A Statistical Treatment of Sin and Holiness in Sermons from the Early Middle Ages (500–1100)

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1. The Use of Computers and Statistics for Medieval Mentality Studies

As yet, few articles on medieval mentality studies involve (even elementary) statistical data, although in other fields of medieval research, such as demographic studies, taxation, and so forth, statistics are readily used. Two reasons for this phenomenon are apparent. Firstly, the method is deeply mistrusted by researchers working in the field of the history of ideas. They fear, as R. Busa puts it, that texts will be consulted and not read.[1] The unity of the text seems to be lost,

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[1] R. Busa, 'Nouvelles perspectives d'herméneutique thomiste', in *Méthodologies informatiques et nouveaux horizons dans les recherches médiévales*, ed. by J. Hamesse (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), pp. 66–67: 'Il y a, en effet, des livres à consulter et des livres à lire. Une chose est lire, une autre est consulter: je lis une histoire, je consulte un répertoire. Je pense que, entre lire pour lire et lire pour consulter, il y a au fond deux différences. La première est qu'en consultant je cherche une information particulière que je veux insérer dans un autre ensemble: tandis que, quand je lis, je cherche l'"idée" d'ensemble de ce que je lis. La seconde est qu'en consultant, je sais déjà ce que je cherche, mais pas nécessairement quand je lis: en lisant, je ne cherche pas, mais je chemine, je regarde, je'observe et je relève'. In their article D. I. Holmes, L. J. Gordon, C. Wilson, 'A Widow and her Soldier: Stylometry and the American Civil War', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 16 (2001), 403–20 (p. 404), the authors forestall criticism from historians: 'Historians have not always welcomed new techniques into their craft, and no doubt, there will be those sceptical of the conclusions presented below. We simply ask historians to consider stylometry as an additional tool to understanding the past, one that complements more traditional scholarship and allows historians to think anew some old questions.'

and consequently the researcher can no longer grasp the deepest sense of the text. Secondly, the primary sources for medieval mentality studies are texts, i.e. documents consisting of words, grouped together in sentences, paragraphs, chapters and forming a unity in which the order of the different elements is important. Studies in the field of economics, demography, and suchlike use mostly data from historical sources with a repetitive structure—with a recurring series of similar entries.[2] Data from the latter sources are 'more suitable' for entering into databases and for treating automatically and/or statistically.

The automatic analysis of texts gained important impetus during the last decades of the twentieth century, when growing numbers of machine-readable texts became available for historians and philologists. In this context, the gigantic databases of the Louvain-la-Neuve-based CETEDOC, and its successor institution in Turnhout, CTLO, immediately come to mind,[3] although also a multitude of other initiatives led to similarly successful results.[4]

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[2] O. Boonstra, 'De computer in een historisch onderzoek', in *Historische Informatiekunde. Inleiding tot het gebruik van de computer bij historische studies*, ed. by O. Boonstra, L. Breure, P. Doorn (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990) pp. 49–50; H. Voorbij, 'Analyse en ontsluiting van teksten met behulp van de computer', in *Historische Informatiekunde. Inleiding tot het gebruik van de computer bij historische studies*, ed. by O. Boonstra, L. Breure, P. Doorn (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990), pp. 131–39.

[3] See for the CETEDOC the publications of L. Genicot and P. Tombeur. L. Genicot, 'Les concordances et listes de fréquence des textes narratifs latin composés en Belgique avant 1200', in *Actes du Colloque: L'utilisation des ordinateurs et la recherche en sciences humaines*: extra issue of *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique* (Brussels: Association des archivistes et bibliothécaires, 1971), pp. 241–48 ; idem, 'Le traitement électronique des textes diplomatiques belges antérieurs à 1200', in *Informatique et histoire médiévale*, Communications et débats de la Table Ronde CNRS, organisée par l'École française de Rome et l'Institut d'Histoire Médiévale de l'Université de Pise (Rome, 20–22 mai 1975), ed. by L. Fossier, A. Vauchez, C. Violante, Collection de l'École française de Rome 31 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1977), pp. 97–104; id., 'Some elementary remarks on the utility of computers in medieval History', in *Computer applications to medieval studies*, ed. by A. Gilmour-Bryson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1984), pp. 45–50 ; P. Tombeur, 'Informatique et étude de textes. Pour une meilleure connaissance du vocabulaire medio-latin', *Archivum Latinitatis medii aevi*, 40 (1977), 124–38; id., 'Vox Latina. Belgian initiatives in data-processing: the intellectual language of Europe, AD 197–1965', *Computers and the Humanities*, 12, 1–2 (1978), 13–18; id., 'Informatique et étude de textes médiévaux', in *L'homme et son univers au moyen âge*, ed. by C. Wenin, Philosophes médiévaux 27 (Louvain-la-Neuve Institut supérieur de philosophie, 1986), pp. 174-86; id., 'Latinité et informatique: travaux réalisés par le CETEDOC. Perspectives et implications méthologiques', in *The Editing of Theological and Philosophical Texts from the Middle Ages*, Acts of the conference arranged by the Department of Classical Languages, University of Stockholm, 29–31 August 1984, ed. by M. Asztalos, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 30 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1986), pp. 35–57; id., 'Banques de données textuelles et lexicales pour l'étude de la tradition occidentale', in *Méthodologies*

Gradually, medievalists interested in the history of ideas came to accept the use of the computer—and even to praise it—for very specific purposes. At first, they only used the printed or microfilmed listings of computers, such as concordances and lists of lemmata.[5] Later, some medievalists were convinced to work directly with the computer, instead. One was encouraged to explore machine readable texts when looking for the first appearance of a certain word,[6] the occurrence of a term with a chosen author and, last but not least, the identification of citations. Enthusiasm for this application was so overwhelming that *L'ordinateur et le médiéviste* devoted a complete issue to the topic.[7]

Computer studies has invited us to go further, though: as soon as a text is in machine-readable format, it can be explored in many different ways. Some scholars use the computer (and statistics) for the style analysis of texts. While, in general, researchers gained a deeper insight in the style of a particular author, the method also provided several anonymous texts with an author. Stylometry is a set of quantitative methods used to decipher texts, making abstraction of the contents of the texts and concentrating on stylistic characteristics. Some stylistic characteristics include the analysis of function words such as articles, prepositions, adverbs; the ratio of different lemmata on the total of *formae*; average word length; average sentence length, and cluster analysis of the most frequently used words in complete or partial texts.[8] In recent stylometric research one tries also to include syntactically based

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informatiques et nouveaux horizons dans les recherches médiévales, ed. by J. Hamesse, Rencontres de philosophie médiévale, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992) pp. 225–47.

[4] See for 'medieval' examples: J. Deploige, M. De Reu, L. Milis, 'Informatique et études médiévales', in R. Van Caenegem, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire médiévale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 533–50 and note 12 for sites or portals to other examples.

[5] See for example the works of R. Busa, L. Génicot and P. Tombeur mentioned earlier.

[6] See for a concrete example: P. Tombeur, 'Informatique et étude de textes médiévaux', in *L'homme et son univers au moyen âge*, ed. by C. Wenin, Philosophes médiévaux, 27 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1986), pp. 185–86.

[7] *Le médiéviste et l'ordinateur*, no. 22, fall 1990. Some examples of studies (partially) based on the counting of citations: M. De Reu, *La Parole du Seigneur. Moines et chanoines médiévaux prêchant l'Ascension et le Royaume des Cieux*, IHBR Bibliothèque, 43 (Brussels, Rome: IHBR, 1996); J. Deploige, *In nomine femineo indocta. Kennisprofiel en ideologie van Hildegard van Bingen (1098–1179)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998).

[8] General introductions: H. H. Somers, Statistical methods in literary analysis, in *The Computer and Literary Style: Introductory Essays and Studies*, ed. by J. Leed (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1966), pp. 128–40; A. Kenny, *The Computation of Style. An Introduction to Statistics for Students of Literature and Humanities* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1982); H. Voorbij, 'Analyse en ontsluiting van teksten met behulp van de computer', in *Historische Informatiekunde. Inleiding tot het gebruik van de computer bij historische studies*, ed. by O. Boonstra, L. Breure, P. Doorn (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990), pp. 130–83; D. I. Holmes, 'Authorship Attribution', *Computers and the Humanities*, 28.2 (1994), 87–106;

techniques. This type of research necessitates amply tagged texts, which are time consuming to produce.[9]

In a similar manner, methodologies for content analysis of groups of texts have been developed. These methods, equally quantitative, are mostly applied for the analysis of responses to open questions in questionnaires used by sociologists, psychologists, market researchers, and so forth. Recently, the methods for content analysis have also been used for the attribution of an author to an anonymous text.[10] Content analysis aims to evaluate the frequency of types of words in a text and by doing so to get at the deepest meaning of the text. Content analysis can be effectuated by different methods. Basically, one can choose a set of words and check the frequency of their presence in the text. For instance, a list of aggressive words can be compiled for analyzing the hostile tone of a speech. Additionally, all the words in a given text or set of texts can also be analyzed. In practice this means that only the most frequently used words are analyzed and grouped in function words indicating time, function words indicating space, adverbs indicating intensity, nouns referring to the family circle, and so on. Putting these data in a matrix with the different types of the words in the rows and the different texts in the columns, allows the regrouping of the texts according to their content. The sociologist can even assign a particular set of answers to a specific segment of the population if the questionnaire included some closed questions enquiring about age, sex, education and so on. Separating the different groups needs advanced statistical methods such as univariate or multivariate analyses of variance, cluster analysis, neural-network

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Holmes, 'The Evolution of Stylometry in Humanities Scholarship', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 13 (1998), 11117; E. Stamatatos, N. Fakotakis, G. Kokkinakis, 'Computer-Based Authorship Attribution without Lexical Measures', *Computers and the Humanities*, 35.2 (2001), 193–214. See for a critical approach of cluster analysis used in some studies of stylometry: D. L. Hoover, 'Statistical Stylistics and Authorship Attribution: an Empirical Investigation', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 16.4 (2001), 421–44. Studies based on "stylometrics": A. Ellegård, *A Statistical Method for Determining Authorship: the Junius Letters, 1762–1772*, Gothenburg Studies in English 13 (Göteborg, 1962); F. Mosteller, D. L. Wallace, *Inference and Disputed Authorship: 'The Federalist'* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1964); F. Mosteller, D. L. Wallace, *Applied Bayesian and Classical Inference, the Case of the Federalist Papers* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1984); R. Thisted, B. Efron, 'Did Shakespeare Write a Newly Discovered Poem?', *Biometrika*, 74 (1987), 445–55, D. I. Holmes, 'A Stylometric Analysis of Mormon Scripture and Related Texts', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series A—Statistics in Society*, 155,1 (1992), 91–120.

[9] D. I. Holmes, 'The Evolution of Stylometry in Humanities Scholarship', *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 13 (1998), 116–17.

[10] C. Martindale, D. McKenzie, 'On the Utility of Content Analysis in Author Attribution: The Federalist', *Computers and the Humanities*, 29 (1995), 259–70.

algorithms, etc. By now, an impressive number of specific computer programs is at the disposal of the researcher.[11]

As stated before, medievalists working outside the field of socio-economic studies are hesitant to consider the computer as a possible ally in their research. There have been, for some decades, a great many initiatives regarding the electronic publication of texts in order to facilitate the reading, or maybe more accurately, the consultation of these texts. Fortunately, many of these were encoded. Investigating the encoding process is not the scope of this article.[12] Except for charters, the full potential of electronically available texts is seldom exploited.[13] The purpose of this article is to count selected words in electronically available texts and interpret the results with simple statistical techniques.[14] One must not replace an attentive reading of texts

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[11] See footnote 10 and G. Salton, *Automatic Text Processing: The Transformation, Analysis and Retrieval of Information by Computer* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1989); L. Lebart, 'Sur les analyses statistiques de textes', *Journal de la Société de statistique de Paris*, 135.1 (1994), 17–36; L. Lebart, A. Salem, *Statistique textuelle* (Paris: Dunod, 1994); E. Mergenthaler, 'Computer-Assisted Content Analysis', in *Zuma-Nachrichten. Spezial: Text Analysis and Computers* (Mannheim: ZUMA, 1996), pp. 3–32; U. Kelle, 'Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis: An Overview', in ibid., pp. 33–63; F. Guérin-Pace, 'La statistique textuelle. Un outil exploratoire en sciences sociales', *Population*, 52.4 (1997), 865–87.

[12] We refer to more recent issues of *Le médiéviste et l'ordinateur* treating *Le texte médiéval sur Internet 1. Chercher et trouver* (nr 37–hiver 1998), *Le texte médiéval sur Internet 2. Mettre des textes sur Internet* (nr 38–hiver 1999), *La numérisation des manuscrits médiévaux* (nr 40—automne 2001) and the following sites / portals for examples of electronic publishing: Ménestrel (www.ccr.jussieu.fr/urfist/mediev.htm), Labyrinth (www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/), Reti Medievali (www.retimedievali.it/), Internet Medieval Sourcebook (www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html), TEI (www.tei-c.org).

[13] See for the use of electronically available charters the results of the DEEDS-project in Toronto (M. Gervers) and of the 'Atelier des textes diplomatiques' of the ARTEM in Nancy (B.-M. Tock). See further the proceedings of the conference on charters held at the Collegium Budapest/Institute for Advanced Study in March 1999: *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, ed. by M. Gervers (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2000) and for Dutch charters: M. Leroy, 'The Thirteenth-Century Middle Dutch Charters (1272–1300) of Saint John's Hospital in Bruges: A Diplomatic and Paleographic Approach', in *Secretum Scriptorum. Liber Alumnorum Walter Prevenier*, ed. by W. P. Blockmans, M. Boone, T. de Hemptinne (Leuven, Apeldoorn: Garant, 1999) pp. 93–128.

[14] See for some examples of content analysis of medieval texts based on statistics: L. Breure, 'The Modern Devotion: The Structure of a Concept', in *Computer Applications to Medieval Studies*, ed. by A. Gilmour-Bryson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1984), pp.135–46; J.-P. Genet, 'Automatic Text Processing and Factorial Analysis: A Method for the Determining the Lexicographical Horizon of Expectation', in *Computer Applications to Medieval Studies*, ed. by A. Gilmour-Bryson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1984), pp. 147–76; M. De Reu, *La Parole du Seigneur. Moines et chanoines médiévaux prêchant l'Ascension et le Royaume des Cieux*, IHBR Bibliothèque, 43 (Brussels, Rome: IHBR, 1996); T. De Meester, 'Kronieken in grafieken. Methodologische perspectieven voor

with 'counting words'. It is a complementary way to look at texts. 'Counting' offers a more objective basis to 'intuitive' feelings occurring while reading texts. In those cases where statistical methods yield unexpected results, they exhort us to return to the texts and start reading them over again from a new point of view.

The type of research presented in this article has many problems in common with the content analysis as it is done by linguists, sociologists, psychologists and others: word forms have to be grouped under their lemmata, some words have homonyms or have several meanings. Unlike the researchers of modern texts, we do not deal with a (more or less) uniform spelling, and we cannot use dictionaries to analyze words automatically (i.e. to separate homonyms or words with more than one meaning into several groups). Furthermore, our collection of texts is much bigger than the corpus treated by our colleagues dealing with modern writings—*in toto* I studied 10,666,325 words in the CLCLT and 23,610 columns in the PL and some manually counted sermons. Furthermore, the corpus was not written at one moment in history, but over six centuries. The latter fact means that one has to check also for new words developing, old words disappearing, and changes in meaning. Of course it is impossible, even with the aid of a computer, to examine the complete content of all those texts. So, I have chosen a set of concepts to analyze, and I will concentrate here on vices and virtues. During my research, I have asked the following questions: which vices are more often mentioned than others? which virtues are more popular than others? are vices more often stressed than virtues? and are there evolutions over time? The results obtained by analyzing sermons are always compared with the occurrences of vices and virtues found in other sources from the same period.

2. Defining a Corpus for Analysis

Statistical analysis necessitates several basic data requirements.[15] Firstly, one has to analyze sufficient numbers; ideally, one should analyze 'everything'. While this

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de kwantitatieve analyse van middeleeuwse monastieke historiografie', *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome*, 70 (2000), 299–336; S. Vanderputten, 'Clusterpatronen in de middeleeuwse monastieke historiografie', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 78 (2000), 773–95; S. Vanderputten, *Sociale perceptie en maatschappelijke positionering in de Middeleeuwse monastieke historiografie (8e–15e eeuw)*, Algemeen Rijksarchief en Rijksarchief in de provinciën. Studia, 87 (Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 2001); J. Deploige, *Hagiografische strategieën en tactieken tegen de achtergrond van kerkelijke en maatschappelijke vernieuwingstendensen. De Zuidelijke Nederlanden, ca 920–ca 1320* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Ghent University, 2002).

[15] See, for example, J. T. Lindblad, *Statistiek voor historici* (Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1984); S. Heyes, M. Hardy, P. Humphreys, P. Rookes, *Starting Statistics in Psychology and Education. A Student Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); R. J. Shavelson, *Statistical Reasoning for the Behavioral Sciences* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1988); O.

ideal is seldom possible, it can a priori never be attained for medieval studies. For one thing, not every source has been preserved. As M. Garrison puts it: 'The survival of a poem or manuscript from the ninth century to the twentieth [...] reflects the complex interaction of chance and intention'.[16] It is indeed superfluous to posit that this is a valid statement for all medieval sources. Secondly, counting sufficient numbers in an efficient way supposes that these sources are edited and electronically available. These necessities diminish even further the corpus of texts at one's disposal.

Since the analysis of early medieval sermons is the primary goal, I first discuss the constitution of a body of sermons. One of the first problems in establishing a corpus is the wide variety in context of the early medieval sermon. Sermons were/are often delivered during mass (usually after the gospel), but this was/is not the only occasion of their occurrence. Innumerable sermons were pronounced during the night offices. The practice of praying during the night developed as early as the first century. During the following centuries (night) vigils became more frequent and more elaborate, especially in monastic communities.[17] The *Regula Benedicti* prescribes a vigil (*vigiliae*) with two nocturns during weekdays and three nocturns during Sundays and feast-days. In practice, this meant that on winter weekdays the monks had to listen to three lessons of 'normal' length and to one short lesson. The longer lessons had to be chosen from the Bible and from the writings of the *orthodoxi catholici Patres*. During the summer, one lesson from the Old Testament was substituted for the three lessons. On Sundays and feast-days, the monks had to listen to twelve lessons. Benedict only gives precise indications for the last four lessons (the third nocturn): those have to be taken from the New Testament. The other lessons could be chosen from the same books as designed for the *vigiliae* held during the week.[18] However, sermons were also used outside the church. If it happened that a long lesson could not be completed during the night office, then the remainder of the text was read out in the refectory.[19]

Boonstra, P. Doorn, F. Hendrickx, *Voortgezette statistiek voor historici* (Muiderberg, 1990).

[16] M. Garrison, 'The Emergence of Carolingian Latin Literature and the Court of Charlemagne (780–814)', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. by R. McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 111.

[17] H. Leclercq, in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, t. 12.2 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1936), col. 1962–2017 (*s.v.* Office divin); A. -G. Martimort, *L'Église en prière. Introduction à la liturgie* (Paris: Desclée, 1961), pp. 791–837.

[18] *Regula Benedicti*, cap. 8–11, ed. and trans. by A. de Vogüé, J. Neufville, Sources chrétiennes, 181–86 (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 1971–1972), vol. 2, pp. 508–17. See also A. -G. Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 64 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), especially pp. 78–96 and A. Davril, E. Palazzo, *La vie des moines au temps des grandes abbayes, Xe–XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 2000), especially pp. 121–54.

[19] R. Étaix, 'Répertoire des homéliaires conservés en France (hors la Bibliothèque

Most monastic communities gathered daily for chapter. During this *officium capituli*, Benedictine monks had to listen to the appropriate paragraph of a martyrology and a necrology; then they were informed on the several duties to be done during the day, and listened to a chapter of the Rule and a commentary upon it or a sermon. Chapter was concluded by a benediction pronounced by the abbot.[20] Other communities, such as canons, had similar dispositions. Sermons were also used for private meditation. Ample provisions in this regard were made in the *Regula Benedicti*.[21] Finally, some sermons were delivered outside any liturgical context or even religious building. This occurred when missionaries were preaching for pagans or neophytes or, some centuries later, when heretics explained their opinions to potential followers.

It is clear that early medieval sermons were used on many occasions and their audience was, as a consequence, most diversified. The greater part of the sermons was 'consumed' in a monastic context, by religious persons who had received at least a basic education, while some monks belonged to the restricted circle of real erudites. However, sermons were also meant to edify 'simple' parishioners and were the most important means of communication with the pagans.

Since early medieval sermons were used in very different contexts and for audiences with varying levels of education, their form and content are most diverse. Several scholars have tried to distinguish between two types of sermons: the homily and the sermon *stricto sensu*. The homily is defined as a verse by verse (or sometimes a phrase by phrase) explanation of a complete pericope, while the sermon *stricto sensu* focuses on one verse (the theme) or on a particular idea.[22] Furthermore, one assumed that the patristic and monastic homily composed before the twelfth century gradually evolved into the monastic and then mendicant sermon.[23] This is a

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Nationale)', in idem, *Homéliaires patristiques latins: Recueil d'études de manuscrits médiévaux*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes, 29 (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 1994), pp. 3–4 mentions that monastic communities owned in some cases a double set of lectionaries: one for the choir and one for the refectory. That way the monks didn't have to carry the big volumes from one place to the other. See for a later period: R. Étaix, 'Le lectionnaire cartusien pour le réfectoire', in *Homéliaires patristiques latins*, pp. 105–36.

[20] A. -G. Martimort, *L'Église en prière. Introduction à la liturgie*, p. 834.

[21] *Regula Benedicti*, cap. 48, vol. 2, pp. 598–605; see also the graphics of A. Barbero, C. Frugoni, *Medioevo. Storia di voci, racconto di immagini* (Rome, Bari: Laterza, 1999), p. 62.

[22] For example J. W. O'Malley, 'Introduction: Medieval Preaching', in *De Ore Domini. Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages*, ed. by T. L. Amos, E. Green, B. M. Kienzle, Studies in Medieval Culture, 27 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989), pp. 1–11.

[23] For example J. W. O'Malley, 'Introduction: Medieval Preaching', p. 3: 'We can, in fact, easily justify dividing the history of medieval preaching into at least two stages, with the line of demarcation somewhere around the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as might be expected. The earlier stage was characterized by sermon forms and preaching practices that were

very broad generalization, masking a more complex reality, since the two types and many mixed forms existed at the same time and homilies evolved into sermons and sermons imitated homilies.[24] While sermons and sermon collections existed serving only one purpose and remaining (nearly) unchanged for centuries, there are also sermons that were often remodeled and used in different contexts or transformed into other literary types. Gregory the Great composed his *Homiliae in evangelia* for his parishioners, while the Venerable Bede 'used' those homilies in his commentary on the gospels of Mark, *in Marci evangelium expositio*. Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, in his turn, took the text of Bede and mixed it with quotations from the *De consensu evangelistarum* of Augustine for his *Collectiones in epistolas et evangelia*. Finally, Rabanus Maurus used the text of Smaragdus for his *Homiliae in evangelia et epistolas*, compiled at the request of the emperor Lothar .[25] Some decades before Rabanus Maurus and Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel put themselves to work, Paul the Deacon had already inserted the text of Gregory the Great without any changes into his homiliary.[26]

The employment of Gregory's *Homiliae in evangelia* shows how a sermon might be composed for parishioners to be heard in mass, but later adapted for different audiences and functions.

In the preceding paragraphs, I demonstrated the variety in form, content and use of sermons. Because of this variety and the frequent evolutions of one type into another, it is impossible to formulate strict definitions for each type of text.

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obviously modeled on such Fathers of the Church as Augustine and Gregory the Great. Whether the sermons were delivered in a monastery or in a parish church (or its equivalent), the "sermon" tended to be dependent on the paraphrastic form of the so-called homily popularized in the West by Augustine and his followers'.

[24] T. L. Amos, 'The Italian Homiliary: From Sermon Collection to Monastic Homiliary', *Medieval Sermon Studies Newsletter*, 29 (1992), 47–48 (= paper presented at the 26th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, May 1991).

[25] Concerning Rabanus Maurus and Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, see: H. Barré, *Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre: authenticité, inventaire, tableaux comparatifs, initia*, Studi e testi, 225 (Vatican City, 1962), pp. 4–5 and 12–13. On p. 5 we find the following odd sentence: 'Liturgiques par leur ordonnance et leur objet, leurs homéliaires ne le sont plus par leur destination; au lieu de fournir des *lectiones* pour l'Office divin, ils servent à la lecture méditée ou bien à la prédication; "ad legendum vel ad praedicandum", précise Raban'. The formulation of this sentence tends to suggest that the author doesn't consider predication as part of the liturgy (of mass).

[26] On the homiliary of Paul the Deacon see: R. Grégoire, *Homiliaires liturgiques médiévaux. Analyse de manuscrits*, Biblioteca degli Studi medievali, 12 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1980), pp. 423–78 and A.-G. Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*, pp. 87–89. See M. De Reu, *La parole du Seigneur. Moines et chanoines médiévaux prêchant l'Ascension et le Royaume des Cieux*, pp. 24–25 and pp. 48–49. The examples are taken from the commentaries on Matthew 16. 14–20.

Consequently, I will consider the words homily and sermon as synonyms in this article, as is common among most historians today.[27]

Sermons are often collected in *homiliaria* or *sermonaria*. These concepts too have been strictly defined by some authors, while others use the words in a much broader sense. According to Barré, Étaix and Grégoire 'une collection prend le nom d'homéliaire, lorsque, en correspondance avec le sacramentaire, elle est ordonnée suivant le cycle de l'année liturgique et l'englobe en son entier'.[28] Consequently, they deny the term homiliary for collections of sermons of one author (e.g. Augustine, Caesarius of Arles, Gregory the Great) or around one theme (an apostle, the Virgin). This narrow definition is difficult and ambiguous. What if the sermon collection of one author covers the whole year? Only fifteen lines below his definition, Barré writes: *L'homéliaire, lui, est consacré aux lectures patristiques. Primitivement, un seul auteur, tel Augustin, a pu suffire à les fournir, mais on fera bien vite appel à l'ensemble des "Pères catholiques et orthodoxes".*[29] In this article I will use the words *homiliare* or *sermonare* in their broad sense, i.e. as a collection of sermons.

The vast number of preserved texts, combined with a limited number of good editions, presents another problem to be tackled by whomever wants to study the early medieval sermon. Earlier studies list as many as about 1450 sermons for the period 500–950,[30] but their present number is larger. About twenty years ago, only one out of four (known) Carolingian sermons was edited. One can assume that this proportion is still valid today.[31]

The study of the early medieval sermon is further complicated by the fact that there is no single list of all the sermons of that period. In order to establish a list of sermons I consulted the works mentioned in Appendix I.

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[27] J. Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1983), p. 15: 'La distinction sermon-homélie n'est pas toujours nette, ainsi qu'en témoignent le *Liber sermonum* d'Alain de Lille ou les collections de Raoul Ardent. De plus, par commodité littéraire, beaucoup d'études emploient indifféremment les deux termes, il en sera ainsi au cours du présent travail'. See also B. M. Kienzle, Introduction, in *The Sermon*, p. 161: 'The homily, for the authors of this volume, falls within the bounds of the sermon genre'.

[28] H. Barré, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, VII (Paris: Beauchesne, 1969), col. 598 (*s.v. homéliaires*); a less strict definition is given by I. W. Frank, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, 27 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 1997), p. 254 (*s.v.* Predigt): 'Wie aus der frühmittelalterlichen Homilie die Schulpredigt wurde, so aus den Homiliaren die Sermonesreihen'.

[29] Frank, 'Predigt', p. 254.

[30] T. N. Hall, 'The Early Medieval Sermon', in *The Sermon*, p. 237, borrows the figures of E. Dekkers and A. Gaar for the period 500–750: 475 sermons and from T. Amos for the period 750–950: 970 sermons.

[31] T. N. Hall, 'The Early Medieval Sermon', in *The Sermon*, p. 237: of those 970 Carolingian sermons, 235 have been edited.

In the present article only sermon collections meeting the following requirements are investigated:

1) the authorship, or at least the place and time of compilation of the homiliary, are generally accepted.

2) the collection is edited and, preferably, electronically accessible.

Since, as we have seen, (nearly) identical sermons were used on several occasions, no distinction was made regarding the form of the text (homily or sermon), the intended audience (laity or monks), or the context (use during mass, Offices etc).

The collections upon which this study is based are mentioned in Appendix II. For each collection I indicate the length (in words, columns or occasionally in pages for the texts that I counted manually). *In toto*, I explored a corpus of sermon collections of 1,176,841 words and 1404 columns from the PL and forty small pages. These numbers have to be augmented with the sermons composed during the tenth and eleventh century which are treated in my article published in the proceedings of the twelfth Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium.[32] In order to study the evolution of the occurrences of vices and virtues over a longer period of time, the results obtained for the tenth and eleventh century are included in the present article.

It seemed interesting to compare the results obtained by studying the sermons with other types of sources. Since the results obtained from the sermons were compared to those yielded by the investigation of *paenitentialia* and 'society' in 'Vertus chrétiennes et vices démoniaques aux Xe et XIe siècle', I wanted to study these two additional types of sources between 500 and 900 as well. The category 'society' consists of 'all available' sources from 500 till 900, as I will explain later. For the *paenitentialia*, I could not gather sufficient data. The CLCLT-4 contains for the Merovingian *paenitentialia* only 9953 words and for the Carolingian *paenitentialia* 20,020 words. This means that a number of virtues and vices are not even represented. Roughly, this small analysis showed that in the *paenitentialia, ira* and *luxuria* were the most important vices (*superbia* is not even mentioned in the Merovingian *paenitentialia*, though, as stated, the sample is too small for valid results). The most important virtue is *fides*.

The constitution of the category 'society' was made in a practical way. It is of course impossible to read all the surviving sources from between 500 and 900. Consequently, an analysis of all the texts contained on CLCLT-4[33] for the sixth to ninth centuries was decided upon. This meant 5,504,076 words in two hundred and ninety works for the Merovingian period and 3,170,914 words in one hundred and

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[32] M. De Reu, 'Vertus chrétiennes et vices démoniaques aux Xe et XIe siècle', in *Preaching and Society in the Middle Ages: Ethics, Values and Social Behaviour*, Padova, 14-18 July 2000, ed. by L. Gaffuri, R. Quinto, Centro Studi Antoniani, 35 (Padova: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2002), pp. 93–118.

[33] During spring 2002 the CLCLT-5 was released. For the this article I continued to work with the CLCLT-4, since more than half of the statistical research had already been done.

sixty works for the Carolingian period. The Merovingian works were selected with the command 'titulus = s 6, s 7, s 8 .AND. aetas = patres'; the Carolingian works were selected via the command 'titulus = s 8, s 9 .AND. aetas = medii aevi'. Of course, the Patrologia Latina Database could have been analyzed together with the CLCLT as was done for the sermons from the tenth and eleventh centuries. For the present research, this option seemed impossible. While I analyzed twenty-one and a half volumes of the *Patrologia Latina* for the tenth and eleventh centuries, more than sixty volumes of this series should have been examined in order to cover the complete period. Even for computers, this is time consuming and one would have to repeat the searches over again for 'smaller' manageable units. This huge extra cost in computer and research time would furthermore have brought little extra knowledge. Since the experience for the tenth and eleventh centuries has been effectuated, it is clear that the final results make very little difference when taken from the CLCLT or the PLD. In statistical terms, both selections are random samples. If numbers are high enough, contents matter less with random samples. In 'Vertus chrétiennes et vices démoniaques aux Xe et XIe siècle', I show a precise example of how a corpus with a different content shows the same results.[34]
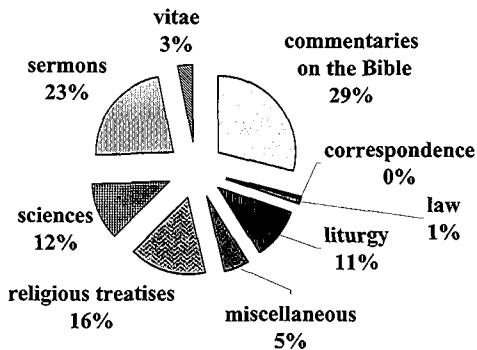
Chart 1: Merovingian period, all sources (CLCLT-4), calculated by total of words
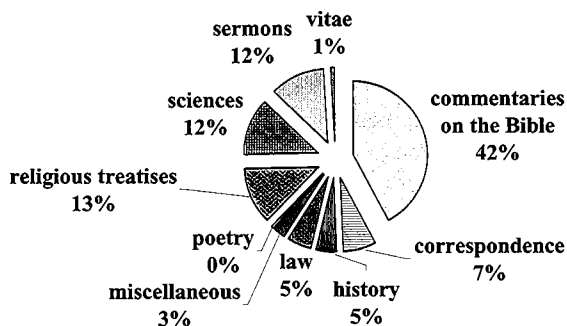
Charts 1 and 2 give an overview of the several types of texts that have been studied in this article. The importance of the several types of sources is determined by the number of words they represent in the corpus—and consequently not by the number of titles that enters in each category. Counting titles means that a work of

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[34] Pp. 107–09.

**Chart 2: Carolingian period, all sources (CLCLT-4),
calculated by total of words**

vitae
3%

commentaries
on the Bible
29%

sermons
23%

correspondence
0%

law
1%

liturgy
11%

sciences
12%

religious treatises
16%

miscellaneous
5%

400,000 words would have the same weight as a work of 4000 words. For the rules of entering a work in a particular category, I refer again to 'Vertus chrétiennes et vices démoniaques aux Xe et XIe siècle'.

While charts are altogether lacking in the CLCLT, one sees that some categories are not represented in a particular period on the CD-ROM. Thus there is no category 'liturgy' in the Merovingian period, while the category 'history' does not exist for the Carolingian period. Other categories are 'almost' absent: *vitae* and poetry in the Merovingian epoch, and correspondence and law during the Carolingian times. In both periods the commentaries on the Bible are the most important group, while sermons, sciences and religious treatises are significant groups in both periods (>10%). It has to be noted that during the Carolingian period sermons are the most important group and liturgy exceeds ten percent.[35]

3. Terminology of Vice and Virtue

After having defined the literature to be analyzed, a decision has to be made about the words to work with. For the sake of comparison, I decided to retain the same words as I had done for my research on the vices and virtues in the tenth and

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[35] See e.g. R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London, 1977), ch. 3: 'The Instruction of the People: Preaching' (pp. 80–114) for the significance of preaching to the Carolingian rulers and ch. 4: 'The Instruction of the People: the Liturgy' (pp. 115–54) for the importance of liturgy in the reform program of the Carolingians.

eleventh centuries.[36] The list of the researched terminology for vices and virtues is as follows:

the seven vices
superbia, vana gloria, inanis gloria
tristitia, tristicia, accedia, accidia, acedia, acidia
gula, ventris ingluvies, gastrimargia
avaritia, avaricia
luxuria, fornicatio, fornicacio, concupiscentia carnis or carnalis
invidia
ira (ira, iram, irae, iras, irarum; ire and *iris* controled separately), *iracundia*

the seven virtues
fides
spes
caritas, charitas
temperantia, temperancia
fortitudo
prudentia, prudencia
iustitia, iusticia, justitia, justicia

Since most collections were compiled in a monastic context, I thought it interesting to include two important 'monastic' values as well in the present research.

the monastic values
humilitas
obedientia, obediencia, oboedientia, oboediencia

As indicated in the first section of this article, several 'problems' were encountered during the analysis of the texts: (a) identical forms can be derived from different lemmata (homonyms), (b) identical lemmata can have several meanings (polysemy), (c) a specific combination of words can have a particular meaning that cannot be derived from the individual words and (d) orthography is not yet standardized.

(a) homonyms: all occurrences of *ire* and *iris* were verified separately

(b) polysemy: I checked manually all forms of *fides* and retained (counted) only the 27,552 occurrences of *fides* in the sense of faith, thus I did not take into account

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[36] The motivation of this choice is explained in 'Vertus chrétiennes et vices démoniaques aux Xe et XIe siècle', in *Preaching and Society in the Middle Ages: Ethics, Values and Social Behaviour*, Padova, 14–18 July 2000, ed. by L. Gaffuri, R. Quinto, Centro Studi Antoniani, 35 (Padova: Centro Studi Antoniani, 2002), pp. 93–118.

the sense of loyalty to a liege lord, fidelity between spouses, to believe a story etc. For *iustitia* the occurrences of the word in the sense of privilege or right were not retained, leaving only the 11,121 occurrences of justice.

(c) specific combinations of words with a particular meaning: for *prudentia* and *caritas*, the forms of courtesy *prudentia vestra* or *caritas vestra* were not taken into account, nor for *ira* were the occurrences of the locutions *ira Domini, ira Dei* or *dies irae* retained.

(d) orthography: as is clear from the list mentioned above, I checked the different orthographies of the concepts analyzed in this research.

4. The Results

a) general view

I begin by comparing the presence (in percentages) of vices, virtues and the monastic values in sermons from three periods: the Merovingian and Carolingian periods and the tenth and eleventh centuries. Because of its importance, *fides* is separated from the other virtues. Chart 3 demonstrates that the data for the Merovingian period and the tenth and eleventh centuries correspond more or less. The Carolingian period is characterized by the emphasis on *fides* (38%), while all the other concepts are de-emphasized.

Chart 3: Vices, virtues, *oboedientia* and *humilitas* in sermons from 500 till 1100

| | Merovingian period | Carolingian period | 10th and 11th cent. |
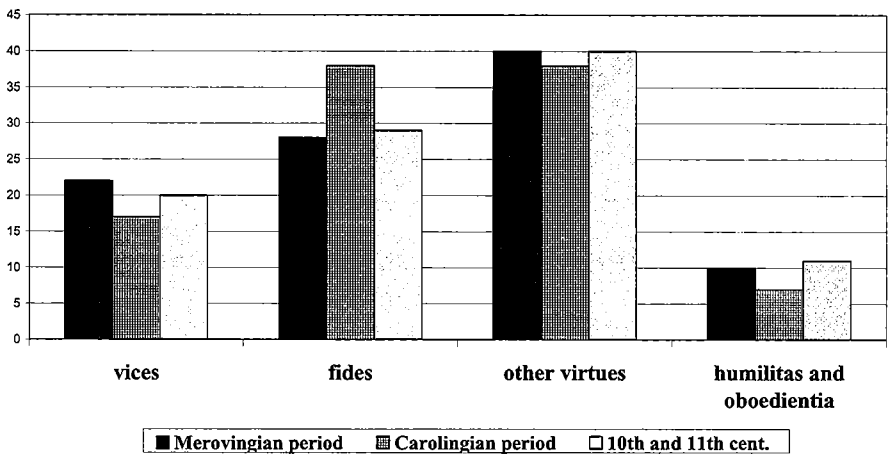
The overall figures of the previous chart mask some particularities of those preachers who made the most serious efforts to adapt their discourse to a lay audience. Chart 4 shows separate data on Caesarius of Arles, Abbo of Saint-Germain and an anonymous author of the ninth century; by way of comparison, I also added the data on the Bible commentary of Paschasius Radbertus. The three collections intended for the laity stress roughly the same points. They pay much attention to the vices, while *fides* is less stressed than in the work of Paschasius Radbertus. As far as monastic values are concerned, one detects an evolution. Caesarius stressed less the virtues of *humilitas* and *oboedientia*, and as a result more time was devoted to the other virtues. From the Carolingian period on these monastic values were also preached frequently to the laity. In the Bible commentary of Paschasius Radbertus— and I reiterate that this commentary is an adaptation of his preaching for monks— 50% of all time devoted to vices or virtues, is dedicated to *fides*. Concretely, this means 1312 occurrences of *fides* per 415,244 words, of which 2653 concern vices and virtues (0.64% of total of words). Caesarius of Arles mentions a vice or a virtue from the aforementioned list 2032 times; this is 0.79% of the total (258,369 *formae*).

**Chart 4: Vices, virtues, *oboedientia* and *humilitas*
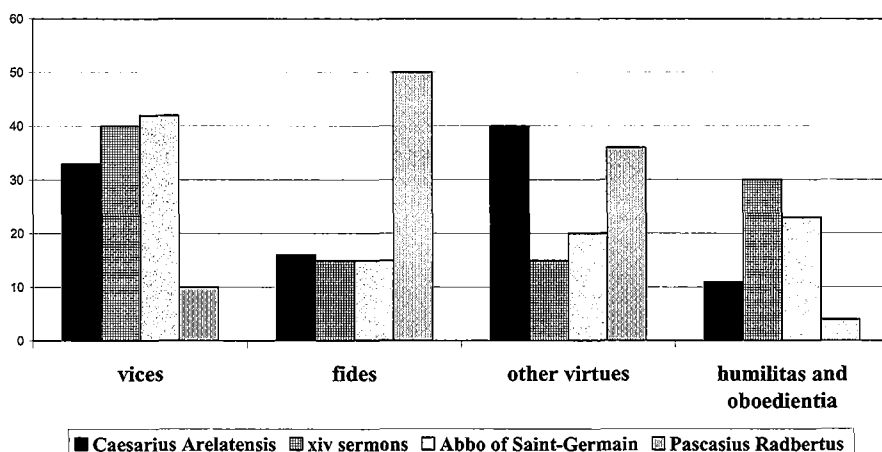in specific collections from 500 till 1100**

Chart 5 presents the data for the occurrences of vices, virtues, *oboedientia* and *humilitas* for 'all' the sources from the sixth to the eleventh centuries. One detects here, just as for the sermons, the similarities between the data for the Merovingian period and those for the tenth and eleventh centuries. Only for 'other virtues' is there no perfect symmetry. This is most probably due to the small differences in percentages. As far as the Carolingian period is concerned, the increased importance of *fides* is achieved at the expense of all the other vices and virtues.

Chart 5: Vices, virtues, *oboedientia* and *humilitas*
in all sources (CLCLT-4) from 500 till 1100

■ Merovingian period ▦ Carolingian period □ 10th and 11th cent.
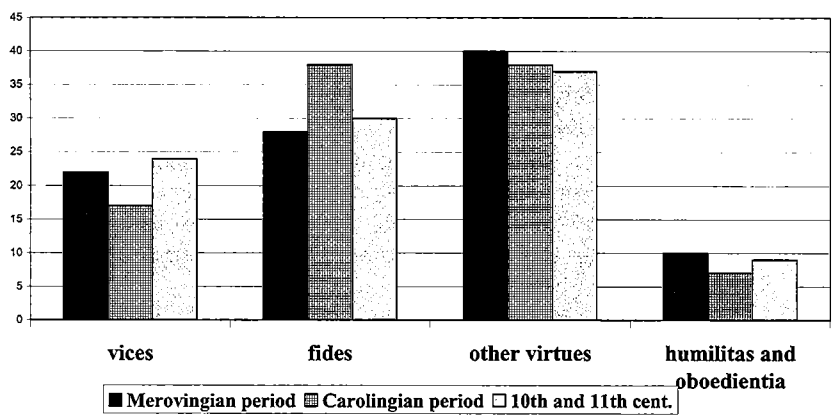
b) the vices

I now turn to the details and examine the presence of the different vices in Chart 6. The order of importance between the several vices is unique for the Carolingian period, where one finds *ira* (25%) in the first place, followed by *superbia* (20%) and *luxuria* (18%). In the Merovingian period and the tenth and eleventh centuries, however, *superbia* (25% and 31% respectively) seems to be the most important vice,

Chart 6: Vices in sermons from 500 till 1100

■ Merovingian period ▦ Carolingian period □ 10th and 11th cent.
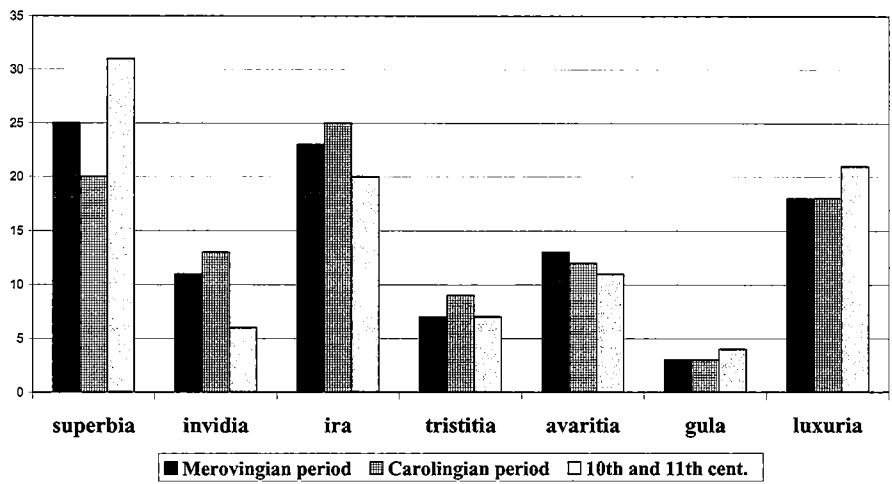
followed by *ira* and *luxuria*. Just as in the previous charts, the Carolingian sermons have characteristics of their own, while the sermons from the tenth and eleventh centuries fit in with the Merovingian ones.

The emphasis on the several vices varies widely from one sermon collection to another, as is shown in Chart 7. As mentioned above, statistical analysis requires large numbers in order to obtain valid results. These results, however, mask individual characteristics of authors. In the *XIV Sermons* of northern Italy, *superbia* accounts for about half of the occurrences (46%) of vices, while other vices such as *gula* and *tristitia* do not appear at all. In this particular collection the preacher seems to exhort his hearers mainly to live together peacefully within the Christian community. The vices that do not necessarily have a bad influence on community life (*gula* and *tristitia*) are omitted. One could argue that *superbia* does not necessarily influence the community, either. Apparently this was not the opinion of the anonymous preacher in the north of Italy. Chart 4 shows that precisely the anonymous Italian preacher stresses more than any other author the need for *humilitas* and *oboedientia*.

Paschasius Radbertus treats the several vices in his Bible commentary more equally. As in most Carolingian collections, *ira* is the most important vice, but it wins only with 2%, an insignificant lead. *Ira* is followed by three vices with almost the same weight. Even *avaritia* and *tristitia* appear frequently in the commentary. Only *gula* is almost dismissed. Paschasius Radbertus holds the opinion that the monks not only must reflect upon their attitude towards their brethren, but also have to behave correctly while alone in their cells as well.

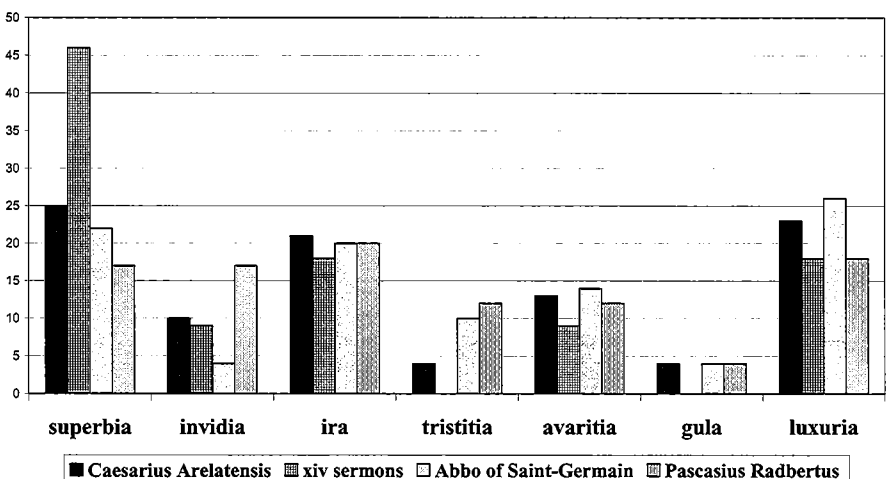**Chart 7: Vices in specific collections from 500 till 1100**

Chart 8 allows the examination of the vices in all the sources from 500 to 1100. The strong similarities between Charts 3 and 5 are repeated in Chart 6 and 8. And once more, the Carolingian period has its own characteristics: a low point for *superbia* and peaks for *ira* and *tristitia*. *Ira* is clearly the most important vice (28%) in all the sources from the Carolingian period, followed by *superbia* (21%) and *luxuria* (15%). The sermons show the same 'top three'.

Chart 8: Vices in all sources (CLCLT-4) from 500 till 1100
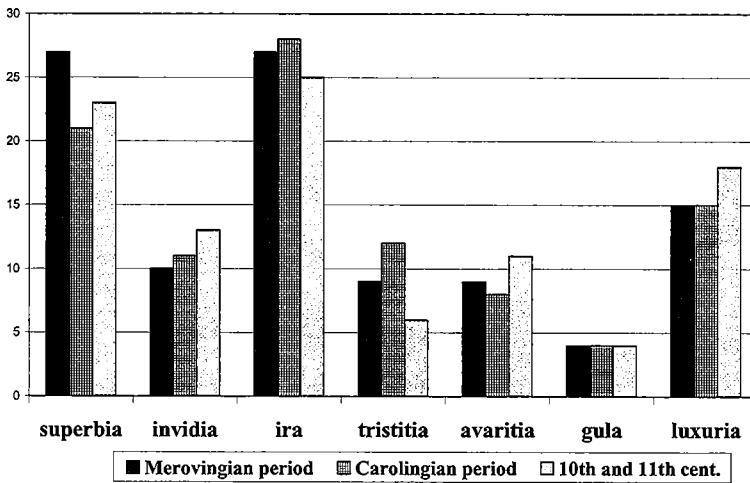
c) the virtues

The comparison of the virtues over the three periods in Chart 9 shows a familiar picture. The weight of the different virtues in the Merovingian sermons and those from the tenth and eleventh centuries corresponds very well, while the Carolingian sermons are set apart. *Fides* is for all periods by far the most important virtue, followed by *caritas* and *iustitia*. Only in the Carolingian period is *iustitia* (19%) slightly more important than *caritas* (17%).
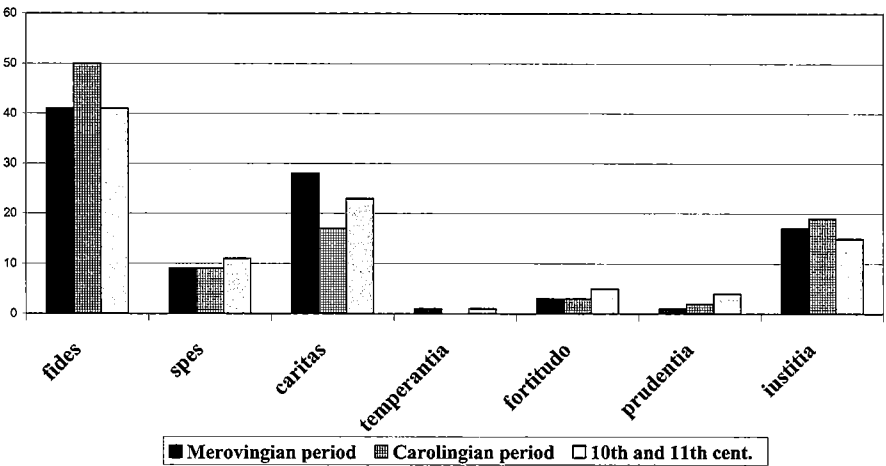
Chart 9: Virtues in sermons from 500 till 1100

| ■ Merovingian period | ▦ Carolingian period | ☐ 10th and 11th cent. |

Chart 10: Virtues in specific collections from 500 till 1100

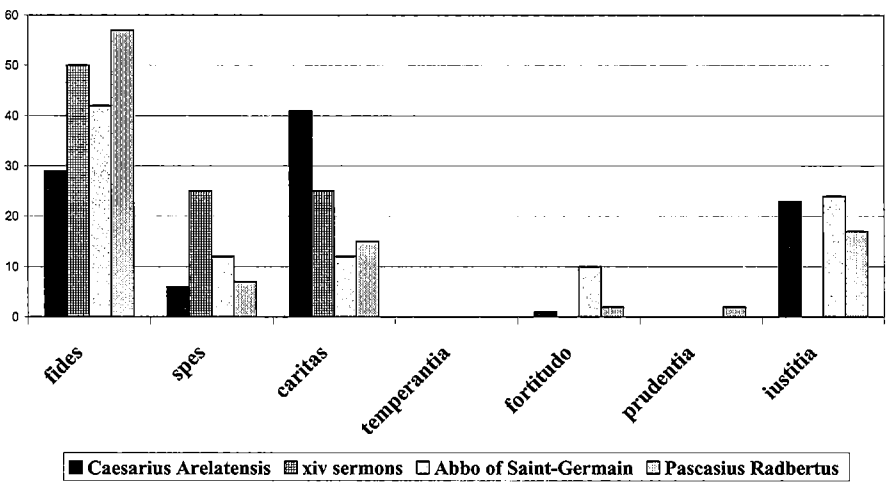| ■ Caesarius Arelatensis | ▦ xiv sermons | ☐ Abbo of Saint-Germain | ▨ Pascasius Radbertus |

Chart 10 presenting the spread of the virtues in individual collections is more difficult to interpret. The authors do not seem to agree on the importance of the

several virtues. While the three other authors think that *fides* is the most important virtue, Caesarius of Arles preaches in the first place *caritas* (41%). The anonymous author of the *XIV Sermons* sticks to the basics: he instructs only on *fides* (50%), *spes* and *caritas* (both 25%). Most of these individual authors consider *iustitia* more important than *spes*, though the anonymous author does not mention this virtue.

Just as on previous occasions, there are remarkable similarities between the data for the sermons and those for 'society' (Chart 9 and Chart 11). However, while the sermons and other sources from the different periods hold the same 'top three' in the same order in the previous charts, this seems not to be the case here. Instead of showing a peak during the Carolingian period, *iustitia* shows here a low point between 750 and 900 (15%, while in the previous and subsequent periods 18%). Consequently, for the general analysis of all the sources between 500 and 1100, one detects the following order for the Merovingian and Carolingian period: 1 *fides*, 2 *caritas*, 3 *iustitia*. For the tenth and eleventh centuries the same virtues remain important, but *iustitia* is now slightly more important than *caritas*.

Chart 11: Virtues in all sources (CLCLT-4) from 500 till 1100

■ Merovingian period ▦ Carolingian period ☐ 10th and 11th cent.
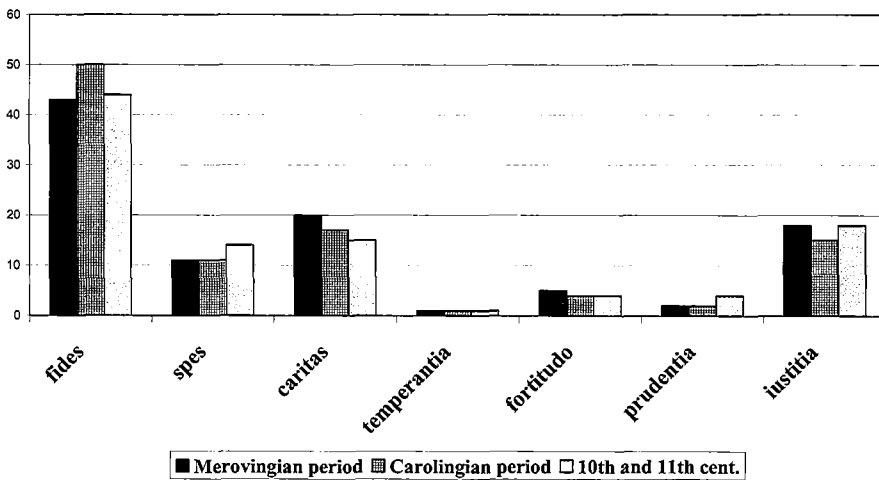
5. Conclusions

The time has come for conclusions. Let me first summarize the results. When analyzing Chart 3, one detects that the Carolingian sermons have a clearly distinct identity. Only in Chart 5 (all sources) do the 'other virtues' not retain the emphasis they had in the Merovingian period. The analysis of the vices in Chart 6 and 8 shows again a clear identity for the Carolingian period, even though for some vices one

cannot detect a 'back to normal' movement after the collapse of the Carolingian empire. The sermons indicate a continuing decrease in the weight of *avaritia*, while Chart 8 with all types of sources reveals an increasing importance of *invidia*, mainly at the expense of *superbia*. The Charts 9 and 11 on virtues make clear that this analysis is not really different from the one made before: the Merovingian period and the tenth and eleventh centuries have more in common than they have with the Carolingian epoch. In Chart 11 with all virtues one detects the continuous decrease in importance of *caritas*, while *prudentia* increases gradually in weight. The latter characteristic is even more prominent in Chart 9 with the sermons. While *iustitia* is more important in the Carolingian sermons than in the homilies from the other periods, the inverse picture can be seen in Chart 11 with all types of sources.

It is striking how the Carolingian preachers succeeded in giving their sermon collections an identity, all the while borrowing so extensively from their predecessors. While reading the Carolingian sermons in the traditional way, one has the strong impression of reading once more the 'old stuff' in a slightly different arrangement. This statistical content analysis, however, shows that the Carolingian preachers knew very well how to adapt the older material in order to put a new emphasis in their texts.

The final question now is: are the changes that one discerns in the Carolingian sermon intentional? And if the answer to this question is yes, then whose intentions do they reflect?[37] Who thought that one should pay more attention to *fides*? Who thought that the vice of *ira* was more detestable than *superbia*, and who held the opinion that *iustitia*, instead of *caritas,* should counter *ira*? A possible answer may be found in the legislation issued during the reign of Charlemagne and his immediate successor. In order to communicate his programme to his subjects, Charlemagne relied on preaching. In R. McKitterick's work on the Carolingian reforms one reads:

> What is so distinctive about the sermon and preaching in the Frankish epoch is that they had the sanction of the law, for the spoken, like the written word was seen by the Frankish clergy to be one of the effective means for the implementation of the Carolingian reform programme. Charlemagne and his clergy legislated for the propagation of the Christian faith, and promoted the sermon to be one of the principal vehicles for the instruction of the people.[38]

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[37] J. L. Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire in the Carolingian World', in *Carolingian Culture*, p. 53: 'The relationship of ideas to reality is a general problem in the history of political thought. Peculiar to the earlier Middle Ages, however, is the difficulty with so much of the material of answering such basic questions as: who wrote it and for what audience? Is it a public work in the sense of expressing the 'offical line' of the regime?'

[38] R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), p. 81.

The *Admonitio generalis* is the most important source if one wants to know Charlemagne's opinions on preaching.[39] Preaching is mentioned in four *capitula* (32, 61, 66, 82). These *capitula* indicate the desired contents for the sermons: preachers should preach the faith in the Trinity (32) and explain the Creed (32, 61, 82); they have to condemn vices such as hate, avarice, greed (66), lechery, envy, drunkenness (82) and recommend virtues as hope, charity, etc. (82). Later legislation repeated parts of the *Admonitio generalis*.[40] Also other sources indicate that the propagation of the correct faith was considered among the main duties of the ruler of the Franks: *Nostrum est secundum auxilium divinae pietatis sanctam undique Christi ecclesiam ab incursu paganorum et ab infidelium devastatione armis defendere foris, et intus catholicae fidei agnitione munire.*[41] For Charlemagne and his successor the *fideles* of God were also their own loyal subjects: *fideles Dei et regis.*[42] As such, the Carolingian rulers did not make a clear distinction between *fides* = faith, and *fides* = the oath of loyalty to a lord.

Charlemagne considered himself God's lieutenant on earth.[43] Next to faith, order had an important place in his empire, hence the numerous *capitularia* or the appointment of *missi dominici.*[44] 'Peace and public order were a sign of holiness.'[45] *Iustitia* could only exist where order ruled.[46] *Ira* meant a threat to order and hence to *iustitia*. This view was not shared by the authors of 'all sources' in the Carolingian period. They consider *caritas* as slightly more important than *iustitia*. For those authors, *ira* should be combated by *caritas*. It is only during the tenth and eleventh centuries, when disorder reigns in the former Carolingian empire, that the authors of 'all sources' assess the value of *iustitia*. In this period *iustitia* is slightly more important than *caritas*, while *ira* remains the most frequently cited vice.

The assertion that the Carolingian emperors tried to influence preaching is not new: as we have seen in the above quotation from the work of R. McKitterick, some

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[39] Edited by A. Boretius and V. Krause in *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, in: MGH LL in 4, section II, vol. 1 (Hannover, 1883), n. 22, pp. 52–62.

[40] R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895*, pp. 1–44.

[41] *Codex Carolinus*, ed. by W. Gundlach, in MGH Epp. III (Hannover, 1892), no 93, p. 137.

[42] H. Helbig, 'Fideles Dei et regis', *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte*, 33 (1951), 275–306.

[43] See J. L. Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire in the Carolingian World', in *Carolingian Culture*, pp. 58–59; S. Vanderputten, *Een heilig volk is geboren. Opkomst en ondergang van een christelijke staatsideologie uit de vroege Middeleeuwen (c. 750–900)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001); P. Riché, *Les carolingiens. Une famille qui fit l'Europe* (Paris: Hachette, 1983), especially Part V, Chapters I and II.

[44] J. H. Lynch, *The Medieval Church. A Brief History* (London, New York: Longman, 1992), p. 67: 'To put it simply, the Carolingian programme of reform was intended to restore proper "order" to society, including the church'.

[45] Vanderputten, *Een heilig volk is geboren*, p. 29: 'Vrede en openbare orde waren een teken van heiligheid'. See also p. 47.

[46] Vanderputten, *Een heilig volk is geboren*, pp. 85–86.

of the homiliaries were even written at their request. A precise example of how preaching was adapted however, was till now lacking. I hope to have provided such an example in this article.

Appendix I: Works consulted to establish our list of relevant collections of sermons composed between 500–900

T. L. Amos, *The Origin and Nature of the Carolingian Sermon*, (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1983).

H. Barré, *Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre: authenticité, inventaire, tableaux, initia*, Studi e testi, 225(Vatican City, 1962).

F. Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du Moyen Age*, Reference Works for the Study of Mediaeval Civilization (Turnhout, 1990–1996).

E. Dekkers, *Clavis patrum latinorum*, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina (Turnhout, Steenbrugge, 1995).

R. Étaix, 'Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre', in: *L'école carolingienne d'Auxerre de Murethach à Remi 830–908*, ed. by D. Iogna-Prat, C. Jeudy, G. Lobrichon, D. Duby, Entretiens d'Auxerre 1989 (Paris, 1991).

R. Étaix, *Homéliaires patristiques latin: Recueil d'études de manuscrits médiévaux*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes, 29 (Paris, 1994).

R. Grégoire, 'Les homéliaires mérovingiens du VIIe—VIIIe siècle', *Studi Medievali*, 13 (1972), 901–917.

R. Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux. Analyse de manuscrits* (Spoleto, 1980).

J. Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris: Études Augustinnienes, 1983).

J. Machielsen, *Clavis Patristica Pseudoepigraphorum Medii Aevi. Opera Homiletica*, 2 vols, CCSL (Turnhout, 1990).

The sermon, ed. by B. M. Kienzle, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 81–83 (Turnhout, 2000), especially G. Ferzoco, C. Muessig, Bibliography (paragraph V), pp. 30–34 and T. N. Hall, The Early Medieval Sermon, pp. 203–69.

G. M. Verd, 'La predicacion latina en la transicion medieval' (451–751), *Miscelanea Comillas*, 30 (1972), 157–204.

G. M. Verd, 'La predicacion carolingia (751–910)', *Miscelanea Comillas*, 35 (1977), 297–344.

Appendix II: Collections of sermons composed between 500 and 900 and analyzed in this article; this list has to be completed by the sermons composed between 900 and 1100 and enumerated in 'Vertus chrétiennes et vices démoniaques aux Xe et XIe siècle', in *Preaching and Society in the Middle Ages: Ethics, Values and Social Behaviour*, Padova, 14–18 July 2000, ed. by L. Gaffuri, R. Quinto, Centro Studi Antoniani, 35 (Padova, 2002), pp. 93–118.

Caesarius Arelatensis: southern France, 470— d. 542/3
238 sermons; 258,369 words
Sermones, ed. by G. Morin, Turnhout, 1953 (CCSL 103-104).
initially composed for his parishioners

Gregorius Magnus: central Italy, *c.* 540–d. 604
40 + 22 homilies (and some fragments); 81,848 and 106,486 words
Homiliarum xl in evangelia libri duo, ed. by R. Étaix, Turnhout, 1999 (CCSL 141).
initially composed for his parishioners
Homiliae in Hiezechihelem Profetam, ed. by M. Adriaen, Turnhout, 1971 (CCSL 142).
initially composed for his parishioners?

Beda Venerabilis: England, 672/2–d. 735
50 homilies and two Bible commentaries; 107,147 + 137,312 + 70,435 words
Homiliarum evangelii libri II, ed. by D. Hurst, Turnhout, 1955 (CCSL 122).
In Lucae evangelium expositio–In Marci evangelium expositio, ed. by D. Hurst, Turnhout, 1960 (CCSL 120).
initially composed for the private reading of monks and for use in the night offices

Paulus Diaconus: Lombardy (also Montecassino and Carolingian court), *c.* 730– d. 799
202 (de tempore) and 96 (de sanctis) homilies, 408 columns
Homiliare, in PL 95, 1159–1566.
initially composed for use in the night offices

Smaragdus Sancti Michaelis ad Mosam: Carolingian empire, ?–d. 825
80 occasions, appr. 170 homilies, 538 columns
Collectiones in epistolas et evangelia (= *Liber Comitis*), in PL 102, 15–552.
initially composed for preaching in mass (to monks) or for the offices

Hrabanus Maurus: Francia, 780/1–d. 856
70 + 163 homilies; 458 columns
Homiliae de festis praecipuis, item de virtutibus (ad praedicandum populo), in PL 110, 9–134.

initially composed for preaching in mass, dedicated to archbishop Haistulfe of Cologne

Homiliae in evangelia et epistolas, in PL 110, 135–467.

initially composed for emperor Lothair for his own edification (date of composition: 854–855)

Paschasius Radbertus: Francia, 790–d. *c.* 859

Bible commentary; 415,244 words

In Matheo, ed. by B. Paulus, 3 vols, Turnhout, 1984 (CCCM 56–56A).

initially composed for the private reading of monks, though the contents are taken from his preaching to the monks

XIV Sermons: Italy between 801 and 845

14 homilies; 40 small pages

XIV homélies du IXème siècle d'un auteur inconnu de l'Italie du Nord, ed. with a French translation by P. Mercier, Paris, 1970 (SC 161).

initially composed for parishioners.