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Pietro Delcorno

## Late Medieval Preaching

### Table of contents

- Introduction
- Reference Works
  - Bibliographical Overview
- Textbooks and Anthologies
- Repertoria
- Structure, Language, and Reception of the Sermon
  - Exempla and Poets' Quotations
- Muslim Preaching
- Jewish Preaching and Preaching on the Jews
- The Preacher's "Profession"
- Women and Preaching
- Prominent Preachers
  - Fourteenth-century Dominican Preachers
  - Late Medieval England
  - Fifteenth-century Dominicans: From Ferrer to Savonarola
  - Bernardino of Siena and the Franciscan Observant Movement
  - Bishops and Theologians
- Preaching and Politics
- Preaching on the Saints
- Preaching and Images
- Preaching and Theater
- Sermons in Print

### Introduction

Preaching was the most influential and pervasive mass medium of religious and moral instruction in late medieval society, particularly in the urban context. The theologian Alan of Lille (d. 1202/03) defined preaching as "an open and public instruction in faith and behavior, whose purpose is forming the humankind" ("Paredicatio est manifesta et publica instructio morum et fidei, informationi hominum deserviens"). Although these elements properly define Christian preaching, scholars have increasingly underlined the similarities, differences, and cross-fertilization among Christian, Muslim, and Jewish medieval preaching. In late medieval Europe, the intensification of preaching was brought about by the increasing dynamism of city life, and by a number of Church initiatives, such as the intellectual and

pastoral reform promoted by Peter the Chanter (d. 1197) in Paris and by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). Canon 10 of this council exhorted bishops to nominate collaborators to support them in their office of preaching and hearing confessions. From that moment onwards, preaching and confession became increasingly closely connected. Following this renewal of pastoral engagement, the new mendicant orders acquired a prominent role. In particular, Franciscans and Dominicans (the *Ordo praedicatorum*) were able to establish themselves in the major and minor centers of a lively and changing urban society. They interpreted and steered the religious, moral, and intellectual needs of the laity. The vivid relationship between the preacher and his audience contributed to shaping the contents of sermons, which must be seen as the result of a conversation and negotiation between clerical and secular culture. In this regard, preachers were able to address new issues by using an effective language. Preaching in the cathedrals, in the new great mendicant churches, or in the public squares became part of the cultural landscape of the last centuries of the Middle Ages. Within this context, preachers could acquire a special status, as certified by the fifteenth-century canonizations of Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419) and Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444). These charismatic preachers attracted huge crowds of listeners; their oral performances became part of complex civic-religious events, which could involve processions and bonfires of vanities. Figures such as Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1494) and Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg (1450-1510) show the spiritual and political role that preachers could play within cities, foreshadowing the power of preaching in the Reformation and in the Counter-Reformation.

### **Reference Works**

Kienzle 2000 is a landmark in the scholarship on medieval sermons. Notwithstanding some limits, its definition of the sermon as “an oral discourse spoken in the voice of a preacher who addresses an audience to instruct and exhort them on a topic concerned with faith and morals and based on a sacred text” (p. 151) has become canonical among scholars. The volume provides an excellent starting point for any study on medieval preaching by focusing on sermons as a literary genre and by subdividing the field according to different linguistic areas. It builds upon previous studies which opened the way to the recognition of the prominence of preaching in medieval communication, as seen in d’Avray 1985 and to a careful methodological approach to sermons, as discussed in Bataillon 1993, Bériou and d’Avray 1994 and Bériou 1998. Muessig 2002 contributed to broaden the field of studies with a specific attention to preaching as an oral event and to the relationship between preaching and the visual arts. The effort to situate preaching within its sociohistorical context is at the center of Mertens et al. 2013, which provides the reader also with an updated panorama of the studies on German preaching. Bériou and Morenzoni 2008 offer an in-depth discussion on the vital and complex relationship between preaching and liturgy. Finally, Arnold 2006 analyses the dynamic of continuity and change between late medieval and early modern preaching.

Arnold, Matthieu, ed. *Annoncer l'Évangile (XVe-XVIIe siècle): Permanences et mutations de la prédication*. Paris: Cerf, 2006.

Crossing the boundaries between the late medieval and early modern periods, the volume considers preaching (and its transformation) in a *longue durée* perspective. Specific space is dedicated to late medieval and modern reform preaching. The volume's geographic focus is on France and German lands.

Bataillon, Louis-Jacques. *La prédication au XIIIe siècle en France et Italie*. Ashgate: Variorum, 1993.

The volume gathers 20 articles (mainly in French) written by one of the most influential twentieth-century scholars on medieval sermons. The contributions focus predominantly on thirteenth-century Latin sermons, with a keen attention to the construction of the scholastic sermons.

Bériou, Nicole. *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole: La prédication à Paris au XIIIe siècle*. 2 vols. Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1998.

An in-depth study of the renewal of preaching and its techniques in the vibrant cultural context of late twelfth- and thirteenth-century Paris. A model of research on specific manuscript sermon collections and their interpretation within a given historical period.

Bériou, Nicole, and David d'Avray, eds. *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons. Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*. Spoleto: CISAM, 1994.

This collection of 15 essays (12 in English) exemplifies the potentiality of sermons as an historical source to investigate medieval culture. Particularly useful from a methodological point of view d'Avray, "Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons" (pp. 3-29).

Bériou, Nicole, and Franco Morenzoni, eds. *Prédication et liturgie au Moyen Âge*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.

Thoughtful and nuanced overview of the complex – and sometimes conflicted – relationship between liturgy and preaching. These two complementary and intertwined languages of the faith shaped the public religious discourse and practice within medieval society. The volume underlines also the innovations brought by mendicant orders, which searched for spaces and places of religious instruction beyond the liturgical setting.

d'Avray, David. *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.

This groundbreaking study investigates the role of Latin model sermons as an 'infrastructure of preaching' built by mendicant orders based in Paris, the center of medieval sermon dissemination. The circulation of model sermons throughout Europe multiplied their influence, making the study of

these texts a fundamental step in understanding preaching as a form of mass communication. D'Avray summarizes the 17 principal points of his book in the *Introduction*.

Kienzle, Beverly Mayne, ed. *The Sermon. Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental* 81–83. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

Best reference book on medieval sermons. Kienzle's *Introduction* (pp. 143-174) provides scholars and students with an entry point to the topic. The volume is mainly structured according to different linguistic areas. Bériou analyses Latin sermons after 1200, while C. Delcorno deals with Italian sermons, Spencer with Middle English sermons, Taylor with French sermons, H.-J. Schiewer with German sermons, and Sánchez Sánchez with the sermons from the Iberian Peninsula. An all-encompassing bibliography enriches the volume (pp. 5-142).

Mertens, Volker, Hans-Jochen Schiewer and Wolfram Schneider-Lastin, eds. *Predigt im Kontext*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013.

Its 23 essays (22 in German) provide a good entry point for research on late medieval preaching in the German area, with an emphasis on spiritual themes and fifteenth-century theological and devotional developments.

Muessig, Carolyn (ed.). *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages. A New History of Sermon 3*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

The volume investigates preaching as a performative event (in particular: Kienzle, "Medieval Sermons and Their Performance: Theory and Record"), the different audiences, and the relationship between preaching and the visual arts. Hanska's "Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching: A Method and Its Limits" elaborates on d'Avray's methodology in studying model sermons.

### Bibliographical Overview

The bibliography provided in \*Reference Works\* can be updated by looking at Muessig 2002, Sánchez Sánchez 2011 (particularly useful for the Hispanic area), Nall 2012 (see *Oxford Bibliographies* in Medieval Studies article \*Sermons[obo-9780195396584-0132]\*), and Thayer 2014. Moreover, the series *Sermo* published by Brepols and the journal \*\**Medieval Sermons Studies*\*\* are excellent view points on the most recent developments in the field.

### *Medieval Sermons Studies*

The articles published in the journal of the International Medieval Sermon Studies Society and, in particular, its reviews represent the best instrument to keep up to date with the latest developments in the field of medieval preaching.

Muessig, Carolyn. "Sermon, Preacher and Society in the Middle Ages." *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2002): 73-91.

This historiographical essay is an insightful overview on the development of sermon studies in the last two decades of the twentieth century. With a clear division in three sections (sermons, preacher, society), the article is ideal also for a first introduction on the topic.

Nall, Thomas N. "Sermons" (2012). *Medieval Studies - Oxford Bibliographies*

\*[<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195396584/obo-9780195396584-0132.xml?rskey=xhJWdt&result=4&q=sermon#firstMatch>]\*.

With a text-centered approach, Nall presents mainly primary sources by subdividing them according to languages (Latin and dominant vernaculars), and by adding sections on *artes praedicandi* and *exempla*. Non-English scholarship is under represented though.

Sanchez Sánchez, Manuel Ambrosio. "Dos décadas de estudio sobre predicación en la España medieval." *Erebea. Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales* 1 (2011): 3-20.

Insightful overview of the developments in studies on medieval preaching, with a specific attention to the interplay of sermons with other literary genres. Although focused on medieval Spain (to which it provides an excellent introduction), its insights prove useful for other geographical areas. Available  
\*online[[http://rabida.uhu.es/dspace/bitstream/handle/10272/5215/Dos\\_decadas\\_de\\_estudio\\_sobre\\_predicacion\\_en\\_la\\_España\\_medieval.pdf?sequence=3](http://rabida.uhu.es/dspace/bitstream/handle/10272/5215/Dos_decadas_de_estudio_sobre_predicacion_en_la_España_medieval.pdf?sequence=3)]\*.

*Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval and Reformation Sermons and Preaching*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006-

Series of first quality monographs and proceedings on medieval preaching, directed by Regina Schiewer.

Thayer, Anne T. "Medieval Sermon Studies since 'The Sermon': A Deepening and Broadening Field." *Medieval Sermon Studies* 58 (2014): 10-27.

The article charts the main developments in the field of medieval sermon studies after Kienzle 2000 (cited under \*Reference Works\*) (performative approach, Islamic preaching, interplay with visual art and music) and briefly discusses recent publications (predominantly in English) and database.

### **Textbooks and Anthologies**

Thayer 2012 provides an effective introduction to the value of medieval sermons, particularly useful for undergraduate students. Wenzel 2008 and Wenzel 2013 are ideal tools for teaching students, providing them with an anthology of both *artes praedicandi* (the medieval treatises on how to compose and deliver sermons) and different types of late medieval sermons, all in English translation. Saperstein 1989 is a

useful introduction to and anthology of medieval Jewish sermons, while Qutbuddin 2006 (cited under \*Muslim Preaching\*) has an appendix with early Muslim sermons in translation.

Saperstein, Marc (ed.). *Jewish Preaching, 1200-1800: An Anthology*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Following a rich introduction (pp. 1-107) about Jewish preaching and its sources, the volume presents and discusses sixteen sermons in translation. Seven texts are from the late medieval period (the majority from Spain). The last section of the book discusses other useful sources for the history of Jewish sermons.

Thayer, Anne T. "The Medieval Sermon: Text, Performance and Insight." In *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources. Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe*. Edited by Joel T. Rosenthal, 43-58. London-New York: Routledge, 2012.

Concise insight into the study and interpretation of sermons. Ideal single-article introduction for students. Moreover, its location in this volume proves that sermon studies is no longer a niche subject area of medieval studies.

Wenzel, Siegfried. *Preaching in the Age of Chaucer: Selected Sermons in Translation*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America: 2008.

The volume, targeted to students and general readers, presents in translation a selection of mainly Latin sermons written in England between 1350 to 1450, showing their variety in terms of structure, occasion, and audience. The volume is divided into four parts: the transition from Scripture to sermons; the different liturgical occasions; the saints' feasts; the special preaching occasions (for instance: funerals).

Wenzel, Siegfried. *The Art of Preaching: Five Medieval Texts & Translations*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America: 2013.

The volume presents the full text of five *artes praedicandi* in Latin with English translations: Jacobus de Fusignano, *Quamvis, Hic docet, Vade in domum*, and Jean de la Rochelle. Together with Briscoe 1992 (cited under \*Structure, Language, and Reception of the Sermon\*), this is the ideal source for the study of thirteenth-century handbooks on preaching.

### **Repertoria**

The navigation through the thick forest of late medieval sermons still lacks an overarching map. Scholars rely on several repertoria, which provide them with partial descriptions of sources. Notwithstanding its frequent imprecision, Schneyer 1969-1990 is still the most comprehensive catalogue of Latin sermons written before 1350 and that often continued to be copied and preached in the later period, as manuscripts and incunabula prove. For the Latin sermons composed in the late medieval period, Hödl

and Knoch 2001 represents a rich but largely incomplete starting point. Systematic descriptions of the surviving material are provided in Wenzel 2005 for the Latin sermons written in late medieval England, in O'Mara and Paul 2007 (cited under \*Repertoria\*) for Middle English sermons, and in the volumes of the *Repertorium of Middle Dutch Sermons*. Andersson-Schmitt and Hedlund 1988-1995 is an exemplary library catalogue for the study of preaching, and provides a detailed description of the sermons circulating in late medieval Scandinavia. Considering the numerous imprints of sermon collections as incunabula or early printed books, instruments such as ISTC and USTC are helpful.

Andersson-Schmitt, Margaret, and Monica Hedlund, eds. *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*. 8 vols. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1988-1995.

The catalogue of the manuscripts held by the University library of Uppsala has an unusually detailed description of manuscripts of sermons (C 258-C 415a) that constitute an ideal entry point to investigate the dissemination and adaptation of Latin sermon collections in Scandinavia. The digital copy of the catalogue is available \*online[<http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/>]\*.

Hödl, Ludwig, and Wendelin Knoch, eds. *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1350-1500 nach den Vorarbeiten von J.B. Schneyer*. Münster: Aschendorff, 2001.

This CD-ROM gathers Schneyer's notes on Latin sermons from 1350-1500 with a preponderance of the manuscripts present in German libraries. This catalogue had no intention to be complete but allows for a useful first survey. The database can be interrogated on the sermon's author, the liturgical occasion, the biblical *thema*, and the library.

ISTC = *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* \*[<http://istc.bl.uk/>]\*

ISTC (managed by the British Library) is a virtually complete incunabula database, which allows quick searches on the many sermon collections printed in the late fifteenth-century. ISTC often provides links to existing digital editions of sermon collections, biblical commentaries, and pastoral books.

O'Mara, Veronica, and Suzanne Paul. *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons*. 4 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.

A milestone in the study of late medieval English preaching, composed by an inventory of about 1.500 Middle English sermons in 162 manuscripts. The very detailed description of the sermons includes information concerning occasion, theme, incipit and explicit, contents (sometimes a proper summary of the sermon), biblical quotations, theological concepts, proper names and place names, *exempla*, and bibliographical references.

*Repertorium van Middelnederlandse preken in handschriften tot en met 1550 / Repertorium of Middle Dutch Sermons Preserved in Manuscripts from before 1550.* Edited by Maria Sherwood-Smith and Patricia Stoop (Vols. 1-3) and Daniel Ermens and Willemien van Dijk (Vols. 4-7). 7 vols. Leuven: Peeters, 2003-2008.

The catalogue describes over 11.000 sermons (about 7.300 identified as different texts) in approximately 550 manuscripts, mainly from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Many are translations of Latin or German sermons. The catalogue is organized by library, with two volumes of helpful indexes (Vols. 3 and 7).

Schneyer, Johannes Baptist. *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters, für die Zeit von 1150-1350.* 11 vols. Münster: Aschendorff, 1969-1990.

A catalogue of about 50.000 Latin sermons, organized by named authors (Vols. 1-5); conciliar, university, and monastic sermons (Vol. 6); mendicant sermons and various collections (Vol. 7); anonymous texts in manuscripts organized by library (Vols. 8-9); and an index of incipit (Vols. 10-11). Although covering an impressive number of sermons, it is far from complete and sometimes inaccurate. Nevertheless, this remains an invaluable research tool.

USTC = *Universal Short Title Catalogue* \*[<http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>]\*

USTC (project based at St Andrews University) aims to provide a complete database on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century books. Although it is not as complete as the \*ISTC\*, it provides a useful overview of the many medieval sermon collections (and other religious texts) printed in the sixteenth century.

Wenzel, Siegfried. *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

A well-organized survey of 36 sermon collections from England from the period 1350-1450 (24 anonymous), described by manuscript and provided with the list of sermons' incipit. With O'Mara and Paul 2007 (cited under \*Repertotia\*), it is an excellent map on late medieval sermons in England. Part II and III of the volume ("Occasion of Preaching" and "Orthodox Preaching") represent a good handbook on late medieval preaching.

### **Structure, Language, and Reception of the Sermon**

The construction of (written) sermons – Briscoe 1992 – and how they relate to actual preaching are among the most challenging aspects in the study of medieval preaching. Andersson 2007 provides readers with a good insight on these issues, while Lazzerini 1989, Wenzel 1994 and Delcorno 2009 devote specific attention to the relationship between Latin and vernacular in preaching, and to macaronic language (i.e. mixture of Latin and vernacular). Hanska 2012 investigates not the structure of the single sermon but the birth and the different typologies of sermon collections for the Lenten period. The

reception of sermons by the audience is instead at the center of the pioneering work of Zafarana 1968. In the same perspective, the collective volume *Dal pulpito alla navata* offers an insightful analysis of the complex relationship between model sermons and the so-called *reportationes*, i.e., the notes taken by someone in the audience during or immediately after a sermon.

Andersson, Roger, ed. *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*. Sermo 6. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.  
High-quality collection of 13 essays on the construction of medieval sermons. They consider some of the most important preacher-aids (model sermons, *artes praedicandi, distinctiones*), the complex relationship between Latin and vernacular, and the problems posed by extant written sermons as sources. This is an ideal starting point for an in-depth study on sermon construction.

Briscoe, Marianne G. *Artes praedicandi. Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental* 61. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.

A brief and precise guide to medieval manuals on the art to compose and deliver sermons (*ars praedicandi*). Useful as an introduction to this genre and to the structure of the scholastic sermon; this is also a helpful guide for students.

*Dal pulpito alla navata. La predicazione medievale nella sua recezione da parte degli ascoltatori (secc. XIII-XV) - Convegno Internazionale di Storia religiosa in memoria di Zelina Zafarana, Firenze 5-7 giugno 1986*. Edited by Giancarlo Garfagnini. *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 3 (1989).

Key volume on the *reportationes* and the (selective) reception of sermons by the audience. From a methodological point of view, particularly important: Roberto Rusconi, “*Reportatio*” (pp. 7-36); Louis-Jacques Bataillon, “Sermons rédigés, sermons reportés (XIIIle siècle)” (pp. 69-86); Carlo Delcorno, “La diffrazione del testo omiletico” (pp. 241-260).

Delcorno, Carlo. “*Quasi quidam cantus*”: *Studi sulla predicazione medievale*. Edited by Giovanni Baffetti, Giorgio Forni, Silvia Serventi and Oriana Visani. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2009.

The section “I linguaggi del pulpito” (pp. 3-84) gathers three essays on the preacher’s language. They focus on the medieval masters of orality, the relationship between Latin and vernacular, and the oral artifices employed by Italian preachers. One article is also available in English: C. Delcorno, “The Language of Preachers: Between Latin and Vernacular,” *The Italianist* 15 (1995): 48-66.

Hanska, Jussi. “*Sermones quadragesimales*: Birth and Development of a Genre.” // *Santo* 52 (2012): 107-127.

Hanska shows how the genre of the Lenten sermon collections was invented by late thirteenth-century Dominicans, who identified Lent as the ideal time for an intense program of religious instruction. From the

beginning two main types of *Sermones quadragesimales* were developed: one based on the liturgical readings, another on other catechetical schemes.

Lazzerini, Lucia. "Da quell'arzillo pulpito. Sermo humilis e sermoni macaronici nel quaresimale autografo di Valeriano da Soncino OP." In *\*Dal pulpito alla navata\**, pp. 171-239.

This article investigates the presence of macaronic language and comic elements in the sermons of Italian preachers such as Bernardino of Feltre (1439-1494) and Valeriano of Soncino (1452-1531). Rich appendix of sample texts.

Wenzel, Siegfried. *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.

Study of numerous bilingual sermons, written partly in Latin and partly in English, from fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England, with working definitions of different typologies of texts. Accompanied by the description of 13 manuscripts and the editions and translations of three sample sermons.

Zafarana, Zelina. "Per la storia religiosa di Firenze nel Quattrocento: Una raccolta privata di prediche." *Studi medievali* 9 (1968): 1017-1113. Available also in: Zafarana, Zelina. *Da Gregorio VII a Bernardino da Siena*. Edited by Ovidio Capitani, Claudio Leonardi, Enrico Menestò and Roberto Rusconi. Spoleto: CISAM 1991.

This groundbreaking article contributed in moving the scholarship's focus from the preacher's performance to the audience's reception and appropriation of sermons. The article analyses and edits the personal notes written by an anonymous lay listener in late fifteenth-century Florence.

### *Exempla* and Poets' Quotations

The use of *exempla* is among the most characteristic and dynamic elements of late medieval preaching.

Bremond, Le Goff and Schmitt 1996 is the classical introduction to this field of studies, particularly developed in France, as the database ThEMA confirms. The recent developments are exemplified in Polo de Beaulieu et al. 2010. Another feature of late medieval sermons is the abundant use of quotations of classical and medieval "secular" poems, on which see Visani 2003 and Delcorno 2016.

Bremond, Claude, Jacques Le Goff, and Jean-Claude Schmitt. *L'exemplum. Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental* 40. Turnhout: Brepols, 1982.

The classical and still authoritative introduction to the history, development, function, and cultural relevance of the *exemplum* and of the collections of *exempla*.

Delcorno, Pietro. "Christ and the Soul are like Pyramus and Thisbe': An Ovidian Story in Fifteenth-Century Sermons." *Medieval Sermon Studies* 60 (2016): 37-61.

Recent overview of the presence and function of Ovidian myths and their allegorical interpretation in fifteenth-century Latin model sermons, with bibliography on the appropriation and transformation of classical stories in preaching.

Polo de Beaulieu, Marie-Anne, Pascal Collomb, and Jacques Berlioz, eds. *Le tonnerre des exemples: Exempla et médiation culturelle dans l'Occident médiéval*. Rennes: Presses Universitaire de Rennes, 2010.

An updated survey of the research field concerning *exempla*, with a particular attention to three areas: the relationship between Bible and *exempla*; the circulation of exempla of monastic origin; the interplay between *exempla* and images, focusing on the *Ci nous dit* (1320s), an illuminated collection of *exempla*.

ThEMA = *Thesaurus exemplorum medii aevi* \*[<http://gahom.ehess.fr/index.php?434>]\*

Promoted and managed by the Groupe d'anthropologie historique de l'Occident medieval, this database (operating in all the major European languages) allows to explore about 60 collections of *exempla* by medieval collection, modern edition, and key word. Each *exemplum* has a brief summary.

Visani, Oriana. "Citazioni di poeti nei sermonari medievali." In *Letteratura in forma di sermone: I rapporti tra predicazione e letteratura nei secoli XIII-XVI*. Edited by Ginetta Auzzas, Giovanni Baffetti and Carlo Delcorno, 123-146. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2003.

Within a volume focusing on the cross-fertilization between preaching and literature in late medieval Italy, this pioneering essay explores the presence and function of poetic quotations of Dante and Petrarch in fifteenth-century manuscripts of sermons. Relevant also for studies on orality and the Latin-vernacular interplay.

### **Muslim Preaching**

Studies on Muslim preaching represent a recent yet expanding area of research, as the absence of this theme in Kienzle 2000 (cited under \*Reference Works\*) confirms. Jones Gale 2012 offers an excellent synthesis on the function and characteristics of Muslim preaching, drawing also a comparison with contemporary Christian preaching. Qutbuddin 2006 provides the coordinates on the early Muslim oratory, which set the model for later generations of preachers. Berkey 2001 is a perceptive introduction to Muslim popular preaching and its critics, while the volume Jansen and Rubin 2010 (cited under \*The Preacher's "Profession"\*) contains two contributions on medieval Muslim charismatic preaching. A rich and growing bibliography is available on the website of the PredMed project, which focuses on medieval preaching in the Mediterranean area, with a specific interest in the different religions present in the Iberian Peninsula.

Berkey, Jonathan P. *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East*.

Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.

Combining religious and social history, Berkey explores the characteristics of charismatic popular preachers (often connected with Sufism) as well as the controversy on their action, which some authorities saw as a threat to the orthodoxy of the faith. This became a debate on religious and political authority and the definition of Muslim identity in medieval Near East society.

Jones Gale, Linda. *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Best single-volume introduction to Muslim medieval preaching and its religious, political and cultural significance in the Mediterranean area from eleventh to fifteenth century. The volume discusses the structure and the rules of Islamic preaching. Specific attention is given to three forms of sermon: the Friday sermon; the political sermon; the popular sermon (a concept to be used with caution). Finally, it explores preaching as event by considering the profile of many preachers and the reaction of their audiences.

\*PredMed[<http://predmed.upf.edu/>]\*

The website of the PredMed project on medieval preaching around the Mediterranean (led by Linda Jones Gale) offers a bibliography on medieval preaching in the Mediterranean area, with a specific attention to works on Islamic preaching.

Qutbuddin, Tahera. "Khuṭba: The Evolution of Early Arabic Oration." In *Classical Arabic Humanities in Their Own Terms: Festschrift for Wolfgard Heinrichs on his 65th Birthday Presented by his Students and Colleagues*. Edited by Beatrice Grundler and Michael Cooperson, 176-273. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Introduction to the genre of the *khutba*, or oration, the primary prose form in early Arabic society, with both spiritual and political functions. Qutbuddin first defines the genre, the sources and the problems connected with oral transmission and authenticity, then the article traces the various types of political, religious, moral, and legislative *khuṭbas*. Next it describes the structure and literary elements of the *khutba*. An appendix presents the texts and translations of 14 pre-Islam and early Islam *khuṭbas*.

### **Jewish Preaching and Preaching on the Jews**

Saperstein 1996 overviews Jewish preaching along the centuries, with a section on the Middle Ages, while Saperstein 1989 (cited under \*Textbooks and Anthologies\*) has an anthology of sermons in translation. A concise introduction to medieval Jewish sermons is Saperstein 2000, while for an updated overview one can rely on Adams and Hanska 2015. Within this volume, Sedda 2015 discusses the diffusion of anti-Jewish themes in late medieval Christian sermons, while Muzzarelli 2015 deals with the effects of the preaching campaigns of Bernardino of Feltre, in connection with the foundation of the *Monti di Pietà*, on Jewish communities. The latter is a debated topic in historiography, on which one can see the

contributions in *I frati osservanti* 2013 (cited under \*Bernardino of Siena and the Franciscan Observant Movement\*), in particular the articles of Dessì, Pellegrini, and Mazzarelli.

Adams, Jonathan, and Jussi Hanska, eds. *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*. New York-London: Routledge, 2014.

The 12 essays of this volume explore from different points of view the complex – and often polemical – relationship between Christians and Jews as it was discussed, reflected, and sometimes constructed by preaching. In the volume, the Christian perspective dominates, but the *Introduction* (pp. 1-20) provides readers with an updated bibliography on Jewish preaching.

Mazzarelli, Maria Giuseppina. "The Effects of Bernardino da Feltre's Preaching on the Jews." *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*. Edited by Adams, Jonathan, and Jussi Hanska, 170-194. New York-London: Routledge, 2014.

The article investigates systematically the attacks of Bernardino of Feltre (1439-1494) against Jewish presence in fifteenth-century Italian cities, and the results he obtained according to the *Vita* written in Bernardino Guslino (cited under \*Preaching on the Saints\*). Bernardino's preaching had a twofold objective: the rupture of the existing positive Christian-Jewish relationships and the foundation of the *Monti di Pietà*.

Saperstein, Marc. *"Your Voice Like a Ram's Horn": Themes and Texts in Traditional Jewish Preaching*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1996.

The volume is composed of 11 essays (some previously published in a different form) and 7 texts in translation. It provides an overview of medieval and early modern Jewish preaching, with a specific attention to penitential and hortatory sermons. Among the texts, particularly interesting is a preacher's manual written in fifteenth-century Spain, which turns out to be the earliest surviving Jewish *ars praedicandi*.

Saperstein, Marc. "The Medieval Jewish Sermon." In *The Sermon*. Edited by Beverly Mayne Kienzle, 175-201. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

Saperstein briefly introduces the characteristics of the medieval Jewish sermon and its development, the sources available, and the historical relevance of these texts. This study is good also for graduate students.

Sedda, Filippo. "The Anti-Jewish Sermons of John of Capistrano: Matters and Context." In *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*. Edited by Adams, Jonathan, and Jussi Hanska, 139-169. New York-London: Routledge, 2014.

Working on unpublished sermons preached by the Franciscan friar Giovanni di Capistrano (1384-1456) in Wien in 1451, Sedda lucidly analyses the presence and function of anti-Jewish topoi in sermons against the Jews and of theological arguments in conversionary sermons to the Jews.

### The Preacher's "Profession"

With a pioneering work on the north of France, Martin 1988 has focused the attention of scholars on the increasing presence and function of professional preachers in late medieval society. Crossing the boundary between the late medieval period and the early modern period, Taylor 1992 completes this overview of France. Mazzarelli 2005 investigates the charisma and communication skills of preachers in fifteenth-century Italy, with specific attention to Franciscan Observant itinerant preachers, such as Bernardino of Siena and Bernardino of Feltre (see also the section \*Bernardino of Siena and the Franciscan Observant Movement\*). Fages 1904 and Guslino 2008 (both cited under \*Preaching on the Saints\*) are among the most interesting historical sources that allow scholars to investigate the social and political relevance of some of these charismatic preachers, while the volume Jansen and Rubin 2010 broadens the field of study by including Muslim and Jewish preaching. Howard 2004, Wranovix 2012, Kimura 2014 give space to less prominent preachers, who were responsible for the widespread and influential day-to-day work of preaching. Andersson and Borgehammar 1997 discuss preaching at the Vadstena Abbey, which represents a starting point for the investigation of the production and circulation of sermons in late medieval Sweden.

Andersson, Roger, and Stephan Borgehammar. "The Preaching of the Birgittine Friars at Vadstena Abbey (ca 1380-1515)." *Revue Mabillon* 69 (1997): 209-236.

Useful English introduction to the vast corpus of sermons connected with the abbey of Vadstena, founded by St. Bridget (1303-1373), which was one of the most dynamic religious and cultural environments within late medieval Scandinavia.

Howard, Peter Francis. "The impact of Preaching in Renaissance Florence: Fra Niccolò da Pisa at San Lorenzo." *Medieval Sermon Studies* 48 (2004): 29-44.

Howard emphasizes the relevance of every-day preaching and the role of less-known preachers in the construction of a public theology in fifteenth-century Florence, where there was an intense interplay between oral and written culture.

Jansen, Katherine L., and Miri Rubin. *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching (1200-1500)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

The volume adopts Max Weber's category of charisma to frame the religious and political authority of preachers in medieval society. The essays consider (and yet do not compare) the parallel experiences in Christian, Muslim, and Jewish preaching.

Kimura, Yoko. "The Bildungsroman of an Anonymous Franciscan Preacher in Late Medieval Italy (Biblioteca Comunale di Foligno, MS C. 85)." *Medieval Sermon Studies* 58 (2014): 47-64.

Using an exceptional document, the personal diary of an anonymous preacher who took his notes between 1484-1507, Kimura depicts the career and strategies of a preacher from the early years of his apprenticeship to his work as a professional of the pulpit.

Martin, Hervé. *Le métier de prédicateur en France septentrionale à la fin du Moyen Âge (1350-1520)*. Paris: Cerf, 1988.

An exemplary socio-historical study of late medieval religious and secular preachers as a professional class, focusing on their activities in France between the Black Death and the Reformation. On the basis of an extensive corpus of Latin and French sermons, Martin summarizes the self-representation of preachers and the main topics of preaching.

Mazzarelli, Maria Giuseppina. *Pescatori di uomini: Predicatori e piazze alla fine del Medioevo*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005.

Mazzarelli investigates the communication skills and sociopolitical role of charismatic preachers in fifteenth-century Italy. Beside Bernardino of Siena, specific attention is given to Bernardino of Feltre, who is depicted as a "star" of the pulpit by using a rich set of sources: sermons, letters, chronicles, hagiographical texts, and images.

Taylor, Larissa. *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Investigating over 40 sermon collections written by preachers active in France between 1460 and 1560, Taylor examines the transformation of preaching following the advent of printing and the sixteenth-century religious debates. The book is important for connecting late medieval and early modern preaching, while less convincing in its overall socio-religious analysis.

Wranovix, Matt. "Ulrich Pfeffel's Library: Parish Priests, Preachers, and Books in the Fifteenth Century." *Speculum* 87 (2012): 1125-1255.

The numerous notes Ulrich Pfeffel (d. c. 1495) left on his books allow Wranovix to reconstruct the culture and career of a fifteenth-century secular preacher as well as the development of parish libraries and the diffusion of pastoral handbooks among secular clergy in the south of Germany.

### **Women and Preaching**

In the dominant Church, women were excluded from the role of public preachers, while they kept the right to give religious instruction, according to Bériou 1998. A specific case was that of abbesses, who had *ex officio* the duty to address sermons to their fellow nuns, as documented in Zarri 2010. Beyond this, women could play a role in the religious public discourse with their prophetic words or gestures, as discussed in Kienzle and Walker 1998.

Bériou, Nicole. "The Right of Women to Give Religious Instruction in the Thirteenth Century." In *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*. Edited by Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker, 134-145. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Bériou traces a balanced overview of the thirteenth-century surge of preaching as *officium docenti* pushed women in a subordinated position, while they kept the right of *exortatio* and their responsibility for basic religious instruction, especially in the family.

Kienzle, Beverly Mayne, and Pamela J. Walker, eds. *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

The volume has a rich section on the medieval period (pp. 57-195), which considers both the position of women as preachers in Waldensian and Cathar communities and the space for women's public religious or prophetic speech in the medieval Church.

Zarri, Gabriella. "Places and Gestures of Women's Preaching in Quattro- and Cinquecento Italy." In *Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching (1200-1500)*. Edited by Katherine L. Jansen and Miri Rubin, 177-193. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.

Zarri argues that female preaching had two main manifestations in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italy: the *sacra conversatio*, i.e. the religious instruction an abbess delivered to her monastic community, and prophetic performances, which were often connected with a reenactment of the Passion.

### **Prominent Preachers**

Prominent late medieval preachers have attracted much attention from scholars, who investigate their historical and cultural relevance and produce editions of their sermons. Although scholarship has increasingly emphasized the relevance of less famous figures, the study of the most famous preachers offers a vantage point for investigating the preaching culture of the time. The presentation will follow roughly a chronological order.

#### Fourteenth-century Dominican Preachers

Studies on fourteenth-century preaching devote particular attention to the works and the influential role of several Dominican preachers. Delcorno 1974 and Serventi 2006 focus on Giordano of Pisa (c. 1260-1311), while Tatarzyński 1997 and Martin 2008 on Peregrinus of Opole (c. 1260- c. 1330), hence providing an entry point to preaching in different cultural areas, namely Tuscany and Silesia. Hackett 2013 is an ideal tool to navigate the abundant literature on Meister Eckhart (1260–1328), the towering figure among German Dominicans. For what concerns mid-fourteenth-century Italy, Masson 2009 analyses the model sermons composed by Nicoluccio of Ascoli in the years immediately before the Black Death, while Auzzas 2014 is a new critical edition of the *Specchio della vera penitenzia* of Iacopo Passavanti (c. 1302-1357).

Auzzas, Ginetta, ed. Iacopo Passavanti, *Lo specchio della vera penitenzia*. Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 2014.

On the request of his own lay audience, Passavanti transformed his sermons – particularly the 1354 Lenten cycle preached in Florence – into a vernacular treatise, which shows the interplay between devotional texts and oral preaching. Passavanti's text is also a sophisticated example of the penitential topic that increasingly dominated late medieval preaching.

Delcorno, Carlo. *Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare*. Florence: Sansoni, 1975.

The *reportationes* of Giordano of Pisa's sermon cycles, preached in Tuscany at the time of Dante, are the earliest sermons to be recorded in the Italian vernacular. Delcorno's classic study is attentive to Giordano's language and rhetorical skills as well as to the social context of the merchant cities.

Hackett, Jeremiah M., ed. *A Companion to Meister Eckhart*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

The 26 essays gathered in this companion provide an excellent entry point on the life, works, and later influence of this Dominican preacher and mystic. Useful both for specialists and students.

Martin, Hervé. *Pérégrin d'Opole (vers 1260 - vers 1330). Un prédicateur dominicain à l'apogée de la chrétienté médiévale*. Rennes: Presses Universitaire de Rennes, 2008.

Martin analyses the model sermons composed by Peregrinus of Opole (edited in Tatarzyński 1997 cited under \*Fourteenth-century Dominican Preachers\*), by investigating the strategies to implement - through preaching - the pastoral norms of the Fourth Lateran Council, bringing into the picture the Central European area.

Masson, Xavier. *Une voix dominicaine dans la cité: le comportement exemplaire du chrétien dans l'Italie du Trecento d'après le recueil de sermons de Nicoluccio di Ascoli*. Rennes: Presses Universitaire de Rennes, 2009.

Masson studies 119 Latin model sermons composed by Nicoluccio of Ascoli in 1342-1348, which in many ways reflect the Dominican culture of mid-fourteenth-century Italy. Characteristic is Nicoluccio's fascination with antiquity, expressed through his use of allegorical interpretations of mythological gods.

Serventi, Silvia, ed. Giordano da Pisa, *Avventuale fiorentino 1304*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006.

This collection of 56 sermons is the most recent critical edition among the *reportationes* of the sermon cycles of Giordano of Pisa. Its focus on the Advent and Christmas period is an additional value, since sermons for this part of the liturgical year have received little attention from scholars.

Tatarzyński, Richard, ed. Peregrinus de Opole, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*. Warsaw: Institutum Thomisticum, 1997.

Edition of 128 Latin model sermons *de tempore* and *de sanctis* composed by Peregrinus of Opole in 1297-1304, while he was an active preacher in Silesia. These sermons had a considerable circulation and allow to explore the preaching culture of Central Europe.

### **Late Medieval England**

Scholarship on fourteenth- and fifteenth-century preaching in England results quite rich, due also to the historical relevance of the debates around the Lollard movement. This section does not only consider prominent preachers but deals also with some anonymous and yet representative sermon collections. The focus is on some recent contributions, while for previous bibliographies one can rely on Spencer 2000 and Nall 2012 (cited under \*Bibliographical Overview\*). Fletcher 2009 offers both a general introduction to and an anthology of Middle English sermons, while Akae 2015 focuses on the Latin sermon collection of an Augustinian preacher, John Waldeby (d. 1372). A rich set of critical editions provides scholars with a wealth of materials, starting with the so-called *Wycliffite Sermons* (Gradon and Hudson 1983-1996), and continuing – on the orthodox side of the religious divide – with the macaronic sermon collection edited and translated in Horner 2006 as well as the Good Friday macaronic sermons edited, translated, and studied in Johnson 2012. Powell 2009-2011 edited one of the manuscripts of the *Festival* of the Augustinian John Mirk (fl. 1382–1414), the most widespread fifteenth-century English sermon collection. On the English manuscripts containing Latin and Middle English sermons, see also \*Repertoria\*.

Akae, Yuichi. *A Mendicant Sermon Collection from Composition to Reception: The Novum opus dominicale of John Waldeby, OESA*. Sermo 7. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015.

This excellent monograph studies the fourteenth-century model sermons by Thomas Waldeby, an Augustinian friar of the convent of York. Particular attention is given to the rhetorical construction and function of the sermons as well as to the preaching-aids Waldeby could access in his convent library.

Fletcher, Alan John. *Late Medieval Popular Preaching in Britain and Ireland: Texts, Studies, and Interpretations*. Sermo 5. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.

Fletcher's study and anthology of ten late medieval sermons intended for a lay audience provides an overview of texts written by preachers who came from different Church sectors (friars, canons, monks, secular clerics). On the actual performance of macaronic texts, Fletcher diverges from Wenzel 1994 (see under \*Structure, Language, and Reception\*).

Gradon, Pamela, and Anne Hudson, eds. *English Wycliffite Sermons*. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983-1996.

Edition with commentary of 294 Middle English sermons that compose the so-called Wycliffite Sermons, an extensive late fourteenth-century model sermon collection that embodied and disseminated reformist and polemical positions inspired (at least indirectly) by John Wyclif (d. 1384). Key source for the study of Lollard preaching.

Horner, Patrick J., ed. *A Macaronic Sermon Collection from Late Medieval England: Oxford, MS Bodley 649*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2006.

Study, edition, and English translation of 23 macaronic sermons, probably composed by a Benedictine monk in the early fifteenth century. The translation provides both specialists and graduate students with a fine example of preaching in violent opposition to Lollardy, which these sermons depict as a theological and political threat.

Johnson, Holly. *The Grammar of Good Friday: Macaronic Sermons of Late Medieval England*. Sermo 8. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012.

Johnson studies Good Friday preaching in England and provides the edition and translation of five sophisticated macaronic sermons composed between 1350-1450. The first part of the volume serves also as an introduction to sermons on the Passion, one of the key topics of late medieval preaching.

Powell, Susan, ed. *John Mirk's Festival: Edited from British Library MS Cotton Claudio A. II*. 2 vols. Early English Text Society, Original Series, 335. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009-2011.

The Augustinian canon Mirk composed this vernacular sermon collection at the end of the fourteenth century for the clerics who did not know Latin very well. The *Festival* was widely disseminated through manuscripts and prints (20 editions between 1483 and 1532); its sermons allow scholars to have an insight into preaching in fifteenth-century parish churches. This edition is based on the most authoritative of the existing manuscripts.

Spencer, H. Leith. "Middle English Sermons." In *The Sermon*. Edited by Beverly Mayne Kienzle, 597-660. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.

A brief and clear introduction to Middle English sermons. Useful for non-specialist and students.

### **Fifteenth-century Dominicans: From Ferrer to Savonarola**

Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419) is a towering figure among the earliest fifteenth-century preachers and his preaching campaigns are at the center of numerous studies on late medieval preaching. A map to navigate Ferrer's rich corpus of sermons (model sermons as well as *reportationes*) is provided in Perarnau I Espelt 1999, while Cátedra 1994 represents a perceptive study on Ferrer's sermons. On his canonization process, see Fages 1904 (cited under \*Preaching on the Saints\*). Siggins 2009 focuses on the German friar Johann Herolt (c. 1386-1468), also known as Discipulus, whose Latin model sermon collections became incredibly successful through dozens of printed editions in Germany and France. Contemporary to Herolt was the Dominican Antoninus of Florence (1389-1459), considered in the section on \*Bishops and theologians\*. Weinstein 2011 well summarizes the tragic parable of the reforming mission and preaching of Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498), and might serve as introduction (together with Fletcher 2015) to the copious literature on Savonarola.

Cátedra, Pedro. *Sermón, sociedad y literatura en la Edad Media. San Vicente Ferrer en Castilla (1411-1412): Estudio bibliográfico, literario y edición de los textos inéditos*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1994.

An exemplary study of the contents and social impact of the preaching campaign of Ferrer in Castile during 1411–1412, with the edition of 23 vernacular sermons (*reportationes*). An insightful approach to the main characteristics of this influential preacher.

Fletcher, Stella. "Girolamo Savonarola." *Oxford Bibliographies - Renaissance and Reformation* (updated 2015) \*[<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399301/obo-9780195399301-0042.xml?rskey=7VhqVK&result=1&q=savonarola#firstMatch>]\*.

Fletcher's searchable bibliography is a useful starting point for the research on Savonarola.

Perarnau I Espelt, Josep. "Aportació a un inventari de sermons de Sant Vicenç Ferrer: Temes bíblics, títols i divisions esquemàtiques." *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 18 (1999): 479-811.

Systematic catalogue of all the 909 sermon schemes used by Ferrer, alphabetically ordered according to the biblical *thema* and each provided with the incipit of its different versions in the manuscripts. As many works on Ferrer that Perarnau published in *Arxiu*, this article is available online in open source [<http://www.raco.cat/index.php/ArxiuTextos/article/view/235664/317942>]

Siggins, Ian D.K. *A Harvest of Medieval Preaching. The Sermon Books of Johann Herolt, OP (Discipulus)*. Bloomington: Xlibris, 2009.

Herolt's sermon collections (which include also a collection of *exempla*) were among the most published books after the advent of printing. Siggins provides an overview of their contents and a useful list of manuscripts and imprints, yet without developing a comparison with contemporary preachers.

Weinstein, Donald. *Savonarola Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Prophet* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

Weinstein offers a nuanced presentation of the complex life and action of Savonarola, in a way suitable also for students and non-specialists. The book is also an entry point into the editions of Savonarola's sermons and the literature on him and on his historical period.

#### **Bernardino of Siena and the Franciscan Observant Movement**

Roest 2004 provides an overview of the main Franciscan preachers from the foundation of the order to the Council of Trent. Mixon and Roest 2015 is the best single-volume on the Observant movement as a phenomenon that involved, albeit in different ways, all the mendicant orders between the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In this period, the most representative Franciscan preacher was Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444), about whom Pellegrini 2014 offers a comprehensive bibliography. The scholarship has focused on his sermons – both the *reportationes* in the vernacular (Delcorno 1989) and his model sermon collections (*Opera omnia* 1950-1965) – as well as on his social preaching (see Polecritti 2000 cited under \*Preaching and Politics\*) and his process of canonization, as discussed in Pellegrini 2009, which established a model for preachers. *I frati osservanti* 2013 provides an updated overview of the impact of the Franciscan Observant movement in Italy by presenting the effects of the action of many of its leading preachers who considered themselves as disciples of Bernardino of Siena. This new form of popular preaching found its heralds also outside Italy, as the sermons of Michel Menot edited in Nève 1924 show.

Delcorno, Carlo, ed. Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*. Milan: Rusconi, 1989.

Edition of the vernacular *reportatio* of the sermons that Bernardino preached in the main square of Siena in 1427; it contains a rich introduction, footnotes, and index of names and subjects. This is Bernardino's most famous sermon cycle, a key source both on his communicative skills and his engagement as social and religious reformer.

*I frati osservanti e la società in Italia nel sec. XV (Assisi – Perugia, 11-13 ottobre 2012)*. Spoleto: CISAM, 2013.

The volume emphasizes the impact of Franciscan Observance on Italian society, with several essays on the action of its leading preachers, such as Giacomo della Marca, Giovanni of Capistrano, Michele Carcano, Marco of Bologna and Bernardino of Feltre.

Mixson, James D., and Bert Roest, eds. *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Later Middle Ages and Beyond (1400-1550)*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Excellent introduction to the Observant movement. On preaching, particularly useful Muessig, "Bernardino da Siena and Observant Preaching as a Vehicle for Religious Transformation" (pp. 185-203) and Roest, "The Observance and the Confrontation with Early Protestantism" (pp. 283-308).

Nève, Joseph, ed. Michel Menot, *Sermons choisis (1508-1518)*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1924.

The macaronic sermons of Michel Menot (c. 1440–1518) are an excellent example of the popular preaching by leading Franciscan Observants in France at the turn of the century. Menot knew directly several model sermons of Italian preachers and – as many preachers of his time – adopted a vividly dramatic style.

Pellegrini, Letizia, ed. *Il processo di canonizzazione di Bernardino da Siena, 1445–1450*. Grottaferrata: Frati Editori di Quaracchi, 2009.

Critical edition of the three inquiries for Bernardino of Siena's process of canonization. Pellegrini's thorough introduction underlines the importance and function of this process in the history of Franciscan Observance, as well as the prominent role played by Giovanni of Capistrano in it.

Pellegrini, Letizia. "San Bernardino of Siena". In *Oxford Bibliographies - Renaissance and Reformation* (updated 2014) \*[<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399301/obo-9780195399301-0196.xml?rskey=rt9NDK&result=1&q=bernardino#firstMatch>]\*.

Exhaustive and balanced bibliography on the life, works, and cult of Bernardino of Siena.

Roest, Bert. *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent*. Leiden: Brill, 2004. The first chapter ("Franciscan Preaching as Religious Instruction", pp. 1-119) is a rich overview of Franciscan preachers, with a wealth of bibliographical information. With Maarten van der Heijden, Roest manages also a very useful website on Franciscan authors (XIII-XVIII century), with a specific section on Franciscan preaching available \*online[<http://users.bart.nl/~roestb/franciscan/>]\*.

*S. Bernardini Senensis Opera Omnia, studio et cura PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad fidem codicum edita*. 9 vols. Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1950-1965.

Critical edition of the works written by Bernardino, consisting mainly of his Latin collections of model sermons, among which stand out two Lenten cycles: the *Quadragesimale de christiana religione* (Vols. 1–2) and the *Quadragesimale de evangelio aeterno* (Vols. 3–5).

## Bishops and Theologians

Also among bishops and secular theologians, reformers engaged in an intense preaching activity as a means to promote a church and social reform. Mourin 1952 is a classical study on the sermons of Jean Gerson (1363–1429), while Burger 2007 analyses how Gerson adapted his sermons to different audiences. Serina 2016 investigates the sermons of Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464) during his ministry as bishop of Brixen, while the critical edition of his sermons is available online through the Cusanus Portal. Contemporary to Cusano is the pastoral action of the Dominican Antoninus Pierozzi (1389–1459), who was elected archbishop of Florence in 1446; Howard 1995 analyses some sections of Antoninus' *Summa* to recover an echo of his preaching. On the basis of over a thousand sermons, Voltmer 2005 provides readers with a monumental description of the preaching and social action of Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg (1445–1510), who was the official preacher of Strasbourg cathedral from 1478 to his death. A summary on Geiler is provided by Voltmer 2013.

Burger, Christoph. "Preaching for Members of the University in Latin, for Parishioners in French: Jean Gerson (1363–1429) on 'Blessed are they that mourn'." In *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*. Edited by Roger Andersson, 207–220. Sermo 6. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.

Burger investigates how the same sermon was adapted to different audiences by comparing the rhetorical strategies Gerson adopted to preach a sermon in Latin to the members of the university and, on the following day, in French to a parish congregation.

\*Cusanus Portal[<http://www.cusanus-portal.de/>]\*

Nicholas of Cusa's sermons are fully searchable in the digital archive of the critical edition of his *Opera omnia*, edited by the Cusanus-Kommission. Among other instruments, the portal has also an extensive and regularly updated bibliography.

Howard, Peter Francis. *Beyond the Written Word: Preaching and Theology in the Florence of Archbishop Antoninus 1427–1459*. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1995.

Howard analyses the famous *Summa Theologica* of Antoninus of Florence as strictly connected with his own preaching concerns and the role preaching had as public and practical theology in the oral-aural society of early Renaissance Florence.

Mourin, Louis. *Jean Gerson, prédateur français*. Bruges: De Tempel, 1952.

Foundational study of Gerson's preaching, yet based only on his French sermons.

Serina, Richard J. *Nicholas of Cusa's Brixen Sermons and Late Medieval Church Reform*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Serina studies 171 sermons Nicholas of Cusa preached as bishop of Brixen (1452-1458) and later on as cardinal in Rome. The sermons addressed different audiences (monks, priests, lay people) and reflect Nicholas' pastoral and intellectual effort for a reform of both his dioceses and the late medieval Church.

Voltmer, Rita. *Wie der Wächter auf dem Turm. Ein Prediger und seine Stadt: Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg (1445-1510) und Straßburg*. Trier: Porta-Alba, 2005.

Fundamental study on Geiler von Kaisersberg's 32 years as preacher of the cathedral of Strasbourg. Geiler advocated from the pulpit a rigid religious reform of the city, addressing urgent social and political issues: from the reform of the clergy to the purification of Strasbourg from blasphemy and sodomy, from the implementation of a new poor relief system to the reply to the emergency of syphilis. An appendix describes all the 1.300 sermons of Geiler (pp. 757-1028).

Voltmer, Rita. "Political Preaching and a Design of Urban Reform: Johannes Geiler of Kaisersberg and Strasbourg." *Franciscan Studies* 71 (2013): 71-88.

Summary in English of the key elements proposed in \*Voltmer 2005\* on Geiler von Kaisersberg as urban reformer, who advocated a severe Christian discipline in Strasbourg.

### **Preaching and Politics**

The complex and intense relationship between preaching and political powers characterizes the late medieval period, as it is immediately evident in the case of preachers such as Bernardino of Siena, Geiler von Kaisersberg and Savonarola – see more on them under \*Prominent Preachers\*. As a first overview, the essays gathered in Morenzone 2014 consider a wide set of case studies on the political dimension of medieval preaching. Dessi 2005 illuminates the political function of preachers, in particular their role to achieve social and political peace in late medieval society, while Polecritti 2000 zooms in onto the social and political effects of Bernardino of Siena's preaching in his hometown. Bruni 2003 analyses the commitment against urban factionalism, with a particular emphasis on Franciscan Observant friars. Evangelisti 2006 focuses his attention on the intellectual contribution given by prominent Franciscan preachers to the process of state building in the Kingdom of Aragon, while Gaffuri 2013 underlines their role in the Sabaudian area. Hyland 1998 and Cadili 2014 discuss the role of sermons within fifteenth-century councils, which can be considered a peculiar case of "political preaching".

Bruni, Francesco. *La città divisa: Le parti e il bene comune da Dante a Guicciardini*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003.

Notwithstanding its title, this book largely focuses on Observant preaching, with a particular emphasis on Bernardino of Siena and Giovanni of Capistrano's preaching against factions within the instable political context of fifteenth-century Italy. Interesting pages also on the dissemination of the cult of St. Bernardino after his canonization.

Cadili, Alberto. "Results of Synodal Preaching on the Activity of the Councils of Constance, Pavia-Siena and Basle." In *From Words to Deeds. The Effectiveness of Preaching in the late Middle Ages*. Edited by Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, 139-152. Sermo 12. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014.

Cadili investigates the understudied topic of the function of preaching at fifteenth-century councils, where sermons could either serve as instrument of persuasion (this happened particularly at Constance) or be less directly involved in the discussion taking place. The article provides also a good bibliography on the theme.

Dessì, Rosa Maria, ed. *Prêcher la paix, et discipliner la société: Italie, France, Angleterre (XIIIe-XVe siècle)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.

This volume investigates the manifold function of the concepts of peace and war within late medieval preaching. The studies here gathered show how preaching was a key factor in strengthening (or challenging) late medieval political powers of kings, popes, or civic institutions, and its role in shaping and maintaining the social order, also against enemies such as the heretics.

Evangelisti, Paolo. *I francescani e la costruzione di uno stato: Linguaggi politici, valori identitari, progetti di governo in area catalano-aragonese*. Padua: EFR, 2006.

Evangelisti illustrates the role of Franciscan friars as a cultural and political elite within the Kingdom of Aragon, with an emphasis on their elaboration and dissemination of key political concepts, such as *caritas, utilitas publica, fidelitas/infidelitas*. Particular attention is given to Francesc Eiximenis (c. 1330-1409) and Matteo of Agrigento (d. 1450).

Gaffuri, Laura. "Linguaggi religiosi e rimodulazioni di sovranità in uno spazio urbano: Torino fra XV e XVII secolo." In *Marquer la ville: signes, traces, empreintes du pouvoir, XIIIe – XVIe siècle*. Edited by Patrick Boucheron and Jean-Philippe Genet, 253-286. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2013.

Gaffuri analyses the political function of preaching and other public religious practices (such as those connected with the *Corpus Domini*) in Turin, crossing the time boundary between medieval and early modern period and investigating an area (the Duchy of Savoy) often neglected in overviews on Italy.

Hyland, William Patrick. "Reform Preaching and Despair at the Council of Pavia-Siena (1423–1424)." *Catholic Historical Review* 84.3 (1998): 409–430.

Hyland analyzes four sermons preached at the council of Pavia-Siena, two by the Dominican John of Ragusa (c.1395–1443) and two by the Camaldolese monk John-Jerome of Prague (d. 1440), which in different ways addressed the topic of ecclesiastical reform.

Morenzoni, Franco, ed. *Preaching and Political Society From Late Antiquity to the End of the Middle Ages*. Sermo 10. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014.

A rich series of case studies on the complex connections between preaching and political life. The volume includes 12 essays (six in English and six in French) on crusade propaganda, papal court sermons, preaching to the political authorities, as well as the function of sermons to reflect on and disseminate political ideas within society.

Polecritti, Cynthia L. *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: Bernardino of Siena and His Audience*.

Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2000.

Polecritti investigates the theme of political peace and social order within Bernardino's preaching, with special attention to the social dimension of his preaching in 1427 in Siena.

### **Preaching on the Saints**

Sermons on saints were a very lively genre within the late medieval period, and they have received increased attention in the last few decades. Lombardo 2016 provides both a rich overview of the bibliography available on this theme and a rich collection of essays, which discuss the way preachers portrayed the saints canonized in the late Middle Ages and presented them to their listeners as models of virtues. Beside this volume, three monographs are included (Jansen 2000, Gecser 2012, Kuzmová 2013) that exemplify well the dynamic and interdisciplinary approach increasingly dominating this type of research, which often considers together sermons, hagiographical texts, liturgical prayers, images, and other sources. An additional line of research is that on the canonization and development of the cult of preachers such as Bernardino of Siena and Vincent Ferrer, canonized in 1450 and 1463 respectively (see Pellegrini 2009, cited under \*Bernardino of Siena and the Franciscan Observant Movement\* and Fages 1904), and the role they had in establishing an exemplary model of preaching. Also the *vita* of Bernardino of Feltre is part of this type of hagiographical texts (Guslino 2008). On the iconography of saint preachers, see Rusconi 2016 (cited under \*Preaching and Images\*).

Fages, Pierre-Henri. *Procès de la canonisation de Saint Vincent Ferrer*. Paris: Picard, 1904.

The canonical process of Vincent Ferrer (canonized in 1463) is a goldmine of information on his pastoral mission in Brittany and the south of France as well as on the miracles associated with his cult. Documents are in Latin.

Gecser, Ottó. *The Feast and the Pulpit: Preachers, Sermons and the Cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, 1235-ca. 1500*. Spoleto: CISAM, 2012.

With emphasis on the changing historical context, the book focuses on the dissemination and transformation of the cult of St. Elizabeth of Hungary via preaching. Its basis is the analysis of over 100

Latin sermons written for the feast of St. Elizabeth (18 edited in the appendix). Gecser investigates also the interplay between sermons and the *vitae* written by hagiographers.

Guslino, Bernardino. *La vita del beato Bernardino da Feltre*. Edited by Ippolita Checcoli. Bologna: Compositori, 2008.

The Franciscan Guslino wrote the *Vita* of the Franciscan Observant Bernardino of Feltre (d. 1494) in 1573, basing it on the diary (now lost) of Francesco Canali (d. 1519), one of the friars who accompanied Bernardino on his itinerant mission. One of the liveliest (hagiographical) documents of fifteenth-century preaching in Italy.

Jansen, Katherine L. *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

This monograph investigates through different sources, including sermons and images, the construction and enormous fortune of Mary Magdalen's cult in the late Middle Ages. Particularly interesting are the sections devoted to the function of her cult within the mendicant orders and her role as a model of penance.

Kuzmová, Stanislava. *Preaching Saint Stanislaus: Medieval Sermons on Saint Stanislaus of Cracow, His Image and Cult*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo, 2013.

The 1253 canonization of Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow martyred in 1079, was the starting point of the production of sermons that aimed to shape and spread his cult. Kuzmová studies all the 80 extant medieval sermons on St. Stanislaus, providing an in-depth analysis not only of his cult but also of the circulation and function of manuscript of sermons in Central Europe. Contains an appendix with the register of sermons, description of manuscripts, and sample edition of 13 Latin sermons.

Lombardo, Eleonora. *Models of Virtues. The Roles of Virtues in Sermons and Hagiography for New Saints' Cult (13th to 15th Century)*. Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2016.

The most recent volume on late medieval preaching on saints. The introduction briefly describes the studies in this field. The essays (in English, French, Italian, and Portuguese) discuss a wide range of saints, mainly coming from the mendicant ranks: Francis, Claire, Anthony of Padua, Luis of Toulouse, and Bernardino of Siena for the Franciscans; Dominic and Peter Martyr for the Dominicans.

### **Preaching and Images**

Research has increasingly demonstrated that preachers made extensive use of images, both as mental images they presented to the mental eye of their listeners and as actual images they could mention or directly show to their audience. Bolzoni 2002 is a masterful work which deals with the power of images from both these points of view, and with a specific attention to the art of memory. The latter topic is at the

center also of Rivers 2010, which analyses the theme of memory in medieval rhetorical treatises and, in particular, in the *artes praedicandi*. A further field of investigation is that of images depicting particular preaching events, such as a sermon delivered by saints or famous preachers. Rusconi 2016 gathers in a single volume the results of several decades of research on the representation of preachers and audiences in late medieval visual arts, and on the keen understanding of the historical and cultural meaning of these images. Finally, Debby 2007 focuses on the iconographical program of the pulpits in fifteenth-century Tuscany, illustrating the mutual interaction between their images and contemporary sermons.

Bolzoni, Lina. *La rete delle immagini. Predicazione in volgare dalle origini a Bernardino da Siena*. Turin: Einaudi, 2002 (available in English as: Lina Bolzoni. *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from Its Origins to St. Bernardino of Siena*. Translated by Carole Preston and Lisa Chien. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

Drawing on Italian case studies, Bolzoni articulates the connections between images and preaching by considering both the mental images and the concrete visual artifacts that preachers referred to in order to structure their sermons and made them memorable for the audience. Bolzoni emphasizes the links with the art of memory as well as the power of images in medieval culture. A specific chapter is devoted to Bernardino of Siena's use of images.

Debby, Nirit Ben-Aryeh. *The Renaissance Pulpit: Art and Preaching in Tuscany, 1400-1550*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.

Debby explores the iconography of early Renaissance monumental Tuscan pulpits as part of an attentively studied communication project, where words and images were deeply intertwined. Debby shows how the iconographic program of the pulpits was projected with rhetorical strategies comparable to those used by contemporary sermons.

Rivers, Kimberly A. *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice. Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*. Sermo 4. Turnhout: Brepols: 2010.

Rivers investigates the theoretical discourse and the practical use of memory images in late medieval preaching, analyzing how images were introduced into sermons as mnemonic-aids and tools to enhance an emotional response. Particularly interesting is the section on the allegorical interpretation of classical images (*picturae*) in sermons, with a specific attention to the *Dormisecure* of Johannes von Werden (d. 1437).

Rusconi, Roberto. *Immagini dei predicatori e della predicazione in Italia alla fine del Medioevo*. Spoleto: CISAM, 2016.

Rusconi gathers in this volume 15 essays (3 in English) on the iconography of preachers and preaching in early Renaissance visual arts. His studies provide an exemplary methodology to assess images of medieval preachers and of their audiences as historical sources. Specific essays are devoted to images of Peter Martyr, Ferrer, Bernardino of Siena, Giovanni of Capistrano, Savonarola, as well as to satiric representations of preachers.

### **Preaching and Theater**

The mutual influence between preaching and religious theater as well as the similar methodological issues related to the study of performative events such as sermons and plays have increasingly driven scholars to an interdisciplinary approach to these religious media. In this field, Bouhaïk-Gironès and Polo de Beaulieu 2013 offer a rich and multifaceted overview, bringing together specialists from different disciplines. Ventrone 2008 illustrates the influence of medieval preaching and preaching materials on the development of a specific genre of religious drama, the *sacre rappresentazioni fiorentine*, which developed in fifteenth-century Florence. Delcorno 2014 compares one of these Florentine religious plays with contemporary sermons to highlight the similarities and differences in dramatizing a biblical parable on the pulpit and on the stage.

Bouhaïk-Gironès, Marie, and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, eds. *Prédication et performance du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013.

The volume investigates the interaction between preaching and medieval theater, focusing on the topic of the performance. The first section deals with the preacher's performance, with emphasis on the orality and dramatic elements of preaching. The second discusses the circulation of themes between sermons, *exempla* and morality plays.

Delcorno, Pietro. "We Have Made It for Learning": The Fifteenth-Century Florentine Religious Play *Lazero ricco e Lazero povero* as a Sermon in the Form of Theatre." In *From Words to Deeds. The Effectiveness of Late Medieval Preaching*. Edited by Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, 65-97. Sermo 12. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014.

Following the proposal of Ventrone 2008 (cited under \*Preaching and Theater\*), the article traces similarities and differences in the way the biblical parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man was dramatized and actualized in sermons (Bernardino of Siena and Ferrer) and in a Florentine religious play staged by a brotherhood for boys.

Ventrone, Paola. "The Influence of the Ars Praedicandi on the Sacra Rappresentazione in Fifteenth-Century Florence." In *Prédication et liturgie au Moyen Âge*. Edited by Nicole Bériou and Franco Morenzoni, 335–348. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.

Ventrone analyses the fifteenth-century *sacra rappresentazione fiorentina* as a preaching in form of theater. This type of religious play was influenced by the *Artes praedicandi* and often staged stories used also by preachers, such as those present in the collections of *exempla*.

### **Sermons in Print**

Sermons were a mass medium before the advent of print (see d'Avray 1985, cited under \*Reference Works\*), yet the new technology greatly multiplied the books of sermons available at the end of the Middle Ages, when model sermon collections – both old and new – were printed and circulated in thousands of copies. Thayer 2002 is among the very first studies that focused on printed sermon collections, mapping their dissemination (in term of centers of production) and their theological differences. Database such as ISTC and USTC (see under \*Repertoria\*) now facilitate this type of research. Driver and O'Mara 2013 offers a nuanced panorama on the transition period from manuscript to print in England, while Rusconi 2001 discusses the way Savonarola exploited the potentiality of the new technology in combination with his preaching.

Driver, Martha W., and Veronica O'Mara, eds. *Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Susan Powell*. Sermo 11. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

The 12 essays and 3 edited sermons gathered in this collection bridge the gap between manuscript and print by considering a wide range of preaching materials that were produced and circulated in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Relevant for the study of preaching and for the history of the book.

Rusconi, Roberto. "Le prediche di Fra Girolamo da Ferrara: dai manoscritti al pulpito alle stampe." In *Una città e il suo profeta. Firenze di fronte a Savonarola*. Edited by Giancarlo Garfagnini, 201-234. Florence: Sismel - Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001.

Rusconi sheds light on how Savonarola (and his entourage) took advantage of print, in certain cases producing instant books that made immediately available (sometimes even with well-planned images) what he had preached on the pulpit.

Thayer, Anne T. *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of the Reformation*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.

Thayer traces the different approaches to penitence in the most wide-spread fifteenth-century sermon collections and their possible influence on the different responses to the Reformation. The first part of the volume charts the disseminations of best-sellers by preachers such as Herolt, Gritsch, Caracciolo, Johannes von Werden, and provides a useful introduction to the impact of print on model sermons.