The Critical Edition of the Waldensian Sermons: History, Challenges, and Further Avenues for Research

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Approximately two hundred vernacular Waldensian sermons represent one of the principle sources for the reconstruction and study of Waldensian preaching before the Reformation. Yet this important corpus has remained mainly unpublished for a very long time, with obvious consequences for scientific knowledge in this peculiar field of study.

As a matter of fact, only at the end of the first decade of the millennium was a project of complete edition of the corpus established in Turin (Italy), thanks to the publishing house Claudiana, the Waldensian Studies Society, the Waldensian Faculty of Theology of Rome, and the financial commitment of the Waldensian Church. In 2016, the first volume of sermons was published containing the edition of the texts for the first and second Sundays of Advent.[1] That work was presented the same year in Torre Pellice, at the LVI Conference of the Waldensian Studies Society, *Predicazione e repressione. Processi e letteratura religiosa*. On that occasion several scholars gathered to take stock of research on Waldensian sermons and inquisitorial trials involving Waldenses.[2]

As the work of editioning goes on, this paper would like to touch upon three main aspects. The first part relates a brief history of studies in the field of Waldensian literature, with a specific focus on the sermons. The second part addresses some of the challenges faced so far in studying the texts. The third and last part presents avenues for future research and expected results from it.

1. *Brief history of studies*

[1] *Sermoni valdesi medievali. I e II domenica di Avvento*, ed. by Andrea Giraudo (Torino: Claudiana, 2016). The twelve sermons published here constitute about 7% of the total.
[2] The proceedings of the Conference have been recently published in *Predicazione e repressione. Processi e letteratura religiosa*, ed. by Andrea Giraudo and Matteo Rivoira (Torino: Claudiana, 2018).

Waldensian literature (biblical translations, short poems, treatises and sermons)[3] is preserved in around twenty small-sized, miscellaneous manuscripts, eleven of which contain sermons. The latter are:

- Cambridge, University Library, Dd.XV.29;

- Cambridge, University Library, Dd.XV.30;

- Cambridge, University Library, Dd.XV.31;

- Cambridge, University Library, Dd.XV.32;

- Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 234;

- Dublin, Trinity College Library, 260;

- Dublin, Trinity College Library, 263;

- Dublin, Trinity College Library, 267;

- Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, 206;

- Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, 209a.

To these one should also add manuscript Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, U.860, which doesn't contain any sermons but preserves one out of the two surviving Waldensian lectionaries.

The extant Waldensian literary manuscripts are written in an eastern variety of Medieval Occitan. They were probably composed between the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, in or around the so-called Waldensian Valleys of the Italian Alps. That doesn't mean that all the texts contained in those manuscripts date back to that period; on the contrary, some of them are likely older.[4]

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[3] The most recent overview of Waldensian literature is still the chapter 'La littérature vaudoise', in Jean Gonnet, Amedeo Molnár, *Les Vaudois au Moyen Âge* (Torino: Claudiana, 1974), pp. 319-69. See also Luciana Borghi Cedrini, 'Ai margini della letteratura d'*oc*', in *Storia della civiltà letteraria francese*, ed. by Lionello Sozzi, 4 vols (Torino: UTET, 1993), III, IX. *La letteratura occitanica*, pp. 2007-10 (specifically the chapter 'I manoscritti valdesi', pp. 2007-09). A new and updated overview, by Luciana Borghi Cedrini and myself, is under preparation.

[4] See Luciana Borghi Cedrini, 'L'antica lingua valdese', in Luciana Borghi Cedrini, *Ai confini della lingua d'*oc. *Nord-Est occitano e lingua valdese*, ed. by Andrea Giraudo, Walter Meliga and Giuseppe Noto (Modena: Mucchi, 2017), pp. 253-65 (p. 254) – previously, with the same title, in *Héritage(s). Formazione e trasmissione del patrimonio culturale valdese*, ed. by Daniele Jalla (Torino: Claudiana, 2009), pp. 225-37 (p. 226). Luciana Borghi Cedrini's hypothesis seems to be confirmed by Caterina Menichetti, as regards mss. Cambridge, University Library, Dd.XV.34 and Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, U.860: see Caterina Menichetti, 'La traduction intra-romane en contexte religieux: la genèse des *Actes des apôtres* en occitan vaudois', in *L'aventure du sens. Mélanges de philologie provençale en l'honneur de François Zufferey*, ed. by Stefania Maffei Boillat and Alain Corbellari (Strasbourg: Éditions de linguistique et phililogie, 2016), pp. 147-75 (p. 154 n. 23; p. 166).

Thanks mainly to Marina Benedetti's work, we are well informed about the paths followed by the manuscripts in order to reach the three main libraries where they are currently preserved (Cambridge, Geneva, and Dublin): for this reason, a quick summary will suffice.[5]

As is well known, the manuscripts were gathered for the most part at the beginning of the seventeenth century by the minister Jean-Paul Perrin in order to write his *Histoire des Vaudois*, which would be eventually published in Geneva in 1618[6]. Soon thereafter, the corpus was dispersed throughout Europe.

The manuscripts which today constitute the Waldensian collection of the Trinity College Library belonged to the archbishop James Ussher, whose library was eventually acquired and donated to Trinity College by Charles II in 1661, five years after Ussher's death. The Cambridge collection resulted from donations from the English diplomatic Samuel Morland. In 1655, Morland was sent by Oliver Cromwell to the Duke of Savoy in order to find a political solution that would stop the persecutions against the Waldenses in the Duchy. At the end of 1656 he brought back with him some literary and inquisitorial manuscripts, which he eventually gave to Cambridge University Library in 1658, after publishing *The History of the evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont*.[7] The Geneva collection is due to two Waldensian ministers, Antoine (uncle) and Jean (grandson) Léger, who since 1661 had been donating manuscripts to Geneva Library. Moreover, the two ministers were also involved with Morland's search for manuscripts; Jean, who would eventually publish his *Histoire générale des Églises évangéliques des vallées du Piémont ou vaudoises* (1669)[8], may also have played a part in the composition of Morland's work.[9]

Beyond these three major collections, we find some other scattered Waldensian manuscripts. The Bible preserved in Carpentras (Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, ms. 8: New Testament and some books of the Old Testament) was donated to the city in the eighteenth century by the bishop Joseph-

[5] See Marina Benedetti, *Il «santo bottino». Circolazione di manoscritti valdesi nell'Europa del Seicento* (Torino: Claudiana, 2006), specifically pp. 43-59 and 73-90; on the Geneva collection, see also Enea Balmas and Mario Dal Corso, *I manoscritti valdesi di Ginevra* (Torino: Claudiana, 1977), pp. 9-15.
[6] Jean-Paul Perrin, *Histoire des Vaudois* (Genève: Matthieu Berjon, 1618).
[7] Samuel Morland, *The History of the evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont* (London: Henry Hills, 1658).
[8] Jean Leger [*sic*], *Histoire générale des Églises évangéliques des vallées du Piémont ou vaudoises* (Leyden: Jean Le Carpentier, 1669).
[9] Benedetti, *Il «santo bottino»*, p. 89.

Dominique d'Inguimbert (1683-1757). The Dijon manuscript, which contains treatises and sermons, was purchased from the antique dealer Cazet in 1886; in 1659 it was bought by a certain Ranchin in Anduze (Gard department). The Grenoble manuscript, which contains a Bible (New Testament and some books of the Old Testament) and a lectionary, belonged to the bishop Jean de Caulet (1693-1771) and was donated to the library in 1771. The Bible preserved in Zürich (Zentralbibliothek, C 169: New Testament) was donated to the University of Zürich by the minister Guillaume Malanot in 1692.[10]

A common feature of Waldensian manuscripts is that they fell into oblivion soon after their scattering, mainly because of the language they were written in, which was difficult to properly understand and classify.[11] As a result, Waldensian manuscripts were identified as Italian, Spanish, or French, or even Catalan.[12] Only at the end of the nineteenth century the first studies and descriptions of Waldensian language and literature appeared.[13] In the meantime, as the manuscripts progressively came back to light, some texts started to be studied and published, such as the poem *La nobla leyçon* ('The noble lesson') or the Bible of Zürich.[14] After this first period of interest, knowledge about

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[10] See Anne Jolliot-Brenon, 'Les manuscrits littéraires vaudois. Présentation d'ensemble', *Cultura Neolatina*, 38 (1978), pp. 105-28 (pp. 107-08). Carpentras Bible was published by Nüesch in *Altwaldensische Bibelübersetzung. Manuskript Nr. 8 der Bibliothèque municipale Carpentras*, ed. by Hans-Rudolf Nüesch, 2 vols (Bern: Francke-Verlag); Zürich New Testament is edited by Carlo Salvioni, 'Il Nuovo Testamento valdese secondo la lezione del codice di Zurigo', *Archivio glottologico italiano*, 11 (1890), pp. 1-308; see also David Jaymes, 'The Zurich Waldensian New Testament (Ms. C 169 [706]): the Archeology of a Dissidence', *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 208 (2011), pp. 3-29. On Dijon and Grenoble manuscripts see Samuel Berger, 'Les Bibles provençales et vaudoises', *Romania*, 18 (1889), pp. 345-422 (pp. 391-92); on Dijon, see also *Catalogue général des manuscrit des Bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements – tome V. Dijon*, ed by. Auguste Molinier, Henri Omont, Étienne-Symphorien Bougenot and Philippe Guignard (Paris: Plon, 1889), pp. 74-75. On Carpentras, Grenoble and Zürich manuscripts see also the chart compiled by Menichetti, *La traduction*, pp. 149-51, with further bibliographical references.

[11] See Menichetti, 'La traduction', p. 161.

[12] For example, ms. Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, l.e. 206 was identified by Jean Senebier as a «livre de dévotion en langue catalane» and therefore assigned to the Spanish manuscripts: see *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits conservés dans la Bibliothèque de la Ville et République de Genève*, par Jean Senebier [...] (Genève: Chirol, 1779), p. 461. Quite interestingly, mss. l.e. 207, 208 and 209 were classified as Italians (ibid., pp. 461-64). About ms. 207, which he erroneously numbered 107, Senebier says: «Toutes ces piéces [contained in the manuscript] me semblent écrites dans la même langue; ce n'est ni du françois, ni de l'italien, ni du latin, mais une langue qui est composée de tous les trois, c'est l'ancien langage des anciens Troubadours» (p. 462); mss. 208 and 209, on the contrary, would be written in «patois Vaudois» (p. 463); on Jean Senebier and his work, see Balmas, Dal Corso, *I manoscritti*, pp. 16-20. Dublin manuscripts were classified as Spanish or French in 1697 catalogue: see Mario Esposito, 'Sur quelques manuscrits de l'ancienne littérature religieuse des Vaudois du Piémont', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 46 (1951), pp. 127-59 (p. 130). Mss. Cambridge, University Library, Dd.XV.29, 30, 31, 32 and 34 were supposed to be written in Spanish, as we can infer from the seventeenth century notes on the guard-leaves: see Patrizia Cancian, 'Caratteri paleografici e luoghi di produzione di manoscritti valdesi del tardo Medioevo', in *Predicazione e repressione*, pp. 109-31 (p. 117).

[13] See François Raynouard, *Choix des poésies originales des troubadours*, 6 vols (Paris: Didot, 1816-21), II, pp. cxl–cxli; Friedrich Diez, *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, 3 vols (Bonn: Weber, 1836-44), I, p. 77.

[14] *La nobla leyçon* was already included in Raynouard, *Choix*, II, 73-102; as for Zürich New Testament, see above n. 10.

Waldensian literature didn't make considerable progress until the early 1970s: by then, it was accepted that the Waldensian texts had been written in an eastern variety of the Occitan *scripta*, but the issues surrounding the language's genesis and peculiarities remained unresolved. As regards the texts themselves, few things changed since the beginning of the century. In the middle of the 1970s some new, if isolated, investigations into the Waldensian corpus started. The need to conduct a systematic exploration of the texts fostered the birth of the series *Antichi testi valdesi* published by Claudiana: each volume of the series was to be devoted to a single manuscript in order to provide a complete transcription of Waldensian literature. in spite of good intentions, however, the series was interrupted in 1984, after only two volumes.[15] As a consequence, knowledge of Waldensian literature in the early years of the twenty-first century had not advanced from the 1970s, with the most important questions remaining unanswered. Firstly, the number of manuscripts that could be actually called "Waldensian" (that is, containing Waldensian texts) was still unclear; as a result, the very numer of extant texts and their distribution among the genres was unclear. Secondly, a comprehensive description and study of the Waldensian language and *scripta* would have been possible only once all (or, at least, the majority of) the texts had been explored.[16]

As a consequence of all of these factors, studies of medieval Waldensian doctrine, preaching, and the cultural landscape had to rely on few texts, often only available in imprecise and out-of-date editions. The most striking example of confusion was probably represented by the sermons. Over the years, contrasting counts of the sermons have been presented. Given that almost none of them existed in printed editions, scholars tender to either include every text designated as *sermon* by the manuscripts or catalogues, without considering the possibility of copies; or they considered original sermon as copies because they dealt with the same topic. Moreover, the frequent absence of any genre

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[15] *Il Vergier de cunsollacion e altri scritti (manoscritto Ge 209)*, ed. by Annabella Degan Checchini (Torino: Claudiana, 1979); *Vertuz e altri scritti (manoscritto GE 206)*, ed. by Mario Dal Corso and Luciana Borghi Cedrini (Torino: Claudiana, 1984).

[16] For further bibliographical references about Waldensian studies from the 1970s to the end of the century, see Borghi Cedrini, 'L'antica lingua valdese' and, in the same volume (*Ai confini della lingua d'*oc), the bibliographical update (pp. 266-67).

indication in the manuscripts, and the thin line between sermons and treatises, led to other errors in categorisation.[17]

In order to carry out a critical edition of the homiletic corpus, the nucleus of the present research group was established and a new series of publications was planned with Claudiana by the end of the first decade of the millennium. In 2009, a doctoral dissertation established that the Waldensian sermons numbered 204 overall: among these, 136 proved to be attested in a single copy and 26 in more than one copy.[18] Since 2007, several students at the University of Turin have been devoting their theses to trial editions, with some of those students even pursuing the subject after their Master's degree. In July 2016, the first volume of the new series was finally published.[19]

2. *Studying the medieval Waldensian sermons: challenges and open questions*

The project of editioning about two hundred texts raises many issues, the first ones being the number of texts itself and the order in which they should be studied and therefore published.

It has only been since 2009 that we have had a reliable count of extant sermons.[20] As the census is based on strict criteria for determining if a text is a sermon, this count is far more precise than previous attempts. Naturally, it isn't conclusive and, as the edition goes on, some details have to be corrected. Just to mention a couple of examples, some texts have been misplaced due to errors in recognising the right *thema* and some others have been simply missed in the count. At a level of greater complexity, I would mention the case of sermons which include another text (or more), resulting in a sort of *matrioska* sermon, with obvious consequences as regards to their reckoning. Finally, there are also texts which resist a precise categorisation: for instance, they may appear as one

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[17] According to Gonnet, Molnár, *Les Vaudois*, p. 366, they were «un total d'environ quatre-vingt pièces (qui descend à près de soixante-dix si l'on ne compte pas les duplicata)». Anne Brenon, 'The Waldensian books', in *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530*, ed. by Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 137-59 (p. 146) counted «more than 200 different sermons», assuming that «[i]t is often difficult to distinguish between the sermons and treatises» (ibid.).

[18] Silvia Vigna Surìa, *Censimento dei sermoni dell'antica letteratura valdese* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Messina, 2009); see Silvia Vigna Surìa, 'L'edizione dei sermoni valdesi. Preliminari', in *Valdesi medievali. Bilanci e prospettive di ricerca*, ed. by Marina Benedetti (Torino: Claudiana, 2009), pp. 213-23.

[19] See above n. 1. A more detailed account of the first years of the project in Luciana Borghi Cedrini, 'Protostoria e storia dell'edizione dei sermoni valdesi', in *Predicazione e repressione*, pp. 89-94.

[20] See above n. 18.

item in one manuscrit, and as two separate texts in another; or a supposed single-witness text may actually turn out to be just another witness of an already known text.[21]

From the very early days of the project, preference was given to multiple-witnesses texts. This approach was due to the very practical necessity of establishing a method for editing a kind of text which appeared to be more complex at first sight. Interestingly enough, it soon became clear that single-witness sermons are often more difficult to manage. In fact, these often show disconnected structures, or they juxtapose quotations one after the other, with faint links between them.[22] That being said, single-witness sermons may also have a very complex structure and passages which are particulary difficult to understand: in cases like this, one would really appreciate the contribution of another copy of the same text, which might help solve some of the issues. For their part, multiple-witnesses sermons have their peculiar set of difficulties, as we shall see below. However, from the point of view of the order of edition and publication, after the first attempts the research group quickly shifted focus from a typological criterion (multiple-witnesses texts followed by single-witness texts) to a chronological one, that is to say the liturgical calendar which can be reconstructed comparing the surviving sermonary and lectionaries found in the manuscripts.

The Dublin sermonary (ms. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 267, ff. 56r-350r[23]) is entitled *Epistollas e Avangelis de tot l'an* ('Letters and Gospels for a year'). It provides Sunday readings from the first Sunday of Advent to the fifth after Pentecost, including also the moveable feasts, Christmas, Epiphany, the Feast of the Circumcision of Christ, St. Stephen, St. John, and Holy Innocents. In addition to that, it provides one or more sermons for each recorded reading, with some exceptions to this pattern; the most remarkable of these involves the Lenten sermons, which we will return to below.

The Cambridge lectionary (ms. Cambridge, University Library, Dd.XV.30, ff. 23v-38v) is entitled *Treçenas* (literally 'Groups of thirteen'). It records the fifty-two Sundays of the year, divided into four

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[21] See Nicole Bériou, 'Sermons vaudois sur l'Adoration des Mages des manuscrits Dublin, Trinity College Library, 260, 263, 267', in *Predicazione e repressione*, pp. 133-54.

[22] See Laura Gaffuri, 'I sermoni valdesi per il Natale, tra antico e moderno', in *Predicazione e repressione*., pp. 155-80 (p. 161) and Lothar Vogel, 'Osservazioni sulla teologia dei sermoni d'Avvento', in *Predicazione e repressione*, pp. 121-31 (p. 122).

[23] The first section of the manuscript is foliated I - VII; after that, the foliation restarts from 1. In my count, I (ms.) = 1 and so forth.

groups of thirteen Sundays. In fact, Cambridge lectionary proposes an actual quadripartition of the liturgical year, as each group of Sundays begins with a "First Sunday" (ff. 23v, 26r, 29r, 35r) and ends with a "Thirteenth Sunday" (ff. 25, 29r, 34v, 38v); however, that division still requires a proper explanation.

The Grenoble lectionary (ms. Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, U.860, ff. 306v-315r) is entitled *Ayci comença lo registre de li Euvangeli e de las Epistolas per lo cercondament de l'an* ('Here begins the register of Gospels and Letter for the yearly cycle'). Besides Sundays, it also includes holidays and working days in a year, as well as the sections entitled *De sanctis* (ff. 313r-314r) and *De Apostolis Euvangelia* (ff. 314r-315r).[24]

Investigating the lectionaries and the sermonary, we can draft a calendar which records New Testament readings for the entire year. Basically, this calendar can be used to discern between "calendar sermons" (about 87,6% of the total) and "out of calendar sermons" (about 12,4%). However, it must be remarked that this is nothing more than a hypothesis and investigative tool, as we still know nothing about the purpose and use of the lectionaries and we have no evidence of a connection between them and the sermons. On one hand, the Grenoble manuscript has no sermon. On the other hand, the Cambridge manuscript does preserve eight sermons (ff. 225v-247v[25]), but they don't seem to be related to the lectionary. Firstly, the two sections are physically distant (indeed, the sermons are the last section of the manuscript). Secondly, the sermons don't constitute a liturgical cycle: one of them has an uncertain status[26], while the remaining seven texts can be referred to scattered liturgical occasions. Instead, as often happens in Waldensian manuscripts, a thematically arranging criterion can be found, as sermons are put in a series which deals with themes like penance and its dangers, spiritual renovation, lost and recovery of Jesus, temptation, salvation, and the Kingdom of Heaven.

As a consequence of all this, we don't know if the lectionaries were used (also) as a sort of guideline for preaching. What we do know is that the only sermons which are clearly connected to precise occasions

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[24] Chiara Terrone, a member of the research group, is currently doing research upon the Grenoble lectionary. For the time being, see Berger, 'Bibles', pp. 393-96.
[25] The last sermon is mutilated.
[26] The sermon, which is attested in four copies, is built on a pericope which doesn't fit perfectly into the reconstructed calendar, even if it can be referred to a couple of liturgical occasions by means of synoptic passages.

are those included in the sermonary. Consequently, the concept of "calendar sermons" must be clarified: technically speaking, "calendar sermons" are only those contained also in the sermonary (about 72%); the remaining texts, whose *thema* can be found in the lectionaries only, are, on the contrary, "calendar sermons" in a broad sense (about 28%). A quick recap will help us clarify.

Table 1

Sermons		
Calendar sermonary + lectionaries (87,6%)		Out of calendar (12,4%)
Strict sense = *also* in sermonary (72%)	Broad sense = *not* in sermonary (28%)	

If we focus on "calendar sermons" in a broad sense, an interesting topic is represented by Lenten texts.[27] As a whole, there are about twenty extant, but only a few are contained in the sermonary, namely two for the first Sunday and two for Easter (if we consider the latter as part of Lent). The remaining Lenten sermons are contained elsewhere: two in ms. Cambridge, University Library, Dd.XV.30; eight in ms. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 263; five in ms. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 267; five in ms. Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, l.e. 206; six in ms. Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, l.e. 209a.[28] Those "out of sermonary" texts can be identified as Lenten sermons due only to their *themata* and, in some cases, because they are translations of actual Middle Latin Lenten sermons. It is really interesting that the only "official" aspect of Waldensian preaching as we know it, that is to say the sermonary, is surprisingly bereft of Lenten sermons, especially when compared to other major liturgical periods such as Advent, which has more than twenty sermons. On the contrary, quite a number of Lenten sermons can be identified outside the sermonary; but, in this case, manuscripts do not show any evidence of their Lenten character (for instance, there are no explicit headings or running titles).

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[27] For a more detailed analysis see Andrea Giraudo, 'A Lent "Poor in Sundays"? The Case of the Waldensian Sermons', in *I sermoni quaresimali: digiuno del corpo, banchetto dell'anima. Lenten sermons: Fast of the body, banquet of the Soul*, ed. by Pietro Delcorno, Eleonora Lombardo and Lorenza Tromboni (Firenze: Nerbini, 2018 [= *Memorie domenicane* 48 (2017)]), pp. 75-89.

[28] As a whole, we find 28 texts, but some of them are copies, so that we have 21 different sermons (including three Easter sermons and one sermon for Monday after Easter).

As said, one of the criteria for identifying a Lenten sermon is the status of translation from actual Middle Latin Lenten sermons, which leads to another interesting topic, that is translations from substantial Middle Latin sources in Waldensian sermons.

It is well known that Waldensian literature is largely composed of translations. Take for example the *Vergier de cunsollacion*, which is a translation of the *Viridarium consolationis* of Iacopo da Benevento,[29] or the *Sposicions sobre alcuns passages de sant Mathio sobre Johan Crisostomo*, which is a translation of the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*.[30] Moreover, many treatises have long since been identified as translations of Roman or Hussite texts.[31]

Since 2012, an increasing number of sermons are proving to having been translated from the Dominican Iacobus de Voragines's *sermones*. Lenten sermons are mainly translated from *quadragesimales*, which is obvious, while the *de tempore* represent the main source for sermons referable to other liturgical periods; by contrast, we haven't found any translation from the *de sanctis* collection so far, which is quite easy to understand, as we know that Waldenses refused the worship of saints.[32]

A first, interesting point regarding the relationship between Latin and vernacular sermons is that the translation is not always a simple and passive exercise of linguistic change. On the contrary, where Latin sermons deal with some doctrinal points that are not accepted by the Waldenses (for example the role of saints, or Purgatory), in the translations we usually see a rewriting of the Latin texts, for instance with the elimination or reformulation of concepts and passages. A few examples will demonstrate the pattern.[33] In Table 2 the simple omission of *ad sanctos uiros accedere debemus* and *illorum* change the sense of the passage. In Iacobus's text, sinners, after accepting being unworthy,

[29] See Borghi Cedrini, 'Protostoria', p. 90.

[30] See Romolo Cegna, 'Alcunas Sposicions sobre alcuns passage de sant Mt.', in *Valdesi medievali*, pp. 255-73.

[31] See Gonnet, Molnár, *Les Vaudois*, pp. 341-65.

[32] See Andrea Giraudo 'Volgarizzamenti valdesi di alcuni sermoni di Iacopo da Varazze', *Studi medievali*, 56.2 (2015), pp. 741-87 (pp. 774-81) as an introduction to the topic, with data as at 2013. As regards *quadragesimales*, see Iacopo da Varazze, *Sermones quadragesimales*, ed. by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Firenze: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2005); as for *de tempore* and *de sanctis*, one should still refer to Jacobi de Voragine OP, *Sermones aurei in omnes totius anni Dominicas, Quadragesimam et precipua Sanctorum Festa [...] in duo tomos divisi*, ed. by Rudolphus Clutius (Augustae Vindelicorum-Cracoviae, 1760).

[33] In Table 2, I quote from Andrea Giraudo, 'A Lent', p. 86, with minor adjustments; Iacobus's text is given according to Iacopo da Varazze, *Sermones*. In Table 3, I quote from *Sermoni valdesi*, pp. 102 and 118; Iacobus's text is given according to Jacobi de Voragine OP, *Sermones aurei*. RLS = Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium des lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalter für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, 11 vols (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagbuchhandlung, 1969-90).

should rely on saints; in the Waldensian translation, that intermediary step is skipped.[34]

Table 2

Iacobus de Voragine, *Dominica II in quadragesima, sermo II* (RLS 219)	Ms. Dublin, Trinity College Library, 263, f. 116r, ll. 6-12
[82] Quarto fit mentio de discipulis in quibus fuit magna compassio; [83] ideo rogabant pro ea, dicentes: "Dimitte eam, quia clamat post nos". [84] Ex quo docemur quod, quando aliquid a deo petere uolumus et nos indignos esse reputamus, <u>ad sanctos uiros accedere debemus</u>. [85] Vt autem illorum orationes prosint petenti, quatuor in se debent habere [...].	Quartament es fayt mencion de li deciple, en li qual fo grant cumpassion. Emperczo pregavan per ley diczent: «Layssa ley, car crida enapres nos». Per la qual cosa nos sen ensegna que, cant nos demanden alcuna cosa a Dio, <u>nos nos deven recointar non degnes</u>; mas, que las demandas profeyton al demandant, el deo aver en si 4 cosas.

And one can quickly see in Table 3 that all references to Purgatory from Iacobus's short passage have been carefully omitted in the Occitan version. [35]

Table 3

Iacobus de Voragine, *Dominica II Adventus Domini, sermo III* (RLS 7)	1st Sunday of Advent, sermon 5 (critical edition), ll. 42-50
Omnes homines qui in Judicio extremo existent, aut erunt omnino vacui, <u>aut semipleni</u>, aut pleni, aut superpleni. Ille est vacuus, qui nulla opera meritoria secum portavit, et in peccatis vitam finivit. [...] Ille projicietur in fornacem inferni. <u>Ille autem est semiplenus, qui peccata quidem commisit, et ad poenitentiam sibi injunctam sufficienter non explevit. [...] Iste projicietur in fornacem purgatorii.</u> Ille vero est plenus, qui quantum deliquit, tantum satisfecit: qui etsi non habuit magna perfectionis opera, habuit tamen ea quae sufficiunt ad dimissionem culpae, et acquisitionem gloriae.	Tuit li ome li qual istaren al derayrian judicii, ho qu'ilh seren al postot voyt o plen o sobre-plen. Aquel es voyt lo qual non aporte cum si alcun ben meritori e a feni la soa vita en pecca. [...] Aquest sere gitta al fornays de l'enfern. Mas aquel es plen lo qual habandone lo pecca e tant solament satisfe, lo qual, si el non hac grant obra de perfeccion, mas emperczo el hac aquellas cosas que bastan a departiment de la colpa e aquistament de la gracia e de la gloria.

Those two examples show how Waldensian versions of Iacobus's sermons may actually turn out to be adaptations and transformations, rather than simple translations.

When dealing with sources, we always have to face the question of what their original source text(s) may have been. For instance, with respect to translations from *de tempore*, sometimes we find words or passages which lead us to consider something different than what we find in 1760 Clutius's edition. Conversely, sometimes we are able to find the link in some other manuscript which presents a different version of that sermon. Consider the following example:[36]

Table 4

Iacobus de Voragine, *Dominica II Adventus Domini, sermo I* (RLS 5)	1st Sunday of Advent, sermon 3 (critical edition), ll. 88-91

Secundum signum est obscuritas lunae: per lunam significatur Ecclesia, quae tunc obscura erit, quia nec miraculis radiabit, nec doctrinae splendore fulgebit. Quamvis autem Deus potuerit lunae lumen proprium <u>communicare</u> sicut et soli, voluit tamen ut luna a sole illuminaretur tribus de causis [...].	Lo segond segnal es l'escurczita de la luna. Per la luna es significa la gleysa, la qual sere adonca scurczia car ilh non luczire per miracles, ni resplandire per doctrina. Mas ja sia czo que'el aguesa pogu <u>crear</u> propi lume a la luna, mas el volc que la luna sia enlumena del solelh per trey cayssons [...].

While in Iacobus's text we find *communicare*, the Waldensian sermons has *crear* ('to create'). Remarkably, the "Italian" family α of Iacobus's tradition read *concreare* ('to create') instead of *communicare*.[37] Such remarks are very important in order to try to establish whether Waldensian sermons are translated from a specific family of Iacobus's sermons or not; from that point of view, the critical edition of *de tempore* would be of great help.

If we still don't know from which source text (or texts) Waldenses actually translated, we furthermore do not know what sort of physical source they might have had. Surely the translator (or translators, which is another intriguing question) owned a book containing Iacobus's sermons: but was that solely a collection of Iacobus, or was it a miscellany of some sort? We don't know yet, and we probably never will. What we do know is that Iacobus's name isn't mentioned anywhere, which makes one think that even the Waldenses didn't know whose work they were translating. This suggestion might match Menichetti's hypothesis that the Waldensian translation of Domenico Cavalca's *Acts of the Apostles* may have depended upon manuscripts and prints of Cavalca's work which include neither the authorial prologue nor the mention of his name or originating convent.[38]

As the work of edition goes on, a small number of sermons and texts by authors beyond Iacobus turn out to have been translated in the Waldensian homiletic corpus.[39] Recently Federico Silvestri, a member of the research group, discovered an interesting variety of sources for a sermon. For instance the *incipit*, which was considered "unknown", actually proved to be a translation of some lines of a sermon by a Church Father, Ephrem the Syrian (306/307-373): *Tribus modis diabolus securitatem in*

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[37] See Patrizia Stoppacci, 'Introduzione allo studio critico dei *Sermones de tempore* di Iacopo da Varazze', *Medieval Sermons Studies*, 57 (2013), pp. 49-76 (pp. 60-62). See also the review of *Sermoni valdesi* by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, *sehepunkte*, 17 (2017), nr. 9 (http://www.sehepunkte.de/2017/09/29801.html).
[38] See Menichetti, 'La traduction', pp. 163-165 and 167.
[39] I can cite some Christmas sermons by Hildebertus Cenomanensis († 1133) and Werner II of Saint Blaise, Black Forest († 1178); a text attributed to Hugh of Saint Victor; a pseudo-Augustinian sermon *Ad fratres in eremo commorantes*; the *In Divi Pauli Epistolas Expositio* by Haymo of Auxerre. See Andrea Giraudo, 'The Medieval Waldesian sermons', *Przegląd Tomistyczny*, 22 (2016), pp. 249-58 (p. 255) and Gaffuri, 'I sermoni', pp. 161-62.

mente hominis mittit […].[40] It is quite a remarkable discovery, since it is the only non-biblical *incipit* in the corpus. Interestingly, the Latin and Waldensian texts diverge after the first lines, so we can't count our sermon as a complete translation of Ephrem's work. Going further into the sermon, beyond "standard" quotations (e. g. the Fathers), quite a number of lines are translated and re-arranged from three antiphons, two of which, according to Silvestri's researches, are often preserved in Ambrosian texts, such as the eleventh century *Manuale ambrosianum*[41] (first antiphon) and the fifteenth century *Litaniae ambrosianae*[42] (first and third antiphon). The second antiphon is linked to the *officium defunctorum* and the *Missa pro defunctis*, while the third antiphone is found also in the Waldensian poem *Oracion de Manases*.[43] As the translation of the various sources is quite faithful to the Latin text, we are left with at least two possibilities:

1) someone translated a sermon in its entirety, which probably began with a passage from Ephrem and carried on to antiphons and other quotations;

2) someone assembled a sermon *ex novo*; in this case, we must assume that the author had a written version of the antiphons at his disposal.

The presence of the first and third antiphones in Ambrosian texts might be most carefully related to other clues which direct us to the topic of the Ambrosian rite. For instance, the collection of *sermones quadragesimales* by Iacobus de Voragine begins with a sermon, whose first part explains why Lenten begins on Ash Wednesday.[44] The Waldensian translation of that sermon[45] has two points of interest above all others. Firstly, it is not included in the sermonary, so it can be considered a Lenten text only because it is a translation of an actual Lenten sermon by Iacobus. Secondly, it

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[40] At present, the sermon has been identified by Silvestri in two manuscripts: Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 98, f. 169rv; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14364, f. 37rv (http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00046560/images/index.html?id=00046560&nativeno=37r); see Federico Silvestri, 'Prove di edizione dei sermoni valdesi: due sermoni monoattestati su Giov. 20,19; un sermone biattestato "Lo Diavol met seguirita"' (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Turin, 2017).

[41] See *Manuale ambrosianum ex codice saec. XI olim in usum Canonicae Vallis Travaliae*, edidit Marcus Magistretti, 3 vols (Milano: Hoepli, 1904).

[42] See for example ms. Frankfurt am Main, Universitätbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 4° 1 (http://sammlungen.ub.unifrank-furt.de/msma/content/titleinfo/5010652).

[43] See Silvestri, 'Prove', pp. 103-114 for a more detailed description of the sermon, with further bibliographical references. As regards the *Oracion de Manases*, see Enea Balmas, 'L'oracion de Manasesses [*sic*] del cod. Ge 209', in *Nuove ricerche*, pp. 75-93 (p. 82: *Mas yo pecchey sobre lo nome de l'arena* [sic] *del mar*) and also Giovanni Battista Bazzana, 'La *Preghiera di Manasse*. Peccato e penitenza', in *Valdesi medievali*, pp. 245-54.

[44] *Feria quarta in capite ieiunii, sermo I* (RLS 196). See Iacopo da Varazze, *Sermones*, pp. 3-9.

[45] Mss. Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, l.e. 206, ff. 65v-68v; l.e. 209a, ff. 79v-82v.

intentionally cuts off the above-mentioned passage about Ash Wednesday, thus saying nothing about the count of Lenten days.[46]

   This point is really interesting. If we consider the interrogatories carried out during the crusade of 1487-89 promoted by Innocent VIII against the Waldenses,[47] we find that the latter were told by their preachers that Lent was to begin on the first Sunday, which is precisely what Ambrosian rite says.[48] Let's consider some examples below from the depositions (Grenoble, Archives Départementals de l'Isère [ADI], B 4350):[49]

Table 5

Quadragesima debet incipi die lune more ambrosiano (Briançon, November 16th 1487, examination of Giovanni Galean from Mentoulles; f. 106v).
Interrogatus si incipiunt Quadragesimam die mercuri [...], respondit quod non, sed die lune, more ambrosiano, quia de illis quattuor diebus non est curandum (Briançon, November 17th 1487, examination of Martino Belliard from Pragelato; f. 134v).
[...] die lune carnis privii antiqui est incipienda Quadragesima (Briançon, December 5th 1487, examination of Giovanneto Matheoud from Pragelato; ff. 186v-187r).

One should proceed with caution here: I'm not saying that there is a direct connection, but there is an interesting hint of a link. Moreover, one may also add that Lenten Waldensian sermons, in their broadest sense, do not offer any well-structured exploration on the topic of fasting, with only a few references in the three sermons referable to Ash Wednesday – which was probably considered "out of Lent", anyway, as the latter was supposed to begin on the first Sunday. This remark matches with another consideration. In the above-mentioned inquisitorial depositions, we often find that *dies sabati non est observandus* and that *non est peccatum comedere carnes in die sabati*;[50] interestingly, Ambrosian rite doesn't contemplate fast for all Saturdays, even Lenten ones.[51] It strikes me as an

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[46] See Giraudo, 'A Lent', pp. 84-85.
[47] See *I valdesi del pragelatese all'epoca della crociata*, ed. by Piercarlo Pazè, forthcoming. I'm thankful to the editor for letting me consult a preview of the edition of the trials.
[48] See Mario Righetti, *Manuale di storia liturgica*, 4 vols (Milano: Ancora, 1950-56), I, p. 152; Pietro Borella, *Il rito ambrosiano* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1964), pp. 365-66.
[49] Some other examples in Giraudo, 'A Lent', p. 85.
[50] For instance in ADI, B 4350, ff. 116r, 121r, 156v, 197r. On the attitude towards fast, see also the 1532 deposition of the *barba* Pietro Griot: *Quant ès jeusnes que commande l'Église romaine, ne se réputent point offencer Dieu s'ilz ne les gardent, mais ilz les laissent à la volonté de ceulx qui les vouldroient jeusner*. I quote from Gabriel Audisio, 'Il testimone di Pattemouche', in *Valdismo e cattolicesimo prima della Riforma (1488-1555)*, ed. by Raimondo Genre (Villaretto-Roure: La Valaddo, 2010), pp. 61-179 (p. 111).
[51] See Righetti, *Manuale*, p. 144.

interesting set of clues which deserve to be investigated deeper, perhaps by specialists in the history of liturgy.

Before moving to conclusions, it is advisable to say something about the method in editing the sermons. As for the single-witness texts, the approach is quite obvious: we publish the text of the manuscripts and note the errors in the apparatus. Things get more complicated when we turn to sermons that are attested in two, three or – very rarely – four copies. Generally speaking, usually we are not able to identify errors which can guide us in establishing a *stemma codicum*. Gaps in a manuscript can be often interpreted either as omissions or, on the contrary, additions in other manuscripts; the possibility of re-writings, alternative versions of the same sermon, and the issues of oral performance play a major role in the tradition. What is more, we frequentlt discover there are few errors. Even when it comes to translations, we are often not able to say if there has been only one single translation of a source text, as clues may indicate multiple translations.[52] At present, the best solution we found is to give preference to the copy preserved in the sermonary, if it exists and if it is not seriously invalidated by most significant elements; alternative readings are then given in the apparatus.[53] Of course, for each multi-witnesses text, a complete collation is carried out as a preliminary step; but as it goes, the tests we have been conducting so far revealed that sermonary texts are usually to be preferred from an ecdotic point of view. Furthermore, we have noticed that when it comes to translations from Iacobus's sermons, sermonary texts are often closer to the source; and more generally, they seem to exhibit more written than oral features – in other words, those texts are probably *praevi* (or *literarii*) rather than *excepti*.[54] As a knock-on effect, the preference given to the sermonary should allow us to publish it in its entirety – which is a good thing itself, as it is the richest source of textx – and to preserve formal linguistic aspects as far as is possible. When a sermon is not attested also in the sermonary, the criterium must be adapted: that is to say that we try to

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[52] See Vogel, 'Osservazioni', pp. 124-25.

[53] See *Sermoni valdesi*, pp. 25-28 for further technical details. On the opportunity to publish one version of multiple-witnesses sermons in order to avoid "mixed" texts, see Nicole Bériou, 'Les sermons latins après 1200', in *The sermon*, dir. by Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 363-447 (pp. 438-439).

[54] The reference is to the terminology proposed by Beverly Mayne Kienzle, 'Conclusion', in *The sermon*, pp. 963-83 (p. 975).

establish – if possible – which copy seems to be closer to written style: unless remarkable errors, that copy is then preferred.

Of course, things are not so schematic. In the course of things we have to face other challenges such as sermons demanding synoptic editions, or versions which are borderline synoptic and force us to acrobatics in building the apparatus, and so forth.[55]

3. *Avenues for future research and expected results*

The critical edition of the Medieval Waldensian sermons is a long-term project, as the edition of the entire corpus is not expected to appear before 2020 or 2021. For that reason, the recent publication of the first twelve Advent sermons had two main objectives: on the one hand, to temporarily satisfy the expectations of the complete work to come; on the other hand, to provide an initial "common ground" for analyses and suggestions for improvement. The latter was also one of the goals of the above-mentioned Waldensian Studies Society conference of 2016: in that case, participants were also provided with sermons for other occasions than the first two Sundays of Advent, in order to increase the avenues of investigations. At that event, the analyses carried out by Lothar Vogel on Advent, Nicole Bériou on Epiphany, and Laura Gaffuri on Christmas texts[56] proved that Waldensian sermons can provide interesting materials to different research fields such as theology, history of preaching and, more generally, sermon studies.

Linguistic research will hopefully also benefit from the completion of the edition. Given its features and limitations, the edition of the first Advent sermons intentionally lacks a proper linguistic commentary.[57] By contrast, the availability of a substantially larger *corpus* will allow us to improve the description and comprehension of Waldensian *scripta* and its peculiarities, thus extending the

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[55] For instance, the Epiphany sermon analyzed by N. Bériou, 'Sermons vaudois', demands a synoptic edition. In less extreme cases, a specific apparatus band could be used for alternative readings which are, at the same time, too significant to fit in the first band (errors and substantial alternative readings) and not enough significant to impose a synoptic edition. See *Sermoni valdesi*, p. 27.

[56] Lothar Vogel, 'Osservazioni'; Nicole Bériou, 'Sermons vaudois'; Laura Gaffuri, 'I sermoni'.

[57] See *Sermoni valdesi*, pp. 14-15, as well as the review (with linguistic remarks) by Sergio Vatteroni, 'Osservazioni sull'edizione critica dei sermoni valdesi per la I e II domenica di Avvento', *Cultura neolatina*, 77, 2017, pp. 189-200 (particularly pp. 189 and 197-200).

researches of Borghi Cedrini,[58] Nüesch, and Raugei.[59] In this regard, particular attention should be paid to the role of both Latin and vernacular sources in the formation of the *scripta*.[60]

With regards to the physical manuscripts, we are quite well informed about the events that brought them from their originating Valleys to their current homes (as discussed above). By contrast, we have still little knowledge about their genesis. As Menichetti points out about mss. Cambridge, University Library, Dd.XV.34 and Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale, U.860 (and one can say more or less the same thing about the remaining manuscripts), «[o]ù, aux alentours de 1415-1480, pouvait-il se trouver un atelier à même de produire des manuscrits […] copiés par des copistes faisant preuve d'une haute compétence graphique et partageant un système linguistique et graphique cohérent [...] ? Le Duché de Savoie [...] pourrait-il être une piste à approfondir?».[61] Actually, we have some linguistic indications that the Waldensian *scripta* should be based on the Occitan dialects of the the Italian side of the Alps;[62] but this is not enough to claim that they were physically assembled right there. The edition to come should hopefully clarify when and especially where the eleven manuscripts containing sermons were composed;[63] as a consequence of that, given the remarkable uniformity of the corpus, some new, comprehensive ideas about the genesis of the codexes may arise.

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[58] Luciana Borghi Cedrini's studies on Waldensian language and *scripta* have been recently republished in Borghi Cedrini, *Ai confini*: 'Appunti per la lettura di un bestiario medievale. Il *Bestiario valdese*', pp. 135-212 (previously Torino: Giappichelli, 1976-77); 'La lingua dei manoscritti valdesi e gli attuali dialetti delle Valli', pp. 213-26 (previously *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi*, 148 (1980), pp. 37-47 and in *Nuove ricerche di letteratura occitanica*, ed. by Enea Balmas (Torino: Claudiana, 1982), pp. 9-21); 'Ancora sulla "questione della lingua valdese": osservazioni sulle grafie dei manoscritti valdesi', pp. 227-52 (previously in *Studi testuali 1* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1988), pp. 7-33); 'L'antica lingua valdese' (see above n. 4).

[59] Nüesch's linguistic commentary constitute the second volume of his *Altwaldensische Bibelübersetzung*. While Borghi Cedrini focused mostly on phonetic and morphology, Raugei deals also with syntax in Anna Maria Raugei, *Bestiario valdese* (Firenze: Olschki, 1984), pp. 61-129. See also the synthesis of Anna Cornagliotti, 'Sprache der Waldenser – Il valdese', in *Lexikon der romanistische Linguistik*, II/2 *Die einzelnen romanischen Sprachen und Sprachgebiete vom Mittelalter bis zur Renaissance*, ed. by Günther Holtus, Michael Metzeltin and Christian Schmitt (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), pp. 467-473, as well as the the bibliographical update in Borghi Cedrini, *Ai confini*, pp. 266-67. Some remarks also in Menichetti, 'La traduction', pp. 161-62 and 166.

[60] As for Latin sources, see See *Sermoni valdesi*, p. 16; Andrea Giraudo, 'Questioni intorno all'edizione dei sermoni valdesi', in *Predicazione e repressione*, pp. 95-107 (pp. 104-05); and Idem, 'Volgarizzamenti valdesi', pp. 774-81. Menichetti, 'La traduction', pp. 163-66 deals with the role of an Italian source.

[61] Menichetti, 'La traduction', pp. 166-67.

[62] See Borghi Cedrini, 'Ancora sulla "questione"'.

[63] Some first hints in Cancian, 'Caratteri', *passim*.

Last but certainly not least, the research group is creating a database of all quotations found in sermons.[64] For each quotation, besides "bibliographical" references,[65] the database records the (Latin) source text and the corresponding Waldensian version. This instrument has remarkable growth potential. For instance, it will allow us to depict a more comprehensive landscape of Waldensian preachers' mental library. Moreover, it could give statistical information about preferences and frequency of use of certain authors and works. Furthermore, comparing the different Waldensian translations of the same (Latin) passage, one will be able to make several remarks as regards linguistics (e. g. the dynamic of translation), as well as enrich and clarify Waldensian vocabulary.[66] Finally, the quotations will have to be compared to other texts contained in the manuscripts, such as treatises and the Bibles. For the moment the database corresponds biblical passages with the Bible of Carpentras; of course it will be advisable to expand the comparison, through the prospective of collaboration between critical editors of the Waldensian texts.

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[64] Given their different status, more substantial sources (like Iacobus de Voragine's sermons) are excluded from that repertory. Giada Mazza, a member of the research group, is in charge of the database.

[65] Book, chapter and verse as regards the Bible; author, work and bibliographical references – usually from Patrologia Latina – as regards the Fathers; and so forth.

[66] As regards the critical edition itself, the database will also allow a more precise Italian translation of the texts.