are from that portion of the text. Mary serves throughout the young life of Christ, and during his Passion, as an example of the type of relationship one should strive to have with Christ. Additionally, she often appears to serve as a particularly useful example for others, especially in regards to her own poverty and humility as well as her charity.

Mary and Christ – The Early Years

Chapter four in BnF ital. 115 marks chapter one of the *testo breve.* It is really the beginning of the story of Christ's life, as the chapter describes the exchange between Mary

and the angel Gabriel, when she is told she will bear a child (Jesus). The author of the *Meditationes* explains in great detail the humility the Virgin expressed at hearing this. Her response to the news that she would carry the Son of God served as an example of how to behave –she was humbled during a time in which many others would feel entitled. The text describes her model humility in the following way:

> And see how the lady remains timorous and humble, with modest face, as she is accosted by the angel, not becoming proud and boastful after his unforeseen words, in hearing such wonderful things as had never been told to anyone before, but attributing everything to divine grace. Thus you may learn by example to be modest and humble, because without these attributes virginity is worth little.[197]

While Mary is receiving the greatest news in the world, she remains humble. Humility, as it seems, preceded virginity as a virtue. This is a particular lesson to remain humble and modest at times in life when you may feel proud and important.

In addition to her humility, Mary remained silent throughout this interaction. The author of this portion of the *Meditationes* states that because Mary was so humble she was perturbed by the news that she was a chosen one. Her humility only allowed her to know her defects and to listen to the angel silently:

> Since humble persons are unable to hear praise of themselves without shame and agitation, she was perturbed with an honest and virtuous shame. She also began to fear that it was not true, not that she did not believe that the angel spoke truthfully, but that like all humble people she did not consider her own virtues but memorized her defects, always considering a great virtue to be small and a little defect very big. Therefore, because she was sagacious and cautious, modest and timorous, she did not reply at all. What should she have

[197] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript* ,19.

> said? Learn by this example to remain silent and to love taciturnity, as this great and very beneficial.

Mary's silence is the ultimate sign of her humility, and the way she felt about herself. She was presented very specifically so as to serve as an example for others to be quiet and cautious.

When this story from the *Meditationes* is compared to the Gospel story it is clear just how much effort the author put into creating a humble and quiet Mary. In Luke 1:26-38, which is where this story appears in the Gospels, Mary's disposition is not addressed at all. Rather, a very straightforward conversation takes place between the Angel Gabriel and Mary, in which he announces her as the chosen one and informs her that she will bear a son. She responds by asking how that is so since she is a virgin, and the angel explains that this child will be Holy, the Son of God. The brief encounter ends with the following: "Then Mary said, 'Here I am, the servant of the Lord; let it be with me according to your word.' Then the angel departed from her."[198] There is no elaboration on her humility throughout this exchange. Likewise, there is no mention of Mary's silence throughout this process. It is stated that she was perplexed when the angel first addressed her, but she goes on to have two different verbal exchanges with him. Thus, the author of the *Meditationes* elaborated extensively on this story in order to develop very particular qualities in Mary.

The three images associated with this scene represent Mary in a way that is very true to the *Meditationes* text. In the first two images she is shown in front of the Angel Gabriel and in third image she is in front of God:

[198] All quotations from the Bible are taken from: *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: Augmented Third Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). *Bible,* Luke 1:38

Mary before the Angel Gabriel, folio 10, page 18 in Ragusa and Green

Mary before the Angel Gabriel, folio 11vo, page 18 in Ragusa and Green

Mary before God, folio 12ro, page 19 in Ragusa and Green

In the first image Mary appears before Gabriel and gestures toward herself as if she is asking the angel, "me?" In the second image associated with this chapter she also appears before the angel Gabriel. Her hands are folded over her heart (in an apparent gesture of humility) and her gaze is directed modestly downward as she receives the word. In both, the Angel Gabriel raises his hand toward her, which is a gesture of blessing.[199] In the final image she appears before God. She gazes up at him, with her hands lifted towards the sky in a gesture of gratitude. In all cases she is humbled. Humbled to receive the news of her pregnancy with Christ, and humbled before God, though also showing her reverence for him.

Even more telling than her response to being told she would carry the Son of God is the fact that immediately following this semi extra-biblical encounter with Gabriel she journeyed to Elizabeth's house, where she stayed for 3 months (this is chapter five in BnF ital. 115 and chapter two in the *testo breve*). She is described as waiting on Elizabeth constantly, "as if she had forgotten she was the mother of God and queen of the whole world."[200] Mary served as an example of a life of service to others, even though, according to the author, she was more deserving than anyone else of receiving those services. An image of the birth of John the Baptist illustrates Mary at Elizabeth's bedside:

[199] Leslie Ross, *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 99.
[200] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript* , 24.


The Birth of John the Baptist, folio 14vo, page 24 in Ragusa and Green

Mary appears at the head of Elizabeth who is in bed, with another woman standing behind her. Two other women bathe John the Baptist and there is food at the side of Elizabeth's bed. It is an image that represents all of the action of the moment, and the textual implication is that Mary was at the center of all of this service to Elizabeth.

The written text also makes clear that Mary's physical journey to aid Elizabeth was not an easy one. While the road was rough, she walked quickly so as not to be in public view for too long. She did so with only her husband, no help from servants or handmaids. The reader is asked to contemplate all these circumstances: "Consider her therefore, the queen of heaven and Earth, going alone with her husband, not mounted but on foot and not attended by horsemen, knights, or barons, or by groups of servants and handmaidens. Instead she was accompanied by poverty, humility, and shame, and all honest virtues." [201] These stories continue to reinforce the idea that Mary is extremely humble.

However, details like those described above are not present in the gospel story of Mary and Elizabeth (Luke 1:39-80). Neither the difficulty of Mary's journey nor her service

[201] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 23.

to Elizabeth is part of the gospel story. In fact, in the Gospel Mary is not mentioned at the birth of John: "1.56: And Mary remained with her about three months and then returned to her home. 1.57: Now the time came for Elizabeth to give birth, and she bore a son."[202] The order in which these passages appear even suggests that Mary left the house of Elizabeth before John was born, which makes the entire story of Mary's service to Elizabeth at the birth extra-biblical. Once again, the author of this portion of the *Meditationes* elaborated on a Gospel story in order to demonstrate Mary's suffering, service and humility.

Whether or not Mary was present at the birth of John according to the Gospel, the story described in the *Meditationes* (in both ital. 115 and the *testo breve*) continues to include Mary even past the birth of John. In a most telling image of her humility Mary is seen hiding behind a curtain at the circumcision of John, so as not to be heard or seen, so that she may be "invisible to the men attending the circumcision of John"[203]:

The Circumcision of John, folio 15ro, page 25 in Ragusa and Green

You can see her peering from behind a curtain. This is absolutely an imagined scenario, one that does not appear in the Gospel stories. Finally, after the circumcision, the author describes Mary's return home. At this point the reader is asked to contemplate Mary's

[202] *Bible*, Luke 1:56 & 57
[203] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 25.

poverty: "Consider her poverty. She returned to a house in which she would find neither bread nor wine nor other necessities, and she had neither possessions nor money."[204] This is one final extra-biblical addition to the story of Mary visiting Elizabeth, intended to create a humbled, suffering Mary. The author imagined a suffering Mary's circumstances in order to elicit compassionate responses from readers, and to demonstrate to them the importance of poverty, which they are instructed to learn to love.

One of the most interesting examples of Mary's humility, and of her service to God, comes in the form of an odd marital spat (Chapter six in BnF ital. 115 and chapter three in the *testo breve*). The story is briefly mentioned in Matthew, 1:18-1:25. The Gospel tells that Joseph planned to leave Mary quietly, since he found her to be with child. But an angel came to him in the night and instructed him not to leave. Mary's personal thoughts and actions throughout this situation are never mentioned in the Gospel story.[205] Yet, in the version presented in the *Meditationes,* Mary plays a prominent role in the narrative, and the story reveals very important virtues of the Virgin that should be emulated.

The *Meditationes* suggests that Joseph thought Mary was unfaithful to him (as the biblical story insinuates), not understanding the miracle of her pregnancy. What is added and elaborated upon in the *Meditationes* is that Mary wanted to tell him about the miracle of her pregnancy, especially since she knew he was in pain, which caused her pain. Yet, she "humbly remained silent" for fear of seeming boastful while divulging the secret. Instead she waited and prayed to God to help them through this turbulent time in their marriage:

> She prayed that God might deign to remedy this and alleviate the trials of her husband and herself. Consider their great tribulation and anguish. Our lord

[204] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 26.
[205] *Bible,* Matt. 1:18-26

> provided both the one and the other... This would happen to us too, if we knew how to remain patient in the face of tribulation, for the Lord causes tranquility to come after the storm.[206]

Eventually, an angel revealed the miracle of Jesus to Joseph while he slept (see below image). By adding this to the biblical story, the author of the shorter version of the *Meditationes* was able to elaborate on the pain Mary felt, and demonstrate that her patience and prayer led to enlightenment. In the end, the message is simple: pray, be patient, and let God guide you through turbulent times. Thus, Mary is not only an example in her marriage, but she is an example of how to have patience and pray during difficult times.

The Dream of Joseph, folio 16vo, page 28 in Ragusa and Green

While she certainly served as an example in her life before the birth of her Son, it is Mary's relationship to Christ that was the ultimate example to readers throughout the short and long versions of the text. She served him, and felt for him and with him through all the difficult moments in his life, starting from the moment of birth. A prime example of the way in which Mary felt (often suffered) pain with Jesus is during his circumcision (chapter 8 in BnF ital. 115, chapter five in *testo breve*). The text elaborates on the pain that Jesus felt in

[206] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 29.

having his flesh cut. It reminds readers that this is the first time he shed blood for humanity. It also makes very clear that Mary cried and suffered with Him:

> …today our Lord Jesus Christ began to shed His consecrated blood for us. From the very first, He who had not sinned began to suffer pain for us, and for our Sins He bore torment. Feel compassion for Him and weep with Him…Must one not pity him? Surely, and His mother also. The child Jesus cries today because of the pain he felt in His soft and delicate flesh, like that of all other humans. But when he cries, do you think the mother will not cry? She too wept…[207]

Mary, in this instance and many others, served as an example for readers of how to interact with and feel for Christ. She suffered with Christ, as the reader should during their meditations on this moment in His life.

The Gospel account of the circumcision is extremely short; there are no details of the pain and suffering of Christ or Mary. Rather, the Gospel of Luke (the only place the circumcision comes up in the Gospels) contains one sentence on the circumcision: "After eight days had passed, it was to time to circumcise the child; and he was called Jesus, the name given by the angel before he was conceived in the womb."[208] Thus, it is clear once again that the authors of the *Meditationes* imagined extra-biblical information related to the circumcision, highlighting not only Christ's suffering, but Mary's suffering during the circumcision, too.

However, there is a very odd, extra-biblical addition to this story that is not, in fact, a part of the original *testo breve.*[209] In BnF ital. 115 it is Mary who circumcised Christ: "his

[207] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 44.
[208] *Bible*, Luke 2:21
[209] McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Christ,* 31.

flesh was cut with a stone knife by his mother."[210] Holy Flora notes that this detail is indeed a part of early versions of the *Meditationes* in both Latin and Italian.[211] There is also one apocryphal gospel, The Arabic Infancy Gospel, which loosely attributes the circumcision to Mary (the text reads, "they circumcised him," and Mary, Joseph and an old Hebrew woman were the only people listed as present), but this is the only other text that loosely makes a reference to Mary as the one to circumcise Christ. Flora notes that the image of Mary wielding a knife may have held special symbolic reference, linking her to Zipporah, wife of Moses (Exodus 4:25).[212]

However, despite any special significance, the addition of this episode is interesting in light of the emotional response the reader is supposed to have towards the suffering of both Christ and Mary. Sarah McNamer also notes the disjuncture of this detail: "the *testo breve* maintains greater consistency of characterization and emotional tenor in its description of a mother who suffers to see her son in pain and does not, herself, inflict that pain."[213] In the *testo breve* version of the MVC the reader does not have to deal with the fact that Mary herself was the one to inflict the physical pain of circumcision on Christ, thus also causing herself emotional grief. In this short version she simply bears whiteness to his suffering, and therefore suffers herself.

In both cases, though, there is no shortage of extra-biblical elaboration on the suffering that both Christ and Mary endured during the circumcision. However, the illustration associated with this scene in BnF ital. 115 leaves no room to doubt the written

[210] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 44.
[211] Flora, *The Devout Belief of the Imagination,* 103.
[212] Flora, *The Devout Belief of the Imagination,* 104.
[213] McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Christ,* 207.

text in the long version, as Mary is portrayed with a knife in hand, ready to circumcise her son.

The Circumcision of the Child, folio 24vo, page 42 in Ragusa and Green

The story of the circumcision is not the only time the authors of the *Meditationes* added material to a biblical story in order to elaborate on the suffering of Christ and his mother. The story of the flight into Egypt (chapter 12 in BnF ital. 115 and chapter 8 in the *testo breve*), which appears in the Gospel of Matthew 2:13-23, provides no details of what the Holy family did while in Egypt. Rather, the biblical account tells that an angel appeared to Joseph and told him to flee with his family. It then succinctly describes the horrors of Herod and ends by stating that the angel returned to Joseph once Herod had died, to inform him to take the mother and child back to Israel. The *Meditationes,* however, provides an abundance of extra-biblical material for this story. Ital. 115, for instance, contains nearly 11 pages and 8 illustrations associated with the flight into Egypt.

This story was to imagine that Joseph, Mary and Christ suffered together in poverty during their stay in Egypt. Joseph and Mary also suffered because they knew people were actively hunting their son. The journey was difficult for all of them, and it was especially

difficult to live in a strange land, which they did not know anything about.[214] Readers are asked to meditate on their time in this strange land, and to consider how they lived.

The *testo breve* does not detail the life of Christ and Mary after their journey to Egypt. It succinctly describes their stay in a rented house and flows cohesively into the next chapter on the flight from Egypt. However, the long, *grosse* text elaborates much further on Christ and Mary in Egypt. In ital. 115 it is suggested that Mary sewed to provide for the family while in Egypt and that when Christ was of age he too began to seek out work for his mother, never feeling ashamed to do so despite the fact that he is the Son of God. The illustrations accompanying this very detailed chapter highlight these stories:

The Virgin Sewing and the Child as Messenger, folio 41ro, page 73 in Ragusa and Green

In the above image Mary is seen in an interior, working among common women who are spinning thread. The young Christ is seen exiting on the right-hand side, presumably in search of additional work for his mother, as the text describes that he did. Readers were encouraged to remain with the Holy family until the very end of this episode in order to meditate on all the suffering they endured. In concluding the chapter, the author states:

[214] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 67. For the *testo Breve,* McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Chirst,* 49.

> On every side compassion. Finally, when you have stayed with her for some time, ask permission to leave, and receive first the blessing of the boy Jesus and of the mother and of Joseph, kneel before them, and take leave of them with tears and deep sympathy, for they were exiled and driven away from their country for no reason, remaining for seven years as pilgrims in that place and living by the sweat of their brows.[215]

In both the long and short versions of the MVC, readers, at least in these earlier chapters, entered into the lives of Mary, Joseph and Jesus and experienced grief at watching their suffering. These different moments of suffering were imagined by the authors. They are not part of the Gospel stories, but they certainly add a very intense, affectivity to the stories, which allowed readers to feel compassion toward Mary and Christ.

It is easy to assume that Mary was at the center of most stories throughout the text, as she is often referenced when discussing the *Meditationes.* Likewise, affectivity is often linked with female spirituality, so Mary is an obvious connection to the source. However, I found that the text overwhelmingly focused on Christ as an example of a way to live a pious life too, and also as a source for inspiring emotional responses from the reader in these early chapters, especially because of his suffering. Thus, the switch to a less affective tone in the later chapters on his ministry cannot be attributed to affectivity being particularly associated with Mary.

From the moment of his birth, the earliest chapters of the *Meditationes* focus on the ways in which Christ suffered. The author reminds the reader to meditate on these sufferings as a means to elicit compassionate responses toward Christ. For instance, the text emphasized

[215] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 76.

that in the manger Christ was only wrapped in a cloth, which left him very cold. His head was laid on a rock, because that is all his mother had at her disposal, given her surroundings. For these reasons the reader is encouraged to feel for Christ in his suffering. At the same time, though, he and the Holy family served as the ultimate example of poverty and humility. They accepted the manger, hay and animals. They did so even though Christ was the Son of God and the Savior of mankind, which made them absolutely worthy of so much more than they had. Nevertheless, they did not complain. While both Christ and Mary needed many things in that manger, they embraced poverty. [216]

Mary is certainly represented as an example of Charity in the text, yet it is often under the guidance of her Son. In her article titled *"*The Charity of the Virgin Mary in the Paris 'Meditations on the Life of Christ,'" Holy Flora mentions a moment following the nativity, during Epiphany, when the Magi presented gifts to the Christ Child (chapter 9 in BnF ital. 115, chapter 6 in the *testo breve*). While Joseph, Mary and the Child certainly needed the help, they ultimately did not accept it. Instead, Mary redistributed the gifts among the poor. Flora cites this as an example of Mary's charity, and dedication to poverty.[217] Yet, when you read the text in its entirety it is clear that in this moment Mary acted on behalf of the Christ child. The text reads, "since the Lady deeply longed for poverty and understood the desire of the Child, who taught her inwardly as well as by showing His desire by signs, perhaps by turning His face away from the gold in disdain, she distributed everything to the poor within a few days."[218] If you eliminate the inner portion of that quotation, as Flora did in her analysis, it does read as though Mary is the ultimate example of charity. However, it is clear

[216] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 15.
[217] Flora, *The Charity of the Virgin Mary,* 69.
[218] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 51.

that Christ is the ultimate example of charity. He is the one who guided Mary to give up the gold and embrace poverty. This is not to say that Mary is not a great example of the way a Christian should live— she is certainly depicted as a lover of poverty, and extremely charitable. However, it is Christ, even in his infancy, who taught Mary to love poverty and act charitably.

The Magi Adoring the Child, folio 28vo, page 48 in Ragusa and Green

The Magi Presenting their Gifts, folio 29ro, page 39 in Ragusa and Green

The Virgin Distributing the Gifts of the Magi, folio 30vo, page 52 in Ragusa and Green

In the images throughout Epiphany Christ is represented as alert and in command, to some degree, of the situation. His hand gestures in the first two images above indicate he is actively receiving the Magi and their gifts. Then, in the final image, you can see his head raised in the direction of the poor as Mary hands out the gifts they just received. The

stretching of the arms toward those in need was often a symbol of charity and generosity in medieval art.[219] Mary is absolutely meant to embody charity in this chapter. Nevertheless, the images also represent what the text tells the reader: that Mary acted under the guidance of her son.

This chapter in the *testo breve* describes the exact same scenario: Mary redistributing the gifts to the poor under the guidance of her son. Sarah Mcnamer notes that Mary is serving as an example of a Poor Clare in this scenario, and according to Clare of Assisi, the Poor Clares were called to their impoverished way of life by Christ.[220] So, the guidance he provides for his mother in this situation is actually quite fitting.

The *Meditationes* does not reflect what is written in the Gospels by representing Christ in this way. In both the Gospel of Matthew and of Luke, in which a manger scene occurs, there are no descriptions of Christ's infant actions. Likewise, there is never an instance in which Mary redistributes the gifts of the Magi. Thus, the details provided by the authors of the *Meditationes* are strictly imagined. It is clear that the authors wished to represent Christ as the inspiration for charitable acts and pious living, and Mary served as the ultimate example for how to act in service of Christ.

In early moments of his adult life, as represented in the *Meditationes,* Christ continued to suffer, and to represent poverty and humility. While describing Christ in the desert for forty days and forty nights the author directs the reader to contemplate all of his suffering (chapter 17 in BnF ital. 115 and chapter 13 in the *testo breve*). The reader should imagine him lying on the bare Earth, hungry, talking to beasts. Then imagine him descending

[219] Katherine T. Brown, *Mary of Mercy in Medieval and Renaissance Italian Art: Devotional Image and Civic Emblem* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 19.
[220] McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Christ,* 205.

the mountain alone, and with bare feet, again, having lacked food for so long; just as was the case in the manger after his birth, Christ went without many earthly things on the mountain.

The Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke all mention the temptation of the Devil during Christ's forty days in the dessert (Matthew 4:1, Mark, 1:12, Luke 4:1). While the Gospels of both Matthew and Luke mention that Christ was famished, none of the Gospels go into any greater detail about the suffering of Christ in the desert. However, the additions to this story as described in the long and short versions of the *Meditationes* go beyond a description of Christ's suffering. In fact, the author included Mary in this story when she does not appear anywhere in the Gospels. According to both the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, angels waited on Christ at the end of his encounter with the Devil. The author of the *Meditationes* took this encounter with angels and created a most elaborate story in which the angels delivered to Christ food that was humbly prepared by his mother, the Virgin. This was done at Christ's bidding. This is true in both the *testo breve* and the translation in BnF ital. 115. The instructions for illustration in BnF ital. 115 make it very clear that an artist was to draw this exact scene. In the image below Mary hands two angels the food she prepared for her son. Above them, in a slightly different scene, the angels are flying toward Christ with the food in hand.

The Virgin Sending Food to Christ in the Desert, folio 71ro, page 125 in Ragusa and Green

After Christ had received the food and had finished his meal, the angels returned his dirty dishes to Mary. While the scene strikes me as a particularly lucky one (a home-cooked meal delivered from afar by angels, and the dirty dishes brought back to his mother when finished), even this episode is turned into a traumatic, suffering experience for Christ. The author emphasizes that this is yet another sign of Christ's impoverished, suffering life. According to the *Meditationes* it is humiliating that Christ—who was, after all, the Son of God—was in need of sustenance in the form of physical food, and that he ate like every other human.

The Angels Returning the Dishes to Saint Joseph, folio 72, page 125 in Ragusa and Green

Up to this point in the text (chapter 17 in BnF ital. 115, chapter 13 in *testo breve*), the *Meditationes* continually describes elaborate, extra-biblical dramas surrounding the life of Christ. Yet the next 50 chapters of BnF ital. 115, and all *grosse* versions of the *Meditationes* for that matter (these chapters are nowhere to be found in the *testo breve* text), do not emphasize the same sense of affective imagination that we find in the first 17 chapters when it comes to Christ and his life. However, before describing the less affective chapters I will skip ahead to the Crucifixion, which returns to the intensely affective, extra-biblical descriptions that are seen in the first seventeen chapters on Christ's early life.

The Passion of Christ

The emphasis on Christ's suffering and poverty in his life is no greater than in the pages dedicated to the Passion. In the short, *testo breve* version of the MVC, the Passion of Christ begins in chapter 14, immediately following his forty-day fast and temptation by the Devil. Chapter 13 ends by addressing the fact that the *Meditationes* will continue by jumping to the Passion, as it would take too long to go over all the events of Christ's life: "But I do not intend to continue like this from now on, because it would take too long to try to retell in the form of meditations all that he did or said from this moment on…Now from here on we will speak about the Passion. And we will begin with Palm Sunday."[221] Given the fact that the very next chapter jumps to Palm Sunday, the text of the *testo breve* flows in a way that makes sense.

What is odd about the long, *grosse* text is that in chapter 18, long before the chapters on the Passion and immediately following the story of Christ's fast and temptation in the desert (chapter 17), the author also suggests a change in pace. The text reads:

> By the grace of God we have up to here traced the life of the Lord Jesus in orderly fashion, leaving out little or almost nothing of what happened to Him or what He did. But it is not my intention to do this from here on, for it would take too long to convert into meditations all the things He said and did. Therefore we shall choose a few things, on which we intend to meditate continually, from here to the Passion.[222]

[221] McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Christ,* 82-83.
[222] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 133.

Despite these words, the text that follows does not choose a few episodes on the life of Christ to discuss until the point of the Passion. Rather, there are fifty chapters between this statement and the start of the Passion.

It is not until chapter 69 in the *grosse* text that the recognizable, emotional tone of the MVC returns. In both the long and short versions of the text, even the initial entry of Christ into Jerusalem on the back of a donkey lends itself to sorrow (chapter 71 in BnF ital. 115 and chapter 14 in the *testo breve*). The reader is instructed to watch him, and is reminded of his deliberate choice of humility and poverty, and his rejection of pomp and wealth:

> Watch Him well and see how He shames the honorable pomp of the world in this honor. These animals were not decorated with reins and gold saddles and silk ornaments, according to the custom of worldly folly, but with wretched rags and two little cords, although He was King of kings and Lord of lord. [223]

Again Christ embraced poverty and humility, made even more apparent by the fact that he was the King and Savior of mankind. While he could have had jewels, golds and silks, he had rags. He maneuvered the donkey with cords, not reins. His poverty continued even in the final days of his life.

The drama of the *Meditationes* is at its height during scenes like these, immediately leading up to Christ's Crucifixion. Unfortunately, there are no images associated with this portion of the *Meditationes,* nor do we know if the creator of ital. 115 left any instructions for illustrations of the Crucifixion since this portion of the manuscript is missing. There are, however, instructions for several images of the Last Supper, Christ praying with the apostles, the betrayal of Judas, and the arrest, which leads me to believe that the original manuscript

[223] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 306.

continued to leave instruction for an illustrator well into the Crucifixion scenes. Nevertheless, the text reads in such a vivid way that one does not need images to imagine the scenes being set.

To begin, the reader is reminded of the Passion that "here is shown more especially this charity of His that should kindle all our hearts."[224] In order to understand this charity completely one must understand that Christ was made human and suffered to save the souls of all mankind. The realization that his death is an act of ultimate charity is made that much more intense by the extremely detailed accounts of torture that he suffered:

> What should we think that our Lord, blessed God above all things, from the hour of His capture at night until the sixth hour of the crucifixion, was in a continuous battle, in great pain, injury, scorn, and torment, that He was not given a little rest!... One of them seizes Him (the sweet, mild, and pious Jesus), another blinds him, another attacks Him, another scolds Him, another pushes Him…

The narrative continues like this for a full page in ital. 115. until finally the author of the text calls out: "Oh my God, what is this? Does this not seem a most hard and bitter battle? But wait a while and you will hear harsher things."[225] And indeed, the commentary on Christ's suffering continues to get worse in its descriptions. In the moments before Christ is actually hanged on the cross, the author describes the way in which He was stripped of clothes, the removal of them reopening wounds: "Again He is stripped, and is now nude before all the multitude for the third time, His wounds reopened by the adhesions of His garments to His flesh."[226] This episode, in very similar words, is expressed in chapter 24 of the *testo breve.*

[224] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 318.
[225] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 318-391.
[226] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 333.

These are not simple descriptions, and they are definitely not a retelling of the Gospel story. It is imaginative on the part of the author, and absolutely intended to elicit compassion from the reader. These descriptions are not just reminders of his humility and ultimate poverty on Earth. The details invite the reader to enter into the moment.

There is one very unusual aspect of the Crucifixion as depicted in the long version of the *Meditationes* represented by manuscript ital. 115. This observation, pointed out and explained very well by Sarah McNamer in her book *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion,* leads me back to my initial comments on the original version of the *Meditationes,* and ultimately the inclusion of the ministry of Christ in this text. In the long, or *grosse,* versions of the *Meditationes,* including ital. 115, two different versions of the Crucifixion are presented to readers as a possible means of meditation (chapter 78 in BnF ital. 115). In one version Christ ascends the cross himself, via a ladder. He accepts death triumphantly, with open arms (literally): "When he reaches the cross, at the upper part of the small ladder, He turns Himself around, opens those royal arms, and, extending His most beautiful hands, stretches them up to His crucifiers."[227] This story is one of triumph and willingness. It demonstrates a bold and brave Christ, ready and willing to die for mankind. McNamer describes the scene as follows, "This image of Christ, fully in control of his thoughts, actions and destiny, obediently climbing toward his death, actively stretching out his 'royal' arms up to the crucifiers, offering himself to the Father in full sight of the crowd, is not designed primarily to produce pity in the heart of the reader."[228] I agree with

[227] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 334.
[228] Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 96.

McNamer's analysis; this is a triumphant Jesus, one who stands in contrast to the elaborate descriptions of torment in the text leading up to that point.

On the other hand, there is another version of the Crucifixion introduced in the same paragraph. As stated in the text of the long version of the MVC, it is intended for use by those people whom it "suits" better. In this version Christ is affixed to the cross on the ground, and then it is raised up: "…think how they take Him contemptuously, like the vilest wretch, and furiously cast Him onto the cross on the ground, taking His arms, violently extending them, and most cruelly fixing them to the cross. Similarly consider His feet, which they dragged down as violently as they could."[229] This sounds very much like the first 17 chapters of the text as well as those chapters leading to his Crucifixion, starting with chapter 71 in BnF ital. 115, which detailed his torment to such a great degree, encouraging compassionate responses from the reader. The issue with having these two versions of the crucifixion, as McNamer points out, is that they contradict each other in terms of the devotional responses each was intended to illicit.

The two versions of Christ's Crucifixion are not special, McNamer suggests, as they were circulating in art work at a similar time. What is unique is that they occur together in the same text, and that one seems to present such a different message from the rest of the affective passages on Christ's suffering. McNamer suggests that over the years scholars have ignored this part of the *Meditationes,* chalking their coexistence up to a flexibility from the initial author and his approaches to devotion. Yet, this assumption takes for granted that the long version was indeed the original. McNamer argues, however, that this is another indication that the long version of the text is not the original. This is convincing to me,

[229] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 334.

especially given the affective tone of much of the text described above. I believe that the triumphal Crucifixion scene, along with the 51 chapters on Christ's ministry, were additions made by a later author(s). They are additions to a text that was initially much more affective in nature, as it contained only those portions of the *Meditationes* that were highly emotional, and elicited an emotional response from the reader.

The *testo breve* only contains one version of the Crucifixion, the second, much more affective version, which occurs in chapter 24 of the text. This description of Christ's torment while being attached to the cross is similar to that of the second description in the long version of the *Meditationes*:

> And there, naked like this, he was brutally taken and stretched out on the cross, and then the nails were prepared. And then the soldiers take the right hand and place it over a hole in the cross, and then they place the nail over the hand and begin to hammer it in. And ah!, what great pain that was to the Lord Jesus! And know, too, that every blow of the hammer was a blow of the knife to his most sweet mother.[230]

This description flows with the overall affective tone of the *testo breve* –it is seamless. However not only does the *grosse* text contain these two conflicting Crucifixion descriptions, but it also contains the entire ministry of Christ, despite what is stated in chapter 18 as I described above. The remaining analysis is specific to ital. 115, and the *grosse* text of the MVC as the adult ministry of Christ does not occur in the *testo breve.*

[230] McNamer, *Meditations on the Life of Christ,* 141.

The Ministry of Christ

What proceeds from chapter 18 in the text of ital. 115, and all *grosse* versions for that matter, when the author explicitly states that he/she will only go over a few details from Christ's life, is a very long series of moments from the adult life and ministry of Christ. While reading ital. 115 for myself I noted the stark change in the text from the first 17 chapters to these middle chapters, until you get to the Passion. The middle portion sticks much more closely to the Gospel narrative and there is little that is imagined or elaborated on in the chapters on the ministry. The author certainly does not add people into stories where they are not in the Gospels (like Mary in the story of the Temptation), nor is there any attempt to elicit affective responses from the reader by jumping at any chance to describe Christ as suffering, as is done in the earlier portions of the text, or leading up to, and during, the Passion. Rather, a Gospel story is described in a very straightforward way, and is more often than not followed by a direct, practical message describing what message a reader should take from such a Gospel story.

The fact that the original author did not want to elaborate on all aspects of Christ life is not simply apparent in chapter 18 of BnF ital. 115. In chapter 8, for instance, the author pauses to mention that if the reader wishes to know more, he or she should read the gospels: "As I said at the beginning, in this and other events of the life of Christ, I intend to recount a few meditations according to imagined representations…"[231] The author admits the imaginative quality of the *Meditationes,* while also suggesting that a reader should supplement with the Gospels if more information is desired. This makes the inclusion of the

[231] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 49.

ministry of Christ quite confusing for this particular text, and points to the fact that the long version of the *Meditationes* is likely an augmented version of the original MVC.

In her analysis of the chapters dedicated to Christ's ministry, Sarah McNamer also mentions the lack of emotionality as one major difference between these and the other chapters. The author of these additions does not jump on opportunities to elaborate on moments that might have the potential to be particularly emotional. Additionally, McNamer elaborates on the fact that women are far less represented in the section on the ministry than during Christ's Infancy and Passion. However, I do not take this to be a sign of different gendered devotions at play. Rather, the author of this section was constructing a narrative that stuck closely to the Gospel stories, with the intention of teaching the reader biblical stories as they appear in the Gospels, much like the sermons of Maurice de Sully in BnF français 187. By sticking closely to the stories as they appear in the Gospels, they lack the same highly emotional tone as the imagined circumstances of the first 17 chapters, or those chapters on the Crucifixion. As for women, where the Gospel includes women, so too do the ministry chapters in the *Meditationes*. Women were not avoided in this section, they just were not written in where they do not occur in the Gospel narrative. Nor was any man written in, for that matter. Simply put, there is not the same extra-biblical component in the chapters dealing with the adult ministry as there is throughout the rest of the text.

Sarah McNamer acknowledges the didactic nature of this portion of the *Meditationes* herself. She states: "Instruction, in short, is the primary goal in the chapters on the public ministry. Scenes from the Gospels are here treated as opportunities for learning, rather than feeling."[232] When thought about in the context of the overall affective program of the

[232] McNamer "The Origins of the *Meditationes,"* 921.

Meditations, this does indeed seem highly unusual. However, if you think about this inclusion in the context of the growing scholarship on lay desire for, and access to, biblical material in the fourteenth century, it does not seem out of place. A redactor (or redactors) contributed to the overall story of Christ's life by adding the stories associated with his adult ministry. I do not believe this is based on anything gender-specific, but is rather intended for the education of all audiences and part of a larger trend emerging in the fourteenth century to learn the entirety of Christ's life.

This didactic turn in the *grosse text* comes after chapter 18, the very moment mentioned above when the author acknowledges that he or she will gloss over the remainder of Christ's life until the Passion. While the author still provides a spiritual message to the reader, it is not in nearly the same affective tone as in the early chapters, or during the Passion scenes. In chapter 22 (which does not exist in the *testo breve* version), for instance, during a retelling of the biblical story of the healing episodes of the centurion's servant and of the petty king's son, the author uses Christ's hesitation to heal the king's son, but not the centurion's servant, to explain to the reader that one should serve people for the sake of charity, and not because of a person's status: "Therefore we should not attend to people according to their appearance, or according to necessity or the excellence of him who needs the service, and not as a favor, but we must serve for the sake of charity."[233]

This message of charity is not new, but there is no elaboration on poverty, or the good nature of Christ in performing charitable acts. The author even points to the "humility" of Christ, for wanting to serve the centurion, but not the king. But there is absolutely nothing more said about it. Based on the earlier, emotional scenes mentioned in this chapter, we

[233] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 159.

might imagine that the author would elaborate on Christ's humility, perhaps emphasizing the fact that even he, son of God, served people. Or, that even *he,* king of kings, was *so* humble that he did not want to serve an earthly king. But, the text simply reads, "In these matters you can reflect on the merit of faith, in the case of the centurion, and on the humility of the Lord, who wished to go to the servant but avoided the pomp of Regulus."[234]

Christ Healing the Centurion's Servant, folio 87ro, page 157 in Ragusa and Green

Christ Healing the Son of the Petty King, folio 87vo, page 158 in Ragusa and Green

[234] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript* , 157.

While images of Christ's ministry are not colored in as the earlier images are, it is clear that the illustrator did not avoid artistic representations of the adult life of Christ. In fact, the illustrations in these chapters are often quite elaborate. They too, like the earlier scenes on the young life of Christ and Mary, tell the story as it is written in the text. In the above image Christ is shown healing the centurion's servant as well as the king's son. The centurion and his servant kneel before Christ, a likely sign of their deep reverence for him as demonstrated in the written text as well. The king's son is accompanied by knights and other men of elite status. In a following scene (not shown) the son is illustrated with his mother and father (both wearing crowns). While the artwork accurately represents the stories of the adult life of Chirst as they appear in the text, just as they do in his youth, the message is far less affective.

This sort of non-emotional, didactic message continues for many chapters. In chapter 23, on the healing of the paralytic lowered through the roof, the text sticks very closely to the Gospel narrative. The first paragraph retells the Gospel story, according to the Gospels of Matthew (9:2), Mark (2:9) and Luke (5:17), and the second paragraph explains what to meditate on. The three things to meditate on, according to this author, are: 1) how the blindness of the Jews was overcome in that moment, since they were able to see that Christ was God when he healed the paralytic; 2) that disease is caused by sin and; 3) that faith is a great value, because it benefits many people, not just one.[235] While the word meditation is used, there is no connection to the earlier meditations. The reader is not asked to put him or herself at the scene, or to imagine any extra-biblical events that may have occurred. In fact,

[235] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 161.

the three points draw on traditional exegetical themes. Additionally, suggesting that sin causes disease is more of a fear tactic, and not something intended to elicit compassionate responses from readers, or stir them to act charitably. While I do not think it is an odd analogy to make in religious literature, it does seem odd for this particular text, at least when thinking about the earlier, affective chapters.

The Paralytic Lowered Through the Roof, folio 88ro, page 159 in Ragusa and Green

While the messages of these stories are much more straightforward, the image cycles continue to portray the stories diligently, according to the text written. Once again, you can see the great detail that went into these illustrations. In the above depiction of the healing of the paralytic two scenes are depicted at once. Christ, on the left, is healing the paralytic who is also shown coming down through the roof (rope around his waist). The apostles stand before Christ, who is holding a book, and men work diligently above to lower the paralytic. All this happens as the onlookers, standing to the right, gaze devoutly at the scene.

Perhaps the most straightforward message among the stories from Christ's ministry is the message that comes from the story of the calming of the storm. This chapter, chapter twenty-five, lasts less than half a page. In very brief terms the author recounts the story as it is told in Matthew, Mark and Luke. Christ laid his head down to rest in a boat. While he slept a storm began to brew and the apostles grew anxious. They eventually woke Christ, who rebuked them for their "little faith." [236] At the end of the narrative the author's instruction to the readers associated with this story is as follows:

> Observe him in these deeds and consider them according to the general rule or instruction given to you above. Here you may meditate that when it appears to us that the lord is asleep in regard to us and our actions, especially when we are in anxiety, he is nevertheless most solicitous in His care of us; and therefore we must be constant and strong in our faith and not doubt in anything.[237]

The message to remain faithful, even in turbulent times, is not a new message in the *Meditationes.* It comes up, for instance, in the story of Joseph's concern that Mary cheated on him, which I described earlier. Yet that story elaborates on the pain of both Joseph and Mary. They remained faithful to one another and to God despite all the sorrow they both felt. However, the author does not elaborate on any pain or concern that the apostles had here, nor does the author choose to elaborate on the pain the Apostles may have caused Christ by not having great faith in him. That lack of faith seems like a perfect opportunity to elaborate on imagined feelings, especially when those imagined feelings can help highlight a moment of Christ's suffering.

[236] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 163.
[237] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 163-164.

Christ Stilling the Storm: Christ Asleep, folio 90vo, page 164 in Ragusa and Green

Christ Stilling the Storm: Christ Awake, folio 90vo, page 164 in Ragusa and Green

There seems to me one other portion of this story that the author would have elaborated on, had it been the same author as the earlier portions of the *Meditationes*. The text briefly mentions that Christ "laid himself to sleep, resting his head on a wooden bolster, for he had often stayed awake all night to pray and exhausted himself in preaching by day."[238] This seems like the perfect opportunity to focus on the suffering of Christ in order to

[238] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 163.

elicit compassion from an audience. The fact that Christ, Son of God, lay his head to sleep on wood because he was *so* exhausted, is an opportunity to demonstrate his suffering. In fact, in an earlier scene, before the ministry of Christ, the author uses the fact that Christ slept in a small bed, in a small room, to demonstrate his poverty and suffering. In chapter 16, an extra-biblical description of what Christ did from his 12th through 13th years, the author explains that Jesus, Mary and Joseph lived in a small house and slept in three beds all in the same room:

> Reflect on the three beds in one small room, as humble and simple as that of any poor man of the people, and see the Lord Jesus on one of them every evening after praying for such a long time and so persistently. Every evening you should see him thus. O hidden Lord, why did you thus afflict your delicate and innocent body? Surely the pilgrimage of one night should suffice for the redemption of the whole world, but your immeasurable love compelled you to do this. You were deeply inflamed for the lost sheep and wished to carry it on your shoulders to celestial pasture.[239]

Not only did they sleep in small beds, but the author uses this as an opportunity to elaborate on the suffering of Christ, which he brought upon himself because of his love for mankind. The fact that he laid his head down on a boat due to exhaustion seems like an equal opportunity to elaborate on the suffering he endured, but the author does not reflect on that aspect of the story.

This unemotional, didactic tone continues throughout the chapters in the *grosse* text that deal with Christ's adult ministry. In chapter 33, for instance, *Of the Man with the Withered Hand Healed by the Lord,* a story that takes place in three of the Gospels: Matthew

[239] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 103.

12:9, Mark 3:1 and Luke 6:6, the author very briefly describes the incident in which Christ healed a man's hand inside the temple on Sabbath. While he was questioned for doing works on the Sabbath, he nevertheless persisted (according to the *Meditationes* this was in order to "confound the Jews"). Once again, after a very straightforward retelling of the story as presented in the Gospels, the author provides a message, which is not an emotional one. Rather, the story is an opportunity to teach the Christian reader a lesson:

> Thus one should not refrain from good deeds of charity on the Sabbath but from sin and base action…Reflect on him in this work and follow his example in not ceasing from good deeds even if others raise unjust scandal. You must not cease from the good deed that is necessary to save the soul or encourage the growth of the spirit, regardless of scandal from anyone.[240]

This chapter is extremely short, and there is no elaboration provided beyond the above lesson. The author uses a story from Christ's life to teach a Christian how to behave, rather than teach him or her how or what to feel. It is very clear that these chapters provide practical advice about living in the world rather than about imagined scenarios in the lives of Christ or Mary.

However, it is not as if there was no opportunity for affectivity. Again, this is a chapter in which the author had every opportunity to turn the story into an affective meditation. In all three versions of this event as told in the Gospels, the story ends with the men leaving the temple in anger and conspiring against Jesus about how to destroy him. This key information is nowhere to be found in the *Meditationes,* even though it is yet another perfect opportunity to imagine the suffering Christ endured. The author might have

[240] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 194.

encouraged the reader to imagine how the other men conspired against him, the brutality in that conspiracy, and of what was to come in Christ's future. Yet, this is clearly not the intended message of these chapters of the *Meditationes,* and the author sets up no such emotional stage.

While there are so many didactic messages throughout these nearly 50 chapters on the ministry, it is difficult to find overall patterns. Whereas the first 17 chapters focus on humility, charity and poverty, and especially on feeling emotions toward Mary and Christ for exhibiting humility, acting charitably, and being impoverished, the ministry chapters do not reiterate these messages. While charity and poverty are certainly mentioned as important aspects of the Christian life, the author points to a number of different lessons that are important for the individual Christian to learn. Throughout these chapters the author mentions good deeds, the fact that strong faith is good, sins (and sin as a disease), that one should not fall back into sin after being healed, that a lack of patience is shameful, that one should steer clear of honor, that one should stick to the word of God, that giving up temporal things in this life leads to rewards in the next (poverty, in so many words), that one should avoid gluttony, that abstinence is good, and many, many more lessons. These chapters are not filled with imagined scenarios to reflect on, but practical lessons to carry into daily life.

Nevertheless, despite the strong didactic nature of these chapters, there are a few brief moments of attempted affectivity in the ministry section, as well as a couple of episodes where Mary is mentioned when she is not otherwise part of the Gospel story. For example, in chapter 34, *Of the Multiplication of the Bread,* which is meant to cover both instances in the Bible in which Christ multiplied bread, the author very briefly states that Christ multiplied

loaves to feed many people.[241] Then the author lists three things to consider in regards to the story: the mercy of God for helping people, the fact that the "Lord loves those who follow his commandments," and the need to consider his judgment and discernment.[242] The author does say to watch the people who have received the bread as they marvel at the miracle Christ performed, but there is no emotional tone as exists in the early chapters, nor is there any extra-biblical information added beyond the lessons to consider.

Then, however, the author comes to the final sentence of the chapter, which reads: "Was not our lady present to give the loaves freely to the women and to enjoy their refreshments? Scripture does not speak of this, but you should meditate as God gives you to do." [243] As demonstrated in my analysis of the first 17 chapters of ital. 115, it is not odd to place Mary into a scene where she does not otherwise exist. However, it is rare in the section on the ministry. Additionally, it seems quite odd in the context of this chapter. It is almost as if the final sentence is an afterthought. Perhaps it was even a way for the author to attempt some sort of continuity between these chapters and the original chapters of the text, because Mary is depicted here, as in the Infancy narrative chapters, as a model of service and charity towards others. But it does not seem likely, even with the addition of Mary to this chapter, that it was written by the same author as the one who wrote the highly affective chapters on Christ's young life and Passion.

Finally, there is one more chapter that is particularly unique in the context of the adult ministry of Christ. Chapter 20 in BnF ital. 115 (which does not exist in the *testo breve*

[241] The feeding of the 5,000: Matt 14:13-21; Mark 6:31-44; Luke 9;12-17; John 6:1-14. The feeding of the 4,000: Matt 15: 32-39; Mark 8: 1-9
[242] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 194, folio 105 in ms ital. 115.
[243] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 194, folio 105 in ms ital. 115.

version), *Of the Holy Miracle at the Marriage; Of the Water Converted into Wine*, is technically a part of the ministry section in the *grosse* version of the *Meditationes*. Yet, it is not as straightforward and didactic as the other chapters in this section tend to be, nor is at as affective as the first 17 chapters. In this chapter, which deals with the marriage at Cana (John 2:1), the author seems concerned with explaining varying aspects of the Gospel story, as is the case in the more didactic, ministry section. But the author also encouraged meditations on Christ and his mother, and there is particular attention given to Mary and her exact involvement in this scene. For instance, the author mentions Mary's presence in the actual Gospel story. Then, for nearly half a page, the author discusses in what capacity she was there (all extra-biblical, presumed scenarios)—she was there several days in advance to prepare the table and food, and since she noticed a lack of wine during the dinner she must have been a person "through whose hands things passed" (i.e. someone in charge), but she wouldn't have sat at the table, because: "would not the mother have felt shame at being by the side of her Son among men?" It is clear the author felt some anxiety about establishing the degree to which Mary was present since the Gospel only briefly mentions that Mary was there.

The anxiety of the author is also revealed when the Virgin approaches her son to inform him that the wine has run out. According to the Gospel of John, and appropriately retold in Chapter 20 of ital. 115, Christ responds, "what is it to you or to me, woman?"[244] The author must make sense of a seemingly harsh response to Mary, and does so by offering one of the first extremely long quotes by Saint Bernard. For nearly a page the author quotes Bernard, who suggests that Christ responded this way to show people that they should not

[244] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 145.

"'be more concerned for those close to us by blood than religion requires…'"[245] This is all that is said on the matter—the author does not elaborate on the words of Bernard, but simply quotes them and leaves them there for the reader to interpret. What follows is the more straightforward, didactic message: Christ was at the marriage, which shows that he approved carnal marriage, but spiritual marriage is still more praiseworthy. Then the author recounts that Christ, his mother and the apostles went to Capernaum and then Nazareth. The very end of the chapter, after pages of seeming anxiety about Mary's role in the marriage feast, Christ's words toward her, the very lengthy explanation of such a thing by Bernard, and the didactic message behind the marriage feast, the author adds the affective note: "Watch them as they walk together on the road, the loving mother and the son both going humbly on foot. What companions these are! Never was the like of these two seen on Earth."[246] This chapter combines all elements of the longer text: the story according to the Gospel, imagined scenarios in addition to the Gospel story, a didactic message, quotes from Bernard and affectivity. It is a very transitional chapter, from the early affective moments of Christ's life, to his adult ministry. It is also a chapter that demonstrates the ways in which an author combined various elements of piety and instruction in the long version of the MVC.

Close analysis of BnF ital. 115 reveals the disjointed compilation of material that makes up the long version of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi.* Sarah McNamer's observation that the short, succinct and thematically sound *testo breve* is the original version of the MVC is astute, especially in light of the disjuncture of the long versions. However, the addition of the ministry section of Christ's life fits into a growing trend in Christian piety to understand the entire life of Christ. The compilation of the amore affective moments of his life with the

[245] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 146.
[246] Ragusa, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript,* 150-151.

adult ministry makes sense when contextualized among other manuscript compilations of New Testament material, like those that contain the sermons of Maurice de Sully.

Chapter V.
The Sermons in Print

While the devotional trend found in the sermons of Maurice de Sully was born in the twelfth century when he wrote them, and was beautifully highlighted by an elaborate narrative image cycle that enforced the devotional trend in the fourteenth century, the sermons, and the devotion they inspired, continued to have a lasting impact on the way lay men and women understood the New Testament and the moral teachings of the Church well into the sixteenth century. In 1484 in Chambéry, nearly three hundred years after they were first written and one hundred and fifty years after MS français 187 was created, Antoine Neyret printed the sermons of Maurice de Sully in the vernacular for the first time, as far as extant documents reveal. After that point the sermon collection was reprinted at least eighteen times in various locations throughout France and by different printers. In total, there are nineteen printed editions of the sermons of Maurice de Sully that survive today.[247] The sermons were printed one time each in Chambéry (1484) and in Chablis (1489), eleven times in Lyon (1490, 1492, 1492, c.1493, 1495, sometime between 1496-1500, c. 1500, c.1500, 1501, 1515, 1521 and once where no date is known), four times in Paris (1492, 1530, 1535 & 1553), and there is one early printed edition without a date or known printing location.[248]

The fact that the sermons were printed at all is a testament to their continued popularity into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Printing was a competitive business, and those involved wanted to make a profit from the products they put on the market. Thus, they

[247] Since I first started researching the printed editions of the sermons in 2015, four editions of Maurice de Sully's sermons have been added to the Universal Short Title Catalogue. It is possible that more editions will be found and added in the years to come.
[248] Universal Short Title Catalogue. Last accessed in 2019: https://www.ustc.ac.uk/explore?keywords=Maurice%20de%20Sully%20&author=&title=&imprint=&printer=&place=&format=&country=&subject=&language=&citation=&date=&fqAt=&fqPr=&fqPl=&fqLg=&fqFr=&fqSb=&fqCn=&fqDg=&st=&page=1

chose to print material that they thought would sell.[249] The fact that the sermons were printed in at least an astounding nineteen different editions over sixty-nine years is a testament to their popularity.

Beyond the potential financial risks of printing a text, scholars such as Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin also note the very costly addition of woodcut images to early prints. Because of this added cost, the addition of woodcut images to printed material reflects an even greater degree of popularity for that particular text.[250] Thus, perhaps even more telling of the popularity of the sermons is the fact that at least half of the printed editions were published with woodcut images –three of those printed editions from 1484, 1489 and 1500, all digitized on Gallica via the Bibliothèque nationale de France, contain rather elaborate narrative cycles.[251]

In fact, those three editions contain narrative woodcut illustrations that highlight the same sermons as many of the illuminations found in manuscript BnF français 187, including the sermons focused on the miracles and parables of Christ.[252] In this chapter I will focus on the very first printed edition to see how the image cycle compares to that of manuscript BnF français 187. A comparison of the manuscript with the printed work reveals that the 1484 edition created by Antoine Neyret in Chambéry actually aligns with BnF français 187 a

[249] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London: Verso, 1976), 109.
[250] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book,* 112.
[251] For a chart of all printed editions see **Appendix III**
[252] I have investigated all three printed editions in person at the BnF. They are likewise digitized in full on Gallica: https://gallica.bnf.fr/services/engine/search/sru?operation=searchRetrieve&version=1.2&startRecord=0&maximumRecords=15&page=1&query=%28%28dc.creator%20all%20%22Maurice%20de%20Sully%22%20or%20dc.contributor%20all%20%22Maurice%20de%20Sully%22%29%29&filter=dc.type%20all%20%22monographie%22

striking number of times, indicating that a similar trend in devotion continued into the late-fifteenth century.

As stated in chapter 3, there are forty-six illuminations associated with the sermons of Maurice de Sully in MS français 187. Likewise, there are forty-six woodcuts in the 1484 Chambery printed edition of the sermons. Of those forty-six images, thirty-four images represent the same sermons in both manuscript and print. While not all images in the 1484 edition resemble those of MS 187 closely, many do portray the scenes in very similar ways; subsequent editions after 1484 reveal a similar pattern.

Just as the images in MS français 187 encouraged knowledge of the adult life of Christ and proper action on behalf of the Christian life including avoidance of sin, good works and active participation in the Church's sacraments, so to do the woodcut images in the printed version. I argue that, like the illuminations in BnF français 187, the woodcut images contributed to a form of piety focused on the ministry of Christ and the active moral reform of Christians, as opposed to highly emotive and affective responses to Christ's suffering.

I cannot definitively prove that Antoine Neyret (or other printers after him) was aware of the fourteenth-century manuscript and its illumination cycle, but it was not unusual for printers to use manuscript sources for inspiration in their printed material.[253] Regardless of Neyret's inspiration for the woodcuts, though, he made a conscious decision to print images highlighting the aspects of Sully's sermons that reminded the reader of his or her duties as a Christian, just as the illuminations in BnF français 187 did. In fact, I argue that in some cases the woodcut images associated with the printed sermons encouraged this piety

[253] Kristian Jensen, "Printing the Bible in the Fifteenth century", in *Incunabula and their Readers: Printing Selling and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century,* ed. Kristian Jensen (London: The British Library, 2003), 119.

even more strongly than did the illuminations in the manuscript. In many cases Christ has been added into various scenes in which he does not appear in the illuminations, thereby reminding a viewer of Jesus's continued presence in his or her life, and serving as a direct example for proper moral behavior using the adult life of Christ. There are also several sermons that are highlighted with woodcut illustrations that are not accompanied by illuminations in the fourteenth-century manuscript; those sermons also encourage very specific behaviors among Christians. Thus, Neyret's choice of woodcuts in the late-fifteenth century also highlights the teaching potential of Sully's sermons in regards to the life of Christ according to the New Testament Gospels, just as manuscript BnF français 187 did in the fourteenth-century.

The fact that Antoine Neyret and other printers after him chose to print these sermons with a woodcut image cycle representing a trend in active piety with a focus on Christ's ministry indicates a continued degree of popularity for those aspects of Catholic piety into the sixteenth century—the woodcuts were not simply an artistic addition to the sermons. Rather, their inclusion demonstrates a conscious decision to incorporate images that would appeal to a wide audience, thereby increasing the potential number of book purchasers.

By the time printing emerged in the fifteenth century, the reproduction of popular religious images was already an established practice by means of block printing. These block prints date back to the late fourteenth century in Western Europe, and were used to reproduce popular religious images for the lay public.[254] Eventually block prints developed to include text in both Latin and the vernacular. One such text was the *Biblia Pauperum*, a blockbook

[254] Febvre, *The Coming of the Book,* 46

that was entirely biblical in nature.[255] This biblical book contained short passages from the Old Testament, and images representing both the Old and New Testaments. The entirety of each page expressed the way in which the New Testament was a fulfilment of the Old, and reinforced important Church doctrine such as the Trinity, the nature of Christ and the Virgin birth.[256] It absolutely served as an instructional text for lay men and women and is an example of the way in which early forms of book media served a lay public's interest in the Bible. Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin also suggest that in the case of these picture books, if a lay man or woman could not read, they grasped important information via the series of images associated with the text. The woodcut images in versions of the *Biblia Pauperum* tend to focus on more affective moments in the life of Christ, including the Infancy and Passion. However, the existence of such a heavily illustrated biblical text demonstrates the lay desire for images of Christ's life in the immediate years leading up to the printing of Maurice de Sully's sermons, and also demonstrates that images aided in lay understanding of Biblical material.

While the woodcuts associated with the sermons of Sully are quite different from the New Testament scenes represented in the *Biblia Pauperum*, there are other biblical texts that contain image cycles that resemble those found in Sully's printed sermons more closely. The first complete printed edition of the Bible translated into Italian was by Nicolo Malermi in 1471.[257] Several years later, in 1490, the Malermi Bible was printed by Lucantonio Giunti featuring an extensive woodcut cycle including a rather large number of printed images

[255] *The Bible of the Poor,* trans. and commentary by Albert C. Labriola and John W. Smeltz (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1990), 5.
[256] *The Bible of the Poor,*. Labriola and Smeltz, 5.
[257] Corbellini, "Reading, Writing, and Collecting," 192.

concerning the adult ministry of Christ.[258] In total the 1490 Italian Bible print features 386 woodcuts (210 in the Old Testament and 176 in the New). Among the New Testament woodcuts there are sixteen images of Jesus' miracles, including: the healing of a leper, healing of the centurion's son, healing of the daughter of a Canaanite woman, healing of a paralytic (x2), the resurrection of the daughter of Jarius, healing of a blind man, the resurrection of the son of a widow in Nain, healing of a demon in the region of Gerseus, healing of a humped woman, healing of a dropsy, healing of ten lepers, the wedding feast at Cana, healing of the sick at the pool of Bethsaida, the multiplication of bread and the healing of a blind person from birth. While the entire image cycle represents moments from throughout Christ's life, there is a definite effort to exemplify his miracles.[259]

The representation of miracle imagery in the 1490 Malermi Bible is of course similar to the printed editions of Maurice de Sully's sermons. As demonstrated in earlier chapters, Maurice de Sully's sermons served as a teaching aid for Gospel material; therefore it is not surprising that many of the scenes depicted with woodcut images in the printed sermons are also found in a heavily illustrated printed vernacular Bible from a similar time—both texts were intended to reveal biblical events to a viewer. The place where the sermon illustration cycle remains unique, however, is in its depiction of parable images. While the 1490 Malermi Bible demonstrates a clear interest in the miracle scenes, it only contains two images of Christ's parables: the parable of the prodigal son and the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (10 parables are illuminated in MS français 187 and 11 are illustrated in the

[258] Lilian Armstrong, "The Hand Illumination of Venetian Bibles in the Incunable Period" in *Incunabula and their Readers* (London: The British Library, 2003), 85.
[259] For more information on early Italian Bibles, including the Malermi Bible, see: Lillian Armstrong, "Venetian and Florentine Renaissance Woodcuts for Bibles, Liturgical Books, and Devotional Books." In: *A Heavenly Craft: The Woodcut in Early Printed Books* (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 2004). Likewise, the images of the 1490 Italian Bible can be found online: http://bibbia.filosofia.sns.it/bbTextsArea_bibbia.php

1484 printed edition). Moreover, what is also unique about the illustrated life of the 1484 French printed edition of the sermons of Sully (and at least the 1489 and 1501 printed editions with narrative woodcut illustrations, as well), beyond the inclusion of the parable scenes, is the fact that it can be traced back to the fourteenth century in manuscript BnF français 187. Thus, this visual focus on the adult ministry of Christ in the earliest printed editions of Sully's vernacular sermons cannot be taken as a fifteenth-and-sixteenth century movement away from the more emotive themes in the life of Christ. Rather, it is a continuation of a trend that began with BnF ms. français 187.

Eamon Duffy made a similar point about early printed editions of books of hours, which however, represented a different form of Catholic devotion: he asserts that books of hours did not become any less pious, nor did they seem to respond to any sort of anticipation of the Reformation. He says, "Indeed if anything they were becoming more, not less, Catholic – more sacramental, more churchly..." [260] The images continued to depict the scourged Christ, Man of Sorrows, or entire Passion narratives. Additionally, printing brought the cost of books of hours down, making the prayers and images in them more available to a wider audience than ever before. While his analysis is particular to England, the research demonstrates that lay men and women borrowed from a variety of pious sources for their devotional tools even leading up to the Reformation.

Jeffrey Hamburger also highlights the degree to which printed images elicited affective devotional responses. He compares a number of hand-painted images appearing in prayer books to those of printed woodcuts, and describes the ways in which the woodcuts influenced the drawings, which were intended to aid in affective devotions. He says, "Far

[260] Eamon Duffy *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240-1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006) 121.

from being a reproductive medium, prints proved profoundly original and had an immediate impact on the illustration of prayer books..."[261] The indication is that printed images served as aids to the religious, especially nuns, who wished to depict similar images for devotional purposes. In the age of printing, powerful religious images did not lose their emotive force.

While many books of hours maintained an emphasis on the more affective elements of Christ's life, the Nativity and Passion, and woodcuts continued to inspire emotive images, the woodcut image cycle associated with the sermons of Maurice de Sully continued to promote confession, penance and a sense of proper action and ministry by way of focusing on the adult life and teachings of Christ, as they had before print. This suggests that, just as I argue is the case in the earlier manuscript period, a wide palate for devotional expression existed in the age of print. There was a desire for the affective, as well as a desire for biblical knowledge and an encouragement for active, rather than passive, involvement in religious life.

In order to highlight the profound, continued popularity of Maurice de Sully's sermons into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is important to look at some of the most influential and popular medieval texts, as well as the sermons of the great contemporary preachers, in the age of print. A search in the Universal Short Title Catalogue for the extremely popular medieval text explored in the previous chapter, the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, reveals nineteen printed editions of this text between c. 1480 and c. 1526.[262] Likewise, a search for Peter Comestor's popular Biblical work, the *Historia Scholastica,*

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[261] Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "'In gebeden Vnd in bilden geschriben': Prints as Exemplars of Piety and the Culture of the Copy in Fifteenth-Century Germany" In: *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 169.

[262] Universal Short Title Catalogue: https://www.ustc.ac.uk/explore?keywords=Meditationes%20Vitae%20Christi%20&author=&title=&imprint=&printer=&place=&format=&country=&subject=&language=&citation=&date=&fqAt=&fqPr=&fqPl=&fqLg=&fqFr=&fqSb=&fqCn=&fqDg=&st=&page=1

which I discussed in chapter 1, reveals that it was printed in twenty-one editions between 1473 and 1543.[263] As mentioned before, the sermons of Maurice de Sully were printed in at least nineteen French editions—a number that rivals the early printed editions of these two extremely popular medieval texts. It is also important to note that the two texts I have compared here are quite different in terms of devotion: the *Meditationes* is affective and contained extra-biblical information while the *Historia Scholastica* was used for education on biblical content, once again demonstrating the breadth of devotional expression into the age of print.

When compared to the most influential sermon writers of the medieval period, the printed work of Maurice de Sully surpasses theirs in great numbers. Thomas of Chobham, a contemporary theologian whom I mentioned in chapter one for his opposition to some of Maurice de Sully's financial dealings as Bishop of Paris, is known for his work *Summa Confessorum*. The *Summa* offers information on practical matters for priests and is noted by John Baldwin for its particular popularity due to a number of manuscript copies and a mere two printed editions from 1485 and 1486.[264] A search for Chobam's work in the Short Title Catalogue reveals that there were only two early printed editions of the work. Research into the printed sermons of Jacques de Vitry reveals a similarly small number of printed editions;

[263] Universal Short Title Catalogue: https://www.ustc.ac.uk/explore?keywords=Historia%20Scholastica&author=&title=&imprint=&printer=&place=&format=&country=&subject=&language=&citation=&date=&fqAt=&fqPr=&fqPl=&fqLg=&fqFr=&fqSb=&fqCn=&fqDg=&st=&page=1

[264] The printed editions mentioned are listed in John Baldwin's book, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter & His Circle,* 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970), 2:26 n. 216. These two volumes are also listed on the Universal Short Title Catalogue: https://www.ustc.ac.uk/explore?keywords=&author=&title=&imprint=&printer=&place=&format=&country=&subject=&language=&citation=&date=&fqAt=Thomas%20de%20Chobham&fqPr=&fqPl=&fqLg=&fqFr=&fqSb=&fqCn=&fqDg=&st=&page=1

the Short Title Catalogue lists two printed editions of the *Sermones in Epistolas* (c. 1577 and 1578) and no editions of his ad status sermons.[265]

Undoubtedly, the nineteen extant printed editions of Sully's sermons are evidence of the popularity and influence of his model collection. However, it is hard to assess how many physical copies of Sully's sermons were actually printed per each edition. Some scholars such as Judy Bernstein suggest that a popular book might have been printed 2,000 to 3,000 times per edition.[266] However, other scholars such as Virginia Reinburg, who examines books of hours printed in France during the late fourteenth through early sixteenth centuries, suggests the number of printed texts per edition may be much lower. A conservative estimate is closer to 300 copies per edition.[267] Nevertheless, 300 copies per edition is a large number. By this more conservative assessment, between the three editions of Maurice de Sully's sermons containing the extensive woodcut illustrations, some 900 copies may have been in circulation at one point in time. Additionally, if all nineteen printed editions are considered using this conservative estimate, then somewhere around 5,700 printed sermons of Maurice de Sully may have been in circulation by the mid-sixteenth century.

The 1484 printed edition of Sully's sermons does not contain all of the sermons from the model collection, nor all the sermons in BnF français 187, though it does contain a large number of them. The copy of this particular edition, which I have worked with both in person and via the digitized copy, now located at the Bibliothèque nationale, is missing a frontispiece and four leaves. While I know the frontispiece contained a full-page woodcut

[265] Universal Short Title Catalogue: https://www.ustc.ac.uk/explore?keywords=Jacques%20de%20Vitry&author=&title=&imprint=&printer=&place=&format=&country=&subject=&language=&citation=&date=&fqAt=Jacques%20de%20Vitry&fqPr=&fqPl=&fqLg=&fqFr=&fqSb=&fqCn=&fqDg=&st=&page=1

[266] Bernstein, *Print Culture,* 11.

[267] Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, C. 1400-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 38.

image of the Crucifixion, it is difficult to say with certainty what sermons were included in the additional four missing leaves.[268] C.A. Robson includes some brief information on the printed editions of the sermons that were known about at the time of his publication in 1952 –six in total. He asserts that all of the printed editions (one of which is indeed the 1484 print) contain sermons **47-51, 1-8,** a sermon for Ash Wedensday, **9-21,** a sermon for the Sunday after Ascension, **22, 52, 23-46, 53-57,** a sermon on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, **59,** *sermo pro deffunctis,* **61, 62, 64,** *sermo ad convivium,* and *sermo ad novam missam* (sixty-five sermons in total).[269] In its current condition, the 1484 copy at the Bibliothèque nationale contains a total of sixty sermons, and I believe my own reading of the text only diverges from C.A. Robson's because of the missing leaves. As it stands, the BnF's copy of Maurice's work contains sermons **47-49**, **1-8,** a sermon for Ash Wednesday, **9-21,** a sermon for the Sunday after Ascension, **22, 52, 24-25, 23, 26-46, 53-57,** a sermon on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, **59,** *sermo pro deffunctis,* **61, 63** and *sermo ad convivium.* The five sermons that Robson lists and that I did not find in this edition are very possibly on the four missing leaves.

Regardless of the sermons not found in the BnF copy of this particular edition due to missing leaves, the first three sermons usually associated with Sully's collection are not included in any of the printed editions: the synodal sermon with instruction on Penance, The Creed and the Lord's Prayer. These are indeed very important sermons within Sully's model collection, especially in terms of lay education on Church doctrine. Nevertheless, the

[268] There are only two known copies of the 1484 edition in existence, one at the Bibliothèque nationale and the other at the British Library. In 2016 I contacted the Rare Books department at the British Library and they were able to confirm that their copy of the 1484 printed work does indeed contain the full-page crucifixion woodcut on the frontispiece.
[269] C.A. Robson, *Maurice de Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily: With the Texts of Maurice's French Homilies From a Sens Cathedral Chapter MS.* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), 74.

sermons that are included, as well as their accompanying woodcut images still reflect the didactic nature of the overall sermon collection. The woodcuts highlight the adult life of Christ according to the Gospels, and in doing so they reinforce proper, moral behavior between Christians via the parables and miracles depicted.

There are eleven parable scenes represented in the 1484 edition, including: the parable of the laborers in the vineyard, the parable of the sower, the parable of the good pastor, the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, the parable of the wedding nuptials, the parables of the lost sheep, the parable of the unjust steward, the parable of the Pharisee and the publican, the parable of the good Samaritan, the parable of the wedding feast and the parable of the unforgiving debtor. There is also one sermon highlighted with a woodcut image that contains a brief reference to another parable: sermon **20** references the parable of the friend at midnight. In addition to these several parable scenes, there are thirteen miracle scenes represented with woodcuts in the 1484 edition. Those include: the wedding at Cana, the healing of a leper, the calming of the storm, the healing of the Canaanite woman, the healing of the demon-possessed mute, the multiplication of bread, the healing of a deaf mute, the healing of ten lepers, the resurrection of the son of a widow from Nain, the healing of a man with dropsy, the healing of a paralytic, the healing of the ruler's son and the healing of the woman with the issue of blood.

The illustrated emphasis on the miracles and parables is very similar to BnF français 187. However, there are some discrepancies between the print and the manuscript in regards to the depictions of miracles and parables. In all cases, however, the discrepancies demonstrate that the printed work only enhanced the trend in piety found in français 187. For instance, all miracles depicted in the manuscript are also depicted with woodcut images in

the first printed edition. Furthermore, there is an additional miracle scene represented in the 1484 edition that does not appear in the manuscript: the healing of the woman with the issue of blood.

As I discussed in chapter one, Sully used the healing miracles of Christ to demonstrate various sins and the ways in which Christians should avoid those sins, go to confession and generally, to engage in proper moral behavior. His use of this healing story in sermon **46** is no different. He suggests that the woman with the issue of blood represents the soul in sin: "Good people, this woman signifies the soul in sin of debauchery, fornication and of other manners of bodily pleasures," and warns listeners not to fall into these sins.[270] The associated image is not a repeat within the image cycle. The woodcut clearly depicts a woman kneeling behind Christ, reaching toward his garment just as the biblical story relays in Matthew 9:22. This verse is also paraphrased in Sully's sermon: "a woman came who had been sick with the flow of her blood for twelve years, and she had belief in her heart, that if she could only touch the robe of Our Lord, she would be healed. She came behind him, she touched the fringes of his robe, and Our Lord turned toward her and said: 'Woman, he said, have faith, you are saved by your faith…'"[271] Thus it seems the image, while perhaps not specifically made for this edition, was specifically chosen for this edition to represent the sermon and its intended message.

[270] Robson, Sermon 46, line 14, 169: '*Bone gens, ceste feme senefie l'ame qui est en pechié de luxure, de fornication u d'autre maniere de delit de la char*…'

[271] Robson, Sermon 46, line 8, 169: 'si vint une feme qui avoit esté malade del fuln de son sanc .xii. ans, si avoit creance en son cuer, que s'ele poïst la vesteure Nostre Segnor atochier solement, qu'ele garroit. Si vint deriers lui, si atocha les fringes de son vestiment; e Nostre Sire se torn avers li e si li dist: 'Fille,' dist il, 'aiés fiance, ta fois t'a fait sauve' …'

The Healing of the Woman with an Issue of Blood, page 55v

Like the miracle scenes, the 1484 printed edition contains images of all parables found in manuscript BnF 187 plus one additional parable not depicted in the manuscript: the parable of the lost sheep (Luke 15: 1-8). In this parable story, one sheep out of a group of one hundred sheep, is lost. Christ describes the shepherd leaving the ninety-nine to find the one lost sheep, and the joy that comes once that lost sheep is found. This is likened to the joy of saving one lost soul. Maurice de Sully paraphrases this parable, and thus the woodcut that represents it (Christ carrying a sheep on his shoulders) is a very close depiction of the written word of the sermon and the Gospel story.


The Parable of the Lost Sheep, page 34r

Beyond the addition of a parable illustration, the 1484 print differs from the manuscript depictions of parables because in many cases Christ has been inserted into the scene. It is as if in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the intention was not only to remind the viewer of the parable story, but also to reiterate that it was Christ who told the stories in the first place. The insertion of Christ into the images served as a further reminder to behave properly—it demonstrated his continued presence in the world and also the fact that the stories expressed via the parables were his word, and that they had a specific moral message. In the images for both the parable of the worker in the vineyard and the parable of the sower, the addition of Christ is very clear:

The Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard (Matt 20: 1-16), Sermon **6**:

BnF français 187, folio 7

1484 edition, page 8r

The Parable of the Sower (Matt 13: 1-23, Mark 4: 1-20, Luke 8: 4-15), Sermon **7**:

BnF français 187, folio 8

1484 edition, page 9v

In the manuscript illuminations the parables are represented as stand-alone images. In the woodcut images, Christ stands towards the middle of the image, speaking to a disciple on the right side of the frame; the story that Christ recounts is depicted on the left half of the frame. In the printed image depicting the first of the two parables, Christ observes the vineyard worker; in the second printed image, he holds up his right hand in a gesture of blessing.

Another interesting example of the difference in parable illustrations between BnF ms. Français 187 and the 1484 edition is in the images for the parable of the good pastor. In the manuscript edition there is an illumination of a pastor with sheep around him—a pastor who is very clearly not Christ. In the printed edition, however, Christ is represented as the pastor, and his listeners, his own flock, have replaced the sheep. Of course, Christ calls himself the good pastor so the depiction of him as such is not striking.

Parable of the Good Shepherd (John 10: 11-12) Sermon **17**:

BnF français 187, folio 14

1484 edition, page 23v

However, the use of Christ as the pastor actually highlights the importance of the sermon much more clearly. Throughout Maurice de Sully's sermon on the good pastor he suggests to listeners that the parable is a reminder of all the great things Christ does for his followers, and of his great love for them: "… we know how God loves us, and how he does great things for us; how he suffered death for our ransom from the pains of fire, and to delivered us from the jaws of the Devil…"[272] Sully closes his sermon by telling Christians to obey God, who

[272] Robson, sermon 17, line13: *...com Deus nos ama, e com li fist grant cose por nos; quar il soffri mort por nos raembre des paines d'infer, e por nos delivrer de la gole al leu, c'est de la gole al diable…*

gave his life for them.[273] Thus, the use of an image that represents Christ as the good pastor actually portrays the parable more clearly, and demonstrates the focus of Sully's own words more clearly as well. Overall, the insertion of Christ into many of the scenes definitely reinforces the notion that he is present in the life of Christians, and also that these stories, which demonstrate how to behave properly, are his own words.

There are also several sermons represented with woodcut illustrations that are not represented with illuminations in BnF français 187. All of these sermons contain very specific references to lessons from Jesus according to the Gospels, and all are focused on behavior –the behavior of the individual, but especially proper interaction between Christians. These six sermons are: **20** ('If you shall ask anything of the Father in my name,' John 16: 23), **26** ('Be ye merciful…Judge not,' Luke 6: 36-37), **28** ('Unless your justice exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees,' Matt 5:20), **30** ('Beware of false prophets,' Matt 7:15), **37** ('No man can serve two masters…consider the lilies of the fields' Matt 7: 24), and **40** ('Love the Lord thy God… and thy neighbor as thyself,' Matt 22:35-40).

In sermon **20,** Sully paraphrases Luke 11: 5-13, in which Jesus uses the parable of the friend at midnight to demonstrate that God will provide for you if you continue to ask. In the parable, one friend is not willing to help the other, but eventually does because of his friend's persistence. Sully then continues to paraphrase the passage, which in the Bible verse reads (Luke 11: 11-13): "Is there anyone among you who, if your child asks for a fish, will give a snake instead of a fish? Or if the child asks for an egg, will give a scorpion? If you then, who are evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will the heavenly father"[274] Sully's sermon states: "And if he demands fish, would you give a snake instead of

[273] Robson, sermon 17, line 36, 122: 'Obeissiés a Deu quia sa vie done por nos…'
[274] *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, Luke 11: 11-13.

a fish, or a scorpion for an egg? Because the father who is harmful to his son is of a bad nature…"[275] After paraphrasing these passages from the New Testament, Sully ends his sermon by encouraging Christians to pray : "now gentlemen, seek out God presently and pray for us and for all Christians, for the holy orders of the Church, for the princes of the Earth, and for all the people of God."[276] He states that Rogation days are approaching (days of prayer), and that Christians should follow the example of Saint Mamertus and pray to God.[277]

While the focus is on prayer, an individual action, the sermon nonetheless encourages the Christian to maintain an active relationship with God and the Church – the message is that if one continues to ask, he or she shall receive. There is also an underlying message that Christians should have good intentions toward the people around them. Thus, Sully used a story from the New Testament to encourage moral action between people and also to demonstrate the need to participate in special days of prayer according to the Church, Rogation days.

[275] Robson, sermon 20, line 38, 132: *E se il li demandoit piscons, donroit li il serpens en leu de piscons, u por uef escorpion? Quar male nature proveroit itel pere qui* ço *feroit a son fil.*
[276] Robson, sermon 20, line 46, 132: '*Ore segnor, or requerons a Deu e proions por nos e por tote la crestienté, por le ordenés de Sainte Eglise, por les princes de la terre, e por tot le pule Damedue.*'
[277] Robson, sermon 20, line 52: *par l'essample mon segnor saint Mamert…ore proions Deu…* Saint Mamertus was bishop of Vienne in the fifth century. He established the three days of Rogations, which were instituted throughout Gaul in 511. Robson, *Maurice of Sully,* 201.


Rogations, page 27r

The image associated with sermon **20** and the parable of the friend at midnight does not depict the actual parable. Rather, the image reinforces the message of the sermon, that a Christian should lean on God. In the above woodcut Jesus is at the center of frame; he turns back to address his apostles while simultaneously pointing up at the sky where God appears through the clouds.

In sermon **26**, the ultimate message comes down to relationships among Christians. Maurice de Sully relies on Luke 6: 36-37, in which Jesus reminds his followers not to judge one another, and in turn they will not be judged. He also paraphrases Luke 6:42 quite closely, stating: "Hypocrite, first cast off the beam from your own eye, then you can see to take off the straw from your brother's eye."[278]

[278] Robson, sermon 26, line 48, 141: '*Ipocrite, jete premierement le tref de ton oeil, e lors poras veoir a jeter le festu de l'ueil ton frere.*'

'Be Ye Merciful…Judge Not,' page 35r

The image associated with this sermon seems to portray that exact verse. One man has a beam coming from his eye while also reaching toward the eye of another man. As is the case in the majority of woodcuts in this cycle, Christ looks on at the scene. Maurice de Sully ends this particular sermon by telling listeners, "take care to do well toward one another, and if any does wrong to us, forgive him of everything."[279] Thus, the image once again highlights the message of both the Gospel story and Maurice de Sully's own words.

In sermon **28** Sully quotes Matthew 5:20, "unless your righteousness surpasses that of the Pharisees and the teachers of the law, you will certainly not enter the kingdom of heaven." The intended message is once again on proper moral behavior, and Sully continues by encouraging his listeners to treat each other well, to not be angry with one another, or to speak bitterly (*esgondrillier*) of one another.[280] The printed image for that sermon in the 1484 edition only shows Christ preaching, rather than illustrating the message itself. Nevertheless it highlights the fact that Jesus was preaching a message.

[279] Robson, Sermon 26, line 62, 141: '*Entendons a faire bien a autrui, e si il nos meffait, pardonons li tot.'*
[280] Robson, Sermon 28, line 51, page 145.


'Unless your Justice Exceeds that of the Scribes and Pharisees,' page 37v

SermonS **30** and **37** are not as heavily focused on reminding Christians about proper interaction with one another, but nevertheless encourage certain actions on the part of the listener. Sermon **30**, in which Sully relies on Matt 7:15, reminds Christians to remain vigilant in assessing the people that come to them – to verify if they are true or false preachers. Sully states that a true prophet will be a good man who is like a tree that produces good fruit, i.e. his good works.[281] The emphasis, then, is not on interacting with people, but avoiding those who are not truthful and therefore create bad works.


'Beware of False Prophets,' page 39v

[281] Robson, sermon 30, line 20, page 147: '*Li buens arbres fait le buen fruit, quar li buens hom fait les buens uevres qui a Deu plaisent.'*

In the woodcut image associated with this sermon Christ gestures toward a tree (representative of the good and bad fruit) while addressing the Apostles. The image portrays the written words of the sermon in a very direct way, indicating that the inclusion of an image for this sermon was very intentional.

Likewise, in sermon **37** Sully relies on Matthew 6:25, in which Jesus tells people not to spend time worrying about what they eat or wear, but to look toward God instead. Sully states: "therefore th soul is more than food, and he who gave his body will give clothes, he who gave his soul will give food, those who give the body will be shown clothes, those who give the biggest *things* will give the smallest."[282] Sully encouraged his listeners to focus inward rather than focus on the physical elements of the world around them. This inner focus, however, is still about doing good in the world: "*entendons a bien faire…"* The image is a repeat of the image for sermon 28. However, the use of an image for this sermon denotes a certain level of importance for the message.

Finally, in sermon **40** Maurice de Sully centers his sermon on Matthew 22: 35-40, quoting the Scripture nearly word for word: "love God with all of your heart and all of your soul and all of your mind: this, says our Lord, 'the greatest commandment in the law. The second is similar to it: You love your neighbor like yourself.'" [283] In this sermon Sully uses this passage to elaborate on four gifts from God, which are reasons to love – the first three are things given to Christians, and the fourth reason is a promise given if the Christian is deserving. First is this world, which God made to be loved – birds, sky, fish, trees, stars, etc.

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[282] Robson, sermon 37, line 26, 156: '*Dont n'est l'ame plus que viande, e li cors plus que vesteure'—cest a dire, cil qui dona l'ame donra la viande, e cil qui dona le cors donra la vesteure, cil qui dona les gregnors coses donra les menors.'*

[283] Robson, sermon 40, line 6, 160: *'Aime Deu de tot ton cuer e de tote t'ame e de tote ta pensee; ço est' dist Nostre Sire 'li graindres commandemens en la loi. Li secons est samblables a cestui: Tu ameras ton proisme si com toi meisme.'*

The second is that God made men and women in his image. The third is that God sent his son to live on Earth. The fourth is the promise of eternal life, if the Christian proves to be deserving.[284]

'Love the Lord thy God,' page 44r

By reminding the Christian of the important commandment, love thy neighbor, Sully encouraged positive interaction between people. Interestingly, the image used for this sermon is the same as the image used for sermon **13**, which depicts Christ and the Jews. However, in sermon **13**, 'He who is of God, Heareth the words of God,' Maurice de Sully actually mentions the Jews, whereas in sermon **40** they are not mentioned at all.

In all of these sermons (**20, 26, 28, 30, 37** & **40**), Sully relied heavily on New Testament messages about proper action, and especially interaction between Christians. The choice to highlight these sermons with woodcut illustrations in the 1484 print suggests that by the late fifteenth century, the sermons of Maurice de Sully were still being read as a

[284] Robson, sermon 40, line 41, 161: *'Li premiers de ces biens est cis mondes que vos veés, li ciels, la terre, li soleus, la lune, les estoiles, li posison, li oisel, les bestes, les arbres, les erbes, e quanque vos veés; tot fist Nostre Sire por nos e por ço le devons amer. Li secuns bien que Nostre Sire a fait por nos est ço qu'il nos a fait e formés a s'image, e por ço le devon nos amer maiesmement. Li tiersbiens que Deus fait por nos, si est ce qu'il envoia son Fil en terre, e le livra a mort por nos raembre de paines d'infer, e por nos livrer aiue, e por ço le devons amer. Li quars biens qu'il nos promet a avoir, se nos le voluns deserver, est la vie pardurable.'*

didactic source –one that highlighted important messages from the New Testament, meant to encourage moral behavior and just action from Christians.

Beyond the addition of woodcut images for these sermons, when compared to manuscript BnF français 187, there are a few more discrepancies. For instance, there are a handful of interesting images that disappear in the first printed edition. Firstly, as discussed in chapter 3, the sermon for Easter Sunday is unique in that it encourages Communion rather than announcing the Resurrection. The illumination found in the fourteenth-century manuscript portrays a sick man in bed receiving communion, thus highlighting the particular importance of participating in communion. In the 1484 printed edition, however, the sermon remains part of the corpus but it is not highlighted with a woodcut illustration. This is also the case in the second printed edition from 1489. By 1501 the sermon is represented by a woodcut illustration again, but it is Christ and a man, rather than a priest and a man. It appears that Christ is handing the man a piece of bread, though the image is rather difficult to make out. If that is indeed the case, however, this artistic change mimics the other changes mentioned above from the 1484 edition—Christ has been inserted into the artistic representation, highlighting the importance of his presence in a Christians life.

'Easter Day –Instruction on Communion'[285]

The 1484 edition also leaves out an image for sermon **21**, The Ascension. In this sermon Sully tells the story of Christ announcing his departure from Earth. The manuscript image depicts the Apostles' lament- in chapter 3 I suggested that it is one of only two images that demonstrate a sense of sadness or emotionality in the entire image cycle. The other is Jesus's entry into Jerusalem. The entry is a woodcut illustration in this 1484 edition, but there does not seem to be any indication of sadness on Christ's face. This is likely due to the medium of the image – there is not much detail in these particular woodcuts. Nevertheless, without the Apostles lament in the 1484 print the entire image cycle remains even less emotionally driven than the manuscript, leaving only didactic images. In fact, in the manuscript there is also a beautiful illumination of the Adoration of the Magi, associated with sermon **2**, in which Sully discusses the significance of the gifts of the Magi. In the printed edition of 1484, the Adoration is not represented with an image. As stated above, however, this 1484 edition did contain a full-page Crucifixion on the frontispiece at the time

[285]The quality of the scan is very poor and does not show any original pagination. Likewise, there is no indication of page numbers on Gallica. However, this image occurs on view 48 in the scanned copy.

of print, so there was not a general aversion to depicting emotional scenes and those that represented both the birth and Passion of Christ.

However, the woodcuts associated with the 1484 edition demonstrate that the sermons were used for their didactic potential, both in teaching New Testament material, and especially in the ways in which they highlighted moral behavior. Subsequent editions reveal a very similar pattern, representing the same sermons as 1484, and continuing to promote a trend in active, moral piety.

Conclusion

The model sermon collection of Maurice de Sully left a lasting impression on lay life, especially in France, England and Italy. The sermons remained relevant to audiences from their inception in the late twelfth century all the way through the mid-sixteenth century, in both their manuscript and printed forms, and even inspired entire narrative image cycles on the adult life of Christ. The simplicity of prose used by Maurice de Sully, coupled with his use of New Testament material, meant that the sermons could be used by a variety of Christians, in a variety of ways (as a didactic source or a devotional source, as sermons or as a stand-in for the Gospel stories), over nearly four centuries.

An examination of the written text of the sermons demonstrates that Maurice de Sully was strongly rooted in the twelfth-century theological developments occurring in the Paris schools. He did not create a body of work that was influential to future medieval academics, but that was never his goal. He intended to write a source for the laity and his model sermon collection therefore offers us an opportunity to investigate how concepts such as purgatory, penance and the need for confession reached lay audiences. Likewise, they offer an opportunity to understand how the new emphasis on the study of the Bible in the Paris schools went on to influence lay knowledge of Scripture.

The manuscripts analyzed in chapter two suggest that the sermons reached a broad range of lay Christians in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. There is evidence of ownership by both men and women, by elite members of society and by those who labored for a living. There is also evidence for their use by parish priests. In many cases, the additional texts that the sermons are bound with clearly highlight the fact that the sermons

were used as a source of Gospel knowledge for these audiences. In more than one case, portions of the sermons are taken out of their context and used to tell stories from the life of Christ, as is the case for manuscripts Bodmer 147 and BnF français 6447. It is very likely that there are undiscovered manuscripts that contain the sermons, and also very likely that there are manuscripts that have used portions of the sermons of Maurice de Sully in order to create Gospel narratives or highlight moments from the life of Christ.

Beyond their didactic influence, though, the manuscript evidence also reveals that the sermons were used as a devotional source. This devotion is particularly evident in manuscript BnF français 187, both because of the texts that are bound together in this manuscript, and because of the visual program represented in the manuscript. The form of piety I trace focused on moral behavior, participation in Church sacraments, and knowledge of the adult life of Christ according to the Gospels, and could be combined with other, often more affective, literatures to produce a complete narrative for the life of Christ. This is also apparent in several other manuscripts explored in chapter two, as well. Analyzing his sermons as a devotional aid for lay audiences within their manuscript context highlights the way in which religious material was combined to offer Late Medieval lay Christians a variety of avenues for devotional expression.

While scholars such as Jean Longère, Nicole Beriou, C.A. Robson and Michel Zink, who focus on sermon literature and late medieval preaching, have worked on the model sermon collection of Maurice de Sully within the context of sermons and preaching, and recent scholarship from Andrew Reeves and Margriet Hoogvliet, who emphasizes lay reception of Christian doctrine and the Bible, both mention his sermon collection, no previous scholar has investigated the sermons as a particular devotional source. Likewise, to

date an analysis of the image cycles associated with Maurice de Sully has not been included in any scholarship on his sermon collection.

However, the image cycles are important to our understanding of the ways in which the sermons were actually received by lay audiences. My analysis of the narrative image programs in both BnF français 187 and in the early printed editions demonstrates that Maurice de Sully's sermons were indeed received as a didactic source on the life of Christ according to the Gospels. The illustrations also uphold my claim that the sermons inspired a devotion focused on moral reform and the adult life of Christ. Both manuscript BnF français 187 and the 1484 printed edition of the sermons reveal an interest in the entire life of Christ. They demonstrate the ways in which the adult life of Christ was used to inspire proper behavior from Late Medieval Christians as they continually highlight the sermons from Maurice de Sully that do just that.

While this interest in the adult life of Christ emerged in the twelfth century via the text of the sermons, the visual evidence for the trend emerged in the fourteenth century via BnF français 187. My analysis of the image cycle in BnF ital. 115, the copy of the *Meditationes Vitae Chirsti* also from the fourteenth century, reveals that this well-known affective source highlights the adult ministry of Christ in both the written text and the illustrations, just as BnF français 187 does. Thus, while my study of Maurice de Sully, his sermons and their associated imagery exposed this Late Medieval interest in the adult life of Christ according to the Gospels, it is evident in other sources as well, and scholars must continue to seek out this trend in devotion; the presence of the adult ministry in the *Meditationes,* a heavily studied text from the Later Middle Ages*,* suggests that it is a trend that has been overlooked up to this point.

Future research on Late Medieval Christianity must continue to investigate lay interest in the entire life of Christ in both textual and visual forms—doing so will further reveal the ways in which the laity accessed Biblical material. It will also strengthen our understanding of the ways in which lay audiences pulled from both affective and didactic devotional sources to inspire their individual, person pieties.

Finally, it is important to explore sources outside of the construct of genre. Investigating the sermons of Maurice de Sully as a didactic and devotional source, as opposed to trying to understand how they might fit in with the more well-studied academic sermons of the thirteenth century, revealed their value as a source that was heavily used by lay audiences, and which helped to relay important information about Christianity to them. Likewise, investigating the *Meditationes Vitae Chirsti* as a source of affective literature has led to an avoidance of the fact that the long version contains nearly fifty chapters on the adult ministry of Christ. However, by looking at the MVC within the context of broader devotional trends occurring in the fourteenth century, the more didactic elements of the text were revealed. Therefore, future scholarship should look beyond the characteristics we have attributed to genre in order to better understand Late Medieval lay piety and education.

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Appendix
I.

Image Description	Folio
Sermons of Maurice de Sully	
Christ	1
Liturgy: Sacrament	1v
Adoration of the Magi	5
Wedding at Cana	6
The Healing of a Leper	6v
Christ Calming the Storm	7
Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard	7
Parable of the Sower	8
Christ Announces his Passion	9
The Temptation of Christ	9
Christ and the Canaanite	9v
The Healing of the Demonic Mute	10
Multiplication of Bread	10v
Christ and the Jews	11v
Christ and His Disciples	11v
Sacrament (Communion of a Sick Person)	13
The Doubting of Saint Thomas	13v
Parable of the Good Shepherd	14
Parable of a Woman in Travail	14v
Vision of a Monk	14v
Lament of the Apostles	15v
Ascension	16v
Pentecost	16v
Parable of the Rich Man and Poor Lazarus	17v
Parable of the Wedding Feast	18
Miraculous Fish	19
Multiplication of Bread	20
Parable of the Unfaithful Steward	21
Lamentation over Jerusalem	22
Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican	22v
The Healing of the Def Mute	23
Parable of the Good Samaritan	23v
The Healing of the Ten Lepers	24
Resurrection of the Widows Son	25
Healing of the Dropsy	26
Healing of the Paralytic	27
Parable of the Wedding Feast	27v
Parable of the Unforgiving Debtor	29
Money of Caesar	30
John the Baptist Imprisoned	31v
Annunciation to the Shepherds	32v

II.

Comparison of NT Imagery in MSS BnF français 187 & 152	**BnF français 187**	**BnF Français 152**
Birth-Childhood Narrative	**4**: Annunciation of Zachary, Annunciation to the Shepherds, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation at the Temple	**7**: Annunciation to Zachary, Birth of Saint John the Baptist, Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation at the Temple, Flight into Egypt
Adult Ministry	**34:** Wedding at Cana, The Healing of a Leper, Christ Calming the Storm, Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard, Parable of the Sower, Christ announces his Passion, Temptation of Christ, Christ and the Canaanite Woman, The Healing of the Demonic Mute, Multiplication of Bread, Christ and the Jews, Christ and his Disciples, The Doubting of St. Thomas, Parable of the Good Shepherd, The woman in Travail, Lament of the Apostles, Parable of the Rich man and Poor Lazarus, Parable of the Wedding Feast, Miraculous Fish, Multiplication of Bread, Parable of the Unfaithful Steward, Lamentation over Jerusalem, Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, The healing of the deaf mute, Parable of the Good Samaritan, The healing of the ten lepers, resurrection of the widows son, healing of the dropsy, healing of the paralytic, Parable of the Wedding Feast, Parable of the Unforgiving Debtor, Money of Caesar, John the Baptist Imprisoned, *St. Peter receives the keys to the church	**15**: Baptism of Christ, Wedding feast at Cana, Call of the Disciples, Healing of the demonic from Capernaum, Resurrection of the Widows Son, Anointing in the house of the Pharisee, Beheading of John the Baptist, Healing of the Def Mute, Transfiguration, Christ and the adulterous wife, Parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Resurrection of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Entry into Jerusalem, Betrayal of Judas, Last Supper

Passion Narrative	**0**	**10**: Arrest of Christ, Denial of Saint Peter, Christ before Pilate, Flagellation of Christ, Bearing of the Cross, Crucifixion, Crucifixion, Descent from the cross, Setting in the tomb, Resurrection
Post-Resurrection-Pre-Assumption Narrative	**3:** Ascension, Pentecost, Assumption	**3**: Holy women at the tomb, "Do not touch me," Christ and Disciples of Emmaus
Sacrament	**2**: Liturgy: penance, Communion of a Sick Person,	**0**
General: Timeless Imagery, God/Christ	**2**: Christ, The Trinity,	**0**

III.

The Printed Sermons of Maurice de Sully

Printer	Location	Year	Language	Images?	Known Surviving Copies
Antoine Neyret	Chambéry	July 6, 1484	French and Latin	Yes	3- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale; London, British Library; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
Guillauume Le Rouge	Chablis	October 18, 1489	French and Latin	Yes	1-Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
Jean de La Fontaine	Lyon	About 1490	French and Latin	Yes	1-Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts
N/A - Printer of the 'Antichristus'	Lyon	1492	French and Latin	Yes	1-Torino, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria
Antoine Caillaut	Paris	January 13, 1492	French and Latin	No	1-Rome, Biblioteca nazionale centrale
N/A	Lyon	1492	French and Latin	N/A	1-Torino, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria
Guillaume Balsarin	Lyon	c. 1493	French and Latin	Yes	2-Private collection; Turin, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria
Claude Dayne	Lyon	c. 1495	French and Latin	Yes	2-Geneva, Bibliothèque

					de Genève Switzerland; Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales
Martin Harvard	Lyon	1496-1500	French and Latin	Yes	1-Cambride, University Library
N/A	Lyon	c. 1500	French and Latin	N/A	1- Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore
N/A	Lyon	c. 1500	French and Latin	N/A	1- Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile
Martin Harvard	Lyon	1501	French and Latin	N/A	2-Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts
Martin Harvard	Lyon	1515	French and Latin	N/A	1- Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts
Olivier Arnoullet	Lyon	1521	French and Latin	Yes	1-London, British Library
Denis Janot	Paris	1530	French and Latin	N/A	1-Private collection
Denis Janot and Alaine Lotrian	Paris	1535	French and Latin	N/A	1-Private collection
Nicolas Buffet	Paris	1553	French and Latin	Yes	1-Paris, Bibliothèque nationale

Olivier Arnoullet	Lyon	N/A	French and Latin	N/A	1- Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitular Y Colombina
N/A	N/A	N/A	French and Latin	Yes	2- Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts; Private Collection