medieval worlds
comparative & interdisciplinary studies

No. 12, 2020

RETHINKING SCHOLASTIC COMMUNITIES & IDEOLOGIES OF TRANSLATION II

medieval worlds
comparative & interdisciplinary studies

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comparative & interdisciplinary studies

Volume 12, 2020

Rethinking Scholastic Communities

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&

Ideologies of Translation, II

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ÖAW AUSTRIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

medieval worlds
comparative & interdisciplinary studies

ISSN 2412-3196 Online Edition
Media Owner: Institute for Medieval Research

Cover design, layout: Anneke Gerloff-Mazas
Cover image: Two elders: Nāgasena (Tibetan kLuʻi-sde) (above) and
Panthaka (Tibetan Lam-bstan) (below). Distemper painting by a Tibetan painter.
(Inscription at the back of the thanka written into the outlines of a stūpa.)

Austrian Academy of Sciences Press
Dr. Ignaz Seipel Platz 2, 1010 Vienna, Austria
Tel. +43-1-515 81/DW 3402-3406
Fax +43-1-515 81/DW 3400
hw.oeaw.ac.at, verlag.oeaw.ac.at

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eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s1

Rethinking Scholastic Communities in Medieval Eurasia: Introduction

Pascale Hugon and Birgit Kellner*

The collection of five papers on scholastic communities in this issue emerged from a series of three consecutive workshops, conceived and organized within the framework of the Austrian Special Research Programme (SFB) »Visions of Community – Comparative Approaches to Ethnicity, Region and Empire in Christianity, Islam and Buddhism (400-1600 CE)« – VISCOM for short (viscom.ac.at, 2011-2019). Pursuing the question of how universal religions shaped the construction of communities and identities in medieval times, VISCOM chiefly operated through selected historical-anthropological case studies in the Christian Latin West, Islamic South Arabia and Buddhist Tibet, which were integrated within a comparative research perspective. VISCOM connected three institutes at the Austrian Academy of Sciences – the Institutes for Medieval Studies (IMAFO), for Social Anthropology (ISA) and for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia (IKGA) –, as well as related institutes at the University of Vienna.

The VISCOM project placed special emphasis on visions of community and investigated the relationship between normative conceptions, developed within religions that exhibit a universalist aspiration, and localized historical processes and social practice. In an earlier phase of the VISCOM project, special communities and social structures devoted to scholarship and learning had been investigated under the umbrella of »Enclaves of Learning«.[1] Continuing this strand of enquiry, the workshop series »Rethinking Scholastic Communities Across Medieval Eurasia« (2018-2019) turned its attention to the phenomenon whereby, in medieval times, specialized intellectual cultures developed and operated within environments shaped by the ideas and norms of universal religions, as well as by their practices and institutions.

In different ways, the category of scholasticism has informed comparative enterprises extending across Europe and Asia for a century already. In his 1920 article »La scolastique (étude de philosophie comparée)«, Paul Masson-Oursel spoke of scholasticism both as a »phase« in intellectual history and as a phenomenon with constitutive characteristics. He pointed out a set of three characteristics common to Western scholasticism – which included rationalistic currents within Christianity, Judaism and Islam – and what he terms the »oriental scholasticisms« of India and China: the use of commentaries to present one's ideas, the dialectical method and the high esteem for systematization.[2] In an influential article published

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1 See the relevant contributions in the mid-term volume Hovden *et al.*, *Meanings of Community.*

2 Masson-Oursel, Scolastique, 133.

eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s2

in 1974, George Makdisi, arguing in favour of Islamic roots of medieval Christian scholasticism, characterized scholasticism as a method of presentation as well as a way of thinking.[3] As a way of thinking, scholasticism is primarily concerned with the relationship between faith and understanding, driven by a deep and equal concern for authority and reason. Medieval Christian scholasticism is, in Makdisi's terms, a systematic exploration of faith resting on the premise that reason and revelation can be harmonized because both come from the same source; both were given to man by God. As a method of presentation, scholasticism is formal and systematic. It involves the application of a set of intellectual tools which serve the dual purpose of deepening the understanding of authoritative texts and doctrines, and of defending interpretations against real or hypothetical objections. The scholastic toolkit includes exegetical and hermeneutic, as well as dialectical or logical methods.

The potential of the concept of »scholasticism« for a comparative philosophy of religions was explored more thoroughly as well as with a broader perspective in the 1998 volume *Scholasticism: Cross-Cultural and Comparative Perspectives* edited by José Ignacio Cabezón, one of the contributors to this issue. The chapters in this volume dealt with scholasticism in relation to Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Daoism, Neo-Confucianism, Hinduism and Tibetan Buddhism. In the programmatic introduction, Cabezón eschewed a stipulative definition of scholasticism and pursued a strategy that has, in the meantime, become common currency in comparative cross-cultural enterprises: he resorted to a polythetic classification indicating common features exhibited in some combination in all forms of scholasticism, without necessarily being present together in all of them or in quite the same way. In other words, a set of features was introduced which allowed scholastic approaches to be recognized through Wittgensteinian family resemblances that make scholasticism a malleable category.[4]

Among these are a strong concern with tradition, transmission and language, as well as a commitment to systematicity and rationalism. As a particular approach within a larger religious framework, scholasticism tends towards proliferativity (to include rather than exclude), and towards completeness as well as compactness; scholastics aspire to overlook nothing essential and to include nothing inessential. Scholasticism also exhibits a self-reflexive dimension, insofar as scholastic authors analyse and codify the methods of reasoning which they apply in their works – hence the strong focus on logic and dialectics, i.e., rules and theories suitable for regulating scholarly exchange.

Generally in line with this endeavour, though not always explicitly based on precisely this set of features, scholars in the field of Asian Studies and of Buddhism in particular have come to favour scholasticism as an analytical, cross-cultural category, and engaged in comparison, especially with medieval scholasticism in the Latin West. Particularly prominent in this regard is Georges Dreyfus's *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping* (2003), an in-depth account of

3 Makdisi, Scholastic method.

4 These introductory considerations followed up on a previous work in which Cabezón applied the category of scholasticism in his exploration of classical Tibetan Buddhist philosophy in the Gelukpa (*dGe lugs pa*) school. See Cabezón, *Buddhism and Language*. For a critical discussion of Masson-Oursel and Cabezón's approaches, see now Eltschinger, From commentary to philosophy, 5-8.

Tibetan Buddhist scholastic education informed by Dreyfus's own background as a former monk in the Gelukpa-school (*dGe lugs pa*). More recently, Vincent Eltschinger explored the potential of Indian Buddhism for comparative inquiries.[5] Comparative studies of the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic scholastic traditions frequently focus on the question of their origin and direction of influence.[6] By contrast, comparisons between the traditions of India or Tibet and Western scholasticism commonly rely on the premise that, while Tibet is heavily indebted to the sophisticated scholarly tradition of India, the Indian and Western traditions have emerged independently. An exception is found in Christopher Beckwith's comparison of the application, across medieval Eurasia, of specific argumentative structures which he terms the »true scholastic method«, which is tied to the (disputable) thesis of a historical influence of Indian scholasticism (via the Central Asian Sarvāstivāda school) on the Islamic world as well as on Tibet.[7]

While there is a long-standing perception of scholasticism as an arid intellectualism typical of European medieval schoolmen overcome by the dawn of the Renaissance, scholars in Asian Studies have rather striven to rehabilitate the category, viewing it as an avenue to do justice to the rich and variegated landscape of intellectual cultures within religious environments across Asia and the ways in which these cultures belong to the history of science and scholarship more broadly. Last but not least, they recognized it as having considerable potential for the comparative study of religion and philosophy in medieval environments. Against this background, it may not come as a surprise that within the VISCOM project, the initiative to introduce the category of scholasticism into the project's comparative horizon was taken by two scholars in Tibetan and Buddhist Studies who have both worked on the intellectual traditions of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism and, in particular, on the history of logic, Hugon and Kellner.

Resorting to the category of scholasticism in comparative endeavours is, however, not always perceived as unproblematic. Medievalists studying Latin Christianity are at times irritated when encountering the larger and perhaps bewildering ecosystem of cross-cultural studies on scholasticism, and on occasion have been known to insist that the category should indeed not be applied outside its prototypical point of reference: a period in the European history of philosophy defined by a predominance of »schools«. Yet, as Constant J. Mews suggests in his paper in this issue, this conception may in itself require reconsideration from

5 See Eltschinger, Qu'attendre d'une comparaison, and *id.*, From commentary to philosophy.

6 See, for instance, Kohler, »Scholasticism«, on the claim of Jewish influence on Christian scholasticism; Becker, Comparative study of »scholasticism«, on Jewish and (oriental) Christian scholasticism; and Makdisi, Scholastic method, on the influence of Islamic scholasticism (itself shaped by Islamic law) on the scholastic method in Western Christianity, through channels such as Byzantium, Italy and Spain.

7 Beckwith, Sarvāstivādin Buddhist scholastic method. Beckwith defended the thesis of such an influence of Indian scholasticism already in his 1990 article, Medieval scholastic method, in which he also claims that the tripartite argumentative structure broadly used in Tibetan texts was an instance of the »true scholastic method.« He subsequently corrected the latter claim of an exact match (Sarvāstivādin Buddhist scholastic method, 171), but thereby (problematically) implicitly reduced »Tibetan scholasticism« to the presence of the »true scholastic method« in Tibetan translations of Indian works.

a historical point of view. Moreover, if one grants that there is plenty of evidence for the existence of specific modes of specialized learning and thinking that developed within a number of religious traditions, surely something can be gained by considering individual manifestations of this phenomenon in critical comparison – and by considering medieval scholasticism in Europe not as a stage within a teleological model of history that is problematic in and of itself, but simply as one manifestation of a larger cross-cultural phenomenon. One would run the risk of simply missing out on specialized intellectual cultures as a global phenomenon – not to mention on possible hitherto overlooked historical connections – if one were to eschew the category of scholasticism and resorted to even broader comparisons framed in terms of »intellectual cultures« or »scholarly cultures in religious contexts«.

A second critical issue that is often raised is that even within the Western medieval context, the category of scholasticism is problematic insofar as it artificially homogenizes different methodologies and communities at work while blocking the path to recognizing their distinctive characteristics. This issue, in fact, similarly applies to the now widespread and somewhat indiscriminate use of the term in Indian and Tibetan Studies. To exemplify the problem for the Tibetan case, the Gelukpa school stemming from Tsongkhapa (Tsong kha pa, 1357-1419) used to be taken as a paradigm for scholasticism, but as the study of Tibetan Buddhist literature advanced over the past decades, it has become increasingly obvious that other Tibetan Buddhist schools and lineages, in particular the Sakyapa (*Sa skya pa*), also exhibit strong scholastic characteristics.[8] Some scholars reserve the epithet »scholastic« for what they consider a post-classical period of the sixteenth to the nineteenth century,[9] or consider this period to be the most representative of Tibetan scholasticism.[10] This is expected to become an even more critical issue now that a large corpus of literature belonging to the formative phase of Tibetan traditions of learning in the eleventh-thirteenth centuries is gradually being studied, a phase which has been termed »early Tibetan scholasticism«.[11] In the context of Indian Studies, there is a broad range of phenomena and traditions for which modern scholars use the label »scholastic«.[12] Besides some delineating uses of this label – for instance in Buddhist Studies, to refer to certain intellectual cultures and traditions that flourished in monastic contexts, most notably the doctrinal, exegetical and philosophical current called Abhidharma[13] – there is a tendency to apply the term interchangeably with »scholarly« or »philosophical« to highlight intellectualist movements within religions as opposed to, say, currents that emphasize ritual or meditation. This not only broadens the denotation of »scholastic« to a questionable point, but also arguably imposes an overly rigid framework on historical and social realities.

8 Kapstein, What is »Tibetan scholasticism«?.

9 Ruegg, *Three Studies*, 6.

10 Dreyfus, *Sound of Two Hands*, 17.

11 For an introduction, see Hugon and Vose, Unearthing the foundations.

12 See, for instance, the forthcoming volume edited by Colas and Aussant, *Scolastiques indiennes*.

13 See, among others, Dessein *et al.*, *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism*, as well as Cox's earlier and particularly thorough article: Unbroken treatise.

The papers in this issue address these and similar problems involved with the category of scholasticism and its application to different historical, social and cultural settings. In different ways, they show that the very engagement with these problems – and perhaps even the resistance to using the very category – lends it a critical edge as a heuristic notion in comparative endeavours, and might, in the end, even make it more productive for comparative discourse than more general and uncontroversial categories such as »cultures of learning.« But more importantly, taking as their point of departure the notion of scholastic *communities,* the papers in this issue adopt a more strongly pronounced sociohistorical perspective. Scholasticism has often been characterized in terms of a method, involving, e.g., the use of distinctions and definitions, a scheme of disputation,[14] or it has been considered even more strictly from the angle of its dialectical method alone. However, explorations exclusively oriented on the axis of method risk overemphasizing formal commonalities when performed from within a comparative approach that too strongly abstracts both from the specific theoretical contexts in which these methods were employed and from the social environments in which they were used; Beckwith's abovementioned study is disputable on this ground, as well. Accordingly, we concur with Eltschinger when he highlights the significance of structures rather than only ideas or methods. He further argues for »a comparative approach to knowledge-producing intellectual cultures rather than dogmas, doctrines and arguments«.[15] For Eltschinger, the priority for investigation in the comparative study of scholasticisms would then be »the institutional environment, the teaching and scholarly practices, the many ways in which knowledge was produced, stored, enriched and made to fructify, etc.«[16] Here, however, one might raise the question whether institutional and social aspects of knowledge production can really be considered in isolation from the content of what was taught, and theoretical aspects pertaining to the history of ideas. Approaching religious traditions in medieval Eurasia through the lens of »scholastic communities« thus offers a framework for exploring intellectual orientations within the context of religions and how the specialized knowledge which they produced contributed to community building. These two aspects have the potential to cast a fresh light on the nature of religious communities at large, and on the notion of »learning« as a category that can be historicized.

The workshop series »Rethinking Scholastic Communities across Medieval Eurasia« consisted of three one-day workshops spread across 2018 and 2019. The series made use of the already established research environment of VISCOM to bring social and historical aspects into the foreground, but at the same time, strove not to neglect the textual and intellectual dimensions of scholastic enterprises at their expense. Each of the three one-day workshops was planned to explore a particular theme through papers on the three core regions and

14 From Grabmann, in his 1909 *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, to, e.g., De Rijk, in his 1985 *Philosophie au moyen âge.*

15 Eltschinger, Qu'attendre d'une comparaison, 123. See also *ibid*., 126-127. In this publication the author surveys the questions of the institutional framework, authority, organization of knowledge, commentaries, rationality (including argumentation and debate) and language.

16 Eltschinger, From commentary to philosophy, 275.

religions of the VISCOM project, and to foster intense discussion between invited speakers, members of the VISCOM team and associated scholars and students in Vienna. The workshops were designed to stimulate a continuous process of discussion across a multifarious assembly of participants, as contributions by the speakers and discussants of the previous workshops were made available to those of the subsequent events well in advance. Minutes of the discussions were taken and also made available to all participants, enabling them to integrate the collective discussion process while revising their papers for publication.

The first workshop, held on 27th March 2018, tackled the topic of »Scholastic Communities« as such, and served to introduce general questions and sketch general contours of investigation; the papers by Constant J. Mews and José Ignacio Cabezón result from presentations given at this particular event. Unfortunately, the renowned scholar of Islamic history Wilferd Madelung, whom we had invited to cover South Arabian Islam, had to cancel his participation for personal reasons. The second and third workshops, held on 24th October 2018 and 27th March 2019, built upon these more general reflections and focused on »Authority and Authorship« and »Intellectual Methods and Practices« respectively. An earlier version of Cathy Cantwell's paper from this issue was presented at the second workshop. Hassan Ansari (Princeton University) presented an excellent paper on »Imam al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbdullāh b. Ḥamza: A Zaydī ruler and author« that enriched the discussion considerably, but Ansari regrettably decided not to submit his presentation for publication. Similarly, Sita Steckel (University of Münster) was unfortunately unable to submit her succinct presentation »Masters, exegetes, theologians: Authority and authorship in northwestern European schools c. 1050-1150«. The papers by Bénédicte Sère and Jonathan Samuels in this issue were presented at the third workshop, dealing with intellectual methods and practices. Jan Thiele (Centre for Human and Social Sciences, Spanish National Research Council) also spoke on »The rise of a scholastic community: Zaydi theology in twelfth-century Yemen«. Thiele, too, was unable to revise his paper for publication. This unfortunate coincidence leaves us in the uncomfortable situation that the substantial contributions made to the workshop through the consideration of Islam in South Arabia are not expressly represented in this issue, even though it undoubtedly – and positively – influenced the horizon of the published papers in more indirect ways.

The role of the chairpersons and discussants is a particularly significant one in such an interactive process. We therefore thank the chairpersons Andre Gingrich (ISA), Christina Lutter (University of Vienna), Diarmuid O'Riain (IMAFO) and Johann Heiss (ISA), as well as the discussants Sita Steckel (University of Münster), Florian Schwarz (Institute of Iranian Studies [IFI], Austrian Academy of Sciences), Rutger Kramer (IMAFO), Christophe Erismann (University of Vienna) and Markus Viehbeck (University of Vienna). Hugon and Kellner also acted as chairperson and discussant respectively. Sophie Gruber (IMAFO) and Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek (IKGA) offered invaluable help in organizing the workshop series. Reinier Langelaar (IKGA) is to be thanked for taking the minutes of the discussions that followed each presentation, and for providing participants of the following workshop with a remarkably clear and succinct account of the state of discussion.

The five papers in this issue are rooted in the specific historical and cultural expertise of medievalists focusing on the Latin West and scholars of Tibetan Buddhism. While making original contributions in their own respective fields, they are also informed by the comparative horizon that framed the entire workshop series. The paper by José Ignacio Cabezón rethinks Buddhist scholastic communities through a sociohistorical lens, building upon Cabezón's earlier, more synchronic and structuralist work. To understand Tibetan Buddhist scholasti-

cism better, Cabezón goes back to the Indian Buddhist tradition and reflects on the general conditions for the formation of Buddhist scholastic communities in ancient India: the development of sedentary monastic communities, the adoption and cultivation of writing as a cultural technique, and exchange – in the form of written and oral debate, in a strongly regularized format – with rival schools, especially ones from the Brahmanical fold. Expanding the sphere of consideration to encompass later Tibetan developments, Cabezón then addresses three particular characteristics of mature Buddhist scholasticism: debate, the oscillation of the commentarial corpus between expansion and contraction, and the role of prayer and ritual in scholastic learning, the last of which is particularly significant for the existence of scholarly communities as religious institutions. Concluding reflections touch upon internal (ideological) as well as external (political) challenges faced by scholastic communities.

While Cabezón demonstrates how a reconsideration of scholasticism as a cross-cultural category from a sociohistorical perspective can be productive, Constant J. Mews draws attention to problems resulting from an approach that defines scholasticism through a certain view of its role in the medieval Latin West from where the category came to be borrowed: the idea of scholasticism as a stable and rather uniform system involving, as Makdisi would have it, the reconciliation of faith and reason. By turning to the twelfth rather than the thirteenth century in Europe, Mews argues that historical analysis must pay greater attention to competitions between masters and their various schools, as well as their distinctive ways of responding to voices and texts from outside the Latin West. Based on a wide range of considerations, Mews concludes that the notion of monasticism and scholasticism as competing perspectives stands in the way of a historically nuanced picture that manages to accommodate this diversity of theological positions, as well as the diffusion of scholastic texts in monastic milieus.

Cathy Cantwell's contribution similarly questions the category of scholasticism on the basis of new historical research, in her case on the seminal figure of Nyangrel Nyima Özer (Myang ral Nyi ma 'od zer, 1124-1192), a foundational figure in the early history of the Tibetan Buddhist school of the Nyingmapa (*rNying ma pa*), i.e., the »Ancients«. Both the Nyingmapa school and Nyangrel might initially be viewed as the »other« of Tibetan scholasticism. Nyangrel and his successors made no attempt at forming a social entity akin to a monastic order that would have accommodated colleges. As visionaries operating in family-based hereditary lineages, they did not place emphasis on practices like disputation. Neither did most Nyingmapa scholars focus on logic or other forms of rational analysis germane to scholastic communities. An exception in this regard in the Nyingmapa school would be the eleventh-century scholar Rongzom Chökyizangpo (Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po). Yet, based on her recent research on the large textual corpus »revealed« by Nyangrel – with the notion of scriptural revelation posing significant challenges to notions of authorship –, Cantwell argues that in this early period, where scholastic colleges in the other schools were yet to emerge, one can, in fact, argue for significant overlap across communities that only later become more sharply divided into different types of schools. This overlap concerns especially processes of gathering, editing and systematizing textual heritage recovered from various sources. The suggestive conclusion is that perhaps later forms of Tibetan Buddhist scholasticism should historically be approached as emerging from a much broader earlier sociocultural matrix than was hitherto taken into consideration.

Turning to intellectual methods and practices, both Jonathan Samuels and Bénédicte Sère focus on disputation – or debate – as a central element of scholastic communities, in Tibet (Samuels) and in the Latin West (Sère) respectively. Sère considers medieval disputation in Europe as a means for producing knowledge, doctrine or theory. Distinguishing a Haberma-

sian »irenic« disputation from a Bourdieu-inspired »polemical« counterpart, she first outlines the contours of medieval disputation in general and then discusses specific cases to illustrate each category. Her discussion of the broader range of polemics leads her to explore the social boundaries of the scholastic – academic – realm. In a paper that couples historical enquiry with methodological reflection, Samuels argues in favour of reading even the highly theoretical and normative treatises that make up the source record for Tibetan Buddhist scholasticism from a sociohistorical vantage point, focusing on what Samuels refers to as »the language«. This, he argues, can support hypotheses about institutional dynamics even in the often-lamented absence of historical records that might offer more concrete evidence for them. Disputation is strongly linked, if not exclusively concentrated on, the proper understanding and interpretation of Buddhist doctrine and philosophy; this appears to have been marked as its territory from early on. Samuels offers a counter-model to the narrative that currently dominates in Tibetological scholarship, according to which the Gelukpa school stands for a sterile formalization of much livelier earlier practice. He argues that this narrative conflates the domains of historical practice and scholastic literature, and posits historical practice as the primary target of research, exemplifying this with a rare instance of a record of disputation from the fourteenth century. Instead, he highlights institutions as providing incentives and structures for debate, and argues that what was often at stake in debate practice is less its explicit content, but rather the institution itself. From a comparative perspective, he points out several divergences between Tibetan disputation and debate in medieval European universities. His rich paper deepens reflections on the medieval period by expanding the scope to include post-medieval developments, as well as conclusions drawn from Samuel's own first-hand experience in contemporary disputation practice (chiefly in the Gelukpa tradition). It serves as a reminder that comparison thrives on attending to differences premised on a recognition of shared basic features.

The discussions carried out at the three workshops highlighted a number of additional areas of exploration that may help to stimulate future research along the lines suggested in the five papers on these issues. A first suggestion made was to change perspective altogether and view scholastic practices such as commentary or disputation as part of religious experience or practice. This would allow linking them with other significant practices in either context, most notably meditation, prayer and ritual. Especially as far as prayer and ritual is concerned, this would also place a new focus on the communal aspects of religious practice in medieval times, and perhaps even lead to recognizing communal dimensions of contemplative practices that, rightly or wrongly, tend to be approached as being of a solitary nature. Secondly, the focus on scholastic communities also highlighted problems in drawing distinctions between »lay« and »religious« communities. These problems become especially evident when one considers the relationship between scholastic communities and educational structures in the respective historical settings: strong personal teacher-student bonds in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism, for instance, might work within, but also outside monasteries as educational institutions. Literacy, its extent and its relationship to oral teaching practices, was raised as an additional topic to be considered when it comes to the ways in which scholastic communities operate in their larger social environment, but also when it comes to the circulation of scholastic literature. Gender seems an obvious further area of enquiry, in the Tibetan case insofar as scholastic communities were typically groups of celibate male religious specialists (monks). Lastly, the relationship between scholastic literature and fields of learning or scholarship more broadly (but particularly with legal and medical fields) was also raised.

The serial workshop and the papers that resulted have been a further step in integrating non-European cultures into a »global history of scholasticism«. They testify to the benefit of pursuing these investigations in a comparative perspective, a perspective that will continue gaining in refinement with the consideration of an expanding pool of cultures and particular traditions.

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Rethinking Scholastic Communities in Latin Europe: Competition and Theological Method in the Twelfth Century

Constant J. Mews*

This paper explores the role of competition between masters and their communities in shaping the dynamism of theological debate in twelfth-century Europe. Whereas scholastic debate in the thirteenth century was heavily influenced by the structures and curriculum of the University of Paris, this was not the case in the twelfth century. While there were celebrated confrontations between individual monks and schoolmen (such as St Anselm against Roscelin of Compiègne, and Bernard of Clairvaux against Peter Abelard), it is inadequate to interpret these episodes in terms of simple opposition between monastic and scholastic theological traditions. Rather, we see the evolution of a range of educational communities, of monks, of regular canons, and of secular clergy, each with their own interpretation of Christian teaching, and with their own attitudes to the use of reason and the learning of classical antiquity. After 1150, there was an increasing tendency to professionalization in the teaching of theology, epitomized by the growing influence of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, but there was no consensus about the extent to which it should also engage in philosophical reflection. There was also competition between the cathedral school at Notre-Dame and the canons of Saint-Victor, who preferred to emphasize the role of experience in the spiritual life. The case of Richard of Saint-Victor's writing on the Trinity shows how he sought to combine an experiential dimension to religious insight, with presentation of Christian teaching in terms of reason, rather like St Anselm, rather than through debating patristic authority, as followed by disciples of Peter Lombard. The label of scholasticism should not conceal the enduring diversity of approaches adopted by different communities.

Keywords: twelfth century; Parisian schools; monasticism; canons regular; theology; exegesis; Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris

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eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s12

Introduction

In 1974, George Makdisi articulated a widely held view of scholasticism in the Latin West when he defined it in terms of the *Sic et non* method, dialectic, and disputation, and as epitomized »in its finished and most perfect form« in the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas (1225-1279). He argued that similar concerns could be identified in great thinkers of the Islamic tradition.[1] This image of scholasticism as a fundamentally stable system, involving the reconciliation of faith and reason, was certainly promoted by Pope Leo XIII in his 1879 encyclical, *Aeterni patris*, mandating the authority of Aquinas in teaching theology. It inspired a massive outpouring of scholarship, embodied, for example, in the work of Martin Grabmann and his many disciples.[2] Yet if we are to seek cross-cultural parallels for Latin scholasticism, it may be more helpful to look at Europe in the twelfth rather than the thirteenth century, prior to the establishment of a formal curriculum for the University of Paris in 1215.[3] At that time there was no dominant institution able to define the approved method of pursuing intellectual inquiry. While twelfth-century theology can be approached in terms of the history of ideas, it also deserves to be studied as generated by competition between masters and their various schools or communities, each with their own way of responding to voices and texts emanating from outside the Latin West.[4]

A common narrative traditionally used to explain the development of theology in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is that of a continuing tension between monastic and scholastic perspectives. The idea that monasticism developed its own distinct theology, based around contemplative study of scripture and opposed to analytic inquiry into doctrine, was first developed in the 1960s and 1970s by the great monastic scholar, Jean Leclercq. He identified the experiential and contemplative focus of what he called monastic theology, embodied by Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) as in opposition to the analytic, disputatious character of scholasticism, as personified by Peter Abelard (1079-1042).[5] As Quinto observed, the term »scholastic« has long been shaped by a rhetorical implication that it was less than fully spiritual.[6] Marcia Colish has written eloquently about the need to remap the complexity of scholastic theology, going beyond new-Thomist perspectives. She has done much, in particular, to rehabilitate the contribution of Peter Lombard to the development of systematic theology.[7] Yet the notion of monasticism and scholasticism as competing perspectives still

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1 Makdisi, Scholastic method, 642; Makdisi develops his arguments about core elements of common ground in a series of publications, *Rise of Colleges* (1981), *Rise of Humanism* (1990), and in his overview lecture, Scholasticism and humanism. His arguments are reviewed by Madigan, Islam's true scholasticism.

2 For an overview of Thomism until 1974, see Colish, St Thomas Aquinas, and the papers in Brezik, *One Hundred Years* and Gangl, *Franz Ehrle*; for a more critical view, see Ventresca, »Plague«. The classic expositions of the evolution of scholasticism, and of scholastic theology have been in German and French, notably Grabmann, *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, Pieper, *Scholasticism: Personalities and Problems*, and (for the twelfth century), Ghellinck, *Mouvement théologique* and Landgraf, *Introduction à l'histoire*. More recent are the surveys of Leinsle, *Introduction to Scholastic Theology* and of D'Onofrio, *History of Theology* 2 (published in English without the detailed footnotes in the original Italian edition).

3 *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* no. 20, 1, ed. Denifle, 78-80.

4 For extensive discussion of the complexity of these networks, see Steckel, Networks of learning and Mews, Communities of learning.

5 Leclercq, *Love of Learning*; the distinction is defended by Gastaldelli, Teologia monastica.

6 Quinto, *Scholastica.*

7 Relevant studies by Colish include: Systematic theology (1988), Authority and interpretation (2004), and Remapping scholasticism (2000), reprinted in a volume of her collected papers, *Studies in Scholasticism* (2006).

surfaces in historiography. In a stimulating study of the profound changes in educational practice between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Ian Wei finely documents the transition from the early twelfth century, marked by clearly distinct personalities, to the institutionalization of learning evident in the thirteenth century. He argues that a theological elite gradually eliminated what he identifies as »the monastic critique« of learning, evident in the previous century.[8] The problem with this monastic/scholastic binary is that it does not easily accommodate the diversity of theological perspectives and methods within the twelfth century, or explain the diffusion of many scholastic texts within a monastic milieu.[9] In particular, it has difficulty in accommodating the achievement of Victorine thinkers, most famously Hugh of Saint-Victor, except as figures who combined monastic and scholastic perspectives. Another way of mapping scholasticism may be to identify the range of communities involved in interpreting their canonical texts and in explaining their key teachings. Both masters and their communities varied in the extent to which they sought to engage with philosophical learning and in the method of enquiry they pursued. Over the course of the twelfth century, traditional Benedictine monasticism lost much (although not all) of its traditional dominance in both education and society, as new religious communities, in particular following the Augustinian Rule, started to emerge alongside the expansion of schools attached to cathedrals and major urban churches. To define Latin scholasticism, at least within the domain of theology, in terms of a single method that involved both reason and authority does not do full justice to the range of ways different communities sought to interpret the scriptures and to summarize their teaching.

(1) The Early Scholastic Period 1090-1150: competing masters

An early episode of a monk arguing with a schoolman is provided by Anselm of Bec (1033-1108), subsequently appointed archbishop of Canterbury, when he accused Roscelin of Compiègne (c. 1050-c. 1125) of making heretical claims about the Trinity immediately prior to his trial at the Council of Soissons (c. 1090). Anselm reported in his *De incarnatione Verbi* that Roscelin justified the need for a fresh account of the doctrine of the Trinity by reference to the teaching of both Jews and Muslims, or pagani as he called the latter: »The pagans defend their Law, the Jews defend their Law, therefore we Christians must defend our faith.«[10] Anselm was not opposed to such a goal, but rather sought to improve on the explanation offered by Roscelin, whom he dismissed as »one of those modern dialecticians who understand nothing to exist other than what they can grasp by their imagination.«[11] Roscelin argued that

8 Wei, Twelfth-century schools, 78, and *Intellectual Culture*, 72-78.

9 On early copies of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and Commentary on the Pauline Epistles at the monastic library of Admont, see Mews, Scholastic theology, 228.

10 Anselm of Canterbury, *De incarnatione Verbi* 2, in *Anselmi Opera Omnia* 2.2, ed. Schmitt, 2:10: »Pagani defendunt legem suam, Iudaei defendunt legem suam. Ergo et nos Christiani debemus defendere fidem nostram.«

11 Anselm, *De Incarnatione Verbi (prior recensio)*, c. 10 ed. Schmitt 1:289 and c. 4, ed. Schmitt, 2:17.

the three persons of the Trinity had to be defined as separate things (*res*), if one was to avoid saying that God the Father himself became incarnate in the Son, an argument that reflected his applying traditional Augustinian semantic theory that any utterance could be used as the sign of a thing (*res*) for each of the three persons. [12] In searching out arguments from reason rather than authority, Anselm was developing a scholastic technique very different from the patristic focus of Lanfranc of Bec (c. 1010-1089) in his polemic against Berengar of Tours (c. 999-1088) about the eucharist.[13] There was also a political context to his accusations against Roscelin. The monk John, who had reported Roscelin's heresies to Anselm, was then defending Fulco, another Bec monk, newly installed as bishop of Beauvais, from hostile clerics in the city. Roscelin seems to have been based at St Vaast, a collegiate church in Beauvais, established by a previous bishop, Guy, its bishop 1063-1085, until he was ousted from the diocese by hostile forces.[14] The theological dispute was between rival teachers and their communities, not between monastic and scholastic traditions in general.

In a subsequent treatise, the *Cur Deus homo*, written in the form of a philosophical dialogue, Anselm has his disciple Boso exclaim that in demonstrating the necessity of a God-man by reason alone, he had found a way to respond to the arguments »of both Jews and pagans«.[15] Anselm was here invoking Roscelin's argument about the need to respond to Jews and Muslims to justify formulating what he considered a more rationally acceptable theory of redemption than often taken for granted in preaching: that humanity needed to be rescued from having fallen under the devil's yoke. Anselm's explanation of the incarnation helped Gilbert Crispin (c. 1055-1117), prior of Westminster Abbey, to compose a dialogue between a Christian and a Jew, whom he describes in relatively friendly terms as having been educated in the rabbinical schools of the Rhineland.[16] Anselm's writings circulated relatively widely in a monastic milieu in England, Normandy and southern Germany, places where monks were often engaged in pastoral care. By contrast, Anselm's writings would not be cited as authoritative in the Parisian schools until the early thirteenth century.

The fluidity of scholastic culture in the early twelfth century is nowhere more evident than in Abelard's *Historia calamitatum*, written in the early 1130s. In much of his account, he devotes more attention to critics within the schools than to those within monastic circles.[17] Through the careful political analysis of its narrative by Robert-Henri Bautier, we have a much better understanding of the political context to debates about dialectic and scripture in which the young Abelard was involved.[18] Soon after Abelard came to Paris in c. 1100 to

12 Mews, Bruno and Roscelin, 142-143.

13 On Lanfranc's method, see Cowdrey, *Lanfranc* and on the debate with Berengar, Chadwick, Symbol and reality.

14 Roscelin's heresy was reported to Anselm of Bec by John of Telese, then adviser to Fulco, Bishop of Beauvais (1088-1095) in Fulco's adviser, *Ep.* 128-129 (*Anselmi Opera Omnia*, 3: 270-271), immediately following an exchange with Pope Urban II about difficulties with Fulco in *Ep.* 125-127 (3. 267-269). On his identity with Roscelin, who established St Vaast in 1072 alongside Nevelo of Compiègne, see Mews, See of Beauvais. Guibert of Nogent speaks about Guido's career in *Autobiographie* 1. 14, ed. Labande, 100.

15 *Cur Deus homo,* 2.22, in *Anselmi Opera Omnia*, ed. Schmitt 2: 133.

16 Gilbert Crispin, *Disputatio Iudei et Christiani.* Many translations of eleventh-century Jewish responsa, often from Rhineland rabbis, are collected by Agus, *Urban Civilization*.

17 The major monastic critic he mentions is a prominent reformer of monastic life, certainly Bernard of Clairvaux, Abelard, *Letter* 1.58, ed. Luscombe, 90.

18 Abelard, Letter 1 (*Historia calamitatum*), ed. Luscombe, 2-121; Bautier, Paris au temps d'Abélard, 53-62.

study under William of Champeaux at the cathedral school of Notre-Dame, having spent at least five years or so under Roscelin at Loches and then Tours, he attached himself politically to William's great rival in the cathedral, the politically influential Stephen of Garlande, whose brothers helped him establish a school at Melun, and then Corbeil (1104-1107).[19] After a period away from Paris (1107-1011), while William of Champeaux was asserting himself as a newly appointed archdeacon of Paris, Abelard returned to Paris to re-establish himself as a teacher. At Easter 1111, William resigned from the cathedral to establish a new community around a disused chapel of Saint-Victor on the left bank of the Seine. Abelard in the meantime, supported by Stephen of Garlande, established his school under the protection of the abbey of Sainte-Geneviève.[20] Whereas Sainte-Geneviève was an abbey of secular canons, Saint-Victor was a community of canons regular, pursuing a quasi-monastic life without being formally enclosed in the manner of monks. At Saint-Victor, a German student reports that William, »the most accomplished instructor in every branch of learning, taught a full range of divine and human sciences.« William established a precedent that Abelard would himself seek to emulate in his own teaching. William believed in giving equal attention to grammar, dialectic and rhetoric, paying particular attention to Boethius as his intellectual guide.[21]

In teaching secular disciplines alongside »divine science«, William was departing from the practice of his own teacher, Anselm of Laon, who never combined philosophical and scriptural authorities to any significant degree in his teaching. Abelard mocked Anselm's way of teaching as based on authorities, but lacking in substance.[22] His harsh words should not detract from his awareness of Anselm's achievement in collecting and making available patristic authorities, both within commentaries on specific books of the Bible and in exposition of Christian teachings.[23] Anselm's commentary on John's Gospel is heavily dependent on patristic authority, above all that of Augustine. When he explains words of Hebrew origin, he generally relies on patristic summaries of their meaning.[24] In glossing John 10:1, Anselm adds within passages taken from Alcuin on Augustine a sentence of his own about neither Jews nor pagans as able to enter Christ's kingdom: »Through this door, Jews proudly against Jesus do not enter, pagans do not enter, even though they may seem to be just among men and observe equity, but this is of no use to them.«[25] The added sentence suggests a deliberate riposte to those (like Abelard), who emphasized in their writing the moral integrity of Jews and pagans.

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19 Abelard, *Letter* 1.4-5, ed. Luscombe, 6.

20 On the letter of a German student of William, reporting that he resigned from Notre-Dame at Easter 1111, (not 1108 as often claimed), see n. 55 and Mews, William of Champeaux, 90-91.

21 The letter of a German student comparing Willian of Champeaux to Manegold of Lautenbach is preserved in the *Codex Udalrici*, ed. Jaffé, no. 160, 286.

22 Peter Abelard, *Letter* 1.10, ed. Luscombe, 16-17.

23 The most thorough study of Anselm of Laon is that of Giraud, *Per verba magistri*; see also Smith, *Glossa ordinaria* and Andrée, Anselm of Laon unveiled.

24 Anselm of Laon, *Glossae super Iohannem*, 2:14, 4:25, 5:2, 6:1, 12:13, 13:1, 19:19, ed. Andrée, 45, 72, 79, 99, 218, 232, 327.

25 Anselm of Laon, *Glossae super Iohannem*, ed. Andrée 10:1 (185): »Per hanc ianuam non intrant iudei aduersus Iesum superbientes, non intrant pagani, quamuis uideantur iusti inter homines et aequitatis obseruatores, sed nichil ei prodest.«

Abelard's students seem to have had a deeper familiarity with dialectic and pagan authors than those who admired Anselm of Laon. Abelard's account of how he was able to respond to the demands of Alberic of Reims, subsequently archbishop of Bourges (1136-1141), that he adduce patristic authority for his argument about the Trinity highlights how he was forced to engage with the Laon method of engaging with Church Fathers, so different from that of Anselm of Bec.[26] In the earliest version of his treatise on the Trinity (the *Theologia »Summi boni«*), Abelard buttressed his argument by only a limited number of patristic authorities. After the 1121 Council of Soissons, however, he started to pay much more attention to the Church Fathers, both in the *Theologia christiana* and in his *Sic et non*.[27] He also expected them to be fully familiar with those philosophical authorities whom he saw as exemplifying St Paul's teaching in Romans 1:19-20 about the *Invisibilia Dei* being manifested through creation and potentially accessible to all.[28] Whereas Roscelin had identified the words »Father«, »Son« and »Holy Spirit« as referring to specific things, Abelard explained the three persons as names given to the power, wisdom and benignity of God. The controversial character of his claims rested on the way he seemed to downplay divine omnipotence in relation to its wisdom and benignity. Abelard's explanations were not easily accessible to those unfamiliar with his philosophy of language and thus were never widely diffused in the manuscript tradition, as compared to the more straightforward summaries of the teachings of Anselm of Laon and William of Champeaux.

Even more influential as an educational community was that which developed around Hugh of Saint-Victor. In his *Didascalicon* (now thought to be written c. 1121, rather than c. 1125 as traditionally thought), Hugh articulates a vision of learning in which he considers (in its first three books) all the liberal arts, including dialectic or the art of distinguishing truth from falsehood, within the framework of wisdom. In the last three books, he considers the scriptures and the process they require of reading, understanding, prayer and contemplation.[29] He offers polemic, not against pagan authors as such, but only against those teachers (undoubtedly referring to Peter Abelard) who seemed contemptuous of other teachers of divinity: »They turn up their nose and purse their lips against teachers of divinity, and do not understand that they cause offence to God, whose simple words, beautiful in expression, they preach as if tasteless, with distorted sense.«[30] Hugh's treatise was an attempt to maintain a contemplative framework for a discipline that was being transformed by Abelard's love of disputation and questioning of traditional authorities.

26 Abelard, *Letter* 1.39, ed. Luscombe, 60-62.

27 Abelard's growing citation of philosophical and patristic texts is evident from the Index scriptorum in the edition of the *Theologia »Summi boni«* and *Theologia »Scholarium«*, in CCCM 13, 571-602.

28 This key Pauline passage was frequently cited by Abelard in every version of the *Theologia*, CCCM 13, 566.

29 *Didascalicon* 5.9, ed. Buttimer, 109; on the date of the *Didascalicon*, see Poirel, *Tene fontem*, 307-311.

30 *Didascalicon* 3.13, ed. Buttimer, 64: »Corrugant nasum et ualgium torquent in lectores diuinitatis, et non intelligunt quod Deo iniuriam faciunt, cuius uerba pulchro quidem uocabulo simplicia, sed sensu prauo insipida predicant.«

Hugh of Saint-Victor differed from Anselm of Laon in the extent to which he integrated explanations of Hebrew terms in the Pentateuch, which he recognizes that Jews call the Torah.[31] His frequent use of phrases like *secundum Hebraeos* and *apud Hebraeos*, alludes not just to opinions derived from Jerome, but from explanations derived from disciples of Rashi of Troyes (1040-1105), who had himself pioneered emphasis on the *peshat*, or historical sense, of the Hebrew scriptures.[32] Mordecai Cohen has argued that the innovative aspect of Rashi's exegesis could itself have been inspired by the originality of Bruno of Rheims (c. 1030-1101), but the very limited diffusion of Bruno's commentary on the Psalms, makes this possibility hard to believe.[33] While Anselm of Laon might have prompted collecting patristic interpretations of scripture out of a desire to compete with Rashi's initiative in commenting on the Hebrew Bible, he never refers to *Hebraei* in the commentaries circulated under his name in the manner of Hugh of Saint-Victor. Hugh transformed exegetical method by including, to a limited degree, the opinions of a disciple of Rashi, presumably from the Jewish community in the central area of the Île-de-la-Cité, between the royal palace and the cathedral. While Jewish communities participated in an extensive network of *responsa* from leading rabbis, active in both Champagne and the Rhineland, it was only very occasionally that Christian scholars thought fit to benefit from their expertise, such as when Cistercian monks sought advice on the text of the Books of Kings.[34] Hugh demonstrates a line of interest in the historical foundation of scripture that would be much extended in the 1140s by his disciple, Andrew of Saint-Victor, whose commentaries on the Old Testament would never gain the wide readership experienced by those of Hugh.[35] As Rebecca Moore argues, this willingness to acknowledge Jewish interpretations would not be extended to a number of subsequent scriptural commentaries produced at Saint-Victor, subsequently assigned to Hugh but of doubtful authenticity.[36]

This fascination with Jewish exegesis would also be picked up by Peter Abelard in response to one of Heloise's *Problemata* about scripture.[37] Scholastic discussion was often generated by discussions outside the schools. The sympathetic portrayal of a Jew in dialogue with a philosopher in his *Collationes* may itself have been inspired by awareness of Rabbenu Tam (c. 1100-1171), a distinguished Tosafist and grandson of Rashi, who lived at Ramerupt in the region of Troyes, who pursued a rationalizing approach to resolving discords within the Torah. The fact that Rabbenu Tam responded to a question about Enoch put to him by Henry the Liberal, Count of Champagne, suggests such Jewish-Christian exchanges as Abelard presented in literary form may have had some foundation in experience. On the other hand, there is no evidence that Abelard ever engaged in dialogue with any educated Muslim, even if he fondly imagined that there might be more tolerance in Muslim Spain than in Latin Europe.[38]

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31 Hugh, *De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris praenotatiunculae*, 6, col. 15B.

32 Hugh's debt to Rashi is studied by Moore, *Jews and Christians*, 77-93.

33 Cohen, New perspective on Rashi. On Bruno's significance and reputation, see Mews, Bruno of Rheims, 78-79.

34 Grossman, School of literal exegesis; Stephen Harding, *Censura de aliquot locis Bibliorum*, cols. 1373D-1376A.

35 On Andrew's debt to Jews, as well as the limitations of his knowledge of Hebrew, see Van Liere, Andrew of St. Victor.

36 Moore, *Jews and Christians*, 95-112.

37 Heloise, *Problemata Heloissae* 36, col. 718A: »Ita Hebraeum quemdam audivi exponentem: Nummus argenteus… redimebat se a sacerdote.« On this passage, see Mews and Perry, Jewish Biblical exegesis.

38 Abelard, *Letter* 1.59, ed. Luscombe, 92.

When Abelard resumed teaching in Paris in the 1130s, there was no single corporate structure regulating the schools.[39] There was also no consistency of method between different teachers. Hugh of Saint-Victor put equal weight on the historical, allegorical and tropological or moral senses of scripture, without privileging the authority of the Fathers in the manner of disciples of Anselm of Laon. By contrast, Abelard expected his students to come to the study of scripture having already been exposed to his teaching on dialectic, while he also engaged in critical examination of patristic authorities. Abelard's *Sententie Parisienses* provides one record among many of his oral teaching, structured around discussion of God (*theologia*) and his benefits, above all the supreme love (*summa dilectio*) manifest in Christ, the sacraments, and *caritas* itself.[40] This organization contrasted with that of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *De sacramentis*, structured around themes of the creation and restoration of the world.[41] While Abelard delivered his overview of Christian teaching in lectures, he preferred to develop his ideas within individual treatises that were preserved in select monastic libraries, but not in the wide numbers accorded to the writings of Hugh of Saint-Victor.

The fact that Bernard of Clairvaux was asked to lead a campaign against Abelard that culminated in accusations of heresy being made at the Council of Sens in May 1141 does not mean that the conflict was between monastic and scholastic theologies. In his Letter 190, addressed to Pope Innocent II, Bernard focused not on Abelard's use of reason, but on those passages in which he seemed to undermine divine omnipotence and Christ's redeeming work.[42] As a former protégé of William of Champeaux (by whom he had been consecrated abbot of Clairvaux in 1115), Bernard was voicing the views of those masters who considered that Abelard departed too radically from traditional Augustinian assumptions about human sinfulness. Bernard was particularly alarmed by the potentially destabilizing influence of Abelard's disciple, Arnold of Brescia, whom he feared was using Abelard's teaching to question the authority of Pope Innocent II within the city of Rome.[43] Arnold eventually returned to Rome during the papacy (1143/1144) of Celestine II, who as Guy of Castello had been an admirer of Abelard, but who would survive only five months in that position – »poisoned by his own« according to a Bolognese chronicler.[44] The list of books bequeathed by Guy at his death included important manuscripts of Abelard's *Theologia christiana* and *Sic et non*, showing Guy to be sympathetic to scholastic educational culture.[45] Bernard was distressed by the extent of Abelard's influence in the curia. At the same time, he supported other schoolmen, like the young Peter Lombard, for whom he wrote a letter of introduction to Saint-Victor, after Peter had studied under Alberic of Rheims.[46]

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39 John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 2.10, ed. Hall, 70-73.

40 *Sententie Parisienses*, ed. Landgraf, 29.

41 Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, Praef., cols. 173-174.

42 Bernard of Clairvaux, Letter 190, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. Leclercq *et al.*, 8: 17-40.

43 Bernard touches on the closeness of Arnold to Abelard in Letter 189.3, ed. Leclercq *et al.*, 8:14; John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis* 31, ed. Chibnall, 63-65; on the political situation in which Arnold was involved, see Mews, Council of Sens.

44 John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis* 31, ed. Chibnall, 63-65; *Corpus chronicorum Bononiensium*, ed. Sorbelli *et al.*, 2: 22 (*Cronaca* A): »Anno Christi MCXL4 [sic] Celestinus secundus sedit mensibus v, diebus 13. Hic natione Tuschus de castro Felicitatis sepultus est in Laterano, ut dicitur, venenatus a suis.« This chronicler reports the restoration of the Senate in 1147, with pride rather than hostility (2:22): »Huius tempore Senatus renovatur in alma urbe Romana.«

45 Wilmart, Livres légués.

46 Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 410, ed. Leclercq *et al.*, 8: 391.

The competitive character of scholastic communities in the mid-twelfth century is also evident from the account offered by John of Salisbury in the *Metalogicon* of his education during the years 1136-1148. He identifies a number of masters under whom he certainly studied in Paris, but never explicitly explains where he learned about the humanistic pedagogical traditions established by Bernard of Chartres and his various disciples, including his brother Thierry, William of Conches, and Gilbert de la Porrée, subsequently bishop of Poitiers.[47] While Richard Southern proposed that John pursued these studies at Paris rather than at Chartres, there can be no doubting the importance of the latter's cathedral library, which included many volumes bequeathed by Thierry of Chartres.[48] Within a philosophical dialogue about the teaching of Gilbert of Poitiers, Everard of Ypres attributes to his friend Ratius a comment that when he listened to Gilbert at Chartres, there were four students in the class, as distinct from three hundred in the lecture hall at Paris (sometime before 1141/1142).[49] The comment highlights the elite character of education at the cathedral school of Chartres, as compared to the situation in Paris, where there was a much greater concentration of masters.

Of particular significance for theology was the emphasis placed at Chartres on the *Opuscula sacra* of Boethius, with its emphasis on presenting core Christian teachings about the Trinity and Christology through philosophical reasoning, rather than through the authority of the Church Fathers. While Thierry of Chartres produced commentaries on the treatise of Boethius on the Trinity that privileged mathematics as a way of speaking about divine harmony, Gilbert of Poitiers (c. 1085-1154), chancellor of its cathedral between 1126 and 1142, composed a much more widely copied philosophical commentary on the work.[50] Gilbert skilfully combined Platonic and Aristotelian traditions by applying the distinction between that which is (*id quod est*) and that by which everything exists (*id quo est*) to both philosophical reality and the Trinity. His reflections were not intended for a mass audience such as could be found in Paris. Yet the fact that his commentaries were preserved in monastic libraries, including of the Cistercians, confirms the inadequacy of assuming that there was ever a single theological perspective pursued in a monastic environment. In his *Historia pontificalis*, John of Salisbury wryly documents the inadequacy of the attempts of Bernard of Clairvaux and his supporters to accuse Gilbert of Poitiers of heresy.[51] John empathized with Gilbert's more philosophically educated perspective on scripture and Christian faith, so different from that of Bernard of Clairvaux. Bernard's devotees emphasized the superiority of religious experience, mediated through scripture (above all the Song of Songs), against those they caricatured as arid scholastic intellectuals, who had lost touch with the true depths of divine revelation.

47 John of Salisbury describes his studies under William of Conches and other masters working in the tradition of Bernard of Chartres in *Metalogicon* 1.24, ed. Hall, 51-55.

48 Southern, Humanism and the school; Giacone, Masters, books and the library; see also Giraud and Mews, John of Salisbury.

49 Everard of Ypres, *Dialogus Ratii et Everardi*, ed. Häring, 252: »Cui Carnoti quartus in lectionem, Parisius in aula episcopi fere tercentesimus assedi.«

50 Thierry of Chartres, *Commentaries on Boethius*; Gilbert of Poitiers, *Commentaries on Boethius.*

51 John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, 13, ed. Chibnall, 28-38.

(2) The Professionalization of Theology and Its Critics: 1150-1200

The deaths of Bernard of Clairvaux in 1153 and Gilbert of Poitiers the following year brought an end to a period of intellectual thought dominated by the clash of a few strong personalities, evident in the heresy trials of Abelard at Sens in 1141 and of Gilbert at Reims in 1148. This did not mean, however, that there was any lessening in the vigour of debate between rival competitive schools. A few Augustinian canons, like Gerhoh of Reichersberg, John of Cornwall, and Walter of Saint-Victor, tended to take over the role of polemicizing against scholastic excess.[52] It would be quite misleading, however, to assume that they represented »monastic theologians«, critical of scholastic theologians in general. Rather, these critics were responding to increasing professionalization in the teaching of a discipline in which there was great diversity of approach.

There was no clear agreement about how teaching should be organized. One of the earliest syntheses (perhaps from the 1140s) was the *Summa sententiarum*, organized into seven relatively concise sections, about discussion of faith in God as a Trinity of persons and as the incarnate Word, the creation of the angels and man, and the various sacraments, concluding with marriage. The fact that there is no certainty about its authorship (assigned variously to Walter of Mortagne or Otto of Lucca) reflects its character as a summary of views rather than as a distinct voice in the classroom.[53] While, in many of its sections, it criticizes views held by Abelard (such as that God could not act other than as he did), there are occasional passages where a distinct position of his (such as the definition of *caritas* as *amor honestus* directed to its appropriate end) is repeated.[54] This reflects the potential capacity of scholasticism to absorb a wide range of opinions. This willingness to embrace views of Abelard is not widespread, however. It does not occur in the eight parts of the *Sententie* of Robert Pullen (c. 1080-1144), a prolix treatise that does not incorporate any significant philosophical discussion into the study of Christian teaching other than an opening allusion to Aristotle's teaching that everything was either substance or accident.[55]

By contrast, Robert of Melun, who taught both dialectic and theology in Paris between the 1130s and 1160, when he returned to England, was much more open to applying his interest in semantic theory to explaining Christian doctrine. He did so in such an extended manner, however, that he never lived to complete the book on the *Sentences* on which he embarked after completing his commentary on the Pauline Epistles. In its prologue, Robert defends his method as a conscious attempt to bring together the method of two great teachers, both of whom he says he has listened to in person – one (Hugh of Saint-Victor) who focused on sacraments, the other (certainly Peter Abelard) on faith and love. He does so while polemicizing against »masters of the glosses« who can quote glosses on scripture with the greatest of ease, but do not understand their import: »For there the text is pruned, the gloss is worshipped with devout veneration, the text is read for the gloss, and the gloss not explained for the sake of the text.«[56] Robert's lament, presumably formulated in the late 1150s or early 1160s,

52 John of Cornwall, *Eulogium*, ed. Häring; Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Letter*, ed. Häring; Walter of Saint-Victor, *Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciae*.

53 Colish, Otto of Lucca.

54 *Summa sententiarum* 7.8, col. 126A.

55 Robert Pullen, *Sententiarum* 1: 1, col. 675A.

56 Robert of Melun, *Sententie*, Prol., ed. Martin 1: 10-12.

touches on a profound shift that was taking place in the Parisian schools. It was provoked by a rapid growth in student numbers and marked by the disappearance of charismatic teachers such as Abelard and Hugh, whose reputation was related more to their personality and commanding presence than to their capacity to provide useful textbooks. The figure who was most influential in promoting study of the *Glossa ordinaria*, a standardized set of glosses on scripture initially developed by Anselm of Laon and his immediate disciples, was Peter Lombard, whose reputation started to develop in the early 1140s, but who would become for a short while bishop of Paris (1159-1160).[57] Lombard's glosses on the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles, composed during the 1140s, would lay the ground for his *Four Books of Sentences.* Unlike Hugh of Saint-Victor, he shows no particular interest in learning from Jewish perspectives on the Hebrew Bible.

Peter Lombard also benefited from having access to Gratian's *Decretum*, initially completed in Bologna c. 1140 as the first great overview of canon law since the time of Ivo of Chartres (c. 1040-1115). Although his focus was on canon law rather than speculative theology, Gratian's analysis (which drew on Abelard's *Sic et non* as well as Ivo's *Decretum*) deserves to be seen as presenting a theological exposition of penance and the sacraments.[58] Lombard was aware of the ambitious attempts of both Peter Abelard and Gilbert of Poitiers to reformulate Christian teaching in terms of their attempts to integrate Aristotelian understanding of language or a Platonic awareness of the forms underpinning creation. Peter Lombard's technique, central to his success, was to eschew explicit philosophical discussion in expounding doctrine, focusing instead on the classic Augustinian teaching that all teaching is about signs or things. While he certainly studied Abelard's *Theologia »Scholarium«* for its discussion of patristic texts, he consciously disagreed with many of Abelard's teachings, such as about the attributes of the three persons, or his argument that God could act only in the way that he did.[59] In this respect, Peter Lombard was fully aware of Bernard's criticisms of Abelard, formulated at the Council of Sens in 1141, but sought to address them by rational discussion of key patristic texts rather than by polemic.

Not everyone agreed with the way Peter Lombard examined particular doctrines, in particular that of Christology. In the two decades after his death, a range of controversialists raised to respect the traditions of Saint-Victor were cautious about the way he discussed Christology in his *Sentences*.[60] They claimed that he identified *Christus* as a term rather than an actual thing (*res*). In 1170, Gerhoh of Reichersberg was one of a group of Augustinian canons who succeeded in getting Pope Alexander III to issue an edict condemning the Christology attributed to Peter Lombard. Their fear was that Peter Lombard's discussion of different views of Christ's identity was challenging Catholic orthodoxy. This polemic served to stoke controversy between two scholarly networks, one shaped by those who studied at the cathedral school of Notre-Dame (where the Lombard had many admirers), the other more influenced by the traditions of Richard of Saint-Victor (d. 1173), see below.

57 Besides Colish, *Peter Lombard,* see also Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*.

58 Wei, *Gratian the Theologian*, 297-301.

59 On Peter Lombard's citations of patristic texts from Abelard's *Theologia »Scholarium«*, see the introduction to the critical edition, CCCM 13: 264-266.

60 Monagle, *Orthodoxy and Controversy.*

Luisa Valente has drawn attention to the intriguing diversity of attitudes to language in theological writings from the later twelfth century. Thus she shows that while Peter Lombard avoided extensive discussion of semantic issues, Robert of Melun, a trained dialectician, gave much attention in his theological *Sententie* to discussing how words could change their meaning in different contexts, notably when they were applied to God. By contrast, Peter of Poitiers (c. 1130-1205), more loyal to Peter Lombard, tends to describe words like *iustus* and *bonus* as properly applied to God, without any discussion of the potential fluidity of their meaning.[61] Prepositinus of Cremona (c. 1140/1150-1210), who studied under Peter Comestor (d. 1178), shows much greater familiarity with contemporary debates about the meaning of words, while remaining loyal to the broad doctrinal assumptions of Peter Lombard.[62] As chancellor of Notre-Dame 1168-1178, Comestor played a key role in promoting the memory and exegetical method of Peter Lombard (d. 1160) within the exegetical schools. His background was more in scripture than the study of language. Nonetheless, Comestor's *Historia scholastica* – a synthesis of biblical history of enormous influence – can be seen, as Mark Clark has argued, as seeking to combine Peter Lombard's interest in debating doctrine with Hugh of Saint-Victor's interest in scripture as the foundation on which all theology rests.[63] Peter Lombard's *Sentences* had the great virtue of providing a solid framework into which discussion of both scripture and dialectic could be integrated.

There were other perspectives, however, that could frame discussion of Christian doctrine. The most important of these was that of the *Porretani*, admirers of Gilbert of Poitiers, whose identity is difficult to discern because Porretan texts, such as *Invisibilia Dei* and the *Summa Zwettlensis*, are frequently anonymous and not widely diffused in manuscript. Their distinguishing feature is that their teachings about the theory of language, in particular about the theory of *translatio*, how words could change their meaning when applied to God, were closely related to those about theology. Perhaps the most brilliant personality associated with this school was Alan of Lille (c. 1125/1130-1203), a figure much influenced by Gilbert of Poitiers. We know little about his career other than that he spent time in the south, most likely at Montpellier in the 1180s.[64] He probably taught for a good deal of his career at Paris, before deciding to end his life as a Cistercian monk. His *Summa »Quoniam homines«*, dated variously to 1160 or 1180, opens with extravagant rhetoric about the liberal arts serving »as a bridge to the imperial domain of the theological faculty« and thus bringing an end to heresy.[65] He drew on the commentary of Scotus Eriugena on Dionysius the Areopagite to explain that *theologia* was both supercelestial (on the divine nature) and subcelestial (on the realm of creation), beyond the domain of natural philosophy.[66] Its specialized terminology meant that it would never reach a wide audience. By contrast, his *Regulae caelestis iuris* formulated an

61 Valente, *Logique et théologie*, 28, 179-183.

62 Valente, *Logique et théologie*, 29, 235-257.

63 Clark, *Historia scholastica*, 23-43.

64 On Alan's career, see d'Alverny, *Textes inédits*, 26-27 and Pearson, *Text and Situation*, 47-52.

65 Alan of Lille, *Summa Quoniam homines*, Prol. 1, ed. Häring, 119: »Cumque liberalium artium ponte introductorio in imperialem theologice facultatis regiam intruduntur, in varias hereses et in varia hereseos precipicia detrusi naufragantur.«

66 *Ibid.* 1.2, ed. Häring, 121.

axiomatic method for theological reflection that was more widely copied, including within Cistercian houses. Alan's emphasis on the capacity of words to change their meaning when applied *improprie* to God was very different from that of Peter Lombard and his followers. The sustained criticisms of such arguments about language made by Prepositinus of Cremona indirectly reveal that Alan of Lille and his admirers played a significant role in offering an alternative perspective on theological language within the Parisian schools in the later twelfth century.

Alan did not confine his teaching to purely abstract, philosophical matters. During his time at Montpellier (c. 1185), he composed his *De fide catholica contra haereticos*, dedicated to William VIII, count of Montpellier (1172-1202), in four books, each directed against the arguments of a specific group: Cathars, Waldensians, Jews and Muslims.[67] Whereas Roscelin and Anselm in the late eleventh century had referred only vaguely to arguments put by Jews and *pagani*, Alan extended what he found in Gilbert Crispin's dialogue, becoming more precise in his presentation of contemporary critiques of Catholic doctrine, and the need for them to be countered by reason as well as authority. His portrayal of specific arguments of each of these groups shows that he sought to restructure the conventional presentation of Christian doctrine becoming standard in the Parisian schools in a way that was more aware of the situation outside a scholastic milieu. In the case of *pagani seu Mahometani*, Alan counters what he claims to be their teachings about Jesus as not having suffered on the cross, material refreshment in Paradise, marriage, and images.[68] Such anti-heretical writing effectively extended theological debate to a wider community than that of the Parisian schools.

Another type of criticism of the type of theology being pursued by disciples of Peter Lombard was that developed by Richard of Saint-Victor (d. 1173), who extended the teaching style of Hugh of Saint-Victor into a more mystical direction, but never developed any overview of Christian doctrine on the pattern of the *De sacramentis*. Andrew of Saint-Victor (d. 1175), who served as its prior in the 1140s before transferring to a new foundation at Wigmore, England, was committed to extending Hugh's interest in the historical dimension of the Hebrew scriptures. He did not apply himself, however, to doctrinal issues. Richard, prior at Saint-Victor from 1162 until his death, gave much more emphasis to its allegorical and moral dimensions, with a particular focus on the ascent and transformation of the soul. Richard was certainly familiar with the writings of St Anselm, never cited by Peter Lombard, and emulated his path of pursuing arguments from reason alone. After Hugh's death in 1141, no single perspective emerged at the abbey although the public school at Saint-Victor seems to have disappeared. In consequence, Saint-Victor functioned much more as a community with canons holding a wide range of perspectives, rather than pursuing a single school of thought.

67 Alan, *De fide*, cols. 305-428; on this text, see Häring, *De fide catholica*, and D'Alverny, Alain de Lille et 1'Islam.

68 Alan, *De fide*, cols. 421-428.

Richard of Saint-Victor's *De trinitate* addresses the same doctrinal question as had confronted Roscelin in the late eleventh century, namely how to explain how an undivided God could also be three distinct persons. Richard's response was to re-assert Abelard's account of the three divine attributes, but doing so by reason alone, with hardly any explicit reference to philosophical or patristic authority.[69] Unlike Peter Lombard, he opened his account of the Trinity by reflecting on how the mind rises in awareness through experience, ratiocination and belief.[70] Underpinning his analysis is a much more dynamic sense of the Trinity than emerges in the first book of the *Sentences*. A favourite concept is that of the fullness (*plenitudo*) of each of the divine attributes, all leading to the fullness of supreme love, both as *caritas* and *amor*. Richard's argument proceeds by way of question and answer, but always referring back to the notion that the divine attributes are known by experience (*experimenta* and *experientia*). He refrains from debating other perspectives until a passage in the sixth book in which he laments those contemporaries (presumably including Peter Lombard) who deny that one divine substance can generate another substance on the grounds that there is a single divine substance.[71] Richard distrusted any theology that seemed to undermine respect for the fullness of divinity in each of the three persons.

Even within the abbey of Saint-Victor, there was no single attitude to other scholastics. Richard's subprior, Walter of Saint-Victor (d. c. 1180) wrote a sustained invective, *Against the Four Labyrinths of France*, in which he attacked Peter Abelard, Gilbert of Poitiers, Peter Lombard, and Peter of Poitiers. By contrast, another canon in the community, Godfrey of Saint-Victor (c. 1125-1195), formulated a much more open attitude to philosophical learning and its relationship to spiritual wisdom in his *Fons philosophiae*, a text that is in many ways closer to the humanism of Alan of Lille.[72] The diversity of perspectives held by different teachers at Saint-Victor reflects the diversity of attitudes to pursuing theological enquiry within the Parisian schools more generally. The abbey provided a space for a range of alternatives to what was increasingly becoming perceived as the post-Lombardian mainstream at the cathedral of Notre-Dame. Its former students were rapidly gaining power in the echelons of the Church.

Peter Lombard's *Sentences* started to become widely accepted as normative after the Third Lateran Council of 1179, where, despite pressure from polemicists like John of Cornwall, no official censure was made of his teaching.[73] Copies continued to circulate in libraries of both monks and canon regulars. Not all monks, however, were aligned to its perspectives. Joachim of Fiore (1135-1202), a former lawyer in the court of Palermo who sought, in the late 1160s, to establish a monastic foundation initially at the Cistercian abbey of Corazzo, developed a very different way of resolving how the three persons might co-exist in one God.[74] His method, however, was not through Anselm's technique of arguing through reason alone, but

69 There is a single reference to Augustine in Richard of Saint-Victor, *De trinitate* 4.20, ed. Ribaillier, 186.

70 Richard of Saint-Victor, *De trinitate* 1.1, ed. Ribaillier, 86.

71 Richard of Saint-Victor, *De trinitate* 6.22, ed. Ribaillier, 259.

72 Godfrey of Saint-Victor, *Fons philosophiae*.

73 Châtillon, Lateran III, 83-88.

74 Studies of Joachim tend to consider his reading of scripture as very different from that of scholastic exegetes. See Potestà, *Tempo dell'Apocalisse*; on Joachim's criticism of Peter Lombard, there has been extensive literature, often (though not always) building on themes of the hostility of monasticism and scholasticism, as in McGinn, Abbot and the doctors. See also Lerner, Joachim and the scholastics, and Daniel, *Heresy and Abbot Joachim.*

through close study of the Old and New Testaments, interpreted, not allegorically, but as a record of the operation of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in history. Joachim's community had no access to or interest in the discussions of language and philosophy that prevailed in Paris. Instead, Joachim drew their attention to scripture as a record of the continually unfolding nature of God's self-revelation both to the Jewish people and, through the Holy Spirit, to all humanity. His sense of the historical foundation of scripture owes much to Hugh of Saint-Victor. Joachim would certainly have encountered Hugh's writings at the Cistercian abbey of Casamari, where he stayed from 1182-1184. It was physically adjacent to the papal residence at Vereoli, from where Pope Alexander III issued his edict against Peter Lombard's Christology in 1170. It is quite possible that Joachim encountered echoes of this polemic at Casamari. Whether or not he came across the concluding polemic in Richard of Saint-Victor's *De trinitate* against certain unnamed masters, Joachim's way of presenting the Trinity was radically different from that of Peter Lombard in being visual rather than conceptual.[75] To explain the Trinity he invoked the image of a psaltery, in which the equal stature of the divine persons was made manifest by its three major corners, which enclosed a circle, symbol of eternity. This self-revelation came to humanity in stages, first through the Father, and only subsequently through the Son and Holy Spirit.[76] To separate the persons from their collective substance was perfidy. When he repeated this complaint in his Commentary on the Rule of Benedict, he identified Peter Lombard as guilty of this heresy. Joachim was here presenting himself as successor to Bernard of Clairvaux as a defender of orthodoxy.[77] His way of reading scripture, however, as a manifestation of the Holy Spirit to the apostolic community, was very different from that of Bernard of Clairvaux, who focused much more on God's Word as visiting the soul. The communities they inspired formulated very different ways of interpreting both scripture and the doctrine of the Trinity.

While Joachim was certainly misreading Peter Lombard's argument, he was consciously imitating the technique of polemicizing against unspiritual schoolmen, such as pursued by Bernard of Clairvaux against Abelard, to consolidate his own identity as a theologian and prophet absorbed by the distinct ways in which God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, manifested themselves in history. Joachim, who never left southern Italy, apart from going on pilgrimage to the Holy Land before deciding to enter monastic life, used the image of Peter Lombard as an unspiritual scholastic to promote an interpretation of scripture that he considered to be more relevant to his own community than anything coming out of the Parisian schools. Peter Lombard's authority was only fully affirmed in 1215, when Pope Innocent III took the unparalleled step of promoting the orthodoxy of Peter Lombard, against what he saw as the unjustified criticisms made of Lombard's trinitarian theology by Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202).[78]

75 On the possibility of Joachim encountering Richard, see Mews and Monagle, Fourth Lateran Council. Yee contrasts Richard's approach to the exegetical foundations of Joachim's Trinitarian theology in »Plenitudo intelligentiarum«, 85-86.

76 Joachim of Fiore, *Psalterium decem chordarum* 1.5, ed. Selge, 77.

77 Joachim of Fiore, *Psalterium decem chordarum* 1.1, ed. Selge, 20; Joachim of Fiore, *Tractatus in Expositionem vite et regule beati Benedicti* 3.2, ed. Patchovsky, 208-209.

78 Concilium Lateranense, 2, in *Conciliorum*, ed. Alberigo *et al.*, 231.

Conclusion

The dynamism of scholastic debate in the twelfth century was generated by intense competition between a range of communities, involving a wide range of monks, regular canons, and secular clergy. To define these debates simply in terms of antagonism between monastic and scholastic currents of thought does not do justice to their complexity. The declaration of Pope Innocent III in favour of Peter Lombard against the criticisms voiced by Joachim of Fiore might seem, on the surface, to epitomize a transition between monastic and scholastic currents of thought, reversing the situation that had prevailed in the late eleventh century, when Anselm of Bec argued against Roscelin of Compiègne. Yet when we explore these various confrontations in more detail, it is evident that even within monastic communities there was great diversity of opinion about how best to interpret the scriptures and formulate doctrine. Rather than speak about monastic theology, as such, it may be more helpful to identify the experiential dimension that certain monks, particularly (but not exclusively) within the Cistercian Order, sought to develop. This was also a perspective that became important at the abbey of Saint-Victor, although not necessarily in an anti-scholastic manner. Bernard of Clairvaux may have disliked the theological claims of Peter Abelard, but this was not a distinctively monastic perspective. He was simply voicing the opinion of many schoolmen, who disliked the willingness of Abelard to criticize established authority.

Not many theologians in the twelfth century repeated the argument made by Roscelin of Compiègne that Latin Christians needed to defend their faith in the same way as Jews and Muslims sought to defend their religious traditions. In practice, they were largely ignorant of the prolific flowering of debate that was taking place within a range of communities, Jewish and Muslim, across the Mediterranean world and beyond. They were more preoccupied by the problem of diverse interpretation within Christian tradition than by the challenge of how to co-exist with other religious traditions. Yet a significant number of those twelfth century masters and their communities were aware that they had much to learn from voices from outside Latin Christendom. There was no agreement on how these voices should be put together. We may be much better placed in the twenty-first century to appreciate the parallels as well as contrasts between those various communities. The particular value of studying scholasticism in twelfth century Europe is that we can see the diversity of ways which different communities developed to question the intellectual and religious traditions that they inherited. Rather than look at scholasticism in terms of a stable synthesis embodied in the vision of its greatest exponents, it may be more helpful to look at its internal diversity as its most distinctive feature. This, in turn, may help us to the further task of situating Latin scholasticism within the wider context of the educational structures of otherwise very different religious traditions.

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Abbreviations

BGPMA = Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters
CCCM = Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL = Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
PL = Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina

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Rethinking Buddhist Scholastic Communities Through a Socio-Historical Lens

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My early work on scholasticism initially focused on the Tibetan tradition, and later on scholasticism as a comparative category. This scholarship was based almost exclusively on the doctrinal writings of scholastics. While valuable in starting a conversation, in the intervening years I have realized that a more diachronic perspective that emphasizes the social and institutional aspects of scholastic communities is needed. This paper considers three moments in the history of Indian (and to a lesser extent Tibetan) monastic communities of learning: when they first came into being, when they were flourishing, and when they started to die out. Stability, writing, and a commitment to confronting rivals, I argue, are conditions without which Buddhist scholastic communities would not have emerged in India. Although much could be said about the character of these communities during their halcyon days, I focus on three practices that are important to scholastic identity in India and Tibet: debate, commentary, and prayer. Finally, I consider some of the internal challenges and external threats that these communities faced in their twilight.

Keywords: scholasticism; India; Tibet; stability; writing; literacy; orality; argumentation; debate; commentary; prayer; ritual; apophaticism; persecution; book burning

I began to think about scholasticism in the mid-1980s. Having just finished a translation of a Tibetan work on Madhyamaka philosophy – Khedrupjé's (Mkhas grub rje, 1385-1438) *Great Digest on Emptiness (Stong thun chen mo)* – I was contemplating how best to contextualize that work.[1] Khedrupjé was a monk and a textualist; he had a keen interest in the interpretation of scripture; and he was a committed rationalist and polemicist. What other communities, I asked myself, approached religion in this way? The study of scripture (and more generally of texts), is central to many religions: Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and Confucianism, to name just a few. These traditions (or some branches of them) have also emphasized rationality and argumentation. Did these various movements have *enough* in common to warrant grouping them together under a single rubric – to justify considering them »types« of some broader category? If so, what would be that genus of which these various traditions were the species, and how would one construe that broader comparative category?

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1 Cabezón, *Dose of Emptiness.*

eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s33

Contemplating these questions, I suggested, first in a monograph[2] and then more fully in the introduction to an edited volume,[3] that scholasticism was that genus, and as the starting point for a dialogue, I posited a number of features that I thought scholasticisms might share.

1. *A strong sense of tradition.* Scholastics self-identify with a lineage – often claimed to be unbroken – descending from the distant past. This is seen as vulnerable, as threatened by rivals and or by a natural process of decay that is endemic to history. Scholasticism's defense and preservation of tradition is the response to these threats. Identification with and privileging of the past makes scholasticism conservative and cautious about change. Of course, scholastic traditions do change and innovate, but they are loath to admit it.
2. *A concern with language in general, and with scripture and its exegesis in particular*. Ineffabilist and apophatic forms of religion, the »opposite« of scholasticism in some sense, are skeptical about language – about language's ability to express the highest truths. By contrast, scholastics revel in language and consider it to be indispensable to deliverance (however that be conceived). Scholastics produce written texts, memorize them, recite them, write commentaries on them, and argue about their meaning. This is not to say that linguistic/conceptual understanding is always considered an end in itself. Some scholastic traditions have a strong mystical component and maintain that extra-linguistic religious experiences are essential to salvation, but they also maintain that the only way to those experiences is through language – through deep intellectual engagement with texts.
3. *Proliferativity*. Scholastic traditions are inclusivistic. Rather to include different ideas, literary works, practices – even if this means having to reconcile inconsistencies – than to exclude and thereby risk the loss of something essential. Some scholastic traditions push inclusivism quite far, claiming that even non-religious forms of learning (grammar, medicine, art, etc.) that are not typically a part of religious learning should be studied and mastered.[4]
4. *Completeness and compactness of the canon.* Scholastics claim that their canon is complete: that nothing essential to the project of salvation has been left out or overlooked. They also claim that the canon is compact – that everything found in the canon has a purpose and that no doctrine or practice is extraneous.[5]

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2 Cabezón, *Buddhism and Language.*

3 Cabezón, *Scholasticism.*

4 Mahāyāna Buddhism in particular makes a connection between vast study and the attainment of buddhahood. For example, Maitreya's *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*, fol. 15b, states: »Unless he studies the five sciences, even the highest noble being will not obtain omniscience. So strive to do this, both to defeat [the heterodox], to help others, and to become omniscient yourself.« Śāntideva states in his *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, fol. 14a, »There is nothing that the children of the Conqueror do not study. There is no merit that scholars so trained will not attain.« His commentator Kalyāṇadeva (eleventh century?) adds that »[bodhisattvas] always study everything… even the afflictions… but not in such a way that it leads to *saṃsāra*«; *Bodhisattvacaryāvatārasaṃskāra*, fol. 39a.

5 Longdol Lama (Klong rdol bla ma, 1719-1794), who is known for compiling lists of important doctrinal terms, is quoted in his biography as saying, »[Some may claim] that it is unnecessary to compile a lot of lists of difficult terms of subjects that one has already studied. However, some lamas have said that when, at some future point, one achieves the eighth bodhisattva stage and obtains the ›samādhi of valor‹, all of the doctrines that one had previously studied manifest [in one's mind].« The implication is that even if knowledge is lost in the short-term – for example, in the transition from one life to the next – it is recuperated at some future point. Rta tshag, *Klong rdol*, 44.

5. *A belief in the epistemic accessibility of the world.* The universe, scholastics maintain, is orderly and intelligible. Most important, the path to salvation is intellectually accessible to human beings. Scholastics may have different theories of what knowledge is and how it works. Some consider certain aspects of the world – for example, the ultimate – to be inaccessible. But most scholastics have a robust epistemology, and they maintain that the acquisition of knowledge is an important part of the religious path.
6. *Systematicity.* Scholastics strive to reproduce in their writings the basic orderliness of the world. Their literature often has a complex structure that divides and subdivides the subject matter to ensure (a) a logical flow to the »narrative«, and (b) consistency between its different parts. This orderliness is seen as essential to pedagogy.
7. *Rationalism.* The reasoned elucidation of doctrine and the rational defense of tenets are perhaps the most central attribute of scholasticism. Rational, conceptual understanding may be a stepping-stone to some supra-rational, religious experience, to the ethical transformation of the person, or to both, but reasoned understanding is considered an important aspect of the religious life.
8. *Self-reflexivity,* the critical analysis of first-order practices. Scholastics not only engage in exegesis or commentary, but also in second-order reflection on hermeneutics. They comment on texts, but they also reflect on why commentary is necessary, how one should go about it, etc. They not only engage in rational argumentation, but also theorize about what constitutes a rational argument, the conditions that make inference valid or invalid, and so on.

This list – crafted almost thirty years ago – derived chiefly from my work on Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. I offered it as a starting point for a broader conversation and invited scholars of other religions to consider whether or not these features were found in the traditions they studied. I did not expect that *all* of these attributes would be found in every tradition, but if scholasticism was a viable cross-cultural »genus«, then I expected that the various »species« – Christian, Islamic, Confucian, etc. – would be related in a complex way. Buddhist and Islamic scholasticism might have some features in common, but these might not be the same ones that Islamic scholasticism would share with Confucian scholasticism, and so on. In other words, I expected that the generic category *scholasticism* would cohere through the relational patterns that Wittgenstein called »family resemblances«. As different historical traditions were considered, I thought, they would suggest to us other attributes not present in my list, and some of the ones that I initially thought to be central, I realized, might instead be only peripheral. As Ernest Gellner states, »we can never be sure that data that come our way in the future will still fit into the generalization set up on the basis of past data.«[6] As other, non-Buddhist examples were considered, I expected that certain features would emerge as more central than others, but I never expected that we would find an essence to scholasticism, a single set of features that all scholastic traditions would share. I will not say any more about that earlier work except that it was an interesting exercise in comparative, cross-cultural analysis.[7]

6 Gellner, Concepts and community, 167-186.

7 The similarities and differences between the various traditions considered – medieval Latin, Islamic, Judaic, Taoist, and Neo-Confucian – are discussed in the conclusion to my edited book *Scholasticism.*

Moving Forward

Since those early reflections on scholasticism I have thought about these issues many times, most recently while writing a book on Sera Monastery,[8] one of Tibet's premier monastic academies and an example of a scholastic community if there ever was one. As I started to write my book on Sera, I realized that to truly understand such an institution one first needed to understand the Indian background, the evolution of monasticism and scholasticism in India. While my earlier work on scholasticism was not irrelevant to this, I also realized that it was synchronic – a snapshot of one form of scholasticism, chiefly Tibetan Geluk (Dge lugs) during one period of Tibetan history (fifteenth to seventeenth century). It did not explore the Indian antecedents of Tibetan scholasticism, the conditions that made Indian scholasticism possible in the first place, how elite scholarly communities had evolved on the subcontinent, or the way they changed under different historical, economic, and political conditions. Synchronic and structuralist approaches are valuable, but they are not sufficiently rich to fully understand a religious phenomenon. They need to be complemented with more diachronic, functionalist, and sociological approaches. This is what I propose to do in this paper. Focusing chiefly on India, but with occasional references to Tibet, I offer here a more historical and dynamic approach to scholasticism.

The discussion has three parts. The first explores the conditions necessary for the emergence of scholarly communities in India. Buddhism did not develop a scholastic tradition until the first centuries of the Common Era. Why did it take 500 years for this to occur? What conditions facilitated this shift? The second section deals with three key features of Indo-Tibetan scholastic communities: memorization, debate, and religious practice (including ritual, prayer, merit-making, and meditation). Each of these are mammoth topics in their own right, so I focus in each case on an aspect that has become central to my thinking on these matters over the past decades. The third and final portion of the paper examines two challenges to Buddhist scholasticism, one intellectual or ideological, and the other political-economic.

Part I: Conditions for the Possibility of Scholasticism

Is it a foregone conclusion that Buddhism would have developed a culture of specialized learning – that it would become scholastic? The Buddha of the canonical »sermons« – of the Nikāyas and Āgamas – is often critical of metaphysical speculation and fixed doctrinal viewpoints. In the *Cula Malunkya Sutta* (Majjhima Nikāya 26),[9] he is asked a series of questions about the origins and end of the world, the relationship of body and self, and what happens to a buddha after he dies. He responds with the famous parable of the arrow. Would a man who has been struck by a poisoned arrow refuse treatment until he is given complete information about the archer who shot him and the details of the bow, arrow, and poison he used? Surely not; he would insist on being treated immediately. Likewise, the Buddha says,

8 Cabezón and Dorjee, *Sera Monastery*.

9 *Cula Malunkya Sutta*, 26; see also the *Aggi Vacchagotta Sutta*, a critique of fixed positions, and the *Sabbasava Sutta*, where such positions are called »a wilderness of views«.

he offers a therapy for suffering, not speculation that is »unconnected to the goal, not fundamental to the holy life«.[10] This response suggests a certain skepticism about doctrinal speculation that lacks direct salvific utility. And yet the Buddha himself often engaged opponents in philosophical arguments.[11] And the monks' ordination ritual – an early text – concludes by stressing the importance of study.

> From this day forward, you should receive instructions on the scriptures (*āgama, lung*); you should recite them [for others] (*klag pa*) and rehearse them [for yourself] (*kha ston byed pa*). You should master the [teachings of] the aggregates; master the elements; master the sense bases; master dependent arising; master what is right and wrong… You should not give up striving to achieve these ends.[12]

The Vinaya therefore enjoins monks to study and to gain an understanding of Buddhist doctrine. In the end, Buddhist scholarly communities did emerge in India, but if this was not a foregone conclusion, then what conditions made the scholastic project possible? Three come to mind: the shift from a peripatetic to a sedentary lifestyle, the emergence of writing, and intellectual exchanges with competing schools of thought.

Stability

Like other ancient South Asian ascetic orders, the early Buddhist monastic community was itinerant.[13] The Buddha himself traveled extensively, and he urged his monks to follow his example and take to the road »in every direction« so as to preach »for the good of the many, out of compassion for the world«. In their travels, monks would spend the night in parks and groves, under trees, in caves, empty buildings, and, when so invited, in people's houses. Other mendicant sects remained sedentary for the three or four months of the rainy season. But wandering was so central to early Buddhist asceticism that monks initially traveled even during the rains. This led to criticism, as mendicants of other sects denounced Buddhist monks to the laity as uncaring about the insects – more common during the rains – that they might trample underfoot. »Friends, these monks, the sons of Śākya, kill; they have not renounced

10 For an analysis of why certain questions are left unanswered or unexplained by the Buddha of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, a Mahāyāna work, see Solomon, *Indian Dialectics* 2, 722-723.

11 See Solomon, *Indian Dialectics* 2, 678, for references to some of the Buddha's more important conversations with rivals and his method of argumentation. See also Manné, Dīgha Nikāya debates, 117-136.

12 *Vinayavastu*, 1, fol. 87b.

13 There are some exceptions to the rule that monks must wander. Monks who were too old were exempted, as were novices and new monks who were still being trained. But in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (*Vinayavastu*, 1, fols. 99a-b), the Buddha tells monks who had been ordained for at least five years and who knew the monks' rules that they had to leave their teachers and wander (*gnas par mi bya'i ljong rgyur bya ste*) after the rains retreat.

killing … They trample upon many hosts of insects and microorganisms and deprive them of life.«[14] The Buddha then relented and permitted his monks and nuns to also observe the *varṣa* (Tib. *g.yar gnas*), the »rainy season retreat«. The first rains retreat brought together monks who were not used to living in community and rules had to be instituted to socialize them into a communal life.[15]

Shortly after the Buddha's enlightenment, the Magadhan king Bimbisāra offered him a garden or park (*ārāma*)[16] called Veluvana, the »Bamboo Grove«. Other similar gifts – the Jetavana, offered by the wealthy banker Anathapiṇḍada, etc. – followed. Structures were built at these sites, but they were only temporary dwellings, and early monks continued to wander even after patrons had built *vihāra*s, the first rudimentary monasteries.[17] That said, the adoption of the rains retreat appears to be a turning point in the history of the order, beginning a slow transition from itinerancy to the sedentary life that would characterize later Buddhist monasticism.[18]

We do not know precisely when the Buddhist saṅgha became sedentary or cenobitic – when it made the transition from a wandering to a communal way of life – and this probably happened in different places at different times, but archeological evidence suggests that it was before the second century BCE.[19] This kind of stability, I believe, is a prerequisite to the emergence of Buddhist scholastic communities, for it is hard to imagine that a loosely knit and peripatetic group of monks could have given rise to a culture of deep learning and intellectual specialization. Wandering monks had less leisure: less time to study, to teach, and to write. And the material artefacts that scholars required, especially physical books, could not, of course, be easily transported from one place to another. Non-Buddhist Indian traditions of learning often survived in familial lineages without bonds to formal institutions like monasteries. But this was hardly possible in ascetic traditions like Buddhism in which religious specialists renounced the family life. Lay scholars were exceedingly rare in Buddhist India, and it is not surprising that some of them – like Candragomin (fl. sixth century CE) – ended up living in monasteries, the most natural home of Buddhist scholars.

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14 *Vinayavastu*, 1, fols. 332a-b.

15 This is reflected in the texts, which show a great deal of concern with monks' behavior – especially their speech – during this time. For instance, monks were advised, at the beginning of the retreat, not to engage in idle gossip, but not to go so far as to keep total silence. In the interest of communal harmony, monks were also not allowed, for the duration of the retreat, to point out each other's faults – something that the Vinaya otherwise compelled them to do.

16 On the relationship of the Buddhist *vihāra* or *ārāma* to the Indian garden, see, Schopen, *Buddhist Nuns*, chap. 11.

17 The Vinaya itself suggests that itinerancy continued to be the norm. For example, in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu*, the Buddha requires monks to start wandering immediately upon the end of the rains retreat – going a substantial distance from the site as soon as the retreat was over so that they would not grow attached to the place.

18 P. V. Bapat noted long ago that the Pāli Vinaya (*Mahāvagga* 15.4) also suggests that monks spent time during the rains retreat – or at least during its closing ceremonies, the Pavāraṇā – teaching and discussing doctrine, which may be one of the first acts of Buddhist intra-communal teaching and learning. He further suggests, intriguingly, that the expression *dhammakathika* found in that passage refers to doctrinal specialists who engaged in debate (*kathā*). Bapat, *2500 Years of Buddhism*, 179-180,

19 See Shaw, Buddhist monasteries.

In Tibet too monasticism was central to both the emergence and the preservation of specialized learning. Buddhist texts were first translated into Tibetan in monasteries beginning in the ninth century with the patronage of the Tibetan royal court. When, after a hiatus of two centuries, scholarly learning was revived in Tibet, this took two distinct paths: the translation and transmission of Indian texts (1) through lay translators who traveled to India and passed on their newly acquired (mostly Tantric) knowledge privately to small groups, often privileging members of their own family or clan; and (2) through court-sponsored monk-scholars who trained in India and then returned to Tibet to found monasteries, passing on their (mostly exoteric) knowledge to other monks. The lay Tantric translators – individuals like Drogmi ('Brog mi shākya ye shes, 992-1043), Marpa (Mar pa chos kyi blo gros, 1002-1097), Gö ('Gos khug pa lhas btsas, eleventh century), Ra (Rwa lo rdo rje grags, 1016-1128), etc. – transmitted their esoteric teachings to select disciples, often charging vast sums, in part to pay off the debt they had incurred from their trips to India. Monk scholars did not have such debt because they were being sponsored by patrons like the kings of Ngari in western Tibet. Because monks were unencumbered with familial obligations and concerns over patrimony, and because their teachings were also (mostly) of an exoteric sort, they were more free, transmitting their knowledge publically to other monks. Not only were monks more open-handed, the teachings themselves were »safer« in monasteries. Tibetan history shows us that when it comes to the preservation of a tradition, patrilineal descent is not as effective as monasticism. Too much can go wrong – the failure to produce progeny, infighting within the family, unqualified or uninterested heirs – to make hereditary transmission very effective. There are, of course, exceptions, but as a rule, only those Tibetan religious lineages that made their way into monasteries were preserved for posterity.[20] In any case, the model of private instruction was eventually eclipsed by the public pedagogy that was available in monasteries. By the end of the twelfth century, it was no longer necessary for Tibetans to travel to India to study Buddhism or to pay large sums for instruction; they could simply enter one of a number of Tibetan monasteries and get a first-rate Buddhist education for free. In Tibet as in India, communal monasticism was the social structure most conducive to the emergence and preservation of Buddhist learning.

20 Take, for example, the tradition called Severance or Chö (Chod), first expounded by the female saint Machig Labdrön (Ma cig lab sgron, 1055-1149). Chö as a distinct school died out, but its key practices survived because they were preserved by monks and nuns, who have been the custodians of these teachings for a millennium. Likewise, Drogmi's *Path and Effect* (Lam 'bras) instructions almost died out during the period, early in their history, when they were transmitted privately. They survived because of the decision of the Tibetan scholar Sachen (Sa chen kun dga' snying po, 1092-1158) to make them more public, and they only flourished when they began to be taught and practiced in monasteries like Sakya.

The Transition from Orality to Literacy

Shortly after the Buddha's death, the elder Mahākāśyapa is said to have convened a council of 500 monks at Rājagṛha, the capital of the Magadhan kingdom, and had them recite everything that they could remember of what the Buddha had taught.[21] Different portions of the Buddha's teachings were then assigned to different monks, who memorized them (or some version of them) and became responsible for orally transmitting them to their disciples. This oral tradition continued even after the teachings began to be written down shortly before the turn of the Common Era.

Passages suggesting how new monks were trained by their teachers are found scattered throughout the Buddhist canon. In the *Vinayavastu*, for example, two newly ordained monks are set to memorizing a portion of the Buddhist canon, the Ekottarikāgama collection, »And making great effort, they were able to recite it, which caused those monks' teacher to rejoice.«[22] The same text mentions the proper way of receiving the transmission of scriptures (*lung nod pa*): with one's eyes open, facing the teacher, and sitting close to him.[23] One of the inscriptions of the Mauryan king Aśoka (Minor Rock Edict no. 3) suggests that in the third century BCE monks were still transmitting the scriptures only in an oral fashion, for after mentioning a number of different sermons of the Buddha, the edict is silent about any physical texts and instead urges monks and nuns to »constantly listen to and remember« them.

21 The account is found in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Kṣudrakavastu*, 2, fol. 473b. See also Skilling, Redaction, recitation, and writing, 55-60, for discussions of the councils in other works, and Allon, Oral composition and transmission.

22 See, for example, *Vinayavastu*, 1, fol. 134b.

23 *Ibid.*, fol. 144b.

Monks and nuns may have started to memorize and recite scriptural material even during the Buddha's own lifetime,[24] but it is really after his death – when the preservation of the teachings hinges on memorization – that this activity becomes so central to the tradition. The *Vinayavibhaṅga* implies that there was a division of labor in the saṅgha. In one story, a newly ordained monk is told by his teacher that »the work of monks is of two kinds: meditation and recitation (*klog pa*).« The young monk is given a choice of which path to take. He chooses to be a reciter. But his teacher is a meditator, so he sends the boy to another elder to learn the scriptures, which the young man masters in due time.[25] In another case, a novice is asked to make a choice between the two options and he chooses *both*. As a result, he trains as a reciter in the summers and as a meditator during the winters, perfects both skills, and becomes an arhat.[26] The Vinaya mentions great feats of memorization – instances of monks *and nuns*[27] memorizing one of the four large collections of sermons, called the Āgamas, in its entirety, or even the entire canon, the Tripiṭaka. Even the laity, to a limited extent, memorized scripture.[28] The scriptures were not only supposed to be memorized and recited, they were also supposed to be understood and contemplated. The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya speaks of four or five stages in the acquisition of scriptural knowledge: receiving the text orally from the teacher (*lung 'bogs pa*), memorizing it (*dran par byed pa*), reciting it (*kha ston byed pa*), familiarizing oneself with the content (*'dri bar byed pa*), and contemplating it (*yid la byed pa*).

Although memorization and study were clearly valued, the Vinaya also exhibits a certain ambivalence about learning. Words were seen as dangerous things. Like a snake, they can »bite«, causing harm to those who do not know how to handle them properly.[29] Monks are censured when they simply recite what they have memorized without thinking about what the words mean.[30] They are criticized for studying the scriptures just to defeat opponents

24 Anālayo, *Dīrgha-āgama Studies,* 488-499. The discussion revolves around the *Saṅgīti Sutta*, Dīgha Nikāya 33. There, Sāriputta leads the monks in a joint recitation (*saṅgīti*) so that the Buddhist saṅgha might avoid the infighting that had befallen a rival monastic group. This suggests not only that monks performed recitations during the Buddha's own lifetime, but that the communal recitation of the Buddha's teachings was seen as having the social function of unifying the monastic community. See also Skilling, Redaction, recitation, and writing, 54. In a fascinating passage in the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya's *Kṣudrakavastu* (1, fols. 67n-68a), the lay devotee Anāthapiṇḍada hears non-Buddhists reciting their scriptures and thinks to himself, »Their religion may be wrong, but they recite their texts in a sonorous deep voice, whereas when our noble monks recite the texts, it sounds like a pile of juniper berries crackling underfoot.« He therefore goes to the Buddha, shares his thoughts, and from then on Buddhist monks too recite in sonorous, deep voices.

25 *Vinayavibhaṅga*, 1, fol. 181b.

26 *Vinayavibhaṅga,* 1, fols. 375a-b; and 3, fol. 94b.

27 Nuns who had mastered the Tripiṭaka are mentioned in the *Vinayavibhaṅga*, 3, fols. 156a and 336a; and several times in the *Bhikṣuṇīvinayavibhaṅga*, fol. 249b-250b, 387b, etc., including the case of a young girl who is an expert reciter of scripture (fols. 253a-b). See also Anālayo, *Dīrgha-āgama Studies*, 497.

28 See, for example, *Vinayavibhaṅga*, 1, fol. 241a, where a Brahmin asks a monk whether lay people are allowed to memorize the three baskets. The monk replies that they are allowed to memorize two of them – the Sūtras and the Abhidharma – but not the Vinaya.

29 For the canonical references to this analogy – that words are like a snake – see Anālayo, *Dīrgha-āgama Studies*, 467 n. 62. Monks are not only warned of the dangers of words in general, but in the Pāli tradition also of specific genres of literature, most notably poetry, on which see Upali Sramon, Elements, 19-39.

30 Anālayo, *Dīrgha-āgama Studies,* 468, 470-471.

in debate.[31] They are scolded for being stingy and not sharing with others what they have learned.[32] Erudite monks who are arrogant are also severely criticized.[33] In sum, the study of the scripture is viewed as being filled with snares, and being a master of the Tripiṭaka was not seen as a guarantee of holiness. But when pursued correctly – when a monk understood both the words and the meaning of the scriptures, when he used his learning to liberative ends, freely shared it with others, and remained humble – both learning and the learned are extolled.

The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya contains different layers that belong to different periods. When it mentions the scriptures or the Tripiṭaka, it is mostly referring to these collections as orally transmitted texts. Had Indian Buddhism remained a strictly oral tradition, it is unlikely that we would have seen the rise of scholasticism. How, after all, would one go about composing a commentary without writing? And even if that were possible, how would such a text be preserved? There is no record (as far as I know) of commentaries or treatises – the principal »medium« of Buddhist scholasticism – being composed or transmitted in a strictly oral format. Put more simply, Buddhist scholasticism would not have been possible without writing.

Per the testament of Nearchus, an officer in Alexander's army, writing was being used in the Indus river basin in the fourth century BCE, but Megasthenes states that writing did not exist in Magadha around 300 BCE.[34] This suggests that writing spread from west to east. Writing grew in popularity from the reign of Aśoka in the mid third century BCE. When the Vinaya makes reference to the scriptures, as we have noted, it mostly assumes that these are oral texts. But some passages in the Vinaya, which perhaps date to a later period, refer to writing and books.[35] The *Vinayavastu*, for example, speaks of a boy who learned writing (*yi ge 'bru ba,* sic.), reading (*bklag pa*), and poetry (*snyan dngags bya ba*).[36] When the same work discusses how the community ought to dispose of the property of a deceased monk, it states that a portion should go »to the Dharma«, which it glosses as »the writing of the Buddha's word«, i.e., to funding written texts.[37] It also speaks about the disposition of a deceased

31 Anālayo, *Dīrgha-āgama Studies*, 467. Although argumentation and debate would become an important part of monastic learning in later times, during the early period it is often condemned. See Solomon, *Indian Dialectics* 2, 683-686. And yet, as Manné (Dīgha Nikāya debates) has shown, over half of the suttas in the Dīgha Nīkaya have the Buddha debating various opponents.

32 The *Vinayavastu*, 2, fol. 505a-b, tells the tale of such a monk in verse. »In my past life, I was a learned ascetic, a holder of the Tripiṭaka, but I was stingy with the Dharma. I would not recite or explain the Dharma to other monks, thinking that if I did so, they would become as learned as me…« The monk, however, has a change of heart when he is close to death and spends the last week of his life in a teaching marathon to make up for his earlier stinginess. When he dies, he is reborn as a god. See also *Vinayavibhaṅga*, 3, 116b-117a. Analayo, *Dīrgha-āgama*, 468, also mentions monks who memorize texts but who do not teach; they are compared to clouds that thunder but give no rain.

33 *Vinayavastu*, 1, fols. 174b-175a, is a narrative of a monk who had mastered the entire Tripiṭaka, but who had become arrogant. A similar story – of learning leading to arrogance – is found in *ibid.*, fol. 347a-b.

34 Stoneman, *Greek Experience of India*, 402-403.

35 See Bronkhorst, Literacy and rationality, 797-831. On various references to writing in Indian Buddhist texts see Skilling, Redaction, recitation, and writing, 61-62. Skilling also discusses Tibetan historians' views that the Tripiṭaka was first written down at the time of the third council.

36 *Vinayavastu*, 1, fol. 336a.

37 *Vinayavastu*, 3, fol. 167a.

monks' books. His Buddhist books, it says, are to be kept for the use of the community and placed in the monastery's library (*mdzod*). His non-Buddhist books are to be sold and the funds distributed to the Saṅgha.[38] All of this implies that at the time that these portions of the Vinaya were redacted around the third century CE, monks knew how to read and write, collected Buddhist and non-Buddhist books, and stored those books in libraries.

Unlike the Vinaya, which makes reference to both oral and written traditions, early Mahāyāna literature – for example, the *Perfection of Wisdom in 8000 Lines (Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā)*, which dates to slightly before the Common Era[39] – emphasizes writing and books from the outset. The *Aṣṭa* suggests that the Perfection of Wisdom ought to be made into books (*pustakagatām kṛtvā, glegs bam du chud par byas pa*) which ought to be preserved (*dhārayet, 'chang ba*), stored (*sthāpayet, bzhag pa*), and worshipped in various ways (*bahu-vidhābhiś ca pūjābhiḥ … pūjayet, mchod pa rnam pa mang po dag gis mchod par byed pa*).[40] The copying, reading, worship, explanation, and gift of physical books is also enjoined upon Mahāyānists in later Prajnāpāramitā commentarial literature, specifically in the list of »ten activities in regard to the Dharma«.[41] By the mid second century CE there were enough Buddhist books in circulation that the Parthian scholar An Shigao could translate some 176 different Buddhist works (a million words) into Chinese.[42] By the third century CE, writing and books were so integral to Buddhism that the Buddha's biography gets rewritten to include an episode, missing in the earlier biographies, in which he goes to school (*lipiśālā*) and there demonstrates his mastery of writing. The episode also starts to be depicted in Gandharan art in this same period (figures 1 and 2).[43]

38 *Ibid.* See also Walser, *Nāgārjuna in Context,* 142-147; and Bronkhorst, Literacy and rationality, 27.

39 See Falk and Karashima, First-century *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript.

40 *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, ed. Vaidya, 32; *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rgyad stong pa*, 1, fol. 58a. See also De Simini, *Of Gods and Books* for an overview of recent research on the cult of the book (or »manuscript«) in early Mahāyāna.

41 These are the *daśathā dharmacaritam, chos spyod pa rnam pa bcu.* The list is found in a verse, quoted by many later authors, in *Distinguishing Between Middle and Extremes* (*Madhyāntavibhāga*, fol. 44a), a text attributed to Maitreya and dating to the third or fourth century. Vasubandhu's *Commentary*, the *Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya*, fols. 21a-b, glosses each of the ten. The source for the Sanskrit equivalents is the *Mahāvyutpatti* lexicon (nos. 903-913). See also Negi, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, 1286.

42 Tajadod, Role of Iranians, 61-62.

43 See Hargreaves, Masterpieces of Oriental art, 131-133; Ali and Qazi, *Gandharan Sculptures*, 68-70; Ducoeur, Bodhisattva à la salle, 385-424.

Figure 1: The young Buddha goes to school on a ram. Sahri Bahlol, Pakistan, second to third century CE. Peshawar Museum, access no. 3736. Photo: J. Cabezón.

Figure 2: The young Buddha (right) approaches his seated teacher in the classroom to show him his writing tablet. Gandhara, exact provenance unknown. Peshawar Museum, access no. 2737. Photo: J. Cabezón.

Writing transformed Buddhism. Even if texts can be passed down accurately in a strictly oral fashion (the Vedas are proof of this), oral texts are not as easily commented upon, quoted, summarized, debated, or taught. In the mid twentieth century, a number of European and North American scholars (most notably Eric Havelock, Walter Ong, and Jack Goody) began to explore the cultural and psychological implications of writing. Something quite radical takes place, they claimed, when literacy emerges in a society that had previously transmitted its traditions only orally. Among other things, the written word permits new and more complex forms of knowledge – for example, philosophy. Whatever the truth of these theories – and there have indeed been challenges – writing clearly changed the face of the Buddhist tradition. Economically, writing introduced new patterns of patronage, since the production of written texts required investment in raw materials (ink, birch bark or palm leaves, etc.) as well as human labor (scribes).[44] Writing also made it possible, or at least easier, for monks to begin authoring commentaries and independent treatises (*śāstra*s).[45] The *śāstra* genre, and especially the versified synoptic form that allowed monks to summarize and organize large quantities of scriptural material, made the canon more accessible, especially to students. The scholastic texts par excellence, *śāstra*s are highly intertextual, constantly quoting or borrowing from other works. It is hard to imagine that Buddhist monks could have composed such complex works in the absence of writing. And just as writing was essential to the composition of *śāstras*, it was also essential to teaching them – that is, to scholastic pedagogy. This is not to say that writing replaced the oral dimension of Buddhist learning, for we know that monks continued to memorize and transmit the scriptures orally for centuries after writing was introduced. Although the study of first-order scripture is never abandoned, therefore, over time the second-order *śāstra*s partly displaced scripture as the focus of scholarly attention and pedagogy.[46] Tibetans went even further, practically abandoning the study of scripture and constructing their curricula around the study of śāstric works.

44 On the new economies of patronage that writing inaugurated, see Walser, *Nāgārjuna in Context.*

45 Rules for composing exegetical works were set forth by Vasubandhu in his *Science of Exegesis (Vyākhyāyukti).* On this work, see Cabezón, Vasubandhu's Vyākhyāyukti; Nance, *Speaking for Buddhas*; and Schoening, Sūtra commentaries.

46 The Tibetan historian Tāranātha (1575-1634) states that before the seventh century Indian Buddhist monks »focused chiefly on explaining the Mahāyāna *sūtra*s and explained the *śāstra*s as an ancillary enterprise. But after that, the situation was reversed. With the exception of the Prajñāpāramitā, study focused on the treatises, and it was these texts [i.e. the *śāstra*s] that were disseminated.« Tāranātha, *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, 208. For a list of the most important Buddhist *śāstra*s – both exoteric and esoteric – in eleventh-century India, see the final pages of Atiśa's *Ratnakaraṇḍodghata nāma madhyamakopadeśa*, fols. 112b-116b.

Exchanges with Rival Schools

Neither stability nor writing was enough to bring about Buddhist scholasticism. One other condition was necessary. The seventh-century Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti famously claimed that we understand words and concepts by understanding what they are not. If this is true at all, then it is as true of communities as it is of quotidian things. Similar ideas – that identity or self-consciousness emerges in conversation or dialogue with »the other« – are found in the work of a variety of thinkers from William James to Michael Bakhtin.[47] Scholastic communities too came to understand who they were by understanding who they were not, by distinguishing themselves from rivals by studying their works and by arguing against them.

Rational argumentation in India is very old, certainly predating Buddhism.[48] Accounts of arguments and debates are found in the oldest Upaniṣads. The Buddhist *sūtra*s also portray the Buddha as debating with different interlocutors,[49] and there are miscellaneous references in non-Buddhist works to debates between Buddhist monks and followers of other traditions – some during the Buddha's own lifetime.[50] Early Buddhist attitudes to rational inquiry, debate, and argumentation (*vāda*) are ambivalent.[51] On the one hand, it is considered the duty of monks to defend their faith against heterodox rivals. On the other hand, the Buddha advises his disciples to avoid »fruitless debates«.[52] After the Buddha's death, monks seem to have focused most of their polemical energy internally against other Buddhist sects. The stories of early Buddhist schisms, and texts like the *Kathāvatthu* and *Mahāvibhāṣā*, describe various intra-Buddhist controversies, yet hardly mention debates with non-Buddhists. But early sources also state that well-trained monks were required not only »to explain their own teacher's doctrine, teach it, proclaim it, establish it, disclose it, analyze it, and elucidate it,« but also to »refute thoroughly with reasons the prevalent tenets of others«.[53]

47 See, for instance, Săftoiu, Constructing and negotiating identity.

48 See Matilal, *Logic, Language and Reality*, 9; and Solomon, *Indian Dialectics.*

49 Manné, Dīgha Nikāya debates.

50 See, for instance, Bollee, Adda. The debate has to do with the issue of whether, as regards the accrual of karma, it is the act itself or its intention that is more important.

51 See, for instance, the passages from the Pāli canon quoted by Xing, Rational argumentation, 184-185. In the first passage, the Buddha distinguishes his way of teaching, which is based on direct experience, from that of »reasoners and investigators«. In the second, the Buddha ranks logic, inference, and reasoning as unsatisfactory ways of gaining knowledge.

52 On the Buddha's skepticism about argumentation, see the previous note and the references in Cabezón, Buddhist narratives, 73 n. 4.

53 Cited in Bodhi, *Buddha's Teachings*, 72. On the various sources of this passage, see *ibid.,* 202 n. 2.

When Brahmanical thinkers (especially the followers of Nyāya school) began to critique the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism – momentariness, the non-existence of the soul, etc. – Buddhists begin to respond. For example, Nāgārjuna (second century CE) argues against key Nyāya tenets – the existence of a soul, their typology of incontrovertible knowledge (*pramāṇa*), and so on. Johannes Bronkhorst, however, credits not Mahāyānists like Nāgārjuna, but the Hīnayāna Sarvāstivādins with being the first real Buddhist philosophers and suggests that their disputes with Brahmanical opponents predate Nāgārjuna.[54] Whatever the case, writing had a huge impact on inter-religious exchanges. As Bronkhorst notes, »Writing can help in composing particularly complex works… [but] it can have other effects too. It allows readers access to works that do not belong to their own tradition.«[55] Not only did writing give Buddhist monks access to Brahmanical literature, it also allowed them to study the literature of rival Buddhist schools.[56] And, of course, it provided monks with a new and more permanent medium in which to respond to their opponents, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist. The Vinaya, as already noted, makes it clear that Buddhist monks studied the works of their rivals, which it apparently finds disturbing enough that it attempts to regulate it. For example, the Vinaya's *Kṣudrakavastu* states that only mature monks who know how to refute opponents' positions should be allowed to study heterodox treatises (*śāstra*s) and that young monks should not be given access to such works. Even elder monks, the text continues, should only spend a third of their time studying heterodox works and should recite them (*'don*) only at night, probably so that others could not hear them.[57] That monks were reciting their opponents' works means, of course, that they were memorizing them. The fact that the *Kṣudrakavastu* does not forbid this activity altogether suggests that Buddhist monks of this period had already begun to engage their non-Buddhist peers in serious intellectual exchanges and needed to be trained for these encounters. The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (600-662) informs us that classes in the tenets of the heterodox schools were taught at Nālandā.[58] The *Kṣudrakavastu* suggests that Buddhist monks' training in Brahmanical philosophy had started several centuries before Xuanzang.

54 Bronkhorst, Literacy and rationality, 18-26. Bronkhorst believes that the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma is more philosophically coherent (and its Theravāda counterpart comparatively less so) because the Sarvāstivādins were actively engaged in conversation with – and were forced to refine their positions in light of the attacks of – non-Buddhist challengers. It strikes us, however, as implausible to claim, as Bronkhorst does, that Sarvāstivādins were the first to maintain a tradition of debate in India.

55 Bronkhorst, Literacy and rationality, 16.

56 There is a famous story that Vasubandhu absconded from Kashmir carrying the Sarvāstivāda texts, with Kashmiri monks in hot pursuit. Vasubandhu's *Kośa* was written, at least in part, as a critique of those Sarvāstivāda teachings. Whatever the truth of the tale of Vasubandhu's flight from Kashmir, it bespeaks the fact that in a new era where writing gave opponents access to the views of one's own school, monks wished to safeguard their written texts precisely so that they would not become fodder for others' critiques.

57 *Vinaya Kṣudrakavastu,* 2, fol. 106b. Exchanges between Buddhists and non-Buddhists on a variety of topics are also mentioned in the *Spitzer Manuscript*, on which see Franco, *Spitzer Manuscript*. Of course, Aśvaghoṣa (and to a lesser extent Nāgārjuna, his slightly later contemporary) were already critiquing the views of Brahmanical thinkers a century or more before either the Vinaya or the Spitzer manuscript.

58 See Bronkhorst, Literacy and rationality, 20.

Rational argumentation became one of the cornerstones of Buddhist scholasticism. The Vinaya provides us with early clues about how Buddhists cultivated this art. Monk-scholars came to understand what they were by arguing against what they were not. In this way their engagement with rivals bolstered their identity as Buddhists. How would Indian Buddhism have developed if it had never embraced a sedentary lifestyle, never adopted writing, and never engaged opponents in argument? It is difficult to say, but in the absence of these three developments it is difficult to imagine that we would have seen the emergence of elite scholarly communities. The three conditions – one social, one linguistic, and one philosophical – were central to the rise of Buddhist scholasticism.

Part II

What were Indian Buddhist scholastic communities like? What did monks study, and how did they study? We know a great deal about what scholastic communities were like in Tibet. For example, in the *densa*s (*gdan sa*), the »seats of learning« of the Gelug school, we know that only about 20-30% of monks were »textualists« (*dpe cha ba*). The rest were engaged in work, administration, finances, rituals or other activities. We know that the 20 year-long curriculum that culminated in the formal degree of geshé (*dge bshes*) was structured around five major Indian treatises, their Indian and Tibetan commentaries, and a corpus of textbooks called *yigcha*s (*yig cha*). And we know that the training involved memorization, debate, oral commentary on the text, and, to a lesser extent, silent reading (*dpe klog rgyab pa*). Prayer was also seen as indispensable to learning. In pre-1959 Tibet, when the term was in session, textualists spent about seven to eight hours each day debating, and about five to six hours in communal prayers.

Although we generally assume that these same activities – memorization, debate, oral commentary, etc. – were also central to Indian Buddhist education, the details of the Indian case are much less clear. True, we have the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims who visited the subcontinent, but these narratives are not very extensive. I recently came upon a short work of Jitāri (c. 950-1000 CE) called *Purification on the Beginner's Path* (*Ādikarmikabhūmipariṣkara*).[59] A renowned scholar of the great Buddhist academy of Vikramaśīla, Jitāri held the title mahāpaṇḍita, or »great scholar«. His *Purification* outlines a day in the life of a beginning bodhisattva-monk in a monastery. Given that Jitāri was himself a scholar, I had high hopes that this work would give us some clues about what scholar-monks did during a typical day, but rather than being descriptive, the text outlines, in a prescriptive fashion, how the beginning Mahāyāna monk *should* spend his day, from the time that he wakes up to the time that he goes to sleep. The activities that we normally associate with elite scholarly communities are barely mentioned. This is all Jitāri has to say about study:

59 Jitāri, *Ādikarmikabhūmipariṣkara*, fols. 235a-237a.

If, in between times, you have some free time,
forsake your own happiness and strive to accomplish
the welfare of others by explaining the Dharma etc...

During your mornings
exert yourself in the ten Dharma practices:
writing, reciting, etc.
Or else make *sāñcaka*s,[60] or help beings.
Morning, the best of times,
should not be squandered on purposeless things[61] ...

At twilight, as evening begins,
serve the guru properly.
[Then,] having washed your own feet,
meditate on concentration or insight
or else perform a really meaningful recitation.

Jitāri does not emphasize study, and when he does mention it, it is portrayed as an optional activity: »if you have time«, then explain the Dharma; either engage in the ten Dharma practices like reading etc., »or else« make *sāñcaka*s; meditate, »or else« recite something. The fact that Jitāri downplays learning might be a byproduct of his audience. Perhaps the work was meant as a guide for monks who lived in non-scholastic institutions. Whatever the case, Jitāri's *Purification* does not provide us with a robust picture of life in an elite Buddhist academy. So the quest continues to find out what the lives of scholar-monks were like. What texts did Indian Buddhist monks study? How did teachers teach these works? What did monks memorize and how did they memorize it? How did they debate?

60 A *tsatsa* (skt. *sāñcaka*) is a small clay figure of a deity or stūpa made from a mold. Creating *sāñcaka*s was – and in Tibet still is – considered a way of purifying sin and creating merit.

61 Jitāri, *Ādikarmikabhūmipariṣkara*, 236b.

We have bits of information, to be sure. For example, at Nālandā, monks were examined before being considered for membership in the community, and the vast majority – as many as eighty percent – failed to gain admission.[62] Those who were admitted enjoyed one of the best educations anywhere in the Buddhist world, with classes on a variety of Buddhist and non-Buddhist subjects. The monastery attracted monks from China, Java, Korea, Central Asia, and Tibet. Estimates of the total number of monks at Nālandā vary wildly and the monastic population fluctuated in different periods, but it was probably in the thousands. About a hundred classes were offered each day over an eight-hour period by Nālandā's professor-monks who numbered more than 1000.[63] The observance of monastic discipline was very strict. Students typically began by studying grammar and then went on to study logic and metaphysics (Abhidharma). The Chinese pilgrim Yijing (635-713) reports that the monks of Nālandā had a special technique that allowed them »to understand whatever they heard just once«. It apparently involved stabilizing the mind in some way using the alphabet as a mnemonic device.[64] Nālandā's monk-professors were ranked according to the number of texts they had mastered (from ten to fifty texts). Over a thousand monks reputedly held the lower ten-text rank, but only ten monks had achieved the highest fifty-text status. We also know that the monastery was supported by royal endowments – perhaps as many as 200 villages – and that once admitted, a monk never had to worry about his livelihood. Monk pandits were allotted a certain number of village families to provide them with salaries. The lowest professorial rank enjoyed the support of three families, and the highest of ten.[65] Nālandā monks had a reputation as fabulous debaters. Yijing states that they could defeat non-Buddhists »as easily as driving away deer«, refuting their arguments as if they were »boiling water melting frost«.[66] Another Chinese pilgrim, Xuanzang (602-664), states that at Nālandā

> Brilliant scholars of outstanding talent assemble in crowds to discuss questions of right and wrong… When they take part in a debate, they always win the case and sit on double mats to show their unusual intelligence. When they carry on arguments to refute [the heterodox], they render their opponents tongue-tied in shame. Their fame resounds through the five mountains and their repute spreads within the four quarters. They receive feudal estates and are prompted to higher rank, with their names written in white high up on the gates of their houses.[67]

62 Vidyabhusana, *History of Indian Logic*, 515 n. 1.

63 Bapat, *2500 Years of Buddhism*, 186-188.

64 Li, *Buddhist Monastic Traditions*, 153.

65 Dung dkar, Bod kyi dgon pa, 70.

66 Yijing, as cited in Bapat, *2500 Years of Buddhism*, 187.

67 Li, *Buddhist Monastic Traditions*, 150.

Apart from what was just outlined, we know little else about the monastery, its curriculum, or its educational system.

Of the many characteristics of Buddhist scholasticism, we now turn our attention to three in particular. First, I try to piece together what a live debate might have looked like – not the day-to-day debates that monks practiced in their monasteries (we know little about this) but rather a grand debate between an important Buddhist scholar-monk and his opponent. Second, I treat one topic related to exegesis: how, over time, the commentarial corpus oscillates between periods of expansion and contraction, and the reasons for this. Finally, I discuss the role of prayer in scholastic learning.

Debate

Unfortunately, we have no sources that provide us with a blow-by-blow account of an actual, debate in classical India – at least none that are historically proximate to the debates themselves.[68] The texts that do mention famous debates between Buddhists and non-Buddhists belong to a much later period, are preserved mostly in Chinese and Tibetan, and are of a hagiographical sort, and therefore highly embellished.[69] That said, based on these accounts, and on a number of texts that describe the theory and practice of debate, I think it is possible to construct a picture of what a formal live debate – a stereotypically scholastic practice – might have looked like in India.[70]

Debates were often convened by rulers,[71] sometimes for the pleasure of the court, sometimes for political purposes – for example, as a justification for backing one religion over another. But it was also possible for a scholar of one school or sect to directly challenge another. In this case, it was the duty of the king to make the arrangements for the debate and to act as an impartial judge (*madhyastha*). We have stories of non-Buddhist philosophers striking a drum, a wooden board, or a bell that hung at the entrance to Buddhist monasteries and demanding a debate. In one instance, a heterodox scholar conveys his desire to debate a Buddhist one by remaining standing, rather than sitting, while the monk was preaching.[72]

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68 There is at least one work preserved in the Tengyur (Btsan 'gyur) that purports to be a record of »a great debate« between the Indian scholar Madhyamaka Siṃha (eleventh century) and some non-Buddhist rivals. This is the *Brief Analysis of Different Views, Saṃkṣiptanānādṛṣṭivibhāga*. The colophon to the work states that the points that Madhyamaka Siṃha made during the debate »were memorized by scholars who passed them on from one to another… until they were finally redacted as a text« by a lay man named Tarośrīmitra. The work may contain the essential arguments, but the process of redaction has wiped out many of the features of live debates that interest us, and it can hardly be considered a realistic, blow-by-blow account of a typical debate.

69 See Cabezón, Buddhist narratives.

70 Of course, the hagiographies of non-Buddhist scholars also provide us with valuable information. Solomon (*Indian Dialectics*, chap. 18) has discussed at great length the debate between Maṇḍana and Śaṅkara in the eighth century, but as with the Buddhist narratives, this account was written centuries after the debate that it chronicles.

71 The *Āgamaḍambara*, a play written by the ninth-century Kashmiri poet and philosopher Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (ninth century), is cast as a debate sponsored by the Kashmiri king Śaṅkaravarman and his queen, suggesting that this was not uncommon. The work has been translated by Dezső, *Much Ado About Religion*. See also Solomon, *Indian Dialectics* 2, 848-850.

72 For the Indian and Tibetan sources of the sixth- or seventh-century Candrakīrti/Candragomin debate, where this way of challenging an opponent is mentioned, see Cabezón, Buddhist narratives, 86 n. 33.

A challenge could not go unanswered. There are stories of monks convincing a royal patron to issue regulations to prevent their being challenged – for example, by prohibiting the striking of the drum or bell – but these strategies usually failed. Once a Buddhist monastery had been challenged, it had to produce one monk, its most accomplished scholar, to debate the challenger. If there was no one up to the task, a scholar could be invited from another institution. But if an individual monk was challenged, he had no choice but to accept. It is for this reason – for fear of being challenged and losing a debate – that Nālandā did not permit its inexperienced monks to teach outside the walls of the monastery.[73] Major debates were formal events. They could only be convened in an assembly of scholars or in a royal court. Since scholars were generally eloquent and witty, debates undoubtedly served as a source of amusement for Indian royalty, just as they did, much later, for Tibetan rulers.

A debate was, in theory at least, supposed to be on a topic of importance and not on some trivial matter.[74] During the debate, one of the parties, the »defender«, put forward an argument: a thesis and one or more reasons that supported it. Sometimes the thesis statement could be quite long. The correct format of the thesis (*sādhya* or *pratijñā*) differed according to different Indian schools, but at a minimum it had to have a premise (*siddhānta*) and a reason (*hetu*). The attacker then had to rehearse that same argument – repeating his opponent's thesis and reason – before launching into his rejoinder. The rejoinder (*jāti* or *virodha*) needed to be coherent, on point, and (most important) it had to cast doubt on the defender's thesis. Once the attacker had finished, the proponent of the original thesis responded with a rebuttal, but not before he too had summarized the attacker's rejoinder.[75] Some accounts state that such back and forth volleys could go on for days, months, and even years – if both parties were learned and skilled in debate, of course.[76] The debate was lost when one of the disputants contradicted himself, was forced to accept a position that contradicted the tenets of his own school, accepted a position that was deemed absurd, tried to change the subject, or was left speechless or babbling by the opponent.[77] This account of a debate is admittedly oversimplified. For example, we have not mentioned the strategies and tricks (equivocation, false analogies, etc.) that could be used in debate, nor the tactics that might be used to parry such moves. Some texts state that when a debater identified one of these sophistic tricks, he won the debate; and, vice versa, that failure to identify the trick meant defeat. Be that as it may, three things are noteworthy as regards formal disputation. (1) The procedure was agonistic, with an attacker trying to defeat a defender. (2) Each side had to provide reasons for their positions. It was not sufficient simply to put forward a thesis without providing evidence for it. Although scripture might be used as evidence when the debate was between two

73 On this tradition, see Tāranātha, *Rgya gar chos byung*, 159: »Pandits who could endure a debate with a heterodox scholar taught outside the wall, those who could not taught inside.«

74 See the section of the *Yogācārabhūmi* translated in Vidyabhusana, *History of Indian Logic*, 263-264.

75 The list of »defeats« (*nigrahasthāna*) from Vasubandhu's *Tarkaśāstra* is found in Vidyabhusana, *History of Indian Logic*, 269.

76 Xuanzang states that one of Āryadeva's debates lasted for twelve days, and the debate between two great Buddhist scholars, Candrakīrti and Candragomin, is said to have lasted seven years. See Cabezón, Buddhist narratives, 86-88.

77 This is the fate of the Buddhist monk who is defeated at the end of the first act of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Āgamaḍambara*. Dezső, *Much Ado About Religion*, 80-81.

members of the same religion, quoting from one's own sacred texts was obviously inappropriate when the opponent belonged to a different school. (3) Debates had a performative element. The debate manuals advise debaters to be confident, enthusiastic, and eloquent, and they state that debaters should be able to speak continuously without a break. (4) The ability to remember and repeat the opponent's arguments was crucial to the process. Being able to rephrase – or ideally to reproduce verbatim – the opponent's position was a sign of having a good memory, and therefore of intelligence. As previously mentioned, Nālandā monks are supposed to have practiced special techniques to achieve eidetic memory and were able to understand and reproduce what someone else said just from hearing it a single time. Of course, rephrasing the opponent's position also had practical consequences: it ensured that each party »heard« what the other was saying.[78] More than one debate was lost for a monk's inability to properly rehearse his opponent's argument. Contrariwise, the Buddhist scholar Dharmapāla (fl. mid sixth century) is said to have won an important debate against a heterodox scholar simply by repeating verbatim his opponent's thesis statement (which in this case was the challenger's entire book!).[79] The opponent apparently became so disheartened that he simply gave up. Some monks developed reputations as great debaters. For example, Dignāga was known under the epithet »debate-stud« (*rtsod pa'i khyu mchog, *vādavṛṣa*).[80] Others, like Vasubandhu (fourth to fifth century CE), had a reputation for avoiding debates, suggesting that great scholars were not always great debaters.

The stakes of the competition were usually determined before the debate began and could be quite high, including physical punishment or even death. Whether debates »to the death« were hyperbole or not, losing a debate had consequences. Defeat could result in the mass conversion of the loser's entire community to the school of the winner, as purportedly happened in the aftermath of the Dharmakīrti-Kumārila debate.[81] The Buddhist scholar Āryadeva (second to third century CE) is said to have been murdered by the disciple of an opponent he had defeated in debate. Although losing could have dire consequences, the rewards for winning could be great. Kings were known to award entire fiefs to winners.[82] Most of these historical details are found in the hagiographical literature. We therefore cannot be sure whether they represent historical fact. But even if there is reason to doubt the more magical elements of these tales – and there are plenty of those – the procedures of debates that they describe seem plausible enough.

78 It is possible that the requirement to repeat the other party's statement might have had to do with the widespread belief – as documented in the hagiographical sources – that one of the parties in the debate might be a demon or god, or have the backing of such a spirit. Supernatural beings of this sort are said to be incapable of repetition because, as Phyllis Granoff puts it, »the speech of the gods is without limitations with respect to time.« Hence, if one of the parties was incapable of repeating the argument of his opponent, it was seen as an indication that that person was a spirit in human guise, or was being fed information by a spirit. See Cabezón, Buddhist narratives, 80.

79 Dharmapāla had a reputation for having an extraordinary memory. For example, Tāranātha (*Rgya gar chos byung*, 167) tells us that »he could recite one hundred and eight large *sūtra*s.«

80 Vidyabhusana, *History of Indian Logic*, 272. Solomon, *Indian Dialectics* 2, 833.

81 On other instances of the mass conversion of the loser's side to the winner's, see Solomon, *Indian Dialectics* 2, 848.

82 Xuanzang, a direct disciple of Śīlabhadra, reports that the latter was awarded a fief, as was the master Guṇamati (sixth century). See Li, *Great T'ang Dynasty Record,* 236-238, 241.

Real life debates were undoubtedly messier than what later treatises suggest. Those treatises, which lay out the rules and strategies of debate (*vādaśāstra*) – and some would say even Indian logic and epistemology itself – evolved out of second-order, theoretical reflection on what took place in actual public exchanges.[83] Although one must be careful not to characterize all of Indian Buddhism as equally interested in argumentation, Buddhists' defense of their views and their critique of heterodoxy was an important part of Indian scholastic culture. Tibetan monastic debate would differ in its procedural details and rules, but the seeds of this important aspect of Tibetan scholastic training were clearly sown in India.

The Dialectic of Commentarial Abridgement and Expansion

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, the *Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines*, is probably the earliest Prajñāpāramitā *sūtra*, dating to the first century CE.[84] The text was later shortened into various smaller formats, and expanded into larger ones.[85] The largest is the version in *One Hundred Thousand Lines*. The smallest, that in a single syllable, the letter A. The idea that an entire scripture could be condensed or distilled into a single phrase, or expanded to mammoth proportions, has a long history in Buddhism.[86]

A similar dynamic is at work in regard to scholastic treatises or *śāstra*s. Just as some scriptures were considered the condensed pith or essence of others, some treatises written in verse (*sūtra*s or *kārika*s) were said to distill entire scriptural collections. Tibetans claim that the vast Perfection of Wisdom corpus is condensed in two sets of verse texts. The »wisdom« aspect of the sūtras – the theory of emptiness – is said to be distilled in the treatises of Nāgārjuna, his »six philosophical works« (*rigs tshogs drug*). And the »method« aspect of the *sūtra*s – Mahāyāna doctrines dealing with the stages of realization, etc. – is distilled in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, a work attributed to Maitreya.[87] These verse works, sometimes called

83 The *vādaśāstra*s or debate manuals sometimes existed as independent works – Vasubdandhu is said to have written three such treatises – but discussions of debate (its purpose, types, strategies that enhance or detract from one's performance, fallacies that constitute defeat, etc.) are also treated in larger works. For instance, they are found in Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya* and in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, which date to around the fourth or fifth century CE. See Gillon, Logic in classical Indian philosophy. For a discussion of two early texts that deal in part with debate – the *Upāya Hṛdaya* and the *Tarkaśāstra* – see Tucci, Buddhist logic before Dignāga.

84 See Allon and Salomon, New evidence for Mahayana, 10.

85 The relative dating of the Perfection of Wisdom *sūtra*s is still a matter of dispute. Some scholars believe that the *Diamond Sūtra (Vajracchedikā)* is the earliest and may have existed as an oral text from which the Aṣṭa was later elaborated. See Schopen, *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 31-32; and for a more recent discussion of the issues of chronology, Zaccheti, Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras.

86 For example, the later Tantric tradition claims that the first sentence of the *Guhyasamājatantra,* the so-called *nidāna* – »Thus have I heard: at that time the Lord ›Body Speech and Mind of all the Tathāgatas‹ was dwelling inside the womb of an adamantine woman« – encapsulates the entire meaning of the Tantra. The same claim is also made of the first two syllables of the Tantra, *e-vam* (»thus«). The *Guhyasamājatantra* is therefore considered an expansion or elaboration of that first sentence or first word. See Wayman, *Yoga of the Guhyasamajatantra.*

87 There was in Tibet considerable debate concerning whether all or only some of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*s were being explained in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra.* The Tibetan scholar Jetsun Chöki Gyaltsen (Rje btsun chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1469-1544) cites these various opinions, and opts for considering the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* to be a commentary on only three of the *sūtra*s: the *Perfection of Wisdom in 100,000*, in *25,000* and in *8,000 Lines.* Rje btsun chos kyi rgyal mtshan, *Rgyan 'grel spyi don rol mtsho* 1 (stod bya), 25-27.

»instructional texts« or *upadeśa*s (*man ngag*), were prized for their ability »to generate understanding easily – that is, to permit one to effortlessly understand a vast body of material using few words«.[88] Synoptic works of this sort exist for most of the subjects of the scholastic curriculum. For instance, Guṇaprabha's (sixth century CE) *Vinayasūtra*, is considered a distillation of the multi-volume Vinaya portion of the canon. Over time, these synoptic *śāstra*s came to possess as much authority as the original scriptures themselves, and for good reason: they could be easily memorized, giving monks access to the central ideas of the much larger corpus, and they could be easily taught, thus serving an important pedagogical function.

Earlier in this paper I suggested that many scholastic traditions are »proliferative«. The śāstric tradition is a fine example of this. Treatises written in verse gave rise to commentaries and subcommentaries, written mostly in prose. We need not go into the details, but over time, the commentaries on the verse texts increase in number and result in a literary corpus as large and as complex as the original canonical texts that had been condensed into verses. In other words, the śāstric corpus expands. This has a number of implications, some quite practical. For example, scholars needed to figure out how to work with multiple commentaries at once. We do not know how monks studied these multiple layers of commentary in India. Tibetan monks of the Lower Tantric College (Rgyud smad grwa tshang) were ingenious. They fashioned multi-tiered *shokali* (*shog ka li*) on which they could »hang« the different commentaries.

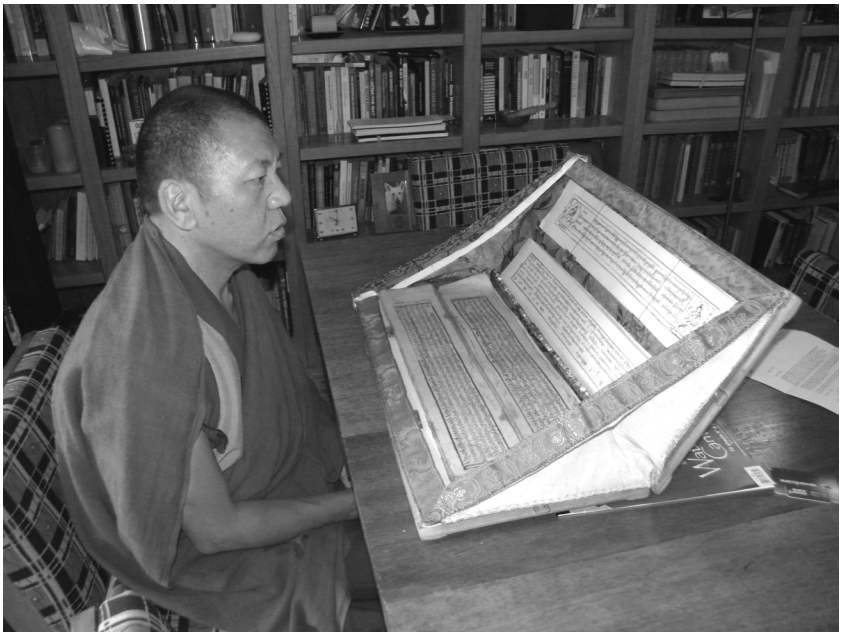

Figure 3: A monk of the Tantric College uses a text-stand (shokali) *to read different strata of commentaries. Photo: J. Cabezón.*

88 Bu ston, *Shes 'grel rgya cher bshad pa*, 76; see also his definition of *upadeśa* on p. 5.

This explosion of Buddhist commentarial literature begins in India and continues in Tibet. Eventually, the Tibetan commentarial corpus becomes so large that it becomes unmanageable and there is a need to condense *it*. This gives rise to a genre of Tibetan verse works, called »verse summaries« or *domtsig (sdom tshigs),* that are distillations of the commentarial corpus. The pattern should by now be obvious. Let us call it the »accordion effect«. When a body of religious literature becomes too unwieldy, scholastics condense or summarize it in new treatises, but unable to control their proliferative impulse, they begin to comment on these summaries. Over time, this gives rise to a body of commentaries just as unwieldy as the original scriptures. This, in turn, gives rise to new distillations of the commentaries. In theory, this process could go on indefinitely, but in fact it seems to end with the Tibetan verse summaries, the *domtsig.* These latter texts were extremely popular in the Tibetan academies, especially in studying Vinaya and Abhidharma. The Tibetan verse summaries are the end of the process, or maybe it is just a matter of time before it all starts anew.

The Role of Prayer in Scholastic Learning

Jitāri's *Purification* – the work that outlines how a beginning Mahāyāna monk ought to spend his day – may not have much to say about how monks studied, but it has a lot to say about how they ought to practice.

> Once the sun has come up,
> wash yourself etc.,
> and then prostrate to the stūpa, offer the maṇḍala,
> and confess sins, etc., doing these practices extensively.
> Especially, go for refuge,
> and generate bodhicitta so that it is firm.
> Then, after doing some circumambulations,
> prostrate before the guru,
> the elder, and the dharma preacher.
> Speak pleasantly to them with a smile,
> and, exerting yourself, do whatever they need you to.
>
> If, in between, you have some free time,
> give up your own happiness, and exert yourself so as to accomplish
> the welfare of others by explaining the Dharma etc.
>
> Take your breakfast (*khye'u sus*)[89]
> as the *Ratnamegha* advises.
> Divide the food into four parts and eat [just one].
> Share the remainder of your food and drink with the poor.[90]

89 The term *khye'u sus*, which translated Sanskrit *purobhaktikā*, is found throughout the Vinaya, but not in the *Ratnamegha.*

90 Prajñākaramati, *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, fols. 101b-102a: »Divide whatever alms you have received into four parts … Give the first part to the beings who have fallen into the lower realms. Give the second part to the destitute. Give the third part to those who perfectly practice the monastic life. Eat the fourth part yourself. Eat the food without any desire, without attachment, without craving, without clinging. Eat just enough for the maintenance of the body, just enough to save it. Eat just enough so that you do not become emaciated, but not so much that you gain weight.«

During morning times
exert yourself in the ten dharma practices:
writing, reading/reciting, etc.
Or else make *tsatsa*s, or help beings.
Morning, the holiest time,
should not be wasted on purposeless things.

During the noon hours, meditate a little
on love and on the recollections.
Then again make prostrations etc.
doing what you did earlier, but more extensively.

Mid-afternoon is the time
to take rest and associate with holy beings,
and to enjoy excellent verses about reaching the truth
and having revulsion for existence.

In the late afternoon meditate again,
but now on concentration and insight,
and prostrate to the stūpa, etc.
At twilight, as evening begins,
serve the guru properly.
Then, having washed your own feet
meditate on concentration or insight
or else do a really meaningful recitation.

Once the first part of the night is finished,
go to sleep in the appropriate fashion
with the proper mental attitude.

Strive, both day and night,
to engage in various virtuous acts
as explained in the *Subahuparipṛcchā*
and in the *Ratnāvalī*.
Doing so, you will obtain the »stage of warmth« etc.
even in this very life

The great emphasis that Jitāri places on religious practice – on gaining merit and purifying sin – would not have come as a surprise to the monks who studied in Tibet's great academies. Even though textual training was the chief mission of Tibet's scholastic institutions, their broader goal was the formation of well-rounded individuals. To be learned (*mkhas pa*) was clearly important, but so too was being of noble character (*btsun pa*) and being morally upright (*bzang po*). Prayer was considered essential to the formation of respectable, ethical subjects, balancing the rigorous training of the intellect with training of the heart. But prayer was considered essential to monks' success even in academic pursuits. Tibetans believe that a person's talents can be enhanced and their limitations or obstacles dispelled through *sagjang* (*gsag sbyang*), the accumulation of merit and the purification of sin. The many hours of prayer that Tibetan monks did (and still do) every day fall under the broad rubric of *sagjang*. Purification and merit-making are believed to dispel obstacles like illness, but also to enhance a monk's ability to learn. For example, Tibetan teachers often require their young charges to recite the mantra of Mañjuśrī, especially the deity's »seed syllable,« Dhīḥ. This is believed to increase a boy's intellectual capacities and to prepare him for the arduous scholarly path that lies ahead.

Sanskrit texts preserved in Tibetan translation suggest that Indian monks also recited mantras, prayers, and praises, and performed visualizations and rituals to eliminate obstacles, cure illnesses, and »enhance the intellect and wisdom« (*prajñābuddhivardhana*).[91] There are also practices to be done before reading. For example, in a short work entitled *A Ritual to Be Enacted Before Recitation and Reading*, the Indian scholar-saint Atiśa (982-1054 CE), describes a visualization and prayer to be done before engaging in these activities.[92] And one assumes that stand-alone prayers – like the *Prayer of Good Conduct (Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna)* and the *Maitreya Prayer (Maitreyapraṇidhāna)* – were part of monastery liturgies, just as they were in Tibet. But because it is impossible to infer the prayer life of Indian monasteries from the prayer texts that have survived, we can only surmise that Indian Buddhist scholastic institutions had a rich prayer life.

We have a much clearer picture about Tibet. Monks in Tibet's great monastic academies believe that there is a direct correlation between prayer and their success as scholars. There is a saying at Sera Monastery, »For every handful of study, six of ritual.«[93] This is an exaggeration – the ratio was actually about one-to-one – but the point is clear: learning requires prayer.[94] Some monks would even claim that there is a direct correlation between prayer and a monk's success in his studies. An eminent contemporary monk scholar, Ganden Tri Rinpoché Lozang Tenzing (Dga' ldan khri rin po che blo bzang bstan 'dzin, b. 1934), opines about why the level of study in the Indian exile is not on a par with that of old Tibet.

> In Tibet the duration of the evening prayer sessions was very, very long. The fact that it is shorter in exile means that monks are not able to recite enough prayers [to support] their study. In earlier times we recited the *Praises to Tārā* twenty-one times. These days, it is only recited three times. In earlier times monks recited the *Heart Sūtra* nine times; nowadays, only three times. So the prayer sessions are not as effective… Because the internal prayers are not performed nearly as well [today], there are more [external] obstacles to our studies.[95]

If nothing else, Tri Rinpoché's words bespeak the importance of prayer in monasteries like Sera. When we, as historians of elite religious institutions, forget about the role of prayer in the lives of scholar-monks, we end up with a skewed picture of scholastic communities. The Buddhist academies of India and Tibet were not, of course, like modern, secular universities, and prayer is one of the things that distinguishes them.

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91 The canonical collection known as the Dhāraṇīs contains short works for protection and to dispel obstacles. Several texts for enhancing intelligence are also preserved in the Tibetan canon (L 549; and D 3191, 3447, and 3472), as is a work by Ajitamitragupta (twelfth century) called *How to Make Your Students Smart (Śiṣyaprajñotpādana).*

92 Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, *Adhyayanapustakapāṭhanapuraskriyāvidhi.* The purpose of the practice is not so much to enhance learning, as to cultivate a correct motivation. There is an equivalent practice, written from a Tantric perspective, called *How to Read a Book*, composed by Dānaśīla (possibly ninth century), the *Pustakapāṭhopāya*. The work prescribes a practice to be performed before reading a text on behalf of a patron.

93 This saying is found in the *Great Exhortation, Tshogs gtam chen mo*, 57.

94 And vice versa, failure to pray can have dire consequences for one's success as a scholar. The *Great Exhortation* – a supplementary set of regulations and advice to monks that belongs to the Ché (Byes) College of Sera – states that when monks offer the ritual cake (*gtor ma*) during the evening prayers, »the compassionate deity walks around the debate courtyard (*chos rwa*) to check on the monks. Those present at the gathering, receive his blessings. And those absent without an excuse are punished by him.« *Tshogs gtam chen mo*, 59.

95 The remarks are from an interview I conducted in Madison, Wisconsin in 2003.

Part III

Broadly speaking, the challenges that scholastic communities faced in India were of two types: (1) theological-ideological, and (2) economic-political. Indian Buddhism, as we have seen, is ambivalent about elite learning. Doctrinal theorizing, philosophical speculation, the study of the classical »sciences« (*vidyāsthāna*), and debate have sometimes been criticized as fruitless. This broad-ranging ambivalence was augmented by more specific critiques of learning. The most important of these – and the one I focus on here – is the critique mounted by the apophatic traditions. This is not as much about the social and psychological dangers of study – that it distracts from practice, that it leads to pride, etc. – as it is a skepticism about the very medium of scholarship, language itself: the tendency of language to reify the world, to create false dichotomies, and to fall short of capturing the nature of reality. Some of this skepticism is relatively benign. For example, Asaṅga's (fourth century) *Seventy Stanzas,* a synopsis of the Perfection of Wisdom, claims that no Buddha ever taught anything, that there is neither Dharma nor non-Dharma, neither teaching nor teacher; that what the Buddha does teach is inexpressible and like an echo; and that the truly wise person is the one who sees all knowledge as empty.[96] But when push comes to shove, even a text that espouses a radically apophatic and ineffabilist perspective, as Asaṅga's *Seventy Stanzas* does, nonetheless extols the Dharma as the »supreme gift« and stresses the importance of study and learning. The Dharma may be beyond words, but

> memorizing the Dharma [oneself] and teaching it [to others] is not useless because it allows one to accumulate a great deal of merit... There are three things to do in regard to the words of the Dharma: memorizing them, listening to them, and spreading them. The meaning [of the Dharma] is gleaned by studying [those words] under someone else and by critical contemplation.[97]

Hence, despite the *Seventy Stanzas'* misgivings about language, it never repudiates the importance of memorization, study, analysis, and teaching. The critique is therefore benign. It was not meant as a challenge to scholastic communities or to their mission.

The more serious challenge emerges from a later strand of apophaticism. Beginning in the eighth century, during the heyday of Indian Buddhist scholasticism, the Buddhist siddhas – the iconoclastic saints of the esoteric, Tantric tradition – posed a serious ideological challenge to scholastic learning and the institutions that propagated it. Some of the Buddhist siddhas – Virūpa (seventh-eighth century), Nāropa (eleventh century), Maitripa (1007-1085), etc. – were, earlier in their lives, renowned scholars at academies like Nālandā. A vision, religious experience, or chance encounter causes them to glean that for all their learning, they have failed to realize the fundamental truths of Buddhism. They then leave the monastery, adopt an antinomian lifestyle, become wandering yogis, and achieve enlightenment. In the siddhas' life stories, the scholastic institutions that they leave behind are often portrayed as places of dry learning where monks are obsessed with doctrinal minutiae and abstruse philosophy. Siddhas, by contrast, expressed their realization in the language of poetry or songs (*dohā*). The critique of scholasticism – of scriptural learning, analysis, and distinction-making – is often explicit in the *dohā*s, as in this verse of Maitripa.

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96 The work, the *Triśatikāyāḥ Prajñāpāramitā Kārikāsaptati*, has been edited and translated by Tucci in *Minor Buddhist* Texts, 3-192.

97 *Ibid.*, vv. 16 and 37, pp. 61, 72. The translation is my own.

> Ignorant are those who speak
> of things in their particularities.
> All forms of analysis and all the six views
> come together on this ship.
> When you hold firmly onto this ship of mind,
> you will find freedom on other shores.
> Apart from this, O yogi
> there is no other method![98]

Or better yet, consider this passage from Maitripa's *Interlinear Commentary on the Treasury of Dohās (Dohākoṣapañjikā),*[99] which presents us with glosses on Saraha's *Dohākośa* (here, italicized).

> [*I, the Archer, Saraha, say, that whoever possesses a sky-like mind never thinks of emancipation. Those who renounce the blissful reality and only engage in bodily asceticism are called novices, monks, and elders. These bandés first ordain.] Some then spend their time explaining the sūtras.* Some monks, driven by lust for wealth, explain truths [found in] previously unknown [i.e. apocryphal] sūtras; they go to hell. *I have seen others become emaciated as the result of the way they tax their minds*.[100] [*This refers to the textual tradition of the epistemological treatises.*[101]] Some, due to a lack of learning, construct many theories about the Dharma, which is also incorrect. That is to say, some ascetics examine a multitude of scriptural books and then argue about them; ignorant of the meaning of the scriptures, they are reborn in the realm of sinners. Thus, their bodies become emaciated from the way they tax their minds, and they become sick … *Some are concerned with the explanations of the meaning of the four* … [philosophical schools] – that is, they concern themselves with the Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Yogācāra and Madhyamaka. But that's just a bunch of words. There is no reality [to be found there], and so [explaining them] is pointless… Because they preoccupy themselves with refuting one another, they go to hell. *Some, while deliberating and examining, fall from the path*. Some lose their desired goal as the result of deliberation and analysis, for the path is beyond conceptual analysis.

This is obviously a critique of the scholarly practices of elite monks, who, because of their preoccupation with words and analysis, fail to understand the natural state, the true nature of things. Of course, there is a certain irony here since Maitripa elaborates his critique of scholasticism in a commentary that uses words to explain other words, and that employs analysis in the service of argument. Problems of consistency aside, the siddha tradition was clearly an important theological challenge to scholasticism. Indian Buddhist scholasticism – at least the scholasticism of the exoteric variety – begins to wane after the eighth century.

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98 Maitrīpa, *Cittamātradṛṣṭi*, fols. 48b-49a.

99 Advayavarjra, *Dohākoṣapanjikā*, fols. 184b-185a. The line *rdzas kyi srid pa* on fol. 184.b.4 has been emended to read *rdzas kyi sred pa*. The work is a commentary on Saraha's *Dohākoṣagīti*.

100 *Pañjikā: la la bsam khral mang pos bskams pa mthong*. Saraha's root text has a completely different line: *la la ro gcig sems kyi tshul 'dzin mthong*, »I see others holding that the single taste (*ekarasa*) is an aspect of the mind.«

101 This line is found only in the root text and is missing in the *Pañjikā.* It reads, in Saraha's work, *de ni gzhung lugs tshad ma'i bstan bcos yin*. It is possible that the line was originally someone's note (*mchan*) and later mistakenly incorporated into the text.

The siddhas were not solely responsible for its demise, but their writings suggest that from the eighth century the scholarly communities of north India were increasingly criticized for over-specialization, for emphasizing theory over practice, and for being more concerned with the letter than with the spirit of Buddhism. Critiques of this sort can only have made life more difficult when these scholarly communities faced other, material challenges.

Indian Buddhist institutions of learning have always faced different political and economic challenges – loss of patronage, inhospitable kings and ministers, active persecution, military invasion, etc. Sometimes these communities managed to bounce back; but by the end of the twelfth century they had more or less collapsed for good and Buddhism died out in India. We do not have many sources about how scholastic communities faced these types of challenges. The final lines of the Tibetan translation of the *Vinaya Uttaragrantha* is an important exception. The work quotes (or perhaps paraphrases) another unnamed commentary to explain how the text became corrupt, and in so doing it allows us to glean some of the challenges that scholastic communities faced and how they responded to them.

> The Brahmin king Puṣyamitra (Rgyal bshes)[102] destroyed the ancient scriptures of our deceased teacher [the Buddha] out of anger, and did great harm to the teachings. He also destroyed stūpas, burnt Buddhist monasteries, and killed monks. Piling up the books of the Buddha's word, he set them on fire. But then, over time, monks again brought together all the books of the Tripiṭaka from various places. In the process of recompiling them in Mathura, the Uttaragrantha was not found. Hearing that there was a monk in Kashmir who could still recite the Uttaragrantha, [the monks from Mathura] traveled to Kashmir, met the monk, and said, »We have heard that you can recite the Uttaragrantha. Please recite it.« The monk replied, »I remember some portions [of the work] but not others.« So they said, »Please speak whatever portions you remember.« And he recited it as instructed. Those monks thought, »Let us make a temporary redaction of the text [based on the parts he recited] and later add [the missing portions] by analyzing the words and their meaning.« So thinking, they wrote it down. But later on, distracted by other work, they did not finalize it for a long time. [Meanwhile,] other monks from other places had also recited [the work, but] differently. It is for this reason, because the oral recitations [of the text] had degenerated – that is, because the Uttaragrantha was recited in different ways and had different meanings… that the Uttaragrantha became corrupt. But it is well known that those portions of the original text recouped from what existed in the minds of a few Magadhan monks and from what could be found among the ashes – that is, from [the portions of the texts that] had not been burned – were not lost and are accurate.[103]

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102 The Śuṅga defeat of the Mauryan dynasty c. 185 BCE is said to have ushered in a persecution of Buddhism. The *Aśokāvadāna* speaks of a Puṣyamitra who killed the last Mauryan emperor, usurped the throne, and persecuted Buddhism, killing the monks of Pāṭaliputra. But there can be no question of burning books at this time because writing was not yet widespread. The Tibetan historian Tāranātha also speaks of a persecution by a Brahmanical king Puṣyamitra, but situates this just before the first Hun invasions of Magadha in the fifth century CE. And indeed we know that a tribal group called Puṣyamitra attacked the Gupta empire c. 455, toward the end of the reign of Kumāragupta I. They were defeated by the latter's son Skandhagupta. It is possible that Buddhist sources – including the colophon translated here – conflated the earlier Puṣyamitra (a king) with the much later tribe by the same name. In any case, if there was a persecution of Buddhism of the kind mentioned in this passage, it likely took place in the fifth century and was the result of warfare between the Guptas and their disloyal vassals, the Puṣyamitras. Some Mahāyāna *sūtra*s – for example, the *Daśacakra Kṣitigarbha* – go into great detail concerning the sin that kings and ministers incur when they »destroy the Tripiṭaka, burn it, and turn it into ash,« implying, of course, that monks feared royal persecution and the destruction of their texts.

103 *Vinaya Uttaragrantha*, fols. 138a-138b. I have not identified the commentary from which this passage is quoted, and, indeed, it may no longer exist.

Indian Buddhist monasteries had been collecting books since the first centuries of the Common Era. Over time, their libraries grew, sometimes (as in the case of Nālandā) to mammoth proportions. This passage tells us that the corpus of physical texts could be easily destroyed, but that monks also rose to the challenge of recouping what they had lost. If written texts were lost – due to persecution, but also to fire, decay, etc. – they could be rewritten on the basis of the oral recitations that monks still preserved. Orality therefore served as a kind of mechanism of redundancy, a failsafe or backup. Reconstituting a lost text was no straightforward matter, however, since the oral recitations were incomplete or inconsistent. A monk might be able to recite one portion of a work but not another, and what he did recite did not always jibe with what other monks recited. While it was no straightforward thing to reconstruct lost texts, the Uttaragrantha colophon bespeaks the determination of monks to maintain the physical canon. In the end, the elite scholarly communities of India disappeared, but their traditions lived on in Tibet. In the Land of Snows, Buddhist monasteries proved more resilient. Despite two major persecutions – one in the ninth century by the Tibetan king Langdarma (Glang dar ma), and one in the twentieth century by the Communist Chinese – the great monasteries of Tibet continue to flourish, a testament to their resiliency. That Buddhist monasteries continue to transmit their textual traditions despite political and economic hardships supports a point made earlier: that scholastic communities are extremely effective at preserving their traditions of learning.

This paper has attempted to bring a more historical and social dimension to my earlier work on scholasticism, which, as stated at the outset, was more synchronic and structuralist. It was not a foregone conclusion, I have suggested that Indian Buddhism should have taken a scholastic turn – that certain historical and social conditions had to be met before specialized communities of learning could emerge within Buddhism. But once established, their unique character reflected their cultural and intellectual milieu. And when they began to die out, they did so under specific political and economic conditions. Part I of this paper explored three moments in the history of Indian Buddhism that made the emergence of scholasticism possible. Stability, writing, and adversarial argumentation might not, in general, be sufficient for the emergence of communities dedicated to specialized learning, but in the case of Buddhism they were necessary. Part II explored three aspects of mature scholasticism in India and Tibet. We do not know exactly how live debate was practiced in India, but we can adduce a general picture of what it was like. Given what was at stake in debate contests, it is not surprising that Buddhists should have dedicated considerable energy to the art of argumentation. Commentary too has long been understood as central to monastic education in both India and Tibet; it has functioned both to summarize and to expand on other texts. In this paper I have suggested that, when we take a long historical view, the commentarial tradition alternates between periods of contraction and expansion. This dialectic is the result of two competing aspects of scholasticism: a commitment to pedagogy (which demands summaries of the canon) and proliferativity (the tendency to always want to say and include more). Unlike debate and commentary, the role of prayer and ritual in Buddhist scholasticism has not received much attention in Europe and North America. Although much more remains to be done, I have suggested that it is crucial to understanding the identity of Buddhist scholarly communities as *religious* institutions. Finally, in Part III, the paper points to some of the challenges – ideological and political – that Buddhist scholastic communities faced in India. Although these factors were not solely responsible for the disappearance of these communities in India, they contributed to their demise. Broadly speaking, this paper raises the questions of what conditions lead to the emergence of scholasticism, what form

scholastic traditions take once they have been formed, and what factors bring about their end. While this essay will not be the last word on Buddhist scholasticism, it hopefully suggests how historical and social factors are indispensable to understanding the arising, abiding, and destruction of Buddhist communities of learning.

Acknowledgements
The author wishes to thank the »Rethinking Scholastic Communities across Medieval Eurasia« project of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and especially Professor Birgit Kellner, for her invitation and for her response to this paper.

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List of Figures:

Myang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124-1192): Authority and Authorship in the Coalescing of the rNying ma Tantric Tradition

Cathy Cantwell*

The eleventh to thirteenth centuries in Tibet witnessed the development of religious schools based on the »New Transmissions« (*gsar 'gyur*) of Buddhist Tantras or the »Later Spread« (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism, in contrast to the »Early Transmissions« (*snga 'gyur*) of Tibetan Imperial times (seventh to ninth centuries CE). This period saw the beginnings of the system in which Buddhist monasteries became seats of religious and politico-economic authority throughout communities in Tibet. At the same time, in this culturally creative environment, followers of the »Ancient Transmissions« began to codify their textual heritage, resulting in the subsequent development of a rNying ma school, based especially on:

i. the practice of the Inner Tantras (*mahāyoga, anuyoga, atiyoga*) and the Eight Sacred Word (*bka' brgyad*) tantric deity cycles;
ii. the related textual corpus of scriptures known as the »Ancient Tantra Collection« (*rnying ma rgyud 'bum*);
iii. popular accounts of and rituals connected with the early tantric masters and their spiritual and magical feats, and especially the cult of the tantric guru and »second Buddha«, Padmasambhava, together with his key disciples;
iv. the traditions of revelation, in which revealers identified as rebirths of the tradition's cultural heroes continue to augment the textual heritage in each generation.

Myang ral Nyi ma 'od zer was seminal to this development: himself a tantric revealer recognised as a rebirth of the emperor Khri srong lde'u btsan, he was responsible for a multi-volume revealed collection on the Eight Sacred Word deities, the *Eightfold Sacred Word, Embodying the Sugatas* (*bka' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*); was central to the lineage of the transmitted texts (*bka' ma*) on the same deities; and produced the first full hagiography of Padmasambhava, while his immediate successors began the work of collecting the scriptures for the »Ancient Tantra Collection«, based on organising principles established in his work. This article probes how we should approach authority and authorship in this case. How far and in what sense should we consider Myang ral an »author« of the texts he revealed and why were the new claims to authority so compelling in this case? While Myang ral's involvement with vision and ritual rather than logical argument or debate clearly distinguish him from mediaeval Tibetan scholastics – even those within his own tradition of Early Transmissions – yet his impressive work in compiling and systematising the heritage from his mentors would suggest that the contrast may not be as extreme as it would first appear.

Keywords: Tantric revelation; early rNying ma; Myang ral

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eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s68

Modern academic Tibetan Studies has drawn attention to a discrepancy between traditional Tibetan presentations of the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, and what we know from the archaeological record and the earliest Tibetan documents.[1] The historical evidence points to Buddhism introduced by state sponsorship, primarily in the eighth century during the reign of the Tibetan emperor Khri srong lde'u btsan, with an emphasis on standard Mahāyāna Buddhist doctrine and ethics, and on what would later be classified as outer tantra, especially the cult of Vairocana. The teachings which were later classified as the inner tantras, involving a more direct path and potentially antinomian practices, seem to have been restricted, and the texts at least not officially translated. At the same time, notwithstanding the rivalries between the missionary religion and indigenous ritual specialists, non-Buddhist Tibetan religious traditions coexisted with Buddhism at court, and remained important in state ritual and popular religion. It was only in the period after the empire's collapse in the mid-ninth century, when the institutionalised Buddhism of the state-sponsored temples declined, that Buddhism seems gradually to have permeated the society, while tantric rites of all kinds, no longer subject to state restriction, seem to have gained in popularity. From the late tenth to eleventh centuries, a so-called Later Spread (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism introduced further Buddhist traditions from India, sponsored by regional rulers and aristocratic families.

In contrast to this picture, historical/mythological accounts from Myang ral Nyi ma 'od zer's era, such as the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* collection (see note 4 below), stressed the centrality of the inner tantric traditions from the outset. Myang ral himself compiled a narrative about the Early Spread (*snga dar*) of Buddhism, highlighting the dominance of the tantric master Padmasambhava or the Precious Guru (*gu ru rin po che*), seen as a second Buddha, teaching a circle of students headed by the king, his family and his noble subjects. Many traditional historical accounts, penned by Buddhist scholars through the ages, followed suit. Moreover, the developing rNying ma religious tradition became Padma-centric in almost all respects, with increasingly mythological components of narrative and religious imagery integrated into ritual performances. Given the gulf between such presentations and the surviving historical evidence, it is hardly surprising that modern academic scholars have often tended rather to treat traditional accounts of the tantric transmissions preceding Myang ral as essentially mythological, or at least as unproven stories. In a recent research project on Myang ral at the University of Bochum (2017-2019) which considered how his works fit with what went before and with what followed, we have gained some sense of the ways in which Myang ral was indebted to the generations before him,[2] and we can begin to picture a few aspects of the traditional narrative which may have had an historical basis.

1 Kapstein, *Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism*, gives a thorough analysis of the gradual development and transformation of the various religious strands in early Tibet, and the new constructions of religious identity which took place over the first few hundred years of Buddhism's presence in Tibet. The contrast between the Buddhism of the Imperial period and the accounts witnessed in the later religious histories is so stark that Kapstein, *Tibetans*, 68-69, comments, »the religious view of the past cannot be readily reconciled with the demands of critical history«. Snellgrove and Richardson, *Cultural History of Tibet*, chapters 2-3, also trace the extraordinary cultural development which took place over the early generations of Buddhism in Tibet.

2 The main output of my own work on the Bochum project, Cantwell, *Action Phurpa*, is a primarily philological analysis of the *Action Phurpa ('phrin las phur pa)* section of the *Eightfold Sacred Word, Embodying the Sugatas (bka' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa).*

Scholarly tantric masters representing the »Early Transmissions« (*snga 'gyur*) of Buddhism predating Myang ral include the ninth- to tenth-century figure of gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes, who wrote a learned treatise on the different paths, privileging the Inner Tantras,[3] and the eleventh-century scholar Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po, who defended the »Early Transmissions« against criticisms made by polemicists of the »New Transmissions« (*gsar 'gyur*). At least some of their works survive, but unfortunately, most of the written productions of those considered the tradition's earliest »Treasure Revealers« (*gter ston*) are no longer extant in their original forms. In some cases, their revelations have been incorporated into later works, so that we cannot identify the exact passages deriving from them.[4] As a result, Myang ral tends to be treated as though he was the first significant rNying ma Treasure Revealer, and indeed, he produced the earliest corpus of rNying ma revelations. Yet it is quite clear that Myang ral was contributing to an already active culture of visionary revelation.

Myang ral Nyi ma 'od zer lived in lHo brag in southern central Tibet, just north of present-day Bhutan, at a time when Buddhist tantric teachings newly imported from India were causing a stir and gaining wealthy patronage. In representing the older Buddhist tantric teachings already established in Tibet in the Imperial and post-Imperial periods, Myang ral effectively brought together key strands of this earlier heritage of tantric doctrine, mythology, ritual and meditation practice, helping to create a basis for the emergence of a coherent system of practices to represent the Ancient Tantra transmissions. The organisational model was quite unlike that of the newer schools, which soon formed separate lineage groups, each of which were – and sought to remain – socially integrated, often retaining hierarchical relationships between constituent monasteries as the group expanded. Myang ral and his successors seem to have made no attempt to band together to create a single social entity or monastic order. The resultant religious system instead created a shared sense of identity amongst those who followed these teachings. In fact, the rNying ma school did not develop large monastic establishments until the seventeenth century. rNying ma lineages had their monasteries and temples, but in many times and places rNying ma organisation was typified by hereditary tantric lineages and small groups gathering around a master and his family. This system had its own esoteric transmissions claiming to be the »highest« teachings. Yet many aspects of the rites and mythological constructions were not exclusive to the specific tradition, but based themselves around an inclusive mythological narrative of a shared Tibetan heritage of Buddhist transmissions during the glorious days of the Tibetan empire, and the sacralisation of the Tibetan landscape as a sacred land for Dharma practice by this early generation of Buddhist masters. It was Myang ral who apparently revealed the *Zangs gling ma* (*»the Copper Island«*), which is the first full-length hagiography of Padmasambhava or Guru Rinpoche, the Precious Guru. Padmasambhava was an Indian tantric master said to have helped in establishing the Buddhist tradition in Tibet during Imperial times through

3 See Esler, *Lamp for the Eye.*

4 Thus, Myang ral's teacher, Grub thob dNgos grub (see below 73-74) revealed the earliest kernel of the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum* collection (see Kapstein, *Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism*, 145-146), while the medical classic, the *rGyud bzhi*, compiled by g.Yu thog yon tan mgon po, was supposed to have been based on an eleventh-century revelation by Grwa pa mngon shes. The tenth- or eleventh-century lDang ma lhun rgyal is said to have revealed the Great Perfection tantras of the *Bi ma snying thig.*

his transmission of inner tantric Mahāyoga traditions, especially those connected with the tantric deity, Vajrakīlaya, and his subjugation and conversion of indigenous Tibetan gods, spirits and demons. Amongst his band of followers, it is perfectly possible that he was seen as enlightened, but it is probable that his circle of devotees would have been small, and certainly, the historical record for his activities is minimal. As mentioned above, Myang ral's account linked the Precious Guru with the emperor and the court, and some of the aristocratic families who maintained rNying ma hereditary spiritual lineages through the ages claimed descent from one or the other of a group who were now said to be the close disciples of Padmasambhava.[5] Myang ral identified himself as a rebirth of King Khri srong lde'u btsan, and presented Padmasambhava as the Second Buddha, uniquely connected to the Tibetan people and Tibetan lands.

There is no doubt that Myang ral was drawing on older materials: I identified one of his verses of praise to the Precious Guru in the *Zangs gling ma* at the end of the Dunhuang manuscript commentary on the *Noble Noose of Methods* tantra (IOL Tib J 321).[6] In bringing together disparate sources into a single hagiography, Myang ral developed the narrative underpinning his tantric spiritual revelations, even if what became the classic normative account of Treasure revelations was not fully or consistently outlined in Myang ral's works.[7] His hagiography draws attention to a series of transmissions of eight wrathful tantric deities or *herukas*, each associated with a Tibetan *vidyādhara* or tantric master, who received transmission from Padmasambhava and demonstrated miraculous signs of accomplishment (the story is told in the *Zangs gling ma*, chapter 19).[8] Amongst his numerous revelations is his magnum opus known as the *bKa' brgyad bDe gshegs 'dus pa (Eightfold Sacred Word, Embodying the Sugatas)*. This consists of a large corpus of tantric practices relating to this eightfold system, amounting to thirteen volumes in the longest extant versions, although the original may have been less than half this size.[9] For each section, there is a revealed root tantra, as well as a great deal of further material. This collection became seminal for the later rNying ma pa. The eightfold structure remains significant in later centuries and subsequent lamas had their own *Eightfold Sacred Word* revelations, including Myang ral's thirteenth-century successor, Gu ru Chos dbang.[10]

5 See Mayer, »We swear«.

6 Cantwell and Mayer, *Noble Noose of Methods*, 92-94.

7 Hirshberg, *Remembering the Lotus Born*, 93.

8 Kong sprul's version of the *Zangs gling ma* gives additional details (see Yeshe Tsogyal, *Lotus-Born*, transl. Kunsang, 124-127), but even the versions which Doney identifies as the oldest specify the textual heritage associated with each of the eight deities, along with Padmasambhava's bestowal of empowerment on the eight named students, and their subsequent accomplishments (see the text reproduced in Doney, *Zangs gling ma*, 283-285, MS ZLi, 59r-60v).

9 Myang ral's biographies, most probably penned by the first generation of students following him, speak of the revelation as consisting of either six or seven small volumes (Hirshberg, *Remembering the Lotus Born*, 100, 129; *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*, Gangtok 1 Ka, 91; mTshams brag 2 Kha, 341-342).

10 Nicholas Trautz's recent work (Curating a Treasure) draws attention to the role of the *Eightfold Sacred Word* literature in later times in creating an overarching organisational structure and exegetical template for those inheriting and representing the Early Transmissions.

The case study here might perhaps be considered unusual as an example of scholasticism – since we are dealing with a tantric visionary who produced a large quantity of revelatory texts concerning esoteric tantric instructions and ritual practices, dealing more with inspiration and guidance than with rational argument or explicit systematic classifications. Moreover, although Myang ral's *Eightfold Sacred Word* collection would later be enlarged and transmitted through the generations at large monastic establishments, his own religious community centred around himself and his family line. In any case, Myang ral's period predated the development of the monastic scholastic colleges in which Tibetan scholastic training and debate developed and flourished. Yet it may be that the production of this kind of tantric literature has a good deal in common with other forms of classical Tibetan literature which would seem more obviously scholastic in nature.

To appreciate Myang ral's contribution, we must first consider the genres of tantric literature which evolved in the rNying ma tradition:

i. Root tantras, anonymously authored scriptures, considered to have been spoken by a buddha and revealed in the earliest transmissions of the Buddhist tantric tradition in India or sacred sites such as Uḍḍiyāna. These tantras began to be compiled into the »Ancient Tantra Collection« (*rnying ma rgyud 'bum*) in the generations following Myang ral, and they form a supplementary or alternative canon to what became the mainstream scriptural canon used throughout Tibetan Buddhism.[11]
ii. Transmitted materials (*bka' ma*) related to these tantras and to early tantric teachings given in Tibet, including manuals for practice and scholarly commentaries on them. Many (but not all) of these texts have named authors. While some are distinctive, the transmitted texts include many compilations and edited versions of earlier texts.
iii. Pure Vision teachings (*dag snang*) produced by tantric masters on the basis of visionary encounters with tantric deities – such teachings might be expanded on by later scholars, and enter the transmitted corpus.
iv. Treasure revelation (*gter ma*), not unlike Pure Vision, but the revealers are considered to have the special status of Treasure revealers (*gter ston*). Each Treasure revealer came to be seen as a rebirth of one of the great cultural heroes of the earliest generation of tantric students who had received the teaching from Padmasambhava or another of the earliest masters, and who had made an aspiration to recover the teaching in a future prophesied life. There had been Treasure revealers before Myang ral, and the system seems to have started from the tenth to eleventh centuries in the rNying ma and Bon traditions, but Myang ral's revelations represent the most substantial early corpus of rNying ma revelations by a named individual, and his was a seminal collection in the formation of rNying ma spiritual practice.

11 This is a simplification of complex canonisation processes, in which there may be considered to be multiple »canons« or versions of the scriptures of Buddha Word (*bka' 'gyur*) and of the associated teachings (*bstan 'gyur*). The »Ancient Tantra Collection« is distinct, generally shorter and separate from these collections. It is supplementary in that it includes only what are considered to be inner tantras, largely those excluded from the larger collections, and rNying ma monastic centres would often seek to include those larger collections containing scriptures of the common Buddhist and Mahāyāna heritage in their monastic holdings. It is alternative in the sense that its tantras are considered to represent the highest and innermost teachings distinctive of the rNying ma tradition.

The different classes are generally considered separate and distinct. However, even in the modern period, there are overlaps, with some revelations classed as both Pure Vision and Treasure revelation, and with the incorporation of root tantra materials and *bka' ma* transmitted teachings into compilations of the revelatory texts. And new revelations may largely repeat earlier revelations and transmitted sources.[12]

When we consider the early period before the systematisation of the rNying ma tradition, there is no doubt that the categories were already in existence, but the boundaries were even more permeable. Janet Gyatso draws attention to the dual classification of a key group of early *rdzogs chen/atiyoga* tantras as both Treasure revelations and root tantras.[13] And Myang ral includes a number of root tantras within his *Eightfold Sacred Word* collection. These were later included within the »Ancient Tantra Collection«, while they were also transmitted with the *Eightfold Sacred Word* revelatory texts. Myang ral's root tantras seem to reiterate the kinds of materials found in other »Ancient Tantra Collection« tantras of Mahāyoga. They seem to differ only in being presented as Treasure revelation and in the claim at the end of most of them to have represented manuscripts belonging to the emperor Khri srong lde'u btsan (in other words, Myang ral in a previous lifetime). Our research project's case study of Myang ral's root tantra on the tantric deity Vajrakīlaya would suggest that this text resembles other rNying ma root tantras in incorporating in several chapters apparently rather obscure and disordered passages, presumably deriving from archaic tantric sources.[14] But the far greater part of the *Eightfold Sacred Word* collection is made up of ritual manuals and instructional texts rather than less accessible root scriptures.

In posing the question of what exactly Myang ral's textual productions consist of, and in what sense we may understand his »authorship« of them, striking instances of the re-presentation and reworking of older materials became evident in the course of our research project. Here, I look at two.

1) The division of Myang ral's *Eightfold Sacred Word* collection specifically devoted to the tantric deity Vajrakīlaya comprises a text on the Action Phurpa (*'phrin las phur pa*) in six parts (*bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*, mTshams brag 9, 343-503),[15] which, as a whole, is presented as representing the work of the late Imperial period Indian master Vimalamitra. Whatever its ultimate provenance, my textual study would suggest that the six sections depend upon each other and surely make up a coherent whole. One of these sections

12 Cantwell, *Dudjom Rinpoche's Vajrakīlaya Works*, is a detailed study of ways in which Treasure revelations may develop over time, with passages of text reappearing in the works of later connected revealers, and edited compilations of one revelation including materials from other revelatory and transmitted sources.

13 Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self*, 301 n. 69.

14 I am grateful to Dylan Esler's philological analysis of this root tantra in our University of Bochum DFG project (2017-2018); see Esler, Phurpa Root Tantra. Some of the apparent obscurity may be the result of transmissional errors in the versions now available, but it is quite possible that the original text imported ambiguous or disordered recycled passages. Cantwell and Mayer, *Kīlaya Nirvāṇa Tantra*, 37-44, 81-82, discuss such issues within other »Ancient Tantra Collection« scriptures, including an example of an entire chapter of text paralleling lines within another tantra, yet with those lines occurring in a quite different order. Another root tantra from Myang ral's corpus has been studied by Grizman, Resurrecting an old advice; and in his forthcoming Ph.D thesis.

15 Note that two further manuscript collections of unknown provenance have recently become available, one in 8 vols. [TBRC W2PD17479], in which the Action Phurpa section is in vol. 6, pdf 659-828, and one in 9 vols. [TBRC W2PD20239], in which the Action Phurpa section is in vol. 6, pdf 693-865.

(*bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*, mTshams brag 9, 351-365), despite having a different title, is virtually identical to an anonymous late tenth-century tantric manual of forty pages, which was archaeologically recovered complete and intact at Dunhuang in the twentieth century (IOL Tib J 331.III).[16] Although the Dunhuang text has only the one section, representing a kind of root text of tantric meditations which the other sections introduce and elaborate on, it now seems clear that Myang ral was reproducing the entire text in six sections, perhaps with some editing – although there would seem little attempt to interfere with the section of text also found in the Dunhuang manuscript.

2) Myang ral is at the fount of both the revelatory and the transmitted *bka' ma* traditions of the *Eightfold Sacred Word* deities. The rNying ma pa preserve an account that after receiving his initial revelation, Myang ral was visited by a master of the transmitted literature (Grub thob dNgos grub), who gave him related transmissions and teachings on a cycle known as *The Fortress and Precipice (rdzong 'phrang)*, and that after receiving this, Myang ral merged the transmitted (*bka' ma*) and revelatory (*gter ma*) teachings into a single stream.[17] The earliest *Fortress and Precipice* texts within the *bka' ma* collections are said to derive from a manuscript by Myang ral (*bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* Ha 29, 425). Consisting of a series of loosely related tantric instructions connected with the eight deities, our examination of these texts (*bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* Ha 29, 15-425) would suggest that at least some of them were indeed passed on through known tantric masters of the ninth to tenth centuries, and almost certainly did stem from transmissions during Imperial times. In particular, gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes (see above)[18] and his student are specified under their secret tantric names as transmitting several of these instructions. These texts additionally present themselves in a similar manner to the texts classified as revelations: the final words of a number of them make use of special terms associated with Treasure revelation, and some suggest that gNubs' student buried or hid the teachings as Treasure. In any case, it is clear that Grub thob dNgos grub and Myang ral were key figures in passing on these earlier instructions, which seem to have formed an important basis for the later *Fortress and Precipice* texts. There may possibly be some overlap between some of the content and that found within Myang ral's *Eightfold Sacred Word* collection, although this needs further investigation (one possible link is that between the teachings on the four phurpas found in the *Fortress and Precipice* Ha 29, 230-234, and that in the *Eightfold Sacred Word, bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*, mTshams brag 4, 527-542, although in that case, there are no close parallel passages). Currently, we can only say that the *bka' ma* and *gter ma* texts both came through Myang ral and they have complemented each other in the ongoing transmission.

16 Cantwell and Mayer, *Early Tibetan Documents*, chapters 5 and 6.

17 Dudjom Rinpoche, *Nyingma School*, ed. Dorje and Kapstein 1, 757; Dudjom Rinpoche, *Collected Writings* Ka, 530.

18 For his life, see Esler, *Lamp for the Eye*, 2-14, and Esler, Life of gNubs-chen.

Myang ral was a visionary revealer who had a large impact on the later rNying ma tradition, but we need not assume that his works were particularly innovative or new. Even with later revelations, for which the textual productions are considered to be recovered from the revealer's mind, or to be decoded and expanded from a few terse symbolic letters on the basis of the revealer's special karma, memory and realisation of the meaning, much material may parallel earlier sources. In Myang ral's time, before the rNying ma system of Treasure revelations had been fully developed, it seems likely that some Treasure revelations literally consisted of old re-discovered manuscripts, which may have been hidden away following the collapse of institutionalised support for Buddhism in the Imperial period.[19] And for Myang ral, not only were his revelations materially embodied in textual manuscripts, but he received and authenticated his revelation of the *Eightfold Sacred Word* in dependence on two other revealers who were his mentors. In one account, he met Ra shag gTer ston and, once four small sacks had been brought forth, Ra shag bestowed the texts upon him, after which the previously mentioned Grub thob dNgos grub gave him the appropriate empowerments.[20] In the other account, Myang ral is presented as discovering the texts by himself within a statue in an Imperial period sacred temple, but he later met Grub thob dNgos grub, who bestowed the transmissions, and gave him further texts to add to his revelations.[21] Hirshberg concludes: »Nyangrel's[22] biographies tone down any sense of innovation in the time leading up to his first recoveries.... he is presented as the karmically destined recipient of established traditions: neither the texts he finds nor the methods he employs are original. Rather than come forward independently with wholly new cycles, Nyangrel's first treasures are those that had already been recovered by other contemporaries and delivered into his hands.«[23] Alongside visionary encounters and tantric realisations, Myang ral, then, may have been concerned as much with gathering together, editing and systematising textual materials inherited and recovered from previous generations – in much the same way as scholarly monastics compiling doctrinal treatises for the early »New Transmission« (*gsar ma*) schools.

What, then, was the basis of Myang ral's authority, and indeed, of the ultimate success of his Treasure collection for rNying ma spirituality? For Myang ral to be accepted as such an important religious figure, his personal positioning within the emerging rNying ma, the status and transmissions he received through his father as a hereditary lama of an aristocratic religious lineage, and the connections he established with other important tantric masters

19 Hirshberg (*Remembering the Lotus Born*, 90-92) describes an account suggesting such concealment of Treasures within Myang ral's historical account of the Dharma in Tibet (the *me tog snying po*).

20 *bla ma ra shag gter ston gyi spyan sngar dam chos bde gshegs pa rgyud lung nyi shu sgrub thabs phra mo dang bcas pa/ sgro chung bzhi thon pa la/ pod chung bdun zhus pas dpe ma dang bcas pa gnang/ de nas bla ma grub thob dngos grub bya ba bka' gter thams cad kyi bdag po de la/ gsang sngags sgrub pa bka' brgyad kyi dbang bka' gdams ngag dang bcas pa zhus/... bum pa gang byo'i tshul du gnang/ gter gyi kha byang mang po yang gtad/,* Gangtok edition of the *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa'i chos skor* 1 Ka, 92-29; first section translated in Hirshberg, *Remembering the Lotus Born*, 100.

21 See *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*, mTshams brag 2 Kha, 341-342, and 349-350; translated in Hirshberg, *Remembering the Lotus Born*, 129, 104.

22 Hirshberg uses a phonetical system of transcription in which Myang ral is rendered as Nyangrel.

23 Hirshberg, *Remembering the Lotus Born*, 104-105.

and revealers of the time, were prerequisites to his successful career.[24] No doubt his self-recognition as the rebirth of the emperor Khri srong lde'u btsan helped to boost his authority and the claim to authenticity of his works. And as in contemporaneous Kashmir Śaivism, revelation of tantric scripture served to enhance a guru's reputation.[25] Yet none of these personal qualities would in themselves have been sufficient to establish Myang ral's revelations as the important template of rNying ma spirituality which they became. Perhaps in the context of a forum considering the role of medieval scholasticism, it is worth highlighting Myang ral's comprehensive codification of this system of tantric ritual practices, underpinned by a related mythological origin narrative, linking the spiritual to the Tibetan landscape and the glories of the Imperial past. The impressive integration and consolidation of disparate elements of the religious heritage surely had something to do with the lasting success of Myang ral's project.

rNying ma tantric revealers such as Myang ral might be seen as the »other« of Tibetan scholasticism, privileging reliance on tantric masters and yogic vision over rational argumentation and the systematic structuring of doctrine. The rNying ma tradition did produce some scholars who might fit closely into the scholastic model proposed by Cabezón (this volume) – indeed, the above-mentioned eleventh-century Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po might be considered a good example for the early period. Thus, Rong zom became known for his use of reasoning to establish the rNying ma tantric view,[26] and took part in polemical debate with those who questioned the authenticity of the tantras of the Early Transmissions.[27] Even before this time, in which the followers of the Early Transmissions needed to develop a defence for their positions, gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes (see above p. 69) had been active in systematising the rNying ma tantric path, and producing an impressive scholarly heritage. In a later period, when monastic colleges were becoming centres for scholastic training and exchange, Klong chen rab 'byams pa (1308-1364) spent time at the famous college of gSang phu, and became a virtuoso scholar who engaged in extensive learned expositions of the spiritual path, drawing on elements deriving from different Buddhist traditions but ultimately supporting the supremacy of the rNying ma Inner Tantras. There is no doubt that a view of the rNying ma as anti-scholastic or as exclusively orientated to meditation practice is misleading.[28] These rNying ma scholastic figures nonetheless combined their scholarly careers with deep involvement in the tantric practice lineages. As noted above (p. 73), Myang ral is associated with transmitting a series of tantric teachings apparently deriving from gNubs chen. Yet Myang ral himself was not at the forefront of rNying ma scholastic exegesis: he is famed rather for his mastery of visionary materials. However, the strong emphasis on preserving tradition, with concern for reproducing the communal legacy passed on from his mentors, along with the systematic ordering of diverse inherited tantric materials into an overarching schema for religious practice, might suggest that the opposition should not be overstated in this Tibetan case.

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24 Doney, *Zangs gling ma*, 9-22; Hirshberg, *Remembering the Lotus Born*, chapters 1-3.

25 Robert Mayer's Rethinking treasure (174-177) discusses this development in ninth- to eleventh-century Kashmiri Śaivism, with reference to the work of Ben Williams.

26 See Köppl, *Establishing Appearances as Divine.*

27 See Wangchuk, Defence of the *Guhyagarbhatantra.*

28 Dreyfus (*Sound of Two Hands*, 12-13, 128-131, 147-148) rightly corrects any such impression in his study of Tibetan scholastic practice, which focuses on the dGe lugs pa, but introduces comparison with the scholarly training and practice witnessed in the other schools.

Acknowledgements
This work was supported by the DFG Germany under Grant number ME 2006/3-1, Nyang ral's Codification of rNying ma Literature and Ritual, at the Center for Religious Studies (Ceres) of the Ruhr-Universität Bochum.

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Between *disputatio* and Polemics: Dialectics as Production of Knowledge in the Middle Ages

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At the basis of the medieval production of knowledge, dialectics seems to be one of the primary keys of thought. Medieval thinkers were trained to express and to represent the world according to the *disputatio*, which is a question of research and a form of academic exercise. They were trained to discuss and to challenge. We can distinguish two kinds of dialectics: an irenic one, ritualized dialectics, as Habermas has shown on the one hand, and a more polemical dialectics, as theorized by Pierre Bourdieu, on the other. Our main aim is to establish that those dialectical techniques of *disputatio* or polemical treatises are tools to produce doctrines and thought. On the one hand, we analyze the typical scholarly *disputationes* produced in commentaries on Aristotle's *Ethics*, within the Western university sphere. On the other, we focus on political and ecclesiological treatises in the time of the Great Schism, as a case study to understand the difference between irenic *disputatio* and polemical exchanges. The final thoughts in this article aim at contextualizing the self-awareness of the specialists of scholasticism within the saturation of polemics and the broadening of their audience through reaching a non-academic audience. The example of the well-known university theologian Jean Gerson is particularly relevant in the attempt to move beyond the world of the university.

Keywords: scholasticism; commentaries; Aristotle; debates; dialectics; disputatio*; polemics; production of knowledge; Great Schism; Jean Gerson*

Introduction

In the context of the medieval West, intense intellectual production was first concentrated in the monastic world (from the Carolingian period until the eleventh century), then knowledge was developed in parallel in schools. In the twelfth century, it was mostly found in schools and then in universities – that is, the legal grouping of schools – from the thirteenth century. In the twelfth century, the master attracted students and founded his school. The example of Anselm of Laon is famous, and that of Peter Abelard is also well known thanks to his autobiography, the *Historia calamitatum*. Unlike Anselm of Laon, Abelard forged the dialectical method for his teaching, a position of refutation of the authorities, rather than a simple juxtaposition of sentences and ready-made authoritative formulas. Indeed, as the basis of the medieval production of knowledge, dialectics seemed to be one of the primary keys of thought. Medieval thinkers were trained to express and to represent the world according to the *disputatio*, which is a question of research and a form of academic exercise. They were trained to discuss and to

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eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s80

challenge. Inspired by two icons of post-structuralist thought, we can distinguish two kinds of dialectics: an irenic one, ritualized dialectics, as Habermas has shown on the one hand, and a more polemical dialectics, as theorized by Pierre Bourdieu, on the other.[1]

To oppose Habermas and Bourdieu is to oppose the paradigm of dialogism and the paradigm of conflict: the *ethos* of communicational action confronts the sociology of conflict and of violence. Jürgen Habermas proposed, concerning the public sphere, an ethic of the discussion of the theory of non-violent communication (*zwanglos*), which has inherited the *disputationes*' habits of producing knowledge during antiquity and the Middle Ages.[2] According to Pierre Bourdieu, the progress of scientific knowledge has to be defined as a *Kampfplatz*, that is to say, a vast space of symbolic confrontation of powers. It deals with the sociology of symbolic power relations: »S'il y a une vérité, c'est que la vérité est un enjeu de luttes«.[3] Intellectual violence, which is close to symbolic violence as defined by P. Bourdieu, could also be envisaged as a violence in terms of relations to the truth, *i.e.*, to interpretation: it is about imposing its vision of the world and then monopolizing a form of power through expertise, competence, and language. There are close links between debates, violence, and the public sphere. In this paper, our main aim is to establish that those dialectical techniques of *disputatio* or polemical treatises are tools for producing doctrines and thought.

Ritualized and Irenic Dialectics: The disputatio

What is the disputatio*?*

All the works by Olga Weijers have studied *disputatio*: O. Weijers might be the only scholar to have synthesized the theme in a couple of handbooks and not only in proposed case studies. For the sake of clarity and by way of introductory remarks, we can summarize some of the main topics of her work, bearing in mind other famous scholars on *disputationes* and other approaches.[4] *Disputatio* – which we could translate as »dispute«, »argument«, or »discussion« – has to be understood in the more technical sense of the word.[5] It is well known that in the Middle Ages *disputatio* was a teaching and research method, as well as an exam technique and an omnipresent form of exercise in the intellectual and university habits of medieval thinkers. Linked to the Aristotelian definition of the dialectic, the *disputatio* was performed in the form of an oral debate between two or several interlocutors and was to be held in front of an audience. One *opponens* presented objections to the proposed thesis, then a *respondens* was supposed to offer some counter-arguments to the first objections, in order to produce a real debate of arguments in this implementation of the *Sic et non* method.

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1 See Bourdieu, Champs scientifique; *id.*, *Sciences de la science*; *id.*, Méditations pascaliennes, 5: »Violence symbolique et luttes politiques«, for instance 246, 248, or 267-268.

2 Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffenlichkeit*; *id.*, *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns.*

3 Bourdieu, *Leçon sur la leçon*, 25.

4 For instance, a recent issue of the journal *Early Medieval Europe*, entirely devoted to disputation in Carolingian Europe, is edited by Mayke de Jong and Irene Van Renswoude; see »Carolingian Cultures of Dialogue, Debate and Dispute«, Special issue of *Early Medieval Europe*, 25/1 (2017). For the other periods and other scholars, see also Bazàn, *Quaestio disputata*, Bazàn *et al.*, *Questions disputées*; Maierù, Academic exercises; more recently, see Gindhart and Hundert, *Disputatio 1200-1800*; Waquet, Longue vie; Périgot, *Dialectique et littérature*; *id.*, Antécédences; Angelelli, Technics of disputation; Libera and Rosier, *Argumentation in the Middle Ages*; König-Pralong, *Avènement de l'aristotélisme*, 24-32.

5 About the *disputatio*, see Weijers, *Faculté des arts de Paris*; *id.*, *Facultés des arts au Moyen Âge*; *id.*, Quelques observations, 35-48; *id.*, Joute dialectique, 508-518. See also Bazàn *et al.*, *Questions disputées*.

Once all arguments were exhausted, the master ended the discussion and determined (from the Latin *determinare*) the result of the debate in an argued solution called the »*determinatio*«. The essence of the *disputatio* was, then, that of a dialogical, even agonistic, exercise within specific frameworks with very codified and academic rituals. The dialectic, which until then had been only a simple instrument, became a real tool of analysis with Abelard. The *Sic et non* is constructed as a collection of patristic authorities. Each of the authorities was used and confronted in order to nourish a dialectical approach, »according to the *pro* and to the *contra*«, on the basis of the questions asked of the Bible: Abelard exposed the different patristic points of view and the way of erasing contradictions, which might find common ground or might reach an agreement beyond contradictions and discrepancies. With the *Sic et non*, Abelard as »the great chevalier of the dialectic« (Paul Vignaux) drew more from discussion itself than from the text of reference.[6] In his dialectical practice, Abelard was able to deconstruct his adversaries' authority (Guillaume of Champeaux, Anselm of Laon) by basing himself solely on the use of reason. He built the dialectical discussion derived from contradiction and discrepancy (*dissonantia*) as the best method to reach the truth. There was a visible didactic and heuristic dimension in the gathering of contradictory texts to write the *Sic et non.* The Abelardian dialectic was more than a method. It was a mental attitude, an art of argued discussion, an art of convincing and confusing the adversary in the debate. According to Alain de Libera, »all the spirit of the late Middle Ages philosophy was influenced by Abelard«.[7]

Distinct from dialectical *disputatio*, the scholastic *disputatio* was much more a research method to discover the truth of a problem: we can speak about a *disputatio inquisitivum.* The scholastic *disputatio* was developed from the *quaestio* during the twelfth century. It was structured in three stages: after the formulation of the issue, preliminary arguments were exposed, which were themselves divided into arguments *pro* – in favor of the thesis – and arguments *contra* – against the thesis.[8] Then the master determined the *determinatio* by exposing the *solutio* (solution) of the issue. Finally, the *disputatio* ended with the refutation of the preliminary arguments. This tripartite structure depended more on a ritualized process than on an official debate of ideas. It seemed to be more of a research method than an argumentative duel. This practiced scholastic *disputatio* was, then, definitely built on a collective process of thought. First and foremost, it dealt with the sharing of arguments, which was sort of a collective search for the truth. Thomas Aquinas says that we should esteem those who, after investigation of the problem, come to a contrary opinion, even if we choose to follow arguments that seem to us to be nearer to the truth.[9] The scholastic *disputatio* involved

6 For the expression, see Vignaux, *Philosophie au Moyen Âge*, 126.

7 De Libera, Pierre Abélard, 1099.

8 It is important to specify that the arguments *ad oppositum* (*contra, contrarium*) were not simply arguments against the answer first proposed, but arguments in favor of the alternative answer. Both answers could then be attacked by arguments from the opponents. At the end of the disputation, those preliminary arguments given for the answer finally rejected were rebutted by the master.

9 Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysicis* 7, ix: »But, because in choosing opinions or repudiating them a man must not be guided by love or dislike of the one who introduces the opinion, but more by the certainty of the truth, therefore he (Aristotle) says that we should love both, that means those whose opinion we follow and those whose opinion we repudiate; for both have applied themselves (*studuerunt*) to the inquiry of the truth and they have helped us in this. But still, we should be ›persuaded by the most certain‹, that means we should follow the opinion of those who reached the truth more certainly.«

at least three people, as we have said: the *opponens*, the *respondens*, and the master. There were *disputationes in scolis*, which were private disputes, and *disputationes solemnis* or *disputationes magistrorum*, some kind of public dispute in front of all the masters and the students of the faculty, in general on afternoons, once a week, all year long. Attendance was obligatory for all students for two years. The *determinatio* was not a simple juxtaposition of contrary arguments: it was rather the subsuming of all debated views into a new position. The *disputatio* was the sign of a constitutive mechanism of thought, which was built and produced in the form of a ritualized dialogue, but a living one.

The disputation was present in all its forms in university life and intellectual literacy: during monotonous lecture days, special events, daily exercises, oral meetings between master and students, entertainment exercises, commentaries, and treatises. Moreover, the disputation had a function in the task of examinations. During normal participation in the private disputations of their masters, and also in public disputations, the final examinations and ceremonies also consisted in large part of disputations, especially during »inception« – the ceremony by which the candidate became a master and was accepted into the corporation of the masters of his university – and the preliminary vesperies, during which he functioned for the last time as the respondent in a solemn disputation.[10] For instance, the baccalaureate involved the »determination« (*determinatio*) as the candidates were required to »determine« disputations during Lent. After this, the candidate obtained the »license to determine« (*licentia determinandi*) and was permitted to engage in the disputations. The examination would somehow be a test of practical competence rather than an evaluation of accumulated knowledge. What Olga Weijers calls »the omnipresent disputation« is not a euphemism:

> In the faculty of arts students learned to handle the techniques of disputation and discovered how this method could be used for didactical, doctrinal and polemical purposes. When they reached the higher faculties, they were therefore well trained in it; the disputation remained one of the most important methods in theology, law and medicine. (…) The sources are numerous and very rich. There are prescriptions about the disputation in the statutes of the universities, written reports or oral disputations, redactions made by the masters after discussion sessions, collections of disputed questions, and directly composed treatises in the form of disputations. The second point to mention is the general belief of the medieval masters that the disputation was a tool for discovering the truth, or at least of understanding and teaching the truth as they saw it. This was the basic function of the method, as numerous sources make clear (…)
> It is clear that the disputation was ubiquitous in university life. From the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards no master or student could escape the handling of this tool for teaching, research and examination. It became so omnipresent that in later times, in the eyes of the Renaissance humanists, the scholastic method was reduced to trivial quarreling about details. This bad reputation lingered on for centuries, but at the same time the disputation profoundly changed Western culture's approach to reasoning.[11]

10 *Ibid.*, ch. 9.

11 Weijers, *Scholar's Paradise Teaching*, 121, 135.

Ritualization and Codification of the disputatio *Method*

Because most of the *quaestiones* were founded on an authoritative text (the Bible, Aristotle, *Sentences*, *Corpus Juris civilis*, or *Decretum*), the *disputatio* is the framework of all commentaries. A *divisio textus* introduced the text in order to explain it, and a series of *quaestiones* followed in order to cover the whole text that had to be commented on. We speak about *commentarius* made up of *quaestiones*. Even if their purpose was to comment on the literal sense of the auctoritas, some commentaries on the authoritative text were very close to real treatises. From the fourteenth century onwards, many treatises, indeed, written in the form of disputed questions, without any indication that there had been a real disputation preceding the redaction or that they were instigated by commentaries and not explicitly treatises. No trace of oral discussion can be found because those treatises seem to have been conceived in the form of *quaestiones.* In the course of the writing of the treatise, the procedure of disputation was used as a form of analysis, to discuss serious problems or controversial topics: the basic scheme, the dialectical tools, the quotation of other opinions. One of the most famous examples might be the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas: this theological work consisted of extensive collections of disputed questions, treated in the basic format, and the individual questions were here called *articuli*, »articles«, or parts of a complicated question. These »articles« were a kind of basic working unit for the discussion. Every »article« is constructed like a disputed question. The genre of *quaestiones disputatae* could also be linked to some oral teaching courses, but one must keep in mind the discrepancy between the oral moment and the final written product. Because this point is very well studied and very well known, we can leave it aside and simply quote some recent works dealing with this topic.[12]

But these *quaestiones* were artfully constructed. Alain of Libera spoke about the CQR: »complexe-questions-réponses«/»questions and answers complex«, for which one had to analyze in detail the construction to understand where the author's thought was hidden. Indeed, the *solutio* was not the reflection of the author's thought but rather the canonical position to adopt. For instance, the author's position was less in the canonical *solutio* but more in the subtle disposition of the preliminary arguments. It is indeed essential to reconstitute the architecture of a CQR. It is necessary to relocate the issue, the *quaestio,* in its exegetical traditions, which are the basic frames of each commentary.

What do we mean when we say that a *quaestio* is highly codified, or more generally, that the genre of the commentaries is skillfully structured? As this is not the place to expose all the history of *disputatio* in the last 300 years, and as we have already dealt with this more extensively elsewhere,[13] let us focus on the fifteenth century and take, from many, one demonstrative example. The example found in Johannes Versor's commentaries demonstrates the matter thoroughly. Johannes Versor (1410-1482) was a master of arts at the University of Paris in 1435 and the rector in the same faculty in 1458. He became a master of theology at that time. He was a notorious and brilliant commentator of Aristotle's works in the 1440s

12 Mandonnet, Saint Thomas d'Aquin; Chenu, *Introduction à l'étude*; Marmursztejn, *Autorité des maîtres*, 24-32; Sère, Thomas d'Aquin.

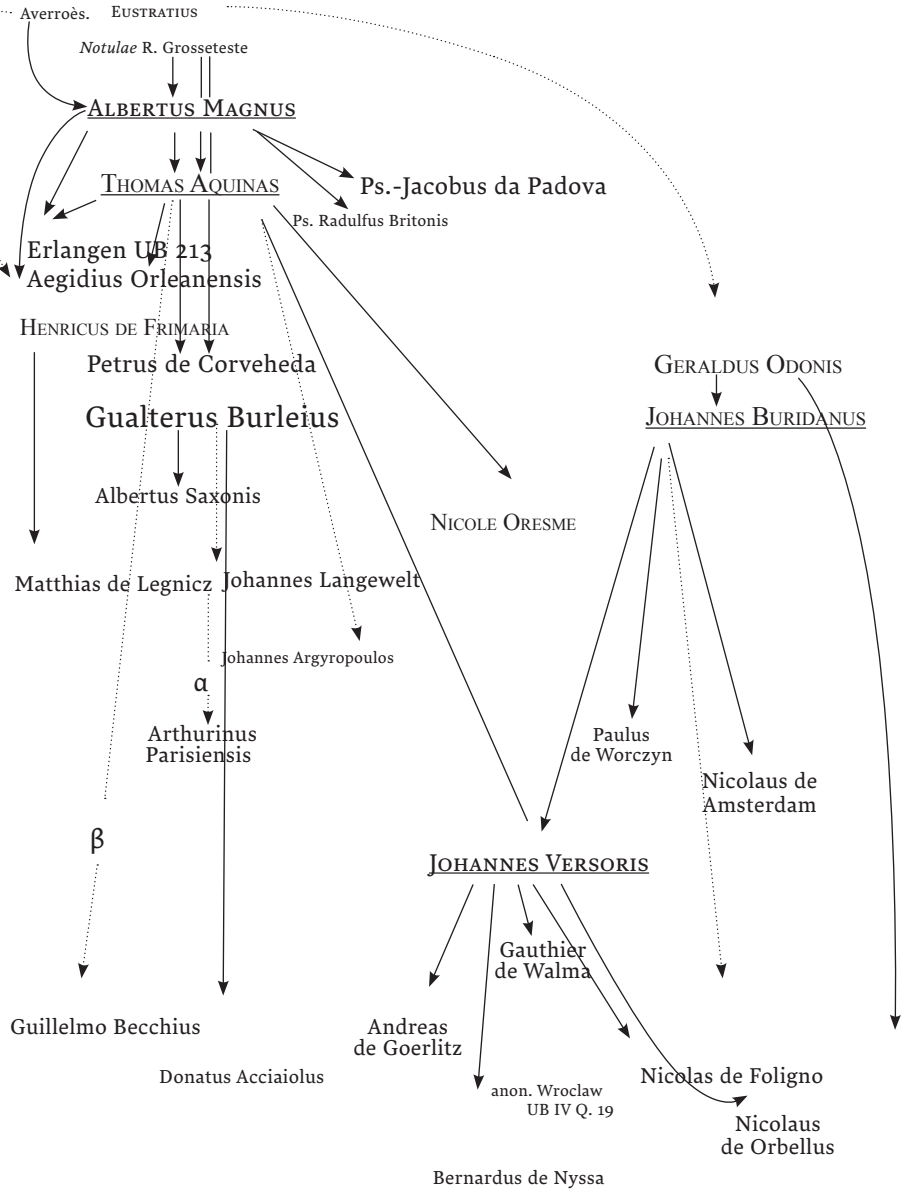
13 Sère, *Penser l'amitié*. For the antecedents of the *disputatio* and the twelfth-century authors, see Sère, *Disputatio* dans l'université médiévale.

and 1450s.[14] Among many works of Aristotle, the commentary on *Nicomachean Ethics* was the most appropriate for moral and political considerations. Into the interpretative chains of commentaries on Aristotle's *Ethics*, Versor's commentary was inserted at a particular point – at the crossroad of Thomas Aquinas's filiation and of Buridan's inheritance, which were two opposite lines of interpretation, as shown in the diagram:[15]

14 Johannes Versor, *Questiones super veterem artem:* avant 1442; *Questiones super totam novam logicam:* avant 1442; *Questiones super libros Metaphysicae:* avant 1443; *Questiones super libros Physicorum:* avant 1446; *Questiones super libros de Caelo et mundo:* avant 1443; *Questiones super libros de Generatione et corruptione:* avant 1444; *Questiones super libros Meteorum:* avant 1450 ou 1451; *Questiones super libros de Anima:* avant 1443; *Questiones super libros parvorum naturalium:* avant 1443; *Questiones super libros Ethicorum:* avant 1446; *Liber Yconomicorum Aristotelis cum commento magistri Johannis Versor:* 1462; *Questiones super libros Politicorum:* 1457; *Super logicam Petri Hispani.* (1457?); *Commentum super de Ente et Essentia de Thomas de Aquino:* avant 1445; *Super Donato* (?).

15 To go further, see Sère, *Penser l'amitié*, 64, and c. 1. Here is not the place to comment on this *Stemma influenciae*, quoted from our doctoral work and published in 2007. Let us say that the *stemma* establishes a network of scholars, a sort of culture of transmission and reuses. Two main lines emerge in these exegetic traditions: the one from the Mendicant writers, initiated by Albert the Great and extended by Aquinas. It contains other mendicant authors, not necessarily belonging to the Preachers, such as Henry of Frimar (OESA), and secular authors, such as Gilles d'Orléans, Petrus de Corveheda, Walter Burley, Albert of Saxony, Guillelmus Becchius, or Donato Acciaiuoli. The second exegetic tradition begins with Guiral Ot, the well-known Franciscan author, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. It generates Buridan's commentary and those of the Buridanian authors (Nicolas of Amsterdam, Paulus of Worczyn). At the crossroads stands Nicole Oresme, Charles V's famous translator.

Stemma influenciae ***of the interpretation traditions on the*** **Nicomachean Ethics**
thirteenth-fifteenth centuries



Johannes Versor's commentary on the *Ethics* was built upon alternating between these (both authoritative) quotations in order to create an illusion of doctrinal concordance.[16] His commentary was indeed an exceptional product of the art of commentary. Versor was particularly talented at manipulating the CQR (questions and answers complex) while he composed and compiled his commentaries. In his commentary on the *Ethics*, each *quaestio* was composed with the juxtaposition of two *auctoritates* – Thomas Aquinas on the one hand, and Johannes Buridanus on the other.[17] Their dialogue, hidden at first sight, but unmasked after analysis, is particularly relevant.

Let us take one specific example, the *quaestio: Utrum amicicia sit virtus.*[18] At the very beginning of Book VIII, Aristotle wondered if friendship was a virtue (*virtus*/*exis*) or just something close to a virtue. The answer, however, was not very clear. He said: »Friendship is indeed a kind of virtue or something with virtue«, »*Amicicia est enim virtus quaedam vel cum virtute*«.[19] To address this question, Versor had access, in the fifteenth century, to two significant positions elaborated in the course of the preceding generations: the Thomist position, according to which friendship was an effect of virtue, and the Buridanian position, in which friendship was itself a virtue.[20] The two lines of argument leading to those positions were both very solid and convincing, and nothing justified choosing one or the other because Aristotle's words themselves, in the text, were very ambiguous. The first impression, then, is that Versor's commentary dealt with the two in a balanced manner; that his response was one that discussed the two positions with apparent good faith and rigor. Versor used Aquinas for all *solutiones* and employed Buridan for preliminary arguments, their refutations, and all the *dubia* (doubts). It would seem that Aquinas and Buridan were allowed the same speaking time and that they were reconciled in one *quaestio*, as a reconciliation between the *via antiqua* and the *via moderna*, between Thomism and Buridanism. We could speak of concordism or doctrinal irenicism. This was how things appeared at first sight. However, after having looked more closely, it was possible to discover some very skillfully constructed CQR. Indeed, the juxtaposition of both *auctoritates*, Aquinas and Buridan, was not so much a level presentation of two positions as it was a resolute destruction of one thesis in favor of the other, that is to say, the destruction of Buridanism in favor of Thomism. Let us look at the three first arguments of the *oppositum* in the Buridanian *quaestio*. Versor chose to place in his preliminary arguments those that Buridan chose to defend. That is to say, Versor chose to attack arguments that Buridan defended:

16 About Johannes Versor, Erich Meuthen spoke of a »Verschulungstendenz«, see Meuthen, *Kölner Universitätsgeschichte*, 185: »Besondere Verbreitung fanden die entsprechenden Kommentare des Johannes Versor, eines der für die Verschulungstendenz insgesamt kennzeichnenden Gelehrten des ausgehenden Mittelalters.«

17 Thomas Aquinas, *Sententia libri Ethicorum*; Johannes Buridanus, *Quaestiones super decem libros Ethicorum.*

18 Johannes Versor, *Quaestiones super libros ethicorum Aristotelis*, fol. 79va–80va.

19 1155 a 3. Aristoteles Latinus, *Ethica Nicomachea* 50.8, ch. 1, 298.

20 *Ibid.*, fol. 80ra-rb: »Conclusio prima. Amicitia secundo modo accepta est virtus moralis«, and also: »Conclusio secunda. Amicicia primo et tercio modo accepta non est virtus«.

Johannes Buridanus, *Quaestiones,* fol. 169ra.	Johannes Versor, *Quaestiones,* fol. 79va.
ARGUITUR quod non, per hoc quod Aristoteles determinavit de ea seorsum postquam iam dimisit tractare de virtutibus tam moralibus quam intellectualibus. ITEM, secundo *Magnorum moralium* Aristotelis, antequam tractaret de amicitia, dixit se iam de singulis virtutibus determinasse. ITEM Tullius in fine libri sui de amicitia videtur amicitiam distinguere contra virtutem dicens: *»Vos autem hortor ut ita virtutem locetis, sine qua amicitia esse non potest, ut, ea, scilicet virtute, excepta, nihil amicitia prestabilius putetis«* [*De amicitia*, 104]. ITEM alibi in eodem libro dicit: *»Una est enim amicitia in rebus humanis de cuius virtute* [Cic. utilitate] *omnes uno ore consentiunt. Quamquam a multis ipsa virtus contemnitur et vendicatio quedam atque ostentatio esse dicitur«* [*De amicitia,* 86]. ITEM effectus virtutis non est ipsa virtus. Amicitia autem est effectus virtutis dicente Tullio: *»Qui autem in virtute summum bonum ponunt, preclare illi quidem, sed hec ipsa virtus amicitiam gignit et continet«* [*De amicitia*, 20].	
(1) OPPOSITUM arguitur auctoritate Senece epistola *›Immerito‹ ad Lucilium* quia amicitiam vocat virtutem dicens quod: »*Sapiens et si contentus est se, tamen habere vult amicum ut se exerceat ne tam magna virtus jaceat«.* Etiam Tullius in libro suo *De amicitia* prefert eam omnibus bonis humanis dicens: *»Ego vos tantum hortari possum ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis«*. Nullus habitus qui non sit virtus est sic omnibus humanis bonis anteponendus. (2) ITEM [...] (3) ITEM nullus habitus videtur magis necessarius in civili communicatione quam virtus, in qua tamen Aristoteles dicit magis opus esse amicitia quam justicia.	[ARGUITUR] TERCIO sic: nullus habitus est magis neccessarius et opus communiter civili quam amicicia, quia ipsa est magis opus quam justicia que est quaedam virtus, ergo et amicicia. Et hoc idem videntur sentire Eustratius, Seneca, Tullius et **Sanctus Thomas**, qui dicit in principio presentis capituli quod »*Sicut in aliis virtutibus quidam dicuntur boni secundum habitum et quidam secundum actum, ita etiam contingit in amicicia«*. Et Eustratius dicit quod amicicia est una virtutum. Et Tullius in libro *De Amicicia* prefert eam omnibus bonis humanis. Sed nullus habitus (qui non est virtus) prefertur omnibus bonis humanis, igitur etc. Similiter Seneca in epistola *Ad Lucilium* vocat amiciciam virtutem dicens quod: »*Sapiens vult exercere amiciciam ne tanta virtus pereat*«. IN OPPOSITUM arguitur quia Philosophus in principio octavi dicit quod *»Amicicia aut est virtus vel cum virtute«.* Ibi communiter dicunt expositores quod amicicia non est virtus sed consequitur virtutes.
Videtur michi quod ad concordandum diversas oppiniones doctorum solemnium et ad salvandum rationes eorum que, ut puto, necessario concludunt, distinguendum est de amicicia et consimiliter de dilectione et amore. Sepe enim istis tribus nominibus utimur promiscue. [...]	

Versor, in the fifteenth century, reused Buridan's material with all its quotations and arguments, but he returned to it for the sake of the thesis he defended. This was a subtle manipulation – non-violent, but effective. Aquinas's thesis was defended as shown in the *In oppositum*: *»Ibi communiter dicunt expositores quod ›Amicicia non est virtus sed consequitur virtutes.‹«* Versor never mentioned Aquinas. He only said: *Expositores*, that is to say, »the Commentators«, generally speaking, which is a way to avoid quoting anyone explicitly. Versor dipped into Buridan's best counter-arguments, the ones Buridan attacked. He then used all the *auctoritates* that Buridan found, such as Cicero, Seneca, or Eustratius. He overturned them for the benefit of his thesis.

When Versor was saying, in a neutral tone, *Respondet secundum Buridanum*, carefulness is required: indeed, he did not say *Buridan respondet*, but he said *Respondet secundum Buridanum*, that is to say, Buridan did not answer – due to the fact that he did not defend the same position – but Versor used Buridan's preliminary arguments to defend his position. This was honest, but it created a visual effect. Between Aquinas and Buridan, it seemed that there had been a pacific coexistence. The presentation did not show any dissension. However, Versor was still a convinced Thomist. Like a maestro, he was able to interlace two *auctoritates*, presenting Buridan's arguments in order to teach Aquinas's arguments better. It was a new technique of refutation, not seen in the first scholastic times: a refutation by inversion. That is to say, he refuted Buridan by Buridan. There was – despite the pious wishes – no concordism. For the historian, understanding the mechanism of such a doctrinal position is a question of detail.

By encircling more closely the specificity of the commentary and the technique of CQR for each *quaestio* within the medieval configuration of knowledge, it appears that the commentary made up of questions defined itself above all in a specific relationship with the *auctoritas* to which it referred. What was the medieval peculiarity of this relationship at the end of the Middle Ages? Even though it is something of a truism, to write a commentary in the Middle Ages was always to write it on an *auctoritas.* Now, by studying the structural mechanisms of the commentary on the *Ethics*, it turns out that it is possible to formulate a definition of the *auctoritas* – in this particular case, the Aristotelian *auctoritas*. For the commentaries, Aristotle does not become confused with the truth. It is evident that the *auctoritas* is not the truth. What is more, it does not give the truth. The *auctoritas*, when it inspires a commentary, operates instead by making one think, provoking thoughts. To say that authority instigates thought is to include that it possesses in itself a power of begetting thought. Authority makes possible the production of speech about itself and beyond itself. It opens up the possibility of speeches on something other than itself. The *auctoritas* operates as a condition of the possibility of thought. »They open the space for something else than themselves and which nevertheless belongs to them to establish«.[21] That is why *auctoritas* does not need in itself to be the truth and we have many cases of examples when there is a »useful wrongness« in the *auctoritas* which is to be commented in order to seek the truth.

21 Foucault, Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?, 833. With the example of Freud's *Traumdeutung* or Marx's *Manifeste*, Michel Foucault stipulates what is a »fondateur de discursivité« or »instaurateur de discursivité«, 832-833: »Ces auteurs ont ceci de particulier qu'ils ne sont pas seulement les auteurs de leurs œuvres, de leurs livres. Ils ont produit quelque chose de plus: la possibilité et la règle de formation d'autres textes. [...] Ils ont établi une possibilité indéfinie de discours. [...] Ils ont rendu possible un certain nombre de différences. Ils ont ouvert l'espace pour autre chose qu'eux et qui pourtant appartient à ce qu'ils ont fondé. Dire que Freud a fondé la psychanalyse [...], c'est dire que Freud a rendu possibles un certain nombre de différences par rapport à ses textes, à ses concepts, à ses hypothèses qui relèvent toutes du discours psychanalytique lui-même.«

Ritualized dialectic, expressed in the mechanisms of *disputatio*, was at the foundation of the schools' Western medieval education system and universities. However, was the Western university education system a unique model? It seems that irenic exchanges and structures of *disputatio* could have existed in the Islamic and Judaic worlds due to the fact that the tradition of Aristotle's dialectic is common to the main cultures of Eurasia, but not in the fashion of Western universities as a corporative association of education and the search for truth. Nor was this the case in the Byzantine world, where the educational system was closer to the classical school of antiquity than to the corporative medieval association of Western universities.

Polemical Methods: The Dialectics of Debates and Polemics

As stated in the introduction, there were two kinds of *disputationes* in the Middle Ages: an irenical one – the one described above as the scholastic *disputatio* – and a more argumentative one – the one linked with polemics and debates in the public sphere and the political scene of the exchanges.

What is Polemics?

The first question we could formulate while reading polemical treatises from the end of the Middle Ages could be: what should we understand when we speak of polemics? Of course, there is a distinction between polemics and controversy: polemics could be the controversy from which the learned and elitist field is derived, while controversy is spread within the broader public sphere. However, there could be another, or more thorough way to understand polemics. There could be what we call »apparent« polemics, those that are institutionalized.

Moreover, there could also be immersed polemics; that is to say, those that are not publicly displayed but those that are at the very heart of all debates. In the contextual example of the Great Schism, the real and true stakes of debates were not openly admitted.

The time of the Great Western Schism (1378-1417) was a highly polemic time because of the major crisis of the Church: two popes, sometimes three, were asserting claims to the Chair of Peter and no one knew who was the right one. The intensity of the production of treatises proved the need for explanations at the time. Polemics between the Avignonese obedience (the pope in Avignon) and the Roman obedience (the one in Rome) during the Great Western Schism were the central part of the treatises, but there were also theorizations about power, ecclesiological structures, the government of the Church and so forth, between royal counselors and curial counselors in the Parisian political scene, between legists and theologians in the universities, between canonists and civilists elsewhere. When we look closely at the debates, things are more complicated than simple debates on a straightforward topic. Behind the debates, indeed, were hidden other debates, deeper ones. Official polemics said something other than what could be seen on the surface. So, the historian has to take care to approach the debates not so much for their content – sometimes risking growing tired of this – as for the balance of power, for the stakes that they underlie and for the tensions that they reveal or that they engender. Often, the stake in the debates is less religious than it is social and political: it is not a point of content but a point of hierarchical positions. For the time of the Great Schism, the debates about the cephalic unity of the papacy and on the means of transfer reveal to the historian the other underlying realities: without the delegation of any central authority, the protagonists – often universities – create a monopoly in dictating public opinion with the intention of setting themselves up as natural councilors of power. By the academic debates, they claim to impose their program of reforms on the councils that were opened (Pisa, Roma, Constance). So, fronts take shape that transcend the

political factions of the surface. More specifically, the historian's function is to trace the very complex ramifications of the debates. Those ramifications are supposed to bring to light the underlying structures and stakes of the debates, unseen at first sight and indirectly stated in the content of debates. The term »polemical regimes« refers to debates with intertextuality, polemics, front lines, and breakdowns. In a word, polemics produce doctrines.

Polemics as Events of History: The Case Study of the Great Western Schism (1378-1417)[22]
To envisage the history of this major crisis in the Church, the Great Schism, means to consider the *debates as events of history,* in the same way as men are themselves actors.[23] First of all, the debates proved to be engines of discursive production: the debates built the doctrines. The meanings of the words were in accordance with the division of the memberships, and the words became identical signals of their respective positions. How can we express more clearly that the words are coded, then trapped, and that the debates become more explicit for the historian, only thanks to their slow and patient reconstruction, sector by sector, text by text, within a vast intertextual constellation, for a new history of the production of knowledge at the time of the Great Schism? Let us take one example: the discourse about the Good Shepherd. One of the main themes discussed in the polemical literature of the Great Schism was the figure of the good pope and the bad pope. Theorists and theologians associated the good pope with the Good Shepherd »that leads his sheep«, according to the Gospel of John. They associated the bad pope with the hireling (*mercenarius*), the antithetical figure of the Good Shepherd who »beholdeth the wolf coming and leaveth the sheep«. The lousy pastor pretty soon became synonymous with the heretical pope. The confrontation between the two main camps was a confrontation by means of exegesis on the verse of John 10, 11: »I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep«. If the good shepherd had to lay down his life for the sheep, how much more should the good pope lay down his crown to solve the Schism? For the one side, if Benedict XIII, the pope of Avignon, could not follow the example of Christ by resigning his function, then he should be ipso facto deposed. On the contrary, those who argued in favor of the pope said that a resignation would mean an abandonment or desertion and that the pope should never resign: *Nullo modo debet dominus Bonifacius verus pastor Ecclesie renunciare papatui.*[24] The period became oversaturated with this polemic. That is why, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, in 1408, when Jean Gerson, the famous French Parisian theologian, commented the verse *Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus sui,* in a sermon in front of the Archbishop of Reims, he intentionally deactivated and disarmed the polemicism of the current debates. He reinserted the exegesis in the long-term tradition of the biblical reading, refusing to carry on the polemical aspects of the theme. What is very important for our demonstration is the fact that a famous scholastic professor refused to allow the polemical *disputatio* to go further. Too much polemic kills polemic.

22 To go further on that point, see Sère, *Débats d'idées.*

23 See also Sère, *Régimes de polémicité.*

24 *Ibid.*, 595.

Between Oversaturation of Polemics and a Way out of the Scholastic Sphere: The Case of Jean Gerson

Too much polemic kills polemic. When he wrote about polemics and polemicism, Jean Gerson warned about the excess of discussions, disputations, and debates. His awareness of the uselessness and worthlessness of the debates was something new in the academic scholastic field: *Cessent quippe tali (discussiones)!* Let us stop any kind of discussions![25] Jean Gerson refused the polemics because debates had been cut off from their ethic roots, the *disputatio* tradition. Violent debates produced a certain degree of lassitude and weariness. Debates and arguments only produced divisions! Pierre d'Ailly also said that polemics only produced discord and contention:[26] *indisposicio, vacillacio, precipitation, contencio et discordia.* Scholastic intellectuals irritated when faced with the multiplicity of useless debates. They therefore questioned the whole scholastic system based on the *disputationes* as the leading intellectual tool to produce ideas, doctrines, and to seek the truth. This also challenged their belonging to the scholastic university. As Daniel Hobbins has recently shown, Jean Gerson had flown far away from the endless university debates to reach a non-academic audience in order to feel more useful in the public sphere of laypeople:

> The full story of Gerson's success as a publicist. We can say with confidence that Gerson reached a public far different from that of earlier schoolmen. (…) The public for intellectuals was growing; it was a public that in turn advised, preached, wrote, and informed the rest of society; and more effectively than any previous schoolman, Gerson reached this public.[27]

Daniel Hobbins has, moreover, shown how important the shift of the figure of the intellectual was:

> Perhaps the most interesting part of this story is Gerson's awareness of a shift in approach from earlier days. Something has changed: the university master now has a nonacademic public, not merely in preaching but also in writing; he has a responsibility to reach them and must adapt his message to them. (…) Now more than ever, the schoolman became a public figure. Hence my model: the schoolman as 'public intellectual'. (…) In an age when the commentary seemed downright backward-looking, he represents the coming of a new type, made possible by the shift to the tract: the theologian as a controversialist, concerned with issues of public morality, always ready to give his opinion on current popular topics and eager to reach a large audience. (…) Comparing him to our contemporary public experts, we may think of him as a medieval public intellectual, the licensed expert in moral theology.[28]

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25 Jean Gerson, *Tractatus de unitate Ecclesiae*, 140 »Unitas Ecclesiae ad unum certum Christi vicarium videtur melius procuranda si neque ante concilium neque in concilio neque postmodum quaerantur fieri justificationes vel injustificationes eorum quae hinc inde facta sunt, ut de intrusione huius vel illius papatum, de processibus primo fulminatis in alterutros, de violatione juramentorum et votorum, de substractione vel neutralitate vel libertatis ecclesiarum particularium reductione, de impositione schismatum vel haeresum, de adhaesione reprobanda vel laudanda alterius partis obedientiae, de sententiis excommunicationum aut aliarum poenarum. Cessent quippe tali.«

26 Peter of Ailly, *Capitula agendorum*, 551, for the manuscript B (cf. Finke). See also Vaticano, Vat. lat. 395, 551: »Et istud multum expedire videtur quia in simplicibus magna oritur indisposicio atque in religione fidei nocet vacillacio, precipitatio, contencio et discordia in huiusmodi materiis inter litteratos atque scolasticos et famosos viros. Item propter periculum quandoque firme atque pertinacis adhesionis ad unam partem.«

27 Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity*, 151.

28 *Ibid.*, 129, 147.

All in all, the dialectical and non-irenical methods of the debate help to unmask the institutional stakes with regard to power and the ambitions of the actors. Debates of opinion, indeed, studied from the historical angle, are as much the actors as the revelations of the underlying tensions, which are present across the highest political echelons of time: the Church, the University of Paris and the Royal Council, but also the Parliament, the Chapter of Notre-Dame, mendicant networks, the other French universities, etc. At that time, all those institutions were losing their monopoly on public opinion, access to which the University of Paris dreamt of controlling. By their rhetoric of control and their expertise, the Parisian academics already saw themselves sharing political decisions with the high authorities: on the one hand, they would consult alongside the royal council, like natural counselors; on the other hand, they were, next to the Petrine power itself, the authority of jurisdictional magistery, next to which they would look like doctrinal magistery – Saint Paul was, in a way, one guarantee for this unstated aim. Thus, it is better explained as being the time of the release of texts from their academic sphere and from their scholastic seclusion, the target being the public sphere; that is to say, control over public opinion. The Great Schism was the opportunity for the university and the world of knowledge to achieve a wider distribution of its production and to reconsider the world of laymen, even if it meant setting up new editorial strategies, as Daniel Hobbins showed well[29]. The moment of the Great Schism also offered the opportunity – albeit missed – to have a voice and seize power on the political scene, which, afterward, the academics would no longer have. The debates later stimulated ecclesiological, unpublished permissions that were previously unthinkable. Indeed, the time of the Great Schism was one that none of the ecclesiastic worlds would have thought possible. Never before had the experience of the subtraction of obedience been not merely conceivable but applied officially. Rarely had the thought of ecclesiological alternatives to the monarchic government of the pope been met with so much excitement. The ideas of the forces of opposition, proposals to limit papal power, and incentives to resist the full powers emerged everywhere. The time of the debates was also a time of hopes for change.

Conclusion

To sum up, commentaries, on the one hand, and polemical treatises, on the other hand – that is to say, roughly speaking, irenic *disputationes* and polemical *disputationes* – produce, by their mechanisms, ideas and doctrines, thought, and ecclesiological content. Undeniably, the intellectual practices (*disputatio*, debates, polemics) produce theories. We have to decode the practices to understand better the theoretical constructions. In humanist criticism and the criticism of the Enlightenment and *Aufklärung* in the Middle Ages, there was, fundamentally, a criticism of scholasticism. However, what was being attacked? Did they attack the intellectual relation to the *auctoritas* seen as a constraint for the mind and ideas or, to put it another way, freedom and autonomy? Did the critics not understand how autonomy was embedded deep in the art of the scholastic construction of commentaries? Theories of modernization or secularization, meaning to sweep away the past, are contradicted and denied through practices themselves: scholasticism, indeed so-called »second scholasticism«, continued widely in the practices employed at least until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

29 Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity*, esp. ch. 5: »The Schoolman as Public Intellectual«, 128151.

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The Tibetan Institutionalisation of Disputation: Understanding a Medieval Monastic Practice

Jonathan Samuels*

Within Europe, there developed what has been described as a »medieval culture of disputation«.[1] This description seems equally apt with regard to certain societies in Asia that had strong Buddhist scholarly traditions. A formalised practice of disputation is one of the many correspondences that exists, for instance, between the scholarly cultures of medieval Europe and Tibet. In Europe, various intellectual and social movements contributed to the eventual decline of scholasticism, the system to which disputation was central. But in Tibet, disputation still holds pride of place in a style of learning that is essentially medieval in origin. The existence of this »living tradition« and the availability of plentiful sources hailing from the medieval scholastic tradition may well be seen as major assets when it comes to understanding the earlier Tibetan practice. But confusion about sources, domains, and claims of continuity appear to have discouraged efforts in this direction. The current article is the first to consider Tibetan monastic disputation in historical terms. Through the clarification of boundaries, the identification of relevant historical sources, and by means of comparison with contemporary practice, it takes the first steps to understanding the evolution of disputation, specifically within institutional contexts.

Keywords: scholasticism; disputation; Tibet; Buddhism; monasteries; institutionalisation

Buddhist Scholasticism: Representation Through Abstraction

The term »scholarly« has long been used to describe some Buddhist traditions, including, in the case of Tibet, certain of those that first emerged during its imperial period (seventh-ninth centuries CE) and which drew heavily on forms of thinking and practices developed in Indian Buddhist monastic centres. Viewing such Buddhist traditions in terms of »scholasticism« is, conversely, an idea of far more recent provenance, advocated by Cabezón.[2] Taking inspiration from Makdisi, who, in referring to the »scholastic method in the Muslim East«, had

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1 Novikoff, *Medieval Culture of Disputation.*

2 Cabezón, *Buddhism and Language* and *id.*, *Scholasticism.*

eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s96

proposed that the central feature of scholasticism might be conceived of within the unfamiliar setting of medieval Islam,[3] Cabezón argued that scholasticism represented an analytical category, potentially useful in the comparison of various religious and philosophical traditions. Buddhist scholastic traditions are not linked to those of the medieval Christian and Muslim worlds through genealogy, literary heritage, or historically attested channels of discourse and exchange. Thus, the dialogue in which scholarly aspects of the traditions are compared is structured around perceived correspondences and affinities. Cabezón's notion of scholasticism might seem ideally suited for this dialogue in that it encourages understanding of the phenomenon in terms of polythetic convergences. The motives behind such attempts to spread scholasticism's net are unimpugnable, and the engagement may prove mutually beneficial. At the same time, there is an internal dynamic to the dialogue. Within the framework of comparative discourse, perhaps inevitably, those representing these »new« branches of scholasticism feel it incumbent on themselves to approach the matter as though they are mounting a case for their inclusion, a feeling that is hardly likely to be reciprocated by those in traditional medieval studies, for whom scholasticism is probably seen as native territory. This imbalance is something that should perhaps neither be disregarded nor seen as wholly objectionable. For the newcomers, a more self-conscious, questioning dimension to representation would hopefully challenge the uncritical assumption that the framework of scholasticism has some form of universal validity, and waits anxiously to embrace them.

According to the polythetic approach, scholasticism, and scholarly traditions more generally, are understood through abstraction. Again, this seems ideal, not to say necessary for comparative discourse, as the abstract intellectual domains of logic, hermeneutics, and philosophy appear to be the most obvious meeting grounds for those investigating Buddhist, Christian, and Muslim scholarly traditions. For many in Buddhist and Tibetan studies this territory is extremely comfortable, but equally, I would argue, potentially *perilous*. Those who specialise in scholastic Buddhism generally understand their task to be one of identifying the essential views, axiomatic principles, and rules of logic that they see as defining their domain, then exploring how these have been interpreted by various individuals and schools. Any »historical« dimension to this is, similarly, largely confined to the realm of ideas: their origin, development, and influence. For many, therefore, the *intellectual* represents the entirety of the scholarly realm. Interactions within this realm are seen as limited to those between the writers and texts judged to be interlocutors within a religio-philosophical discourse. This circumscription seems to justify viewing the scholastic realm as one virtually sealed-off from the social, political, and other spheres, and studies that indicate awareness of the intellectual realm being engaged in dialectical discourse with such spheres are rare. Hence, in contrast to the treatment of European scholasticism in mainstream medieval studies, there is little perceived need to explain or demonstrate what relevance texts and their contents had to individual settings: how they might have informed action in institutional contexts, helped shape and create institutions and their practices, or impacted upon wider societies.

3 Makdisi, Scholastic method, 648.

Considering for a moment how these factors play into representation, portrayals of the Buddhist scholastic tradition often take the form of expansive overviews, which endeavour to encapsulate, with selected scriptural and treatise citations, the continuous »spirit« of scholastic enquiry that is supposed to have infused and sustained Buddhist traditions for roughly two and a half millennia; a spirit that, having originated with the Buddha himself, is meant to have flowered to its fullest in the great medieval Indian monastic centres, before spreading to Tibet and elsewhere. These ambitious efforts should not be mistaken for historical synopses. It would be misleading to suggest that those in Buddhist or Tibetan studies are in a position to provide millennia-hopping distillations of scholastic traditions in history. Quite aside from the question of sources, such overviews are not the products of critical and rigorous processes of academic investigation and discourse, something illustrated by the fact that they give us little indication of how the »spirit« was instantiated, other than to refer back to the internal, scholarly dialogue.

The foundation for the »history« of scholastic traditions in Tibet is the notion that they, together with other elements of religious culture, were derived from India. Notions of continuity are constructed around what is often designated the »Indo-Tibetan tradition of Buddhism«. The great centres of Buddhist learning in India, such as Nālandā and Vikramaśīla (the collective life of which spanned the fifth to the thirteenth centuries CE), are seen as the original homes of scholastic Buddhism. Academic writings regularly echo the claims of tradition, according to which Tibetans have loyally preserved the Indian Buddhist scholarly practices that originated in the great centres. The popularity and influence in Tibet of writings by certain Indian thinkers is presented as primary evidence of Indo-Tibetan continuity. Most important in the scholastic domain are the works of Dignāga (c. 480-540 CE) and Dharmakīrti (c. 600-660 CE), who were responsible for developing the Buddhist logico-epistemological system (Sanskrit: *pramāṇa*). Various aspects of the »Indo-Tibetan« framework might be criticised, but on the level of individual exchanges, Tibetan connections with these centres are a matter of historical record. Assertions of continuity are also verifiable in relation to the aforesaid scholastic writings. In Tibet, these works have been the subject of enduring interest, manifesting in translation (and retranslation), text production, and centuries of learning and commentarial composition. The case regarding historical *practices*, such as those of disputation, must be seen as entirely different. What Tibetan sources tell us about disputation practices will be considered below, but in terms of how such practices might relate to Indian ones, it should be remarked that despite centuries of scholastic activity at Indian monastic centres such as Nālandā, primary sources offer few clues regarding the way that disputation was performed in them. Even the accounts by Chinese and Tibetan visitors, which are regarded as among the clearest contemporary reports, and which contain references to formalised disputation, provide precious few details. More generally, perhaps the most extensive and oft-cited sources on the scholastic organisation at centres like Nālandā are certain Tibetan ones, but these were composed centuries after these centres' final abandonment, rendering reports of continuity suspiciously self-referential. Hence, while it can be stated with certainty that disputation had a major place in both Indian and Tibetan medieval monasteries, the paucity of Indian sources makes it impossible to verify claims of detailed correspondences.

Claims of continuity (and to some extent the whole conception of the practice itself) often seem to rest on an unquestioned premise, namely, that disputation is something that can be understood as a single, coherent, continuum of tradition, not reflecting, but abstracted from a vast array of individual historical, socio-cultural, and institutional settings in which it may have operated – surely an unrealistic way to approach the history of any organised human activity. The processes of extraction that prove so useful when dealing with logical and philosophical principles expressed in the scholarly texts can hardly be applied to this sphere. Even the claims of continuity themselves have to be understood in terms of their functions within individual socio-cultural settings. Assertions of maintaining the scholastic traditions of Nālandā, such as occur in relation to Tibetan or Sri Lankan monasteries, have clearly been employed as legitimisation devices for monastic authority, used to construct institutional history or patch over troubling ruptures in it, and have even fed narratives of ethno-religious exceptionalism.

Conceiving Scholasticism in a Tibetan Historical Landscape

In the remainder of this article, the view taken is that the topic of disputation is one that needs to be investigated and understood within specific historical settings. In terms of the Tibetan medieval practice, it is concerned with three crucial issues: 1. The relationship between scholarly literature and practice; 2. The form of medieval disputation; 3. The practice's purposes and aims. The basic argument is that attempts to address such issues and indeed gain a realistic understanding of the practice can make little progress unless there is greater preparedness to conceive of it in terms of specific historical institutions, rather than just intellectual content or religious goals.

If practices such as disputation need to be approached and understood in terms of individual historical and institutional settings, the same might also seem to apply to scholasticism itself. Treating it either as a given (as a convenient way to refer to Buddhist scholarly tradition) or in an abstract fashion seem unsatisfactory, particularly as, in the latter case, it would appear to give licence to removing it from the aforesaid settings. Furthermore, while the thoughts and writings we are dealing with indisputably share generic similarities with those in other scholarly traditions, what guarantee is there that they are anything more than a loosely-connected set of elements, with nothing of the organisation and order that characterises those that could be said to belong to a single school of thought, method, or approach, as in the case of European medieval scholasticism? Tibetan history has not generally been defined by intellectual, social, or political movements. Despite this, when used in reference to scholarly traditions associated with the monastery of Sangpu (*gSang phu*),[4] the notion of scholasticism seems entirely appropriate. In recent years, this monastery's reputation has been somewhat rehabilitated, with some studies recognising its vital role in the evolution of Tibetan scholastic traditions.[5] In such studies, the approach that originated there, beginning in the eleventh century, is sometimes referred to as »scholasticism«.[6] I believe, however,

4 The Tibetan terms and names here are firstly rendered in simplified phonetics, providing an approximate guide to pronunciation. The version in brackets follows the *Wylie transliteration system* and is based on Tibetan orthography.

5 Such as Hugon, Enclaves of learning.

6 The monastery (full Tibetan name, *gSang phu ne'u thog*) was founded in 1072/1073.

that the case for identifying »Tibetan scholasticism« with Sangpu traditions begs further development, especially as the language and framework that can be used for representing these traditions is entirely indigenous in origin, helping allay any concerns that discussions about scholasticism here require the superimposition of some »alien« concept onto the Tibetan setting. More generally, rooting discussion in the Sangpu traditions means that we avoid dealing with scholasticism in an ahistorical, abstract fashion (and circumvent various self-created debates about what qualifies as Tibetan scholasticism). The centralising concept, embodying the approach pioneered at Sangpu is that of *tsenyi* (*mtshan nyid*). Two new glosses for the term seem to have emerged from Sangpu. It appears, perhaps originally, to have been associated with the *pramāṇa* logico-epistemological tradition (Tibetan: *tshad ma*) championed there, and perhaps even specifically with the pivotal treatise composed by the Indian master Dignāga, *Compendium of Valid Means of Knowledge* (Sanskrit: *Pramāṇasamuccaya*; Tibetan: *Tshad ma kun btus*). But the two most significant figures in the creation of Sangpu's scholastic traditions – the monastery's second and sixth abbots, Ngog Lotsawa (rNgogs blo ldan shes rab, 1059-1109) and Chapa Chökyi Senge (Phywa pa Chos kyi seng ge, 1109-1169) – were also instrumental in the development of an indigenous theory of definitions, in which the term *tsenyi* was chosen to denote the definitions in question. The quest for establishing the characteristics defining a particular thing and arguments about what constituted the correct version of that definition seem to have long been regarded as cardinal to the approach followed at Sangpu. The two glosses converged, and the term *tsenyi* came to encapsulate the whole Sangpu system. The creation of this essentially new concept was itself a sign of the indigenous tradition's growing confidence. Prior to this, notions related to logic and reasoning had been conveyed through standardised terms, dutifully translated from Sanskrit.[7] But the *tsenyi*-concept expressed something new and followed no Sanskrit precursor. It was also at Sangpu that the concept of what is commonly referred to as the Tibetan »scholastic curriculum« was first created. As in the treatises composed by Sangpu scholars, the approach to learning seems to have been heavily dialectical in character. Tradition credits Chapa Chökyi Senge with creation of the structure and rules for formal disputation. The Sangpu approach proved influential: numerous satellites, commonly referred to as *tsenyi*-»sections« or »schools« (*mtshan nyid kyi grwa*) were founded, often as separate divisions within pre-existing monasteries.[8]

A point not previously remarked on is the role of the *tsenyi*-concept in the construction of personal and group identity. Distinguishing themselves from the various village-based ritualists, contemplatives, and monks of varying description (especially those devoted to tantrism), individuals who engaged in this dialectically orientated approach began to refer to themselves and their community, who were almost exclusively monastic, as »*tsenyi*-ists« (*mtshan nyid pa*). For centuries, what might be termed the »*tsenyi*-movement« flourished contemporaneously with medieval European scholasticism. The form of critical thinking that it promoted, the dialectical nature of its literature, the various methods and techniques employed by it (including public disputation), and its gradual move towards standardised education and formal examination, leading to the awarding of titles, present us with a cluster of features corresponding with those found in the scholasticism of medieval Europe.

7 During imperial times, the Tibetan terms *rtog ge* and *gtan tshigs* had been created. They were supposed to represent equivalents of the Sanskrit concepts of *tarka* and *hetu*.

8 The term *bshad grwa* was also used for these.

Identifying scholasticism with the Sangpu tradition may raise questions about how to characterise and classify various nexuses of activity that occurred outside it. A great deal of work in medieval Tibet that had no direct connection with Sangpu, including that related to literary production, codification, and the systematisation of written corpuses, must be recognised as scholarly activity. However, if we distinguish scholasticism from commentarial traditions (of which there were multiple variations), and understand it as a system in which a distinct method of critical thinking and dialectical reasoning were developed not simply in its writings, but were also applied to *learning*, particularly through techniques such as formal disputation, then nothing in medieval Tibet outside the Sangpu tradition deserves the description »scholasticism«. Sakya Pandita (Sa skya Paṇḍita 1182-1251) is sometimes depicted as having created a scholarly system that rivalled that of Sangpu.[9] In fact, although he sought to expand the vision of scholarly learning, in every other respect his acceptance of the fundamentals of the tradition conceived at Sangpu, including its dialectical approach and the centrality of disputation, was total. He neither rejected the growing notion of scholasticism nor created any alternative to it.

It is traditional to refer to an earlier and later dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet: the first running concurrent with the period of empire, and the rise of Sangpu occurring shortly after commencement of the second. Rooting understandings of scholasticism in the *tsenyi*-model again does not imply that activities undertaken in the pre-Sangpu era were not scholarly. The earlier dissemination saw the founding of the first Tibetan monastery, Samye (*bSam yas*). It hosted eminent Indian Buddhist scholars, such as Śāntarakṣita (725-788) and Kamalaśīla (740-795), who resided in Tibet until their deaths. While there, they composed treatises, taught, promoted the views of a particular brand of Buddhist philosophy, and oversaw translation work. As reflected in their treatises, their approach was decidedly scholarly and advocated the use of logic. Traditional accounts also report that Kamalaśīla emerged victor in a monumental public disputation, thus ensuring that a more intellectual approach to Buddhism was adopted in Tibet, rather than a contemplative one. But again, we must not lose sight of the issue here: even if these figures promoted a scholarly brand of Buddhism and left their mark in the literary domain, with Śāntarakṣita's treatise *Ornament of the Middle Way* (*Madhyamakālaṃkāra*) remaining influential and inspiring numerous commentaries, this alone does not establish that they were responsible for creation of a system or that any enduring legacy of scholastic tradition survived them. Importantly, we lack reliable records about how learning was approached at Samye and whether practices such as disputation were used. Crucially, whatever institutional structures might have supported scholastic practices appear to have perished with the empire in a spectacularly synchronised fashion. According to popular accounts, Lhalung Pelgyi Dorje (Lha lung dPal gyi rdo rje), the monk whose assassination of the Tibetan ruler Udum Tsen ('U dum btsan) in 841 triggered both the imperial downfall and the collapse of institutional monasticism at the heart of the dominion, was the abbot of Samye, the centre of scholastic activity!

9 Dreyfus, *Sound of Two Hands*, 138.

Reconstructing Disputation Practice in Tibet: The Limits of Sources and the Confusion of Domains

Given the size of the population and the proportion of it who engaged in literary activity, the extent of the Tibetan medieval scholastic corpus is impressive. There is, however, insufficient appreciation of the narrowness of the corpus's breadth and the limitations this imposes on the historian. Those researching scholastic traditions like disputation practised in medieval Europe, for instance, are not only able to call on relevant erudite treatises and commentaries, but also more personal writings (including diaries, private letters, and epistles), official works (chronicles, court records, registers, religious rulings, and legal documents), as well as debate scripts. Such breadth, and the multiplicity of voices represented in these materials offer varied perspectives and reveal institutional and private tensions. Readings of the past that emerge from them are inevitably refined and nuanced. Many of these categories of writing, if they existed at all in Tibet, have survived only in fragmentary form and provide nothing of relevance. Tibetan materials do not even seem to compare favourably with those of other Buddhist medieval scholastic systems, such as that of Japan, which appears not to have flourished to the extent of the Tibetan one. There is no shortage of erudite Tibetan writing, especially of the commentarial variety, eloquently expressing the sophistication of scholarly thinking. But the Tibetan addiction to formulaic and idealised presentation has, frustratingly, largely succeeded in excluding from the historical record details of the actual process and routine of practices. Hagiographic writings, like those erudite works, form substantive corpuses, and are potentially useful, but disputation practice usually receives only cursory mention in them.

Anyone who has witnessed the activity currently engaged in on the dedicated area known as the »debate ground« within the main monastic centres of the Geluk (*dGe lugs*),[10] the largest school of Tibetan Buddhism, has some inkling of the degree of formalisation and stylisation attached to the activity commonly described as »debate«. The practice has, for some centuries, been the mainstay of Geluk scholasticism, and is generally understood to have medieval roots. But the question of how the contemporary practice relates to its medieval predecessor has barely been raised. This is an issue that falls within the Rumsfeldian sphere of unknown unknowns. Significant studies cover different dimensions of the contemporary practice, viewed in the context of monastic education.[11] Aside from these, the studies most readily associated with »Tibetan monastic debate« deal with a genre of texts labelled *Collected Topics (bsdus grwa)*:[12] primer material, currently used in monasteries of the Geluk and other schools, to introduce students to debate fundamentals. Tibetan has no separate term for »public disputation«. A single, common term (*rtsod pa*) covers roughly the same range of uses as »debate« does in English. The resulting ambiguity means that the spheres of activity (that of public disputation) and literature (writings containing material perhaps relevant to the

10 In common parlance, the term *chöra* (*chos grwa/ra*) straddles the physical space and the activity that takes place there.

11 Dreyfus (especially) *Sound of Two Hands* and Lempert, *Discipline and Debate*. Dreyfus has been one of the few to speculate, somewhat briefly (2013, 137-146), on how current practice may differ from that in the past.

12 Onoda, *Monastic Debate in Tibet*; Perdue, *Debate in Tibetan Buddhism.*

activity, or, more generally, polemical works or those involving dialectical exchanges on religio-philosophical topics) are never satisfactorily distinguished. Since early medieval times, the writings of the scholastic tradition have favoured a predominantly dialectical format, with authors setting out their own commentarial interpretations or presenting material that is more explicitly designed for educational uses not by exegesis, but through ideal, instructive exchanges, in which a representative of »our own system« refutes positions advanced by various real or imagined opponents. Added to this, dialectical writings use much of the same formulaic language that is employed on the debate ground. Further blurring boundaries, materials currently employed for educational purposes in Tibetan monasteries of the scholastic persuasion are not only barely distinguishable, stylistically, from material of the medieval times, in most cases they *are* medieval compositions: genres such as the Collected Topics can be traced directly to Sangpu,[13] and most major manuals used in the Geluk system were composed in the fifteenth century. Furthermore, notwithstanding the upheaval that ensued following the Chinese Communist annexation of Tibet in the twentieth century, the lack of impact from any sort of reformation or revolutionary movement has meant that the scholastic system has experienced no substantive alterations in thinking or styles of presentation since late medieval times. All of these factors make for hopeless confusion regarding where the borders that separate historical periods and domains of activity lie, contributing to a sense that »monastic debate« can be treated like a single, unitary province, within which one area can be used to make inferences or supplement lacunas in knowledge about another. The first step to a serious investigation of »disputation«, therefore, is the recognition that it constitutes a specific activity, performed on the debate ground (whether in a medieval or contemporary setting), and as such must be distinguished from the »debate« of literature or that belonging to the aforementioned borderless realm.

In addition to the above confusion, questions must be raised about the way that scholarly writings relevant to disputation are read, *as history*. Illustrating this, we consider a key treatise by Sakya Pandita, entitled *Entrance to Scholarship* (*mKhas pa la 'jug pa'i sgo*), probably composed between 1220-1230: a work divided into three sections, one of which is devoted solely to, »the way to engage in debate« (*'bel ba'i gtam la 'jug pa*). Thanks largely to Jackson's translation and analysis of this section,[14] it is unfailingly cited by studies related to Tibetan scholastic work. Its relevance to medieval practice, although never entirely clarified, is always implied. I would summarise the questionability of this reading of such writings as follows:

1. Materials that are predominantly prescriptive in nature cannot be counted as evidence of action or behaviour: firstly, because that would rely on the idea that devotion to some religious figure meant that a community's compliance with whatever instruction emanated from that figure can be presumed – a presumption that academic studies of history must regard as unsound. Also, in the present case, this assumes that the practicalities of disputation performance were primary concerns for such figures in these writings, an assumption apparently largely contradicted by their content (see below).

13 The best-known text (the *R(w)a stod bsdus grwa*) was composed by a Sangpu abbot ('Jam dbyangs mchog lha 'od zer, 1429-1500).

14 Jackson, *Entrance Gate.*

2. Treatments of debate, such as those in Sakya Pandita's work, are largely *contrary* to those necessary for determining the conduct of an encounter (either a competitive or knowledge-seeking exercise) between groups or individuals in Tibetan monastic contexts, in that they use an expositional paradigm from a different historico-cultural setting, namely, that of early medieval India, the era of their source material (the treatises of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti), which they comment on, and regard as authoritative.[15] As such, disputation is conceived of as a confrontation between two individuals who follow, respectively, the tenets of a Buddhist and non-Buddhist »Indian« philosophical school. The encounter is viewed solely from the perspective of the Buddhist, whose primary task is to divest the opponent of his erroneous views, and thereby lead him to inferential realisation of various truths. Conception of the process is, therefore, premised on a power disparity between the two participants, such that correctness and outcome are predetermined. Purely on the level of principles, this is fundamentally incompatible with the structuring of monastic disputation.

3. Even in terms of prescription, if understood as providing guidelines or rules of engagement for disputation, what is presented in these works makes for unconvincing reading. As any number of examples from the worlds of games and sports, law, etc. attest, attempts to organise and institutionalise practices of *contest* that involve the formalisation of rules and codes inevitably exhibit signs of gradual finessing, with further stipulations added where existing regulation has been found wanting. These represent responses to and signs of engagement with real-world situations of exactly the form that is generally absent from Tibetan scholastic prescription related to disputation.

These points lead to a more important observation about the content of scholarly literature. Much is made of the fact that the aforesaid section includes comments in which Sakya Pandita appears to be critical of elements of disputation practices at Sangpu.[16] The details he offers are scant, but he seeks to contrast them with what is stated in Dharmakīrti's treatise *Logic of Argumentation* (*Vādanyāya; rTsod pa'i rigs pa*), one of a handful of medieval Indian Buddhist writings that discuss aspects of disputation practice. Sakya Pandita's criticism serves as a springboard for setting out his understanding of the principles outlined in Dharmakīrti's treatise. But his main objection to the apparent steps of »Tibetan« process, is not so much that they contradicted those set out by Dharmakīrti, but that Dharmakīrti made no reference to such steps. Sakya Pandita fails to elaborate on what should replace the »flawed« Tibetan procedure, and indeed how could he, if the sources of authority that he was both bound to and bounded by included no real guidance on such matters? In this, he offers us an insight into the domain that a Tibetan scholar such as himself occupied. He thought of himself as someone whose chief role was to offer correct, faithful interpretation of canonical scripture and treatise.[17] Debate may have been central to this role in that, following the traditions of scholastic literature, this »correct« interpretation could only be arrived at through

15 There is some parallel here with the medieval European notion of *auctoritas.*

16 See Jackson, *Entrance Gate.*

17 Traditionally, this realm has been exclusively male. The personal pronouns used later in this article, when describing disputation practice, also reflect this.

refutation of errant, rival interpretations. Thus, occasionally, engagement with disputation on a theoretical level proved necessary.[18] But practical implementation of this theory, how disputation should actually be conducted within the Tibetan monastic context … that was something that the scholar simply did not perceive to be his department! Indeed, remaining somewhat aloof from such mundane matters seems to have been judged as essential to the projection of a scholarly identity.

Disputation and »the Language«

Outside the realm of scholarly discourse on disputation conducted by figures such as Dharmakīrti and Sakya Pandita, we must infer the existence of a parallel domain of action. This domain has undoubtedly been informed by the scholarly discourse, but investigation of that discourse does not itself constitute investigation of the domain, nor can that domain be reconstructed solely on the basis of that discourse's contents. Although recognising that disputation occupied a domain separate from that of scholasticism's written literature marks an essential step, it must also be acknowledged that certain features of structure and formulation that characterise Tibetan Buddhist dialectical exchange are common to both. But it cannot be assumed that the relationship with these features has been the same in both cases. Three such features seem especially pertinent here.

The first is the basic form of logical reasoning of the »Dignāga-Dharmakīrti school«.[19] Tillemans summarises this as: »›*A* is *B* because of being *C*, like *D*.‹ More specifically, one invokes a logical reason *C* to prove the truth of the conclusion *A* is *B*«.[20] There are various technical details here, especially associated with the way that a relationship of a generalised nature, the so-called »pervasion« (Sanskrit: *vyāpti*; Tibetan: *khyab pa*), between C and B, which means anything that is C is B, leads to knowledge of particulars; i.e. that A is B. The important point though is that if the relations between the internal elements (C-A and C-B) are confirmed to be correct, they lead to the inference (that A is B), which constitutes indisputable knowledge.

The second, equally technical point, again summarised by Tillemans, relates to an important variant of the above:

> … where the truth of »*A* is *B*« is not being established, but only the fact that it would follow from an *acceptance* (*abhyupagama*) of *A* being *C*. Thus a debater can present an opponent with a *prasaṅga* (consequence) of the sort: »It would follow absurdly that *A* would be *B*, because of being *C*.« Such a consequence will constitute the key step in a proof by reductio ad absurdum, a proof that will culminate in a type of contraposition, turning on *modus tollens*. When the pervasion in the consequence holds and the opponent understands that *A* is not in fact *B*, the opponent will then be led by a »contraposition of the consequence« (*prasaṅgaviparyaya*, literally »reversing the consequence«) to understand that *A* is not in fact *C* because of not being *B*.[21]

18 Tibetan authors largely followed the lead of Indian Buddhist treatises. The few writings on disputation relate to its theory.

19 Tillemans, Dharmakīrti.

20 Tillemans, Dharmakīrti.

21 Tillemans, Dharmakīrti.

This second, consequence form of argument, »it would follow that A is B, because it is C« is, therefore, presented as a way of exposing the mistake in the opponent's thinking (within a thesis, argument, or assumption), but ultimately, with the aim of leading him to a correct inference. Thus, the framework of reference for discussions of these first two features is that of the Indian-treatise paradigm, mentioned above.

The third feature is a more general one. Despite the aforementioned preference for describing disputation in terms of the aforesaid paradigm, where Buddhist is pitted against non-Buddhist, it has also proved necessary to develop a way of representing encounters between Buddhists. »Internal« disputation is overwhelmingly depicted as an irenic exercise. Inspiration is taken from influential canonical works, such as the *Sutra Elucidating the Intention* (*Ārya-saṃdhi-nirmocana-sūtra*), which is structured as a series of dialogues, mainly between the Buddha and various spiritually advanced *bodhisattvas*. Through dialectical exchanges, the apparent inconsistencies in earlier teachings given by Buddha are resolved, primarily by expounding a complex hermeneutic (related to differing audiences and abilities), and thus revealing the Buddha's real (entirely consistent) intent. In the high-minded sense, all »internal« dialectical exchange purports to work towards the resolution of perceived inconsistencies arising from (mis)interpretation of the written canon, but as elaborated below, there is a more immediate sense in which this »inconsistency resolution« approach enters into disputation.

All three features have roles in or exert some influence on the structure of Tibetan Buddhist dialectical exchange. Previous studies have generally considered the first two in terms of what amounts to a »logical method«. This connotes a technique of analysis, designed with the aim of producing some form of result or conclusion. This is exactly how dialectical exchange is depicted in scholarly literature, but it cannot be assumed that disputation sets itself the same goal. In terms of beginning to understand the evolution of disputation as a practice (distinguished from dialectical exchanges conducted in written literature) the matter is better approached, I believe, by concentrating on the mode of communication, what is henceforth referred to as »the language« of dialectical exchange.[22] The language is primarily a medium or vehicle of expression, with its own structure and rules. Just as with other languages, where grammar, phonotactics, etc. guide and limit what can be said, features in this language circumscribe communication. Aspects of the logic or logical method developed by Dignāga and Dharmakīrti may be embedded within and conveyed by the language, but they must be distinguished from it, and it is the language, and more particularly, the extent to which its usage has been insisted on or enforced, that is more relevant to understanding the institutionalisation of disputation practice.

Academic discussion in this area is regularly framed around issues of origin and authority; attempts to identify the Indian source of various Tibetan traditions (from which they may be seen to derive their credence and authority), and judge how loyal Tibetan scholarship has been to the Indian Buddhist heritage. Discussions about the consequence variation, for instance, invariably refer back to the Indian-treatise paradigm, concerning themselves with matters of logic and epistemology (in the production of inferences) and how the consequence

22 Neither »language« nor »method« represent indigenous descriptions here, there being no terms for the phenomenon discussed.

might be related to different Indian philosophical schools.[23] Such discussions are, at best, tangential to the consequence's actual employment in Tibet. But as with the Sakya Pandita example above, the focus on it illustrates how attention from domains of historical practice (such as disputation) is constantly deflected into discussions related to the »higher order« that is supposed to govern action (and is to be discovered within the authoritative text).

Purely in terms of understanding the Tibetan medieval culture of disputation, it is necessary to recognise that institutionalisation involved different levels and steps. The establishment of the language as the convention, the norm of communication for dialectical exchange, represented one such level. But the formalisation of practices, specifically disputation, which used that language, was another, as was the creation of monastic institutions, in the form of physical and organisational entities, that might house or manage such practices. Popular tradition credits Chapa Chökyi Senge with introduction of the consequence format onto the debate ground. To state it clearly, this suggests that he was the first to lift a logical formulation found in Indian scholastic writing and adapt it for practical use in formal disputation. Contemporary medieval sources offer no conclusive evidence regarding Chapa's precise role in the process, nor about the nature of Tibetan dialectical exchange prior to this reported innovatory move. But this introduction of the consequence meant the creation of the language, and it seems likely that the institutionalisation of *both* the language and the practice of disputation occurred in tandem, primarily at Sangpu. The introduction of the language provided structure to dialectical exchange, by demanding that an argument be formulated according to the single A-B-C pattern of elements. The grammatical rules governing this language dictate that the elements (together with their functions) be distinguished and indicated by suffixes and word order.[24] This gives tremendous concentration and focus to arguments, while simultaneously severely restricting the nature of exchange organised around them. Dialectical discourse can neither be open nor follow a straightforward question and answer format. Instead, it assigns each interlocutor with one of two roles: that of challenger or respondent. The challenger's role is to criticise the respondent's position, rather than explicitly setting forth his own, and to do this in consequence form; i.e. »It (absurdly) follows (from your assertion) that *A* would be *B*, because of being *C*.« The respondent, for his part, must answer in terms of the structure presented to him. The desperately small set of mono- and disyllabic responses available allow him only to indicate whether he either accepts the challenger's consequence (and thus, concedes his own position is flawed), or rejects it, but the latter can only be on the grounds that either the relationship C-A or C-B is not fulfilled. The respondent is likely to reject the consequence, at which point the challenger, rather than introducing a fresh line of argument, will set about establishing the disputed relationship, hoping, thereby, to prove that the conclusion contained in his original consequence was correct.

23 I chiefly refer here to the distinction between the *Svātantrika* and *Prasaṅgika*, the supposed Indian sub-schools of the *Madhyamaka* (»Middle Way«) school of Buddhist thought. Although usage of consequences is presented as the main issue, the philosophical positions that underpin this usage are the real area of interest in these discussions.

24 These markers take the form of suffixes, attached immediately following the content of each element. Thus, *chos can* (A); *phyir* (C); *thal* (B-consequence); *te/ste* (B-logical reason).

That outlines the basic form of the language and the kind of exchanges that it permits. But the real question, historically, is the extent of its usage and impact in different domains. Throughout the medieval period, in the field of scholarly writing, we observe a growing reliance on the language: it, just as much as content, seems to have been understood as defining the literature of scholasticism, and the two (language and content) were increasingly seen as inseparable. By the fourteenth century, texts constructed almost entirely of the language appear, and there is a clear sense that formulating arguments (refutations, assertions, etc.) in terms of the language had become a prerequisite for serious scholarly exchange. The notion of »exchange« in literature is a loose or even artificial one; these writings were the author's imagined interaction with his opponent(s). Nevertheless, this growing dependence on the language cannot be seen as isolated from what was happening in the realm of disputation.

Disputation Practice, Institutionalised: The Post-Medieval Manifestation

Having moved discussion out of the realm of the abstract, we now concentrate on trying to understand the practice of disputation in institutional and historical settings. Firstly, we consider disputation in relation to the Geluk school, a context that encompasses current practice but, historically, begins in the centuries just following the medieval era with which we are concerned.

Ever since its inception in the fifteenth century, the Geluk has been an overwhelmingly monastic school, with scholasticism at its heart. It eventually rose to religious and political dominance following the establishment of the Ganden Phodrang (*dGa' ldan pho brang*) administration in 1642, by the Fifth Dalai Lama, backed by Khoshut Mongol forces. Geluk power was concentrated in their main monastic centres, especially the »three seats«, founded in the early decades of the fifteenth century, close to Lhasa. As centres of education they drew heavily from Sangpu traditions, placing considerable emphasis on disputation. By no later than the seventeenth century they were the largest monasteries in the world, housing thousands of monks, either actively engaged in or playing supportive roles (clerical, manual, etc.) to the educational system followed there, the successful culmination of which led to a final examination and the awarding of a scholastic title. The rise of the Geluk was accompanied by the solidification of religious identities – both the formation of religious denominations and friction between them. Disputation's increasing association with the Geluk system meant that it took on symbolic significance: what for those in the Geluk school was an emblem of educational and intellectual rigour, was for others, resentful of Geluk religious and political domination, an object of criticism.[25] Disputation has, consequently, occupied a prominent place in the religious imagination within Tibet, but equally, perceptions of it have been coloured by competing, and ultimately, sectarian-inspired views.

25 The perceived overemphasis on debate and the scholastic approach is regularly criticised by those who favour more contemplative approaches to religion, as well as those who favour a broader spectrum of learning activities.

Moving from these observations regarding the historical place of disputation to specifics of current practice, disputation is seen as serving the purposes of an educational system.[26] It is judged necessary for students to learn about the contents and to tease out the issues dealt with in a text. The dialectical process, in which students are compelled to adopt opposing sides, it is believed, represents the best way to achieve this, and results in deeper engagement with the text. Disputation, therefore, is the main educational activity, which students engage in for many hours each day. The dialectical language has major strengths. It is designed to ensure that positions are clearly expressed and that exchanges remain focused. It also allows for transparency and scrutiny of the exact line of reasoning leading to a particular conclusion. Its stark representation appears to deny the possibility of vagueness, obfuscation, evasion, or even the deployment of rhetoric. *Theoretically*, it would appear to be a tremendous asset, from which dialectical exchange must benefit. Shortcomings might seem to derive more from the strictness of its application. Current Geluk practice insists that disputation be conducted through the medium of the language and that participants adhere to their assigned roles. The respondent may never, therefore, be given the opportunity to articulate his position fully, whereas the challenger, whose role it is to hurl effective criticisms, need not voice his own. Learning how to exploit the language is, furthermore, relatively easy, despite its limited range. The skilled respondent finds ample opportunity to retreat behind the few responses at his disposal, holding rigidly to a particular position that he might find impossible to justify were he forced to spell it out. But more especially, the language and technique allow the challenger to exploit the hazy divide between positions that the respondent actually holds and those that *might* be ascribed to him, based on logical entailment. Various factors, including the single-minded conviction in the efficacy of disputation, the ethos that surrounds it, the students' desire to perform well, and the fact that the activity is largely unsupervised, all significantly shape the practice. Perhaps unsurprisingly, disputation is a highly competitive contest, where skill in technique may prevail over knowledge and understanding. The skilled challenger is one who knows how to set a trap, the skilled respondent is one who anticipates such a trap and takes evasive action. The main pressure in the exchange is on the respondent, whose role is regarded as the more demanding. He is given no time for considered answers. The challenger fortifies his interrogation with stylised but aggressive gestures. Exchanges build to a crescendo and are conducted at breakneck speed. On the debate ground, particularly in the larger gathering, where one or two monks must respond, amid crowds of actual or potential challengers, the atmosphere is invariably boisterous and often uproarious. Although the medium of the language largely disbars rhetoric and the arts of persuasion from the disputation format itself, banter and humorous asides frequently accompany it, particularly before a large, appreciative audience, where either party might feel that his position would be »enhanced« by some witticism, at the expense of the opponent. In brief, we must refer not simply to the practice of disputation, but a whole culture that has grown up around it.

26 In this section of the article my observations are based on my own experience of involvement with the practice of disputation.

While the Geluk may have what some regard as a unique obsession with disputation, it is also practised in many non-Geluk monasteries, following the same format as in the Geluk centres. It is possible, therefore, to identify a basic schematic template to which current Tibetan monastic disputation generally conforms:

Opening
C (the challenger) quotes a passage (often just a few words) from a text
R (the respondent) must identify, locate (in the textual scheme), and interpret this
C introduces the *dissonant element*, in a consequence form: »it follows that A must be B, because of C«

Body
R disputes either of the two relationships suggested in the consequence
C reformulates a consequence, to establish the correctness of that relationship
R again disputes a relationship
C reformulates, accordingly
As above, etc.

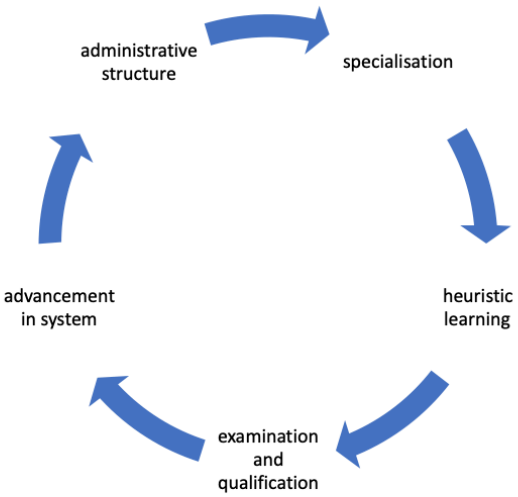
The dissonant element is another passage or a line of reasoning that appears to clash with C's interpretation of the original passage. Thus, distantly or rhetorically, the process references the irenic, »inconsistency resolution« approach mentioned above. But here the two roles within the exercise resemble those of prosecutor and accused in an adversarial system. As such, the dissonant element is presented not so much as a conundrum, but as a contradiction; one that the respondent is, ultimately, guilty of introducing, and the challenger is tasked with exposing. *Ostensibly*, the whole disputation proceeds from this original »contradiction«, and involves the challenger attempting to extract an admission of guilt from the respondent, by blocking off all logical escape routes, and forcing him to agree with the challenger's first consequence (something that the respondent must, at all costs, avoid).

In reality, however, disputation is a more wide-ranging and creative process than this basic structure suggests. No self-respecting respondent would submissively concede. In pursuit of his case, the challenger must construct various *chains* of reasoning. It is through the reversal of these that he hopes eventually to lead back to the first contradiction. If the chains and alleged links set out during a well-structured argument were represented graphically, they would resemble an intricate structural configuration. But only part of the disputation is taken up with the original contradiction. The challenger develops various side-arguments, touching on other issues, and seeks to entangle the respondent in these. None of this would be possible if the consequence here were simply a *reductio ad absurdum* logical method or tool, and indeed its relationship with a scholastic method or process of inference is tenuous at best. Even determining whether or not an individual consequence is correct, according to the stipulations of the scholastic treatises, may have limited relevance, as the frenetic pace that exchanges are conducted at militates against careful deliberation. Here, the consequence helps maintain the exchange's coherence, by creating the impression that all the challenger's arguments and lines of reason somehow »follow« from the respondent's position. But as the challenger's main means of communication, it cannot simply serve as a vehicle for reductionist logic or the sort of deductive argument that this implies. It must accommodate all manner of argument, statement, assertion, speculative comparison, and segue. Moreover, although the language dominates proceedings, the degree to which it is enforced is the chal-

lenger's prerogative. Although he often, stridently, demands its usage, he sometimes invites his opponent to step outside its framework, to explain his position. It is, therefore, possible to create a space for more open discussion (although in presenting the respondent with such an opportunity, the challenger is only probing for new lines of attack). Hence, despite the apparent rigidity of the process and all the pressure that the structure and occasion are designed to place on the respondent in particular, disputation fosters a degree of creativity and does not exclude all possibility of unstructured exchange.

The starting point for disputation is the accusation of contradiction. As such, it might be expected that the process yields some result regarding that issue. What might seem the most likely scenario, in which the respondent makes a fatal error (causing a collapse in his position) is, in fact, something that can rarely be agreed on to have occurred, not least because there is no third-party role or any mechanism that might lead to any conclusive decision. In fact, we may go further, and say that resolution is antithetical to the process. This is dissonance as procedure; the challenger is obliged to find fault with whatever the respondent says. This represents what can be considered a *fundamental tension* within disputation practice. The rhetoric behind the engagement largely matches the ends towards which the participants' energies appear to be devoted; everything seems geared towards resolution. But not only is there no procedure in place to reach that end, both parties would be seen to have *failed* in their respective roles if they ever arrived at such a point. The dissonance here is contrived, conjured up solely for the purposes of the exercise. Similarly, the positions that each party commit themselves to, and whatever they say in pursuit or defence of those positions, have no validity beyond the session of the disputation in which they occur. But both participants must be seen to perform their roles, and as such, are united in their opposition to resolution. The exercise may be absorbing, intellectually stimulating, and edifying, but it is potentially an endless one, producing no judgements or final conclusions.

Disputation is more than important to the system of the large Geluk monasteries, it is something that pervades its institutional structures. Disputation serves as the main pedagogical method within the model of education in the Geluk centres, which could be described as ultra-heuristic: one learns through mainly unsupervised disputation. Disputation technique, which is highly specialised, is not learnt formally, in classrooms, but through observation and engagement on the debate ground. Large groups of participants are considered vital for this. Until recent decades, the examination system also centred entirely on disputation: performance in public disputation »finals« was the basis for the awarding of scholastic titles. Such titles became requisite for official advancement within the system of these centres, something necessary for appointment as abbots, administrators, teachers, and disciplinarians, and also opened the way to placements and positions outside the centres. Officialdom became increasingly involved in the examination process, particularly in its efforts to ensure that the premier titles went to those who acquitted themselves best in the final disputation. With performance in this domain becoming almost the sole measure of success and means of advancement, there seems to be evidence of an institutional loop, in which disputation has gradually been allowed to shape the whole system. This loop might also be said to contain certain vortex-like tendencies, gravitating towards progressive concentration.



Although it should also be remembered that certain aspects of Tibetan scholasticism display an extraordinary degree of resilience and continuity, no *direct* inferences can be made about medieval practices based on these observations of the Geluk system. The Geluk ascension must, primarily, be understood as a post-medieval phenomenon, intertwined with the foundation of state. Nevertheless, these observations seem pertinent to understanding the medieval practice. Firstly, this is a striking example of what could be described as the »logical outcome« of an unimpeded movement along an institutional trajectory. However important to medieval scholasticism disputation might have been, it was nothing like as central as it became in the later Geluk system. No detailed picture of the incremental steps that led to this centre-staging yet exists. But notwithstanding minimal »state« intervention, aimed at greater standardisation and quality control at upper levels of examination, the development of the Geluk education system apparently proceeded largely unchecked by outside or countervailing forces. The Geluk school's successful alignment with the state benefitted it temporally and boosted the popularity of its educational centres. Rather than broadening intellectual engagement, the growing confidence in its institutions seems to have prompted insularity and inversion, with an increasingly narrow focus on disputation as a technique and a means in itself. The practice of disputation became the monastic centres' raison d'être and the basis of their identity. But crucially, the fundamentals that the later Geluk system concentrated on and rigorously applied were those it had inherited from medieval scholasticism; namely, a conviction in the efficacy of formal disputation and reliance on the language.

Secondly, viewing disputation within the Geluk system supplies a much-needed alternative perspective on the aims and motives behind the practice. Debate, more generally, has been depicted as something that sets itself religious and/or intellectual goals. Understanding disputation within an institutional setting presents a counter-voice to such narratives. As illustrated, the principal ends served may be those of the institution. Disputation can become a form of ritualised behaviour: the motives for engaging in it can be created by the institution itself, with the logic primarily being that of self-perpetuation. The Geluk example may be a uniquely extreme one, but the extra dimension that it brings to the understanding of disputation, in which it can be viewed in terms of institutionalised practices and behaviour, and whatever motives might be associated with them, is an invaluable one, which might have relevance to the medieval practice.

Medieval Disputation, in Practice

With the benefit of the greater clarity that the foregoing discussion has hopefully provided regarding issues of institutionalisation, we return to the question of what can be learnt (particularly given the limited nature of the primary sources) about disputation practice in medieval times, especially the period between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (the point just prior to the rise of the Geluk) when a more open form of scholasticism flourished.

An additional challenge in dealing with historical sources in this area, alluded to above, is that Tibetan scholasticism seems never to have developed a nomenclature or formal language for describing disputation or its processes. Terminology lifted from the Indian-treatise paradigm occasionally appears but is patently »foreign« to the Tibetan practice. This absence cannot be seen as evidence that disputation was a rare or relatively unimportant practice. It is simply a curious feature of Tibetan scholasticism, as corroborated by the current tradition. Thus, while the *content* of disputation, including the religio-philosophical subject-matter of Buddhist treatises, and especially the varieties of correct and fallacious logical reason that are preserves of the logico-epistemological tradition, have been subject to incessant categorising and taxonomical ordering, the same mentality appears never to have been applied to the *process* itself. Indeed, the conceptual and linguistic means of stepping outside the process to describe it barely exist; there is no language for expressing the stages, sequences, or forms of interaction within the practice, but even for such basics as »disputation« and »challenger«, there are no agreed designations. This disjuncture complicates attempts to understand the evolution of disputation formats. It might also seem to deprive us of knowledge of the process's intended ends, *enshrined*, as it were, in procedure. Hence, we find nothing comparable with the *solutio* (final solutions) or, in the early medieval European universities, the *determinatio* (summing up), which consummated the *disputatio ordinaria*, indicating that disputations were presided over by a master, who would issue some form of judgement regarding the opposing arguments,[27] and that settlement and resolution were deemed intrinsic to the activity.

Regarding what can be seen as the Tibetan practice's province of application: unlike in medieval Christian and Islamic scholastic traditions, there is no real evidence of any branching out into other fields. Law was never a scholastic discipline; medicine developed into one, but intellectually, the logical method does not seem to have been regarded as relevant to it. Neither are there signs of other fields benefitting from the skills and techniques cultivated on the debate ground. But even within the context of scholasticism, disputation seems only to have been employed in rather specific areas. As the medieval tradition developed the ideal of the monk-scholar, notions of which areas such an individual should have knowledge or mastery of were gradually formalised. Topics pertaining to the literary arts, the esoteric (tantra), and, to a certain extent, medicine, astrology, etc., did not belong to what eventually became the official scholastic curriculum, but knowledge of them was expected. None of these topics, however, were regarded as falling into the domain of disputation. The aforesaid curriculum was gradually organised around certain treatises within the large »canon« of

27 Novikoff, *Medieval Culture of Disputation*, 141-142.

Buddhist treatises translated from Sanskrit, dealing mainly with religio-philosophical matters. The treatises that the scholastic tradition finally determined should form the essential core were limited in number. Disputation seems to have focused almost exclusively on these. Indirect support for this is found in patterns of scholastic writing: commentarial works on the favoured treatises became both more numerous and decidedly more dialectical in character, suggesting something of a symbiotic relationship between the scholastic spheres of composition and disputation. The later Geluk school's conception of which topics and texts are »fitting« material for disputation largely accords with that which emerges from medieval sources, suggesting that despite holding these concepts in a more fixed way, the school has basically inherited them from the earlier tradition.[28] All the evidence, therefore, supports the idea that medieval scholasticism, at a relatively early stage, carved out a very clearly defined territory for disputation. This may well be seen to have implications regarding the practice's perceived use (and intellectual horizons). Whatever the exact story of disputation's development at Sangpu (including the role of Chapa and others in formalising the practice, introducing the consequence format, and thereby creating the language), its pedagogical potential appears to have been realised immediately. In post-medieval times, there are no obvious signs of formal disputation being practised outside the *educational* setting. This intimate relationship with education could lead one to wonder whether it might both have been designed for and never really ventured beyond the boundaries of institutional learning.

For at least partial answers to this question we may turn to an invaluable document containing evidence of medieval disputation practice. This is the »record of disputation-exchange« (*rtsod yig*), produced immediately after an encounter that occurred c. 1390, at Sakya monastery, between the celebrated scholar Rongtön Sheja Kunrig (Rong ston shes bya kun rig, 1367-1449) and the almost anonymous Tukje Pel (Thugs rje dpal, dates unknown).[29] This may represent a unique example; the only one of this variety of document to have survived from medieval times. It refers, frustratingly, to a variety of institutionalised practices related to disputation (including the official recording of exchanges) for which we have no other complete primary source. This encounter did not occur within the context of education, and neither participant was affiliated to the monastery that hosted it. Instead, contemporary writings indicate something of a custom during the decades in question of established scholars being invited or challenged to engage in public disputation, within the confines of various scholastic centres.

28 The exception here is tantra. Study of the area was increasingly institutionalised in the Geluk system, although outside the main scholastic centres.

29 A reproduction of the manuscript, together with a later published version of the text, appears in Huang, *Record of a Tibetan Medieval Debate.* Citations here refer to the MS version.

Although the document cannot be analysed in depth here, highlighting a few key features relating to the structure and format of the exchange, rather than its content, will serve to illustrate similarities with the pattern of later practice outlined above, but also some significant differences.

1) Opening

a. Tukje Pel sets forth his position or »thesis«, then challenges his opponent to argue against it
b. Rongtön presents seven consequences, each derived from and revealing what he proposes is a fault in Tukje Pel's position

2) Body

a. Tukje Pel responds to each, in turn, with:
    i. A parallel refutation
    ii. An actual response
b. There are occasional follow-ups and counter-responses
c. Rongtön questions Tukje Pel's hermeneutic model
d. Looser exchanges follow, with clarifications, criticisms, and responses

Tukje Pel's position is the stance he takes on a particular point of scriptural interpretation. He refers to this as his *damcha* (*dam bca'*), for which the translation »thesis« seems justifiable. The same term crops up in relation to the opening section in current practice, where a »*root-damcha*« (*rtsa ba'i dam bca'*) is that point that the respondent cannot concede without seeming to admit defeat, and from which the whole discourse essentially proceeds. But there, »thesis« seems inappropriate, as this root-*damcha* denotes little more than a point or position that the challenger, by introducing the dissonant element, has manipulated the respondent into accepting or simply decided to attribute to him. By contrast, Tukje Pel is clearly setting forth his own views and, unlike his latter-day counterpart, is allowed to express these at some length, formulated not in the language, but as a minor discourse. Some of Rongtön's seven consequences resonate with later use of the dissonant element, in that the faults they refer to are simply purported clashes with certain passages of scripture. Both parties seem pre-prepared for the encounter, generally familiar with their opponent's position, and there is some indication that Rongtön may be presenting a set of stock criticisms of positions such as that held by Tukje Pel.

In the body of the disputation, where the interaction between the two parties is more meaningful, the exchanges are relatively personal, free-flowing, and apparently impromptu. Although the respective roles of Rongtön and Tukje Pel are, ostensibly, those of challenger and respondent, there are no signs that this is used or perceived to create additional pressures or limit what either party might say. The respondent, notably, is permitted to clarify and expand on his position, and protest at what he feels is its misrepresentation. The way that the disputation is ordered, with seven (critical) consequences and seven responses, has an interesting effect on the structure of exchanges. It creates self-contained sections or units of discourse. Thus, each criticism is dealt with independently of the others. The sections vary in length, apparently depending on Rongtön's feeling about Tukje Pel's answers: Rongtön seems keen to pursue some of the responses, offering counters to them, leading to prolonged exchange, but he shows no interest in others, meaning that the exchange on them is curtailed. In each section, the discussion runs its course, ending without any formal conclusion.

This effective compartmentalisation of each discussion, and the issue it deals with, means that there is simply no opportunity for the exchange to be dominated by an endless stream of consequences or dogged pursuit of a single point. Similarly contrasting with current practice, this process concerns itself with the soundness of the personal, and seemingly committed stance, of a mature scholar. Procedure and technique do not govern or obscure what is an authentic and open exploration and exchange of ideas. In these regards, this could be said to conform to many peoples understanding of a »disputation«.

In spite of the aforesaid differences from contemporary practice, this exchange still speaks of a high degree of institutionalisation. Firstly, notwithstanding the fact that while both at the outset and in some of his »actual answers« (*lan rnal ma*) Tukje Pel is allowed to *describe* his thinking, generally, the exchanges in this encounter rely heavily on the language. There is a strong sense that it is only when positions, issues, and criticisms are formulated in and communicated through it, that they can properly be expressed and scrutinised. Furthermore, for all the relative openness of the exchange, the participants are obviously so accustomed to usage of the language that the urge to formulate their thoughts in terms of critical consequences is one that they seem unable to resist.

Secondly, although the seven-consequence structure means that this is not a disputation dominated by singularities, it nevertheless results in a highly structured exchange. Tukje Pel employs a two-pronged approach to rebut each of Rongtön's critical consequences. His »actual response« is preceded by his »parallel refutation« (*mgo mtshungs kyi dgag pa*), issued in the form of a counter consequence, exposing an alleged fault in Rongtön's own line. It is unclear whether this systematic treatment of Rongtön's criticisms represents the standard practice of the time or Tukje Pel's own choice. There is nothing comparable in current disputation, where, as already remarked, the respondent has little significant right of reply. However, the two-pronged approach, phrased in exactly the same terms, appears in scholastic writings from the medieval period in question, suggesting that its usage for structuring dialectical exchange was more widespread, and that this might have formed part of an established disputation practice.

Thirdly, the document reveals a more surprising aspect of disputation. Reference has already been made to the role of banter in current practice. Joking here is »agonistic«,[30] and made at the opponent's expense. But equally, debate-ground humour has other important performative and entertainment dimensions, and on a psychological level can function as a tension-release mechanism. It could also be remarked that what has been described as Tibetan »polemical writing« refers to that in which scholarly authors, railing against the views of some religious opponent, resort to ridicule or outright insult. In either case, abuse, in its various forms, directed against the opponent, is generally understood as peripheral to the serious business; that is, discussing the participants' views on religio-philosophical matters. The record of Rongtön and Tukje Pel's disputation contains numerous exchanges in which each party seems, to put it mildly, to be less than charitable about his opponent – something that, following the common pattern of interpretation could be judged as tangential to the »real« discussion. But why record these comments at all? Can their inclusion be attributed to

30 Dreyfus, What is debate for?, 43-58.

over-officious or dutiful clericalism? This seems extremely unlikely, given the careful process that the document's colophon informs us went into its preparation. The most plausible explanation is that the comments are included because in the minds of all those involved, such exchanges represented as much a part of the disputation as the aforesaid »substantive« content. Closer scrutiny of this material appears to confirm this. These are not offhand quips or angry outbursts, but a series of structured exchanges, following predetermined conventions. They either take the form of apparent direct insults (where the opponent may be described as »blind« or »an ox«),[31] or a self-composed verse, in which the speaker either a. makes personal boasts, or b. ridicules his opponent. As with the shouting and physical gestures of current disputation practice, an outsider might easily judge these to be needlessly aggressive or incongruous with a religious exercise. But such superficial judgements necessarily fail to grasp the ritualised nature of what are, literally, *exchanges*, set within strict parameters. Such interactions are disciplined and measured. Their content never goes beyond a single theme, the respective reasoning abilities of the two parties, and however abrasive, exchanges are always limited, mainly to one comment per participant. Each delivery invites a response. The implied question, particularly with the verses, seems to be, »Can you match this?« The other party always accepts the challenge, and his response corresponds with the original in form (i.e. verse for verse), general content, and use of imagery. Ideally, he redirects the import and imagery of the original back at its source, with the addition of some humorous twist that mocks the initiator of the exchange. This is clearly a ritualised, verbal contest, with correspondences to medieval flyting, or modern-day freestyle rap battling. Verse trading does not feature in current disputation practice, but in other regards the historical and contemporary forms of Tibetan disputation seem to work from the same (unwritten) rulebook, employing the same techniques, figures, and often even the exact same insults.

Conclusion

By seeking to gain a better understanding of three areas identified towards the start of this article – 1. The relationship between scholarly literature and practice; 2. The form of medieval disputation; 3. The practice's purposes and aims – my main intention has been to stake out a separate territory for and indeed assert the existence of a Tibetan medieval practice of disputation, something that has not been undertaken before. To achieve this, I have argued for the need to delineate borders within the loosely defined sphere of »Tibetan religious/monastic debate«. Partly arising from confusion pertaining to that sphere, when faced by the considerable gulf that appears to separate *disputation* as currently practised from what is discussed and represented in scholarly (largely medieval) writings, some are tempted to attribute this to something that has occurred within the Geluk system, such that as the practice was increasingly turned towards serving educational ends, it might have been diverted from its original purpose, perhaps suffering some form of debasement through institutional ritualisation. The chief problem with the perceived gulf, and naïve endeavours to reconcile it, is that they involve comparison of a *practice* with what is essentially an ahistorical *construct*, namely, some notion of disputation that draws from the familiar, abstract domain of

31 MS folio 9 recto and MS folio 12 verso.

logical structures and principles, as well as the textual world of canonical sources and religious pronouncements, but has no demonstrable relationship with any actual practice. The exact connection between scholastic dialectical writings and the practice of disputation is neither a self-explanatory one, nor one that can be understood simply by assuming a necessary relationship between content, prescription, and performance.

Having discarded that flawed comparison, this article has concentrated on one between current and medieval disputation practices, as far as such is possible. The highlighting of the ritualised side of current practice is not part of some crude attempt to craft, contradistinctively, an idealised vision of medieval practice, one that necessarily, as with the flawed comparison above, ends up ascribing to these practices a higher set of religious and intellectual goals and motives, occupying a realm that is inaccessible to us. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the practice represented in the »record«, as in other, more fragmentary primary sources, appears less rigid, more open, and crucially, interested in the articulation and exploration of genuinely held positions. In that sense it seems to have characteristics redolent of an authentic process of intellectual exchange; something that would probably be interpreted not simply as a divergence in form from current practice, but expressive of a differing set of concerns, purposes, and aims. For ultimately, this might be seen as the crux of the issue: what lies behind the creation of such a formal structure of disputation and what accounts for its continuing popularity? As the Geluk example shows, these should be treated as two separate questions: what motivates engagement in a practice within a long-established institutional setting may be quite different from what motivates the practice's original creation (however much those performing the former evoke the spirit of the latter).

Medieval sources inform us that formal disputation had at least two iterations: the first, educational, including as a means of examination, and second, the form of organised scholarly skirmish, such as represented in the »record«. In terms of motives and goals, the more appealing idea might be that the first grew out of the second; that educational practices came to model themselves on a pre-existing forum of scholarly discourse. But thinking in terms of the practice's formalisation, if anything, the reverse seems far more likely. Although historically, looser forms of scholarly exchange predated formal disputation, the practice was specialised enough to require training to engage in it. Thus, those who engaged in the practice were products of an educational system. The notion of a practice co-opted for educational purposes seems unrealistic. Institutionalisation was not introduced into, but rather created disputation: practice *is* institution. This manifests most markedly in the creation and usage of the language. The different spheres of Tibetan Buddhist dialectical exchange and those who have participated in them are united not so much by an affinity of usage of the language, but, as already noted, the apparent conviction that it has represented the sole means by which an argument could be clearly formulated and subjected to scrutiny. As such, its usage has been seen as the most basic rule of engagement, and the ability to think and express oneself in this language can be viewed as inseparable from the mentality of scholasticism.

Analysis of medieval sources on disputation seems to lead less to peeling away layers of institutional practice than to discovering those of which we had previously been unaware. The »record«, it must be remembered, was preceded by several centuries of disputation practice: plenty of time for the accretion of layers that might subsequently have been shed, such as certain features of argument structure, or the ritualised trading of insults and verses. Such a process of accretion seems the most likely source of what I have referred to as the fundamental tension in current practice. The need, at all costs, to keep the process going, and never reach a resolution must certainly derive, to a considerable extent, from the educational setting. The

heuristic model was able to accommodate large numbers of students in that it centred on the low-maintenance (i.e. mainly unsupervised) practice of disputation but could only succeed in doing so as far as it was able to inculcate a culture and psychology of self-sustaining activity.

Linking back, finally, to the all-important question of aims and motives, despite the fact that the current unremittingness of disputation probably derives largely from the later setting, and seems unlikely to have been so pronounced in medieval disputation, this does not mean that its introduction or amplification brought about a »loss of resolution«. We may be certain that in medieval times, the practice was regarded as a supreme method of exposing the views and arguments, together with their advocates and detractors, to public scrutiny. But the absence in the record of any reference to a final *outcome* of the process, in the form of a decision, judgement, ruling, or solution, is reminiscent of current practice. In fact, while the theory of such things is discussed in works such as Dharmakīrti's *Logic of Argumentation* and Sakya Pandita's *Entrance to Scholarship*, it is far from clear whether this has ever been a feature of disputation practice in Tibet.

Pending further investigation of this matter, it does at least provide us with a thought-provoking note on which to end: Tibetan disputation shares some compelling affinities with European medieval practice. The latter's general aim of resolving issues pertaining to interpretation of scripture, its evocation of *auctoritas*, and its employment of *dissonantia*, among other things, strongly resonate with elements of Tibetan disputation. However, the idea of a practice that perhaps matches those of other medieval systems in terms of rigour and exceeds most in terms of the acuity that it brings to issues and arguments, but might *not* have been designed to reach some form of conclusion or resolution would, I suggest, seriously challenge certain common assumptions and expectations, and perhaps also pose some interesting questions about our understanding of the medieval mind.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Birgit Kellner and Dr Pascale Hugon for the invitation to participate in the »Rethinking Scholastic Communities across Medieval Eurasia III« workshop, at which I delivered the paper on which this article is based. Work on both was undertaken as Junior Research Fellow, Tibetan and Himalayan Studies, at Wolfson College, University of Oxford. I am indebted to the college, the Tibetan and Himalayan Research Cluster, and especially to Professor Ulrike Roesler. I also wish to thank Dr George Fitzherbert for the part he played in creating the fellowship.

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Hostili praedo ditetur lingua latina: Conceptual Narratives of Translation in the Latin Middle Ages

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Captivas ideo gentiles adveho nugas,
Laetor captivis victor ego spoliis.
Dives captivos habeat Pregnaria servos
Laetetur Grais Cambio mancipiis.
Burgulii victae nunc captivantur Athenae,
Barbara nunc servit Graecia Burgulio.
Hostili praedo ditetur lingua latina,
Graecus et Hebreus serviat edomitus.
In nullis nobis desit doctrina legendi,
Lectio sit nobis et liber omne quod est.[1]

This article is an experiment: it attempts to look at medieval Latin translation practices through the lenses of a modern sociological theory of narrative. It argues that *topoi* found in translation prefaces are key elements of narratives that explain why the act of translation is necessary at all. The article identifies three such narratives, and elaborates in particular on one of them, which describes translation with the help of bellic metaphors.

Keywords: narrative; translation; topos*; Latin; conflict*

Introduction

On 25th March 876, a small booklet arrived at the court of Emperor Charles the Bald from Rome. It was sent by the pontifical court's librarian, Anastasius, and, as the accompanying letter stated, it consisted of a translation of a Greek text that was supposed to support the emperor in his fight against his enemies. Concerned that the emperor had many opponents, the librarian (and his pontiff, John VIII) had sent the document as an offer to help, something that would facilitate God's aid in the emperor's conflicts:

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1 »I bring here the captive pagan trifles; / I, the victor, rejoice in my captive spoils. / Let the rich Pregnaria have captive servants; / Let the Cambio rejoice in Greek slaves. / Captive Athens is now being captured at Bourgueil, / Barbaric Greece now serves Bourgueil / Let the Latin tongue be enriched by enemy booty; / Let the vanquished Greek and Hebrew serve. / Let us not miss reading's lesson in any (of them); / Let everything that is, be book and text for us.« Baudri of Bourgueil, Poem 238: *Ad dominam Constantiam,* lines 125-132. Baudri de Bourgueil, *Oeuvres*, ed. Abraham, 337-342. Translation from Bond, *Loving Subject*, 171-181.

eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s121

> Quia vero imperium vestrum tanti fraudare agonistae notitia renui, vobis quoque id ipsum opportune mittere procuravi, quatinus vestra magnitudo cum ceterorum super arenam multiplicatorum intercessionibus amicorum Dei et istius quoque preces apud Deum obtinere satagat, ut perfrui mereatur eorum suffragio.[2]

The text in question was the *Passio* of Saint Demetrius of Thessaloniki, a so-called warrior saint, who, according to the passion, had successfully intervened with his prayers in favour of a young Christian warrior, Nestor, in his combat with a pagan gladiator. The text was originally written in Greek and translated into Latin by Anastasius himself. I have discussed at length elsewhere the parallels between the characters in the text and in the dedicatory context:[3] Anastasius offered spiritual support from the papacy to the emperor in his wars, just as Saint Demetrius helped the young Christian win his fight with a pagan. This narrative was supposed to remind the emperor that earthly rulership can only be successful with spiritual help, namely the one best provided by the papacy. Through cross referencing the motifs of the warrior, the mediator saint and his enemies between the dedication letter and the translation, Anastasius succeeded in presenting the institution he represented as a mediator interceding in a conflict. It was supposed to remind the dedicatee (the emperor) of the influential position of his ally (the papacy).

This connection between translation and conflict is the one aspect of Greek–Latin translation culture I would like to investigate in this article. In order to clarify this correlation, I will use a contemporary translation theory, that of translation narratives, developed by Mona Baker. This is my second experiment in coupling modern translation theories with premodern translation practices to see if doing so can help us understand the dynamics of translation history better.[4] While medieval translation theory in its linguistic dimension was extensively studied,[5] the political, social and religious dimensions of translation history, and the medieval phase in particular, as Douglas Robinson argues, still need to be explored.[6] One possible reason why these aspects of translation history have been under-studied – at least in the case of the Middle Ages – is that we think there are not enough sources to base such a history on, prefaces by translators, for example, being scarce and frustratingly similar to each other.

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2 Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Epistolae*, ed. Perels and Laehr, 438-439. It also exists in a slightly different version: »Sed quia imperium vestrum tanti agonistae fraudari notitia novi, vebis quoque id ipsum opportune mittere procuravi, quatinus vestra magnitudo cum intercessionibus sanctorum et amicorum Dei istius quoque prece apud Deum obtinere gratiam valeat et perfrui mereatur gloria sempiterna. Rex regum et dominus dominantium regnum vestrum dextera sua protegat et de temporali ad aeternum transferat regnum.« Brussels, KBR, 08690-08702 (3213), fol. 065v.

3 Forrai, Byzantine saints, 185-202.

4 The first attempt: Forrai, Translation as rewriting. There were several important attempts in recent years to understand medieval translation with the help of modern theories (although mostly applied to the case of vernacular translations): Campbell and Mills, *Rethinking Medieval Translation*; Long, Medieval literature; Campbell, Politics; and Warren, Modern theoretical approaches.

5 See the classics of Chiesa, Ad verbum, and Copeland, *Rhetoric.*

6 »We still need a social history of medieval translation theory in terms, say, of social class, economics, land management, birth order and gender. We still need a political history of medieval translation in terms of shifting church–state relations, and the contested construction of the »individual« or the »self« (as obedient or innovative, as socialized or isolated) in the confluence of those relations; or in terms of conquest and empire, both within and at the borders of »Europe« or »the West«, and the geopolitical consolidation of those entities through military conflict with Islam.« Robinson, *What is Translation?*, 16-17.

I would argue that we also make our task harder by the way we look at translation prefaces and similar material. When it comes to medieval Latin literature, we are still under the spell of Curtius and the emphasis he placed on *topoi* as constitutive blocks of medieval Latin literature. It is only a slight exaggeration to say that for him the whole of medieval Latinity is one stockroom of *topoi*, which has spread from its original environment, ancient rhetoric, and quickly permeated all forms of literature. Curtius insists on using the original Greek word, saying the German and English equivalents are misleading, although he does offer one modern-language equivalent: the French *cliché*. Viewing medieval Latin literature as a collection of clichés from Antiquity is not fashionable anymore, but seeing these commonplaces as nothing more than banal reiterations of something that was once meaningful but lost its significance entirely, continues. Dedication letters by translators for example, often not being more than a string of such motifs, are dismissed on this ground: the humility *topos*, the praise of the patron, even the theoretical reflections, the repetitive talk of *verbum* and *sensum* methodologies seem to offer no valuable insight into what was really going on in a translator's atelier. The seeming predictability of it disqualifies it as unreliable and thus ill-suited to historical investigation. I would like to argue that this is not the case.

Therefore, I will, in what follows, concentrate not on what is »original« or new in a preface or similar document, but precisely on what is repetitive, what echoes in other places. In arguing for the necessity of their translation, translators usually recur to very similar arguments. These arguments show up in different periods, different geographical areas, and across different disciplines. The constant referencing of certain *topoi* creates a web of relations between various places and ages. We often hear, for example, of the *ignorantia* of Latins or the *utilitas* of the material translated in many of the translators' presentations of their texts. Why were these *topoi* chosen and not others? What was such a *topos* meant to evoke in a reader who shared with the translator the same education, the same reference points and what can it tell the modern historian? I will consider *topoi* as narrative building blocks, motifs that have their place and function in a story the translator in particular, and the target culture in general, wants to tell.

My discussion will be concerned mostly with *topoi* of a bellic character that treat texts as precious and dangerous. In the preface to the previous *Medieval Worlds* volume on translation, Pavlína Rychterová quotes Patrick Geary, stating that language in the Middle Ages was a cultural artefact that »could be mobilized (one is tempted to say 'weaponized') for political action«. She adds that if we look at languages from this angle, they can help us better understand »the construction of political or cultural loyalties (among others strategies of social inclusion and exclusion), as well as of processes of formation and transformation of collective identities«.[7] The bellic *topoi* I discuss expose precisely such strategies to »weaponize« language. In these cases, the meeting of two cultures in the act of translation is not an encounter, but a clash. Looking at translation narratives gives us an opportunity to observe the formation and affirmation of Latin identities in their relationship to other languages and cultures.

7 Rychterová, Introduction, 3.

The Narrative Theory of Translation

Mostly on the basis of the work of two sociologists, Margaret M. Somers and Gloria D. Gibson,[8] Mona Baker applied narrative theory to studying translations and, in particular, the relationship between translation and conflict. According to Baker, narrative is »the principal and inescapable mode by which we experience the world«.[9] Her narrative theory is a sociological, not a literary theory, in the sense that it studies how stories constitute and shape realities. It is not concerned with these stories from a narratological point of view. She subscribes to a social view of narratives, one that goes beyond the literary concerns of narratology and observes the stories permeating and shaping our world.[10] A very important aspect of these narratives is that they do not have to be fully articulated. Baker identifies as the smallest unit of such a narrative the metaphor. Narratives can be disrupted, fragmentary, but also interconnected with each other. They are also competing with each other. She argues that the stories we tell ourselves and to which we subscribe exist not necessarily in specific texts but in a whole range of them, on various levels of articulation, from a metaphor to a full-blown story or strings of stories.[11] Following Somers and Gibson,[12] she distinguishes between ontological, public, conceptual and meta-narratives.

(*a*) The ontological narrative is a private narrative, a personal story that explains to others how we see our place in society. It is the narrative of the individual involved in the act of translation.[13] Anastasius' narrative about himself in the situation above, for example, is one of him as a representative and a messenger – of an institution (papacy), of an idea (a helping God) – one individual in a chain of intermediaries.

(*b*) The public narrative is designed by larger entities such as institutions, groups of various size and significance. In Baker's theory, media plays a substantial role in shaping this public narrative.[14] The concepts »media« and »public« are problematic to project back onto the Middle Ages, but I think we can still meaningfully apply this category if we call it »institutional narrative«. The papacy's narrative in our example describes the institution as the supreme mediator of a Christian society: without it, no access to God is possible. Charles can only triumph over his enemies if the papacy intercedes with God on his behalf.

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8 Somers and Gibson, Reclaiming.

9 Baker, *Translation and Conflict*, 9.

10 »While narratology and linguistics tend to focus on one text at a time, the first mostly on literary texts (and more recently cinema) and the second mostly on oral narratives, narrative theory as outlined here treats narratives – across all genres and modes – as diffuse, amorphous configurations rather than as necessarily discrete, fully articulated local ›stories‹. It is simultaneously able to deal with the individual text and the broader set of narratives in which it is embedded, and it encourages us to look beyond the immediate, local narrative as elaborated in a given text or utterance to assess its contribution to elaborating wider narratives in society. Narrative theory further allows us to piece together and analyse a narrative that is not fully traceable to any specific stretch of text but has to be constructed from a range of sources, including non-verbal material. In so doing, it acknowledges the constructedness of narratives and encourages us to reflect critically on our embeddedness in them.« Baker, *Translation and Conflict*, 4.

11 »a narrative, in the social theory sense, is not necessarily traceable to one specific stretch of text but is more likely to underpin a whole range of texts and discourses without necessarily being fully or explicitly articulated in any one of them.« Baker, Narratives, 5.

12 Somers and Gibson, Reclaiming.

13 Baker, *Translation and Conflict*, 28-32.

14 Baker, *Translation and Conflict*, 33-38.

(*c*) Conceptual narratives are the reflective narratives of disciplines, the stories we tell about our objects of enquiry. In the modern framework, this is the narrative of the scholarship, rather than of the translators involved.[15] If we take the modern case of historians of Greek–Latin translations, for example, one such dominant narrative told by scholars of the field is the narrative of the inferior quality and quantity of medieval translations as compared to humanist ones. However, because in the premodern period there is no separate field of translation studies, reflection on the discipline is done by the same people who practice the discipline. Thus, the conceptual narratives of translation are to be looked for not in works by translation theorists, but in the affirmations of translators, patrons and readers of translations. Later in this article I will be concerned mostly with this subcategory. It is a disciplinary narrative, the way practitioners and theorists of translation (which in the Middle Ages are mostly one and the same person) talk about their craft. Anastasius, in the case study above for example, conceptualizes the role of his translation as one of mediation, but, interestingly, not between Greek and Latin culture, but between humans and God. I will discuss below some of the major conceptual frames medieval translators offer for their readers about the social role of translation.

(*d*) Finally, master or meta-narratives are grand narratives that embed influential concepts widely and deeply in all strata of society. Again, the role of mass media in the modern framework makes it possible to talk about narratives permeating all corners of society, while the popularity of their medieval counterparts was limited by the extent of literacy.[16] A medieval example of such a meta-narrative would be, for example, *Romanitas*, a much-contested cultural-political identity marker that was claimed both by Byzantine and Western European heirs of the Roman Empire. Strongly connected to this meta-narrative is that of *translatio imperii et studii* – the answers constructed for the question of who the real heirs of the Greeks and Romans were, or how transfer of power and knowledge occurred over the ages.

These narratives are deeply interconnected, being nested in each other like Russian dolls. In my opening example one could see how the personal narrative of Anastasius as an intermediary relies heavily on the public, or institutional narrative of the papacy itself as an intermediary, and the disciplinary narrative of translated texts as intermediaries between earthly and heavenly matters as well as weapons to be used against enemies. One of the implications of this interconnectedness is that it makes visible the social forces that govern a particular translator's choices in terms of texts, methods, patrons and so on.

This narrative theory of translation brings conflict to the centre of discussions about translation.[17] Baker unpacks her theory about conflict and translation narratives starting from the conceptual narrative. According to her, in contemporary translation studies the prevalent narrative is that of the translator as a mediator, described as a positive figure making dialogue between cultures possible. She draws attention to the use of metaphors in narratives: many, like that of a bridge-builder for example, help to support the image of the

15 Baker, *Translation and Conflict*, 39-44.

16 Baker, *Translation and Conflict*, 44-48.

17 Baker, *Translation and Conflict*; Baker, Narratives, 4-13. See also Robinson's discussion in Robinson, *Translation*, 161-188. On translation and war more recently, see Franjié, *Guerre et traduction*, and Samoyault, *Traduction et violence.*

translator as someone morally superior. According to her, a re-evaluation of that narrative is needed, and the role and responsibility of translators and interpreters should be critically examined. This is where conflict comes into the picture as a context in which translators' behaviour should be observed. Baker claims that the ever-invoked neutrality of interpreters, for example, is almost never the case: translators and interpreters do not live in a no-man's land, but in their respective collectives, with alliances and loyalties that play a role in the act of interpretation/translation.[18]

Before applying this framework onto some medieval cases, a caveat: as I have already mentioned before, some premodern realities rub against the theory, two in particular. First, in Baker's theory media has a significant role to play in making the public narrative really »public«. While we don't have anything like modern media in the Middle Ages, nevertheless, institutions had their ways and tools with which to communicate. In particular, the Church had numerous channels to reach larger crowds. Nevertheless, I will talk about institutional, rather than public narrative to avoid creating the impression that there is no difference between how premodern and modern institutions communicate. Second, in the case of conceptual narratives, Baker's actors are researchers, which is again a category not applicable to the Middle Ages. But this does not mean that there was no reflection on the craft of translation, and that is what Baker is ultimately interested in: the way the discipline reflects on itself. In the Middle Ages this was done by the translators themselves, or their readers. Because of the lack of the category of researcher it will be slightly more problematic for the Middle Ages to separate the ontological and institutional narratives from conceptual ones, but Baker herself claims that, in fact, the categories of her typology are strongly interrelated, and often overlapping.

Conceptual Narratives of Medieval Translations

In what follows, I will try to identify some major conceptual narratives – that is to say, narratives that conceptualize translations – of the medieval Greek–Latin translations: why were these translations made at all? Why does one culture look at another with this intention? Baker's definition of conceptual or disciplinary narrative is a broad term, that encompasses all narratives that are »the product of inquiry, the representations elaborated by researchers.«[19] As mentioned above, I will consider conceptual all narrative related by the translators, patrons, or readers of translations that reflects on the nature of the enterprise of translation.

I will look for conceptual narratives in prefaces, letters and other documents, and I will consider *topoi* and metaphors as fragments of a larger narrative. My examples are from Greek–Latin translation projects, simply because my expertise lies there, but the same principles apply to Hebrew–Latin or Arabic–Latin ones, from which I will present just a few cases. I cannot say whether my theoretical frame is applicable to the case of vernacular translations. My examples are a random selection that is far from being exhaustive. I have tried to pick a few representative samples from projects clustered mainly in the fourth (Jerome and

18 Baker, Narratives, 6.

19 Baker, *Translation and Conflict*, 39.

Rufinus), ninth (Anastasius Bibliothecarius and John Scottus Eriugena), eleventh (Constantinus Africanus, Alfanus of Salerno) and twelfth (Burgundio of Pisa and Moses of Bergamo) centuries. Where available, I try to complement the testimony of translators with similar reflections by readers, commissioners, patrons or institutions. These centuries are singled out because there is an intensification of translation activities as compared to other periods. While the long durée I have chosen is not intended to imply that narrative strategies were overwhelmingly unified over the centuries, it will nevertheless show that there is a continuous preoccupation with the same themes.

There are (possibly) many conceptual narratives about the act of translation. In the present paper I distinguish between three main such narratives: the poverty narrative, the utility narrative and, lastly, the bellic narrative. This list is an open list. Based on my readings, these three narratives were the dominant narratives, but that does not exclude the existence of others (e.g. translation as therapy for grief, translation triggered by a random discovery, etc.).

Because all these narrative elements repeatedly show up in translators' prologues, they are often called *topoi*. By referring to them instead as narrative units, no matter how fragmentary, I want to draw attention to their topicality as a meaningful, rather than an empty property. They are empty only in the sense that no particular effort was made to construct a novel story, a unique narrative fitting only that particular instance of translation. But I argue that by reaching for a well-known narrative, the translators intended their endeavour to be considered in that context, connected to larger narratives.

a. The Poverty Narrative

The poverty narrative claims that Latin culture, as compared to Greek or Arabic, is impoverished, and translation is one way to remedy this. Translation is described in economic terms, where translation is an act of enrichment, an undoubtedly positive undertaking. The Latin terms describing this state of affairs are *inopia*, *paupertas*, *penuria* (*Latinorum*). The eleventh-century translator Alphanus (archbishop of Salerno from 1058), in his preface to his translation of the fourth-century thinker Nemesius of Emesa's *De natura hominis*, refers to the dire situation of *penuria*: »Et precipue ab his quos mater educavit Graecia, Latinorum cogente *penuria*.«[20] One argument for translating Greek texts was that Latin lacked books with similar content. Constantine the African, a contemporary and fellow-translator of Alphanus, albeit from Arabic into Latin, said the following about his own translation of the *Liber urinae* of the physician Isaac Israeli: »In Latinis quidem libris nullum auctorum invenire potui qui de urinis certam et autenticam cognitionem dederit.«[21] Burgundio of Pisa in the next century complains about the lack of Chrysostom commentaries available to Latins, which motivated him to begin his translation project:

> Tum quia eiusdem sancti patris Johannis Chrysostomi commentationem super evangelium sancti Matthaei evangelistae iam pridem beatae memoriae tertio Eugenio papa integre translatam tradideram: tum quia huius Iohannis evangelistae expositionis *penuria* apud Latinos maxima erat.[22]

20 Burkhard, *Nemesii*, 2.

21 Bloch, Monte Cassino, 103.

22 *Prologus Burgundionis*, ed. Durand and Martène, 828-829.

Oftentimes, however, it is not the poverty of the Latins but the richness of the Greeks that is emphasized: »ad purissimos *copiosissimos*que Graium latices recurrere«, writes the ninth-century Carolingian theologian John Scottus Eriugena in his preface to his translation of the pseudo-Dionysian corpus.

Sometimes, instead of poverty the term *ignorantia* and its cognates were featured. This is a very similar narrative that offers translation as a remedy to all kinds of ignorance, personal or collective, concrete or general.[23] Poverty of one's own culture in general, ignorance of a particular subject matter or lack of material in a very concrete sense are the main shortcomings to which this solution is offered. In this narrative, the target culture, Latin, is seen as inferior to that of the source culture, whether Greek or Arabic, and the translator's ambition is to remedy this deficiency.[24]

b. The Utility Narrative

The utility narrative argues that translation is a pragmatic act of selection: filtering other cultures through the sieve of use. The Latin terms used are *utilitas* and *proficio* and their cognates. It is probably the most widespread of the narratives I discuss, and it can be found from Late Antiquity all the way to the High Middle Ages in many translators' prefaces. Rufinus dedicated his translation of Origen's Commentary on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans to his friend Heraclius around 405. He describes his aim with the help of the dichotomy of »pleasing« as opposed to »useful«, aiming for the latter: »nobis enim propositum est non *plausum* legentium, sed fructum *proficientium* quaerere.«[25]

In his translation of the *Life of John the Almsgiver*, dedicated to Pope Nicholas I, Anastasius Bibliothecarius uses the term *utilitas*, referring to the profit of his readers: »dum tantum intentio mea illo tenderet, ex quo *utilitas* nasceretur legentibus.«[26] This narrative is very much audience-oriented, whether they be individual readers or greater entities. An example of a larger entity is the kingdom of Frederick II referred to in the following passage of Burgundio of Pisa, in his dedication to the emperor of the Latin version of the above-mentioned *De natura hominis* by Nemesius of Emessa (which Burgundio believed to be by Gregory of Nyssa):

23 See, for example, Anastasius Bibliothecarius' remark to a certain Ursus, the dedicatee, about the Life of Basil the Great: »vita tamen illius quam sit ammirabilis hactenus *ignoravit.*« Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Epistolae*, ed. Perels and Laehr, 399.

24 In ancient Rome there existed a narrative of linguistic poverty in which Latin was seen as poor in relation to Greek in its ability to express complex human thoughts. Cicero, Lucretius and Quintilian are all known to have struggled with the problem of the expressiveness of Latin and the need to create a new vocabulary, especially for philosophical terminology. Cf. Cicero *De natura deorum*, 1, 8 (»Graecis ne verborum quidem copia vinceremur«) and *De finibus* 3, 5 (»Nos non modo non vinci a Graecis verborum copia sed esse in ea etiam superiores«); Lucretius 1, 139 (»egestas linguae«) and I, 832; III, 260 (»patrii sermoni egestas«). See also the discussion in Quintilian 12, 10, 27-39. Jerome also occasionally blamed »propter paupertatem linguae«, Commentary on Ephesians 1.1.4 and Commentary on Isaiah 11.40.12. See Fögen, *Patrii sermonis egestas*, and Farrell, *Latin Language*, 28-51.

25 Rufinus Tyrannius, *Opera*, ed. Simonetti, 277. This echoes Horace's double goal of poetry: *dulce* and *utile* (Ars Poetica 343).

26 Further examples from Anastasius: »quatenus tantus vir non tantum sermone Graeco, verum etiam Latino eloquio pollentibus *utilitati* esset et commodo«; »ex quo *utilitas* nasceretur legentibus«. Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Epistolae*, ed. Perels and Laehr, 396.

> Quae omnia si vestro interventu vestris temporibus in lucem Latinis redacta fuerint, immensam gloriam et aeternum nomen vestra majestas consequetur, et vestra res publica *utilitatem* maximam adipiscetur.[27]

Moses of Bergamo, another Italian translator of the twelfth century active in Constantinople, refers to the *utilitas* narrative as his main motivation in a work of compilation-translation: »cum presertim grecas litteras propter id potissimum didicisse me sim sepe testatus, ut ex eis in nostras siquid *utile* reprerirem quod nobis minus ante fuisset debita devotione transverterem.«[28]

This narrative is also echoed in the appreciative comments of patrons. Aimery of Limoges, patriarch of Antioch, wrote in a letter acknowledging the *De haeresibus* of Hugo Etherianus, another twelfth-century Pisan translator:

> Tria sunt denique, pro quibus vestram postulatum accedimus dilectionem, quasi dederitis operam qualiter habeamus et toti Latinitati *proficuum*, et hoc ipsum vobis erit in praeconium vestrae laudis monimentum aere perennius.[29]

The popularity of this narrative does not mean that *utilitas* is just a convenient filler word. The utility narrative tells the story of translation as a significant enterprise: the text was not translated to delight, nor was the act of translation a pastime, but an activity strongly anchored in contemporary needs, be they educational or pastoral. The translator's guiding principle lay outside his own literary interests, following the needs and tastes of his audience. The selection of translation material was governed by the conjecture of its possible use in the target culture.

c. The Bellic Narrative

The *topoi* of this narrative are all military metaphors. This narrative maintains that translation is the necessary corollary of conflict: texts can and should be taken hostage, and can be used as weapons to successfully fight with the enemy, as I have already shown in the opening example of this paper.[30]

One of the most well-known prefaces of Jerome about his biblical translations is the so-called helmeted preface to the Book of Kings. Here, aware of how difficult and sensitive a subject the question of biblical canon is, he marches his arguments in a helmeted prologue (*galeatus*), and he closes his dedication with a request to Paula and Eustochium to defend him with the shield of their prayers (*orationum vestrarum clypeos*).[31] His military imagery is mostly defensive, but there are a series of popular metaphors in other prologues which are more aggressive, namely translation as loot (*spolia*) or as a hostage (*capta*), and translation as a weapon (*arma*). As they originate from different places, and have slightly different implications, I discuss the *spolia/capta* and *arma* metaphors separately.

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27 *Prologus Burgundionis*, ed. Durand and Martène, 828-829.

28 Haskins, *Studies*, 201-202.

29 PL 202, 231-232.

30 On aspects of aggression and translation in the Middle Ages, see Mártinez-Gázquez, Lenguaje de la violencia; Mártinez-Gázquez, *Attitude*; Pym, Twelfth-century Toledo; and Wheatley, Concepts and models.

31 *Vulgate*, ed. Weber and Gryson, 364-366.

Spolia/capta

These two metaphors originate in two biblical passages from the Old Testament:

> Si egressus fueris ad pugnam contra inimicos tuos, et tradiderit eos Dominus Deus tuus in manu tua, captivosque duxeris, et videris in numero captivorum mulierem pulchram, et adamaveris eam, voluerisque habere uxorem, introduces eam in domum tuam: quae radet caesariem, et circumcidet ungues, et deponet vestem, in qua capta est: sedensque in domo tua, flebit patrem et matrem suam uno mense: et postea intrabis ad eam, dormiesque cum illa, et erit uxor tua.[32]

And:

> Daboque gratiam populo huic coram Aegyptiis: et cum egrediemini, non exibitis vacui: sed postulabit mulier a vicina sua et ab hospita sua, vasa argentea et aurea ac vestes: ponetisque eas super filios et filias vestras, et spoliabitis Aegyptum.[33]

The various interpretations of these two passages have been studied in detail by Georges Foillet; I will focus here only on some of the examples relevant to the present context. Captivity and booty are metaphors used in conceptual narratives for problematic cases where the source culture is considered an enemy, or at least dangerous in some respects. The metaphors of the captives and the Egyptians were used not only narrowly for cases of translation, but for cultural transfer in general. The ubiquity of these metaphors makes us realize that translation narratives are often nestled into bigger narratives, that they cannot be studied in isolation from their larger social context. Interlingual transfers are just a subplot of this narrative, where the general frame is the exploitation of secular or pagan learning to the benefit of Christian culture. The woman or the gold and silver is either pagan knowledge in general, or secular philosophy, or Greek in particular, referred to as *disciplina*, *sapientia*, *philosophia*. In some examples the details are further specified: the gold of the Egyptians signifies *sapientia*, while their silver stands for *scientia*. The first to interpret these passages in the sense of cultural appropriation was Origen.[34] In the Latin world, the imagery was used by both of the two foremost translators of Christian Late Antiquity: Jerome and Rufinus. In their own way, they both struggled to reconcile their pagan education with their Christian vocation, and the metaphors helped them in this. Jerome used the metaphor of the captive woman both for pagan–Christian cultural transfer in general and translation in particular (in this case, Greek–Latin, but also for Hebrew–Latin):

> si autem adamaueris captiuam mulierem, id est sapientiam saecularem, et eius pulchritudine captus fueris, decalua eam et inlecebras crinium atque ornamenta verborum cum emortuis unguibus seca.[35]

32 Deuteronomy 21.10-13.

33 Exodus 3.31-22.

34 Folliet, »Spoliatio Aegyptiorum«, 7-8.

35 Jerome, *Epistulae*, ed. Hildberg, 66, 8; Folliet, »Spoliatio Aegyptiorum«, 11.

Secular learning has to be made ugly to be of use for the Christians. Its beauty was perceived as something threatening. In Jerome's understanding essential content can and should be separated from its form. This intervention is described in harsh military terms.

In his letter 57 to Pammachius, he describes the translation efforts of Hilary the Confessor with the imagery of the captive translated and the victor translator, who again is interested only in the meaning (sensus) of the captive, and not the linguistic beauty of the text.

> Sufficit in praesenti nominasse Hilarium Confessorem, qui Homilias in Iob, et in Psalmos tractatus plurimos in Latinum vertit e Graeco, nec assedit litterae dormitanti, et putida rusticorum interpretatione se torsit: sed quasi captivos sensus in suam linguam, victoris iure transposuit.[36]

Spolia and its synonym *praeda* occur in Rufinus' preface to his translation of the *Clementine recognitions*. The passage describes translation as a great effort, the implication being that the original demonstrated some resistance or at least posed some difficulties.

> *predamque*, ut opinor, non parvam, Graecorum bibliothecis direptam. [...] Peregrinas ergo merces multo in patriam sudore transvehimus; et nescio quam gratus me civium vultus accipiat magna sibi Greciae *spolia* deferentem et occultos sapientiae thesauros nostrae linguae clave reserantem.[37]

The imagery is a favourite of Augustine as well. He goes so far as to claim that those who created these values – in this case, Platonic philosophers – are in fact unjust owners of them, and real ownership belongs to Christian Latin culture. The biblical image of spoiling the Egyptians encourages Christians to remedy this unjustness:

> Philosophi autem qui vocantur, si qua forte vera et fidei nostrae accomodata dixerunt, maxime Platonici, non solum formidanda non sunt, sed ab eis etiam tamquam ab iniustis possessoribus in usum nostrum vindicanda. Sicut enim Aegyptii non tantum idola habebant et onera gravia, quae populus Israhel detestaretur et fugeret, sed etiam vasa et ornamenta de auro et argento et vestem, quae ille populus exiens de Aegypto sibi potius tamquam ad usum meliorem clanculo vindicavit non auctoritate propria sed praecepto Dei.[38]

Both the »victoris iure« of Jerome, from the passage above, and the »praecepto Dei« of Augustine claim a kind of legal ownership, they present the transfer from the other language, or the other culture's learning not as a possibility, but as a right of Christianity.

The motifs re-emerge again in another great period for translation projects, the ninth century. Anastasius' contemporary and fellow-translator John Scottus Eriugena uses the biblical passage of the spoiling of the Egyptians to reply to his imaginary critics who blame him for his use of philosophical reasoning (by which they mean his use of Neoplatonic, and thus Greek and pagan, ideas). Looting by God's command makes cultural transfer irreprehensible.

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36 Jerome, *De optimo genere interpretandi*, ed. Bartelink, 14.

37 Rehm, *Pseudoklementinen* 2, 3-4.

38 Augustine, *De doctrina christiana,* 2.40.60-42.63; Folliet, »Spoliatio Aegyptiorum«, 11-14.

> Et si quis nobis in culpam reputaverit, quod philosophicis ratiocinationibus usi sumus, videat populum Dei Aegypto fugientem, ejusque divino consilio admonitum spolia ferentem, ipsisque spoliis irreprehensibiliter utentem.[39]

Just as in Late Antiquity, this narrative is popular both with translators and intellectuals who are not directly engaged in intralingual transfers. Another ninth-century thinker, Rhabanus Maurus, for example, prefers the metaphor of the captive woman, dwelling on the details of her transformation: the nails have to be cut with »ferro acutissimo«. He even uses the word »convertere«, a term used for the act of translation, for his reading of pagan literature.

> Poemata autem et libros gentilium si velimus propter florem eloquentiae legere, typus mulieris captivae tenedus est, quam Deuteronium describit. […] Itaque et nos hoc facere solemus, hoc que facere debemus, quando poetas gentiles legimus, quando in manus nostras libri veniunt sapientiae saecularis, si quid in eis utile reprerimus, ad nostrum dogma convertimus; si quid vero superfluum de idolis, de amore, de cura saecularium rerum, haec radamus, his calvitium inducamus, haec in unguium more ferro acutissimo desecemus.[40]

In the twelfth century we find the reference to the treasure of the Egyptians also in legal and educational materials, handbooks, textbooks and reference works such as the *Glossa ordinaria*[41] and the *Decretum Gratiani*.[42] Pope Gregory IX, in his letter to the masters of theology at the Paris university from 1228, also refers to both biblical passages when admonishing the teachers. The metaphors are offered as hermeneutical tools to problematic texts. The first one, the Egyptian spoils, justifies the act of cultural transfer, while the second one, about the captive women, offers a method for how to approach such materials.[43]

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39 *De divisone naturae* 3, 35 (PL 122; 724a); Folliet, »Spoliatio Aegyptiorum«, 23.

40 Rhabanus Maurus, *De institutiones clericorum*, ed. Knoepfer, 224-240; Folliet, »Spoliatio Aegyptiorum«, 21.

41 »Per hoc autem quod filii Israel Aegyptios talibus spoliauerunt, significatur quod quaecumque sunt in libris Gentilium, accomodata fidei nostrae siue moribus, ad eorum declarationem, cuiusmodi sunt scientiae reales, siue ad defensionem eorum, cuiusmodi sunt scientiae sermocinales, quae docent modum loquendi, arguendi et respondendi, ab eis, tamquam ab iniustis possesoribus, sunt accipienda.« *Glossa ordinaria*, Libri exodi, 11.2, Postilla; Folliet, »Spoliatio Aegyptiorum«, 28.

42 »Legitur etiam, quod praecepit Dominus filiis Israel, ut spoliarent Egiptios auro et argento, moraliter instruens, ut sive aurum sapientiae, sive argentum eloquentiae apud poetas inveniremus, in usum salutiferae eruditionis vertamus.« *Decretum Gratiani*, ed. Friedberg and Richter 1, col. 137; Folliet, »Spoliatio Aegyptiorum«, 31.

43 »Magistris in theologia Parisius regentibus. Ab Egyptiis argentea vasa et aurea sic accipienda sunt mutuo, quod spoliatis eisdem ditentur Ebrei, non ut iidem in servitutem illorum quasi ad participium pretii venundati redigantur, quoniam et si doctrina celestis eloquii de sapientia et eloquentia philosophici dogmatis quasi mutuum ad sui ornatum assumat, interdum ei tamen deservire non debet nec intellectus ipsius ad illius intellectum ullatenus inclinari. Puella etiam de hostibus capta, que pilis rasis et ungulis circumcisis viro Israelitico jungitur, dominari non debet eidem, set obsequi potius ut subjecta. Et quidem theologicus intellectus quasi viri habet preesse cuilibet facultati, et quasi spiritus in carnem dominium exercere, ac eam in viam dirigere rectitudinis ne aberret.« *Chartularius Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. Denifle 1, 114; Folliet, »Spoliatio Aegyptiorum«, 40.

The metaphor of the beautiful captive is also, in fact, a strikingly precise description of word-for-word translation: a text stripped of all her original embellishments, naked and taken out of her original context against her will, placed in a new context, mourning her losses. Scholars have long noticed that while translators who adhere to the principles of literal translation so typical for the Middle Ages tend to apply it dutifully on the micro-level of the sentence, they often take great liberties on the macro level of the text, such as removing chunks that are uninteresting or in other ways unwelcome in Latin. The language of such editorial practices – *omissis superflua* (Rufinus), *superflua resecamus* (Guarimpotus) – in fact strongly echoes the language of the metaphor of the captive woman (*superfluum desecemus*, above).

Arma

Another military metaphor that can be argued to constitute a translation narrative is that of the text as *arma* (*spiritualia*). It possibly originates in the following passage from *Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians*, where he envisions a kind of spiritual militia that forcefully spreads divine knowledge with spiritual weapons:

> In carne enim ambulantes, non secundum carnem militamus. Nam arma militiae nostrae non carnalia sunt, sed potentia Deo ad destructionem munitionum, consilia destruentes, et omnem altitudinem extollentem se adversus scientiam Dei, et in captivitatem redigentes omnem intellectum in obsequium Christi.[44]

While the *captiva/spolia* metaphor was more often used historically, for cultures past (ancient Greece, ancient Rome, the Jewish culture of the Old Testament), the *arma* metaphor shows up in the translation narratives of contemporary situations, when referring to rival societies or religions such as the Byzantine Greek Church, various heresies, Judaism or Islam.

Anastasius Bibliothecarius, for example, in his letter to Pope John VIII describes documents as tools that can help fight the enemy »potenter« – in this case, the Greek heretics:

> Unde apostolatu vestro decernente non solum illos solos quinquaginta canones ecclesia recipit, sed et omnes eorum, utpote Spiritus sancti tubarum, quin et omnium omnino probabilium Patrum, et sanctorum conciliorum regulas et institutiones admittit, illas duntaxat quae nec rectae fidei, nec probis moribus obviant, sed nec sedis Romanae decretis ad modicum quid resultant, quin potius adversarios, id est haereticos, potenter *impugnant.*

Isidore Mercator (a pseudonym for one, or possibly several, ninth-century theologians), in his preface to his collection of ecclesiastical legislative texts (part of which is a translation from Greek), draws a parallel between soldiers and theologians, and spears and sentences:

> Et sicut militi ex multis armis illa sufficiunt quae ferre congruenter super se praegerit, sic nobis de multis sententiis una aut duae vel quantum tunc temporis necesse fuerit, sufficiunt, quoniam sicut cum uno telo aut duobus inimicum vincimus, sic cum una aut duabus sententiis auctoritate plenis emulum superamus.[45]

44 II Corinthians 10.3-5.

45 Hischius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, 19.

Peter the Venerable, twelfth-century abbot of Cluny, twice referred to fighting heresies with texts (translated or otherwise). He was not himself a translator, but he was the commissioner of the most ambitious medieval translation project concerning Islam, which included the translation of the Koran itself. These translations had their place in the Christian arsenal as weapons to fight the very people who produced the originals.

> Quod si forte haec de qua agitur scriptura aut interpretes non habuerit, aut translata non profuerit, habebit saltem Christianum *armarium* etiam aduersus hos hostes *arma* quibus aut se muniat, aut quibus si forte ad certamen uentum fuerit, inimicos confodiat.[46]

> Nam licet hoc perditis illis ut aestimo prodesse non possit, responsionem tamen condignam sicut contra alias hereses, ita et contra hanc pestem, Christianum *armarium* habere deceret. Quam si superfluam quilibet causatus fuerit, quoniam quibus resistere debeant talibus *armis* muniti non adsunt, nouerit in re publica magni regis quaedam fieri ad tutelam, quaedam fieri ad decorem, quaedam etiam ad utrumque.[47]

Mark of Toledo, one of the early translators of the Koran into Latin, wrote in his prologue in a very similar vein, even using the same word »confundere«: the aim of the translation is to confuse the enemy.

> Hic nimirum antistes quem divine scientie litteratura commendat, [...]perscrutabiliter operam dedit et sollicitudinem, ut liber in quo sacrilega continebantur instituta et enormia precepta translates, in noticiam venirent orthodoxorum, ut quos ei non licebat armis impugnare corporalibus, saltem enormibus institutis obviando confunderet.[48]

Humbertus de Romanis, master general of the Dominican order, prepared a document for the 1274 Council of Lyon, suggesting some plans for action to remedy the conflict between Greeks and Latins. In his strategy, the question of languages and translations was meant to play a crucial role. The science of Christ was to be defended with spiritual weapons, whether against Arabs, Jews or Greeks, or other nations. He complained that translators only focused on legal and philosophical material, and did not translate enough from religious writings that could be helpful in this fight (note that he also speaks about the abundance of the Greek books, *copia*):

46 Peter the Venerable, *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*, in Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 230.

47 Letter to Bernard of Clairvaux: Peter the Venerable, *Epistula ad Bernardum Claraevallis*, in Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 212; Martínez Gázquez, *Attitude*, 63. See also Mártinez-Gázquez, Lenguaje de la violencia.

48 Martínez Gázquez, *Attitude*, 98; D'Alverny and Vajda, Marc de Tolède, 260-261. See also his prologue to the *Habentomenti De Unione Dei*: »Transtuli siquidem librum Habentomei post librum Mafometi, ut ex utriusque inspectione fideles in Saracenos invehendi exercitamenta sumant ampliora.« D'Alverny and Vajda, Marc de Tolède, 268-269; Martínez Gázquez, *Attitude*, 99.

> Aliud est *copia* librorum Graecorum, ut videlicet haberent Latini omnia scripta Graecorum [...]. Cum enim veritas sit pro Latinis, indubitanter invenirentur multa in hujusmodi scriptis, quibus juvarent se Latini contra Graecos, vel quibus se defenderent ab eis, sicut per scripta Veteris Testamenti defendimus nos a Iudaeis, et impugnamus ipsos. Sed heu! curatum est multum de libris philosophicis et legibus habendis ab eis: de his autem, quae ad salutem et ad bonum commune pertinent animarum, non est ita curatum. Etsi enim aliqua de his translata sunt, habemus tam pauca, et ipsa originalia in Graeco non habemus, ex quorum inspectione veritas magis clareret, et fortius possent Graeci *impugnari.* [...] Et Latini nostri muniunt se assidue armis carnalibus contra se invicem et contra Graecos, et de istis *armis spiritualibus* non curant, neque contra Saracenos, neque contra Judaeos, neque contra Graecos, et alias nationes extollentes se adversus scientiam Christi.[49]

Roger Bacon in his *Opus maius*, dedicated to Pope Clement IV and containing all his reform ideas about learning, also saw this added benefit of translating Greek theology: it not only enriches Latin learning; it is a strong help in fighting and convincing the heretical Greeks:

> Similiter libri doctorum magnorum, ut beatorum Dionysii, Basilii, Johannis Damasceni et aliorum multorum deficiunt [...] et si libri istorum translati essent, non solum augmentaretur sapientia Latinorum, sed haberet Ecclesia *fortia adjutoria* contra Graecorum haereses et schismata, quoniam per sanctorum eorum sententias, quibus non possunt contradicere, convincerentur.[50]

This narrative posits a more complex relationship between Latin culture and the cultures it came into contact with. The other narratives are unidirectional: the source culture is seen as passive, but somehow superior, while the target one is active, but inferior. The bellic narrative, however, reveals a more complicated relationship between the two. The translation act is just the first act in an interaction that has as its main aim competition, subjugation, conversion, fuelled by rivalry. It supposes a certain resistance from the source culture, a tension between the two respective linguistic realms, and the hierarchy between them is reversed: the target culture is the more powerful, while the source one is seen as weak. It also becomes bidirectional, in the sense that the spoils taken hostage are often turned against the source culture.

Ancient and medieval translators would have agreed with Mona Baker in connecting translation and conflict. They had always viewed and practised their craft following pragmatic and ideological, rather than idealistic principles. The translator, even when he is called *mediator*, or even when he claims to do *intercessio*, was expected to be embedded in the political-religious culture of the target society. Interpreters were often criticized, even blamed for the outcomes of conflicts, as manipulators. Translators' patronage was also founded on loyalties that left no space for neutrality. Translation seen as/in conflict thus reveals a lot about the social settings of acts of communication and interpretation. Medieval narratives of such situations are far less naive than the contemporary ones criticized by Mona Baker. Often, the translator was an active participant in the conflict, and translation was seen as a conquest, while the texts produced were seen as spoils or weapons.

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49 Humbertus de Romanis, *Opus tripartitum* 2, 17, ed. Brown, 220-221.

50 Roger Bacon, *Opus maius*, ed. Bridges 1, 70.

Conclusions

In this paper I have tried considering *topoi* as small narrative units. This article barely sets the parameters of the hypothesis up. There are several avenues where it would be worth pursuing the question of narratives further. Doing so might help us to understand better the application of certain translation methods; the popular narratives might also be useful in understanding less popular narratives; it would also open up possibilities for chronological or geographical investigations (When and where are certain narratives popular, and why? Why do they disappear and reappear?).

But what I have initially attempted to do here is to provide a classification and collection of some major conceptual translation narratives, and to see if these units can give a fuller picture of why a society starts to produce translations. I have assumed that use of such *topoi* by medieval writers was intentional and done with the intention of connecting with the greater context of larger narratives, earlier and contemporary ideologies. The three narratives I have identified here are three narratives of Christian Latin culture as it sought to define itself in relationship to other cultures: seeing their languages and cultures as impoverished, focusing on the useful rather than the pleasing elements, and framing it all as part of a conquest.

Most of the *topoi* discussed here have their roots in classical Roman literature. Horace thought the struggle for cultural dominance was won by Greece;[51] Cicero encouraged the Romans »to snatch the glory of its genre [referring to philosophy] from the already ailing Greece and to transmit it to this city«.[52] Medieval translators heard these ancient echoes, and also wanted their readers to hear them, as part of the grand narrative of Latin language and culture about itself as a hungry linguistic empire that devoured its neighbours and rivals. Baudri of Borgeuil's vision quoted at the beginning of this paper is that of a Latin Christianity that absorbed and purified all alien wisdoms, past and present.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by the Danish National Research Grant Foundation DNRF Grant 102ID.

51 »Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agrestic Latio«. Horace, *Ep*. II, 1, 156-157.

52 Cicero, *Tusc. Disp*. II, 2.

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Abbreviations

CCSL = Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
KBR = Royal Library of Belgium
MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica
PL = Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1844-1890).

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Multilingual Medieval Sermons: Sources, Theories and Methods

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Multilingualism, i.e. the ability of a speaker or a group of speakers to use two or more languages[1] has to be regarded as one of the most characteristic features of medieval societies. In those parts of Europe in which Latin Christianity prevailed during the Early Middle Ages and to which the contributions collected in this cluster are devoted, the languages simultaneously used in daily life, politics, commercial intercourse, religious communication, and higher education were always and everywhere more than one: Latin and the one or more vernacular languages that were prevalent in the respective area. This corresponds to the fact that the majority of European polities were inhabited by people of various vernacular languages who lived together in cities, in cloisters, at the courts of the individual power holders, as well as in the countryside. Around individual languages powerful identity narratives were formulated, strategies of distinction educed, and discourses of translation formed, discussed and transformed. We may say that these languages, their interactions, mutual interferences, and the theoretical and methodological reasoning accompanying their use formed the self-understanding of European societies. Here a specific role was played by the varying prestige of individual languages. The relationship between Latin as a language of liturgy and scholarship, and the individual vernacular languages used in daily communication, politics, and commerce caused permanent tensions which we may observe in a great range of written sources.

Despite the great importance of medieval multilingualism for our understanding of medieval societies and despite pertinent textual sources mirroring multilingual cultural practices, the respective research was rather selective for a long time and the most distinctive group of written sources available – the multilingual medieval sermons – was only modestly studied. This has changed rapidly in the last twenty five years, and the research devoted to them can now be described as a very dynamic field of study.[2] Preaching was arguably the most important mass medium of the European Middle Ages.[3] The textual witnesses of the preaching, especially the multilingual sermons, are sometimes considered as a link to the spoken word of the past.[4] However, this is more complicated: the absolute majority of

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1 There are various other definitions of multilingualism. Some of them view bilingualism as an ability to speak two languages and multilingualism as an ability to speak more than two. Others view bilingualism as an individual ability while multilingualism as a characteristic of a society. Here, bilingualism is understood as a specific case of multilingualism involving only two languages. See Cenoz, Defining multilingualism, 7.

2 The study by Siegfried Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, from 1994, which will be discussed later in this introduction, may be rightfully understood as the beginning of the modern study of medieval multilingual sermons.

3 See, e.g., D'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 3-4.

4 Kämmerer, *Codeswitching in Predigten*, 34.

eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s140

extant sermon production cannot be regarded as direct records of delivered sermons and many of them were, indeed, intended for reading.[5] Nevertheless, they still offer excellent material for study. They feature an astounding plethora of forms and types of medieval written multilingualism: vernacular glosses accompanying Latin text, written by authors, copyists and readers; Latin texts containing interlinear and/or marginal translations in one or two vernaculars; bilingual and trilingual texts in which Latin adopts syntactic, morphological and grammatical features of the respective vernacular, which may have then been regarded as the dominant language; and also texts showing fully fledged code-switching, which represents the most important topic of the research on multilingualism in general.

The majority of multilingual sermons[6] have not yet been published,[7] methodologies for dealing with the historical multilingualism are still being discussed and far from agreed upon. The respective research very often remains enclosed within national philologies, with only modest cross-disciplinary discussion and almost no comparative approaches considering material from unrelated linguistic areas with specific types of language mixing as well as difficult to compare cultural and historical traditions. We are confronted with this problem not only if attempting to compare European and non-European multilingualism, but also the multilingual practices within one and the same cultural area. For example, Czech insertions in a Latin sermon will differ from English insertions simply due to the fact that Czech is an inflected language, thus allowing for different combinations with Latin inflected forms, wherefore different methods have to be developed and applied for these sources.

Promoting an exchange between various national philologies and discussing theoretical and methodological approaches was the main endeavor of the workshop »Understanding Multilingual Sermons of the Middle Ages: Forms, Methodologies, and Challenges« that took place on 15th-17th May 2018 at the Austrian Academy of Sciences,[8] one of the first events dedicated to this particular text type. The results of this workshop are now going to be presented in two subsequent clusters in the journal Medieval Worlds. The cluster presented in this issue comprises five essays on material originating from Ireland, England, France, Catalonia and Italy by Herbert Schendl, Tom ter Horst, Lidia Negoi, Carlo Delcorno and Nicole Bériou.

In the study of multilingual medieval sermons, there are currently two main approaches and one new one emerging. The first is based on traditional philological, codicological and paleographical text analysis as well as historical contextualization of the sources of interest. Critical editions of key multilingual texts are the immensely valuable result of this research, editions which represent an indispensable basis for further interdisciplinary research. In the present cluster, this philological approach is represented mainly by Nicole Bériou. She

5 On the ambiguity of preserved sermons as records of the oral event, see Cohen and Twomey, Introduction, 32.

6 These sermons are also commonly called »macaronic sermons«, e.g., the monograph of Siegfried Wenzel *Macaronic Sermons.* The appropriateness of the term »macaronic« for this type of medieval text is discussed by Demo, Towards a unified definition.

7 The situation is slowly improving, cf. Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*; Florianová *et al.*, *Quadragesimale Admontense.*

8 overmode.oeaw.ac.at/sermons/.

discusses *reportationes* – records of delivered sermons made by listeners, in her case medieval university students in Paris. The individual sermons were delivered mainly in the vernacular, i.e. French, but recorded in a mixture of Latin and French. Carlo Delcorno and Lidia Negoi based their respective analyses on philological description and historical contextualization, combining it with code-switching approaches.

The second major approach is the study of code-switching, from both sociolinguistic and syntactic (or structural) perspectives. Many of these methodologies play a role in the individual essays of this cluster. Sociolinguistic methods focus on social factors and motivators of code-switching and blend naturally with the traditional hermeneutical analysis of medieval texts. The syntactic perspective is, however, much more challenging for medievalists. It investigates circumstances under which code-switching occurs. Early research supposed that the switching between languages occurs at random, both in the case of inter- as well as intrasentential switching. Intrasentential switching is of eminent interest for linguists because only there are the grammatical structures in direct contact. The essays in this cluster concentrate for the most part on intrasentential switching too. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Shana Poplack analysed the practice of code-swithing among bilingual Puerto Ricans in New York City[9] and formulated the hypothesis that intrasentential switching is subject to grammatical constraints: the so-called free morpheme constraint and the equivalence constraint. According to the free morpheme constraint hypothesis, no switching can occur between a free morpheme and a bound morpheme.[10] This means that the switch cannot occur, e.g., between the stem of the word and its suffix. The second rule is the equivalence constraint hypothesis. According to this, the switches occur only at points where the surface structures of the languages coincide, or between sentence elements that are normally ordered in the same way by each individual grammar.[11]

The universal applicability of both rules for modern code-switching was repeatedly denied in the recent research discussion because of the many examples which do not comply with these rules.[12] This is also true for the historical code-switching. The free morpheme constraint is not applicable to highly artistic texts like the so-called macaronic poems from renaissance, which are often defined precisely by mixing vernacular stems with Latin endings.[13] This shows not only the difference between spoken and written language but also the difference between artistic and »natural« language mixing. Macaronic poems from the renaissance are an extreme example, however; in the case of multilingual sermons, it is debated how much they reflect the »natural« bilingualism of their authors and readers, and how much they should be regarded as products of rhetorical education and practice.

9 Poplack, Sometimes I'll start.

10 Poplack, Sometimes I'll start, 585-586. The theory of free morpheme constraint was challenged, among others, by Azuma, Free morpheme constraint revisited, who proposes instead a constraint »based on the notion of semantic content«.

11 Poplack, Sometimes I'll start, 586.

12 See Pfaff, Constraints on language mixing, who proposes four main types of constraints: functional, structural, semantic and discourse-related. Cf. Woolford's generative model of code-switching: Woolford, Bilingual code switching (all approaches based on data of spoken languages from Spanish-English bilinguals).

13 So-called lexical hybridization, see Demo, Towards a unified definition, 86-87.

Another influential theory, Myers-Scotton's »Matrix Language Frame«, postulates that one of the languages provides the grammatical frame into which pockets of the other (embedded language) are inserted.[14] The theories on constraints and on the matrix and embedded language are joined in the concepts of insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization proposed by Pieter Muysken. Insertion corresponds to Myers-Scotton's concept of a matrix structure, into which elements of another language are inserted; alternation corresponds to Poplack's equivalency constraint, which requires compatible syntactical structures for code-switching; and finally, congruent lexicalization refers to a situation in which two languages (or varieties of one language like a dialect/standard) share the same grammatical structure that can be filled by lexical elements from one language or another.[15] Muysken also uses the term »code-switching« exclusively for alternation. Otherwise, as a general term, he uses code-mixing.[16]

The bridge between the philological-historical and linguistic approach to code-switching in the written language of medieval sermons is represented by the groundbreaking monograph *Macaronic Sermons* by Siegfried Wenzel from 1994, which focused on multilingual sermons from medieval England. While recognizing the importance of code-switching, the analysis is firmly rooted in the traditional philological discourse. Wenzel classified elements of the vernacular language inserted into Latin, the main (matrix) language, into three types: »a«, »b« and »c« elements. Type »a« includes translations of Latin words into the vernacular language, technical terms in Latin, translations of quotes, vernacular idioms or proverbs. Among »b« elements we find vernacular words, phrases, clauses, periods, or even paragraphs that fulfill the role of divisions, subdivisions or distinctions in the medieval sermons. They work as structural elements in the sermons, e.g., the division often appears first in Latin and is then translated into English. Words or parts of words which are integrated into the bilingual syntactical structures are classified as »c« elements.[17] The plausibility of these categories may be disputed, as done by Herbert Schendl in his contribution on medieval English sermons to this cluster. Nevertheless, they represent an indispensable departure point for many analyses of medieval multilingualism, especially code-switching – thus contributing greatly to the field of study. In this cluster, Wenzel's methodological approach is applied by Carlo Delcorno in his study of the sermons of Angelo da Porta Sole (d. 1334). However, all our authors refer to Wenzel's work, e.g., Lidia Negoi discusses Catalan examples of vernacular divisions in a Latin text and uses the results to discuss Wenzel's approach.

14 Myers-Scotton, *Multiple Voices*, 235.

15 Muysken, *Bilingual Speech*, 3-6.

16 Muysken, *Bilingual Speech*, 4.

17 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 13-30.

A more profound linguistic methodology following Wenzel's conceptualization has so far been developed mainly by scholars working with bilingual Latin-English sources, especially Herbert Schendl[18] in his numerous articles. However, recently, there is growing research on this material; see, for example, the publications by Helena Halmari and Timothy Regetz,[19] or Mareike Keller.[20] In recent years, Irish (Tom ter Horst[21] and Nike Stam[22]),[23] German, Spanish and Italian (studied by Carmen Kämmerer)[24] textual material has become the focus of attention. In this cluster, this syntactical linguistic approach is represented by Tom ter Horst, who uses Muysken's typology to analyze English and Irish material. Moreover, selected examples are annotated using the generally accepted Leipzig Glossing Rules,[25] thus making them understandable for a broader academic audience.

The main issue in the scholarly discussion on the code-switching evidenced in medieval texts is the applicability of linguistic methodologies developed on spoken language. We usually do not know how and by whom our source texts were created, and especially what were the linguistic competences of these, often anonymous, authors: at which level in the process of transcription multilingual elements entered the transmitted text and for what purpose. Alan Fletcher argued that multilingual sermons were intended for reading.[26] Moreover, on the rare occasions in which there is more than one version of a particular multilingual sermon preserved, we can observe remarkable differences concerning the multilingual elements. Nicole Bériou has shown in her work on *reportationes* that the histories of transmission of multilingual textual elements are far from straightforward and that large differences are observable at various stages of reception. Some multilingual elements disappear and new ones appear at various stages of the reception of one and the same text.[27] My own research on Latin-Czech texts shows similar results. The so-called Bethlehem sermons, probably partly based on *reportationes* of sermons delivered by the reform theologian Jan Hus, contain different versions of one and the same text.[28] Many extant multilingual sermons are without doubt based on translations, as is the case for Latin-German sermons studied by Hans-Jochen Schiewer and Regina Schiewer.[29] In my analysis of Latin translations of Czech sermons written by Jan Hus and directed to readers, I have pointed out the fact that despite being a word-for-word translation, they still feature many »a« and »c« elements which are

18 E.g., Code-switching; Syntactic constraints; English historical code-switching, and many others.

19 Halmari and Regetz, Syntactic aspects of code-switching.

20 Keller, *Code-Switching.*

21 Ter Horst, *Codeswitching.*

22 More precisely, a multilingual commentary to a martyrology, Stam, *Typology of Code-switching.*

23 Ter Horst and Stam, Visual diamorphs.

24 Kämmerer, *Codeswitching in Predigten.*

25 www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php.

26 Fletcher, Written versus spoken, 142.

27 Bériou, Latin and the vernacular, especially appendix 1 and appendix 2, 280-281.

28 Kamínková, *Husova Betlémská kázání.*

29 Schiewer and Schiewer, Opera mixta, e.g., 294.

present in the majority of multilingual sermons. I argued that the Latin translation was intended for Czech-speaking priests as a preaching aid, as a textual basis for sermons then delivered in Czech.[30] This particular material allows us to suppose that simple explanations for multilingualism could be misleading: here, a great deal of work was invested to create a Latin translation of a Czech text so the Czech-speaking priests would have a preaching aid. It is something a historian would not expect at first sight.

The newest approach in the study of multilingualism in medieval sermons addresses this issue, taking paleographical aspects of transmitted manuscripts into account. A forerunner in this respect is Laura Wright with her research on business writing. Inspired by the term diamorph that signifies elements that may belong to multiple languages and can work as triggers in the code-switching, she introduced the so-called visual diamorphs,[31] i.e. letter-graphs or abbreviations that can be expanded in written texts into different languages. Similar to spoken diamorphs in code-switching (so-called homophonous diamorphs),[32] visual diamorphs may have had a radical influence on code-switching in written texts because of their ambiguity. This new focus on the processes of writing and their effects on code-switching was adopted and further expanded by Tom ter Horst and Nike Stam.[33] Many sermons, then, can feature both aspects. In an upcoming article, I discuss the role of visual diamorphs in another, curious multilingual adaptation of three sermons from Jan Hus's Czech Sunday postil, in which c. thirteen percent of words were translated into Latin, apparently for no obvious reason. There, I argue that the scribe often chose Latin words in places where the Latin abbreviation was more space effective than the Czech word, which could not be abbreviated in the same way.[34]

This new focus on graphical aspects of code-switching is important insofar as it complements the linguistic methodology developed on contemporary spoken languages by historical dimensions of multilingualism recorded in texts. Tom ter Horst also briefly addresses this issue in this cluster.

The heterogeneity of the material as well as its intricate reception histories preclude any attempt at a »one-size-fits-all« methodological approach. On the contrary, multilingual sermons of the Middle Ages require various and truly interdisciplinary approaches tailored to the specific conditions of individual texts. At the same time, only a broad comparison of multilingual material from various times and areas may give us an understanding of the complexity of present as well as past instances of multilingualism, the respective cultures, societies, and speakers. Philological approaches, studies of rhetoric, sociolinguistic approaches, theories of code-switching and historical contextualization complement each other and enable us to approach the extant sources from various perspectives. We wish to contribute to the productive discussion on the topic and together draw attention to the textual witnesses of medieval multilingualism.

30 Odstrčilík, Translation and transformation. The character of syntactic elements in the Latin text in particular may be used as an argument in favor of this hypothesis.

31 Wright, *On Variation*, 203.

32 See Muysken, *Bilingual Speech*, 133 and elsewhere.

33 Ter Horst and Stam, Visual diamorphs.

34 Odstrčilík, Unbearable lightness.

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Multilingual Texts as a Reflection of Code-Switching in Medieval England: Sermons and Beyond

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The multilingualism of medieval England especially in the Middle English period, has for long been the subject of research in historical linguistics, literature, and medieval studies, to name but a few. It is particularly visible in the monolingual texts in the different medieval languages of literacy (Latin and Old English in the Old English period, and French, Latin and English in the Middle English period), where it has left traces in the lexicon and grammar of English.

More recently, the numerous multilingual texts from medieval England have attracted increased attention, not least because they can be seen as written evidence for code-switching, a well-known discourse strategy in multilingual societies. Multilingual sermons are among the best-known text types showing this mixing of languages, and they are found from the Old English period onwards, though they are particularly well attested from the later Middle English period.

The present paper will look at the main types of multilingual sermons from medieval England, both from the Old English and the Middle English periods. It will, however, go beyond this and place such sermons in the context of other medieval multilingual text types. Based on the analysis of a range of medieval multilingual texts, we will show that multilingual sermons, especially the so-called »macaronic sermons«, are not as unique as sometimes claimed in sermon studies. After a critical discussion of the traditional criteria for defining »macaronic« texts, we will argue that such texts can be better accounted for on the basis of functional classifications as provided by modern code-switching theories. Such an approach in no way reduces the special nature of »macaronic sermons«, but it firmly places them in the wider bilingual context of medieval England and the multilingual strategies regularly used by its speakers and writers in a variety of text types. The contextualisation of multilingual sermons in this wider context of written multilingual texts will hopefully lead to a better understanding of multilingual sermons from medieval England and possibly also those from other European countries.

Keywords: multilingualism; language mixing; code-switching; medieval period; England; Latin; English; text-types; sermons; administrative texts; literature

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eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s148

Introduction

Research into medieval sermons has a long history, and the scope of research projects and publications in the field is impressive. Among the topics most studied are the functions, structure, source and content of sermons, their rhetorical form and adherence to the models provided by the handbooks of preaching, the artes praedicandi. Furthermore, their oral delivery by preachers and their transmission in written form, as well as the nature and composition of the intended audience have been discussed. Some of these points have been linked to the increasing use of the vernacular against the predominance of Latin. Multilingual medieval sermons, on the other hand, have attracted much less attention, though there have been some relevant studies for different parts of Europe.[1]

As an historical linguist, my own interests have for a considerable time been in medieval English multilingualism, in particular in the forms and functions of medieval multilingual texts. These I have interpreted as instances of historical written code-switching, and it is code-switching as a written phenomenon which has been my primary object of research, less the recovery of traces of spoken code-switching in such texts. In the last two decades, research in historical code-switching has greatly increased and has established itself as a new sub-field of historical linguistics. Similar to historical pragmatics, historical code-switching research has added a diachronic dimension to a research field which was originally developed for modern spoken languages. Historical multilingual texts should be seen as reflecting similar multilingual communicative strategies as found in modern spoken (but increasingly also written) instances of code-switching – in spite of the obvious differences in the historical context of the two sets of data, i.e. historical and modern.

Code-switching is defined in this paper in a rather wide sense, as the use of two (or more) languages by a multilingual speaker or writer in one communicative event or text.[2] This definition covers more or less all occurrences of two or more languages within a text, such as single words, phrases, clauses and sentences, paragraphs and inserted verses. Evidently, further subdivisions of these different manifestations of written multilingualism may be necessary or appropriate for specific research questions, such as code-mixing or multilingual practices, and there are a variety of competing terminologies in the field, which cannot be discussed here.[3] In view of the existing terminological diversity, it seems justified to introduce a few basic concepts of modern code-switching theory which have also proved relevant for historical written data and which will provide the basis for the following discussion.

Code-switching has been studied from a syntactic (or grammatical) perspective and with regard to its pragmatic or sociolinguistic functions. It is this latter, functional aspect which will be the main focus of the present study.[4] As for the different functions of code-switching, we will follow Peter Auer, who distinguishes between *micro-level* (or *local*) functions of code-switching, and *macro-level* (or *global*) functions.[5] On the *local* level, one can further

1 See, e.g., Bériou, Sermon latins; Kämmerer, *Codeswitching in Predigten*; Muessig, Vernacularization.

2 See also Thomason, *Language Contact*, 132.

3 See Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching*, 10-13.

4 For syntactic studies of medieval English code-switching, see Halmari and Regetz, Syntactic aspects; Ingham, Lay subsidy rolls; Schendl, Syntactic constraints.

5 Auer, Codeswitching via language mixing, 310.

differentiate between switches relating to the *organisational level of the text* (e.g. indication of chapters, argumentative structure of text, types of information, such as report vs. commentary, etc.), and the *indexical function* of a switch (e.g. expression of authority, of personal involvement, urgency or closeness, etc.). With *global* functions, on the other hand, it is not the individual code-switch that carries meaning, but the fact of code-switching as such. Such global meanings may be the construction of identity or the expression of specific group membership or ethnicity. Global functions are frequently linked to intrasentential switches, i.e. switches within the clause or sentence.

The present paper will not only look at multilingual sermons from medieval England in general and at the so-called macaronic sermon in particular, but it will place these in the wider synchronic and diachronic context of a range of multilingual text types from that period. Such a contextualisation of multilingual sermons will contribute to a better understanding of a phenomenon which has sometimes been described rather negatively as »linguistically curious«.[6] However, from such a wider multilingual context, the mixing of languages is a frequent and normal, generally neutral textual strategy found not only in quite a number of medieval texts and text types, but also across cultures and time, in written and spoken communication. Approaching multilingual sermons from a different linguistic perspective does not mean, however, that the highly relevant research in the field carried out by medievalists and theologians will be disregarded, especially research on the most challenging type of multilingual sermon, the so-called macaronic sermon.

Medieval Multilingual Sermons in a Wider Context

Wenzel's Typology of Macaronic Sermons

The modern study of multilingual sermons from medieval England is closely linked to Siegfried Wenzel's seminal monograph from 1994,[7] which addresses the topic from a variety of perspectives. In his introductory chapter, Wenzel provides examples of various medieval English verse and prose texts which mix Latin and English to different degrees, all of which he subsumes at first under the traditional term macaronic. According to him, Middle English religious and devotional prose texts generally »include some Latin words, phrases, or sentences«.[8] As for Middle English sermons,

> it was not only customary but evidently de rigueur to quote authorities in their original Latin [...] Even the most rigorously English sermons have at least one quotation in Latin, their thema [...] It is possible to claim that all Middle English sermons are macaronic.[9]

In a further step Wenzel develops a classification of bilingual sermons based on the nature of inserted elements in relation to the primary language of the sermon, distinguishing three types, namely:

6 Johnson, *Grammar of Good Friday*, xxii.

7 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*.

8 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 5.

9 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 6.

> »*a-elements*«, which »basically translate a part of the Latin discourse or are imported into it in the manner of quotations«, such as »glosses, technical terms, translations of themes and of Latin authorities, and vernacular sayings«;[10]
> »*b-elements*«, which are »English words, phrases, clauses, periods, or paragraphs that serve as divisions, subdivisions, or distinctions in the sermon in which they appear«; they »are essential for the structure of scholastic sermons«;[11]
> »*c-elements*«: »here the writer's thought moves forward without glossing, quoting, translating, or announcing a coming development, but it does so in a way that switches back and forth between Latin and English in the middle of sentences. The English material in this passage thus forms syntactically integrated parts of bilingual prose sentences«.[12]

Depending on the occurrence of the different inserted elements, Wenzel distinguishes three types of *Latin-English* mixed sermons (A, B, C) and two types of *English-Latin* mixed sermons (D, E). His own study focuses on type C sermons, which are defined by the presence of *c*-elements (even a single one suffices), though *a*- and *b*-elements may also occur. In Wenzel's final typology only type C sermons are called macaronic, which considerably narrows his definition of macaronic. Depending on the number and nature of *c*-elements, a further subdivision into »Minimal C«, »Marginal C« and »Full C« is proposed.

Wenzel's typology has, however, a number of weaknesses.[13] First of all, he uses different criteria for defining the three types of elements (functional and/or formal); furthermore, *a*-elements in particular form a rather heterogeneous group, with overlaps with some *c*-elements in his later analyses (e.g. in the classification of proverbs and popular sayings); and, most importantly, c-elements are mainly negatively defined. It also remains unclear why the »presence of single words, or phrases of two words of type *c*«[14] makes a sermon »Minimal C«, especially since these two types of *c*-elements are very frequent in type C sermons (as well as in other historical multilingual text types, see the sections *Code-Switching in Old English Texts* and *Code-Switching in Middle English Texts*, and equally in modern spoken code-switching). Wenzel's taxonomy implies the existence of clearly separated types and sub-types of bilingual sermons, but it seems more appropriate to view these as forming a continuum with fuzzy borders.[15] Last but not least, Wenzel's classification widely disregards *a*- and *b*-elements, though, from the point of view of code-switching, these are equally important for making a text multilingual.

10 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 17.

11 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 17.

12 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 22.

13 See Schendl, Late medieval macaronic sermons, 157-161.

14 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 30, note 44.

15 This becomes most obvious with his differentiation between his sub-types: why is the border between Full C and Marginal C set at ten *c*-elements with three or more words, and not at seven or eight with a minimum of two words, etc.?

If one considers the functions of Wenzel's three types of elements from the point of view of Auer's model, one could say that Wenzel's *a*-elements, though a heterogeneous group, fulfil micro-level indexical functions, his *b*-elements fulfil micro-level organisational functions, while his *c*-elements are intrasentential code-switches with a predominantly macro-level (or global) function, though some may additionally have other functions as well, as Wenzel's own analyses also imply.[16]

A short sample of a fully macaronic sermon from the early fifteenth-century is given under (1):[17]

(1) Quamdiu clerus *and þe laife* huius terre *wer knet togedur* in vno *fagot and brenden* super istum ignem, istud regnum *was ful warme and ful wel at hese*. Caritas *brande so hote, þe ley of loue was so huge* quod *non Scottich miste ne no Frensche scouris* quiuerunt extinguere istam flammam. Set nunc, prodolor, perfectus amor *is laid o watur*, caritas fere extinguitur, iste ignis *is almost out*. Quere vbi vis infra villam ex extra, poteris *blowe* super vngues tuos *for any hete of loue*. [...] Ex quo igitur confidencia est verum signum amoris, vbi nulla est confidencia ignis amoris *is out*, *þe* ignis perfecte caritatis *is puffed out*.

(As long as the clergy *and the laity* of this land *were knit together* in one *brand and burned* on this fire, this kingdom *was very warm and very much at ease*. Charity *burned so hot, the lay of love was so large* that *no Scottish mist nor any French showers* were able to extinguish this flame. But now, for shame, perfect love *is laid to waste*, charity is entirely extinguished, this fire *is almost out*. Seek where you wish within the village or outside, you might [as well] *blow* on your two fingers *for any warmth of love*. [...] So, since confidence is a true sign of love, where there is no confidence, the fire of love *has gone out, the* fire of perfect charity *is snuffed out*.)

Such a concentration of inserted elements, that is, code-switches into English in a Latin sermon, is, however, rather rare, and passages like the above most often alternate with long stretches of monolingual Latin or with passages containing only few switches.[18]

As mentioned above, Wenzel refers to the existence of other multilingual medieval text types in his introductory chapter, but does not discuss these any further. The following two sub-sections will try to illustrate that the analysis of a variety of multilingual text types can deepen our understanding of »macaronic sermons« by placing them firmly in the overall multilingual text production of medieval England.

16 The possible multifunctionality of specific code-switches is generally accepted in modern code-switching studies.

17 *Videbant signa*, Oxford, MS Bodley 649; quoted from Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, 221; transl. Horner, 220. In all examples in this paper, code-switches have been marked in italics by the author.

18 See the sermons in Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, and Johnson, *Grammar of Good Friday.*

Code-switching in Old English texts

Research into historical code-switching has so far rather neglected the Old English period, though there are quite a number of multilingual texts from this period, including sermons of the homiletic type.[19] A recent study of about a quarter of the roughly 270 vernacular homilies from Anglo-Saxon England has briefly analysed the use of Latin material in the Old English texts, in particular those by Ælfric, Wulfstan and the so-called *Blickling Homilies*, all dating from the tenth century.[20] Latin code-switches occur in all three collections, though with varying frequency and with more limited patterns than in Middle English sermons. The majority of Latin switches are biblical quotations which are generally supported by a subsequent vernacular translation or paraphrase that is often preceded by a phrase like *þæt is* (*on Englisc*) (that is (in English)), so that no Latin competence is expected from audience or readership, see (2).[21]

(2) ealswa hit awriten is & gefyrn wæs gewitegod: *post mille annos soluetur Satanas*. Þæt is on Englisc, æfter þusend gearum bið Satanas unbunden. (Whom 5)

(As it is written and was predicted of old: *after a thousand years Satan will be unbound*. That is in English, after a thousand years Satan will be unbound.)

The Latin quotations are often incomplete, with the omission sometimes being marked by a metalinguistic Latin comment, such as *et reliqua* (and so forth) for the final part (frequent in Ælfric and Wulfstan), see (3), or *usque ad* (till, up to) for the middle part (6 instances in the *Blickling Homilies*), see (4). However, the immediately following Old English translation is generally given in full.

(3) *DOMINICA SECVNDA POST PASCA. Ego sum pastor bonus. et reliqua.* Þis godspel þe nu geræd wæs. cwyð þæt se hælend cwæde be him sylfum. Ic eom god hyrde: Se goda hyrde sylð his agen lif for his sceapum. (ÆCHom I, 17)

(*Second Sunday after Easter. I am the good shepherd. And so forth*. This gospel that has been read now, says that the Saviour said himself. I am the good shepherd: The good shepherd gives his own life for his sheep. Transl. H.S.)

(4) Þa ondswarede he Drihten, [...] & þus cwæþ, *Non est uestrum usque ad potestatem*[22]; Nis þæt eower, he cwæþ, þæt ge witan þa þrage & þa tide þa þe Fæder gesette on his mihte. (HomS 46, BlHom 11)

(Then answered the Lord, [...] and thus spoke, *It is not for you up to power*. It is not for you, he said, to know the times and the seasons that the Father has put in his power. Transl. H.S.)

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19 Exceptions are Schendl, Hec sunt prata; Schendl, Beyond boundaries; Schendl, Code-switching in Anglo-Saxon England; Timofeeva, Anglo-Latin bilingualism.

20 See Schendl, Code-switching in Anglo-Saxon England, 42-46. The study is based on printed editions. On the Old English homily, see Kleist, *Old English Homily*.

21 References to Old English texts follow the conventions of the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus* (diPaolo Healey, Price Wilkin, Xin Xiang), from which all Old English examples are quoted, with translation by H.S., unless otherwise indicated.

22 The full Latin sentence reads: *Non est vestrum nosse tempora vel momenta, quæ Pater posuit in sua potestate.* Note the change to the accusative form potestatem which follows the syntax of the metalinguistic comment *usque ad.*

Latin biblical quotations like those under (2) to (4) are best explained as having a local indexical function, namely to add authority to the text by using the Latin words of the Bible.

Less frequent in Old English sermons are switches with an organisational function, which help structure the Old English text. In the final part of the *Blickling* homily on the *Assumption of Mary* (LS 20, AssumptMor), the beginning of each verse of the Latin *Magnificat* introduces a vernacular paraphrase or elaboration of the biblical verse.[23] The first incomplete Latin verse under (5), *Fecit potentiam*, is syntactically and semantically linked to the following vernacular paraphrase and represents an intersentential switch; the second one, *Esurientes*, on the other hand, constitutes a single-word switch.

(5) *Fecit potentiam,* & he dyde mycle mihte on his <earman>, & he todælde ealle þa þe þær wæron ofermode on heora heortan, [...]
Esurientes,[24] & þa wæs Sancta Maria cweþende þæt Drihten ealle þa gefylde on heofona wuldres fægernesse þa þe hie on eorþan leton hingrian (LS 20, AssumptMar)

(*He has shown strength*, and he has done mighty things with his arms, and he has scattered all those that were proud in their heart, [...]
The hungry, and then Saint Mary said that the Lord filled all those with the beauty of heaven's glory that on earth had suffered hunger. Transl. H.S.)

Syntactically integrated switched phrases are rather rare in Old English sermons and mostly restricted to titles of books (*actus apostolorum*), of prayers and songs (*pater noster; credo in deum*), or religious formulae (*patris et filii et spiritus sancti; in modum crucis*). There are also a number of Latin single-word switches, mainly religious terms, which are integrated into the vernacular sermon text and generally followed by a translation, such as the seven gifts and the sins of men (*sapientia, consilium*, etc.; *ignorantia, impietas*, etc.), the (arch)angels (*throni, principatus,* etc.), and a few other religious terms such as *discipuli* and *absolutionem*.

To sum up, Old English homilies predominantly show a traditional use of switched Latin material, predominantly intersentential switches of biblical quotations followed by vernacular translations, while other forms and functions are less frequent.

Code-switching also occurs in various religious texts from this period, such as a manuscript of the *Benedictine Rule*, see (6), with a single-word code-switch in the hybrid verb plus noun construction *heora confessionem don* (make their *confession*):[25]

(6) Æfter þam *Pater noster* [...] and æfter þam *Credo in deum*, [...] þær heora andetnysse don sculon, [...] and swa [...] heora *confessionem* don, þæt is heora andetnesse. (RegC 1)

(After the *Pater noster* [...] and after the *Credo in deum* [...] they shall do their confession, [...] and so [...] make their *confession*, that is their confession. Transl. H.S.)

23 See Schendl, Code-switching in Anglo-Saxon England, 44.

24 The complete Latin verse reads *Esurientes implevit bonis et divites dimisit inanes* (The hungry he has filled with good things, and the rich he has sent away empty).

25 For a discussion on why *confessionem* should be regarded as a code-switch and not as a borrowing, see Schendl, Code-switching in Anglo-Saxon England, 51. It is difficult to assign a clear function to such cases, though it might be an attempt to introduce a technical religious term alongside the existing native form *andetnesse*.

An early and linguistically interesting multilingual text type are Old English charters, rather formalised legal documents which record a grant or lease of land and of certain privileges by the king or by high-ranking persons. The royal charter started as a purely Latin document following Roman models, though we find the first instances of code-switching as early as the late seventh century.[26]

The passage under (7) is from an original royal charter from 858. Its introductory part is in Latin, except for personal names and two place names. The specifications of the granted goods and privileges show, however, a number of intrasentential switches of varying length into Old English, all fully integrated into the dominant Latin, while other privileges are in Latin, e.g. *XXX. statera kasei et item .X. statera in alia wiwarawic & .XX. lamba & .X. fehta* (30 weys of cheese, and also 10 weys in the other *dairy farm of the people of Wye,* and 20 *lambs* & 10 *fleeces*). Here code-switching is neither consistent nor predictable and does not have a purely local function. Thus this bilingual charter would qualify as a »macaronic« text in Wenzel's typology and may be one of the oldest texts of this type from medieval England.

(7) ego *EÐELBEARHT* rex [...] dabo [...] meo fideli ministro *WULLAFE* aliquam partem terre [...] hoc est .V. aratra in illa loco ubi *WASNGWELLE* nominator [...] ab omni servitute regali operis eternaliter liverabo [...] id est *an wiwarawic* quae ante subjecta erat *to wii* [...] & *et febresham* .I. *sealtern* & .II. *wena gang mid cyninges wenum to blean ðem wiada* & .IIII. *oxnum gers mid cyninges oxnum an wiwarawic* .XXX. statera kasei et item .X. statera in alia *wiwarawic* & .XX. *lamba* & .X. *fehta* hec autem terra suprascripta *et wassingwellan* his notissimis terminibus antiquitus circum jacentibus ab occidente *cyninges folcland* [...] .II.que molina ad illam eandem terram pertinentia [...] hec sunt pascua porcorum quot nostra lingua *denbera* nominamus [...] Hec sunt prata *to wassingwellan stocmed healf be norðan hegforde* [...] *sue ðer to limpað*. (Ch 328 [Birch 496] B 15.1.14)

(I, King *Ethelbert* [...] give [...] to my faithful thegn *Wulflaf* some portion of land [...], namely five ploughlands in the place called *Wassingwell*, [...] I will free [it] eternally from all liability to royal service [...] that is *one dairy farm of the people of Wye*, which before was subject *to Wye* [...], and one *salthouse at Faversham,* and *two wagons to go with the king's wagons to Blean wood*, and *for* four *oxen pasture with the king's oxen; in the dairy farm of the people of Wye* 30 weys of cheese, and also 10 weys in the other *dairy farm of the people of Wye*, and 20 *lambs* and 10 *fleeces*. And the above-written land *at Wassingwell* [has] from of old these well-known boundaries lying round it: in the west, *the king's folkland*, [...] and two mills belonging to the same land, [...] These are the swine pastures which we call in our language *denbera* [...] These are the meadows *belonging to Wassingwell: half Stocmead, north of Hegford* [...] *as belong thereto.* Transl. H.S.)

26 For a brief account of the development of Anglo-Saxon charters, see Schendl, Hec sunt prata.

The next example is from Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion*, a scientific text which extensively switches between Latin and Old English, in various functions and syntactic forms, from single words, phrases, clauses and sentences up to whole paragraphs. In the following passage, code-switching is used to introduce Latin scientific terminology, that is, for pedagogical purposes.[27]

(8) *Lunaris annus* byð ælce geare (þæt ys þæs monan ger) [...] and *communis* (þæt ys gemæne ger) hyt byð hwile on þam oðrum geare [...] On twam wisum ys se dæg gecweden: *naturaliter et uulgariter*, þæt ys gecyndelice and ceorlice [...] *Vulgaris uel artificalis dies est* (þæt byð ceorlisc dæg oððe cræftlic) fram þære sunnan anginne þæt heo setle ga [...] Se dæg [...] hæfð syx and hundnigontig *punctos.* (ByrM 1, Baker/Lapidge)

(*Lunaris annus* is every year (that is the moon's year) [...] and *communis* (that is the common year) sometimes comes in the following year [...] In two ways is the day spoken of: *naturaliter and uulgariter*, that is natural and vulgar [...] (The) *vulgaris or artificalis day is* (that is the vulgar or artificial day) from the sun's rising until it goes to its seat [...] The day [...] has ninety-six *punctos*. Transl. Baker/Lapidge)

The pedagogical function of code-switching is even more obvious in Ælfric's *Grammar*, where it is used to introduce grammatical terms and rules, as in example (9).[28] This may seem a rather marginal function, but Fletcher has argued for the relevance of similar bilingual grammars from the Middle English period for the development of the »macaronic style« in medieval England, especially in sermons.[29] Though Fletcher's hypothesis may not be convincing, one should be aware that the Middle English grammarians using code-switching consciously or unconsciously followed a method for teaching Latin already used in Anglo-Saxon England.

(9) Ðes *participivm* is ðreora cynna: *hic amans uir* þes lufienda wer; *haec amans femina* þis lufiende wif; *hoc amans mancipium* þes lufienda þeowa man; *et cetera* (*Ægram B 1.9.1*)

(The *participle* has three genders: *hic amans uir*, this loving man; *haec amans femina*, this loving woman; *hoc amans mancipium*, this loving slave; *and so on*.)

Though Old English code-switching is predominantly found in non-literary texts, there are also some examples from poetry, where switching seems to mainly fulfil a stylistic function. In the following passage from the *Phoenix* (Phoen A3.4), the switches occur in every second half-line and are thus linked to the metrical pattern of the poem, with the two languages being fully integrated syntactically and semantically.

27 Inserted single words from a language different from the dominant (or 'matrix') language as found in examples 7, 8, or 16 pose a particular problem in the study of multilingual texts and have been variously analysed as borrowings or code-switches. See the detailed discussion of some Latin forms in Old English texts in Schendl, Code-switching in Anglo-Saxon England, 47-56, including the form *punctos* in example (8). Following Matras, *Language Contact*, 110-114, such forms are seen as being placed on a continuum between the two poles, and are best analysed on the basis of a bundle of criteria, which allows for some »fuzzy ground« (Matras, *Language Contact*, 114).

28 See Timofeeva, Anglo-Latin bilingualism, 19, where the example and translation can be found.

29 Fletcher, *Popular Preaching*, 57-59.

(10) Hafað us alyfed *lucis auctor*
Þæt we motum her *mereri*,
goddædum begietan *gaudia in celo*.

((He) has granted us *the author of light*
that we may here *merit*,
with good deeds obtain, *the joys in heaven*.) (Transl. H.S.)

Code-Switching in Middle English Texts

In the Middle English period (c. 1100/1150 to 1500), code-switching is even more widespread and occurs in a large number of text types, including sermons.[30] In the twelfth century, a number of homilies adapted from Old English material continue the Old English pattern of code-switching, using Latin biblical quotations with a following translation, with predominantly local function, both organisational and indexical, see the section *Code-Switching in Old English Texts*.[31]

(11) þe mare to haligen and to wurðien þenne dei, þe is icleped sunnedei; for of þam deie ure lauerd seolf seið: *dies dominicus est dies leticie et requiei* sunnedei is dei of blisse and of alle ireste. *non facietur in ea aliquid, nisi deum orare, manducare et bibere cum pace et leticia* ne beo in hire naþing iwrat bute chirche bisocnie and beode to Criste and eoten and drinken mid griðe and mid gledscipe.[32]

(the more to sanctify and to worship this day which is called Sunday; for of this day our Lord himself says: *the day of the Lord is the day of joy and rest*, Sunday is the day of joy and of all rest. *Nothing is done on this day, except praying to god, eating and drinking with peace and happiness*, nothing is done on this day but church attendance and praying to Christ and eating and drinking with peace and happiness.)

Similar switching occurs in some early thirteenth-century Latin-Anglo-Norman bilingual sermons:[33]

(12) Sicume dit l'Evangile *Habent Moysen et Prophetas; audiant illos,* co est en rumanz »Il unt Moysen et les prophetes; oient ceals«. (*Sermon on Joshua*)

(As the Gospel says, *They have Moses and the prophets; may they hear them*, that is in Romance »They have Moses and the prophets; may they hear them.«)

In the thirteenth century, the homiletic sermon is increasingly replaced by the emerging scholastic sermon, »in which a theme is announced then systematically divided and developed«, and whose form and structure become increasingly complex.[34] Till the end of the Middle English period, Latin sermons predominate, and even sermons which were preached in the vernacular were regularly written down in Latin, the prestigious default language of religious texts. Only from »the second half of the fourteenth century do sermon collections

30 See Schendl and Wright, *Code-Switching in Early English*, 22-23.

31 For the continuation of the Old English homily in the early Middle English period, see Conti, Circulation; Swan, Preaching past the conquest.

32 *In diebus dominicis*, quoted with translation from Schendl, Late medieval macaronic sermons, 155.

33 See Ingham, Medieval bilingualism, where the example under (12) is quoted with translation, 322.

34 Fletcher, »Benedictus«, 228. See also Johnson, *Grammar of Good Friday*, xxv-xxviii.

largely in English begin appearing in any significant quantity«.[35] Both Latin and English sermons, however, regularly show insertions in the other language, such as the theme of the sermon or inserted verse and quotations, mostly serving an organisational function, that is, providing the structure of the sermon.[36] See the passage under (13), which shows the only English element in an otherwise Latin sermon:[37]

(13) *Que vtilitas in sanguine meo.* Psalmo 69. Karissimi, hec verba sic dici possunt: *Qwhat profyte is here in myn blode?*

(What profit is there in my blood. Psalm 69. Dearly beloved, these words can thus be translated: *What profit is there in my blood?*)

A bilingual sermon using English material not only in an organisational function and for paraphrasing, but also in two short intrasentential switches reminiscent of Wenzel's c-elements, survives from as early as the end of the thirteenth century. In his analysis of this sermon, Fletcher particularly singles out these two instances of »[a]rbitrary macaronic usage«, though he sees this use as being »tentative«.[38] One of these two switches is the one after *Quia* in the last sentence under (14), *Quia it ne es so foul macula in facie anime*. In view of the much higher frequency of (mostly intersentential) English material with local function in this sermon, it seems, however, doubtful whether these two instances suffice to connect it to the so-called »macaronic sermons« of the late medieval period. As noted earlier, from a functional perspective, both elements with a local and those with a global function can be subsumed in a single theoretical and descriptive framework.

(14) Sed in quibus, putas, stat Christi cultus? *In riche cloþnge? In mangeries?* […] Þis riche cloþng es *noht scarlet na velvet, bot a serk of chastite and a kirtil of humilite,* […] Primum, quia iocale pulcrum non ponitur in fimario sed in forceario. […] Quartum, quia magister non admittit discipulum qui eius non vult suscipere documentum. […] Þis proud tiffynge nes na crokettes na shavinge quantum ad homines, *na lokettes na smeringe* quantum ad mulieres, sed sunt *hertly compunccioun, clenli confessioun*, […] Quia *it ne es so foul* macula in facie anime, quin ista non alluant, nec ita parvus capillus in capite, quin ista ad suum locum non dirigant.[39]

35 Fletcher, »Benedictus«, 230. For late medieval English sermons, see also Spencer, *English Preaching*, and especially O'Mara and Paul, *Repertorium.* For late medieval Latin sermon collections, see Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections.*

36 See Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 5-6. Notetaking by reporters (»reportatores«) and translation play some role in writing down orally delivered medieval sermons, but the majority of sermon texts are conscious products of the authors, often serving as reading matter and models for other preachers (Fletcher, *Popular Preaching*, 12-14).

37 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, Q-38-108, 16. Transl. H.S., with comment by anonymous reviewer.

38 Fletcher, *Popular Preaching*, 64. The sermon was first edited in Fletcher, »Benedictus«, followed by an interesting discussion of the »macaronic style« in medieval England, with examples of mixed-language texts from various text types. Fletcher briefly points to some similarities between the »macaronic style« and modern spoken code-switching. A revised version of his paper forms the basis of chapter 3 in Fletcher, *Popular Preaching*, 33-66, which already incorporates some insights from historical code-switching research and provides detailed discussions of some non-religious bilingual texts, without, however, giving up the vague concept of »macaronic«.

39 Fletcher, »Benedictus«, 224-225. I would like to thank Dr. Reinhold Peterwagner for his translation of the Latin passages and an anonymous reviewer for a clarification of the last sentence.

(But wherein, do you think, is the veneration of Christ manifest? *In rich clothing? In feasting?* [...] *This rich clothing is not scarlet nor velvet, but a shirt of chastity and a coat of humility*, [...] Firstly, one does not put beautiful jewellery on the dunghill, but into a box. [...] Fourthly, because the teacher does not admit a pupil who does not accept his teaching. [...] *This proud finery is neither curls nor shaving* with men, *neither lovelocks nor ointment* with women, but they are *genuine repentance, honest confession*, [...] Because *there is no* blemish on the soul's countenance *so foul* that these do not cleanse [it], nor a hair on the head so short that these do not put [it] in its proper place.)

The section *Code-Switching in Old English Texts* has illustrated that bilingual texts which would fit Wenzel's narrow definition of macaronic are already attested in the Old English period, see the charter in example (7). In the rest of this section, we will show that also in the heyday of »macaronic« sermons, that is between the middle of the fourteenth and the middle of the fifteenth century,[40] a large number of multilingual texts were produced in different text types, many of them also containing intrasentential switches with global functions. In a period in which part of the educated literate elite was bi- or trilingual, many people would be more or less regularly confronted with various multilingual texts and text types, both literary and non-literary. Among the latter are a range of administrative texts (Year books, wills, business accounts), scientific and medical texts, letters and various religious texts.[41] The professional multilingual scribes of the period regularly produced and copied not only monolingual texts in Latin, Anglo-Norman and English, but also numerous mixed-language texts.[42] The following brief survey will start with two types of administrative texts, namely Year books and wills.

In the so-called Year books, late medieval legal reports, code-switching is frequently used from an early time onwards, especially in an organisational function, namely to »differentiate types of information in an entry«[43]. In the early fourteenth-century passage under (15), the report on the legal case is in French, while Latin is used to comment on it (*mirum tamen fuit,* etc.).[44]

(15) E eide ne fut pas graunté en ceo cas par Berr. *Mirum tamen fuit*. mes dyt luy fut qe il alast a son bref de convenaunt ou a son bref de mesne lequel qe il voloit etc. *cuius contrarium videtur etc.*

(And aid was not granted in this case by Bereford, [which] *was strange nevertheless*. But he was told to have recourse to his writ of covenant or of mesne, whichever he wished etc. *Of which the contrary seems etc*.)

40 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 13.

41 See Schendl and Wright, *Code-Switching in Early English*, 22.

42 Schendl and Wright, *Code-Switching in Early English*, 21.

43 See Davidson, Discourse features, 344.

44 The passage under (15) from the *Year Books Edward II*, 1316-1317 is discussed in some detail in Davidson, Discourse features, 346-347, from where the example and translation are taken; see also Schendl, Language contact, 20-21. An example of code-switching between French and Latin in the *Year books* of 1470 is discussed in Fletcher, *Popular Preaching*, 55-56 as an instance of »macaronic« usage.

A typical passage from a bilingual will from 1400 is given under (16), with Latin as the dominant language and frequent switches into English, mainly single words and short phrases referring to bequeathed objects (*platyngborde, brade bordes beste,* etc.); however, such objects are frequently also referred to in Latin, such as *duo par forpicarum* (two pairs of tongs), etc., a strategy already familiar from the Old English charter under (7) above. The short switches into English have no specific local function but rather a global one, since they reflect the jargon of lawyers, that is, of a particular community of practice.[45]

(16) Lego Willielmo Thorneton, servo meo, duo par forpicarum, & duas mensas pro cessurâ panni, & unum *platyngborde*, cum uno *strayte* [...] & vj *mostir bordes* & vj *brade bordes beste* in domo.[46]

(I leave to my servant William Thornton, two pairs of tongs, and two boards for the cutting of cloth, and one *folding board*, with one (*table*) *cloth* [...] and vj *pattern-boards* and vj *broad boards best* in the house.)

The numerous administrative mixed-language documents from medieval England have been described and analysed in a number of papers by Laura Wright.[47] Their extensive use of a complex system of abbreviation and suspension marks creates numerous visual diamorphs which cannot be classified for a specific language.[48] For the readers of such documents, the language-neutral abbreviations and suspensions clearly facilitated the reading of the text, since they did not have to know the inflexional and derivational suffixes of the three languages frequently mixed in these documents, Latin, French and English. This mixed-language code also follows specific rules which, in general, do not occur in other multilingual text types from the period.

An exception to this text type-specific restriction of this mixed-language code is, however, found in William Worcester's *Itineraries*. These are a collection of informal travel notes written during his journeys through the south of England and Wales in the late 1470s. They show a mixture of medieval Latin with English and some French, with many of the typical features of the administrative mixed-language code, with which Worcester was familiar from his long professional experience. Some of these features occur in the passage under (17), such as the use of the originally French article *le(z)* or *la* to indicate a switch into English, the occurrence of visual diamorphs and the consistent variation between languages.

45 For the relevance of the concept of community of practice in historical linguistics, see Kopaczyk and Jucker, *Communities of Practice.*

46 Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, 260; transl. H.S.

47 See, for example, Wright, Pilot study; Wright, On variation. A short summary of the main features of this »mixed-language code« is given in Wright, Pilot study, 131. Since the system of abbreviations and suspensions used in the manuscripts is highly complex, no illustrative example will be quoted here. The reader is referred to the original publications for illustration and further details.

48 For the concept of »visual diamorph«, see Wright, On variation, 203. Cases in point are the preposition *in* in the mixed phrase *beste in domo* (example 16) as well as the forms *serpentes* and *cormorantes* in (17), where *-es* can be interpreted as either the Latin or the English plural suffix.

(17) Insula *Prestholm* proxima jnsula *Angelsey* per dimidium miliaris de *Anglesey* [...] et ibi crescent cuniculi et *serpentes addyrs snakes gullys mewys cormorantes*, et arbores vocate *elders*. [...] non est populata distat a *le maynlond* circa spacium duorum arcuum vocat. *bowshottys* Et est ibi vnum *bay* pro nauibus saluandis in *le northsyde* jnsule vocatum *le Rounde Table*.[49]

(The island of *Priestholm* is close to *Anglesey*, half a mile from *Anglesey*, [...] and there live rabbits and *serpents*, *adders*, *snakes*, *gulls*, *mews*, *cormorants*, and trees called *elders*. [...] It is not inhabited. It lies from *the mainland* at a distance of about two bowshots called *bowshots*. And there is a *bay* for the safe riding of ships on *the north side* of the island called *the Round Table*.)

The passage under (18) is from a much-quoted French-English bilingual letter sent by the Dean of Hereford to King Henry IV in 1403, asking for help against the Welsh insurgents. The opening part and the objective factual report are in French, which is clearly the dominating language of the letter, while the following switches into English express a more personal and urgent plead. The same occurs again in the concluding passage, where the author first switches back to French and then again into English. The switches into English expressing urgency and personal involvement have an indexical function.[50]

(18) Qar, mon tresredoute Seigneur, vous trouverez pour certein que si vous ne venez en vostre propre persone pour attendre [apres] voz rebelx en Galys, vous ne trouverez un gentil que veot attendre deinz vostre dit Countee. *Warfore, for Goddesake, thinketh on ȝour beste Frende, God, and thanke Hym* [...]; *and leveth nought that ȝe ne come for no man that may counsaille ȝowe the contrarie;* [...] Jeo prie a la Benoit Trinite que vous ottroie bone vie ove tresentier sauntee a treslonge durre, *and sende ȝowe sone to ows in help and prosperitee; for, in god fey, I hope to Al Mighty God that* [...] *ȝe schulle have the victorie of alle ȝoure enemyes.* [...] Escript a Hereford, en tresgraunte haste,

(For, my most dread Lord, you will find for certain that, if you do not come in your own person to await your rebels in Wales, you will not find a single gentleman that will stop in your said county. *Wherefore, for God's sake, think on your best friend, God, and thank Him,* [...] *and leave nought that you do not come for no man that may counsel you the contrary;* [...] I pray the Blessed Trinity to give you good life, with most complete good health, very long to endure, *and send you soon to us in help and prosperity; for, in good faith, I hope to Almighty God, that* [...] *you shall have the victory of all your enemies.* [...] Written at Hereford, in very great haste,)

49 William Worcester, *Itineraries*, ed. Harvey, 134-136, from where the example and translation are taken. For a fuller discussion of Worcester's use of the administrative mixed code in his travel notes, see Schendl, William Worcester, 321-322, where this example is printed with the complex abbreviations of the manuscript CCCC MS 210.

50 The passage under (18) is quoted from Schendl, Code-choice and code-switching, 254-258, where an analysis of the text with translation is provided. See also the discussion in Schendl, Language contact, 21.

More frequent are letters switching between English and Latin, especially from the later fifteenth century onwards. Well-known examples are those written by Friar John Brackley to members of the Paston family, in a number of which he extensively switches between English and Latin. While many of Brackley's switches have local functions, there are also quite a number which, in Fletcher's view, show a »macaronic style [...] most comparable to the apparently random macaronic prose alternation« of sermons.[51]

Medieval medical texts are a rich source of code-switches in different organisational functions, including metalinguistic comments on the efficacy of the remedy as in (19) and for structural reasons, though a local function is not always evident:[52]

(19) seth ij littill bundell of anece in wyne [...] and lay abowt the navyl *et sanabitur*[53]
(boil two small bundles of anise in wine [...] and lay unto the navel *and [it] will be healed*)

(20) tak alym water and put þerynne þyn parchemen *ut aqua sit tepidus* and let hit drinke[54]
(take alum water and put your parchment into it *so that the water becomes warm* and let (them) drink it)

Though Middle English code-switching clearly predominates in non-literary text types, there are also numerous examples in literary texts, such as drama and poetry.[55] Different from the Old English poem illustrated under (10) above, the following mid-fifteenth-century English-Latin poem illustrates that poetical code-switching is not always linked to metrical form, but may be quite irregular and intrasentential, not always having a local function.

(21) *Regnum Anglorum regnum Dei est,*
As the Aungelle to seynt Edward dede wyttenesse.
Now *regnum Sathane*, it semethe, *reputat* best.
For *filii scelerati* haue broughte it in dystresse.[56]

(*The kingdom of the angels/English is the kingdom of God,*
As the angel said to St Edward.
Now the *kingdom of Satan*, it seems, *accounts* best.
For the *accursed sons* have brought it in distress.)

51 See Fletcher, *Popular Preaching*, 52.

52 See e.g. Voigts, What's the word?, with a discussion of different functions.

53 *Recipes*, quoted from Pahta, Code-switching in medical texts, 201. Transl. H.S.

54 From an »alchemical process« in MS Bodley 177, fol. 18v, quoted from Voigts, What's the word?, 819. Transl. H.S.

55 For code-switching in medieval English literature in general, see Schendl, Code-switching in early English literature, which also looks at syntactic aspects of early switching. For multilingual medieval drama, see Diller, Code-switching in drama.

56 See Schendl, »To London from Kent«, 60, where this passage from the *Gates of Canterbury* is quoted and discussed. Transl. H.S.

Piers Plowman, an important late Middle English religious verse piece, is known for its great number of Latin passages, mainly biblical quotations, which are, in general, fully integrated into the English text, see (22) where the switches into Latin are biblical quotations slightly adapted by the author to fit his argument. The numerous intrasentential short switches in particular, as in (23), do not always have a clear local function and thus resemble Wenzel's »macaronic elements«.[57]

(22) Preyeres of a parfit man and penaunce discret
Is the leuest labour þat oure lord pleseth.
Non de solo, y sayde, for sothe *viuit homo*,
Nec in pane et in pabulo, the *pater-noster* wittenesseth;
Fiat voluntas dei - þat fynt vs alle thynges.[58]

(Prayers of a perfect man and judicious penance
Is the most precious work that pleases our Lord.
Not from the soil I said, in truth *doth man live*,
nor in bread and in food; the *Lord's Prayer* witnesses,
Let God's will be done, who provides us with everything.)

(23) The comune *clamat cotidie*, vch a man to oþer
(the common people *cries out daily*, each man to the other).[59]

The examples in the preceding sections have illustrated that language mixing is a frequent phenomenon in a range of text types from medieval England. It can serve various functions and occurs in texts with different levels of formality, from poetic texts and well-organised sermons to letters and private travel notes. What they all have in common is that they have come down to us in written form, while code-switching in modern languages is predominantly found in speech, though increasingly also appears in written form in e-mails and the so-called social media (e.g. twitter and facebook).

Medieval Code-Switching – Spoken or Written Phenomenon?

The question whether medieval written code-switching is linked to multilingual speech or only a phenomenon of writing has been repeatedly addressed.[60] In the introduction it was said that medieval code-switching would be regarded as a written phenomenon, since we do not have direct access to earlier spoken multilingual data. But it is most likely that in certain contexts multilingual texts would have been presented in oral form more or less identical to their written format. This could be the case with the homiletic type of sermon, where Latin biblical quotations are followed by a vernacular translation and which is evidently intended to be delivered in this form (see the discussion of examples 2 and 3 above). But there is also some evidence that late medieval preachers sometimes used Latin elements in their

57 A detailed discussion of code-switching in *Piers Plowman* is found in Machan, Language contact, and in Davidson, *Language-Mixing*, 122-176.

58 William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, C.5.84-87, 101. Transl. H.S.

59 William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, C.21.416, 358. Transl. H.S.

60 See e.g. Gardner-Chloros, Historical and modern studies; Schendl and Wright, *Code-Switching in Early English*, 27-28.

vernacular sermons.[61] As for charters, the handing over of a lease in Old English times used to be linked to an oral act to become legally binding, though this would hardly have been in the form reflected in the lease under (7), where the objects and services concerned are variously in Latin and in English, and this applies to some extent also to the bilingual wills illustrated under (16). There may be reflections of speech in certain types of multilingual administrative texts,[62] but these at best provide indirect evidence for spoken code-switching. The reading aloud of texts to other individuals or larger audiences, both literary and non-literary, was certainly more widespread in medieval times, and mixed-language texts such as letters, poems or drama were certainly sometimes presented orally. But this involves the reproduction of written text and is very different from the spontaneous production of bilingual speech in direct verbal interaction. Other multilingual texts such as William Worcester's travel notes (see example 17) were personal notes hardly intended to be read to others.

More controversial is the question of the possible oral delivery of the so-called »macaronic sermons«. With his claim that these may have been preached in their macaronic form, Wenzel renewed a dispute which had seemed to be settled for some time.[63] His view was strongly criticised by Fletcher, who advanced convincing arguments for considering the »macaronic style« as a purely written phenomenon, linked to the changing status of Latin and English as written languages in late medieval England.[64] Others, like Johnson claimed that it could hardly be decided »[w]hether the sermons were actually preached macaronically or only written down that way«.[65] The view of the present author corresponds in many points to that of Fletcher, considering »macaronic« sermons as a written phenomenon in a period of increasing vernacularisation of certain text types, which has been recognised as being often linked to an increase of code-switching.[66] A further aspect may be a possible macro-level, global function of code-switching in such sermons, namely to establish or express group membership of an educated bilingual community of preachers and readers.[67]

61 See Kämmerer, *Codeswitching in Predigten*, 99-115, especially 108-112; Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 37, 47; Muessig, Vernacularization, 271-272.

62 See Ingham, Mixing languages.

63 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 114-119.

64 Fletcher, *Popular Preaching*, 63-66.

65 Johnson, *Grammar of Good Friday*, xxii.

66 For the correlation between increasing vernacularisation and the increase of code-switching in certain historical text-types, see Schendl, Multilingualism, code-switching, and language contact, 524. Apart from sermons, this is also noticeable in letters and medical texts from medieval England. For the latter text type, see also Voigts, What's the word?, 814.

67 See Schendl, Late medieval macaronic sermons.

Conclusion

The present paper has briefly sketched the development of the multilingual sermon in medieval England and has tried to show that these (including the so-called »macaronic« sermon) do not constitute a particularly unusual type of bilingual document. By presenting examples from a range of different text types with a variety of syntactic patterns and pragmatic functions of code-switching, it has been argued that all these multilingual documents should be seen as reflecting the written expression of general communicative strategies frequently used by multilingual speakers and writers over time and in different domains. This also means that the medieval multilingual sermon is well embedded in a much wider context of societal multilingualism reflected in these multilingual texts and text types. It also shows that intrasentential switches, often with a global function, are not restricted to sermons, but are frequent in other text types as well, starting as early as the Anglo-Saxon charters. Such texts may seem to be a »curious linguistic phenomenon« for the modern reader, but they were most likely not so for literate medieval people. Though most specific text types had their own professional or literary conventions which influenced the patterns and functions of code-switching and partly changed over time, they all represent the same communicative strategies of multilingual language users, which links these texts to modern code-switching, spoken and written.

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Orality in its Written Traces: Bilingual *reportationes* of Sermons in France (Thirteenth Century)[1]

Nicole Bériou*

The intense practice of preaching became a prominent feature of religious life in the Western Church during the thirteenth century and afterwards. The new orders of mendicant friars considered preaching as their main duty, and equipped the libraries of their convents with many tools for putting together sermons. At the same time, attending sermons and taking down notes which could be reused for delivering new sermons became a habit with theology students in Paris. Manuscripts written by these students for private use document this process in various states of composition. Bilingualism, either with the juxtaposition of French and Latin words or in the use of a Latinised French which could be easily transposed into the vernacular, does not reflect the oral performance. But these *reportationes*, which are a selection of what the preacher said, suggest that their authors paid particular attention to the challenge of integrating elements of biblical commentary into the culture of the laity: interpretations of biblical narratives, verses and proper nouns are prevalent and, reversing the process, we find an exploration of the rich resources of words which belong to common culture but also have a resonance in the field of religious experience.

Keywords: preaching; oral communication; reportationes*; bilingualism; French; Bible; metaphors*

Among professionals of the spoken word – those who regularly practised different kinds of oral communication in medieval society –, preachers occupy a prominent position, alongside teachers, jugglers, storytellers, town criers and other messengers.[2] From the thirteenth century onwards, the preacher became a familiar figure, especially (but not only) in towns, due to the important new role played by the mendicant friars.

Not all friars were *litterati* in the sense of being Latin scholars. But those whose ideas are, up to a point, still accessible to us through manuscripts all belong to the same cultural elite: they used written Latin on a daily basis. During their theological studies at university, the friars discussed and analysed the meaning of the Bible, which was the primary source of their preaching.

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1 I have already published various contributions on this theme. See Bériou, *Prédication au béguinage*; *Prédication de Ranulphe*; Reportation des sermons parisiens; Latin and the vernacular; *Avènement des maîtres*; Sermons latins après 1200; Latin et langue vernaculaire; Comment parler au peuple. This article is an attempt to bring together previous considerations and examples and to evaluate the resources and limits of this documentation with regard to gaining an understanding of the methods and effects of religious communication at a time when preaching became a common practice, at least in towns.

2 Delcorno, Professionisti della Parola; Bouhaïk-Gironès and Polo de Beaulieu, *Prédication et performance.*

eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s169

Many other kinds of Latin sources could be found in their libraries: distinctions, saints' lives, *exempla* collections, and model sermons, all of which they dipped into liberally when composing their own sermons.[3] Thus, the majority of documents which throw light on their activity as preachers come to us through the filter of Latin. Obviously, this mode of transmission impedes our immediate understanding of the real conditions of medieval preaching, since the scholarly language could not have been used for communicating with ordinary members of the laity. Oral communication can take many paths. Since the New Testament's account of the Pentecost, which shows the Apostles glorifying God in various tongues, this miracle has remained a point of reference.[4] The message delivered by the preacher can be effective, even when the speaker's language is not the same as that of his audience. A famous medieval example of this is told about Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, who preached successfully in French when he went to Germany. In such a case, witnesses underline the positive effects of a dramatic speech, whose reception can provoke a range of emotions and internal conversions.[5] Nevertheless, the ordinary activity of preaching in church during the liturgical services, as developed and recommended by the Church since at least the ninth century or even earlier,[6] relies on the twin requirements of addressing both the intellect and the emotions.

Based on the biblical texts read during Mass, preaching was also supposed to make the sacred teaching of the Scriptures accessible to simple people who knew no Latin. This is made clear in the opening of a sermon by Évrard de Saint-Quentin, a Dominican preacher from Picardy, who spoke as follows at the church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois in Paris in 1273:

> Good people ought to listen willingly. Just as if somebody might say to his doctor: »Tell it in [understandable] language«, so [at the moment when] the Gospel [is read] they stand up and incline the head, even though what the Gospel says is in a language that you do not understand any more than you do Flemish (…). So when someone comes and speaks in your own language, it is like food: the Word gives sustenance to your soul. This is how the Lord became known according to the Gospel [on the road to Emmaus]: »They recognised the Lord in the breaking of the bread«. [This bread is given] to you whole and entire; that is why, if someone comes to break it for you, you should listen to him willingly. Let us pray.[7]

3 For an enlightening study of one of these model collections in relation to the library of the convent of the Augustinian friars in York where it was compiled and used, see Akae, *Mendicant Sermon Collection.*

4 Vecchio, Langues de feu; *id.*, *Dispertitae linguae.*

5 See Constable, Language of preaching. Later on, during the fifteenth century, the systematic mixture of Latin and the vernacular in certain written sermons may reflect actual preaching, performed as a dramatic oration. For examples of this practice in Italy, see Lazzerini, *Per latinos grossos*, and *id.*, »Da quell'arzillo pulpito«; in France, see Werner, *Sermon sur l'Enfant prodigue*; in England, see Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons.*

6 Lauwers, Parole de l'Église.

7 Here are the hasty notes as they have been transmitted by the listener: »Bone gentes debent multum libenter audire. Sicut si quis diceret medico: dicatis in una lingua. Et quando in euangelio surgunt et remouent capita et tamen in euangelio dicitur in lingagio quod non intelligitis plus quam in flamingo (…). Quando ergo aliquis uenit qui dicit tibi in lingua tua est sicut esca. Sic uerbum sustinet animam tuam et sic cognoscitur Dominus in euuangelio (Luc 24, 35): *Cognouerunt Dominum in fractione panis*. Totum integrum est quoad uos, et ideo, quando uobis uenitur ad frangendum, libenter debetis audire. Ideo rogabimus.« (Paris, BnF, lat. 16481, fol. 307ra) I have proposed in square brackets some expansion of this text to improve understanding.

It is true that in a city like Paris, where preaching was provided by men from many different countries, not all preachers could speak perfect French. However, they all made an effort to speak to the citizens in that language. Saint Bonaventure puts this very nicely in a sermon to Cistercian nuns in the church of Saint-Antoine, in Paris:

> *Orietur vobis timentibus nomen meum sol iustitie*, in Malachi. This means in French that the sun of justice is the Lord Jesus Christ, who arises by grace in the hearts of those who are in fear of God and listen to his word with due respect and fear (…) As you can see, when the sun shines through part of a stained glass window, finely designed and made of lovely colours, the light is amazingly beautiful. But when the glass is not transparent and not so well designed, the light coming through does not seem so lovely – and yet, in itself the light is just as clear, whatever the state of the window that it passes through. In the same way, the word of God may sometimes be expressed through a mouth that is not rightly adapted to speak the language in which it preaches, as in my case when I speak French (…); but still, the word of God always has the same force, no matter what kind of mouth it passes through: So, never mind, since you can understand me.[8]

Michel Zink has clearly shown in his thesis that written »sermons« preserved in the romance languages do not, with rare exceptions, reflect real preaching.[9] In Italy, the first written traces of *reportationes* that we know of date from the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the sermons of Giordano da Pisa in Florence were noted down in the vernacular by lay members of the audience; Carlo Delcorno has extensively studied these *reportationes*.[10] Slightly earlier, another kind of report provides a rich seam that can be exploited in order to gain an idea of »oral performance«: *reportationes* made in Paris by university students.[11] Such notes were then exploited by them as cheap collections of models. They are written in a hybrid language with Latin dominant, but with traces of the vernacular interspersed throughout. The construction of the sentences follows the French syntax closely, so that texts seem to be written in a Latinised French. In some cases, manuscripts which contain these personal notes have been dispersed, but a significant number have also been preserved among the vestiges of the medieval libraries in Paris, especially that of the medieval college of the Sorbonne in the Bibliothèque nationale. That is also where the sermons of Évrard and Bonaventure, which I quoted briefly at the beginning of this paper, are still to be found.

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8 »*Orietur uobis timentibus nomen meum sol iustitie,* in Malachia (4, 2). Et ualet tantum in gallico quod *sol iustitie* est Dominus Iesus Christus, *orietur* per gratiam in cordibus eorum qui *Deum timent* et uerbum suum reuerenter et cum timore audiunt. (…) Et sicut uos uidetis quod sol uel lumen solis, quando intrat per unam uitream pulchram et bene dispositam et coloratam, tunc illud lumen est ita pulchrum quod mirum est; quando autem transit per fenestram uitream non ita claram nec ita bene dispositam, non est ita clarum ut apparet lumen solis, sed ita clarum est in se, transiens per unam fenestram male dispositam sicut per fenestram bene dispositam. Sic uerbum Dei quando transit per os male dispositum ad loquendum langagium in quo predicat ut ego gallice, cum uerbum Dei eamdem habeat uirtutem per quodcumque os transeat (…) sic, licet ego nesciam bene loqui gallice, non tamen propter hoc uerbum Dei quod debeo proferre in se minus valet. Ideo non curetis de hoc, dum tamen me intelligere possitis.« (*prothema* of a sermon to the Cistercian nuns of Saint-Antoine in Paris for the feast of Saint Mark in 1273, *Sermo 44 de diversis*, ed. Bougerol, 580).

9 Zink, *Prédication en langue romane.*

10 Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa*; and his recent article on Comunicare dal pulpito.

11 See Dal pulpito alla navata, and also Bériou, *Avènement des maîtres.*

Containing, as they do, only traces of the vernacular, these notes or *reportationes* inevitably distort the oral performance of the original language used by the preacher, which was French. Nevertheless, they bring us closer to the real performance than all the books which preachers used as preparatory tools; these can only throw light indirectly on the practice of preaching. Therefore, while remaining conscious of the limitations of such witnesses, it is important to consider them when we attempt to understand what actually happened when preachers spoke to the laity, and this at a time when regular preaching was becoming common.

From the strict point of view of oral expression, the texts would obviously be more faithful to the original if they were written in the language in which sermons were preached. That is what makes Giordano's sermons in Florence of inestimable value.[12] Nevertheless, the skill of Parisian students, who were accustomed to taking notes during lectures, guarantees a high level of confidence in their ability to capture and retain the structure of the speech and the main ideas, which they expressed in their own words.

A key moment in the transition to a common practice of their *reportationes* of sermons, at least in Paris, could be the foundation, in 1257, of the college later called the *Sorbonne* from the name of the founder, Robert de Sorbon, a canon of Notre-Dame. Initially intended as a students' residence, providing board and lodging for theology students, the college's vocation, according to its founder, was to provide the Church with good preachers. Taking notes during lectures (which were given in Latin) and during sermons (delivered either in Latin or in the vernacular) was part of their training. Many graduates, later fellows of the Sorbonne, donated their personal books and manuscripts to the library of the college. This ensured the survival of a large number of documents containing impromptu notes, made rapidly during sermons, without any particular effort of style, but still with all the attention to the spoken word required when learning how to compose and deliver a good sermon.[13]

What we now call *reportationes*, or reports of sermons, are mostly texts written by students in a developed version. Two stages of composition usually occurred. First, concise notes were taken down while listening to a preacher, and then they were completed at home from memory. Some of these clerical listeners may have been in the habit of condensing the subject matter immediately in their own words, that is, of making rapid summaries, on the spot, of what the preacher was saying. But there is reason to believe that the work of reconstituting the developed text was most often done at a later stage – in which case, during the first stage – that is, when they listened to a vernacular sermon – students concentrated their attention on making a simultaneous translation, into Latin, of what they heard the preacher saying in the vernacular. As far as possible, they attempted to retain the key words and certain phrases, which would enable them to reconstitute later, in peace and quiet, the logical argument and the persuasive rhetoric of the sermon as they heard it. That, at any rate, is what emerges from documents, preserved by chance and produced during the 1270s, by Raoul de Châteauroux, one of the first fellows of the Sorbonne. The two above-mentioned

12 See Delcorno, Lingua dei predicatori.

13 For a detailed study of *reportationes* made by fellows of the College of Sorbonne during the thirteenth century, see also Bériou, *Avènement des maîtres.*

sermons delivered by Évrard de Saint-Quentin and Bonaventure were recorded by him, the first partly in rough notes, the second in a more readable way. Two of his manuscripts illustrate these two stages of composition. In some cases we have only his brief notes, often made in a manner so compact as to be barely comprehensible. At other times, the sermons are given in a later version, more or less written out in full. It can also happen that for the same sermon both versions have survived, the notes as well as their development, and this makes it possible to observe more precisely how the reporter worked.

Here is an example of these two states of the *reportatio* of a sermon delivered by the Franciscan Jacques de Provins in the church of Saint Paul (in the two extracts, I have drawn attention to words in the vernacular, which are in quotation marks). The first, on the left, is the rough draft registered in the collection of sermons which was collected by Raoul de Châteauroux in 1273 (Paris, BnF, lat. 16481, fols. 310r-311r). The second, on the right, is the written-out text, copied in another manuscript where pieces of the same sermons are preserved under headings, according to the topics with which they deal (Paris, BnF, lat. 16482, fols. 65r-65v, under the word »Karitas«):

Sermo fratris Iacobi de Pruuinis minorum ad Sanctum Paulum statim post[14] *In caritate radicati et fundati ut possitis comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis que sit longitudo latitudo sublimitas et profundum*[15] <Prothema> Sicut sol indifferenter lucet, sic uirgo regi[n]a etc., bernardus in laudem / (310v) uirginis, et ualet tantum: sicut communiter omnibus sine differentia et »chalendi«, sic uirgo regi[n]a parata uirtutibus, loco de »oustrage, ne ginde ne fresiaus, ne coife ne capias«. Et dicit quod magno corde iuuat quemlibet, nec deficit plus quam sol, ideo quod ita breuiter intelligatis et proficiatis, *aue maria*. <Thema> *In caritate radicati* etc. in epistola modo lecta apostoli, et ualet tantum: scitis »enraciné bien et fundez« in caritate. »comprendre et apprendre« quid longum patientie. quem »longuement«. latum sue caritatis et curialitatis qui diligit integraliter omnes. respicere quid altum et profundum. dignitatis et carceris in qua captiuos. Ideo dicit *in caritate radicati.* et bene quia ipsa est radix omnis boni. sicut domus uel arbor cadit, sic etc. debetis scire quod ipsa est graciosa, uirtuosa, nobis autem preciosa.	KARITAS *In caritate radicati et fundati ut possitis comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis que sit longitudo latitudo sublimitas et profundum.* In epistola hodierna modo lecta, et ualet tantum in gallico: scitis bene *radicati*, »enracinez et fundez« *in caritate* ut possitis *comprehendere* et apprehendere quid sit longum paciencie, »quen longuement« Christus passus est et uos debetis pati; quid sit latum diuine caritatis et curialiatis, qui diligit nos omnes integraliter, »qui nos ama touz entrinement«; quid sit altum siue sublime dignitatis diuine, et quid *profundum* carceris, in quo ponet miseros peccatores; et bene dicit *in caritate radicati*, ne aliquis possit uos ab ista caritate separari, quia ipsa est radix, »la rachine«, omnis boni. Et sicut uidetis quod domus uel arbor que non est bene radicata cito corruit, sic homo et femina qui non est bene radicatus in caritate cito in peccato ruit. Et debetis scire,

14 According to the liturgical calendar of the year, which guides the classification of the sermons in this manuscript, this means that the sermon was delivered on the sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost, as was the preceding sermon in the collection.

15 Eph 3, 16.

Non est porcus sancti antonii qui currit »aval cele vile«[16] sed uirtus quedam que docet deum teneri carum super omnia. propter deum et proximum.	belle gentes, quod caritas fuit Deo multum graciosa, in se uirtuosa, utilis et fructuosa. Et debetis scire quod non est porcus sancti Antonii qui currit »a val cele vile«, sed uirtus quedam que docet Deum teneri carum super omnia, et proximum propter Deum. Quod autem caritas fuerit tantum Deo graciosa, in se uirtuosa etc, de quolibet esset unus magnus sermo, sed dicam quod potero.
Graciosa deo, in se uirtuosa, et nobis utilis. ecce magnus sermo, sed dicam quod potero.	
Graciosa deo. bene ostendit quia docet »an toz« in obedientia eius, que domina est alterum uirtutum. *maior autem* hec est.	Quod fuit Deo multum graciosa, bene ostendit quia Deus se posuit »de tut en tut« in obedientia domine caritatis, que est domina aliarum uirtutum et maior omnibus aliis, jnde Ps[17]; Bernardus: »Soli caritati licet« etc; hoc dixit in laude domine caritatis, unde dicit: »Domina caritas, uos melius tenuistis creatorem quam per digitum, quia uos fecistis eum de celo descendere in uterum urginalem, de utero uirginali sallire in crucem, de cruce in sepulcrum, de sepulcro in infernum, de inferno iterum in celum.«[18] Caritas fecit quod ipse nos amaret tripliciter, scilicet »leaument, tendrement, entirement«. Primo dico quod domina caritas tenuit eum ita curtum quod ei precepit ut nos amaret »leaument«, plus quam socius aliquis suum socium, plus quam aliqua mater suum filium, plus quam aliqua domina suum uirum, »plus que nus compeinz son compeinon, plus que nule mere son enfant, plus que nule dame son baron«, et hoc totum fecit domina abbatissa uirtutum caritas, que sic ei precepit (…)
Bernardus: »Soli caritati licet« etc. hoc dixit in laudem domine caritatis, unde melius quam per digitum tenuistis creaturam (sic). quia descendere *[blank: about five letters]*	
amare nos tripliciter fecit, ut nos amaret »lauiament«, tenere et integre. Primo dico quod tenuit eum ita curtum quod precepit ei quod nos amaret »lauiament«, plus quam socius socium. mater. uel domina baronem.	
et hoc totum fecit abbatissa uirtutum (…)	

16 While collecting alms for the order of the Antonines, that is of St Antoine de Viennois (Hospitallers), the friars brought with them a pig (which is their emblem), named »Charity«, as Robert de Sorbon himself established in a sermon: »Multi sunt qui nesciunt quid sit caritas, sed credunt, quando audiunt loqui de ea, quod sit porcellus sancti Antonii, qui appellatur ›charitatz‹« (Paris, BnF, lat. 15971, fol. 72r); in notes from another *reportator* of the same sermon: »Porcus sancti Antonii uocatur caritas et uenit quando sic uocatur et tamen nescit quid est caritas« (BAV, Vat. lat. 1211, fol. 52r).

17 *sic pro* I Cor 13, 13.

18 This itinerary of Christ is often described in sermons on his ascension: for example, Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum ecclesiae*, ed. Migne, col. 955-960. I could not find a precise reference in the works of St Bernard.

Over 90 percent of Raoul's notes are in Latin. This is not an argument in favour of sermons delivered in Latin; such a preponderance results from the familiarity of students with Latin when they take down notes and from the advantage of doing it quickly by relying on the rich and stable system of abbreviations which they can use. In the long version, which is much easier to follow, but where the *prothema* is omitted, the syntax is noticeably influenced by French. As for the vocabulary, certain French words are given Latin inflections, others are left in the vernacular. At times, two words with the same meaning, one in Latin, one in French, stand side by side (here: *radix*/»la rachine«). In some cases, French words which were present in the rough notes have been removed in the final text, but others have been added. The reason for these changes is not clear, but additions often allow the *reportator* to restore rhymed formulas by expanding them from one French word in his notes. Sometimes the two languages are encountered in a single grammatical structure. Most often, a solitary French word will stand alone in the middle of a sentence, but occasionally there are short phrases, or rhyming lists, and even whole sentences, such as proverbs, for example.[19] It is typical of the writer to retain, in his initial notes, words referring to concrete realities (here, for example: *radix*/»rachine« in French, and *descendere* in the citation attributed to Bernard). These then become the basis of longer developments in the text later reconstituted from memory.

Methods of reporting certainly varied a good deal. The texts written by the *reportatores* can be very disparate from the point of view of how accurately they recall the spoken word.[20] These students retained from the preacher what they considered important, and what they managed to note down hastily at the moment of oral delivery. The degree of attention also varies, perhaps because the listener was tired or distracted, or depending on the level of his personal interest in the subject. It can happen that the sermon, as heard, is reduced to a skeletal structure in which only a few citations from the Scripture have been preserved in support of each stage of development.[21] More often, however, the content of the sermon is reproduced in its entirety, though not literally, since the rewriting is based on the notes, and the style is also affected by having passed, perhaps more than once, from one language to another.

This can be verified when we are fortunate enough to have both the preparatory work of the preacher himself and the recording of his speech, occasionally made by several listeners at the same time. Louis-Jacques Bataillon demonstrated this by comparing the autograph text of Matthew of Aquasparta with various *reportationes* of it made in Paris. As he says, »Nothing essential is missing, and we can even discover things which the preacher himself did not feel it necessary to write out in full, such as the *prothema*, patristic citations, details of an *exemplum*, repetition of divisions, or the beginning of a collation« – that is, an afternoon sermon which prolongs the teaching given in the morning sermon.[22] In other words, it

19 In his analysis of bilingualism in sermons where English is intermingled with Latin, Siegfried Wenzel (*Macaronic Sermons*, 14-22) has distinguished three typical elements which are also visible in these Parisian *reportationes*: (a) explanation of Latin words; (b) rhymed divisions; (c) switching from one language to the other in the middle of a sentence.

20 Various examples can be found in the contributions to the conference *Dal pulpito alla navata*: see the contributions of Louis-Jacques Bataillon, Nicole Bériou, Jacques-Guy Bougerol and Carlo Delcorno.

21 For this schematic transmission, see, for example, *Sancti Bonaventurae Sermones dominicales*, ed. Bougerol; *id.*, Trois états d'un sermon.

22 Bataillon, Sermons rédigés, 77-78.

can happen that the listener's notes are more explicit than the preacher's aide-mémoire from which he could easily improvise.[23] But the opposite can also be true: sometimes a passage which is hard to understand in the notes, being too concise, becomes clear when we have access to the preacher's text.[24]

This hybrid language, used both by student *reportatores* and by the preachers themselves when preparing their sermons, tells us something of the performance: not *verbatim*, but as a sketch of the presence of two languages in the oral delivery. Let us now go further in trying to understand how bilingualism could work in a concrete way.

First of all, it was necessary to transpose into the vernacular at least parts of the Bible texts to be used in the sermon. This is most often the case with readings from the Gospels and the Epistles. The preacher took a verse as the theme of his sermon, using it as a basis for divisions and distinctions, which typically give structure to this new type of sermon, the *sermo modernus*, which became current during the thirteenth century. If we looked exclusively at collections of model sermons which were composed during the thirteenth century, dominated as they are by this new form, there would appear to be an important falling-off in the practice of making a paraphrase, in translation, of the whole Gospel reading for the day, in the manner of the Church Fathers – especially Gregory the Great in his *Homilies on the Gospels*. The bishop Maurice de Sully was still preaching regularly in this old tradition in the late twelfth century, judging by his model sermons proposed to the clergy of his diocese, which are based on the Gospels for Sundays and major feasts. But collections of model sermons composed during the thirteenth century are here misleading, since the *reportationes* made in Paris present us with a different picture, which bears precious witness to how things were actually done. While it is not systematic, a number of preachers clearly remained faithful to the older practice of retelling the whole of the Gospel passage – glossing it if necessary, though not saying so; at times they were happy enough to put the theme into context by placing the chosen verse in a condensed version of the Gospel reading.

For example, Évrard de Saint-Quentin, after the *prothema* of his sermon at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois (Paris, BnF, lat. 16481, fol. 306vb), which I have already quoted, concentrated his teaching on one verse of the Gospel of the day, which tells of the resurrection of the son of a widow of Naim (Lc 7, 11-17): *Adolescens, tibi dico: surge*. But first, he told the whole story, which the *reportator* retained only in bits and pieces, and then he paid attention to the important word for his message of conversion: *»Surge«*, that is, you have to remove yourself far from sin:

23 As with the *reportationes* of Pierre de Limoges, a fellow of the Sorbonne. They can be compared to the personal notes of Robert de Sorbon, which prepare for or keep a record of his own sermons.

24 See, for example, the sermon delivered by Robert de Sorbon about the status of »béguin«, which has been preserved by himself and by one of his listeners, Godefroid de Fontaines: Bériou, Robert de Sorbon.

> *Adolescens tibi dico: Surge* (Lc 7, 14). Legimus hodie in euangelio unum miraculum quod Dominus fecit quando ibat per terram/ sicut ille qui ubique currebat propter predicandum/ *efferebatur* extra portam/ sequebatur / ille qui curialis/ quod in magno dolore et lacrimis/ Sistite/ Adolescens, »jovencias«, dico quod surgas/ Et salliuit sursum statim, et »une grant freor« vel *timor* cepit omnem. Hoc est sensus uerbi. Solet dici communiter: »Qui bene est non se moueat«. Sed debetis scire quod nullus est ita bene sicut qui est in bono statu. Apostolus (I Cor 10, 12): *Qui se existimat stare videat ne cadat*, id est non se moueat, ergo e contrarium, qui male est se moueat, cui potest dici: »Qui se remue desli aue«. Si homines moderni ita bene scirent quid sit peccatum et quam modicum habemus de tempore sicut sancti patres nostri, nullatenus ita de facili consentirent in peccatum. Talis habet pulcros oculos qui non uidebit diem crastinam. Ideo debemus surgere statim a peccato si simus et hoc dicit uerbum propositum: *Adolescens* etc. (…).

The verse of the *thema* is always cited in Latin first, then immediately explained in the vernacular (as Évrard does) or at least translated, as indicated by the ritual formula following the citation in the notes: *et ualet tantum* (or: *quod uult dicere*) *in gallico* (»which means in French«).[25] Then, throughout the sermon, the thematic verse is explained: it is repeated several times, either in whole or in part, thus, no doubt, helping the listeners to memorise it, though we cannot be sure in which language. At any rate, it enjoys a particular status, standing out from the other citations used by the preacher in the course of his arguments, citations whose principal purpose is to confirm his statements. For this reason they are generally given in Latin only, unless they are used to relaunch the main argument, in which case the new citation may give rise to a discussion of its content. This habit of quoting the Bible in Latin recalls the sacred nature of Scripture, but the quotation passed by so quickly as to be probably very difficult for the audience to memorise. It thus plays a part in the discourse which might be compared with the legal practice of attaching seals to the bottom of charters: their function is mainly to guarantee the authenticity of the act.

According to the common practice of exegesis, the preachers often highlight the meaning of proper names in the Bible. Each of them can be interpreted, following a tradition handed down from St Jerome, among others. In fact, most pocket Bibles included lists of biblical names with their interpretation. Preachers made frequent use of them, but the *reportatores* did not always take note of the vernacular expressions which would tell us, for sure, that the interpretation had been given in French. It is quite possible that certain brief explanations, constantly found in the texts, such as *Ierusalem, visio Dei; Israel, videns Deum; Iuda, confessio; Iohannes, qui est in gratia,* and so on, were simply left standing in Latin, and that their currency in sermons helped listeners to memorise them in the scholarly language. In this way, preaching may have contributed to what Benoît Grévin has called the »resistible rise of the vernaculars«.[26] In a sermon at any rate, it was not necessarily considered a priority to make *everything* understandable right away by telling it in the vernacular. As a sacred language, Latin had to be given a special place, at the very least used for the citation of Scripture, whether the Latin was followed by a translation or not. In addition, preachers knew that the

25 See the sermons of Jacques de Provins and Bonaventure quoted supra, p. 197 and 194.

26 Grévin, Historien face au problème.

level of understanding of Latin would not be the same among all members of the audience. Again, a preacher might exploit the switch from one language to the other in order to pass on a message in Latin which was aimed at the clergy. For example, if he spoke to a mixed audience, it might be prudent to use Latin where an attack against clerical abuses had a good chance of creating a scandal among the laity.[27] Moreover, it sometimes appears that the part of the introduction where the structure of the sermon is announced could be given in Latin. According to Robert of Basevorn, it signified the professional and exclusive nature of preaching[28] – as if the speaker wished to subvert any possible competition from uneducated lay people: he alone was capable of mastering the *ars praedicandi* based on the study and interpretation of Scripture.

Another process of communication moves in the other direction, from the vernacular to biblical Latin. Given the task of communicating a religious message, preachers relied, in fact, on the ordinary, everyday language of the listeners, whose vocabulary was a rich resource to be exploited. Preachers were quick to make use of proverbs, a form of folk wisdom whose succinct phrases may be compared with the citation of certain verses from Scripture.[29] They took inspiration from the book of nature and from all kinds of social acts, which were familiar to the public. Pride of place is regularly given to the vocabulary of customs, habits, rituals, and common objects, words for which equivalents or analogies could be found in the Bible. Such equivalents, by creating links between daily life and the biblical subject matter, become heuristic tools, rendering the message more efficient.

One of the methods of religious communication thus consists in making use of the vernacular, which was close to physical reality and to the public's daily experience, in such a way that those words gained another level of meaning. Occasional traces of this practice may be found in the *reportationes*.

For example, starting with the notion of cost, a preacher can make a connection between food or anything in the marketplace which is *dear* to buy, and divine love, which is *dear* to the soul. Far from being an oversimplification, reducing our relationship to God to a banal kind of economic exchange, this idea can invite the audience to explore the gaps, to discover how different meanings of a word can lead us to a deeper understanding and a better grasp of complex realities. A sermon about charity, delivered by Robert de Sorbon, is especially telling. Robert, quoting the bishop of Paris Guillaume d'Auvergne, starts with considerations about the derivation of the Latin substantive *»cari-tas«* from the adjective *»carus«* (genitive *»cari«*). Then he points out that the same kind of link exists in French (from »cher« to

27 Ranulphe de La Houblonnière, *Sermo 4* (at the beguinage of Paris), *in festo purificationis*, ed. Bériou, 2, 52-53: »Per duos turtures significatur nobis duplex castitas et mundicia cordis et corporis, uel, prout dixit frater Bonaventura, mundicia carnis et alieni cruoris, contra luxuriam et auariciam uel rapinam. Certe non esset pulchrum istam oblationem de Domino Ihesu Christo faciendam tradere uni homini ribaldo qui ueniret de immundiciis et ribaldariis sui faciendis, nec uno homicide qui numquam cessasset homines occidere in tota uita sua. Caueant ergo ne hodie istam oblationem faciant, donec se purgauerint, et precipue caueant sibi sacerdotes qui hanc eamdem olationem faciunt in sacramento altaris pro se et pro populo. Hoc dicas eis latinis uerbis, non laicalibus, propter scandalum.«

28 Robert de Basevorn, *Forma predicandi*, ed. Charland, 244-245: »[Moderni] dicunt tamen quod (…) multi illitterati usurparent sibi actum predicationis, nisi quia uident tantam subtilitatem ad quam attingere nequeunt. Et propter eamdem causam, quando laicis predicant, premittunt thema cum diuisone sua in latino, quia hoc facere est difficile idiotis.«

29 See, for example, Évrard de Saint-Quentin, quoted supra, p. 200-202.

»cherté«); and then, looking at the notion of cost, he brings together the process of acquiring a horse, which costs a lot because the owner is fond of the animal, and the process of gaining divine love. But, of course, this does not mean that the flow of divine grace depends on the rules of the marketplace.[30] Moreover, »cherté« is not always a bad thing, as Giordano da Pisa says in one of his sermons for Lent where he talks about charity in his turn, in a way which is closely related to what Robert de Sorbon said forty years earlier.[31]

The two-way movement between human language and the message of salvation revealed by the Scriptures can give rise to remarkable poetic images, especially in relation to Christ. In a sermon for Good Friday, the Passion is named »hachée« (*hacheia*) which is a humiliating, though not irreversible, slashing ritual. If somebody is guilty of a crime, this penalty can be imposed on him as a spectacular and slashing punishment. According to the *Jeu d'Adam* (v. 555-556 and 561-562), it is the punishment imposed after the original sin on Adam, Eve and all their descendants. The preacher can bear it in mind when he declares that Christ has taken the »hachée« upon himself in order to restore peace between God and mankind.[32]

In another sermon, Philip the Chancellor develops the metaphor of Christ as a pilgrim. Here the glorious stigmata are likened to the cockle badges which pilgrims pinned on their capes, going so far as to describe the skin of the risen Christ as a cloak enriched with cockles (a *chlamyda coquillata*), which testify to his pilgrimage on earth and amaze the angels when he returns to heaven.[33]

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30 »Sequitur de tertio scilicet quid sit caritas. Episcopus Willelmus dixit: ›Omnia scripta que locuntur de caritate respexi et interrogaui a multis et numquam potui scire per hec quid sit caritas. Ultimum iui ad Priscianum et ille docuit me quid sit caritas‹. Legitur enim in maiori uolumine quod ad hoc genitiuum ›boni‹, addita ›tas‹, fit ›bonitas‹, et hec idem significant. Similiter ad hoc genitiuum ›carus/cari‹, addita ›tas‹, fit ›caritas‹. Sed carus idem est quod ›chars‹, ergo caritas idem est quod ›chartatz‹ (…) facit Deum reputari carum. Quando aliquis diligit et habet bene carum equum suum, dicit uolenti emere: ›Nolite ipsum astragare quia carus est et non darem ipsum pro minore precio quam ualeat.‹ Deus similiter ualde carus est.« (Robert de Sorbon, sermo in Quinquagesima, *Si linguis hominum loquar*, Paris, BnF, lat. 15971, fol. 72r-v)

31 »L'amore fa cara ogne cosa. Però comperi tu caro il vestimento, il cavallo, il grano, perche tu l'ami; e però si chiama carità l'amore di Dio, però ch'egli è caro, overo carestia. No è questo mal nome in tutto, anzi buono: quando il grano è caro e prezioso, c'è suo meglio; quando è vile, è per fango. Cosi Iddio: egli è caro, anzi è caristia, cioè la più preziosa cosa che sia, e è si prezioso che ogn'altra cosa à vile, e l'oro, a rispetto de la sua grandezza.« (Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino*, ed. Delcorno, 343-344, l. 114-123)

32 Gilles du Val-des-Écoliers, sermon at the college of St Bernard (Paris) »in gallico« (Paris, BnF, lat. 16482, fol. 67v-68): Dilexit nos Deus spontanee quia nondum seruieramus ei, quod est contra multos qui habent amorem uenalem, id est »costeuse«, qua non diligunt homines nisi propter munera uel servicia, et quando deficiunt munera uel servicia deficit amor (…) Antequam enim diligeremus eum, dilexit nos (…) Sequitur (Os 14, 5): *Quoniam aversus est furor meus ab eis* scilicet in Passione. Tunc enim Christus ut nos Deo Patri reconciliaret »hacheiam«, »la hacieie«, sustinuit pro nobis, Rom II (= Col 1, 20): *Pacificans per sanguinem crucis eius que in terris et que in celis sunt*. Ista »hacheia« fuit ualde dura (…). See also Bériou, Latin et langues, 204.

33 Philip the Chancellor, sermon delivered on 1st September 1228 for obtaining alms to help the Franciscans to build their convent in Paris (see Bériou, Parler de Dieu): »(…) magnus peregrinus fuit Christus. Ut doceret nos peregrinari uoluit peregrinari. Chlamis eius, caro quam assumpsit de uellere Gedeonis et de carne beate Uirginis (…) baculus siue bordonus, huius peregrini exemplum. Pera, sacramentum passionis. Magna peregrinatio, descendisse de celo in terram (…) Chlamide ›coquillata‹ rediit post resurrectionem in carne cicatricibus ornata, et ›coquillas‹ suas ostendit beato Thome dubitanti (Ioh. 20, 27): *Mitte, inquit, manum tuam* etc. Et ut se probaret peregrinum, post resurrectionem euntibus in Emmaus in specie peregrina apparuit. In quo apparet quam dignus est status peregrinantium; et cum chlamide ›coquillata‹ ascendit in celum, et mirantes angeli sic ›coquillatam‹ dixerunt, Is lxiii (63, 1); *Quis est qui uenit de Edom* etc.«

The common image of the heart as a book gives Ranulphe de La Houblonnière a chance to extend the metaphor by explaining how this book, like any good manuscript, needs to be ruled, an image which is also specified and condensed in the name *»Stephanus«* which means *regula*.[34] Another preacher, who is probably Robert de Sorbon again, plays on people's typical interest in the social habits of the nobility while he is encouraging the faithful to take Holy Communion. Here he makes striking use of the image of »appetisers«. These were commonly served to guests in rich households while they were waiting for the real banquet to begin. Applying this to the Christian life, Robert says that the Eucharist, while holding a very significant place in the life of the believer, is still only a foretaste of eternal bliss, the »real banquet« to which we look forward in the next life.[35]

The techniques of *reportatio*, as well as the university culture of the students and clergy, might suggest a form of Latin-dominated bilingualism. But this needs to be put in perspective when we turn to the question of oral delivery, which was mainly in the vernacular, at least in the thirteenth century. Latin, however, was not absent from these sermons during the oral performance, and the preachers' ability to make effective use of the cultural resources of two languages is highlighted by the *reportatores*. They pay attention to certain elements in the preacher's vocabulary. They avoid translating certain words or reformulating them in Latin, and they carefully preserve them in French in their notes, as if to underline more strongly their importance in the type of communication proper to sermons. At the same time, preachers, certainly, were not indifferent to nuances of expression in oral delivery, a resource which bilingualism allows. Even if they used it mainly when exploiting biblical material, there is no doubt that they integrated it into their speech patterns.

34 »Si uelimus cum beato Stephano in celesti palatio poni, necesse est quod nos simus in uita regulati. Est autem quadruplex regula secundum quam debemus regulari. Prima est regula consciencie (…). Secunda regula est doctrine euangelice. Hec est rectior prima regula. In libro cordis nichil debet scribi nisi fuerit regulatum regula doctrine; et sicut scriptores solliciti sunt in suis quaternis bene regulandis, sic et solliciti debemus esse in libris nostrorum cordium regulandis. De hac regula, prima ad Cor (= 2 Cor 10, 15): *Spem habentes crescentis fidei uestre secudum regulam nostram,* Glosa: fidei uel doctrine. Qui uero ad sermones uadit ad regulandum librum cordis sui uadit. Tertia regula est crucis dominice (..) Quarta regula est uite apostolice (…).« (*Sermo in festo sancti Stephani*, ed. Bériou, 280-281)

35 »Cena dominica ultima refectio est, refectio scilicet uespertina que uulgo dicitur ›souper‹, ita in uespera, hoc est in fine huius uite, promittitur, et quia longa est dies presentis uite, qua terminata, cena dominica percipitur, electos suos Dominus uelut matutino cibo disieiunat ad pregustandum in spe et expectatione opulentissime cene sue, quod etiam qui curiales sunt faciunt: quando aliqua causa diutius expectari oportet conuiuium, aliquid ad pregustandum tribuunt.« (Sermon *Convenientibus vobis in unum,* Paris, BnF, lat. 15955, fol. 132r-v. See Bériou, Eucharistie dans l'imaginaire.

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Abbreviations
BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France
PL = Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina

Manuscripts
BAV, Vat. lat. 1211
Paris, BnF, lat. 15955.
Paris, BnF, lat. 15971.
Paris, BnF, lat. 16481.
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Bilingualism in Medieval Italian Preaching: The Case of Angelo da Porta Sole (d. 1334)

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This article examines the language of an important collection of sermons by Angelo da Porta Sole, *predicator generalis* of the Dominican Order and Bishop of Grosseto, who preached in Tuscany in the early fourteenth century. It is a very early case of the macaronic sermon, in the wider sense of the term (not to be confused with a very particular kind of late fifteenth-century Italian preaching). Adopting the scheme proposed by Siegfried Wenzel for English macaronic sermons, this article examines three ways in which Latin and the Umbrian vernacular are combined in Angelo da Porta Sole's sermons, namely: the insertion of a vernacular word in a Latin sentence; the presence of vernacular glosses of Latin words and etymological doublets; extended and frequent switching from Latin to the vernacular and vice versa. The last typology, which constitutes the fully macaronic mode, is frequently employed in dramatic or narrative contexts, particularly in sermons on Good Friday and at Easter.

Keywords: medieval preaching; Dominicans; bilingual sermons; Latin sermons; Umbrian vernacular

In the documents concerning the preaching practised in Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries an ever-more frequent mixing of the »latinus grossus« of spoken usage with the vernacular lexis can be observed. Broadly speaking, we can speak of »macaronic«,[1] with the caveat of distinguishing between such bilingualism and the artificial language of the »macaronic sermons« of the fifteenth century, due to the inventiveness of some famous preachers of the Mendicant Orders.[2] There is no agreement among scholars as to the actual use of this hybrid language, whether it was a simple written exercise or a form of effective communication. At present, a cautious attitude prevails, and the belief that the study of

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1 Cf. Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 5.

2 For this fundamental distinction, refer to Delcorno, Tra latino e volgare, in particular 34-35. On the »macaronic« sermons, strictly speaking, of the fifteenth century, cf. Lazzerini, »Per latinos grossos…«; *id.*, *Testo trasgressivo*, ch. 2: Da quell'arzillo pulpito: »Sermo humilis« and macaronic sermons in the autographed Lenten of Valeriano da Soncino O.F.P.

eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s185

the individual cases must be intensified, distinguishing between the times and the cultural spheres.[3] Linguistic hybridism is greatly reduced in the large school sermon books, the most diffuse ones, such as the collections of Iacopo da Varazze,[4] while, by contrast, it surfaces more decidedly in the thirteenth-century collections used by individual preachers or those with a limited circulation.[5] In the fourteenth century, when, particularly in Tuscany, vernacular predication is reported directly by the listeners themselves, by then capable of handling the new language and aware of its dignity and literary beauty,[6] we also notice a profound change in the Latin sermon books, in which the presence of vernacular insertions is broader and more frequent. A particularly significant case is the great collection of sermons of Angelo da Porta Sole, of which at present a single copy is known. This source invites us to rectify the idea, maintained by Lucia Lazzerini, that the macaronic sermon is a completely new language of preaching invented at the end of the fifteenth century and the first decade of the sixteenth century in northern Italy, particularly in Padua, at the intersection between the university and the pulpit, and thanks also to a significant interplay with the truly macaronic poetry. On the contrary, the Latin sermons of Angelo da Porta Sole (and those of some others preachers that need to be adequately studied) prove that many forms of linguistic hybridism were already in use in the first decades of the Trecento, anticipating communicative techniques that would later be developed into fully fledged forms by famous popular preachers such as Cherubino da Spoleto, Bernardino da Feltre and Valeriano da Soncino.

Angelo »perusinus« or da Porta Sole

Born in the neighbourhood of Porta Sole in Perugia in around 1280, »in die angelorum«, declares the *Chronica* of the convent of San Domenico,[7] he was welcomed between the age of thirteen and fifteen into the Order of the Preachers, studied theology in Siena (1305), and then pursued the career of teacher in the Tuscan and Umbrian convents: *lector* in philosophy in Prato (1310-1311), and in theology in Perugia (1311-1312). Prior in the convents of Città di Castello, Perugia and Pisa, he was distinguished for his qualities as a preacher: the Provincial Chapter of Anagni (1317) appointed him *praedicator generalis*, a privilege confirmed

3 Cf. Bériou, Latin et langues vernaculaires, and then in *id.*, *Religion et communication*, 84: »Il nous faut reconnaître la fragilité de nos savoirs et l'impossibilité de trancher sommairement entre les deux hypothèses. En l'état actuel de nos connaissances il convient surtout de ne pas adopter d'attitude dogmatique, et de rester sensible à la variété des situations, voire à des transformations induites par le temps«. Lazzerini believed »the *vexata quaestio* of the relationship between writing and orality in preaching to be probably insoluble« (*Testo trasgressivo*, 88).

4 Iacopo da Varazze, *Sermones quadragesimales*, ed. Maggioni.

5 For some examples, gleaned from the sermon books of the thirteenth century (Ambrogio Sansedoni, Bartolomeo da Vicenza, Federico Visconti), see Delcorno, Tra latino e volgare, 27-35. See also Delcorno, Language of preachers.

6 The most important document is the corpus of the preaching of Giordano da Pisa (or da Rivalta), collected in Florence and in Pisa between 1303 and 1309. Cf. Delcorno, Giordano da Pisa.

7 *Chronica Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum Perusini conventus.* Cf. *Cronaca di S. Domenico di Perugia*, ed. Maiarelli, 78. Besides this fundamental document, see Kaeppeli, *Scriptores*, 77-78; Dessì, Porta Sole; *id.*, *Spectres du Bon Gouvernement* (Angelo da Porta Sole, un prédicateur dans les affaires des Communes).

in 1320.[8] The *Chronica* insists on the success of his preaching in Pisa, Rome, Florence and, lastly, in Avignon (pre-1330), where he took the floor before the great prelates in the pontifical curia and was granted particular honours.[9] In terms of his culture, having attended the Avignon curia was of great importance, although this has yet to be properly evaluated.[10] John XXII, who had already nominated him apostolic penitentiary in Rome and then bishop of Sulci in Sardinia (1325), confirmed his esteem for Angelo's culture and sanctity by sending him to the episcopal seat of Grosseto (12th February 1330), whence, however, Friar Angelo was unable to go owing to the city's opposition. He withdrew to Ischia (Istia di Ombrone), a castle just a few kilometres from Grosseto, where he died on 11th May 1334.

Sermons of Angelo da Porta Sole: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Sopp. B.8.1637

The sermons of Angelo da Porta Sole must have circulated in the Roman Province, as attested to by an inventory of the library of San Domenico di Perugia (1458).[11] At present we know of only one codex of the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, coming from the convent of the Servi di Maria, the SS. Annunziata,[12] the codex Conv. Sopp. B.8.1637.[13]

> Written on parchment, mm. 190 x 140, sec. XIV, restored with binding in wooden plates, leather back, paper guards (2 at the beginning and 2 at the end), fols. I (paper), 327, II'. Modern foliation in pencil (performed during the restoration). At fol. 5 the sermon book begins, as does the ancient foliation in Roman numerals, highly irregular (I-CCCXXVIII), marked in the upper corner of the recto and often also repeated in the verso. Blank fols. 253r-v, 281v, 311r-v, 327v. The text is written by different scribes (A fol. 5r, B fol. 254r) on a full page, ruled in plummet, 30 lines per side.

8 Cf. *Acta Capitulorum Provincialium Provinciae Romanae (1243-1344)*, ed. Kaeppeli and Dondaine, 221 (Capitolo di Pisa 1320): »Assignamus pro predicatore generali totius Provincie fr. Angelum Perusinum secundum ordinationem prioris provincialis, cui volumus quod cedant ceteri predicatores cum pervenerit ad conventum cum plena libertate lectoris actu legentis«. (We designate as general preacher for all the Province Friar Angelo Perugino in accordance with the order of the provincial prior, and order that when he shall arrive in a convent all the other preachers shall cede to him the place with total licence of the teacher in charge).

9 *Cronaca di S. Domenico* 126, 80: »Non solum in sua romana Provincia semen sue predicationis quod est verbum Dei multiplicavit in centuplum, sed et ubicumque fuit. Nam in Avinione in curia domini pape, eo predicante multi magni domini et reverendi prelati conveniebant«. (Not only in the Roman Province, to which he belonged, multiplied by one hundred the seed of his preaching, that is the Word of God, but also in every place where he went. Indeed, many great lords and ecclesiastic reverends gathered to listen to him when he preached at Avignon in the curia of your excellency, the Pope).

10 The attention to the classics and, above all, to Titus Livius (Livy) owes much to the atmosphere in Avignon and to John XXII himself, who had charged the Dominican Nicola Treveth with writing a comment to the stories of Livy and entertained relations of friendship with a scholar of the Livian text, Landolfo Colonna. Cf. Smalley, *English Friars*, 60; Billanovich, *Tradizione del testo*, 158. On this aspect of the culture of Friar Angelo, cf. Delcorno, »Antico« e »moderno«, 114-115.

11 Kaeppeli, *Inventari*, 136-138. They are the numbers 147, 162, 168 of the inventory dated 1458.

12 Cf. Soulier, Inventarium codicum, 174.

13 See the detailed description in Pellegrini, *Manoscritti.*

On the initial flyleaf the old shelf mark is indicated: »Annunziata 1637«. In the first leaves (not numbered in the ancient cartulation) the series of sermons is listed according to the liturgical order. The table is started by a first hand that writes only column A of fol. 1; a second hand repeats the table on column B with a clearer reference to the folios of the codex and continues with the list of the sermons *De Tempore* (1rb-1va-b) and *De sanctis* (2ra). The codex should have been longer as the list of 36 sermons of the temporal cycle (2rb-va) follows »secundum fratrem Ambrosium senensem« (composed by Friar Ambrogio di Siena). Different writing hands in textual Gothic. Modest and irregular decoration. Blue filigreed in red is used for the initial (H) of the first sermon (*Hora est iam de somno surgere*) (It is now time to awake from sleep); the initials of the thematic verses are often in red. The indications of the liturgical dates are added by an identical tiny letter in the margins.
It contains 124 sermons: s. 1-84 *De Tempore* (fols. 5r-252v)[14], s. 85-124 *De sanctis, de b. Maria, pro Defunctis* and *in Communi,* and lastly three more sermons for Lent and a sermon for Advent (fols. 254r-327r). *Incipit*: Incipiunt sermones de tempore secundum fratrem Angelum perusinum Ordinis Predicatorum (in darker ink on erasure »Angelum perusinum Ordinis Predicatorum«). *Expl.* Quia non erit postea generatio nec corruptio hominum nec aliarum creaturarum. Rogemus ergo et cetera. (*Incipit* The sermons *De tempore* begin composed by Angelo Perugino of the Order of the Preachers … *Explicit* As subsequently there will be neither generation nor corruption of men nor of other creatures).

The book of sermons is an instrument in the service of the preachers, not of the common reader. This is proven by the frequent references to legends and *exempla* that need not be reported in detail. For example, it is noted: »Dic hic exemplum beati Machari qui uidit demonium euntem ad monachos cum uestimento lineo pleno ampullis« (At this point you must tell the story of Saint Macarius who saw the devil go to the monks wearing a linen garment on which were hanging many jars) (95r, dom. IIa in Quadragesima), »Dic hic miracula de legenda sua« (Here you must tell of the miracles narrated by his legend) (275r *De Sancto Petro Martire*).[15] Frequent annotations at the start of the sermon are: »Dic hic ystoriam Euangelii« (Tells the story of the Gospel) (42v, 82r, 110r, 166r, 209v, 218v, 240r); »Dic ystoriam Euangelii« (You will tell the Gospel) (122r, 182r, 227v, 232v, 322v); »Dicas ystoriam Euangelii« (Tells the Gospel) (95v); »Dic istoriam« (204v). Arguments are repeated with small changes in different sermons. Hence, the list of the four signs of friendship indicated in the sermon *Assumpsit Ihesus .XII. discipulos suos* (Jesus took with him twelve of his disciples) (75r) is reasserted in the sermon *Assumpsit Ihesus Petrum Iacobum et Iohannem* (Jesus took with him Peter James and John) (99r); the spices produced in the warm countries, an allegory for the flourishing virtues of charity, are recalled in the sermon for Saint Stephen (260r) and in the one for Saint Domenic (278v); the four episodes in which Christ was »in medio« (in the middle) are drawn from the sermon *in Albis* (155r) and thus »in festo b. Thomae« (in the feast of Saint Thomas apostle) (294r). In the sermon »De una

14 I will refer to the modern foliation.

15 At times the mention is very short and difficult to interpret: »Sal salem [attrahit]. Dic de pignata multum salita« (Salt attracts salt. Tell of the very salty pot) (124v, Dom. in Albis). In other cases there is a sort of abstract: »Dic hic exemplum de illa muliere mortua que apparuit sacerdotibus quando officiabant eam sicut ponitur in legenda sancti Francisci« (At this point tell of the anecdote of the dead woman who appeared to the priests as they celebrated the mass of suffrage, as reported in the legend of Saint Francis) (45v, dom. IIa post Octavam Epiph.)

virgine« (for a Virgin) the four types of worldly love are distinguished, and to avoid repetition a reference to the sermon »De sancto Iohanne euangelista« is inserted: »Dic quomodo alibi habes« (Repeat what you find in another place).[16] It is a typical working instrument for preachers, and it is highly probable that the collection uses the materials of sermons actually delivered by Angelo da Porta Sole between Tuscany and Umbria. In the book of sermons, topics of searing political actuality in that geographical area in the decade 1320-1330 are dealt with and allusions to the physical reality, the geographical position[17] and the cultural life of the communes are frequent. In some cases it can be supposed that the written sermon preserves the discourse delivered in a precise circumstance: the memory of the age in which Ambrogio Sansedoni joined the Order of the Preachers was immediately comprehensible to the public of Siena;[18] some sermons on peace probably concerned the great reconciliation that occurred in Florence on 2nd June 1327 with the mediation of Carlo di Calabria.[19]

In spite of the alternating of different copyists, the vernacular insertions and the same Latin context are characterised by linguistic traits of the Umbrian area.[20] With reference to what will be said later in regard to the vernacular lexis, here it will suffice to recall that the Latin itself is penetrated by Umbrian phonetic traits. Hence, the reduction of the diphthong (*luco* for *luoco*) influences the Latin *lucus* in the sense of »luogo« (= place): »quia [apostoli] non inueniebant lucum« (142v);[21] the transition from the intervocalic *-g-* to the semivowel *-i-* is seen in *quadraiesima* <QUADRAGESIMA (»in media quadraiesima« [mid-Lent], fol. 110v), *morieratus* < MORIGERATU(M) (»mansuetus et bene morieratus«, [meek and straight-laced], 291r), *saita/saicta* < SAGIPTA(M) (»mittebant saytas [...] saypte fuerunt peccata«, [they launched arrows... the sins were arrows], 304r).[22] The palatalization of the sibilant preceding the vowel[23] is documented in *conscilium* (303r), *conscilia* (295v), alongside *consilium* (305r), *consciliarius* (305r) (»de principalioribus consciliariis« [one of the principal advisers]), *consciderare* (298r), *conscideramus* (299v) alongside *consideramus* (299v), *desciderium* (298r, 301v), *descideria* (294v), *desciderat* (299v, 301v, 302r, 305r).

16 Fol. 282v. In the margin there is the precise indication: »in .CCLXIIIJ. F.«.

17 Sermo 39 »Dominica IVa in Quadragesima«, fol. 108v: »Ciuitates in montibus hedificate et situate sunt saniores quam ciuitates que sunt hedificate in planitiebus [...] sicut uidemus manifeste in ciuitate peruscina et in Tuderto et etiam in Eugubio«. (The cities constructed and situated on the mountains are more salubrious than the cities constructed in the plains [...] as can clearly be seen for Perugia and Todi and Gubbio).

18 Sermon »de sancto Iohanne euangelista« (262r): »Exemplum de sancto Ambrosio qui erat XIIIJm annorum quando intrauit Ordinem Predicatorum. Item exemplum de fratre Petro de Tarantasij qui erat eiusdem temporis quando intrauit Ordinem Predicatorum«. (Example of Saint Ambrose [of Siena] who was fourteen years old when he joined the Order of the Preachers. Add the example of Friar Peter of Tarentaise, his contemporary, when he joined the Order of the Preachers).

19 Cf. Dessì, *Spectres du Bon Gouvernement*, 117-118.

20 The treatment of the final *u* excludes Perugia and refers back to the vernacular of the area to the east of the Tiber. Cf. Baldelli, Uso del volgare, 93.

21 Cf. Ageno, Lingua della cronaca todina, 173; Reinhard, Umbrische Studien; Ugolini, *Annali e Cronaca*, 292. See Iacopone da Todi, *Laudi*, ed. Ageno, 48, 17 »e ià mai non trovi luco«. (and you never have rest).

22 Delcorno, Tra latino e volgare, 36; Ageno, Lingua della cronaca todina, 197; Agostini, Volgare perugino, 137 (»quaraesima«).

23 Cf. Mattesini, Dialetti moderni e antichi, 180. The palatalization of the *s* is moreover also diffused in other geographical areas. See Sella, *Glossario latino emiliano*, s.v. *conscilium* (Parma a. 1255).

Typology of the Bilingualism

In his fundamental study on the macaronic English sermons Wenzel distinguishes between three types of linguistic blending, the first two in part motivated by the search for expositive clarity, while in the third type it presents itself as a sudden and unexpected change.[24] The use of vernacular terms that do not have an exact Latin equivalent, the various forms of gloss, the insertion of proverbs, the translation of the *auctoritates* fall within the first type of alternation functional to the clarity of the communication; and to the second type is added the grid of the divisions and subdivisions of the sermon, which are quite often formulated in the vernacular in the Latin sermon books, while they are regularly in Latin in the Italian sermons. The third type of mixing of the languages is a switch from the Latin to the vernacular that concerns a group of words or whole phrases, and that occurs several times in the text. The book of sermons of Angelo da Porta Sole presents, with differing degrees of frequency,[25] all of the macaronic elements indicated by Wenzel, except for the second type (the vulgarisation of the thematic verse and the use of the vernacular for divisions and subdivisions). Here I will only give a few samples of the first type, while my attention will be addressed more specifically to the third type.[26]

Insertion of a Vernacular Term

Single vernacular words are scattered in almost every folio of the codex. There is a clear-cut prevalence of nouns that are abruptly inserted into the context, interrupting the Latin sequence. Here is a reduced selection, arranged in alphabetical order:

> Ismael fuit ciuis illius ciuitatis in qua semper est seruitus et *angosc[i]a*, scilicet ciuitatis inferni (Ismael was a citizen of that city in which there is perennial slavery and *anguish*, that is the infernal city) (108r)
>
> Oportet quod [conuiuium] sit copiosum et habundans scilicet quod in conuiuio non sit solum de una *bastiscione* carnium, sed de pluribus. *Or* frater, de isto conuiuio uerum est quod fuit solum de una *ambastiscione* (It is necessary for the banquet to be copious and abundant, that is that there is not only a *course* of meat, but of many. Now brother, it is true that in this banquet there was only one *course*) (fol. 112v)
>
> Uadit per tabernas et domos alienas sicut unus ribaldus et unus uilis *baractiri* (He goes to the taverns and the houses of others like a scoundrel and a despicable *fraudster*) (44r)[27]

24 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 13-30 distinguishes between these three ways of mixing using the letters of the alphabet. In particular, for the use of vernacular *vulgar* proverbs in the Latin context, see, by the same author, French proverbs.

25 1.65 per cent is the proportion of the vernacular and Latin words in the *De tempore* cycle, and 1.40 per cent in the series of *De sanctis.* I have checked a sermon for Lent (First Sunday, fols. 5r-7v) and the sermon *De sancta Lucia* (fols. 257r-258v).

26 These observations are based on the perusal of the sermons from Advent to the Sunday in Albis (fols. 5-159r) and partially on the cycle *De sanctis* (fols. 254r-304r). The extended insertions, which implies several words, are recorded. Other vernacular elements are not considered separately: articles, prepositions, adverbs.

27 Iacopone da Todi, *Laude*, ed. Mancini, 57, 171 »O mondo baratteri« (Oh deceitful World); 74, 55 »Guàrdate da baratteri« (Beware of scoundrels).

Sunt multi homines qui sunt ita stulti et grossi in conscientia quod credunt quod [...] uendere pannos *ad credença* plus quam ualeant propter indutias quas faciunt, credunt quod non sit peccatum (There are people so foolish and with a conscience that is so gross that, in their opinion, selling clothes *on credit* at a price higher than their value, owing to the deferral of the payment, is not a sin) (155r)

Item arengatores aliquando arengant et consulunt in consiliis quod fiat *la cavalcata*[28] (Besides the political orators at times in the assemblies take the floor and advise *attacking the enemy with the cavalry*) (122r)

Exemplum de *cercone* ad uinum sed non de aceto ad uinum (Example: from the *bad wine* to the wine but not from the vinegar to the wine) (145v)[29]

Si haberet unum caput sicut unus *cistone* [...] talis persona non esset pulcra (If a person had a head like a *large basket*, that person would not be beautiful) (292v)[30]

Item si uellet discere artem texture oportet quod sciret quomodo ducitur *drugdella*[31] per telam (Again if she wanted to learn the art of weaving it would be necessary for her to learn how the *spool* moves on the canvass) (257r)

Christus in resuscitatione Lazari uenit in amorem et famam et maiorem *illuminanza* apud populum Iudeorum quam per aliquod aliud miraculum quod fecerat inter eos (Christ on the occasion of the resurrection of Lazarus was loved and famous and enjoyed more *fame* among the people of the Jews than for any other miracle he had performed in their midst) (124v)

dicit euangelium in isto euangelio *del nascimentu* istius lucis (in this reading the Gospel tells of the *birth* of this light) (33v)

Pugna autem fit duobus modis: uel fugando hostem, uel arte et per maiestriam fugiendo hostem ut possit hostem decipere et colligere eum *al passu* in quo non posset se iuuare (The battle is fought in two ways: either by setting the enemy in flight or by fleeing before the enemy with artifice and ability such as to trick him and to surprise him in *an ambush* in which he cannot defend himself) (79v)

Ergo si illa que habemus a Deo habemus *in prestança* debemus ea dispensare secundum uoluntatem Domini cuius sunt (Thus if the gifts received from God are ours *on loan*, we must distribute them according to the wishes of God, to whom they belong) (280r)[32]

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28 Cf. *Testi trecenteschi di Città di Castello e del contado*, ed. Agostini, Glossary, s.v. *cavalcata* »raids on horseback«.

29 Catanelli, *Raccolta di voci perugine*, s.v. *cerquone* »smell of bad wine«, and see *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana* 2, s.v. *cercone.*

30 See Trabalza, *Saggio di vocabolario*, 14 s.v. *cesta*: »ave' la testa com'un cestone« (to feel one's head like a large basket).

31 *Andrula, andrùola, andrùvola* »spool of the loom« is a vernacular term of Todi. Cf. Mancini, Vocabolario del dialetto todino, 326. The term is also present in Giovanni Dominici, *Lettere spirituali*, ed. Casella and Pozzi, 58: »tesseralla colla indrudolla« (she will weave it with the spool); *Lettere spirituali*, fol. 48v: »drudula overo navicella« (drudula that is spool).

32 Cf. Ugolini, *Annali e Cronaca*, s.v. *prestança* »prestito (loan)«; Agostini, Volgare perugino, Glossary, s.v. *prestanza.*

> Iterum quando despiciunt omnem personam nec uolunt stare ad conuersandum cum aliis, sicut multi cotali *saltacchione* hodie faciunt (Moreover when they despise every person and do not want to spend time speaking with others, as today many *hypocritical saints* do) (157v)[33]
>
> Res trahit aliam rem per *semelglanza* (One thing attracts the other owing to their *similarity*) (fol. 124r)
>
> propterea eodem panno [Christus] uestitus est cum homine et ad unam *tagla* uestiuit se cum eo ut omnem hominem peccatorem ad amicitiam suam attraheret (but Christ dressed in the cloth used by man and with the same *style* to attract every sinner to his friendship) (124r)
>
> Item brachia eius fuerunt in cruce extensa sicut extenditur corda *al uerrecelu* (Moreover, his arms were outstretched on the Cross like the taut ropes *of the winch*) (138v)
>
> *La primavera* letificat juuenes et senes [*ms* senex]. Vnde tunc senes cum uetule ac iuuenes uadunt in *çurlu* (*Spring* makes both young and old happy. Thus, the old men and women and the young feel like *playing around*) (157v).[34]
>
> sicut uidemus in partibus ultramarinis ubi propter calorem solis inueniuntur omnes species nobiles et aromatice sicut cynnamomum gınçiber gariofoli nuces muscate *çuccaru* et omnes species uirtuose (as we can see in the overseas regions where owing to the solar heat we can find all the chosen aromatic spices like cinnamon, ginger, cloves, nutmegs, *sugar*, and every kind of effective spice) (278v).

They are terms that signify objects and working tools (*cercone, cistone, drugdella, taglia, verrecellu, çuccaru*), actions and specific techniques (*bastiscione, cavalcata, credença, prestança, al passu*), or social conditions (*baractiri, illuminanza*). Sometimes there are idiomatic expressions that have no Latin equivalent (*in çurlu*). In this case, the use of the vernacular contributes to the comprehension of the message. It alternates with Latin in an »organic« disposition, that is fully motivated. There are significant examples of this phenomenon already in some thirteenth-century sermon collections that had a limited dissemination. Ambrogio Sansedoni, well known to Friar Angelo da Porta Sole, compared the supreme virtue of charity with *gualcatura*, the last process of felt cloth production: »Caritas est complementum omnium bonorum sicut *gualcatura* est complementum panni« (Charity completes every good as *fulling* completes each cloth working).[35]

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33 In GDLI, s.v. *santacchione* examples are recorded later (sec. XVI).

34 See other examples: »In tempore primi ueris [...] omnes homines tunc gaudent et cantant et senes omnes uadunt in *çurlu* (fol. 260r), etiam senes uadunt *in çurlu* (fol. 267r)« (In spring everyone has fun and sings and all the old people ramble]. *Zurlo/zurro* »wanting to fool around« is documented in texts of the XV century: Burchiello, Pulci). *Entrare in zurlo (di qualcosa)* »feeling like, desiring«. Cf. GDLI, s.v. *zurlo.* Not to be confused with *zurlo* »spinning top«, documented in the medieval Latin (XIV century Treviso), cf. Sella, *Glossario latino-italiano*, s.v. *ludus* (p. 336) *ludus ad zurlos* »spinning top game.«

35 Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, MS T IV 7, fol. 45r (Delcorno, Tra latino e volgare, 33).

Less frequent is the use of the vernacular in the verb forms:

> Omnes Egyptii fuerunt cooperti aqua maris et mortui sunt omnes in mare et *annegaro* (All the Egyptians were submerged by the water of the sea and they all *drowned* to death) (131r)
>
> Iudei nolebant credere Christo nec uolebant eum audire, odiebant et *diffamallu* (the Jews did not want to believe in Christ and did not want to listen to him, they hated him and *slandered him*) (118r)
>
> [Laborator] quando uidet mensam parari et cibum paratum ad commedendum multum *e'* (*ms.* et) *resbaldesce*[36] (When the peasant sees the table being prepared and he sees the food ready to eat he becomes very *happy*) (110r)
>
> misit diluuium in mundum et subtrassit et negauit et *subissò* totum mundum. (He sent the Flood upon the earth and sank and drowned and *submerged* the whole world [71r]).

The vernacular rarely brushes the adjectival forms:

> Unde nullus christianus *da bene* deberet esse qui in isto festo non haberet plures pauperes in domo sua (Thus in this feast there should be no *good* Christian who does not welcome many poor into his house) (26v)
>
> [Prima amicitia] est infirma et uana [...], secunda est falsa et peruersa et *fallace* et ista uocatur amicitia mundana. Tertia est bona recta et *verace* (The first friendship is unstable and vain, the second is false and perverse and *treacherous*: this is called worldly friendship. The third is good, righteous and *true*) (50r)
>
> [Symon] dicebat quod Magdalena erat una et *malvascia* et publica peccat[r]is (Simon said that Magdalen was a *bad woman* and a public harlot) (140r)
>
> Tales ponunt eum [Deum] in loco *sconuenevile* (Some put it in a place that is *inconvenient/undignified*) (87v).

Glosses

The gloss, introduced by multiple formulae, is an essential and diffuse procedure of medieval predication, which is the instrument of cultural mediation, acting as a bridge between Latin and lay culture.[37] Suffice it here to mention with a few examples the presence of this linguistic element in the books of sermons of Angelo da Porta Sole. *Sive, idest, hoc est, scilicet* are the most frequent signs of the gloss.[38] The equivalence is, in general, established between Latin and the vernacular:

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36 Cf. Iacopone da Todi, *Laudi*, ed. Ageno, 43, 111: »tutta la corte farai resbaldire« (all the court you shall make merry) (resbaldire »make merry, Provençal e s b a u d i r«). See GDLI, s.v. *risbaldire* »make merry.«

37 According to a very ancient usage, present, for instance, in the juridical literature. See Avalle D'Arco, Parodia.

38 The simple adjacency of the two terms is not frequent: »Arbor habet radices *lu pedale*« (The tree has roots, *the foot*) (fol. 140v).

> uentosa siue *coppa* (suction cup, that is *cupping glass*) (125r), impellit hominem siue *lu sforza* ad bene operandum (pushes man, that is *forces him* to do good) (103v); mediator idest *intrameççadore* (mediator, that is he *who is in the middle*) (116r); Vnde benignitas nichil aliud est quam bona ignitas hoc est bona *caldeççа* demonstrata in opere exteriori (Where by benignity is meant good inflammation, that is good *heat* that is demonstrated in the outer deeds) (54v); uocatur ypopanti hoc est dicere unu *scuntramentu* (is called ypopanti, that is *an encounter*) (56r)[39]; infrigidare scilicet *di fare fredda la cosa* (cooling, meaning *making something cold*) (74v); [Christus elegit] conueniens tempus scilicet tempus *de la primauera* (Jesus Christ chose the suitable time, that is the *time of spring*) (83r).
> But the opposite may also be true: persona *scolorata* siue ialida (*colourless*, yellow person) (292v).[40]

This style of didactic explanation is frequently used in Latin sermons and in some other middle Latin texts. Federico Visconti, Bishop of Pisa (1253-1277), introduces in his sermons the vernacular gloss of some Latin words: regula sive *riga*, in intecula sive in lucedula que vocatur *lucciola* (line or regula, in firefly which is called *lucciola*). Yet sometimes he proceeds in a different way: first he introduces a vernacular word adapted to Latin morphology and then he explains it with a proper Latin term. Hence the term for wick (which in Italian is *stoppino*) is indicated as »*stuppinum* sive licinium«.[41] The second type of gloss is very frequent in the *Cronicle* of Salimbene de Adam and appears, though rarely, in the sermons of Anthony of Padua.[42]

Well known and frequent is the gloss in the form of a dittology, variously defined by the scholars.[43] Angelo da Porta Sole very often resorts to this procedure; here we shall only provide a reduced exemplification. The dittology first and foremost concerns adjectives:

39 GDLI, s.v. *scontramento* »encounter«, with examples of Giamboni, Cavalca.

40 Occasionally the equivalent middle Latin term is introduced by sive: »[Pictor] tabulam siue *assidem* parat« (The painter prepares the table, that is *the wooden board*) (17v), »ex tibya tortua siue *coxa*« (from the contorted tibia, that is the *thigh*) (19r), »fecit septem pallas siue *gumfos* niuis« (made seven balls, that is *snowballs*) (150v); or, by contrast, the classical word is added: »aliquod *fedum* siue donum« (some *feud*, that is gift) (300r). See also the isolated case with *scilicet*: »loturis putridis scilicet *goesa (?) et banbascillo*« (with putrid washes, that is with *?* and *cotton wool*) (71r).

41 Delcorno, Tra latino e volgare, 33; Federico Visconti, Glossaire, s.v. *lucedula, riga.*

42 Bourgain, Analyse linguistique et stylistique, 129.

43 »sinonimia glossante« (Lausberg, *Elementi di retorica*, par. 284), »coppia sinonimica« (Lazzarini, »Per latinos grossos«, 309), »glose en reduction« (Buridant, Binômes synonymiques, 28), »etymological doublets« (Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 86).

diues et *asciatu* (rich and *well-to-do/well-off*) (112r), diues et *adasciato* (rich and *very well-to-do*) (302v),[44] dimictere diuitem et bene *adasciatu* (release the rich and *well-to-do*) (86v), grati et *conoscenti* (grateful and *acknowledging*)) (fol. 11v), displicibilis et *esgratiatu* (unpleasant and *undesirable*) (269v), nimis audaces et *troppu fro[n]tati et paççi* (too bold and *too brazen and mad*) (157r), leues et *ligeri* (slight and *light*) (300v),[45] facies quasi nigra et *oblivengna* (face almost black and *olive*) (100v),[46] manifestum et *palese* (evident and *manifest*) (56v), mala et *malvascia* (bad and *wicked*) (284r), iniqui et *malvasi* (bad and *wicked*) (287v),[47] stultus et *pasciu* (foolish and *mad*) (91v), totus calidus [ms callidus] et *tuctu sbolgentatu* (all warm and *boiling hot*) (131r)[48];

and verbs:

[merchatores] oculos hominum cecant et *abarbagl[i]ano* (the merchants blind and *dazzle* the eyes of men) (93v), sum uictus a te et *abbactutu* (I am won over by you and *fallen)* (98v),[49] eos debellabant et *abattielli* (they defeated them and *struck them down*) (150v), gaudete et *alegratevo* (enjoy and *make merry*) (110v), uerberatus et *bactutu* (whipped and *beaten*) (133r), Ite maledicti et *siate maledicti* (go ye accursed and *be damned*) (157r), destruere et *subissare* (destroy and *die from shame*) (106v).

Also very frequent is the dittology that clarifies the meaning of a noun:

magnam uilitatem et *grande abbassamento* recepit (underwent great spite and *great humiliation*) (125r),[50] non curauit alio sponso nec *d'altra amança* [...] nisi solum de sponso et *amança* sua paradisi (he wanted no other spouse or *other lover* if not the spouse and *his lover* of paradise) (289v),[51] quidam stultus et unus *barnabese* (a fool and an *idiot*) (270r),[52] unus ribaldus et unus uilis *baractiri* (a ribald and a worthless *fraudster* (44r), letitia et *delectamentu* (joy and *delight*) (302r), inte[m]ptio sua et *lu*

44 See Iacopone da Todi, *Laude*, ed. Mancini, 75, 27-28 »Or vedete el guadagnato/ come sso' ricco e adasciato« (Now look at the gain, how rich and wealthy I am).

45 Just above, in the same passage »leues et *lieri*«.

46 See GDLI, s.v. *olivigno* »olive-coloured«.

47 Another example in fol. 296v: »iniqui et *maluasci* homines«. Cf. Iacopone *Laude* (ed. Mancini), 11, 35: »quella malvascia schera« (that evil rabble).

48 In the Cassinesi glosses to the *Carmen Pascale* of Sedulio we can find *flagrantes* »sbolentanti«. Cf. Baldelli, Glosse in volgare cassinese, 65.

49 Oft-repeated formula: »debellat et *abbacte*« (defeats and *throws to the ground*) (259v), »fuit a diabolo uictus et *abactutu*« (was defeated and *felled* by the devil) (287r), »uicit et *abactette* omnes illos sapientes [...] uicit et *abacteo* dyabolum« (defeated and *overcame* all those sages ... defeated and *felled* the devil) (290v).

50 Just below: »in signo humilitatis et maximi abbassamenti« (in a sign of humility and utmost weakness) (125r). See Iacopone, *Laude*, ed. Mancini, 86, 103-104 »a tale abassamento/Iesù, tu se' venuto?« (Jesus, you have reached such a humiliation?) (and Glossary).

51 Lyrical terms of Provencal origin, several times in Iacopone, *Laude* (see Glossary).

52 Perhaps it can come close to the modern *bernogio* »stupid«. Cf. Catanelli, *Raccolta di voci perugine*, 43.

entendimentu suum (the object of his attention and his *love*) (298v), totum cor suum et lu *entendimentu* (all his heart and his *love*) (300v),[53] libertas et *francheza* (freedom and *independence*) (108r),[54] per rapinam et *malletolto* [*malleloto* MS] (for theft and *unlawful gain*) (154r), multe feditates et multe *cose sconvenevile* (many indecencies and many *shameful things*) (93v).

It is remarkable that in some cases, through the use of dittology, the classical Latin is explained with the medieval Latin, which coincides, except for the flexion, with the vulgar tongue: that is, a macaronic Latin in the proper sense.[55] This phenomenon appears very frequently in the sermons of Angelo di Porta Sole, which here can be documented with a few examples. Among the most frequent cases are the noun pairs. They usually precede the classical form (as already seen above in the series of Latin terms glossed in the vernacular). On the contrary, see the following examples:

per doctrinam et per *admaiestramentum* (by means of doctrine and *teaching*) (289r), ad resistendum latronibus et *ascaranis* (to withstand the thieves and the *bandits*) (279r), facit equum de canna et de *bastone* (makes a pony with a cane and with a *stick*) (272v),[56] labor et *briga* (effort and *difficulty*) (285r), pro consiliis et *brigis* (for advice and *dispute*s) (275v), habitaculum et *cammera* (habitation and *chamber*) (291v), faciebat fiscellas et *sportillas*[57] (made hampers and *baskets*) (263r).

However, often the order is the opposite, preceding the middle Latin term:[58]

ascarani et multi latrones (*brigands* and many bandits) (24r),[59] ex superfluo *ascio* et otio corporali (for excessive *well-being* and corporeal idleness) (94r), facit *cupam* siue calicem (makes a *cup* or chalice) (265v), per percussiones *martellatoris* siue fabri (by means of the blows of *the one who handles the hammer* that is the blacksmith (295v), ad omnem *rischium* et omne periculum (at every *risk* and danger) (287v).

53 They are words proper to Jacoponic poetry. See Iacopone, *Laudi*, ed. Ageno, Glossary, s.v. *delettamento, entennemento.*

54 The suspicion remains that it is a middle Latin form in the passage that follows right afterwards: »quod [ciuitas] sit libera et *franca*« (that the city shall be free and *independent*) (108v).

55 Cf. Paoli, *Latino maccheronico*, 54-55 quoted in Lazzerini, »Per latinos grossos…«, 230 n. 2. A survey of the macaronic literature in Segre, Tradizione macaronica da Folengo.

56 Sella, *Glossario latino emiliano*, s.v. *bastone, bastonus*.

57 Sella, *Glossario latino emiliano*, s.v. *sporta*.

58 The same order can be noted in a passage where vernacular terms recur deriving from different levels of Latin lexis: »in qua ciuitate erit un *giardinu* et un ortu plenus arboribus« (city in which there will be a garden and a vegetable plot full of trees) (148v). See Sella, *Glossario latino-italiano*, s.v. *zardinum*.

59 A form also present in Umbrian texts. See Iacopone, *Laudi*, ed. Ageno, 58, 14 »come ascaran rapire« (to rob as a scoundrel); Agostini, Volgare perugino, Glossary, s.v. *ascarano.*

The classical word precedes the vernacular in the dittology of the adjectives

> sapientes et *adveduti* (wise and *shrewd*) (154r), profundum et *cupum* (profound and *sullen*) (293v), expulsi et *exba[n]diti* (expelled and *bandit/exiled*) (292r),[60] pauidi et *codardi* (fear-stricken and *cowardly*) (287v), timidus et *codardus* (timid and *cowardly*) (294v);

but there is no lack of cases in which the middle Latin term occurs first:

> *arditi* et audaces (*daring* and brave) (287v), bene *assiduatus* et bene positus (well *situated* and well founded) (272r), *probus* et ualens (*valiant/courageous* and strong) (294v), *contempti* et consolati (*content* and consoled) (8v), *prona* et parata (*willing* and ready) (120v).[61]

The same variation in the succession of terms can be observed in the use of the verb pairs, where the classical word usually precedes the middle Latin term:

> mortificare et *abbactere* (dishearten and *bring down*) (306v), fuit uilificatus et *abbassatus* (was despised and *humiliated*) (40v), ordinauerunt et *stantiauerunt* (ordered and *arranged*) (122r), lauant se et *stensciant* se (they wash themselves and *remove their make-up*) (108v),[62] se lauare et *strunciare* (wash and *rub themselves*) (71r).[63]

But notice contextually »conseruare et *manutenere*« (preserve and *maintain*), followed by »*manutenere* et conseruare« (*maintain* and preserve) (301v).[64]

Switch

Code-switching concerns only a part of the sermons and is more frequent in *De tempore* (fols. 5r-252v) than in the series about saints (fols. 254r-327r). Six sermons out of the first ten of *De Tempore*, compared to two from the first ten sermons *De sanctis*, show important evidence of switching. The extended mixture of Latin and the vernacular is considerably inferior to the continuous insertion of single Italian words and glosses, as exemplified above. It is noteworthy that no marks distinguish the vernacular words, as if the preacher (and the copyist) did

60 A form continued in the vernacular. See Ugolini, *Annali e Cronaca*, Repertorio lessicale s.v. *esbandite* »sbanditi«; Iacopone, *Laudi*, ed. Ageno, 43, 252 »che esbannito fo de sua contrata« (who was exiled from his country), and see Glossary, s.v. *esbannito, esbannita.*

61 In the same place »*prontum* et paratum« (*ready* and willing) (120v).

62 GDLI, s.v. *stingere* »clean a stain« (Dante, *Purgatorio*, I 96 »sì ch'ogne sucidume quindi stinghe«), (to wipe all traces of defilement from it [from the face])

63 GDLI, s.v. *strusciare* 3 »frizionare una parte del corpo [...] per il trucco« (rubbing a part of the body [...] for the make-up). *Strecciata* »rub« (»dasse 'na strecciata«) is recorded in Trabalza, *Saggio di vocabolario*, 39. *Strucciare* »sgranare, macellare« (shelling, butchering) in Mancini, Vocabolario del dialetto todino, s.v.

64 »nitantur carcerem et uitam corporis [...] conseruare et manutenere ne carcer, scilicet uita corporalis frangatur et deficiat [...] Quandocumque studet homo eam manutenere et conseruare oportet quod pur deficiat et moriatur« (make the effort to keep safe the prison and the corporeal life and to maintain it so that the prison, that is the corporeal life, breaks and ends. However much one tries to sustain it and preserve it, it must eventually cease and die) (fol. 301v).

not perceive a strong difference between Latin and Italian. Although the linguistic change is free and unpredictable, it can be noted that it recurs frequently in some conditions. The vernacular insertion highlights the vivacity of the direct discourse in the »dialogic« context of the face-to-face encounter between the preacher and the public. At times the preacher faithfully reports the comments of people far removed from the sermon, almost a third interlocutor:

> Item dicunt peccatores mundi: [...] Quare fecit [Deus] pulcras mulieres, pulcros pannos scilicet scarletum, brunetum et alios pannos diuersorum colorum? [...] Certe ad hoc ut homo delectaretur cum pulcra muliere et haberet solatium cum ea, et in solatiis scilicet mundum fecit, etiam pulcros pannos ut homo uestiret se de eis et *goddessene et auessene bene* (Moreover, the worldly sinners say: Why did God make beautiful women, nice clothes, meaning scarlet, brown and other clothes of different colours? Certainly for this purpose, that man should get pleasure from the beautiful woman and amuse himself with her, and God has made the world to enjoy it, and the nice clothes so that he may wear them and *enjoy them and draw benefits from them*) (85v)

> Hic possetis michi facere questionem et dicere: »*Or* frater, *pur* est uerum illud quod dicunt homines *de lo destinatu*«. Consueuerunt enim dicere homines mundi: *»Poi k'è destinato la cosa ala persona, no la pote fugire né schifare et è besogno [besiogio MS] ke chosì sia«* (Here you could ask me a question and say: Now, friar, it is really true what they say of *fate*. The worldly ones indeed are used to saying: *As each person has his destiny, he can neither escape nor avert it, it is necessary for it to happen*) (90r).

> Multi dicunt: Frater, nolo facere penitentiam *né avere male* nec affligi (Many say: Friar, I do not want to pay penitence *nor have suffering* nor affliction) (101v)

> Vnde [peccatores] dicunt: Dimittamus dicere istos predicatores qui dicunt quod faciamus *penitentia* et quod affligamus nos in mundo isto, quia uerba eorum sunt truffe et buffe et *ki à bene en quistu mundu sì à bene ne l'altru* (Thus the sinners say: Let these preachers that preach pay *penitence* and afflict us in this world; their words are deceitful and fables and *whoever enjoys himself in this world will have goodness also in the next world*), (281r).

The linguistic shifting from Latin to the vernacular occurs in the *sermocinatio*, that is, a fictitious question proposed by the audience and the answer of the preacher. In this case, by reserving the vernacular for the audience, the alternate use of Latin and the vernacular points out the different culture of the interlocutors, with an effective rhetorical function.[65]

At times the preacher reports the »voices« exactly, the slogans shouted in the streets. So it is in the sermon for St John the Evangelist, where a form of love similar to madness can be distinguished:

65 On the *sermocinatio*, a rhetorical figure widely employed in Augustin's sermons, see Delcorno, Tra latino e volgare, 77 n. 154.

> Sic inuenimus exemplum de Sperandeo et Sperandea qui ibant per ciuitates et uillas clamando sicut fatui *Ihesu Christo, Ihesu Christo* et expoliabant se tempore maximi frigoris et mittebant se in flumine. Item Sperandea [...] clamabat *Laudatu et benedictu sia Ihesu Christu*. Et totum istud procedebat ex amore diuino (So we have the example of Sperandeo and Sperandea [nickname: Hope in God] who went to towns and villages shouting like lunatics *Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ* and they stripped naked when the cold was most acute and they jumped into the river. Moreover, Sperandea shouted *Praised and blessed be Jesus Christ.* All this originated from the love of God) (262v).

The linguistic change has a definite function in the enactment of the evangelic episodes and in particular in the sermons of the Holy Week, which paved the way to strongly emotional episodes.[66] The sermons of the Holy Week were a crucial opportunity to present the Gospel in a dramatic form. In particular, the sermon for Good Friday elicited the emotions of the hearers in order to move their hearts to contrition and reform of their moral behaviour. The liturgy and the religious drama are the sources of the preaching style. Moreover Friar Angelo probably imitates the »lauda drammatica« performed by the confraternities of Perugia, inspired by the Order of Preachers.[67]

Hence, in the Good Friday sermon the preacher effectively imagines the voices of the Jews who accused Jesus:

> Maledicti Iudei accusabant Christum ante Pilatum [...] et dicebant *Questu è maluasciu et unu reo homo* qui sabbatum non custodit (The accursed Jews accused Christ before Pilate and said *This is a wicked and guilty man* who does not observe the sabbath) (137r);

or the mockery of the soldiers who taunted him:

> Aue rex Iudeorum [...] qui se dicebat prophetam missum a lege [...] et non congnoscit illos qui percutiunt eum. *Or ecco bon rege, or ecco bon propheta, or ecco figlio [ms filgo] de Dio!* Qui ita flagellatur et uerberatur et non potest se iuuare *et defendere* a nobis« (Hail king of the Jews, he who said he was sent according to the Law and does not recognise those who beat him. *Here good king, here good prophet, here the Son of God!* He who is struck and scourged like this and can't help himself and *defend* himself from us (137v).[68]

66 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 66: »It is thus fair to say that the Sunday of Lent, Good Friday, and Easter were favorite occasions for the production of linguistically mixed and, especially, fully macaronic sermons«. See also Bériou, Latin and the vernacular (with an appendix of unpublished texts); Johnson, *Grammar of Good Friday.*

67 The Dominicans of Perugia invented a lyrical type of poetry (lauda) that was a kind of translation and explication of the evangelical story: a good example is the extended lauda *Segnore scribe or que fecemo* (Honourable scribes, what are we doing?). Cf. Baldelli, Lauda e i disciplinati, 355 and 342.

68 See also fol. 141r »Et credite bene illi quod ipse sit Filius Dei et *andateli bene direto*« (And believe well him that he is the Son of God and *continue to follow him*).

The insertion of dialogic remarks in the vernacular also highlights some exemplary stories:

> exemplum de quodam milite regis Anglie [...] quando inducebatur a fratribus ut confiteretur respondebat et dicebat: Non possum adhuc dimittere istud [...] *lassateme stare mo'*, bene confitebor (Here is the example of a knight of the king of Anglia, who, when the friars warned that he should make his confession, replied and said: Now I can't abandon that [the sin], *now let me be*, I shall make my confession later) (9r).[69]

Here the irrruption of the vernacular shows a scenic performance, a mimicry that highlights the oral performance (procédé d'oralisation), and enlivens the exemplary story.[70]

Similar to those variations are the glosses or rather the insertions of direct speech introduced by the formula »quasi diceret«.[71] The vernacular locution usually introduces a paraphrasis of the biblical passage, almost a translation of the *auctoritas* in a more simple and domestic language:

> propterea dicit »Querite Dominum dum inueniri potest« (Is 55,6), quasi diceret: *Signori, seruire et andare po 'l Signore* est multum facile et multum asceuile (Seek the Lord while he lets himself be found, as though wanting to say: *Sirs,* it is very easy and convenient *to serve and follow the Lord*) (86r)

> Ecce consolatio quam faciebat ei uxor sua: »Amen, dicebat, o stulte et bestia, de quo benedicis et regratiaris Deo?« [...] Vnde dicebat: »Benedic Deo et morere« (Iob 2,9) quasi diceret: Maledic et *lassate morire* (Here is the consolation that his wife gave to him: »Amen, she said, oh fool and beast, what do you bless and what do you thank God for? And she says: Bless the Lord and die, as if to say: Damn him and *die*) (89r)

> Dicens [Christus]: »Non sum missus nisi ad oues que perierunt domus Israel« (Mt 15,24). Quasi diceret: *Statevo in pace*, non rogetis me pro ea (And Christ said: I have been sent only for the sheep of the house of Israel, which were lost. Almost as if to say: *Rest assured*, do not pray to me for her) (98r)

> Propterea dixit beatus Petrus«Domine, faciamus hic tria tabernacula« (Mc 9,4), quasi diceret: Domine[...] nunquam recedamus ab inuicem et semper stemus in mundo isto et *auiamone bene et godiamone assieme* (And so Saint Peter said: Lord, let us put up three tents here, as if to say: Lord let us never separate, and let's stay in this world and take *what is good and enjoy it together*) (99r)

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69 Add to this the dialogue between the soul and the body: »Vnde dicit corpus anime: [...] habeamus aliquantulum de bono in mundo isto et *gaudianne una peççа*« (And says the body to the soul.... Let's take some wellbeing in this world and *enjoy it for a long time*) (5v-6r); the monologue of the rich merchant: »Ibo in Lombardiam, in Franciam et ultra mare et per talem modum potero ditari et emere tales possessiones *de cotal miu vicinu*« (I shall go to Lombardy, France and overseas and so shall be able to get rich and buy the properties *of my neighbour*) (6v).

70 Polo de Beaulieu, *Formes dialoguées*: Introduction, 16 n. 22: »j'ajouterais pour les recueils d'exempla en latin, la rupture linguistique avec l'irruption de la langue vernaculaire sous forme d'une expression isolée, d'un proverbe ou de répliques plus développées (As to the Latin collections of the exempla, I would add the breaking of Latin produced by the irruption of the vernacular in the form of an isolated term, a proverb or more extended answer«).

71 Less frequently »hoc est«: »Item homo consueuit uincere aduersarium bono munimine, hoc est quando est bene armatus *de bone arme*« (Man is also used to defeating his adversary with a good protection, that is in being well equipped with *good weapons*) (10v).

> propterea dicit ipse Dominus Iudeis »auferetur a uobis regnum Dei et dabitur genti facienti fructus eius« (Mt 21, 4) quasi diceret: O miseri Iudei, ego derelinquam uos, sed *male a lu uostru opu* quia dispergimini (Thus the Lord said to the Jews: You shall be stripped of the kingdom of God and it will be given to a people that will make it bear fruit, as if to say: Oh wretched Jews, I will abandon you, but *for your misfortune* because you will be scattered) (120r).

The linguistic change is often used to obtain an effect of reality in the stories and in the frequent references to daily experience. The linguistic variation mostly involves the verb:

> Vnde [peccator] labitur et cadit de peccato in peccatum et *va tramaççando* sicut cecus absque luce (Thus the sinner wavers and falls into sin and *gropes around* like a blind man in the darkness) (40v)

> Si filius non est gratus *né conoscente* ita quod turbetur et altercetur cum matre, uerberat eum et *scarmiglalu finamente* (If the son is ungrateful and unrecognising to the point that he gets angry and fights with his mother, she gives him a good beating and *scolding* (56v)

> [Nero] acuit unum palum ligneum et ipsum appodiauit ad quandam rupem et *stroppòsi in questo palo* (Nero sharpened a wooden stake and leant it against a rock and *killed himself against this stake*) (123r-v)

> [Iuuenes] uadunt cantando cum istrumentis et *faciendo le matinate la nocte* (the young go singing with musical instruments and *go serenading by night*) (157r)

> Vnde uidetis quod quando incipit uenire febris infirmus *bacte li denti* (You see then that when the fever starts to come the sick person's *teeth start to chatter*) (306v).

At times, instead, the vulgar insertion highlights the mode of action or an object:

> [aues] semper uadunt mouendo se et uolando *intro per la cabia* (the birds move relentlessly and fly *inside the cage*) (39v)

> [Bichine] uolunt portare [...] mantellum et tunicam camelinam *cole corde pendente* (the Beguines wear the cloak and the tunic made of camel hairs *with hanging elements*) (70v)

> Quare reseruauit signa plagarum suarum et *dele ferite ch'egl'ebbe nel corpo suo*? (Why did he preserve the signs of his sores and *the wounds that he received on his body?*) (143v).

Of great rhetorical efficacy are some rare intrasentential insertions in the vernacular, where the attention to detail functions to introduce a pathetic effect, also underlined by the use of the exclamations at the end or at the beginning of the passage:

> Quando filius eius est paruus tunc [rusticus] dicit ei: *Inperatore miu, rege miu!* Tunc enim uestit eum *de bellu uirgatu* et facit ei pulcros calcios et pulcram corrigiam. Sed uidete quomodo mutatur cantio, quia quando est magnus uestit eum *de lacçu*[72] *et fali unu guacçarrone*[73] *et pòlli la sappa*[74] *in manu et aliquando la vanga. Or ecco bellu rege et bellu markese!* (When his son is small the peasant tells him: *Oh my emperor, my king!* So indeed he dresses him in *fine lined cloth* and he makes him good shoes and a fine belt. But you see how the song changes: when his son becomes an adult he dresses him with *coarse cloth and makes him a shirt for work and puts the hoe in his hand and at times the shovel. Now see what a fine king and what a fine marquis!*) (57r).
>
> Et uidete impietatem et crudelitatem! c*he li panni de gamba no gli lassaro conciossia cosa che la camiscia e' panni de gamba et aliquando una gonnellecta sì ène lassa ad li malefactori et latroni* (And you can see what impiety and what cruelty! *They did not even leave him his underpants, even if the wrongdoers and the bandits keep their underclothes and at times a small skirt)* (140v-141r).[75]

From the Latin there is a shift to the vernacular in the case of imaginative and proverbial expressions that do not have a straightforward Latin equivalent:[76] The preachers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for instance Ambrogio Sansedoni, Federico Visconti and Giovanni da San Gimignano frequently quote proverbs and proverbial expressions both in Latin and in the vernacular.[77] This habit was diffused from Paris, almost as a fashionable element imposed, according to prominent scholars, by the authoritative model of Wilhelm of Auvergne, Bishop of Paris (1228-1249). Thus, the clergy created »a sort of cultural complicity with the audience«, as they exposed in a simpler way the fundamental contents of the Christian theology.[78]

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72 Cf. Mancini, Vocabolario del dialetto todino, s.v. *lazzo* »stoffa ordita di pura lana o di puro cotone« (cloth woven from pure wool or pure cotton).

73 See Trabalza, *Saggio di vocabolario*, s. v. *sargone*, *vazzarone*, *guazzarone* »specie di camicia di panno grosso con buchi laterali e scollata, che tengono esternamente i contadini e i potatori per salvare i vestiti dalle sdruciture che potrebbero produrre le spine, gli sterpi o le frasche« (sort of shirt made of thick cloth with holes at the sides and collarless, which the peasants keep externally and the pruners to save their clothes from the tears that could be caused by thorns, brushwood or boughs).

74 See Agostini, Volgare perugino, 131 (*sappa*) e *sapare* in *Testi trecenteschi di Città di Castello e del contado*, ed. Agostini, Glossary, s.v.

75 Cf. Delcorno, Tra latino e volgare, 38-39.

76 Cf. Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 100: »phrases peculiar to the vernacular for which an exact or even approximate counterpart in Latin would have been hard to find«.

77 Delcorno, Tra latino e volgare, 31-32.

78 Guillelmi Alverni *Sermones de Tempore*, XXXI.

> [Caro] obscurat intellectum hominis in peccatis faciendis et *fali vedere la luna per l'acqua* [...] Sic facit caro anime *demonstrannoli la luna per l'acqua* (The flesh obscures man's intellect when he commits the sin and *shows him the moon reflected in the water/the moon in the well ...* So does the flesh *showing to the soul the moon in the water*) (5v)[79]
>
> eundo moritur et *vasene ad casa calda* (on the journey he dies and *goes to hell/to the hothouse*) (6v)[80]
>
> recte Dominus Noster *se fa orecle de mercatante* (rightly Our Lord *turns a deaf ear*) (51r)
>
> non est mulus nec leo [...] *ket non desse li maiuri calci ket potesse* (there is no mule or lion *that would not issue the hardest kicks it possibly could*) (55r)
>
> [homines seculares] dicunt: *Questu è tal* uinum *che parlla coll'angeli* (the worldly men say: This is *a wine so good that it gets along with the angels*/it is worthy of the angels (72r)
>
> In quantum reuelat amicus alteri amico uidetur sibi quod alleuietur [tribulatio] quia *allora sì ssi vapora de la tribulatione sua et passasi* (Suffering, being the friend that confides in the friend, is alleviated because *then he lets his tribulation fade away and he consoles himself*) (75v)
>
> Vnde homo superbus et uanagloriosus semper habet uentum in auribus et semper *li çiffila l'orecchie* (Whereupon the conceited and vainglorious man always has the wind in his ears and *his ears will always whistle*) (281r).[81]

By contrast, the author resorts to stereotyped and almost obligatory expressions, albeit far from having any rhetorical effect:

> Vnde hodie *per la mala nostra ventura* [...] per mundum committuntur multa mala (Whereupon today *for our misfortune* many evils are committed in the world (40v)
>
> Mortem ego substineo pro amore hominis per meam propriam uoluntatem, *non per forza* (For the love of men I bear death of my own will, *not forced to do so* (128v).
>
> Corpus glorificatum [...] erit ad unum *battimentu de ochuli* subito quando uolent ultra mare siue in Francia (The glorified body will be across the seas or in France *in the batting of an eyelid*, according to the will of the blessed (149v).

79 Probable allusion to the fable of the moon in the well, which was widespread among the preachers. See Sancti Antonii Patavini *Sermones dominicales et festivi*, ed. Costa *et al.*, 2, 179-180.

80 Idiomatic expression very frequent in the preaching of Bernardino da Siena. Cf. *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena (1427)*, ed. Delcorno, pred. X, 82. »il diavolo prese quella anima e portolla a casa calda« (the devil took that soul and took it to the hot house). Other examples XIV 20, 30; XXXI 13, 24; XXXVIII 21; XLIII 114; XLV 39.

81 Such expressions at times take the form of similitude. See sicut *una capra scorticata* (like a skinned goat) (292v).

Although, as has already been pointed out, Angelo da Porta Sole does not use the vernacular to utter the *divisio* of the sermon,[82] he often draws attention to the parts of the argumentation or to content of particular importance, moving from Latin to the vernacular:

> Hoc ostendo uobis *per tre belle rasconi* (I will demonstrate all this *for three valid reasons/arguments*) (5r)
>
> [Hoc] uolo uobis ostendere et demostrare per IIIJor *belle rasioni* (What I want to show you and demonstrate for four *good reasons*) (303v).

The linguistic change is a signal to highlight a moment in the sermon in which the exchange between the listeners is more direct. Note that Angelo da Porta Sole very frequently uses the allocution *Signori*, which probably derives from a jesting tradition, and introduces an oral movement in the text. The *Ritmo Cassinese*, composed in the last years of the twelfth century, employs this apostrophe,[83] and the expression appears in the beginning of some popular jest compositions of the fourteenth century:[84]

> *Or, signori,* ad hoc respondeo uobis, *ore attendete bene* (*Now, sirs*, on this matter I will answer you, *now pay great attention*) (17r)
>
> *Or* ad istam beatitudinem docet nos apostolus Iohannes in epistula hodierna *in che modu* nos possumus ire (*Well then*, the apostle John in the epistle that is read now shows us *in what way* we can go in this beatitude) (284r).

The reminder of the central point of the sermon can be reinforced by a sentence:

> *Or* uidete, *signori*, quomodo consilium istud processit ex mala operatione, quia Christus *per bene fare recepete male* (*Now* see, *sirs*, how this decision came from a bad action, as Christ *having done good got evil in return*) (122v).

Almost symmetrically, the conclusion of a part of the sermon is formulated in the vernacular or as a reflection in a phrase that sums up a more detailed treatise:

> Et sic uidetis quantum periculum contigit de loturis et ornamentis et *de mali portamenti de le femine* (And so you will see how much danger occurs because of the lotions and ornaments and *the misconduct of women*) (71r);

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82 A trace of this use persists in the sermon »In Annuntiatione«: »Primo dico quod ista anbasciata est commendanda et laudanda *per lu tempu conueneuele* in quo fuit facta« (First of all, I say this message [the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary] is to be appreciated and praised *owing to the convenient time* in which it was made) (267r).

83 A sort of clerk-jest addresses the audience saying: Eo sinjuri, s'eo fabello,/lo bostru audire compello (Sirs, I speak to you; I ask for your attention).

84 See, for instance, Matazone da Caligano (*Nativitas rusticorum et qualiter debent tractari* [*The origin of the villains and how to treat them*]): A voy, segnor e cavaler/ sì llo conto volonter (To you, lords and knights I will speak willingly], or the anonymous *Rainaldo e Lesengrino*: Segnori e done che sé' qui (Ladies and gentlemen who are gathering here); cf., *Poeti del Duecento*, ed. Contini, I, 9, 791, 811; *Antologia della poesia italiana: Duecento*, ed. Segre and Ossola, 10 (*Ritmo Cassinese*), 363 (*Rainaldo e Lesengrino*). The expression also occurs in the *dicerie*, the political eloquence, but regularly connected to a noun: »Signori cittadini«, »Signori consiglieri«, »Signori delle arti« (Honourable citizens, Honourable counsellors, Honourable members of the corporations). Cf. Pregnolato, Dicerie negli autografi. I thank Professor Enrico Artifoni for his kind suggestions.

or else a concluding sentence was gleaned from it:

> Nunquam dominus temporalis faceret tales uindictas quales facit Dominus Noster. *Vnde le vendete de Dio son molto forti et stranie* (No lord of this world would know how to exact vendettas as those of Our Lord. *Indeed the vengeance of God is very strong and unpredictable*) (47r)

> [Petrus] oblitus erat societatem suorum sociorum quos dimiserat ad pedem montis, vnde non uidebatur curare de eis. *Vnde pare che sanctu Petru pocu se curasse de loro ka avesse bene ipse* (Peter had forgotten about his companions whom he had left at the foot of the mountain [Tabor], and thus it seemed as though he had not thought of them. *It thus seems that Saint Peter took little care of them, provided that he was well*) (101v);

or the consequences of an action are expressed more concretely:

> Sed ue illis qui de prelio redeuntes incidunt inter gladios et spatas et lanceas *et tutti sonno tagliati* (But woe be to those who returning from battle end up among the daggers and the swords and the spears of the enemies and *are all cut to pieces*) (302r)

> [Mercator] multis periculis se exponit quia uadit per contratam dubiam et aliquando inter ascaranos qui robant et occidunt eos *et chosì vaniscu della persona et dell'avere.* (The merchant exposes himself to many dangers because he goes to dangerous countries and at times amid bandits who steal from and kill the merchants, *and so are stripped of their life and their possessions/wealth*) (303v).

Conclusion

Vernacular words only exceptionally appear in thirteenth-century Latin sermons. Angelo da Porta Sole's preaching, as well as the sermons of contemporary friars not yet adequately studied (for instance the Franciscan Bindo Schelmi), suggests an increasing mixture of Latin and Italian during the first half of the fourteenth century. Isolated vernacular words (technical terms as well as proverbial phrases) contribute to a clear and lively communication, which is a crucial element for an effective sermon. In the sermons of Friar Angelo the use of this form of »organic« change between the two linguistic codes is more frequent than in the former preachers. Moreover, a sudden and repeated switching of the languages is the most remarkable characteristic of his style, something that clearly enhanced his oral performance. Although at times curious and »inorganic«, the language switching aims to ensure effective communication of the religious message. Therefore, its use is reserved for particular moments in the sermons in order to impress these on the memory of the audience. The vernacular language frequently served to highlight the multiple forms of direct speech: the fictional dialogue between the preacher and his public (*sermocinatio*), the dialogue between the characters in the exemplary tales, or the ironic and satirical comments of the preacher. Vernacular dialogues and utterances often underline the most dramatic presentation of the Gospels, particularly of the Passion; in this case, Angelo da Porta Sole was probably also influenced by the contemporary dramatic religious poetry (the *laudi drammatiche*), inspired by the Dominicans in Perugia and diffused in the confraternities of the town. A remarkable feature is also his frequent use of the apostrophe *Signori*, which was a characteristic allocution in the jester literature. The sermon collection of Angelo da Porta Sole shows that already at the beginning of the fourteenth century macaronic hybridism was an important communication tool for addressing the laity. This text, therefore, allows us to trace in its infancy a phenomenon that reached a fully developed form almost two centuries later. Between the late fifteenth century

and the early sixteenth century, particularly in the Veneto region, some famous and popular preachers, such as Bernardino da Feltre and Valeriano da Soncino, developed these forms of linguistical switching in an extraordinary way and created a new, original macaronic style, almost a particular language of preaching. The aim of the sermon was still the instruction of the audience and the reform of customs, yet they inclined its language to literary and ludic performance, even imitating the macaronic poetry. While these developments were still to come at the time of Angelo da Porta Sole, the linguistic awareness and the search for an effective way to address the audience with vernacular expressions were already part of the work of the most skilful preachers.

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Abbreviations

CCCM = Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CISAM = Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull´alto medioevo
GDLI = Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana (Turin, 1961-2002)

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Bilingual Strategies in Fourteenth-Century Latin Sermons from Catalonia

Lidia Negoi*

This article discusses the phenomenon of bilingualism in medieval sermons by focusing on one of the most understudied areas of sermon studies – fourteenth-century Catalonia and Aragon. Specifically, I concentrate on Latin sermons, which remain largely underexplored, partly due to a certain historiographical bias that favours »national« languages over Latin. The main focus is on Dominican sermons from the Aragonia Province (which included Catalonia and Aragon).

The main argument is that bilingualism in sermons was an editorial communicative strategy acquired and developed in an educational context, i.e. in how language was approached and learnt by bilingual users. To make my case, I first discuss the language training of the Dominicans from Aragon and briefly review some bilingual grammatical works in order to place the bilingualism of the sermons within a wider context of written (and spoken) multilingualism. Second, I address bilingualism and code-switching in sermons by analysing texts in which Latin is the matrix language, the most common type of sermon evidence preserved from this area. As in better studied areas, such as France, England, or Italy, the linguistic intermingling in fourteenth-century sermons from Catalonia covers all types of »macaronicity«, as categorised by Siegfried Wenzel. Thus, the paper will add to current debates that seek to understand medieval bilingualism (written and spoken) as a late medieval Europe-wide phenomenon by discussing hitherto unstudied and underexplored evidence in manuscripts that remains largely unknown to scholarship.

Keywords: bilingualism; code switching; macaronic sermons; Catalonia; Dominican Order; Nicholas Eymerich; Guillelmus Simonis

Mixed-language sermons have always intrigued scholars of medieval preaching. Linguistic promiscuity has been variously valued, whether positively or negatively, in the study of sermons. More recently, the liminal space mixed-language sermons occupy has been approached on its own terms from the perspective of multilingualism.

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eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s210

The dynamics of the coexistence between languages in late medieval sermons have yet to be more comprehensively explored. Some geographical areas are better researched than others, though certain gaps remain in the study of sermons in a broader time frame. Additionally, the focus on either Latin or the vernacular in isolation has tended to obscure their complex relationship. The fact remains that sermons written down in Latin as a matrix language constitute the vastest body of evidence of medieval preaching from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries.[1] This paper focuses on Latin sermons with vernacular insertions from fourteenth-century Catalonia, one of the least explored areas of sermon studies both in terms of the regional and the chronological span, as the fourteenth-century preaching has not been as systematically researched in comparison to the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries.[2] My aim is twofold: to discuss unpublished, little-known material, and to add to current debates about the nature of the relationship between Latin and the vernacular in written sermons.

Latin sermons with various vernacular insertions have been variably viewed as expressions of multilingual communities and individuals (those who produced them and their audiences), as proof of poor linguistic competence in Latin, as literary constructs, or as symptoms of broader cultural shifts that influenced the development and standardisation of the vernaculars.[3] The motives of authors and scribes who wrote down bilingual texts and the nature of the various types of linguistic mixtures remain the most debated aspects of multilingual sermons. Scholars have noted two broad forms of vernacular insertions. On the one hand, there is a »controlled« kind, such as terms, translations of the biblical *thema*, authorities and proverbs, usually signalled by markers such as »vulgariter«, »in vulgari sic«, which are visually delimited on the manuscript page, e.g. as separate verses, blocks, and so forth. On the other hand, there is a more »unpredictable« type in which the vernacular interferes inside or between sentences in no discernible pattern. Scholars largely agree that the »predictable« type of bilingualism was motivated by the need of authors/scribes to have a vernacular translation at hand either for themselves or for other readers. This type can be observed in »models« and commissioned collections that enjoyed a certain regional circulation, e.g. sermons destined as didactical material for *studia*. However, the mixture that appears indiscriminate within a predominantly Latin text has been connected to personal books and notes that were not meant for wider dissemination and, thus, it usually appears in unique manuscripts.[4] This mixture is the object of ongoing debates. While some argue that this type of language alternation reflects the bilingualism of the writer of the text and constitutes a written habit, and

1 See the essays on vernaculars and Latin in Kienzle, *Sermon*; the most recent overview of the developments in sermon studies is Thayer, Medieval sermon studies.

2 See Catalán Casanova, *Predicació cristiana*, which concentrates on vernacular preaching; Negoi, *Dominicans, Manuscripts, and Preaching*, for Latin sermon production.

3 d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, 90-95; Bériou, Sermons latins, especially 382-386, and Bériou, Latin et langues vernaculaires; Delcorno, Language of the preachers; Muessig, Vernacularization.

4 For instance, Delcorno, Language of the preachers, 50-51, on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century material from Italy; Bériou, Latin et langues vernaculaires.

hence does not mirror actual delivery, others contemplate the possibility that sermons in which Latin and the vernacular continuously intermingle could have been preached as such for specific bilingual audiences, e.g. academics. This line of enquiry has more recently been followed by Siegfried Wenzel, who views the »macaronic« kind of mixture as different from the more »controlled« types because they performed a different role in the discourse.[5] He thus proposed a taxonomy of bilingual sermons by function. These »ideal types« overlap the two broad kinds mentioned, with the difference that the »controlled« mixtures are split into two categories: A, in which vernacular items (e.g. proverbs, glosses, translations of authorities, etc.) function either to explain Latin terms or reinforce certain ideas, and B, in which the vernacular appears in the structuring devices and has a crucial bearing on the discourse. The third, C, is the seemingly unpredictable language mixing, i.e. intra- and intersentential. This type could, in Wenzel's view, be a reflection of speech and evidence of the »code-switching« strategies of bi(multi)lingual speakers.[6]

One of main objections to Wenzel's approach concerns his equating of the written text with a representation of speech rather than a writing strategy of authors and scribes.[7] Furthermore, Wenzel's application of code-switching to an imagined speech phenomenon has been challenged by the historical linguist Herbert Schendl, who advocates instead that all types of linguistic alternation and mixture in texts (sermons included) should be considered code-switching and should be viewed as evidence of a process of written vernacularisation throughout later medieval Europe. Likewise, Schendl is critical of Wenzel's taxonomy and notes that the ascribed roles of the vernacular elements in each type are not so clear-cut either in their roles in the sentence or in the structure of the discourse.[8] Other scholars, though, do not fully reject such a possibility, and recommend a »non-dogmatic« approach when dealing with mixed sermon texts of all kinds.[9] The debate on code-switching of all kinds as written strategies in relation to actual speech remains open, nonetheless. Wenzel's thesis might not convince everybody and his categories might not capture or explain the varied spectrum of linguistic mingling and motivations of sermon writers in medieval England as elsewhere in Europe. Much still remains to be understood about the contexts in which bilingual texts were generated and transmitted in the various linguistic areas of late medieval Europe.

This article builds on these debates and takes multilingualism in sermons as a written, widely shared, practice. It adopts code-switching as an analytical category that applies to all kinds of Latin-vernacular sermons and focuses on texts produced by the Dominican friars from Catalonia. I argue that bilingualism in Latin sermons with Romance insertions from this linguistic area was a written communicative strategy and convention rooted in educational contexts and practices of the teaching and learning of the language arts.[10] Therefore, I

5 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 17-30; add Delcorno, Language of the preachers, 48-50.

6 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 113-123, also for a synthetic view and criticism of literature on the language of sermons distinguished by audiences.

7 For instance, Fletcher, Written versus spoken; Schendl, Code-switching, 160.

8 Schendl and Wright, Code-switching in early English, and Schendl, Code-switching.

9 Bériou, Latin et langues vernaculaires, 206.

10 Note that I will use Romance as a generic term and Catalan for a more specific context. Needless to say, sources refer to »*romancium*«, not to »Catalan«.

examine Latin sermons with vernacular elements on their own terms as written evidence of potentially discursive practices in either Latin or the vernacular. While I do not discard the idea that bilingual sermons could be uttered as such in school exercises, I disagree with Wenzel's premise that the presence of vernacular mixing is fundamentally connected to a spoken phenomenon. To understand these practices, I explore them in a broader context: didactical, codicological, the intended purpose of the work, as well as the textual and discursive context in which bilingual code-switching occurs. The argument will be deployed as follows. Firstly, I ground the material in a historical and didactical setting that informs the further discussion by outlining the role of language education in Dominican schools and in a broader context. Secondly, to understand better the nature and purpose of code-switching in their sermons, I discuss in detail two sermon manuscripts by two fourteenth-century Dominican authors by contextualising bilingual alternation and code-switching in the discourse, i.e. in the relation between the switch, the structure and the message of the sermon. Thirdly, by drawing on the analysis of these two cases, I conclude with a section that aims to integrate the examples in a larger diachronic perspective of bilingualism in sermon production from Catalonia and beyond.

The Dominican Province of Aragon, which came into existence in the early fourteenth century, was a multilingual unit that comprised three linguistic areas and *nationes*: the Catalans, the Aragonese and the Navarrese.[11] A Dominican friar would join a convent closest to home and it was in his native language area that he would eventually preach in public to larger audiences. While theology was central to the work and education of the Dominicans, a young friar also needed to gain mastery of language in a broad sense. Preaching in Latin and the vernacular was part of the practical training, as future preachers regularly had to give »mock« sermons in both languages in their convent before getting a licence to preach in public.[12] Probably, this practice was supplemented with more theoretical lessons on how to compose a sermon according to the requirements of the arts of preaching. Yet, this was only part of the process of learning that presupposed previously acquired skills in Latin and the vernacular.

The language training of the Dominicans and the importance of the language arts to their office have not been much studied. As stipulated in their regulations, the entrants and novices were expected to have a basic and working knowledge of Latin and grammar before profession, but normative sources remain vague and unclear beyond that.[13] A detailed examination of the language education of the Aragonese friars is beyond the scope of this article.

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11 These areas overlapped with the territories of the confederate kingdom of Aragon and the kingdom of Navarra; from 1324 the Catalan *natio* included the regions of Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearics and Sardinia. I use Aragonese to denote affiliation with the province; in specific linguistic contexts, it means the Romance spoken in Aragon.

12 Mulchahey, *»First the Bow«*, 184-193, for the training of the preachers; the Acts of the General Chapters from 1346 (reinforced in 1347), for instance, instruct priors to license only those who had »frequently« preached in Latin and the vernacular in the chapter house, in *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum* 2, ed. Reichert, 310.

13 Mulchahey, *»First the Bow«*, 79-129. A very brief outline of a friar's early career: pre-postulants received basic education in Latin, if they had no knowledge of it, and religious instruction; as novices, they would continue with religious and doctrinal education and Latin and grammar, if necessary. As newly professed friars, they would study theology in the convent *schola* for several years and, at the same time, take specialised courses in grammar (in Aragon), logic and philosophy. Future lecturers would take more advanced theology at the provincial and general *studium* of the province and a minority (the future Masters of Theology) studied in a general school of another province and at Paris, the highest Dominican *studium.*

Nonetheless, a brief preliminary discussion is necessary for my case of bilingualism as originating in school. My hypothesis is that advanced bilingual abilities were gained in the teaching and learning practices of the grammar *studia* and to a certain extent in the logic courses, which, like philosophy, were informed by theology. Circumstantial evidence and a reading of sources in a broader context will bring some clarity on this matter.[14] This discussion is therefore relevant for the main argument since exploring language training as well as reviewing some examples of bilingualism in texts other than sermons, i.e. grammatical works, helps us to understand better how the bilingualism in sermons is related to a set of acquired linguistic skills and strategies.

The *grammaticalia* (the grammar *studium*), typical for the Province of Aragon, were schools of advanced grammar rather than remedial Latin courses for novices and pre-postulants, as has been suggested.[15] We do not know the curriculum, but revision of the fundamentals was likely part of the course; in that sense, they could be remedial. That they were advanced language courses is also suggested by the fact that most teachers were Dominicans who had already studied logic.[16] Besides, Dominicans in Aragon were not alone in organising such advanced courses, as other orders, such as the Franciscans, had similar arrangements.[17] Certainly, knowledge of Latin and grammar was probably deficient, if one is to judge by the repeated complaints of the Aragonese authorities. When normative sources are specific, it is the spoken Latin and grammatical congruity that was found inadequate for further logic courses. It is perhaps in this manner that one can interpret a 1352 directive that grammar teachers have their students do (»fieri faciant«) conjugations, declensions, »*proverbia*« and

14 Partly discussed in Negoi, *Dominicans, Manuscripts, and Preaching*, 29-64; I substantially review some arguments. The main sources for Dominican regulations in Aragon are the Acts of the annual Provincial Chapters, preserved in Zaragoza, Bilioteca Universitaria, MS 185 (XVI-XVII copies; incomplete), *Acta Capitulorum Provincialium Provinciae Aragoniae*. I exclusively refer to this manuscript here, but see also Maierù, Dominican *Studia* in Spain, for a further bibliography on editions and a discussion of the curriculum in the *studia* of Aragon.

15 Mulchahey, *»First the Bow«*, 95-97, mentions grammar schools as external »feeder schools«; Maierù, Dominican *Studia* in Spain, 7-9. In Aragon, these schools were *studia*, thus, part of the educational system inherited from before the split from Hyspania (which organised courses of grammar and logic from 1275 onwards). Aragonese regulations are sometimes explicit in that no novice could be received if he needed to take grammar; they had to be competent in reading and »somewhat sufficient« in Latin, in 1321 and 1354, respectively, see Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 185, fol. 105, fol. 254, and fol. 336.

16 The Acts indicate on occasions that priors of specific convents had to find a teacher, but the overwhelming majority were friars themselves, according to the list of yearly assignations to the *studia* section of the Acts, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 185.

17 Roest, *History of Franciscan Education*, 68, noting the recruits were about 14-15 when qualified for logic. That was most likely the case for the Dominicans; the testimonies of two friars from Barcelona and Valencia and the Acts suggest that: Petrus of Arenys and Juan of Mena recorded in their chronicles that they joined their convents at almost 13 (as a novice) and 10 (as a pre-postulant), respectively; took profession at almost 14 and 15 and were assigned to the grammar school of their convents before studying logic. It is hard to believe that neither, especially Juan, had any language training before attaining their legal status of Dominican friars; see Petrus de Arenys, *Chronicon*, and Johannes de Mena, *Chronicon breviusculum fratris Ioannis de Mena*, edited in one volume by José Hinojosa Montalvo, 15, 55; for Peter, add Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 185, fol. 311.

»other rudiments for children«, rather than the teaching of the very basics.[18] One cannot automatically assume that these exercises implied a lack of basic knowledge since advanced grammar did cover inflections, while »*proverbia*« most probably meant translating and composing in Romance and Latin, as I will explain shortly. It does not necessarily follow that the young were completely unskilled users of language, but that some acquired a grammatically incorrect Latin (not unusual for bilingual speakers). The emphasis on congruity as a prerequisite for logic also indicates that the language arts built on each other in the formation of preachers. In this light, the study of grammar in the convents of Aragon involved a more comprehensive study of language. Very possibly, students' levels varied and teachers had to adapt accordingly; hence no specific texts were prescribed.

Even if Latin remained the main language of instruction, the vernacular must have been present in the classroom. From the perspective of their main aim – training highly qualified preachers capable of delivering sermons in the languages of their publics –, it would make little sense otherwise. Although friars are usually only connected with the art of preaching, their grammar education must have been very similar to that of students of the *trivium* and they were, consequently, trained with similar texts and methods. By assuming that, we can place Dominican training in the context of late medieval approaches to the language arts: rhetoric, grammar and logic (dialectics and semantics). Those new methodologies and the texts employed for teaching Latin through the vernaculars changed the manner in which the language arts were analysed and gave rise to advanced, theoretical and speculative grammars, among other developments. The two verse grammars, Alexander of Villadei's *Doctrinale puerorum* (c. 1200) and Eberhardus of Bethune's *Graecismus* (c. 1220), became standard manuals for teaching grammar to more advanced learners in a bilingual setting, as these texts and commentaries on them were widely circulated with vernacular glosses in the late Middle Ages. Moreover, it is the commentaries as well as kindred theoretical texts in particular that reflect the interrelation and interdependence between the language arts and the multilingualism of the teaching and learning process.[19]

18 The Acts of the 1352, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 185, fol. 224; in 1353, the young were signalled, as »in loquendo latinum deficiant notabiliter«, and all friars in a convent were encouraged to speak Latin among themselves at all times, fol. 239; these concerns were reiterated in the following years. Maierù, Dominican *Studia* in Spain, 9, reads these ordinances as proof that grammar schools taught the very basics of Latin.

19 For convenient syntheses and further bibliography, see Copeland and Sluiter, *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric*, especially parts 5 and 6, and Rosier-Catach, Grammar.

Direct evidence from the Dominicans is scarce, but materials from the Catalan area show that teachers engaged with diverse theoretical texts and methods as elsewhere and, quite importantly, tailored them to the needs of local Romance speakers. We know that the Dominicans in Barcelona already used *Doctrinale* together with *Priscianus minor* and texts of logic and *Graecismus* in the later thirteenth century.[20] Additional evidence from Catalan archives confirms the friars employed these didactical texts and also indicates that advanced grammatical treatises were widely circulated in the area in the fourteenth century.[21] Thus, the Dominicans participated in a shared culture of learning and teaching the language arts at formative levels.

Many of the commentaries of *Doctrinale* in my sample are often associated with other theoretical and applied texts in manuscripts and are multilingual. Their multilingualism ranges from interlinear glosses and bilingual glossaries to organically integrated insertions that can be words (lexical units) or more complex sentences and constructions in the vernacular.[22] The latter is the most commonly encountered type of language mixing and alternation in commentaries and other advanced grammars, where bilingualism covers a wide array of linguistic matters and occurs mostly in discussions of the parts of speech (*partes orationis*), i.e. inflections, adverbs, and figures of speech (*figurae*), where code-switching is more varied. I shall briefly look at several examples of bilingualism that are similar to what one can find in sermons, as the reader will soon discover.

In a manuscript linked to a Dominican and containing a commentary on *Doctrinale*, Romance is consistently employed in the emphatic use of the definite article, e.g. »*lo* Petrus« (*the* Peter), »*lo* quem« (»*the* which«), as well as in lessons on nouns as a means of illustration, e.g. the defective of singular, like »*los flancs*« (»the flanks«). As in other grammars in the sample, including the more theoretical and speculative, in the sections on the parts of speech the vernacular is meant to exemplify rhetorical devices, such as euphemisms (»carientismos«), to be used when »something harsh and stern« is expressed with »gracious words«, such as: »*Amic negu demanat hac tota bonaventura*, sicut dicunt aliqui et nolunt dicere non«

20 *Graecismus* and *Doctrinale* with *Priscisanus minor* appear in two instances in the lending section of the convent's library, edited in Kaeppeli, Dominicana Barcinonensia, 63-64, and 65. The document records the names and books loaned to teachers/advanced students; it covers little of the fourteenth century.

21 I focus on about 20 grammatical manuscripts from Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d' Aragó (henceforth: ACA), Ripoll collection (Benedictines), whose medieval codices were gathered from diverse sources through the later Middle Ages, as I point out in Negoi, *Dominicans, Manuscripts, and Preaching*, 110-111. I only discuss a small sample. The manuscripts are available online at *Portal de Archivos Españoles* (henceforth: *PARES*), pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/contiene/1859467 (search terms: »Doctrinale«, »Grecismus«, »gramatica«). Many share features that suggest continuous use by multiple readers, e.g. portable, made of paper, contain glosses, additions of texts, paragraphs, recipes and prayers in Latin and Romance. One such example is a *Graecismus* (copied 1334), glossed by several hands and owned at one point by a Dominican friar, in ACA, Ripoll, MS 147, note on fol. 97v. More examples to follow; I am unaware of studies on any of the manuscripts cited in the following.

22 For example, ACA, Ripoll, MS 97, *Doctrinale puerorum*, glossed by several hands in Latin and Catalan, with most Catalan glosses on verbs, nouns and adjectives; ACA, Ripoll, MS 139, *»Liber scholae«*, bilingual glossary of adverbs, on fols. 5r-6v.

(»[*He*] *needs no friend hence all the good fortune*, as some say when they do not want to say no«).[23] Beyond bilingualism, the manuscript is also illustrative of the employment of logic in grammar, as the *figurae* part draws heavily on Aristotelian works on language, e.g. *On Interpretation*, *Categories*, and other theoretical grammars. Thus, the work might well have been used in a Dominican grammar school; it could function as an introduction to more advanced analyses on language that familiarised students with logic.[24]

That bilingualism was integral to the process of acquiring advanced linguistic skills is further confirmed by more theoretical and speculative texts than this example. One such example is another commentary of *Doctrinale* that analyses verbs and nouns through modes of signification so as to distinguish between the vocal (literal) and semantic (real) meaning or sense of words, a method associated with the late thirteenth-century »modists«.[25] Other relevant instances of the vernacular in teaching occur in discussions of syntax, translation or interpretation, and composition (»componere«).[26] Composition appears to have been of particular concern for teachers who applied the »*proverbiandi*« technique, meaning paraphrasing, while *proverbium* could simply mean Romance or a construction illustrated bilingually, as linguists noted in other late medieval grammars from Aragon.[27] Additionally, this method also involved translation from and into Latin and Romance through »replacing« (»supleccio«), i.e. a circumlocution.[28] It is thus very likely that the »*proverbia*« Dominican students were to revise in the grammar *studia* together with conjugations and declensions meant learning how to compose correctly through the vernacular.

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23 ACA, Ripoll, MS 79, Commentary on *Doctrinale puerorum* by 3 different scribes, marginal glosses by other hands; several owners, of which one wrote that she/he »received this book from Friar Berengarius of the Order of Preachers«, on fol. 185v; articles, for instance, on fols. 167r-v, and the noun on fol. 40r, but other examples throughout; »carientismos« on fol. 165v. Note that the article features in most of the other grammars in my sample. I use Italics to distinguish the vernacular from Latin throughout this article.

24 Aristotle's works on language were part of the logic course curriculum; see Mulchahey, *»First the Bow«*, 238-252.

25 ACA, Ripoll, MS 154, Commentary on *Doctrinale puerorum*. For example, when explaining the various significations of »frons« (face or forehead), e.g. »frontispicium« (»frontispice«) which can mean »*the front face of the church* or of another thing« (»hoc frontispicium *per frontal desgleya* vel alterius rey«), fol. 40r, or when discussing verbs and aspects, e.g.: »lavo idem est quod *lavar* vel *denajar*« (»I wash is the same as *to wash* or *to clean*«), fol. 180v; other examples on fol. 142r, for instance. There are other multilingual commentaries on *Doctrinale* and grammars in the Ripoll collection that engage with the modes of signification (*modi siginifcandi*). On »modists«, semantics and the »linguistic turn« in medieval logic, see Rosier-Catach, Grammar.

26 Example of translation in ACA, Ripoll, MS 142, a compilation of theoretical and practical texts by 4 scribes, at fol. 114v: »Hoc idioma transferis *per lengatge*« (»You translate idiom *as language*«), in a lesson organised on questions and answers; more examples of bilingualism applied to nouns, verbs, adverbs, throughout the text, fols. 112v-115v. Example of teaching syntax and how to »compose« literally in a Latin-Catalan alternation of each syntactic unit in ACA, Ripoll, MS 191 (a treatise on modes of signification, written 1337), where the sentence »Iste subvenit suo matri« is explained as follows: »Iste/*Aquest*/subvenit/*ha aiudat*/suo matri/*la sua matre*« (»This one helped his mother«), fols. 79v-80r.

27 Example of a »proverbium« in ACA, Ripoll, MS 142, in another practical grammar (fols. 116r-164r), when explaining how to use the comparative: »Ut si dicatur: *La nostra cassa es pus de loriu que la vestra.* Componitur sic: nostrum ospicium est ulterius rivum quam vestrum« (»As when you say: *Our house is further up the river than yours.* You compose as such: Our lodging is further up the river than yours«), fol. 117v; more examples throughout the text as well as in a treatise on »figures«, fols. 78r-100v. For thorough discussions of the *proverbiandi* method in another grammatical multilingual manuscript from ACA (Ripoll, MS 153) with examples in Aragonese and Catalan, and other late medieval Iberian grammars, see Calvo Fernández, Gramática latina medieval, and Esparza Torres and Calvo Fernández, *Grammatica proverbiandi.*

28 Examples of circumlocutions abound in these manuscripts; see, for instance, ACA, Ripoll, MS 184, which contains a bilingual text on »suplecciones« and a part of a commentary on *Doctrinale.*

To conclude, these examples not only indicate that the vernacular was actively utilised in language schools, Dominican included; it is reasonable to assume that the preachers were trained with the same textbooks and methods: for them, language was a tool. Bilingualism, oral and written, was thus acquired in the grammar courses and further applied in exercises in the logic course, as well as when practising preaching in the convent. Furthermore, many of the issues discussed in these grammars, such as the distinction between vocal and semantic meaning, weighed heavily when rendering Latin terms and phrases or sentences in the vernacular, especially in situations that involved biblical exegesis. Moreover, many of the instances of vernacular employment are quite similar to what one can find in sermons. Multilingual sermons thus reflect the training of friars to be active in two languages: they acquired and internalised rules of writing and delivering speeches both theoretically and practically. The next section will further illuminate these conventions and communicative strategies in sermon collections at different editorial stages.

The first case study is a fourteenth-century manuscript with the Sunday sermons of the Dominican inquisitor Nicholas Eymeric (d. 1399). Nicholas, from Girona, Catalonia, was an accomplished friar who studied and taught in the best schools of his province and order (at Paris) and authored works of biblical exegesis, manuals for students of logic and philosophy, sermons, and polemical works. While most of his writings have survived in manuscripts, few have been studied and edited, his collections of sermons included.[29]

Nicholas' two sermon collections were conceived as manuals for the younger, inexperienced Dominican friars in his native convent of Girona. Both the Sunday sermon collection on the gospels (1366) and that on generic saints, various events and for the dead (1373), are exemplary didactical works composed by an experienced teacher and preacher whose aim was to offer models that served the needs of his brethren. I shall only explore the Sunday sermons here, as only this collection qualifies for a discussion of bilingual code-switching in sermons.[30]

29 For the most comprehensive biography and list of works in manuscripts, see Heimann, *Nicolaus Eymerich*, 162-218.

30 Nicholas Eymerich, *Sermones dominicales* (1366) in Sevilla, Colombina y Capitular, MS 123-3-7 (XIV), and *Opus sermonum de communi sanctorum plurimorumque eventuum ac etiam multorum diversorum in speciali et omnium in generali fidelium defunctorum*, Sevilla, Colombina y Capitular, MS 123-3-2 (XIV). Both collections contain a prologue in which the author makes it clear that the addressees were the teachers and friars of the Dominican convent in Girona.

The *dominicales* collection was designed as a pedagogical tool for a very specific audience of readers: teachers and students. It is a polished edition organised as a complete, practical guide to sermon-making: it comprises sermons for the entire liturgical year, an analytical table (by alphabet) of headings of punctual matters and rhetorical devices applied in specific parts of each sermon, and a table of »moral questions« corresponding to each sermon. The page layout adds to its intended function as a reference tool, as the reader is guided through the parts of the sermons signalled with capitals in the margin, e.g. A, B, etc. These also locate devices in relation to the analytical table, which helped the reader easily find a specific topic or applied rhetorical device in sermons.[31] Turning to the vernacular elements in the sermons, there are four situations of bilingual alternation: glosses in Catalan, translations or paraphrases of doctrinal matters and of the divisions of the *thema*, and intrasentential switching. The translation of the divisions is consistently observed in almost all sermons, whereas the other types occur in a few, very specific contexts.

I will first treat the division of the *thema* since it was essential not only as a structuring device, but also because it had the role of conveying an authoritative, correct, interpretation of the biblical message (the Gospel from which the *thema* is drawn). The example chosen for illustration is the sermon for the fourteenth Sunday after Trinity, based on the parable of the ten lepers from the Gospel of Luke 17. 11-19: »They stood at a distance and raised their voice saying: Jesus master, have mercy on us« (Luke 17. 13).[32] So that we can better understand the role of the Latin and vernacular switching in the division of the *thema*, I will succinctly explain how the sermon unfolds. Nicholas structures the sermon according to the scholastic procedure: a short introduction of the *thema* and of the broader subject it entails that leads to a moral question (part A) and possible solutions by confronting the authorities, which is the springboard for the deployment of the next section (part B).[33] Next, he expands on distinctions (parts C; D; E) and subdistinctions (part F) to solve the question raised; once the solution is found, he reiterates the *thema* and splits it into three parts, in Latin and Catalan. The last part is a moral exposition of the entire gospel passage assigned, like a postil (part G). Returning to the division of the *thema*, Nicholas breaks it into three sentences mirroring the three syntactic units of the biblical verse, as follows:

31 Colombina y Capitular, MS 123-3-7, the pagination principle is by sermon number written in red ink in the upper right corner of the folio recto. This helped the user of the table to locate the sermon quickly. I will refer to the sermon number and paragraphs (A, B, C, etc.) for references. The applied devices are generally *moralitates*, similitudes or metaphors. Also note that authorities are indicated in the margin.

32 Colombina y Capitular, MS 123-3-7, Sermon 63, »Dominica post trinitatem xiiij«. I use the Latin Vulgate with the Douay and Rheims version for biblical references. Insofar as it is possible, I aim to stay true to the layout of the manuscript when quoting; I expand silently, when transcribing. All translations are mine, but I am very grateful to Oriol Catalán for his help and clarifications with some of the Catalan sentences in this section. All mistakes are my own.

33 The moral question addressed is: »Volentes bona opera exercere an debeant in publico facere vel occulto« (If those who want to do good works should do them in public or in private), in the table of *questiones*, sermon 63. The question is formulated at greater length in the sermon.

»Steterunt a longe et levaverunt vocem dicentes: Jhesu preceptor miserere nostri, Luke 17«.
In quibus tria:
Primo disposicio precedens que est per realem humiliationem »Steterunt a longe«
Secundo execucio accedens que est per verbalem supplicationem »Levaverunt vocem dicentes«
Tercio conclusio sequens que est per totalem remissionem »Jhesu preceptor miserere nostri«
In vulgari
Primo con li devem star cor ab cordial humiliacion
Secundo con li devem parlar cor ab corporal supplicacion
Tercio quen devem reportar cor total remission.
[G] Hec tria patent in evangelio hodierno. Dicatur et post exponatur sic.[34]

The two language blocks are grouped as sets of three verses marked by *in vulgari*, thus visually delimited on the page. The division of the *thema* and the maintaining of the rhyme in both languages, within and between the parts of the divisions, is faithfully observed. Nicholas worked with a shared recognisable model of composition which involved translating or rendering the division parts from Latin to the vernacular, which was a common procedure in sermons from other areas.[35]

The Catalan divisions paraphrase the Latin text; they are not literal translations, but an accurate interpretation of the Latin sentences, particularly of the subject of each part, e.g. »disposicio precedens« becomes the clause »*con li devem star*« in the first part. The technique strongly resonates with what grammar lessons prescribed concerning translation as interpretation and paraphrasing. Moreover, one can observe the employment of semantic meaning over vocal rendition, also a matter I noted in the discussion of advanced bilingual grammars, with which Nicholas' readers were already familiar.[36] Thus, what Nicholas aimed for was what Yuichi Akae also identified as »actual« or »semantic agreement« between the two languages and not a »verbal agreement« when translating the division of the *thema* in his study of the model sermon collection of the fourteenth-century English Austin friar John Waldeby. As Akae, like others, argues, the matter of transferring the vernacular from Latin in divisions was crucial because it concerned the »primary interpretation« of the biblical message, not because of the inability to preach in the vernacular to »popular« audiences. Hence, the preachers needed to take »extra care« in this matter and a literal translation (the »verbal

34 Colombina y Capitular, MS 123-3-7, sermon 63, F: »In which words, three things: firstly, the preceding disposition which is by actual humility: *They stood at a distance*; secondly, the incoming discussion which is by verbal supplication: *raised their voice*; thirdly, the following conclusion which is by total remission: *Jesus master, have mercy on us*. In vulgar: *Firstly, how we have to stand [be], for it is by genuine humility; secondly, how we have to speak to him, for it is by bodily supplication; thirdly, what we have to report, for it is total remission*. Today's gospel is about these three matters; to be said and afterwards explained as such«. »Reportar« in the third Catalan division can be alternatively translated as »to give count«.

35 See for instance the manual of preaching of the Italian Dominican Jacob of Fusignano (d. 1333), who mentions the habit of »modern« preachers of dividing the *thema* in rhymes – »per quasdam verborum consonancia« and advises that the end of the divisions should end in similar syllables, in Jacobus de Fusignano, *Libellus artis predicatorie*, ed. and transl. Wenzel, 34-36. See further Wenzel, *Medieval* Artes Praedicandi, 73, for a convenient synopsis.

36 That preachers did not need to follow the word order in translating from Latin to the vernacular in divisions or *thema* is also noted by the Pseudo-Aquinas treatise on preaching (late XIV), quoted in Wenzel, *Medieval* Artes Praedicandi, 45 n. 25.

agreement«) was unhelpful.[37] Thus, for preachers who employed the translation of divisions in the vernacular the difficulty consisted not in the vernacular as a language of communication as such, but in how to convey the main scriptural message faithfully without departing from the Latin model. It also explains Nicholas Eymeric's consistent bilingual strategy in the divisions of the *thema* only.

Yet, the matter of language in the divisions seems obviously related to how the Latin is formulated, as the vernacular depends on that. In our example, the Latin as well as the Catalan seem overly formulaic (unlike the Latin in the body text), but that is because these devices were meant to abstract and synthesize the main message of the sermon. So, there is not only a bilingual switching but also a switch from one level of Latin to another, a rather common occurrence in thematic sermons. Nicholas purposely used these code-switching strategies if we consider the targeted readership and aim of his work: the inexperienced friars could learn how to formulate the biblical message in both languages in a succinct and correct manner. Therefore, the code-switching strategy in the division of the *thema* in our example cannot be related to a structural function only, since the divisions do not play a role in the development of the sermon, as the B type of bilingualism would work in Wenzel's categorisation. For when we look at the division and its place within the sermon structure, we see that it occupies a transitional position between the solution to the question raised and the exposition of the gospel. In this sermon, it is the moral question that plays the leading role in structuring the discourse, not the division of the *thema*, which betrays the didactical origin and purpose of the work. Nicholas' structuring strategy is rather unusual, since most sermon authors and practising preachers who employed the division of the biblical verse placed it either after the introduction of the *thema* or immediately after assuming the *thema*. In this case, the role of the thematic division in the entire discourse is to conclude the truth demonstrated in the development of the sermon. Thus, translation of the divisions only was prioritised because they encapsulate the very essence of the biblical verse and of the moral lesson the sermon aimed to teach: what we should do and how. The moral exposition of the gospel that closes the sermon serves as a recapitulation and reinforcement of that moral lesson. To sum up, bilingual code-switching in the thematic division in this example is a deliberate, conscious strategy because it concerned an authoritative interpretation of the Bible. Hence, it could not be left to chance or the inspiration of the moment, particularly for the untrained preachers. The translation of the division could be used by Nicholas' intended readers no matter how they structured their sermon: they could use the sermon as it was, rearrange the different parts, or leave out what they deemed unnecessary for their purpose or public, whether they were to preach it in Latin or Catalan.

37 Akae, *Mendicant Sermon Collection*, 206-225, for the discussion of language; on the distinction between *concordatia vocalis* (verbal agreement) and *concordatia realis* (»actual« or »sematic agreement«), as prescribed by John's contemporary Robert Basevorn, *ibid.*, 207. I am very grateful to Dr. Akae for generously providing me with a copy of his book. On the exegetical importance of the divisions as the main reason why they are translated in bilingual sermons from France, see also Bériou, Latin et langues vernaculaires, 197.

A similar concern with how to interpret and articulate a doctrinal message concisely and correctly emerges from the second example of bilingual alternation in Nicholas Eymeric's collection. The switch occurs in one of the main parts (division) of a sermon for the first Sunday of Advent, in which Nicholas speaks of the condition of the postlapsarian man, the fall from grace and the necessity of Christ's coming, the main subject of the sermon. In this case also, bilingual code-switching does not play a structural role but is employed strategically and deliberately in the discussion of important doctrinal points as seven »difficulties« faced by man to placate God after the fall and liberate himself. The »difficulties« are presented in two separate blocks as verses, in Latin first and Catalan second, marked by »vulgariter sic«. As in the previous example, the Catalan version does not follow the Latin literally, but paraphrases it and exhibits the same preoccupation with staying close to the meaning of the Latin verses, as in the first and sixth distinctions (arbitrarily chosen for illustration):

> Primum sigillum et difficultas erat demonis subiectio, quia homo erat a demone devictus et servus factus.
> *Primer segell o difficultat quel diable havia lo humanal linatge vensut e captivat*.[38]
> Sextum gracie privatio quia erat amore divino frustratus.
> *VIm que per tal Deu lo para de la sua amor e gracia lavia privat.*[39]

Nicholas' main aim here is to provide models of composition of important doctrinal material in both languages with attention to the stylistic effect created by rhyme. Besides, the seven-line »poems« could be fleshed out accordingly when preaching in different venues. They could be readily reused as self-contained texts outside this context and applied to specific needs.

The third kind of bilingual switch in Nicholas' sermon manual is a common occurrence in late medieval sermons: glosses inserted within the Latin sentence as an aid to readers in search of a precise word in the vernacular, and as a wordplay on etymology, respectively. The former is encountered in the sermon for the Septuagesima Sunday, in a list of five forms of avarice. He only translates the third and the fourth varieties – fraud and deceit, perhaps to make clear the distinction between intention and action presupposed by each, or to suggest how to best render them in Romance: »fraus, id est *ganyonia* in cogitatione« (fraud, i.e. *stinginess* in thinking), and »fallacia, id est *traydoria* in tractatu et commutatione« (deceit, i.e. *treachery* in dealing and exchanging).[40] The latter example is an explanation of a word in Catalan by etymology in the manner of a gloss and occurs in a sermon for the Passion Sunday (before Palm Sunday) in the discussion of the lustful (»luxuriosi«): they are called »*anamorats*« (»enamoured« or »infatuated«) in the common tongue, because they are »*orats*« (»crazy« or »fools«) when in love (»et ideo vocantur vulgariter *anamorats* quia in amore *orats*«).[41] As we can see, the bilingual switch here can be considered intrasentential.

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38 Colombina y Capitular, MS 123-3-7, »Sermo primus de adventu domini«, sermon 1, H: »The first seal and difficulty is that he was under the subjugation of the devil, for the man was defeated by the devil and enslaved«. Catalan: *»The first seal or difficulty [is that] the devil defeated and captured the human lineage«.*

39 Colombina y Capitular, MS 123-3-7, sermon 1, H: »The sixth [is] privation of grace, for he was robbed of the divine love«. Catalan: *»The sixth [is] that, as such, God the Father deprived him of his love and grace«.*

40 Colombina y Capitular, MS 123-3-7, »Dominica in lxx«, sermon 18, D.

41 Colombina y Capitular, MS 123-3-7, »Dominica in passione«, sermon 25, E.

Intrasentential code-switching is more clearly illustrated in Nicholas' sermon for Good Friday. Why in this sermon and not in others in the collection is also a deliberate decision on the part of the author, as it concerned a liturgical occasion with a particular emotional impact. Like other late medieval preachers, Nicholas used vernacular intermingling in this altogether dramatic sermon to help recreate the ominous events of Christ's capture, judgment and crucifixion.[42] The bilingual intermingling (type C in Wenzel's taxonomy) is, however, not random or inordinate, but well thought through since it appears in contexts centred on Mary and is meant to convey a mother's grief and distress through the use of vernacular terms (adjectives and nouns) that express sorrow. More precisely, the switch comes up in describing Mary's utter loss and lamentation, as well as in dialogues or direct speech:

> »Ecce quantum infortunium, quanta mala ventura, *quant desastre li ha vengut*! Ecce modo est mulier *desavneturada, dona desmaridada, mara molt dolorosa, virge molt amargosa*«;[43]

when John arrives with news of Jesus' trial and impending crucifixion and Mary's reaction, respectively:

> »Heu me miser! Heu me *las*! Heu me *dolent e esmarrit*! quid faciam?«
> »O *marrida*, o *dolenta*, ubi habetis infantem meum? *O lassa despagada e mesquina*, ubi habetis bone Johannes magistrum vestrum Ihesum?«;[44]

and in Mary's lament at the sight of her son on the *via crucis*:

> »O misera, quid faciam? O *despagada,* quid dicam? O *dolenta*, quo sine filio meo pergam?«[45]

Therefore, Nicholas' decision in this instance was tied to a liturgical occasion that required drama and a sense of alertness to retell the story of the Passion in which potential audiences could partake emotionally. His strategy was also rhetorical because the sermon is structured very differently from the rest in the collection: it is mostly an exposition of the gospel. Furthermore, this sermon is also an illustration that the mixing of all types, particularly

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42 Colombina y Capitular, MS 123-3-7, »Primus sermo in feria sexta parasceve«, sermon 28. This type of mixing in sermons for Good Friday and Resurrection Sunday can be encountered in France, Italy or England from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, and scholars generally explain it as a sign that the vernacular as mother tongue was more suitable for capturing and expressing deep emotion; see Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 66-67; Bériou, Latin et langues vernaculaires, 201; Delcorno, Language of the preachers, 57-59 (a discussion of language mixing in a Passion sermon by a Dominican); Johnson, *Grammar of Good Friday*.

43 Colombina y Capitular, MS 123-3-7, sermon 28, A: »Behold what misfortune, what bad luck, *what a disaster came upon her*! In this way she is an *unfortunate* woman, *separated lady, very sorrowful mother, very bitter virgin*«.

44 Colombina y Capitular, MS 123-3-7, sermon 28, H: »Alas miserable me! Alas *poor* me! Alas *sorrowful and desperate* me! What will I do?«, and Mary: »*Oh, wife, oh, sorrowful* [woman], where do you have my child? *Oh, poor, unconsoled and unlucky* [woman], where do you have your master Jesus, good John?«.

45 Colombina y Capitular, MS 123-3-7, sermon 28, H: »Oh miserable me, what will I do? Oh *wretched* me, what should I say? Oh *sorrowful* me, how shall I go on without my son?«. Further on, language mixing occurs briefly when Mary addresses Mary Magdalen: »O *molt amada* filii mei« (»Oh, *much beloved* to my son!«).

C, was not necessarily random or uncommon in ready-made editions of sermons. Overall, Nicholas Eymerich's collection demonstrates that bilingualism was a conscious written strategy of authors and preachers who sought to offer models of interpretation and translation for preachers-in-training.

Nicholas's collection is but one example of the many editions of ready-made sermons rooted in a pedagogical context that can be encountered in other areas in the Late Middle Ages. Yet, bilingual code-switching in sermons as a written convention is not necessarily specific to editions or didactical contexts, but often features in types of texts and manuscripts for personal use. A case in point is the next example of a manuscript with sermon drafts by Guillelmus Simonis (d. 1365), another Dominican preacher from the convent of Girona and a contemporary of Nicholas Eymeric.

Guillelmus was one of the more ordinary Dominican preachers and teachers, whose less glamorous yet essential contribution to the Dominican preaching body and wider audiences was through teaching at the lower levels (logic, theology lectures in the *schola*) and preaching.[46] Guillelmus wrote a collection of Sunday sermons for the summer and autumn season (1358) which is preserved in a manuscript in Seville, my present focus, and in three other fourteenth- and fifteenth-century codices currently held in other European libraries. The Seville codex, very likely the earliest witness of Guillelmus' sermons, is a small, portable (15.5 x 12 cm), paper book for personal use. There are reasons to believe that the book was a work in progress (perhaps an autograph), since many of the sermons are incomplete, with space left to fill in later, e.g. structural parts, entire paragraphs cancelled (struck out or indicated as »vacat«), cross-references to other sermons in the collection, and notes to oneself and potential readers, e.g. »apply and conclude«.[47] Possibly, the author intended to create an edition based on his actual preaching and teaching in the convent *schola*, as was often the case with sermon collections, and that edition probably materialised in light of several other witnesses. Concerning bilingual insertions, Guillelmus' sermons contain several examples of linguistic alternation and intermingling of all types: structural and illustrative elements, and some that can qualify as intersentential switches.

The only example of bilingual code-switching in the division of the *thema* is in a sermon for the fourteenth Sunday after Trinity drawn from the gospel of the day (Luke 17) on the ten lepers, which allows for a comparison with Nicholas' sermon for the same occasion. Compared to Nicholas, Guillelmus has a more »classical« approach to the thematic sermon and his sermons are generally more instructive than argumentative, thus much closer to what one was expected to preach to a general public. As I proceeded with Nicholas, I shall first give a

46 See the short biography in Kaeppeli, *Scriptores* 2, 163. It does not seem he ever studied in a general *studium*, but became Preacher General late in his career.

47 Guillelmus Simonis, *Sermones dominicales* (1358) in Sevilla, Capitular y Colombina MS 59-3-7 (XIV), as *Sermones de tempore*. I take the title *dominicales* from the explicit: »Expliciunt sermones dominicales de primo opere per ffratrem Guillelmum Simonis ordinis predicatorum compilati anno domini 1358«. The manuscript was in the personal collection of an archbishop of Seville in 1397. It contains a table of pericopes for Sunday sermons, several lines of theological notes, 54 sermons, and medical recipes by the author and by a later hand that adds more recipes for ear ailments on the flyleaf. The other manuscripts are in the Czech Republic and France: Kynžvart 20 H 13 (XIV); Třeboň, State Archive A20 (XV); Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire 100 (XV). None has been studied, to my knowledge.

very brief overview of the structure of the sermon. From the verse »They raised their voice saying: Jesus master have mercy on us«, the preacher briefly introduces the *thema* and focuses on sins as incurable diseases by nature to make the point that all need to ask for divine mercy to be cured. Next, he breaks the *thema* into four parts, followed by distinctions based on the fourth part only and then subdistinctions. The last part of the sermon, which is not elaborated upon, but indicated, would be a literal exposition of the gospel: »Hic narra ystoriam evangelii solum ad litteram ad prolixitatem vitandam et postea fac finem«.[48] The fourfold division of the *thema* is first given in Catalan and then in Latin, as follows:

> *Levaverunt vocem dicentes Ihesu preceptor miserere nostri,* Lk. [Luke 17. 13]
> In quibus verbis, scilicet per ordinem, ~~ostenduntur~~ [sic] isti leprosi:
> Primo *la lur voluntat a fervor de devocio provocaren* »Levaverunt voem«4
> Secundo *lo gran poder de deu regonegueren e conffessaren* »Dicentes: Ihesu preceptor«
> Tercio *merce e misericordia humilment li demanaren* »miserere nostri«
> Quarto tangitur *la rahon sufficient quali allegaren* »quia viri leprosi«
>
> Primo quia affectum ad devocionem provocaverunt »Levaverunt vocem«
> Secundo divinam potenciam recognoverunt »dicentes Ihesu preceptor«
> Tercio eius pietatem et misericordiam postulaverunt »miserere nostri«
> Quarto causam quam sibi allegaverunt »decem viri leprosi«.[49]

The division of the *thema* and the two languages visually stand out from the rest of the sermon, as separate verses, which Guillelmus employs throughout the book. Stylistically, the author is attentive to the rhyme at the end of the four verses, which falls on the verb in both languages. Also, the attention to sematic rather than verbal interpretation in language alternation is evident and the Latin version is more contracted than the Catalan, like a paraphrase. The issue is whether Guillelmus translated or adapted the Latin from the Catalan, which comes first, which might imply that he conceived the Catalan verses first. While hard to tell, it might reveal something of the workings of a »bilingual mind« trained to use both languages actively and with a solid level of theological literacy, as I suggest in the discussion of Dominican language training.[50] Compared to Nicholas's sermon for the same occasion, there is a noticeable difference between how the two preachers formulated the divisions in order to convey the essential subject of the sermon. That rests on the decision each made about what they sought to inculcate, their respective purpose and the structuring method.[51]

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48 Capitular y Colombina MS 59-3-7, Sermon for the 14th Sunday after Trinity, fols. 90v-93v: »Here tell the story of the gospel only literally to avoid verbosity and end afterwards«.

49 Capitular y Colombina MS 59-3-7, fol. 91v, the underlining and the stricken out word in the manuscript: »In which words, that is, in order, these lepers ~~showed~~: firstly, *they summoned their will to the fervour of devotion:* ›they raised their voice‹; secondly, *they recognised and confessed the great power of God*: ›saying Jesus master‹; thirdly, *they humbly asked for his pity and mercy*: ›have mercy on us‹; fourthly, *to mention the sufficient reason they laid before him*: in the words ›ten lepers‹«; Latin: »firstly, they stimulated their disposition to devotion: ›they raised their voice‹; secondly, they recognised the divine potency: ›saying Jesus master‹; thirdly, they asked for his pity and mercy: ›have mercy on us‹; fourthly, the reason they pleaded with him: ›ten men with leprosy‹«.

50 One also wonders why the switch only occurs in this sermon and not in others; one thought is that perhaps the author worked with other drafts or that the vernacular simply came to mind first.

51 The comparison stands for the rest of the sermons by the two authors; here I only point it out because Guillelmus employs bilingual alternation.

Nicholas sought to answer a question around which he organised the entire discourse, and the division functioned as a confirmation or conclusion of what he intended to prove; Guillelmus focused on a single issue – leprosy as sin – and the division was meant to capture that message. Thus, despite the difference in emphasis between the two authors, the importance of the division in their sermons is both methodological and interpretive and adds to the point made about the formulating of divisions and of further rendering them in either language. Last, the employment of the gospel exposition as a structural part of the sermon by both preachers serves as a further reinforcement of the sermon's message.[52]

Other instances of bilingual code-switching in Guillelmus Simonis's sermon drafts only appear in two sermons for Pentecost, whose *themata* are drawn from the Psalms. In both sermons, Guillelmus employs a vernacular proverb as a method of introducing the *thema* and of setting the overall focus of the sermon, thus playing a double role – rhetorical and structural. In the first example, Guillelmus announces the *thema* and immediately places the proverb after it:

> »Spiritus tuus bonus deducit te in terram eternam«. Ps. Vulgariter qui dicitur *qui deu anar en altra region se deu guarnir de bon companyon*.[53]

The proverb opens a brief discussion about why one needs a good companion when travelling far from home, i.e. paradise; hence, one needs the company of the Holy Spirit in the earthly voyage. The discussion ends with the reiteration of the proverb in Latin: »Ergo qui vult ire in longicam regionem debet habere bonum ductorem« (Therefore, whoever wants to go to a distant region must have a good guide). Thus, the preacher's motive of writing down the proverb in Catalan, which he translates pretty much literally in Latin, was not only the desire to record it as such because it made sense to his »popular« publics, but also because the proverb had a functional role in his discourse.[54]

The same remarks are valid for the other example of a proverb inserted after the *thema* in the last sermon of the collection. The Catalan proverb is rendered in Latin more or less literally in bilingual alternation. It too functions as a means to introduce the subject and is reiterated in Latin at the end of the introduction. As in the other sermon for Pentecost, it is another example of local wisdom the preacher picked up and thought worthy of preserving in writing and useful for making a larger point:

52 One may wonder whether it was a local custom of the preachers in Girona to integrate the gospel exposition in a scholastic sermon; only further systematic research will enable us to answer that.

53 Colombina y Capitular, MS 59-3-7, »De spiritu sancto« (»in festo Pentescotis [sic]«, added by the same hand at the top of the page), fols. 57v-61v: *»Your good spirit leads me to the eternal land. Psalm 142.10. It is said in the spoken language: Who has to go to another region needs to guard oneself with a good companion«.*

54 For a similar position on the function of proverbs in thirteenth-century sermons, see Morenzoni, Proverbes dans la prédication, especially 132-133.

»Flavit spiritus eius et fluent aque«, Ps. Vulgariter: *Infant epeys ayga crex*. Litteraliter: pisces et infantes in aquis sunt crescentes.[55]

From the standpoint of language, the sermon is also relevant because the switch is not only bilingual but between discursive strategies: a switch to direct speech (in Catalan) within sentences and the use of Catalan for emphasising an argument. Such switches occur in almost every division of the sermon as sayings, jokes or simply expressions in the vernacular, which the author did not feel the need to translate. For instance, in the first division, expounding on the term »fire« as inordinate passion (which the Holy Spirit extinguishes), Guillelmus discusses heat and burning as a penalty for avarice, applied to the rich man in hell from the parable of Lazarus in Luke 16. 19-31. He narrates the plea of the rich man who was burning in hell and rebukes him in Catalan:

[...] quia crucior in hac flamma. Isti dicendum est: *si es calt buffa ho.*[56]

Guillelmus also employs a vernacular expression (»proverbium vulgare«) as illustration in yet another sub-division: *»tan trona enceo que plou«* (*»it thunders so much in the sky that it rains«*).[57] Lastly, the author either renders sentences from Latin into Catalan for emphasis or uses a Catalan sentence as a bridge for the next section:

Ideo combustit se in hoc mundo et postea in inferno. Vulgariter: *aci hac calor e en infern se crema*.[58]
Escalfar ques crema. Et quia istum amorem non fugit dives ideo se ~~combussit~~ ideo credens se calefacere ~~se combussit~~ combustus fuit.[59]

The two case studies demonstrate that bilingual code-switching in sermons as a written phenomenon was embedded in an educational and intellectual context and in a set of conventions in composing sermons. That one is an edition of ready-made sermons and the other a draft further proves that bilingualism was an internalised habit and working method for Aragonese Dominican authors. Thus, it cannot be reduced to a particular kind of text and

55 Colombina y Capitular, MS 59-3-7, fols. 168r-172v: »›His wind blows and waters shall run‹, Psalm 174, 18. In vulgar: *a child and a fish grow in water.* Literally: children and fish grow up in water«. As Guillelmus explains, children, like fish, need to be bathed and nursed in order to grow; in this case, the Holy Spirit is the water that nurtures and cleanses the faithful.

56 Colombina y Capitular, MS 59-3-7, fol. 168v: »[...] for I am tortured in this fire. To these people we should tell: *if it is hot, blow on it*!«. Further down the same page, there is another example that mimics direct speech: »Ideo dicitur vulgariter *que tal se cuyda*?«, that is »That is why they say in vulgar: *how does he take care of himself*?«.

57 Colombina y Capitular, MS 59-3-7, fol. 169v; the sentence before also contains bilingual alternation as direct speech: »cogita a tu; *ho dic fila enten ho tu nena*«, that is »think about it; *I say daughter understand it by yourself, girl*«.

58 Colombina y Capitular, MS 59-3-7, fol. 168v: »He burns in this world and afterwards in hell. In vulgar: *He is hot here and in hell he burns*«.

59 Colombina y Capitular, MS 59-3-7, fol. 169r: »*Heating until he burns*. And because the rich man did not flee from this passion, he therefore burnt himself, therefore believing that he warmed himself he burnt he got burnt«.

immediate audience. The bilingual alternation in the structural elements, particularly the division of the *thema*, is so often present in texts at whatever stage of composition because they were central in the discourse or to the potential discourse one would preach based on the predominantly Latin text.[60] Both cases also show that translating as such was not the main issue but the formulating of the focus of sermon contained in the biblical message of the text.

Bilingualism of all kinds as a written strategy was common practice in the sermons of preachers of any affiliation in the Catalano-Aragonese area. The evidence from the early fourteenth through the early fifteenth century shows that writing down structural devices in both Latin and the vernacular or only in the vernacular, as well as glosses and proverbs, was a widespread habit. They can be found in sermons composed by Franciscan or anonymous authors, »editors« or scribes. Examples of this were reference works, products of preaching and editorial decisions taken by those who wrote and further transmitted texts for others to use.[61]

If we go further on towards the late fourteenth century, we notice that Catalan preachers continued to write their sermons in Latin with structuring devices in Romance and in mixtures of apparently random types, either for personal use or for larger audiences. One such example is a likely personal, minute manuscript of a late fourteenth-century anonymous preacher.[62] The sermons contain a number of bilingual code-switching strategies similar to Guillelmus Simonis's collection, thus reinforcing that these bilingual written practices and composition techniques were common in the area. Code-switching occurs, for instance, in the division of the *thema*, in the use of vernacular proverbs as functional elements, or in the intrasentential type of switching. Take, for instance, the division of the *thema* in a sermon for the Resurrection Sunday, which shows that the way the Latin is formulated can make a literal or mostly literal translation easy:

60 Certainly, this habit might have worked differently in other areas; Delcorno, Language of the preachers, 52, for instance, points out that linguistic alternation in divisions was not very common in fourteenth-century sermons from Italy.

61 For instance, the Franciscan Bernard of Deo's collection of sermon outlines integrated in his work *Summa predicabilium* (1318), in Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública del Estado, MS 127 (XIV). The bilingual situations are either Catalan translations of Latin verses, distinctions or subdistinctions, or Catalan words/phrases reiterated and explained in Latin; see fol. 7ra, fol. 9v, fol. 23v, fol. 26r, fol. 30v. Another example is Prince Juan of Aragon (d. 1334), Archbishop of Tarragona, whose sermons were collected, redacted and edited after his death in a manuscript from around 1350. A number of these sermons contain structural devices (divisions, distinctions), proverbs or glosses in Catalan and Castilian, occasionally in Latin-vernacular alternation, in Valencia, Cathedral Library, MS 182 (XIV). My thanks to Oriol Catalán for sharing his copies with me.

62 ACA, Ripoll, MS 223 (XIV-XV), sermons on fols. 144r-223r.

> »[E]n vivit filius tuus« [John 4. 50].
> Primo, Christi resurectio publicata: »en«; secundo, suis mors in vitam comutata: »vivit«; tercio, mater consolatio magna data: »filius tuus«. Primo, *la sia resurecio es manifestada, publicada,* quia »en«; secundo, *la sia mort en vida es tornada*; tercio, *ala sua mayora consolacio es dada*.[63]

Intrasentential code-switching occurs in the same sermon, which confirms that code-switching in sermons on the Passion and Resurrection was common currency:

> [...] illam tunicam talem polimiticam quam virgo mater ei fecerat, scilicet corpus filii sui preciosi, totaliter lanjaverunt et totum fregerunt in tantum quod *no si tenia pinzola*.[64]
> Quia re vera non est in mundo *pus vil pellus* (...) quam miserabile corpus.[65]

This example is probably just one among many others that still remain undiscovered in the area of my focus. As further evidence suggests, preachers in late medieval Catalonia continued to work within this longstanding writing tradition. There is certainly more diversity of written sermon texts in terms of linguistic intermingling and alternation than in the previous period. However, a general view of sermons written during this period in Aragon indicates that authorities and structural elements remained standard features of bilingualism, regardless of the language of composition or redaction. Latin sermons or sermon outlines with divisions, distinctions and subdistinctions in the vernacular or the other way round, i.e. a vernacular sermon with structural elements in Latin, coexisted in the same manuscript.[66]

63 ACA, Ripoll, MS 223, fol. 216v. Translation: »Behold, your son lives«. Firstly, the resurrection of Christ is published: »behold«; secondly, his death is changed to life: »he lives«; thirdly, great consolation is given to the mother: »your son«. Firstly, *his resurrection is made manifest, public,* in the word »behold«; secondly, *his death is turned into life*; thirdly, *to her great consolation it is given*«. Another example of bilingual division of the *thema* in this collection is in a Trinity sermon, fols. 220v-23v, which also contains a vernacular word inserted within the text and translated in Latin afterwards, at fol. 221r. A proverb with the role of introducing the *thema* comes in a sermon for Corpus Christi, fols. 212v-216v, and occasions a short discussion of friendship as self-sacrifice: »›Accipite et manducate, hoc est corpus meus‹. Mt. XVII. Quamvis amici comunicent in vicem sibi bona sua liberaliter, vulgariter: *Sa habandona tot so qui an la .i. a altro*« (»*Take and eat, this is my body*«, Matthew 26. 26. »Friends ever so often share each other's things liberally«; in vulgar: »*They abandon all they have to one another*«).

64 ACA, Ripoll, MS 223, fol. 217v: »they totally tore to pieces and broke it whole that tunic so colourful, i.e. the body of her precious son, which Virgin the mother made for him, so much that *there was no shred* (?) *left*«. I have not been able to identify the word »*pinzola*«; from the context, I tentatively translate it as »shred«, a piece of cloth/rag.

65 ACA, Ripoll, MS 223, fol. 218r: »For actually that there is no *cover more worthless* in this world (...) than the miserable body«. The ellipsis stands for a Catalan phrase which I have not been able to clarify on this occasion; that shall also remain a task for the future.

66 For sermons in Catalan as a matrix language, see Catalán Casanova, forthcoming, in this journal.

Latin still remained the preferred language of writing sermons, although the backbone of the discourse started to be composed only in the vernacular more often than before, or so it appears in the available evidence.[67] Thus, divisions, distinctions and other subunits of sermons only in Catalan appear to be distinctive features of many sermons from the early fifteenth century, which might indicate a shift in editorial and writing fashions and possibly a change in the status of the vernacular as a written language for theological discourse. Another explanation for the dropping of Latin divisions could also be that preachers no longer saw it as necessary to have the Latin version for guidance and that the vernacular served them just as well when preaching in either language. When authors did give an alternative bilingual division, they likely meant to offer guides of interpretation for other users or to keep their options open for various preaching circumstances.

Although this paper focused on Dominican examples in the Catalan area, bilingualism as a written convention was a shared practice of preachers from elsewhere, such as England, Italy or France. My suggestion about code-switching in Latin sermons as originating in a bilingual educational setting and further applied to a particular type of theological discourse might not explain everything or might not be applicable to other areas in the same manner. Nonetheless, Dominicans in Aragon, like other mendicants and scholars, were part of larger European and regional intellectual networks, hence the similarities in methods of composing bilingual sermons in texts from elsewhere. Yet, to understand patterns of bilingual mixing and alternation in sermons and why certain types were more common in some areas and not in others, we need a broader comparative perspective that includes approaching multilingualism as a phenomenon beyond texts meant to be uttered and beyond genres in isolation. The first step, in my view, is unearthing sermon manuscripts that lay unstudied because they do not correspond to our linguistic criteria – either Latin or the vernacular.

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by the Austrian Research Fund (FWF), project M 2701-G (2019-2021). Previous research on some of the archival sources was partially funded by the Government of Spain, project FFI2015-63659-C2-2-P, MINECO/FEDER, EU (2016-2019). I am grateful to Jan Odstrčilík for comments on an earlier version of this article. I also thank the two anonymous peer reviewers for their suggestions and comments.

67 Dominican examples of sermons in which structural devices are in the vernacular: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 479 (XV), unitary manuscript of an anonymous Dominican, likely a teacher; see Catalán Casanova, *Predicació cristiana,* 298-300, for a discussion; editions of seven sermons at 439-484. Another example is a sermon by the Dominican Antoni Canals (d. 1418), whose sermon (preached in the Dominican convent in Valencia) was very likely edited later and preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript; see Wittlin, Sermón en latin, 295-302. Also, sermons of the Aragonese Dominican Sancho Porta (d. 1423) exhibit a variety of bilingual strategies, in Valencia, Cathedral Library, MS 244 (XV).

References

Abbreviations
ACA = Arxiu de la Corona d' Aragó
PARES = Portal de Archivos Españoles.

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Typology and Spectrum of Latin-Irish and Latin-English Code-Switches in Medieval Sermon Literature

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Over the twenty-five years since the seminal publication of Siegfried Wenzel's *Macaronic Sermons* in 1994, the application of modern code-switching theory to historical homilies has become habitual. Although many authors now make use of Myers-Scotton's *Matrix Language Frame* concepts, the present study presents the advantages of Muysken's approach, which is instead based on notions of grammatical government. The threefold typological model developed by Muysken turns out to be beneficial for the determination of difficult syntactic structures. Such difficulties include diamorphs, words which may belong to more than one language, and directionality, which denotes the language underlying the code-switching components. Computerised analysis is shown to be aided by adopting this theoretical typology model by Muysken. A sample syntactic analysis is tailored to constructions concerning subjects and objects. Using the threefold categorisation contributes to the understanding of the differences in dependency and linearity between Latin-Irish and Latin-English code-switching. Additional elements of late-medieval multilingual sermons in these two areas are indicative of other linguistic strategies within the spectrum of bilingualism which can complement or compete with code-switching. Convergence and variance are consequently characterised in several collections of insular sermons to achieve an innovative insight into the alternatives available to deal with ambiguity.

Keywords: code-switching; English; Irish; sermons; typology

Introduction

Over the twenty-five years since the seminal publication of Siegfried Wenzel's *Macaronic Sermons* (1994),[1] the application of modern code-switching theory to historical homilies has become habitual. The most commonly used model for this is Myers-Scotton's *Matrix Language Frame*, which will determine rules to which the two (or more) languages in multilingual texts such as sermons adhere.[2] According to Myers-Scotton, the *matrix language* is the dominant entity which dictates the syntactic structure of texts, while the *embedded language*

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1 Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons.* Translations of the English sermons are derived from this publication.

2 E.g. Myers-Scotton, *Contact Linguistics.*

eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s234

depends on this matrix as its grammatical framework, having little or no internal complexity of its own. This model can be valuable in describing a linguistic relationship within many of the medieval multilingual homilies where Latin dominates the vernacular language. This situation may, to some extent, have been the case in large parts of medieval continental Europe. In the Atlantic Archipelago, denoting the British Isles and Ireland, the linguistic picture is somewhat more complex. By the turn of the fifteenth century, English and Irish were both vernaculars that had sufficient prestige to be used alongside or in place of Latin for spoken or written religious sermons.[3] The parallels between the two regions are pervasive, including the vernacular preaching by itinerant friars and the influence of religious movements in advocating or abolishing different lay religious practices such as Lollardy.[4] As a result, some late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century insular manuscripts contain such a web of intertwined languages as to lead one to doubt one's ability – or willingness – to determine a linguistic matrix.

Another approach to this complex of languages is taken by Muysken (2000), who describes the uses of code-switching not from the perspective of embedding in a matrix but through the various ways that the links between two languages can be governed. The notion of government entails two potentially conflicting aspects of code-switching: the one is dependency, covering the syntactic hierarchy of the sentence; the other is linearity, covering the surface word order of the sentence. This descriptive strategy results in a threefold typology of code-switching which will be elaborated further below.[5] One of the advantages of this theoretical framework is that it allows for a careful consideration of situations where both languages are more difficult to distinguish. Two examples will be adduced, the first of which has to do with the linguistic determination of the difficult syntactic structures of both subjects and objects, where the requirements of the two languages can clash. The second example involves the diamorph, a category of words which may belong to more than one language. Describing these situations from the perspective of Muysken's typological framework sheds new light on the different strategies that were available to combine the two codes. It is therefore useful, and possible, to place code-switching within the broader spectrum of bilingualism. Two related phenomena of convergence and variance, the first an attempt to construct a unified code and the second an instance of two similar texts with a completely different display of code-switch constructions, will be compared to code-switching proper. By broadening this theoretical approach to encompass the range of bilingualism actually employed, we discern the linguistic choices from which producers or users of sermons made a personal choice.

3 The differences between sermons and homilies are discussed elsewhere in this collection. Conventionally, the former is thought to reflect more closely a simple, spoken performance, while the latter is more reminiscent of theological disputation on a complex topic. In written practice, however, these differences are highly debatable.

4 E.g. Fletcher, *Late Medieval Popular Preaching.*

5 Muysken, *Bilingual Speech.*

Typology: Text and Society

A consideration of the structural elements of homiletic texts from both islands enables us to identify commonalities within the underlying grammar of code-switching. This convergence is exemplified by the triggering function of diamorphs, words which could belong to either of two codes (or both). The threefold typological model of *grammatical government* developed by Muysken turns out to be beneficial for the determination of difficult syntactic structures. Such difficulties include diamorphs, words which may belong to more than one language, and directionality, which denotes the language underlying the code-switching components. Computerised analysis is shown to be aided by adopting this theoretical typology model by Muysken. A threefold categorisation contributes to understanding of the differences in dependency and linearity between Latin-Irish and Latin-English code-switching. This threefold typology of code-switches according to Muysken can be demonstrated with reference to the corpus of Latin-English sermons described by Wenzel (1994) or more recently Horner (2006), mainly taken from two fifteenth-century manuscripts.[6] The most important of these two witnesses is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 649 (a. 1421), which is closely related to the second manuscript in Oxford, Laud miscellaneous 706. Bodley 649 contains two series of homilies, of which only the second will be considered here, as it contains twenty-three homilies with a significant amount of code-switching. The breadth of bilingual utterances in these texts can be gleaned from the following three examples.

- Insertion: isolated items from the second language within the syntactic structure of the first language:

(1) Primo adorabis Deum tuum debite cum fide que est *nedful*

primo	adorabis	deum	tuum	debite
first.abSG	worship.2FUT	god.aSG	your.aSG	required.abSG

cum	fide	que	est	*nedful*
with	faith.abSG	REL.nSG	be.3SG	necessary

»First, you will adore your God with the required faith which is needful.« [O-17.6]

- Alternation: interchange between the first and second language, each with their own separate syntax:

(2) *Quen my strength was most*, paciebar graues penas

quen	my	strength	was	most	paciebar	graues
when	my	strength	be.PRT	most	suffer.PRT	fierce.aPL

penas
pain.aPL
»When my strength was most, I suffered deep wounds.« [O-1.373]

6 Horner, *Macaronic Sermon Collection*. Below, I am using the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

- Congruent lexicalisation: shared syntactic structure where both languages can fulfil lexical items:

(3) Primo dixi quod genus ade was punitus *with a bollinge dropsy*

primo	dixi	quod	genus	ade	was	punitus
first.abSG	say.1PF	that	race	Adam.gSG	be.PRT	punish.PPP

with	a	bollinge	dropsy
with	a	swelling	dropsy

»First, I said that the race of Adam was punished with a swelling dropsy.« [O-18.94]

In example (1), the English term *nedful* »necessary« is added at the end of an entirely Latin sentence, where it is fully syntactically dependent on a preceding Latin verbal construction, *que est* »which is«. This instance of insertion is the closest to a notion of embedding within a Matrix Language Frame. Not only the start of the sentence and most of its content are Latin, but also the syntactical structure. Example (2) shows a clear delineation between two clauses, the first in English and the second in Latin. The code-switch here occurs at the exact clausal boundary, making it an interclausal switch. In the terms of Myers-Scotton, the second clause would comprise a so-called embedded language island which is syntactically independent. However, this theory does not accord equal weight to both parts. Example (3) further evidences the added value of a more descriptive approach to code-switches with complicated constructions. If Latin were the matrix language here, it would have to provide the grammatical core of the verbal predicate. Instead, both languages contribute to this structure, *was* in English and *punitus* in Latin. This type of instance indicates an advanced convergence between the two codes. The threefold typological model developed by Muysken turns out to be beneficial for the determination of difficult syntactic structures. This sensitivity to varying relationships between the two languages, reflecting the reality of medieval multilingualism, enables a consideration of the complications that the combined use of two distinct languages may have posed to producers and users within a society.

Multilingual society constitutes another application of Muysken's threefold code-switching typology. Rather than identifying individual switches between or within sentences, this theory could be linked to the overarching linguistic pattern that pervades a text, or even a body of texts and/or manuscripts. In this light, a corpus of code-switches that are mostly insertional may indicate a cultural context for which the characterisation is a fundamental inequality in social status. For instance, a manuscript in one language with some degree of glossing in another could point to the societal context of insertion in terms of a strict segregation of status and function. This fact is true of many early manuscripts in which continental Latin was glossed in the vernacular. Another option for the linguistic coexistence within a society is alternational, in which both languages have equal status but are used for different registers. This situation may apply in some measure to late-medieval England, where both Latin and English were held in high regard, but the use of English for religious learning was subject to debate. By contrast, congruent lexicalisation in a societal context could constitute true equality between two languages, in which there is an actual overlap in functionality as regards both the status and register. In medieval Ireland, such an equal status can be claimed for Latin and Irish in religious texts or manuscripts too, which are contexts where either language could be used for a range of functionalities. Such a societal significance of code-switching typology can be an addition to a purely linguistic use.

Returning to the linguistic details of Muysken's threefold typology, the conceptual basis behind this theory is the notion of government, previously put forward by Clyne.[7] In essence, this notion relates to the way in which an abstract syntactic structure can be realised with the help of lexical elements. The translation from syntax to lexis informs such intricacies as case assignment, where lexical items express syntactic relationships, or pronouns that refer back to nouns with the same grammatical gender. The way in which these two linguistic layers correlate and connect could indicate what instances of code-switching would be more or less likely to occur. In other words, code-switching may be subject to an underlying syntax in which the two languages both have independent but interconnected roles. There are two subdivisions of government to aid in the identification of a likely code-switch context. The first, linearity, stipulates that switching is facilitated by a shared word order between two codes. For instance, Latin-Irish code-switching could benefit from the fact that Irish is a VSO language and Latin is intrinsically an SOV language, which would validate switches between subjects and objects. Of course, medieval Latin included various substrate structures such as SVO, which complicate the linguistic picture. Below, the notion of government among subjects and objects will be elaborated. The second subdivision is dependency, which holds that grammatical connections between elements obstruct code-switching. One example already mentioned is case assignment, such as the selection of a nominal case by verbs. Such language-specific complementation patterns would hinder switching.

Consider the instance *credo deo* »I believe in a god«, where the Latin verb originally selects a dative. The medieval appropriation *credo in deum* indeed corresponds more closely to the English versions, as a result of which switching would be accommodated. This situation touches upon the issue of the case assignments in code-switched subjects and objects, which will now be discussed in more detail. The issues involved with code-switching between subjects and objects can be better understood with reference to the relevant theories. According to the Matrix Language Frame, such switching violates basic syntactic principles, since these items are arguments of the verb phrase and should, as a result, always be determined by its language, which is the matrix language of the whole sentence structure. In light of governance, the twin criteria of linearity and dependency produce a more precise picture. Linearity suggests the likely sites for switching between Latin (classical SOV, medieval also SVO)[8] and English (SVO) or Irish (VSO) respectively, which consequently diverge between these two sets. Dependency dictates that the deterrent from switching to subjects or objects may be determined by the strength of their connection with the verb, whether it is a transitive, intransitive or copula verb.[9] In this context, a distinction can be made among the subjects and objects between complements and what might be called »direct« subjects and objects. While the latter are direct arguments of their verb in terms of transitivity, the former are rather nominal predicates with a weaker link to a verb phrase.

7 Clyne, *Transference and Triggering*; Clyne, *Dynamics of Language Contact*.

8 I am grateful to Dr Šime Demo for this observation.

9 Halmari and Regetz, Syntactic aspects of code-switching, 129-130.

This differentiation between different types of verbal arguments and complements is set out in detail by Halmari and Regetz (2011). Based on Bodley 649, the same manuscript with Latin-English texts studied by Wenzel and Horner, they design the twofold classification of potentially problematic and non-problematic code-switches; in other words, whether or not they violate the syntactic constraints. Subject and object complements are placed in the non-problematic category, while subject or object arguments are called potentially problematic, as they are assigned by the main verb of the sentence. It is interesting to note that the ratio between subjects and objects differs markedly in the two types. While non-problematic subjects outnumber objects 24 to 1, this ratio is only 5 to 3 with problematic subjects and objects. As the authors assert in this respect, »It is more probable that switching takes place in syntactically peripheral positions.« While this statement conforms to Myers-Scotton as well as Muysken's theories, it would be worthwhile to investigate whether such constraints on switching relegate code-switch loci to clausal boundaries or whether phrasal boundaries can also be permeated. Another relevant question in this regard is whether, in addition to the dependency, the directionality of the switching (from or to Latin) influences the likelihood of its occurring in the light of linearity. To this end, one of the sermons from the corpus is selected to serve for further detailed investigation, what Wenzel called Sermon O-07, subsequently titled *De celo querebant* »They asked about heaven«.

Subjects and Objects

In this sermon, the different treatment of complements and arguments becomes abundantly clear. The non-problematic category contains 24 subject complements, all of them switches from Latin to English. By contrast, there is no switching of object complements in the text, whether from English to Latin or vice versa; a representative example of a subject complement switch is seen in (4) below.

(4) *was ther neuer* mons tam altus, numquam fuit in tot isto tempore mas uel femina *so holi*

was	*ther*	*neuer*	mons	tam	altus,	numquam		fuit	
be.PRT	there	never	mountain	as	high	never		be.PRT	
in	tot		isto	tempore		mas	uel	femina	*so holi*
in	so much		that.abSG	time.abSG		male	or	female	so holy

»There was never a mountain so high, there was never in that whole time a man or woman so holy.«

This instance starts with an English verb phrase followed by a Latin subject argument and predicate. While this initial switch is therefore not considered here, it is interesting to note that the direction of switching can be reversed in arguments (as opposed to complements), allowing both languages to act as the matrix. In fact, the two clauses in (4) are mirror images, one a switch to Latin and one to English. The pertinent part comes at the end, where the subject *mas uel femina* is specified by a predicate *so holi*. Contrary to the first clause of the sentence, the second clause comprises a switch that comes at the syntactic periphery, therefore qualifying as non-problematic according to the categorisation used by Halmari and Regetz. Again, such switching exclusively involves an English subject complement.

When we turn to the potentially problematic switches, the number of objects indeed outnumbers the number of subjects encountered. The directionality of code-switching also undergoes a slow shift. Among subject argument switches, two thirds are from Latin to English and one third from English to Latin. An example that may be contrasted with the subject complement from (4) is the following:

(5) Set bene nouistis quod *be* vitis *neuer so likinge*, rami *neuer so fair ne so lusti*

Set	bene	nouistis	quod	be	vitis	neuer	so	likinge,
But	well	know.2PL	that	be	vine	never	so	pleasing,

rami	neuer	so	fair	ne	so	lusti
branch.nPL	never	so	fair	nor	so	lusty

»But you know well that, be the vine ever so pleasant, the branches ever so fair or so cheerful (…)«

While this sentence starts in Latin, it switches to English for the main verb *be*, only to have another two switches of the subject in Latin amidst an otherwise English sentence structure. The best way to analyse this construction is that it starts with a main sentence and a conjunction in Latin, after which the full subordinate clause is in English, with the exception of the two Latin subjects *vitis* and *rami*. As a result, there is a switch from the English verb *be* to its Latin subject *vitis*, which is problematic in the categorisation of the authors and the context of the matrix language. Despite the fact that the Matrix Language Frame would not allow for such an eventuality, it is attractive to consider the two Latin subjects as insertions within the otherwise English subclause, or as a congruent lexicalisation.

Where such switches from English to Latin were still a minority with the subject argument category, they actually make up the majority of the potentially problematic category of the object arguments. Compared with 13 code-switches from Latin to English, there are 21 switches from English to Latin. The two directionalities of code-switching can even be combined within the same sentence as below:

(6) Clama in aure eius *thi mysleuynge*, *tel him* omnia tua peccata, *and take thi penaunce*.

Clama	in	aure	eius	thi		mysleuynge,
Shout.IPV	in	ear.abSG	his	your		misliving

tel	him	omnia	tua	peccata,	and	take	thi	penaunce
tell	him	all.aPL	your	sin.aPL	and	take	your	penance

»Cry into his ear your misliving, tell him all your sins, and receive your penance for them.«

This complex sentence commences with a Latin verb phrase, switching to an English object phrase. Subsequently, the second clause mirrors the first with the English verb phrase and the object switch in Latin, after which the third clause reverts back to English after the trigger of the conjunction *and*. In this context, it is clear that both Latin and English can fulfil the function of the matrix language. To appoint one of the codes as the main language leads to a problematic analysis of these code-switches. Instead, it is more meaningful to think of this sentence as being constructed by both simultaneously. The third switch type put forward by Muysken, congruent lexicalisation, can explain this example with more clarity; the syntactic structure is shared, with both codes able to fill the lexical elements.

Directionality: Computers and Diamorphs

These differences in switching directionality between an unproblematic complement and potentially problematic argument are an interesting finding that ensues from Muysken's typological categories. The factor of directionality did not feature prominently in the article by Halmari and Regetz, which adheres to the matrix language methodology. This choice is far from incomprehensible considering the dominance of Latin in the Bodley 649 corpus, where it constitutes around 90% of the content.[10] It is therefore not illogical to assume that English text in the sermons is an insertion into the Latin framework. As the authors assert, »We have not analyzed switches back to Latin and reserve this for future research.« It will now be seen whether or not this reservation against Latin is justified. When we looked at the category of potentially problematic objects, it proved that the switches from English to Latin outnumbered switches from Latin to English (21:13). However, upon inspection of the former group, 19 switches turned out rather to switch from Latin to English and back into Latin. An instance of a Latin-English-Latin switch and back switch is displayed in example (7) below:

(7) Mouetur super duos polos, fidem et spem, *arayid* septem stellis septem sacramentorum.

Mouetur	super	duos	polos,	fidem	et	spem,
Move.3SG	across	2.aPL	pole.aPL	faith.aSG	and	hope.aSG

arayid	septem	stellis	septem	sacramentorum.
arrange.PPP	7	star.dPL	7	sacrament.gPL

»He moved between two poles, faith and hope, arranged to the seven stars of the seven sacraments.«

This sentence admits of two interpretations, both of which are inadmissible in the matrix language. The first is to see the entire example as congruent lexicalisation, in which both languages make a contribution to the verbal syntax of the sentence, even though the English element is but one lexical element within a sea of Latin text. In terms of economy, this solution may be a slight overstatement. The second option is to consider the construction as a Latin frame in which the English word has been inserted. A problem with this interpretation is the grammatical dependency on the English switch of the following Latin phrase, which runs counter to the syntactic monopoly of the matrix language. Still, it seems easier to admit that an English problematic component can exist in an otherwise Latin context. The detailed elaboration of the Matrix Language Frame does account for such a possibility. In brief, the switching of verbal elements governing arguments is sanctioned in the presence of any so-called language carriers. This notion refers to markers that reflect the syntactic imprint of the matrix language, such as case marking. In this case, it would have to be argued that *arayid* demands a case marking in keeping with the Latin case of the antecedent to which it refers, so in this instance *polos*. The impracticality of proving silent case marking to uphold an idealised theory of matrix language should be contrasted with the ease of assuming a more equilibrious system of items sharing syntax. To illustrate the benefits of these nuanced notions, directionality will now be linked to this typology.

10 Halmari and Regetz, Syntactic aspects of code-switching, 128, 147.

The problems with back switches become especially apparent when using a computerised approach to tagging code-switches. One reason is that the notion of grammatical government can conflict with the idea of directionality, in particular in light of the computer system. When we think of syntax and a government relationship, this hierarchy needs to be translated to unambiguous input for a computer. However, the two subprinciples of government both run into trouble in this automated approach. As for linearity, it is determined whether an item in one language is followed by an item in another. An advantage of this approach is that it requires little interpretation of potential syntactic problems. Conversely, this method will require a manual and subjective sifting of back switches also counted. In the case of dependency, an item in one language grammatically governs an item in another language. As a result, the analysis will only consider syntactically relevant code-switches without extra clutter. A disadvantage is that this system will fail to pick up on switches which are nested in substructures. For example, if a copula verb has two subsequent nominative predicates in two different languages, this hierarchical approach will not detect the switch since the elements belong to the same syntactic structure or level. Without further assistance, then, the notions of government and directionality can cause conflicts of priority in the computerised analysis of code-switches. As it turns out, though, the threefold typology proposed by Muysken also proves its value in the computerised approach to CS.

By dividing code-switches into the three aforementioned categories, their computerised analysis will be considerably clarified. In the case of insertion, a syntactic structure in one language contains isolated items from another code. This type is unproblematic in light of linearity, as the one-off insertion can be considered not to trigger a back switch. Similarly, because there is no government relationship to the syntactic core, dependency does not come into play. As regards alternation, the interchange between two languages means that each segment has its own syntax. For linearity, it is evident that back switches should be included, as they involve relevant new information rather than reverting to the matrix language. Conversely, dependency is unproblematic as in insertion, as there is again a lack of grammatical relationship between elements in either language. Considering congruent lexicalisation makes clear that the assumption of a shared syntactic structure takes away any problems with either linearity or dependency. If the languages both take a share in the syntax, two linear elements cannot violate word order constraints, nor can two grammatical constructions cause dependency problems. This shared syntax of congruent lexicalisation could be construed through either of two techniques. It can be thought of as containing syntactic elements of either language without causing a conflict, or it can be imagined as the underlying syntax of one code that might be realised by both languages. However it may be, it appears that the three switch types validate the notion of switch directionality.

The advantages of computerised analysis with the aid of this typology are best noted in an example, for which we turn to another code-switched corpus, the fifteenth-century Latin-Irish *Leabhar Breac* (c.1410). This homiletic manuscript, whose title translates as the »Speckled Book«, contains a few dozen texts of formal written sermons in a combination of languages that is as highly intricate as it is intriguing. One instance of a potentially problematic code-switch aided by the above analysis is the item below:

(8) Archangeli. *intochtmad grad etarcert.* summi nuntii

Archangeli.	int=ochtmad	grad	etarcert	summi	nuntii
Archangels	the=eighth	grade	interpret.PPP	highest .nPL	legates.nPL

»Archangels, the eighth grade, called highest legates.«

This example is problematic in every sense, as it displays a linear sequence of switches that are also grammatically interdependent. As a result, the Matrix Language Frame would struggle with this item, even if only to determine the main language. The three criteria with which to decide this matter are the language of the syntax core (*archangeli*, Latin), the first word of the sentence (*idem*), and/or the majority of the sentence (fifty-fifty Latin and Irish). By contrast, the threefold typology handles this instance intuitively. In light of linearity, Irish syntax requires a verb to start the sentence, in this case the hidden copula *is* »is«. Consequently, dependency determines that the Latin *archangeli* is actually a sanctioned subject complement switch from the Irish verb. In terms of computer coding, the main language of the sentence can be stated as Irish, with two separate nominative code-switches to Latin.

Code-Mixing: Irish Homilies

Now that the relevance of Muysken's threefold typology in determining the switch directionality of insular sermons and homilies has been established, it is worthwhile to look in greater detail at some of the Irish material, as it has not generally received the same level of attention as English corpora. In addition to the instance of insertion under (8), the *Leabhar Breac* manuscript offers examples for the other two types of code-switching as well (9-10), some of these instances being ambiguous (11):

(9) *Maith gaden* tribus dedit *garg angleo.*

Maith	gaden	tribus	dedit	garg	a^{n}=gleo
Good	voice	three.dPL	give.PF	strong	in=battle.dSG

»A good voice gave out to the three strong in battle.«

(10) *7 dorogart* nomen meum *fothri*. dicens. *lucian*. ter.

7	dorogart	nomen	meum	fo-thri.	dicens.	lucian.	ter.
and	call.3PF	name	my	under-3	say.PPA	Lucianus	3x

»And he called my name thrice, saying ›Lucianus‹ thrice.«

Whereas the instance under (8) used insertion to avoid the constraints for linearity and dependency, example (9) clearly constitutes an alternation, for which Irish and Latin have been strictly separated. Although the meaning of the whole is somewhat obscure, the switching is seen to take place at the syntactic boundaries of nominal, verbal and adjectival phrases without constraints being violated. By contrast, the congruent lexicalisation under (10) shows an integrally, intrinsically mixed structure. The sentence starts with an ambiguous conjunction 7 which can be either Latin *et* or Irish *ocus* »and«. This so-called diamorph, a word that can function in two codes, is followed by an Irish verb phrase, governing a Latin object, and an Irish adverbial phrase.[11] The second clause is a mirror opposite of the first, with a Latin verb, an Irish object and a Latin adverb: a syntactic structure is clearly shared.

11 See Ter Horst and Stam, Visual diamorphs. I hereby wish to extend my gratitude to Dr Stam for the shared work on the theoretical framework of code-switching and the use of examples from her corpus, which I duly acknowledge.

Although the threefold typology is highly applicable to such Irish items, not all fit as unequivocally:

(11) *Otconnairc vero* bonifatiussin. *rolinet londus 7 torsi*

O<t>connairc	vero	bonifatius=sin.	ro=linet	londus	7	torsi
When<it>see	though	Boniface=that	PF=fill	rage	and	sorrow

»When Bonifatius saw that, rage and sorrow filled him.«

This sentence starts with an Irish verb, seemingly followed by a Latin adverb, a Latin subject and an Irish object. That analysis would likely indicate congruent lexicalisation, as the verbal phrase with its arguments is filled by both languages. In light of the aforementioned diamorphs, however, an alternative analysis is possible. The adverb *vero* in medieval Latin is a mere marker of speech style, meaning little more than »then« or »now«. An Irishman reading out the word may well have rendered it as the Irish *immorro* with the same sense. A similar argument applies to the name *Bonifatius* with the Irish particle *sin* attached to it. The visual form of this word may have functioned as a sign which would be recognised by the reader but in reality represented in vernacular language as Irish *Bonifas.* In this light, the seemingly Latin segments could be insertions into an otherwise Irish matrix frame. Such a sensitive analysis also has consequences for the tagging of these segments by the computer. Because diamorphs such as *7* or ambiguous elements such as the adverbial *vero* and nomenclature might be read out rendered in both languages, it has been found most useful to code these items as a mixed language ga-la, in addition to Irish (ga) or Latin (la) elements. Instead of being switches themselves, such constructions can be considered to trigger or facilitate code-switches by being in-between items. This designation has the added benefit of clearing the clutter of data from decidedly dubious entries.

Diamorphs and other difficult elements notwithstanding, the Latin-Irish *Leabhar Breac* constitutes a clear example of what Muysken has called *code-mixing*: »a combination of two syntactic systems to construct a single, unified code.« This new or third code, which in computerised terms is referred to as ga-la, represents a language situation in which both codes can take on an overlapping or equal role within the society. Such a system corresponds to the societal component of the threefold type of code-switching advocated by Muysken, with both languages as equals in terms of status and register. This situation conveniently applies to medieval Ireland, where Latin acquired a strong presence via the church and christening from the early sixth century. The resulting linguistic integration occurred over a period of a millennium, informing such highly intricate witnesses as the *Leabhar Breac* from the fifteenth century. This fluent state of bilingualism can be considered to be behind the appearance of manuscripts with related homiletic content, in which the linguistic realisation of the texts differed from one witness to the next, however. Such a mode of code-switching may be called »free variation«. One of the most important parallel codices to the *Leabhar Breac* in this context is a manuscript held at the same library, the so-called Stowe Missal (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, Ms 23 P 16 and D ii 3 respectively). By analysing highly similar passages between the two manuscript witnesses described above, it will be seen to what extent code-switching or code-mixing in Ireland was indeed flexible.

Code-Mixing and Convergence: Tract on the Mass

The twice-attested text in question is entitled the Tract of the Mass (LB p.251a, Stowe Missal f.63v) and has the following Latin incipit *De figuris et spiritualibus sensibus oblationis sacrificii ordinis*.[12] This Latin opening is immediately succeeded by the Irish equivalent, *Figuir tra in chollaighthi etc.* The neatness of these intersentential alternations nevertheless soon becomes much more variegated. A number of passages from the two codices will hereafter be juxtaposed for a further investigation:

(12) LB 251a *In cailech aifrind inna heclaise rofurmed 7 rofothaiged for ingreim 7 martra na fátha 7 tuicse ndé archena. … Usqui isincailech artus icontemprid isin istéchta*. 7 dicis. quesso te pater. *Banna lassin*. Deprecor te filíí. *banna lassin*. Obsecro te spiritus sancte. *intres banna lassin. Figuir inpopul doroiset ineolus*… Mitet pater. *banna annsin.* Indulget filius. *banna aile andsin*. Miseretur spiritus sanctus. *intres banna andsin.*

SM 64b *In cailech isfigor innaeclaise foruirmed 7 rofothiged foringrimmim 7 formartri innafathe* 7 aliorum • Huisque prius in calicem *7 issed canar occo* • peto te pater deprecor te filii • obsecro te spiritus sanctae *.i. figor inphopuil toresset* in aeclesia • Oblae iarum super altare .i. i*nturtur. issed canar occo* .i. ihs. xps A 7 Ω hoc est principium 7 finis • … • Remitet pater indulget filius. misseretur spiritus sanctus.

»The Chalice is the figure of the Church which has been set and founded on the persecution and martyrdom of the prophets et aliorum. Water, first, in calicem, and this is chanted thereat; Peto te Pater, deprecor te fili, obsecro te, Spiritus Sancte, to wit, the figure of the people that has been poured in Ecclesia. The Host, then, super altare, i.e. the turtle-dove. This is chanted thereat, to wit, lesus Christus, Alpha et Omega, hoc est principium et finis. Remittit Pater, indulget Filius, miseretur Spiritus Sanctus.«

While there is a clear connection between both examples from the two codices, it is interesting that they do not code-switch at exactly the same sites. Whereas the instruction to put water in the chalice is in Irish in *LB*, it is in Latin in *SM*. Conversely, the subsequent instruction for spoken consecration has the opposite linguistic division. Next, *LB* has the beautiful alternation between the spoken parts in Latin and the action instructions in Irish, which pattern is not attested in *SM*. By contrast, church and altar are only mentioned in Latin in *SM*, but are absent in *LB*. In other words, while the contents and structure of this text are strongly related in both witnesses, the manner in which the language of individual segments is selected can be left to the preferences of the individual preacher or scrivener. Another noteworthy aspect of this passage is the high frequency of diamorphs introducing a change of language. The use of emblematic elements such as *7* »and« or *.i.* »that is« can serve as a convenient bridge between two codes, triggering or facilitating the interchange. A more intricate diamorph from the aforementioned alternation between speech and instruction is *intres*, which can occur in both the languages and may be a convenient connection. Two other longer elements merit further inspection. The phrase *.i. ihs. xps A 7 Ω* »that is Jesus Christ,

12 Meeder, Early Irish Stowe Missal's. The translations provided principally refer to the text in the Stowe Missal rather than that in Leabhar Breac.

beginning and end« is wholly in a visual diamorph, which could have been realised in either language; finally, the formulaic phrase *7 dicis* »and you say« is similar to the aforementioned adverbial vero in that it can be a visual trigger to change languages.

The second passage for further analysis is equally peculiar in the patterns of its linguistic switching. Not only does it contain shorter and longer segments that have been rendered in different languages, but it also comprises interesting code-switches within the intraphrasal context, which show that these witnesses are not merely copied or translated from exemplars, but composed to the individual taste:

> (13) LB 251a *icanair infersa .i.* immola deo sacrificium laudis. *Figuir gene críst 7 ainócbala triafertaib 7 mírbulib*. Noui testamenti initium *sin. Intan tra chanair.* Accepit ihesus panem stans in medio discipulorum suorum usque in fínem. *Dotoirnet fotri nasacairt do aitrige dona pecṫaib doronsat 7 idprait dodia. 7 canait insalmsa uli.* Miserere mei deus. *7 nitéit guth ison leo conatairmesther insacart. uair ised istéchta conaroscara amenma fridia conid inoin* uocabulo *icon*. *conid desin ise ainmm nahernaigthisea .i.* periculosa oratio.
>
> SM 64b *itír soscél 7 aillóir corrici* oblata … quando canitur oblata *isforaithmet gene crist insin 7 aindocbale tre airde 7 firto* • Quando canitur accipit ihs panem • *Tanaurnat insacart fathri duaithrigi dia pecthaib atnopuir* deo. *7 slechtith inpopul 7 nitaet* guth isson arnatarmasca insacardd arissed athechte arnarascra [f.65a] *amenme* contra deum *cene canas inliachtso isde is*periculosa oratio *á* nomen •
>
> »Both Gospel and Alleluia as far as Oblata … quando canitur oblata, that is a commemoration of Christ's birth and of His glory through signs and miracles. Quando canitur: Accepit lesus panem, the priest bows himself down thrice to repent of his sins. He offers it (the chalice) to God, and chants Miserere mei Deus and the people kneel, and here no voice cometh lest it disturb the priest, for this is the right of it, that his mind separate not from God while he chants this lesson. Hence its nomen is periculosa oratio.«

A remarkable difference is that *LB* contains far more Latin than *SM*, which only includes short items. Another point to be made is that the Irish *icanair infersa* in *LB* is rendered as Latin *quando canitur* in *SM*. Also striking is that *LB* mentions the psalm *Miserere mei deus* where *SM* omits this element, although *SM* includes the short segments *deo* and *contra deum* which are not present in the passage in *LB*. These particular choices in linguistic contents are apparently acceptable for either individual. The three most remarkable elements of this passage are nonetheless present at the intraphrasal level. First, the phrase *Noui testamenti initium sin* »The beginning of the New Testament [is] that« can only be understood if adding the initial Irish copula *is* »is«. It can consequently be analysed as a congruent lexicalisation with an Irish verb and a Latin noun phrase, or as insertion of the latter into the former. Second, the phrase *inoin uocabulo icon* »in one word only« can also be interpreted in differing ways. If spaced as *in oin uocabulo icon*, it would comprise a Latin preposition, Irish numeral, Latin noun and Irish adverb; as *i-n oin uocabulo icon*, it is rather a Latin noun inserted into an Irish preposition phrase. Third, the phrase *ispericulosa oratio á nomen* »its name is ›dangerous prayer‹« has not just a Latin subject complement depending on an Irish copula, but within that Latin noun phrase the Irish possessive pronoun *a* »his«; this level of interchange can only be considered congruent lexicalisation. As a whole, the linguistic fluency and flexibility of both codices point to a parallel status in society.

The third passage contains the same combination of longer interchanges and intraphrasal intricacy. All of the above elements resurface, from inserted adverbs which can be rendered in both languages and alternated prepositional phrases whose language depends on the function or content of the item, to fully intertwined segments of congruent lexicalisation where it is difficult to separate these codes:

(14) LB 251a *Natri ceimend chindes infer graid forachula 7 chinnes* iterum *foagnúis. isé sin trédi tresanathnúidigther induine* iterum *codia … Figuirsin ind athcumai cusin lagin iláim longíni isind achsaill tóibe deiss ísu… Uair issiar boi aiged críst inacroich .i. frisincatraig ierusalem 7 is sair roboi aiged* longíni. … *Figuir comthinoilsin múintire nime 7 talman in oen múintir .i. múinter nime* per mensam. *múinter thalman* per calicem.

SM 65a *ised »III« tressanaithnuigther iterum 7 trisatoscigther dochorp crist … robui aiged crist* incruce .i. contra ciuitatem *7 issair robui aigeth longini … A •Xlll• diobli minchasc 7 fele fresgabale prius cefodailter …* inpars *ochtarach forlaim clii* • ut dictum est inclinato capite tradidit spiritum.

»This is the triad of things by which he is renovated iterum and by which he is moved to Christ's Body … for westwards was Christ's face on the Cross, to wit, contra ciuitatem, and eastwards was the face of Longinus… thirteen of the Host of Low Sunday and the Festival of the Ascension before … and the upper part is inclined on the left hand, as was said: Inclinato capite tradidit spiritum.«

The first thing to note is the fact that the adverb *iterum* is repeated in the renditions of both codices. In light of this fixed formulaic form of the item and its placement within the otherwise Irish clauses, it can be argued that this word functions as a discursive device that helps the speaker in structuring the text. As a result, the actual realisation of this visually Latin word could readily have been Irish. The second point is the interesting sequence at the end of the segment in *LB* in which it is explained that *múinter nime* »the city of heaven« is represented during Mass *per mensam* »by the paten« whereas *múinter thalman* »the city of earth« is represented *per calicem* »by the chalice«. This situation appears similar to example (12) above, in that alternation can be used to distinguish various levels of content. The third observation is the contrast between the Irish passage *críst inacroich .i. frisincatraig* in *LB* and the equivalent Latin reading *incruce .i. contra ciuitatem* in *SM*. As seen above, it was possible to vary flexibly and freely in the linguistic rendition of religious phrases within the two manuscripts as well as between them. This variability will feature even more prominently throughout the next section. The final phenomenon concerns the constructions *iláim longini* »in the hand of Longinus« and *aiged longini* »the spear of Longinus«, which contain a Latin name in the genitive dependent on the noun in Irish. Given that the genitive case is governed by the preceding noun, these examples must be taken as congruent lexicalisation. As a result, these two text versions contain the whole range of switches.

Free Variation: Sermon on Death

In the previous section, it was shown how the same text in two different manuscripts can vary in the type of code-switching utilised. Further evidence of this free variation in the linguistic rendition of a text is available by virtue of the Latin-Irish Sermon on Death. From the wealth of recensions which this text has produced, three versions from two manuscripts will be analysed in the following space. Apart from a version in the *Leabhar Breac*, two recensions derive from a related manuscript held in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Celtique Ms 1. This fifteenth-century codex shows this text not once but twice in its contents, on ff. 12r and 72v respectively. The two renditions were created by different copyists, possibly members of the same family, and display a striking variance:

(15) LB 251b Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo. aut quis requiesc*a*t in monte sancto tuo. Roiarfaid <didiu> *dauid* mac i*e*se .i. in rig 7 in *fáith amrae.*

BNF 12r b i. Aga*ld*a*im in*cvirp 7 *in*anma *sic*. Domine quis habitabit intabernaculo tuo aut quis requ<*i*>esc*e*t inmonte sancto tuo .i. rofiar*acht daibith* mac i*a*se in in ri 7 inprimfaid.

BNF 72va i. Aga*llamh don* cuirp 7 *an* anma so sios. DOMINE quis habitabit ín tabirnaculo tuo aut quis requiecit ín monte sancto tuo .i. rof.íar*fet dauid* mac i*e*se ín rí 7 ínprim*f.*áid.

»Here is the dialogue of the body and the soul. Who is it, Lord, that will make his home in thy tabernacle, rest on thy mountain? So said David, son of Jesse, the king and the first prophet.«

Rather than focusing on code-switch typology, these three witnesses attest to differences in spellings and style of composition. Apart from the fact that *LB* omits the Irish title, the two versions from *BNF* contain starkly dissimilar spellings of this title, with the first ending in Latin *sic*, the second in Irish *so sios* »here, thus«. As a result, only one of the two renditions contains an intrasentential code-switch. Further variation in orthography is pervasive in these phrases, from the Irish spelling of the name of David in the final version, to the confusion over the spelling of the Latin *requiescat* in all witnesses, or the rendition of David's epithet as first prophet, which is widely different in all three text versions. In other words, linguistic choices can differ not only between but also within manuscript codices.

Similar situations can be identified slightly later on in the text versions within the three manuscripts. One instance contains a confusion over case and an inadequately resolved situation of abbreviation, while the other example involves a large degree of flexibility in rendering a fully Irish construction. In this case, one of the *BNF* readings corresponds less to the other than to the version present in *LB*:

(16) LB 251b O anima dura 7 arida atque sicca sicut in terra sine aqua o miserabilis *o*de*n*trior cunctis mortalibus es. *A animm cruaid ol in corp. A dúrda* dub *dorcha* dochinelach

BNF 12r Oanima dura 7 arida at que sicca sicut terra sine aqua om*eisi*rabilis *o*dete*r*ior cunctis mortalibus es. *Aainim chrvaide* dvib dair docheinelach

BNF 72v O anima dura 7 arida atque sicca sicut terra sin[e a]qua omiserabilis *a*dete*r*ior cunctis mortalibus es *.i. criaid dub*. dáer docéinelac

»O stern and barren soul, and dry as the earth without water; o miserable and worse than all mortals you are; o cruel soul, the body said, worse than all men.«

There are two points of interest in this passage. First, the phrase *o deterior* »o, [you are] worse« only appears correctly in the first *BNF* item, as the second version changes the case to ablative *a* »from« and the *LB* reading contains an apparent misinterpretation of the original suspension stroke over the letter *t*, yielding *dentrior* instead of *deterior*. These differences are evidence of variety in text transmissions. Second, the final sentence contains a range of variation in all three renditions, varying from the use of the speech marker ol in corp »said the body« in *LB* to the abbreviated version *.i.* »that is« in *BNF* #2 and its absence of *c*[*h*]*ruaid*[*e*] as compared to *BNF* #1. In all these matters, it appears that *BNF* #1 shows a better state of spelling in Latin words, while *BNF* #2 has a more modern use of the Irish language.

Linguistic Flexibility: Sermon on the Pater Noster

Another sermonic text in an additional manuscript sheds further light on this phenomenon of a free linguistic variation between the various textual recensions. This text, a Sermon on the Lord's Prayer, is contained not only in *LB* and *BNF* but also in a manuscript at London, British Library, Egerton 91, closely contemporaneous with *BNF* near the end of the fifteenth century, and by the same copyist.[13] Three shorter samples from these three witnesses will now be adduced for an elaborate comparison. Like the Sermon on Death, the approach to linguistic variation is concerned with orthography rather than with typology, but these examples should nonetheless be illustrative of the flexibility involved. As the title of the text suggests, all three instances involve citations from the Lord's Prayer in Latin:

(17) LB 248a Panem nostr*um* cotidianum da nobis hodie. Tabair dún *in*díu ar sássad cechla(i)*thide*.

BNF 88va Panem nostr*em* cot*o*dianum danobis hodíe. Tabair dun *di*diu arsasad cechlai*the*.

BLE 20v Panem nost*er* cotidianum da nobis hodie. Tabair duinn *in*diu ar sassat. cec.lai*tide sunn.*

»Give us this day our daily bread.«

While the Irish is here a direct translation of the Latin, both languages contain various peculiarities. The Latin possessive pronoun *nostrum* »our« is rendered correctly in *LB*, while *BNF* uses the spelling *nostrem* incorrectly to connect with *panem* »bread«, and *BLE* has the incongruous nominative *noster.* While the second instance may be a matter of pronunciation,

13 For more information on the personnel, read Ter Horst, Making of bilingual homilies.

the last item is clearly ungrammatical. The Irish is no less interesting: whereas *LB* and *BLE* translate *hodie* as *indiu* »today«, *BNF* selects the discursive adverb *didiu* »then«. In addition, the ending of *cechlathide* or *cechlaitide* »daily« in *LB* and *BLE* is simplified to *cechlaithe* in *BNF*. The latter witness clearly has the least reliable Irish version. It would be worthwhile to verify whether this pattern of Latin and Irish occurs in the other samples.

(18) LB 249a & dimite nobis debita nostra. Ocus *log* dún arfiach*u* amal *logmaitne* darfechemn*aib*.

BNF 88v & dimite nobis debita nostra *sicut 7 nos dimitimus debitoribus nostris.* Ocus dilgid dvin arfiach*u* amal dilgimit diarfechemn*vib*.

BLE 21r & dímite nobis debita nostra *sicut 7 nós dímitibus debitoribus nostris*. Ocus d*li*gid duinn arfiac.*a* amal dilgimit díarfechemn*aib*.

»And forgive us our debts as we also forgive our debtors.«

The second instance contains another sentence from the Latin Lord's prayer with its Irish rendition. Only one remarkable element of the Latin emerges, save for the fact that the second half of the line is absent in *LB*; all recensions are identical in their degemination of Latin *dimitte* »dismiss, forgive«. However, *BLE* has the unusual spelling *dimitibus* for old Latin *dimittimus* »we dismiss, we forgive«. The explanation is either confusion with the nominal ending in *-ibus*, or a phonological interference from Irish, where intervocalic *-b-* and *-m-* would both be rendered as a nearly equal voiced fricative. When we turn to the Irish proper, it is immediately obvious that *LB* has lexically innovated the word *dílgaigid* to *logaid*, both of which denote »dismiss, forgive«; again, *LB* differs from the other codices. In the remainder of the Irish, though, *LB* and *BLE* again combine to conspire against the loner *BNF*. Where both read *d[i]arfechemnaib* »our debtors«, *BNF* has a final ending of the word in *-vib* instead. In other respects, *LB* and *BNF* seem to agree against *BLE*. Both codices read *arfiachu* »our sins« rather than *arfiacha*. The latter also differ in confusing the noun *dligid* »law« for *dilgid* »to dismiss, forgive«, even if a simple scribal error cannot be discounted here. Although the above picture paints a somewhat more disparate image of the use of Latin and Irish in these three codices, it is clear that there is a great deal of linguistic variation in an otherwise similar textual tradition. It appears that the individual scribe or copyist would have had relative flexibility in his rendition of the linguistic details of a sermon, without it taking away from the fixed content.[14]

14 Fletcher, Written versus spoken.

This last point becomes even more evident when the same quote as in (18) above is again repeated:

(19) LB 249b Sicut 7 nos dimitimus debitoribus nostr*is*. Amal *logmaitne* diar*fhe*chemn*aib*.

BNF 89r Sicut 7 nós dimitimus debitoribus nostr*is*. Amal *dilgimid* diarfeichemn*aib*.

BLE 21r Sicut 7 nós dimitimus debitoribus nostr*i*. Amal *dlegmait* diarfeichemn*aib*.

»As we also forgive our debtors.«

There is once more little remarkable about the Latin, but the final ending of the possessive pronoun *nostris* »our« is reduced to the incorrect and incongruous *nostri* in *BLE*. The presence of the second half of the citation in this instance would indicate that *LB* had been correct in omitting it in instance (18) above. The most interesting information is again derived from the Irish rendition and translation. In comparison to the first occurrence, *LB* once again has the lexical element *logaid* whereas the others use *dílgaigid* »forgive«. Within their similarity, however, the latter two witnesses again show a divide between a stem in *dilg-* in *BNF* and a stem in *dleg-* in *BLE*, in addition to a different ending. Conversely, while both these two codices have identical spellings for *diarfeichemnaib* »our debtors«, *LB* has a slightly different rendition. In terms of Irish, *LB* thus differs from the other two in the most significant matter, while of the other two texts, *BNF* tends to be more correct in spellings than *BLE*. It is clear from the above three examples that three versions of the same text can be highly different. *LB* is clearly the best version for Latin text and spelling, while *BLE* shows a great deal of confusion. By contrast, *BNF* usually has the most aberrant spelling in terms of Irish, although *LB* also contains a number of divergences. As a result, all three of these texts are at the same time identical in content and individual in linguistic rendition. There is therefore a tendency towards free linguistic variation.

Conclusion

When we look at the three Latin-Irish religious texts in these three Latin-Irish religious manuscripts, the level of linguistic flexibility in the rendition of ostensibly identical recensions becomes obvious. Especially apparent are the differences between the two closely related codices *BLE* and *BNF*. The manuscript from London, British Library, Egerton 91 [c. 1475] has a tendency towards modernising the Latin readings, or rather corrupting them. For example, *fiat voluntas* »may thy will be done« can become *fuit uoluntas* »thy will was done«, *panem nostrum cotidianum* »our bread« is changed into the incongruous *panem noster cotidhianum*, while *dimittimus* »we forgive« turns into nominal *dimitibus*. The two latter instances betray some influence from Irish morphophonology on the Latin spelling.[15] By contrast, the manuscript from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Celtique et Basque 1 [c. 1473] has

15 Harvey, Retrieving the pronunciation (1990); Harvey, Retrieving the pronunciation (1991).

either modernised or mangled the Irish. For instance, it reads *indim* and *anim* for the more regular *i nnim* and *in nim* »in heaven, the heaven«, or conversely the altered equivalent *ainú* for the original *indiu* »today«. There are, furthermore, differences between the two recensions within *BNF*. Nor are these contrasts reserved to minor instances of orthography; the two witnesses also display a different approach towards the homiletic structure. While *BLE* often omits the bilingual initial title or incipit but contains a lot of code-switching in the body of the text, *BNF* regularly retains bilingual incipits but shows a preference for Irish over Latin in the textual exposition. Variation thus abounds.

In contrast to both these codices, as well as to the Stowe Missal and its recension of the Tract on the Mass, the *Leabhar Breac* manuscript [c. 1410] comprises the most comprehensive overview of each level of linguistic mixing: from morphophonology, intrasentential switching and textual structuring to the language preferences of different scribes in one manuscript or one scribe in several codices.[16] The breadth of the education among these Irish copyists allows for comparison with the situation in England, which is where the present paper started its investigation of medieval insular bilingualism. Rather than being restricted by the boundaries of both languages, both English and Irish scribes had the ability to use the two codes not in a mode of hierarchical rules but to create a flexible third code. The English scribes of Bodley 649 and Laud Misc. 706 overcame the constrains of verbal syntax to produce sentences in sermons that could be communicatively understood in the environment of the learned religious elite who were versed in either language. The subjects and objects of their sermons and sentences were readily intelligible for the readers and the hearers, whether in Latin or in English. Similarly, the various levels at which authors from Ireland could mix Latin and their native tongues indicate a high degree of education on the part of both the producer and the audience of these texts. The freedom and flexibility which with these religious writers could exploit the linguistic repertoire of Latin and Irish available to them attests to a thoroughly interwoven culture and code of language.

On a purely linguistic level, the present paper hopes to have shown the advantages of using a more universal approach to code-switching instances. The reality of medieval bilingualism is too intricate to be reduced to binary distinctions between dominant and subordinated language, syntax or phrase. While this system of a matrix language works well for many instances in which insertion is attested, the threefold typology by Muysken makes for a more nuanced or methodological language analysis. In addition to insertion, alternational code-switching can account for the coexistence of codes, while congruent lexicalisation indicates a complete mixing of languages to the point of sharing the syntax. The benefits of this system have been clearly shown in the investigation of the subjects and objects. Supposing a shared syntax allows for the analysis of the convergence between the two languages as it actually occurs rather than ruling against real evidence on the basis of contemporary convictions. In addition, the threefold typology incorporates flexible transitions between the different categories, including the diamorphs that trigger or facilitate the code-switching

16 Clark, University monks.

from one language to the other.[17] Finally, the application of the typology by Muysken to historical sources can explain not only all the attestations of combined code but also the use of language within medieval society in general terms. As a result, the intimate interweaving of Latin and the vernacular in medieval sermons and homilies from Ireland and England can be characterised as the convergence of language on the societal level.

17 Hewish, Homily and hagiography.

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Review Article: How Far is Global?

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Catherine Holmes and Naomi Standen (eds.), *The Global Middle Ages*, Past and Present 238, Supplement 13 (Oxford, 2018) xxii+441pp. +7 Maps ISSN 0031-2746

The global turn in medieval history continues to swell. A recent spate of single- and multi-authored volumes is now bolstered by the appearance of three new journals, whose issues – in whole or in part – are committed to a global perspective: *The Medieval Globe* (founded 2014), *Medieval Worlds* (founded 2015), and its near-namesake *Journal of Medieval Worlds* (founded 2019). This build-up of publications is a welcome expression of self-validation, and the journals in particular betoken a sense of confidence in anticipating the field's longevity. Notwithstanding these auspicious omens, the fledgling field of the Global Middle Ages faces lingering challenges as it continues to forge its identity. One such challenge is the internationalisation of the field itself.

In contradistinction to the subject's unbounded geographical reach, few publications in the field evince systematic collaboration with colleagues in universities outside North America or the west of Europe. The volume under review here, *The Global Middle Ages*, is no exception. It developed from the activities of the research network »Defining the Global Middle Ages«, centred at the Universities of Oxford, Birmingham, and Newcastle. The original group consisted of thirty-three historians and archaeologists specialising in Eurasia, Africa, and the Americas (Australia and the South Pacific islands are excluded). Of the sixteen who contributed to the eventual volume, all but one are British academics, nine of whom are based in Oxford. The one exception, Hilde De Weerdt, is from Leiden. While the choice to collaborate almost exclusively within British academe may not be as intellectually adventurous as one would expect from a group that espouses »the indispensability of collaborative methods, most notably in the field of global history« (p. 23), it reflects a regional exclusivity that is by no means peculiar to this research group, nor is it suggestive of a uniquely western scholarly bias. The rise of global history in East Asia has had to contend with similar parochial tendencies. Nevertheless, in surveying global history initiatives from Japan, Korea, China, and Taiwan, Edward Wang observes an increasing readiness among modernists to widen participation, which is in keeping with a similar trend driven by modernists elsewhere in the world. Medievalists have yet to catch up.

Such ironies aside, the authors of the *Global Middle Ages* make the most of the collaborative momentum to set a new course in »thinking globally« about the period. Like other global projects from recent years, *The Global Middle Ages* brings together a strong roster of experts – only a minority of whom self-identify as global historians – to try their hand at addressing global themes or at rehearsing their specialisms in a global context. Most of

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eISSN-Nr. 2412-3196
DOI 10.1553/medievalworlds_no12_2020s255

the contributions were written jointly by two or more authors, and the sum total proves to be a dynamic volume that harmonises a diverse range of methods and interpretations. The contributors deliberately eschew conventional themes in global history, preferring instead more open-ended categories. This is not to say that international politics, the vicissitudes of empires, trade, and intellectual connections are absent, but they are not the principal categories of inquiry. Instead we find »globalizing cosmologies«, »networks«, »structural mobilities«, »trust in long-distance relationships«, »economic imaginaries«, »settlement, landscape and narrative«, and »politics, c. 1000-1500: mediation and communication«. A concluding chapter which expresses a degree of dissent with preceding arguments is a welcome expression of self-reflection. Especially stimulating are the volume's professed experimental tenor and its relentless pursuit of sharper theoretical and methodological resolution in probing the »global«. Accordingly, the present review will concentrate more on the strands of thinking that give weave and texture to the overall approach than on the merit of individual contributions.

The principal method that the authors follow is what they call the »combinative« method, which – as Catherine Holmes and Naomi Standen explain in the introduction – »combines rather than formally compares case studies, and which sets the local and the global in dynamic conversation« (p. 3). The combinative method is presented as the antithesis to grand narratives and their propensity to blunt diversity of all kinds. Although the editors do not rule out the emergence of a grand narrative at a more advanced stage of research, they believe that what works best for the early explorative phases is »a bottom-up methodology that does not simply accommodate but takes advantage of difference« (p. 3). The combinative method allows the authors to optimise their individual strengths in the collaboration, to the extent that »combinative« and »collaborative« become interchangeable. At the same time the combinative method releases the authors – as a collective – from the pressure to submit to an agreed overall narrative. Nevertheless, hints of what a grand narrative may one day look like can be found in the editors' discussion of »the Global Middle Ages as a working hypothesis« (pp. 36-41), which admits a number of grand-narrative-like abstractions, principally Robert I. Moore's »Great Diversification« and »Great Intensification« throughout Eurasia (pp. 36-37). The »Great Diversification« thesis, ultimately informed by Kenneth Pomeranz's influential *Great Divergence* (2000), hinges particularly on the first division in Pomeranz's book: »A World of Surprising Resemblances«. Moore, a member of the network's original cadre, developed the »Great Diversification« paradigm to replace his own theory of a »Great Divergence« in Eurasia in the twelfth century, a theory that contrasted Latin Europe with China by portraying the former as following a trajectory towards more institutionalisation and less kin-based local power. That view was dislodged by his more nuanced re-reading of conditions in South East Asia, a re-reading that no longer gave pride of place to formal institutions.

As for »Great Intensification«, the volume's editors join Moore in subscribing to a »working model« of the Global Middle Ages »characterized by increased economic activity, urbanization, social restructuring, multi-centred politics and new frameworks of ideas« (p. 36). The extent to which »Intensification« or »Diversification«, or other labels that purport to describe long-term shifts lend themselves to empirical validation is casually questioned on the following page. Labels of these kinds also impinge on periodisation, prompting the question whether any attempt to distinguish one period from another by comparing rates of »increase«, »diversification«, and so on amounts to a hubris of quantifying the unquantifiable with predictably arbitrary outcomes. A case in point is Moore's own observation (in

»The first Great Divergence?«) that in 2009, the same year in which he published his »Medieval Europe in world history«, where he argued for a twelfth-century »Great Divergence« in Eurasia, Walter Scheidel, in his edited volume *Rome and China*, independently dated the beginning of *his* »Great Divergence« to the sixth century.

Beyond the Introduction the volume remains in occasional dialogue with the notion of a »Great Divergence« but neither »Great Divergence« nor any other global paradigm is actively endorsed. With the exception of the penultimate chapter, the volume has also emancipated itself from »World Systems« theory, with its emphasis on a competition to dominate interconnected global commercial circuits, and also from perspectives that circumscribe the role of human agency by privileging pandemics, the climate, or the environment more generally.

The first of the ten chapters (but technically »articles«, because this is a journal supplement) is the late Mark Whittow's »Sources of knowledge; cultures of recording«. It discusses forms of available written and material evidence, but also lost evidence, and the deliberate destruction of evidence. Examples are drawn from sixth-century Ethiopia, seventh-century Egypt, from the knotted strings (khipus) of the Inca, the mixed logographic/syllabic script of the Maya on the eve of the Spanish landing, the adaptation of the Nahuatl script of the Aztecs of Mexico to a version of the Latin alphabet, and the bureaucratic control of literacy in China, where archives were cleared periodically since the dawn of the Tang dynasty. Whittow concluded that what is typical for every place in this period »is its very peculiarity – the characteristic of idiosyncrasy that applies to everywhere that has preserved evidence for the Middle Ages, anywhere in the world« (p. 87). Despite claiming earlier in the chapter that the conclusion »may seem obvious« (p. 48), it gains significance when read in connection with observations made elsewhere in the volume, and I shall return to it.

In the spirit of challenging paradigms, the following chapter puts forward bold propositions regarding connectivity or the lack thereof and inter-cultural awareness which go a certain way towards redefining »global« as a category for historical research. »Globalizing Cosmologies«, by Caroline Dodds Pennock and Amanda Power, articulates some of the volume's core approaches to historicising the »global« and to the problem of periodisation. As explained in the Introduction, »their approach to these issues of definition has shaped the thinking of all members of our original project network and is reflected throughout this book« (p. 3). Overall, however, the network seems to have preferred to defer a more robust consideration of periodisation indefinitely.

The two authors utilise examples from Aztec Mexico and from the interaction between Latin church leaders and Mongol leaders in the thirteenth century to argue that a »globalising cosmology« is not premised on the interactions between cultures, not even on the attempt of one culture to imagine others beyond it, but on the capacity of a culture to develop its own coherent world (and other-world) views. This capacity can be detected in attempts to validate worldviews for the benefit of constituent members or to impart these worldviews to others. The chapter makes this point a number of times with different emphases, for example on p. 113 we read that »the value of the ›globalizing cosmology‹ lies not in the way a society imagined its connections, its trade routes, but in its capacity to show the richness, variety and dynamism possible in ›global‹ thinking«. The contrast here is with more conventional approaches to global history which prioritise connectivity and the accumulation of knowledge about other cultures. A recent example is the fifth volume of the Cambridge World History series, *Expanding Webs of Exchange and Conflict: 500 CE-1500 CE* (2015), edited by Benjamin Z. Kedar and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks. The title aptly captures the appeal to connectivity, from sporadic contacts between cultures to more intentional forms of contact, which include

war, conquest, and trade, but also the spread of religions and the transmission of ideas, which can take place either intentionally or unintentionally. Such connections, *pace* Kedar and Wiesner-Hanks, ought to be the primary concern of the global historian of the period that they call the Middle Millennium. Connectivity and a desire to learn about cultures other than one's own are the forces that shaped what Kedar and Wiesner-Hanks call »contemporary views of the known world«, which they observe in »world maps« (the earliest are from tenth-century Balkh) and in the few written histories from this period that transcend the narratives of specific »nations« or empires. By comparison, Dodds Pennock and Power's historicising reflects a decidedly post-modern interpretation which identifies power as a factor in contemporary conceptualisations of the »global«. They argue that »globalizing cosmologies were thus frequently hegemonic, and recorded normatively by almost exclusively male elites, who could draw on them in an attempt to position their office and actions more securely« (p. 112).

In contesting the idea that a globalising cosmology is necessarily contingent upon a desire to explore outside one's own culture, Dodds Pennock and Power define it instead as a tendency to maximise the integration of all the manifestations of a culture's visible and invisible features. For examples they turn to what they call »Latin Christian thinking« and to the Aztecs. In relation to the Aztecs they write: »This was a truly ›global‹ cosmos, a view which saw every part of the world, physical, spiritual and natural, individual and communal, as interdependent« (p. 105). This was a self-contained endeavour independent of any form of engagement with another culture. The authors' choice of the word »global« to capture this »pre-modern totalizing construct in which social, religious and cosmological orders were integrally linked« (p. 105) is among the volume's most radical propositions.

The next chapter, »Networks«, takes a sharp turn in the direction of a more familiar »global« narrative, holding that »a prime concern of global history is, after all, with the connections between the groupings and communities living continents, if not oceans, apart« (p. 116). Concentrating especially – but not only – on networks along the Silk Roads, Jonathan Shepard observes three registers of pre-modern global networks: things, persons, and ideas. He excludes the Latin church in the Central Middle Ages from counting as a network (p. 121) because by having a »centre-point or command chain« it defies the principle of »voluntary participation«, which is the chief criterion by which he defines a network (p. 116). This seems to set a rather high bar of exclusivity on the definition, which places on the author an onus of justifying how other structured connections that he examines – especially commercial connections – are neither hierarchical nor centralised. But he doesn't do this. Instead, if I understand him correctly, he exploits contingencies insinuated into the preamble to his definition to allow it to encompass even Franciscans and Dominicans, who are said to have operated through networks in establishing episcopal sees, as overland routes along the Silk Roads became more secure under Mongol control (p. 148). Shepard pushes the boundaries of his definition of »network« further by admitting groupings of traders characterised by a dynamic that combined voluntary participation and hierarchical control, which facilitated coordination but was also responsible for instances of coercion in interactions with local powers. The workings of Portuguese commercial networks are a case in point (pp. 151-155), and Europeanists would probably cite the Hanseatic League, which is outside the scope of his chapter, as a similar manifestation of this dynamic. We see in this chapter restrictive definitions being offered but not adhered to rigidly. Consequently, what may have appeared initially as inconsistency is transformed into an opportunity to challenge assumptions and to proffer new insights, which in this particular case include the observation that modern writers' preoccupation with the overland Silk Roads may have unduly eclipsed the importance of the maritime Silk Roads (p. 144).

In »Structural Mobilities«, a dizzyingly rich chapter, Naomi Standen and Monica White set out to explore the heuristic of comparing mobilities of settled and nomadic populations. Structural mobilities are identified as a means to various ends. These range from plain survival, to facilitating communication and commerce, to political expediency, to diplomatic missions, to military manoeuvres. The need for mobility was ubiquitous and no one could have done without it. Mobility between the settled centres of the Sogdian (inhabiting parts of modern-day Uzbekistan and Tajikistan) enabled trade, and five fourth-century letters testify not only to the utility of mobility between such centres, but also to the consequences of disrupted mobility. The failure of kin networks to respond to individuals in their hour of need highlights the frustration of having to turn instead to official networks, which could prove unreliable in times of crisis. In one letter stranded Sogdian are said to have died of starvation in the city of Luoyang. In another letter a servant runs away, placing an isolated mother and daughter in jeopardy: »his successful movement denied the women theirs« (p. 170). For the Byzantines the most large-scale movement was that of the army, while Mongol military strategy could rely on such precise knowledge of vast landscapes that they were able to strategise for campaigns thousands of kilometres away. This knowledge also meant they could plan ahead and did not have to rely on messengers as much as their adversaries from the ill-fated Jin dynasty, which was defeated in 1234. For the Jin, as well as for the Song and for many a Eurasian dynasty, mobility was essential for governing, but also for displaying power and delineating boundaries of political legitimation. A government official would gain status when seen to be travelling regularly for discharging his duties or for attending the court. But, having fallen out of imperial favour, visits to the court would cease, causing him to lose face. Mongols would inflict similar humiliations by banning someone from joining a hunt. The authors stress that »distance was not a factor here: mobility across just a few hundred metres had the same structural importance as travelling from the ends of the empire« (p. 174). These hunting nobles join the imperial officials, the soldiers, and the messengers described in the chapter's detailed case studies to tease out the conclusion that »mobility (and its difficulties) was, in fact, a structural element of medieval Eurasian societies, particularly those characterized as sedentary« (p. 187).

Trust is the theme of the following chapter, by Ian Forrest and Anne Haour. The authors concentrate on trust in long-distance relationships, which, as they see it, is one of three main strands of global history, the other two being comparative history and the history of common experiences. Trust is the abstract and often unspoken quality that enabled – or in its absence hindered – forms of interaction explored in the book's other chapters, be it the dynamics of networks, the viability of trade, or political connections. It is also in these contexts that one can observe acts of trust being performed spontaneously or ritualistically. Forrest and Haour focus on trade, using examples from west Africa, north Africa, the eastern Mediterranean, and England. Spaces associated with trade, like markets or merchant quarters, are also arenas in which trust may be established, tested, and displayed through performative acts. The authors find merit in Niklas Luhmann's notion of a distinction between trust in persons and trust in institutions but they reject a clear dichotomy. The belief that a common culture promotes trust (e.g. in Paul Lovejoy's »diaspora model«) is moderated by questioning the harmony of merchant communities (Francesca Trivellato). Common culture may be a precondition for trust among merchants, or the mercantile lifestyle itself may constitute a form of common culture. The authors highlight the importance and difficulties of relating historical examples to theoretical models, bemoaning some theoretical studies that show a »tendency to generalize and simplify, even where some attempt at historical contextualization is made« (p. 192).

Trust is also an important plank of Simon Yarrow's chapter, »Economic Imaginaries«, whose opening paragraph stresses its centrality to determining value by asking »what constitutes value and who says so«? (p. 214). The chapter displays a certain predilection for jargon also manifested in the title, which Yarrow explains thus: »I borrow the germane phrase ›economic imaginary‹ from Tamara Chin's recent examination of classical Confucian writings and material cultures of Han China (206 BCE-220 CE). I gloss the term here as a historically situated complex of literary and material discourses productive of meta-narrative themes of theodicy, providence, governance and identity, rendering them legible, reproducible and contestable in concrete terms« (p. 218). This broad definition, prompted by a book about Han China, aims to draw the observer away from themes that dominate economic debates in the western historiographical tradition, which the chapter proceeds to critique. One such critique is the observation that the influences of secular constitutionalism and liberal historicism »on historiography and the social sciences have made for a peculiarly narrow modern western view of the historical relationship between governance and wealth, the extent of whose colonizing effects on both the medieval and the non-European past have only relatively recently become apparent to scholars« (p. 215). The critique extends to questions of periodisation and to interpretations of the origins and dynamics of economic forces (Adam Smith, Karl Marx, and Max Weber, are among the more familiar names), stressing the dependence of these interpretations on Western-centric paradigms of various kinds, like the uniqueness of European capitalism, the implicit or overt acceptance of (Western) Christian values, or the reaction against such values. Western intellectual traditions gloss over important milestones in non-Christian medieval economic thinking, especially ones from the Islamicate world, the rise of which is said to constitute »the most singular and consequential event of medieval globality« (p. 226). That world brought forth the likes of al-Ghazali, Ibn Taymiyya, and Ibn Khaldun, whose shrewd understanding of market forces is held up as equal to Smith's. It is not only the richly diverse roots of economic theory that come into view when a global perspective is applied, but also similar economic practices across cultures. A striking example are the contemporaneous eighth-century campaigns against »tax-evading« monasteries in both Northumbria and the Buddhist Kingdom of Khotan, in what is now western China (p. 224).

Distant similarities are a feature also of the chapter »Settlement, Landscape and Narrative: What Really Happened in History«, by Conrad Leyser, Standen, and Stephanie Wynne-Jones. This is a somewhat enigmatic title that carefully tiptoes around concepts which the chapter ultimately seeks to deconstruct. What the title tries, but at the same time tries not to say, is that the chapter is about towns as defined by their function, but also about urbanisation as a construct, and about the inadequacy of the model proposed by Gordon Childe in his *What Happened in History* (1942). This is a model that the authors hold up as an »ideal type« (p. 234) for hypotheses that teleologically frame »history as a journey towards complex, urban civilization« (p. 233). Towns are not always towns in their familiar European or Eastern Eurasian manifestations, and historians must shed their most basic preconceptions in order to be able to engage with urbanism elsewhere in the world. Even the notion of a place of habitation with fixed coordinates in the landscape can be a false proposition. What the authors call »pop-up« urbanism (e.g. p. 240) was common in Africa: »Great Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwe tradition thus seem to represent fixed points in a mobile landscape, with urban life coming together perhaps only on a seasonal basis« (p. 238). These »pop-up« places are argued to bear comparison with early medieval European emporia. Even the political capital of the empire of Mali (thirteenth to fifteenth century) was not a single place: »authority and permanence were not functionally linked« (p. 237). A global approach to both archaeological evidence and

narrativising is shown here to help historians to draw sharper distinctions. These are exciting observations to which one may add the pre-Viking »urban« landscape of Ireland, which was no less imagined than real. There, as in other places, traditions of storytelling constructed narratives of urban development which, as the authors say, create a misleading but powerful impression »of permanence and embeddedness in an agricultural hinterland« (p. 260).

As a consequence of the volume's choice to concentrate on phenomena defined by human agency and experience, every chapter faces the challenge of balancing, on the one hand, contingencies that are specific to persons or to singular interactions between persons, and on the other hand, broad analytical abstractions that enable a »combinative« conversation across borders, cultures, continents, and other dividers. The risk of letting abstractions obscure or trivialise what is unique and distinctive is amplified in the area of politics, where the force of personalities is a dominant, if often overstated, catalyst of conventional historical narrative. It would be strange, for example, to omit Charlemagne from a history of eighth- and ninth-century Europe but at the same time it would be wrong to make him into a Carlyleesque »great man« (»I was taught at my mother's knee to bridle at those words«, writes Janet Nelson, his most recent biographer). And it would be stranger still for a volume concerned with man-made phenomena to omit politics from an investigation of the Global Middle Ages.

As its title suggests, the chapter »Politics, c. 1000-1500: Mediation and Communication« explores the role of mediation and communication in politics. The authors, Hilde De Weerdt, Catherine Holmes, and John Watts, are interested in general dynamics (though not so general as to become platitudes) deduced from three case studies involving Song China, Byzantium, and France between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. Processes rather than turning points are what the authors look out for. These can be processes of vertical mediation between formal institutional power and informal expressions of power or between centres and localities. But there are also horizontal processes of mediation, connecting localities to one another. Communication is more loosely defined and the authors deliberate whether »Communicators were a kind of mediator, and perhaps all mediators were communicators« (p. 263). Chinese students training to become civil servants are shown to have been able to wield significant power as mediators representing the interests of local communities, of their own peer-group, and of their institutions. On one occasion at least, Chinese students successfully pressurised Emperor Gaozong to dismiss officials who were deemed responsible for an invasion by a foreign power, the Jurchens. Yet when a student leader, Chen Dong (1086-1127), was deemed to go too far, he was executed but posthumously rehabilitated at the emperor's orders and inserted into the official records of the dynasty's history. Protests by Chinese students were not uncommon, and the authors note that students in both 1919 and 1989 »applied the same repertoire of techniques of political communication (such as posters, handbills and petitions to the central government) that had been in use for centuries« (p. 276).

The second case study, of France during the civil war of 1405-1419, develops the concept of a political *imaginaire*, which will be central to the chapter's conclusions. Controlled communication reconfigures ideas of rulership, of legitimacy, and of loyalty. Following the murder in 1407 of Duke Louis of Orléans, who seized the regency, two political factions emerged, the »Armagnacs«, comprising the surviving followers of Orléans, and the »Burgundians«, who eventually sided with the English invaders. Louis's rival John (himself murdered in 1419) deployed sophisticated strategies of brokerage and communication, both formal and informal, to project more ideological and structural coherence in a fragmented polity. His rivals were attempting the same, casting themselves as the party of order. Two power structures can be observed: the first was the damaged royal structure, nominally headed by an inca-

pacitated king and weakened by the invaders' presence, but still in possession of a royal administration and a system of taxation. The second comprised semi-independent aristocratic, ecclesiastical, and local powers. Within either structure there were different influential players to be wooed for support and different interests to try to appease by deploying diverse tactics. Throughout one observes how »the communication strategies of leading mediators reinforced the *imaginaire* of the kingdom« (p. 282).

The final case study is of the Palaiologan dynasty in the late Byzantine period, characterised by increasing fragmentation and continually challenged by regional rivals. The dynasty nevertheless exercised communication with the different localities within which it sought to legitimise its rule. Records of the mediators who facilitated this communication show, for example, how negotiations could lead to the peaceful surrender of various cities under Bulgarian control. But it is easier to identify *who* had surrendered than *to whom* they had surrendered: was it a coherent political entity or merely the semblance of one? When certainties were absent, the answer was determined by what could be negotiated, and this was where communication could make a big difference to reinforcing the *imaginaire.*

In reflecting on the case studies the authors highlight the role of mediation and communication in maintaining the *imaginaire*, which was defined at the beginning of the chapter as a framework in which »an entire political society was continuously created, critiqued and reshaped« (p. 263). The three political societies they examine are argued to reflect gaps of varying degrees between imagined structures of power and the realities of power. Reality can fall short of the ideal or, alternatively, it can catch up with political spin. There are implications for political history in regional historiographies elsewhere in the medieval period, and the authors tease some of these out with an appended cautionary note that »it is important not to overdraw parallels« (p. 295).

In the penultimate chapter the late Glen Dudbridge explored global movements and exchanges that were driven not by economic motives (at least not primarily by them) but by a desire to exchange books and knowledge, which cemented learned contacts between India, China, Korea, and Japan, beginning in the seventh century. By the ninth century this »Book Road« (p. 302), a term coined by Wang Yong, had a conspicuous effect on Japanese culture. These books, we are told, »were instrumental for establishing the statutory law system, for the emergence of Tendai and esoteric Buddhist schools in Japan, the transmission of Tang poetry collections and poetics, devotional art, architecture, court music and more« (p. 302). These were, in effect, »the Chinese books and ideas that would serve the state-builders of medieval east Asia« (p. 298). This chapter, titled »Reworking the World System Paradigm«, is framed as a response to the once-influential *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* by Janet Abu-Lughod, originally published in 1989. There she posited eight intersecting zones, each defined primarily through links of commerce and production. It is such links – but also intellectual links – over a large geographical and chronological span and over highly complex interlocking networks that often emerged organically, for which Dudbridge seeks a new metaphor, »adequate for representing those processes of world history« (p. 298). Buddhist monks, some of whom we know by name and even from their own accounts, were regular travellers of the intellectual routes and witnesses to the geographical span of these networks. The travels of a Korean Buddhist monk, Hye-ch'o (d. c. 787), by land and sea through India and China (he was not the first to achieve this), scopes a global vision of paths, of transforming cultures, of changing religions, and of shifting political dominions, especially in »frontier« zones. In visiting one of these zones, on the easternmost limits of the Abbasid caliphate, he reported changes-in-progress as political conquest was underway, but he witnessed only limited re-

ligious change as Buddhism and Zoroastrianism continued to be widely practised alongside Islam. How can the historian capture all this in metaphorical language? »The challenge for a world system draughtsman is to find some metaphor that can do effective justice to all that non-linear activity« (p. 314). What Dudbridge eventually opted for is a metaphor borrowed from a model used by physiologists, known as the »reductionist causal chain« model (associated with Denis Noble), which talks about complex organic systems in which causal links operate in many directions, but analysis can begin at any point in this system, because all points are ultimately causally connected. Unlike the »combinative« method, this is a metaphor that aims to account for what global history *is*, rather than for *how* it should be practised. The two are able to complement each other in a simple means-to-ends relationship.

Alan Strathern's concluding chapter is a reflection on both the network's activities and the volume's earlier chapters from the vantage point of a historian of the Early Modern period. His objective »is to connect the emerging field of the Global Middle Ages with the somewhat more established field of Global Early Modernity, and to flesh out some of the conceptual problems and points of tension that arise when we consider them together« (p. 317). It is from the perspective of early modernity that he offers a critique not only of the Global Middle Ages as a fledgling field, but also of certain approaches and attitudes adopted by the network itself. He begins by identifying two aspects in which the network's discussions were conducted in a disconnect with Global Early Modernity and with early modernity more broadly. The first was the proclivity to address modernity with little reference to early modernity and the second was the suspicion towards notions of globalisation, modernisation, and imperialism, because they were identified with European agency, an agency that global medievalists are primed to play down (a recent example is Peter Frankopan's contribution to the inaugural issue of *Journal of Medieval Worlds*). But this identification may be assuaged simply by stressing the agency of non-Europeans, which is how, according to Starthern, Global Early Modernity »decolonized« these phenomena. He also believes that the network should devote more attention to questions of periodisation. One should ideally strive to define the Global Middle Ages for what it was rather than for what it was not, although the latter approach has a proud legacy, rehearsed recently by Diego Olstein, who borrowed Shmuel N. Eisenstadt's notion of »Proto-globalisation« to define a »Middle Millennium« that harked back to structural features of the Axial Age while sowing the seeds of globalisation for modernity to reap. The alternative to periodising by positive or negative criteria is to leave the Global Middle Ages in a limbo, »content-less so that it acts as a neutral container. This was the route initially taken by the Global Middle Ages project, which allowed contributors to proceed without any analytical preconceptions« (p. 331).

The chapter then explores two analytical approaches to a Global Middle Ages: »connectivity« and »comparability« (puzzlingly, the »combinative« method is not mentioned at all). The first approach surfaces occasionally in the preceding chapters, especially Shepard's, but it is not one which the network endorses, and Strathern himself cautions that »global history ought not to be conflated with connectivity« (p. 344), as it would submit the Global Middle Ages to the grand narrative of globalisation (p. 320). Strathern agrees with Moore that processes of divergence rather than connectedness are just as evident, if not more evident in the period 600-1000, such that by the end of this period Eurasian civilizations were more different from one another than they had ever been. Connectedness and divergence are therefore also criteria for periodisation, and the latter deserves just as much attention as the former because »certain kinds of isolation are no less exciting« (pp. 334-335) and there is virtue even in acknowledging incommensurability (p. 336).

The second approach to the Global Middle Ages, comparability, does not assume connectivity, but does not conflict with it either. For early modernists, »the whole ›Great Divergence‹ debate has enhanced the status of comparative history as a means of addressing important questions about causation« (p. 324). But to make the most of comparative history it is necessary to identify significant categories for comparison, and these may be found across societies at different times, corresponding to their different paces of development. A case in point is Chris Wickham's recent comparison of economic patterns between northern Italy and the Jiangnan region of China in the central Middle Ages: Wickham is obliged to occasionally expand the time frame in order to fully capture the patterns that he is after. In making global comparisons contemporaneity may have to be sacrificed – we may occasionally even have to cross over into early modernity – and so we find ourselves again grappling with the appropriateness of boundaries set by conventional periodisation and with the need for a clearer demarcation of the »Middle Ages« as a distinct period in a global history.

The tension between connectivity and comparability turns the spotlight onto the ostensibly banal question of how ought a global historian choose what places to study in the first place. The answer is simple enough if connectivity is admitted as a defining principle: it will then be a matter of following the connections. But these will only take you so far. In the volume under review the contributors chose to look beyond the places that ordinary connections would allow and instead juxtaposed Aztecs and Mongols, England and west Africa, Song China and France, and so on. Taking these distant places together without suppressing regional peculiarities triggered valid insights about the relationship that humans around the globe had with trust, mobility, or with formal and informal political communication. As the editors had hoped, the combinative method proved to be successful in setting »the local and the global in dynamic conversation« (p. 3), a success that owes a lot to a fruitful collaboration between historians, who brought their regional specialisms to bear on big questions. If the conversation is to continue beyond the activities of the original network then it will be good to see it enriched by reaching out to historians outside Europe and North America. This will be a conversation in which curiosity about medieval events and personalities will also nurture curiosity about different – sometimes vastly different – historiographical legacies. The »combinative« method seems apt for accommodating both.

No study, however sophisticated and however inclusive in terms of its participants, can be expected to take in the entire globe at once. In the volume under review the places examined corresponded to the contributors' range of expertise. And this is fine: admitting places by an arbitrary selection criterion is as good an antidote as any against teleological thinking. But is there such a thing as a place too near to be global or a place too far to be reasonable? Put more provocatively: How far is global? Reading between the lines of the *Global Middle Ages* one finds different answers to this. I note three. The first says that it is possible to examine a single society and still be global: of the societies discussed in »Globalizing Cosmologies«, the Aztecs are accepted as having a global cosmology even though they cannot be shown to have even contemplated a physical world beyond the geography that they knew. A »truly ›global‹ cosmos«, we are told, is a single society's self-contained »view which saw every part of the world, physical, spiritual and natural, individual and communal, as interdependent« (p. 105). The second – in »Reworking the World System Paradigm« – draws us into a geographical ambit that is more clearly defined by cultural connections, even though the peoples inhabiting it and its fringes can be quite different. And the third – in »Settlement, Landscape and Narrative« – juxtaposes distant places but is not premised on connections. These are clearly three different perspectives, but there seems to be a thread that joins them all. We glimpse

this thread in Whittow's observation that what is typical for every place in the Global Middle Ages is the quality of peculiarity and idiosyncrasy (p. 87), in Strathern's praise for incommensurability (p. 336), and finally, in recalling the definition of the combinative approach as »a bottom-up methodology that does not simply accommodate but takes advantage of difference« (p. 3). What this thread amounts to is an acknowledgement that thinking globally is a way of »creating space for difference«. This means that the global historian does not simply assume difference and then revels at identifying the occasional similarity (to do this amounts to nothing more than debunking one's own prejudices) but the other way around.

For the globalist distance is a convenient proxy for difference, but as the *Global Middle Ages* shows, when distance itself is not fetishised then »global thinking« can arguably be observed even in the cosmology of a single culture or in structured mobilities across short distances (*pace* Standen and White). The reader is invited to share in the excitement of identifying difference in human experience and of giving meaning to it, especially in a period in which differences were more prevalent and more conspicuous than similarities. This quality of idiosyncrasy – rightly argued by Whittow to apply to every medieval place and to be a defining feature of the Global Middle Ages – must also be the point of departure for periodising the Global Middle Ages, a matter which, if left unresolved, will continue to cut an awkward figure as the elephant in the room.

That the volume's relentless questioning stops short of questioning periodisation would be understandable should the expected outcome be a choice between two equally undesirable options: either an endorsement of a trivial packaging of time or a questioning of the field's raison d'être. The first is not really an option for a volume that (rightly) refuses to be prescriptive. But it seems to me that the second option is not as insidious as it may at first appear: the ultimate proof that the Global Middle Ages is already an established field may be the fact that we can doubt it but continue practising it nevertheless; which is the case with most historical periods.

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