Was it Augustine After All? Patristic Sources of Medieval Anti-heretical Polemics from the Perspective of Text Reuse Analysis[1]

Reima Välimäki - Marius Aho

Abstract

This article explores the extent to which medieval polemical authors resorted to patristic originals and how much they adopted patristic argumentation. The authors used computational text reuse analysis using Basic Local Alignment Search Tool (BLAST) to compare 189 classical and medieval texts, mainly from open repositories of digitised texts, to find similarities. The corpus includes classical works, particularly Augustine's anti-heretical treatises, canon law, inquisition manuals, exempla collections and florilegia, sermons and theological commentaries. The lack of medieval texts after ca. 1200 in machine-readable format is the greatest hindrance to building a representative medieval corpus. The authors propose that although medieval polemicists saw Augustine and other Church fathers as models of Christian champions fighting heresy, intensive engagement with patristic theology took place in medieval works that enjoyed limited circulation and influence.

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Keywords: Anti-heretical polemics; ancient heresy; medieval heresy; Augustine; text reuse; BLAST

Introduction

In 1927, almost a century ago, Herbert Grundmann demonstrated that the profile (*Typus*) of the heretic in medieval literature derived "from early Christian apologetics and patristics." In particular, Augustine had a strong and lasting legacy: "The dominance of his personality and his psychological skill made Augustine irreplaceable among the coarse methods of later times."[2] In scholarly literature on heresy and inquisition, it has since become commonplace to state that medieval theologians adopted Augustine's view on heresy.[3] However,

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[2] Grundmann, 'Der Typus', 327; translation according to Grundmann, 'The Profile (Typus) of the Heretic in Medieval Perception.' On the continuing importance of Grundmann's methods, see Välimäki, 'The Worst of All Heresies'.

[3] Grundmann, 'Oportet et haereses esse. Das Problem der Ketzerei im Spiegel der mittelalterlichen Bibelexegese', 136–37; Patschovsky, 'Häresie'; Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 38, 66; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 191–93; Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 170, 219,

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while it is clear that many medieval *topoi* of heretics were invented in late Antiquity and that Augustine was a dominant figure of Latin apologetic literature, it is much more debatable the extent to which medieval polemical authors actually resorted to patristic originals and how much they adopted patristic argumentation.

Some scholars have questioned the assumption that Augustine was the primary source of inspiration for medieval polemical literature. M. Frassetto has pointed out that despite the common assumption that the twelfth-century author Ademar of Chabannes was dependent on the works of Augustine for his understanding of heresy,[4] quotations of Augustine are absent in Ademar's corpus.[5] D. L. Goodwin has made a similar misassumption regarding the medieval reception of Augustine's views on Jews as "witness-people" and concludes that instead of Augustine's more tolerant attitude, hostility to Jews prevailed. Goodwin has called for an elucidation of the degree to which later theologians adopted (or neglected) Augustine's views.[6]

In this article, we attempt to illuminate Augustine's influence on medieval antiheretical polemics from a fresh viewpoint: computational text reuse analysis using Basic Local Alignment Search Tool (BLAST), a programme originally engineered in 1990[7] and used in bioinformatics to compare nucleotide or protein sequences to DNA/RNA databases to find similarities. Text reuse BLAST is a modification of this programme aimed at further utilising BLAST's comparison capabilities on natural languages. The version we used was originally designed at the University of Turku to be used with OCR texts and has been previously applied to analyse text reuse in historical newspaper data and large internet text corpora.[8] Text reuse BLAST can process several billion characters worth of textual material in one run. The programme is quite demanding in terms of processing power, but is highly parallelisable and can be run on cluster computers.

The article is based on a corpus of 189 classical and medieval texts, mainly from open repositories of digitised texts, but also includes scans of editions printed in the twentieth century. In addition to medieval anti-heretical polemics, the corpus includes classical works, particularly Augustine's anti-heretical treatises, canon law, inquisition manuals, exempla collections and florilegia, sermons and theological commentaries. The lack of medieval texts after ca. 1200 in machine-readable format is the greatest hindrance to building a representative

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318; Müller, 'Heresy', 1124; Bain, 'Aux sources du discours antihérétique? Exégèse et hérésie au xiie siècle'; Kras, *The System of the Inquisition in Medieval Europe*, 24; Trivellone, 'Des Églises cathares en Italie? Pour une étude critique des italiennes', 38.

[4] Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 19.

[5] Frassetto, 'Pagans, Heretics, Saracens, and Jews in the Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes'.

[6] Goodwin, 'Jews and Judaism'.

[7] Altschul et al., 'Basic Local Alignment Search Tool'.

[8] Vesanto et al., 'A System for Identifying and Exploring Text Repetition in Large Historical Document Corpora'; Vesanto et al., 'Applying BLAST to Text Reuse Detection in Finnish Newspapers and Journals, 1771–1910'; Salmi et al., 'The Reuse of Texts in Finnish Newspapers and Journals, 1771–1920'; Oiva and Ristilä, 'Mapping the Pseudohistorical Knowledge Space in the Russian World Wide Web'.

medieval corpus, and there is an overrepresentation of authors and works available in easily accessible repositories, such as *Corpus Corporum.*[9] Yet, even with these caveats, the corpus enables the study of text reuse in patristic and medieval texts on a far greater scale than any human reader is capable of.

As BLAST compares all texts with each other, the output of such a corpus could be approached from a number of perspectives. Our focus is on the reuse of patristic antiheretical polemics in medieval polemics against heresy, as well as inquisitors' manuals. We propose that although medieval polemicists saw Augustine and other Church fathers as models of Christian champions fighting heresy, the inspiration they drew from patristic sources was rather superficial. The same biblical verses were used to refute heresy in the middle ages as in the patristic era, but most were material readily available in florilegia, glossae and works such as Gratian's *Decretum* or Peter Lombard's sentence commentary, which formed the foundation of medieval studies in canon law and theology. Works that extensively circulated patristic arguments were mostly marginal in their transmission and medieval readership.

Why does it matter if medieval polemicists circulated patristic theology? It has a great deal to do with how we perceive the value of medieval polemical treatises as historical sources on the doctrine, organisation and rites of dissident groups they describe. A central argument of those scholars who view medieval dualist heresy, usually known as Cathars, as an invention by medieval Catholic clergymen is that when faced with challengers to the Church's and prelates' authority, they viewed them through the lens of patristic heresiology, in effect importing Augustine's, Jerome's and Isidore's sects into the high middle ages. For R.I. Moore, the exhaustive refutation of Cathar and Waldensian beliefs by the Dominican Moneta of Cremona (ca. 1240) is "a classroom exercise" and tells little of real heresy.[10] According to U. Brunn and endorsed by M. Barbezat, the Benedictine monk Eckbert of Schönau concocted his description of "Cathars" in Rhineland in 1163 from his clerical education—above all Augustine— and not from any real encounter with dissident theology.[11] Following Brunn and transferring the argument to thirteenth-century Italy, A. Trivellone has recently argued that the emergence of "Cathars" in Italian polemics was not due to the existence of real Cathars "mais au succès et à la transmission d'un discours né en Rhénanie,"[12] though the details of such a transmission remain unclear, especially given the limited medieval circulation of Eckbert's work.[13]

Our analysis suggests, however, that even though medieval theologians were inspired by the example of the Church's fathers in combatting heresy and imported the names of ancient sects into the middle ages, they engaged with the heretics' arguments mainly from

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[9] *Corpus Corporum* (URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/, retrieved 13/02/2024).

[10] Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 314.

[11] Brunn, *Des contestataires aux 'Cathares'*, 275–364; Barbezat, *Burning Bodies*, 7–8, 90–99.

[12] Trivellone, 'Des Églises cathares en Italie? Pour une étude critique des italiennes', 40.

[13] Brunn lists two medieval manuscripts, only one of which is complete, see Brunn, *Des contestataires aux 'Cathares'*, 277–84.

their own medieval perspective rather than simply copying patristic polemics against heresy. Perhaps we should take seriously the words of Eckbert of Schönau in his prologue: "And thus I set as the goal of the work to describe their errors, and to comment on the authoritative passages of the scriptures, based on which they defend themselves, and to demonstrate how they should be properly understood."[14] He and many other polemicists looked at the heretics through their education, but that did not exclude the possibility that at least some of them tried to be as accurate as possible within their own intellectual framework.[15]

This article will first give a brief description of the text corpus and the principles of its collection. The full bibliographical information of the corpus texts can be found in Appendix A. Second, we explain research methods, focusing on BLAST and how its results can be interpreted. Third, a qualitative investigation into how some high medieval polemicists and canon lawyers resorted to Augustine and other patristic literature follows. Fourth, we overview text reuse in the corpus and finally zoom into the reused passages of patristic literature in medieval polemics.

Sources and corpus

This chapter provides a short overview of the corpus and the different types of texts it includes. It is impossible to describe in detail all 189 works in the corpus and the reader is advised to consult Appendix A for information about the editions used. From now on, when referring to the texts in the corpus, the edition used is the one mentioned in Appendix A.

The goal of corpus building was to compile a body of texts containing the most important classical or patristic antiheretical works, a large sample of high and late medieval antiheretical works and texts circulating far and wide in medieval Latin Christendom: the Bible, canon law, fundamental works of theology such as Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, miracle collections and florilegia. It is far from a complete picture of medieval Latin literature, but comprehensive enough to demonstrate whether reused passages were typical in antiheretical literature or learned medieval culture in general.

We followed the principles of open science and accessibility in corpus building: whenever a work was available in open repositories, we used that edition. This might raise criticism from philologically oriented readers due to the use of inferior editions, for example, *Patrologia Latina* for patristic works instead of superior but licensed *Corpus Christianorum* editions. We acknowledge that this is not an ideal solution but a necessary compromise to get the required mass of text needed for the analysis. We focused human resources on scanning and cleaning scanned texts to acquire high and late medieval treatises

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[14] Ecbert of Schönau, *Sermones conta Catharos*, PL 195, 13: "Ego itaque operae pretium duxi errores eorum describere, et adnotare auctoritates Scripturarum, ex quibus se defendunt, ac demonstrare quomodo sane intelligi debeant".

[15] For a similar view on heresy and polemics, see Biller, 'The Anti-Waldensian Treatise'; Sackville, 'The Textbook Heretic: Moneta of Cremona's Cathars'; Rist, '"Lupi Rapaces in Ovium Vestimentis": Heretics and Heresy in Papal Correspondence'.

unavailable as digital texts. Furthermore, one must remember that BLAST is a blunt instrument that does not take into account the critical apparatus but churns texts into sequences of characters using only the 23 most common letters in a language.[16] For text reuse analysis, a large body of poor or mediocre editions is preferable to a limited curated corpus of the latest critical editions.

The earliest layer of texts in the corpus is the patristic antiheretical treatises. The great majority of these are by Augustine of Hippo—51 of his works or collections are included in the corpus. These include his writings against Manichees, Pelagians, Donatists, Arians and heretics in general, but also sermon collections and his epistles.[17] Other patristic authors in the corpus are Ambrosius, Boethius, Gregory I, Jerome, Irenaeus of Lyon, Isidore, Lucifer Calaritanus and Tertullian. All patristic works were acquired from the *Corpus Corporum* database and originated from public domain editions of *Patrologia Latina* and *Scriptores ecclesiastici*.

Medieval antiheretical literature is much more challenging to acquire in machine-readable format than patristic works, which are available in digital repositories. Many works until around 1200 are accessible through old editions in *Patrologia Latina*, but the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century treatises had to be scanned if they were not put into online repositories by their editors. Nineteenth-century and earlier editions were accessed through Archive.org and Google Books, but their textual quality is often poor. Some texts are unpublished transcripts from medieval manuscripts. The goal was to get a good representation of thirteenth-century treatises, above all French and Italian anti-dualist treatises, together with important inquisitorial texts, such as Bernard Gui's manual and the treatise of Anonymous of Passau. An important late medieval layer of anti-heretical polemics is Petrus Zwicker's anti-Waldensian treatises, which were included in the corpus. Thanks to a recent edition by D. Prudlo, we were able to add the important and extensive treatise by the Dominican Peter of Verona.[18] We were aware of the new critical edition of the so-called Pseudo-Jacobus de Capelli's treatise,[19] but as we already had the text scanned from an older edition under the name *Disputationes nonnullae,*[20] we ended up using this early twentieth-century edition. The greatest lacuna in any study of textual influences within medieval anti-heretical texts is the lack of an edition of Benedict of Alignan's *Tractatus fidei*, which was extremely popular across Europe and influenced other treatises.[21] Transcribing this long treatise was, however, far beyond the scope of this study and is left for future research.

Other texts in the corpus include sermons, exempla collections and florilegia, as well as pastoral theology. Some very poor-quality texts

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[16] See the next subchapter.

[17] Daniela Müller's survey on Augustine's antiheretical works was consulted when building the corpus, see Müller, 'Heresy'.

[18] Prudlo, *Summa Contra Hereticos Ad Petrum Martyrum Attributa*.

[19] Romagnoli, *Pseudo-Jacobus de Cappellis, Summa Contra Hereticos*.

[20] Bazzocchi, *La eresia catara; saggio storico filosofico con in appendice*.

[21] Arnold, 'Benedict of Alignan's Tractatus Fidei Contra Diversos Errores'.

were accepted purposely to test the limits of BLAST's ability to deal with errors and noisy data—for example, the 1546 print of William Perault's *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum*, an important unedited work on moral theology. BLAST not only passed the test but found a previously unknown reuse of Perault's *Summa* in an anti-heretical text.

The 189 texts yielded 129,492,634 characters that were inputted into BLAST. One work, the treatise by Anselm of Alessandria, was for unknown reasons corrupted in the input phase and had to be removed from the results. Four other texts yielded no text reuse and are not used in the following analysis.[22] From the rest of the 184 works, Appendix B contains information about authors, titles and approximate genre classification, as well as the name of the input file, with which one can find the work in question from BLAST output. As many of the input texts are under copyright protection, we are unable to share the full data set. BLAST outputs and network data used in the following analysis are available on GitHub.[23]

Research methods: interpreting BLAST's results

Text reuse is a field familiar to most academics and is nowadays widely used in plagiarism detection and copyright monitoring. Most of this article's readers have likely used some commercial software to check student essays or theses. The main difference between plagiarism detection software and this study—and many other academic studies of text reuse—is that the former typically compares a test text against a large corpora of texts—for example, has a student copied from previous studies or Wikipedia articles—whereas our analysis is based on an all-against-all comparison of the corpus to discover unexpected instances of quotations and relationships between works. The following is a non-technical description of BLAST from a historian's viewpoint. Those interested in technical details are advised to turn to the programme's documentation.

As stated in the introduction, text reuse BLAST is a modification of a programme originally created to find similarities in nucleotide or protein sequences. The text reuse version was developed to study historical newspaper data with many errors in optical character recognition (OCR).[24] For BLAST, the text data in natural languages is encoded into protein sequences, which the programme can read. As BLAST has been coded to identify 23 different types of amino acids, only the 23 most common letters in a natural language (in our case Latin) can be used. As such, BLAST usage can be categorised as a language-agnostic method, but similar sequences are only found within one language. In other words, BLAST can handle documents

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[22] These were two versified works by Alain of Lille: *Anticlaudianus* and D*e planctu naturae*, as well as two very short anti-heretical tracts, the anonymous *Qualiter respondendum illis* and Ardisius Placentinus's description of the Poors of Lyon.

[23] https://github.com/ReimaValimaki/Polemic-reuse-data/. Retrieved 11/06/2024.

[24] See the references in n. 7 above. The version we used is available at https://github.com/avjves/textreuse-blast; more detailed documentation is available at https://github.com/maraho/textreuse-blast. Retrieved 14/02/2024.

written in several languages, but clusters are formed only of reuse cases within one language.

In the preprocessing stage, texts are turned into a JSON Lines file in which each document is presented on a separate line with pertaining metadata. It is important to note that a document is not equal to a text in the source corpus. BLAST does not cope well with drastically varying text lengths. For example, having documents with text lengths of 300 and 300,000 characters in the same dataset may result in increased processing time. For such cases, the programme has a built-in splitter that automatically splits the text of a document at a certain character count threshold while preserving the connection to the original metadata. In our study, the threshold was 20,000 characters. Splitting is done at some cost to recall: the programme does not recognise text reuse in text segments that have been forcibly split into different documents. This is a potential problem for datasets where the original division is by pages, as is the case with some newspaper corpora,[25] but with an automatic division of every 20,000 characters, the instances of text reuse lost due to splitting are very few in relation to the whole.

Running the actual BLAST on the input data to find pairs where parts of documents overlap is computationally the most demanding phase. It is preferably done with multiple cores on cluster computers in order to run it simultaneously on as many threads as possible and to have storage areas capable of dealing with intensive input-output operations. After the batch run phase, the document pairs are clustered based on their offset values so that overlapping passages are considered as part of the same cluster. We used the default value of 90% similarity for the pairs to be included in the same clusters. Finally, the clusters are converted back to natural text and reattached with their metadata—in our case, the author and title of the work.

BLAST clusters all matching pairs it finds, however short. In natural languages, very short passages consist of common and formulaic phrases, which is especially true with medieval Latin. Therefore, in the output stage, short clusters can be filtered out, which significantly affects the results. In our case, we ran the cluster filter with two different settings, filtering out all clusters shorter than 100 and 200 characters. With a filter value of 100, BLAST ended up with 41,260 clusters and with a filter value of 200, the count was 9,367 clusters.

Due to the document split, we undertook additional filtering in the post-processing stage: there were many clusters that demonstrated text reuse between different parts of the same work. While this could be interesting for some research questions, it added additional noise in our analysis. Therefore, we filtered out clusters that had only hits to different parts of the same work. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*'s different parts and Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos* 1 and 2 received an additional treatment where they were combined into one work for post-processing. After filtering, there were 31,493 clusters with a minimum length of 100 characters and 7,107 clusters with 200

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[25] cf. Salmi et al., 'The Reuse of Texts in Finnish Newspapers and Journals, 1771–1920'.

characters. Post-processing thus decreased the number of clusters by about 24% in both outputs. We used this filtered data for the rest of the analysis. The relatively high degree of text reuse within a single work is in part due to the repeated use of Bible verses. It is also a neat quantitative demonstration of a feature in medieval literary production, namely recirculating not only what others have written but also their own texts. The cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux even advised preachers to do so in his model sermon in 1269: "And in this we are instructed that we should not be embarrassed if we sometimes repeat things in our writings or sermons which we have written or preached elsewhere."[26]

More is not necessarily better in this case. The output data with a minimum cluster length of 100 characters contains more cases of genuine text reuse but also more noise, like common phrases and biblical verses that were the stock of medieval Christian Latin. Output data with a minimum length of 200 characters loses many instances of reuse but is easier to interpret, especially qualitatively. It has longer text snippets and reveals cases where one author copied a significant passage from another. In our analysis, we used both outputs. There is no gold standard for choosing a filter value, as it depends on research questions and data. However, lowering the filter value from 100 evidently produces extremely noisy output data and increases the number of clusters rapidly. With this dataset, our empirical observation is that if one is interested in exploring how a single or a limited number of texts reuse previous works, one might want to lower the filter value to 100 to maximise hits. If, however, the purpose is to systematically study dozens of works and their mutual influences, it might be advisable to use a filter value of 200 or 300 to reduce noise and focus on instances of genuinely recirculated text passages.

However, filtering out passages shorter than 100 characters means that many shorter quotations are lost. For example, the famous passage that argues against the validity of sacraments administered by heretics and schismatics and attributed to Augustine in the middle ages falls below this threshold: "Extra ecclesiam non est locus veri sacrificii, non est corpus Christi quod schismaticus conficit."[27] It can be found under Augustine's name, for example, in Gratian's

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[26] Eudes de Châteauroux, *Sermo quando timetur terremotu:* "et in hoc instruimur quod non debemus erubescere repetere aliquando in scriptis nostris uel sermonibus que alibi scripsimus uel predicauimus." Cit. and transl. in Hanska, 'Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations: Eudes de Châteauroux and the Earthquake of 1269 in Viterbo', 124.

[27] Classen, 'Der Häresie-Begriff bei Gerhoch von Reichersberg und in seinem Umkreis', 33.

Decretum.[28] As expected for such a short sentence, BLAST discovers only one cluster with two hits:

> cluster_35854
> File: Anon_SynodusAtrebatensisActa.txt__0_200000
> Text: acrificarentur, elegit, id est in ecclesia sancta quae domus Dei specialiter appellatur, quia veri sacrificii extra catholicam Ecclesia
> File: Bonaventura_Sermones.txt__3600000_3800000
> Text: acriflcatur et vox eius auditur, est Ecclesia militans, quia, ut dicit Augustinus', « non est locus veri sacrificii extra calholicam Ecclesia

This example demonstrates that BLAST is not a silver bullet that finds all instances of text reuse. In fact, it is very difficult to give an estimate of its recall from a corpus of such diverse quality. In order to give an estimate of its accuracy, one would need to manually compile gold standard data where all instances of text reuse are listed from a limited number of works and run BLAST on this data. This would require an immense amount of manual labour beyond the scope of this study. As these results would only apply to data with similar text quality, the benefits of such a test are not comparable to the effort required.[29] Furthermore, the test would rest on the assumption that a human would recognise all instances of implicit quotations and paraphrases, which is not the case. Indeed, one of BLAST's strengths is finding precisely such unexpected implicit quotations that are so common in medieval literature.

An excellent example of BLAST's success in recognising text reuse is the similarity between the inquisitor Petrus Zwicker's treatise *Refutatio errorum* (early 1390s) and the Dominican William Perault's (d. 1271) bestseller *Summa de virtutibus.* Zwicker's treatment of purgatory is greatly indebted to Perault's *Summa.* Previous studies on the *Refutatio* have been blind to this connection.[30]

> cluster_13172 (cluster min length 100)
> File:
> GuillelmusPeraldus_SummaDeVirtutibus.txt__400000_600000
> Text: ccle- fiaenonprofint<lefundis. cap. xxvu. IR C A tcrtium crrorem qui po nit fuftragia Ecclefix non pro* deiTe mortuis > notandum qubd valde dcteftabilis eft cum in mor tuos feuiat. Quantum cnim in fc eft , fuccurfum Ecclefiae aufcrt mortuis qui igne pur ga
> File: Zwicker_RefutatioErrorum1.txt__0_200000
> Text: ncie et longanimitatis contempnis ; Contra tercium errorem qui ponit suffragia ecclesie pro mortuis non prodesse ; Nota quam sit detestabilis cum seuiat in

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[28] *Decretum*, C. 1., q. 1, c. 71.

[29] See Salmi et al., 'The Reuse of Texts in Finnish Newspapers and Journals, 1771–1920' for a similar conclusion.

[30] See the latest and most exhaustive treatment in Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 39–64.

> mortuos [f. 199r] auferens ecclesie succursum his qui
> igne purgatorij cruciantur ; Con

The recognition of a parallel passage from a 1546 edition of Perault's *Summa* with very poor text quality demonstrates BLAST's power in treating a corpus of poor and mixed quality. This feature led us to choose BLAST over other text reuse recognition tools. In an earlier stage of this study, we ran the more popular tool Passim[31] on a previous version of our corpus. Like BLAST, Passim was developed for poor quality OCR and tolerates errors. From our data, BLAST returned a total of 17,115 clusters, while Passim yielded only 4,921. More importantly, Passim failed to recognise known text reuse from a poor quality text similar to Perault's summa, while BLAST succeeded.

To sum up the possibilities and dangers of investigating text reuse with BLAST, we do not claim to find every single patristic quote in medieval polemics with the programme. More importantly, the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence when it comes to individual quotes. However, with BLAST, one can certainly find out if two or more works share significant amounts of similar textual material, be it an explicit quotation or a slightly altered paraphrase. With this in mind, we begin to explore patristic and medieval polemics. However, we shall first dwell on antiheretical polemics and medieval "Manichees" from a qualitative perspective.

Medieval polemicists and Augustine

There is no denying that medieval Catholic apologists resorted to Augustine's authority, especially in branding dualist heretics they encountered — or thought to encounter — as "Manichees." One of the first high-medieval clerics to do so, Guibert of Nogent, in describing heretics near Soissons in his autobiographical *Monodies* (1115), recounted a fantastical story of a heretical assembly where men and women had sex with whomever was nearest. If a baby was born out of this orgy, the child was murdered in another ritual, reduced to ashes and baked into a magical bread that transmitted heresy to those who ate it. Guibert asserted confidently: "If you read about the heresies examined by Augustine, you will find this one matches the Manicheans more than any other. This heresy was started long ago with rather learned men, and what abandoned to peasants who boast they maintain the apostolic life."[32] Although similar narratives of demon-worshipping heretics circulated in the following centuries and culminated in the witches' sabbath in the fifteenth century,[33] the transmission of this polemical image had probably nothing to do with Guibert's work, whose medieval readership was likely very

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[31] *Passim* (URL: https://github.com/dasmiq/passim, retrieved on 13/02/2024). For an application of Passim, see Smith, Cordell, and Mullen, 'Computational Methods for Uncovering Reprinted Texts in Antebellum Newspapers'.

[32] Translated in Guibert of Nogent, *Monodies*, 169–70.

[33] A process documented in great detail in Utz Tremp, *Von der Häresie zur Hexerei*.

limited; only a single seventeenth-century copy of the work survives, indicating a rather modest and local medieval circulation.[34]

Of course, other medieval scholars were quite capable of finding Augustine independently. Eckbert of Schönau, in his thirteen sermons against Cathars, written after 1163, was explicit that he drew inspiration from the bishop of Hippo and even listed three of his anti-heretical works:

> "For what has been written about the Manichees by saint Augustine, I have summarily and briefly collected from his three books, namely from the one entitled *Contra Manichaeos*, and from the one with the title *De moribus Manichaeorum*, and from the book *De haeresibus*, and this collection I intend to attach to the end of this book, so that those who would read it, could better know this whole heresy, as from the foundation, and would understand how this heresy is the bilge-water of all heresies."[35]

As with Guibert's treatise, the scarcity of Eckbert's sermons' extant copies, two manuscripts—one of them incomplete[36]—implies a limited medieval audience instead of international popularity. An average survival rate for high and late medieval manuscripts has been estimated to be around 7%—i.e. there were fourteen lost medieval copies for every copy surviving to our day. However, the survival rate is higher for monastic texts, such as those by Guibert and Eckbert that have benefitted from monasteries' institutional stability.[37] It is thus questionable how far and wide Guibert's and Eckbert's engagement with Augustine's anti-Manichean treatises spread. They have possibly been much more influential in modern scholarship than to medieval readers. It is worth noting that the most widespread version of the burning of heretics in Cologne in 1163 in the *Dialogus miraculorum* by the Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach does not contain any references to "Manichees" or Augustine,[38] despite a recent attempt to interpret his accounts of heresy in Augustine's theological framework.[39]

From a canon-legal perspective, Augustine and Jerome significantly influenced medieval ideas about heresy. In *causa* 24 of his

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[34] Rubenstein, 'Introduction', vii.

[35] Ecbert of Schönau, *Sermones conta Catharos,* PL 195, 18B: "Nam quae de Manichaeis a beato Augustino conscripta sunt, summatim et breviter collegi ex tribus libris ejus, videlicet ex eo qui inscribitur contra Manichaeos, et eo qui intitulatur De moribus Manichaeorum, et ex libro De haeresibus; et eamdem collectionem in fine libri hujus adnectere dispono, ut qui legerint, possint quasi a fundamento totam hanc haeresim plenius agnoscere, et intelligant quoniam haec haeresis omnium haeresum sentina est." Translations by the author, unless otherwise indicated.

[36] See above n. 12.

[37] Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch,* 80–85; Buringh, *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West*, 232; Kestemont et al., 'Forgotten Books'.

[38] Strange, *Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi ordinis cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum*, 5.19, 289–99.

[39] Barbezat, *Burning Bodies*, 119–24.

Decretum, where Gratian discussed the nature of heresy, he built upon Augustine's, Jerome's and early medieval popes' ideas of a heretic as someone who follows false or new opinions and defends them even when admonished. Thus, obstinacy against correction became an essential part of the medieval concept of heresy.[40] Peter Lombard shared the same view using the same sources. According to L. Sackville, through Lombard's *Sententiae*, medieval theologians adopted a doctrinal approach to heresy, which in turn shaped the thirteenth-century polemical response against heretics.[41] In addition to the definition of heresy, Augustine's anti-Donatist treatises—likely transmitted through polemics of the eleventh-century Church reform—influenced Gratian's view on the legitimate punishments for heresy.[42] This doctrinal and legal definition of heresy, compiled and synthesised by Gratian and Peter Lombard, is the most lasting and widespread medieval legacy of the anti-heretical literature of late antiquity. These cornerstones of medieval canon law and theology gave access to Augustine's, Isidore's, Jerome's and others' ideas to those without access to—or time to read—the originals. This should be kept in mind when we analyse the reuse of patristic works in medieval polemics.

Overview of the text reuse in the corpus

The filtered data used in the analysis has 31,493 clusters with a minimum length of 100 characters and 7,107 clusters with 200 characters. The number of text reuse instances is thus too great to be analysed manually. Therefore, to give an overview of text reuse, we transformed the clustered data into network data wherein nodes (points in a graph) were formed of the works and edges (ties between nodes) equalling hits in the same cluster. In other words, every time two different works appeared in the same cluster, an edge was created between them. When we extracted the edge list from the BLAST output, we combined split works back into one work (corresponding to a node) and thus removed self-loops, which in our data meant text reuse within a work. The network data was analysed with the open-source programme Gephi (version 0.10.1).[43]

With a minimum cluster length of 100, this yielded 134,951 edges, and with a minimum length 200, the number of edges was 15,077. We merged the parallel edges and summed their weights, resulting in 10,429 and 3,905 edges, respectively. These numbers represent unique pairs of two works appearing in the same cluster, that is, sharing text. The weight of an edge between two nodes represents the number of clusters where these two works appear together. For example, edge

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[40] Maisonneuve, *Études sur les origines de l'Inquisition*, 67; Hageneder, 'Der Häresiebegriff bei den Juristen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts', 51–52; Walther, 'Häresie und päpstliche Politik: Ketzerbegriff und Ketzergesetzgebung in der Übergangsphase von der Dekretist zur Dekretalistik', 112; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 103–6.

[41] Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 190–91, 193.

[42] Walther, 'Häresie und päpstliche Politik: Ketzerbegriff und Ketzergesetzgebung in der Übergangsphase von der Dekretist zur Dekretalistik', 114–18; Müller, 'Heresy', 1123.

[43] *Gephi* (URL: https://gephi.org/, retrieved 14/02/2024).

weight 259 between Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* and Gratian's *Decretum* (in the cluster-length 200 data) means that there are 259 passages of text that are similar in these works.

Readers should note that our data does not form a network in the sense of a structure as commonly understood in social network analysis.[44] While text reuse is a form of information flow that can be analysed as a network, the edges in our network do not necessarily correspond to a direct influence between two literary texts. An edge between two works does not mean direct influence, but is an indication of sharing the same textual material, not of a direct quote. Most shared passages are biblical verses that, unsurprisingly, dominate the data. Furthermore, neither BLAST nor network analysis can point out the direction of text reuse, although one must assume that an older text is the source for a more recent one. For this reason, we do not analyse the network with metrics such as betweenness.

Nevertheless, a high edge weight (number of shared clusters) between the two works points towards similar argumentation, subject matter and style. The following tables list the top 10 works based on their weighted degree in both outputs and give an idea of the most prominent works and authors in the data.

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[44] For an introduction to social network analysis, see Marin and Wellman, 'Social Network Analysis: An Introduction'; for applications of SNA on medieval dissident communities, see Nieto-Isabel and López-Arenillas, 'From Inquisition to Inquiry'; Nieto-Isabel, 'Communities of Dissent. Social Network Analysis of Religious Dissident Groups in Languedoc in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries'; Välimäki and Zbíral, 'Analisi delle reti sociali delle communità valdesi germanofone'.

Table 1: Top 10 works, minimum cluster length 100, ordered according to the weighted degree

Author	Work	Degree (number of unique edges)	Weighted degree (total number of edges)
N.A.	Bible	172	23,556
Moneta of Cremona	*Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*	170	11,598
Augustine	*Sermones de scripturis*	174	7,536
Bonaventura	*Sermones*	163	7,393
Augustine	*In Ioannis evangelium tractatus*	161	5,502
Durand of Huesca	*Liber antiheresis*	165	5,497
Albertus Magnus	*Sermones*	156	5,400
Gratian	*Decretum*	164	5,400
Jerome	*Epistolae*	160	5,200
Augustine	*Enarrationes in Psalmos 1*	156	5,164

Table 2: Top 10 works, minimum cluster length 200, ordered according to the weighted degree

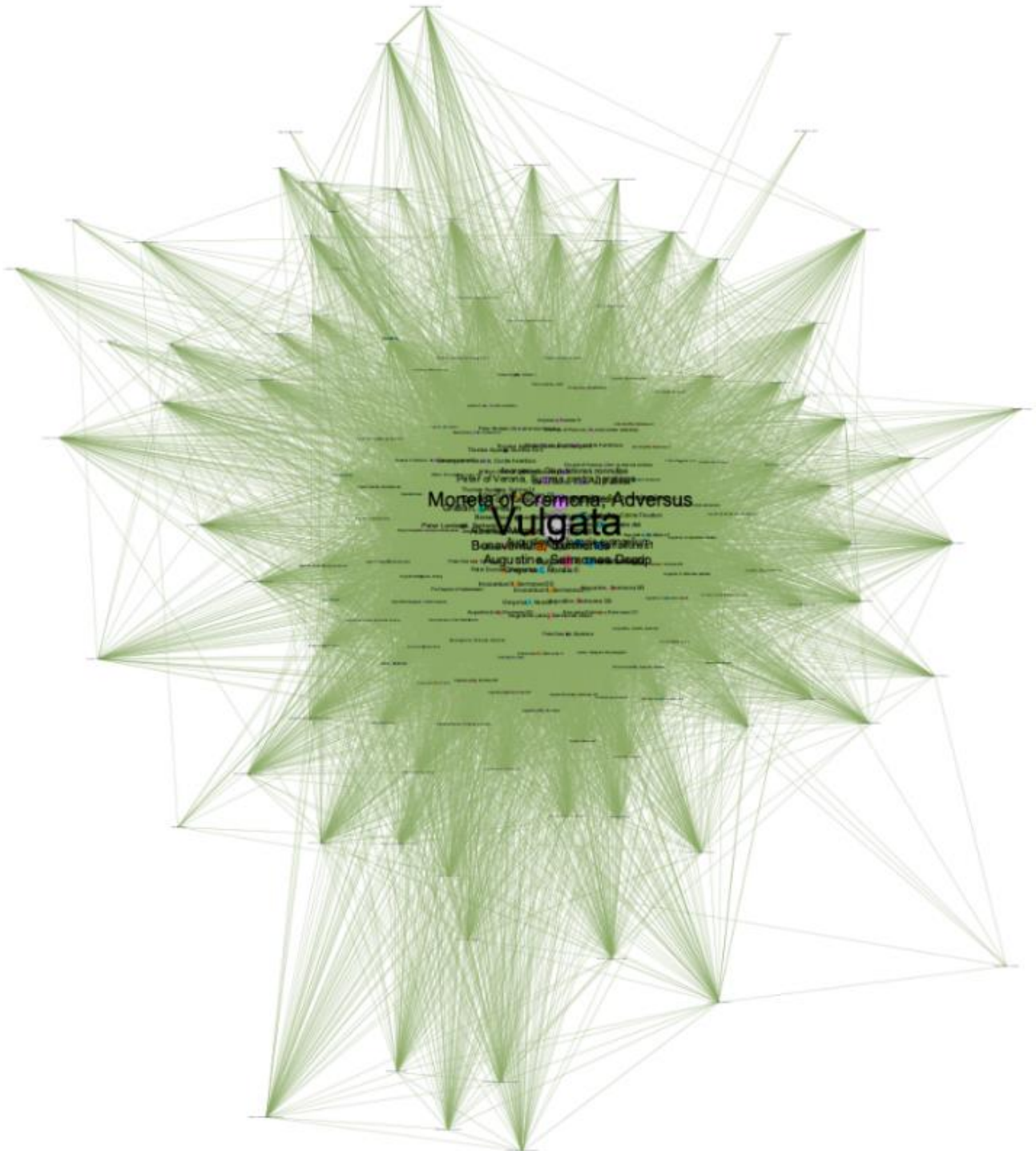| Author	Work	Degree	Weighted degree
N.A.	Bible	149	3,789
Gratian	*Decretum*	106	1,326
Moneta of Cremona	*Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*	113	1,127
Durand of Huesca	*Liber antiheresis*	92	955
Jerome	*Epistolae*	93	715
Peter Lombard	*Sententiae*	110	708
Augustine	*Sermones de scripturis*	112	638
Augustine	*De civitate dei*	85	540
Anonymous	*Disputationes nonnullae*	61	472
Augustinus	*Epistolae* 2	55	417
Augustine	*In Ioannis evangelium tractatus*	76	393

While there are some differences between the dataset, the overall picture remains the same: the Bible and long works with numerous biblical quotations are the most connected ones. Two medieval anti-heretical polemics make it to the top 10: Moneta of Cremona's *Adversus catharos et valdenses* (1240s) and Duran of Huesca's *Liber antiheresis* (ca. 1191–92). Both are long treatises that make extensive use of biblical quotations. Durand especially quotes scriptures at length: among the longest passages of text reuse is an over-4,500-characters-long quote of Ex. 12:1–13 in Durand's *Liber antiheresis*.[45]

Image 1 is a visualisation of the whole network. The Bible and the long treatises, *Summae*, sermon collections and exegetical works dominate, but all texts are strongly interconnected, with the exception of some very short texts. The network view is a visualisation of the omnipresence of the Bible in medieval culture,[46] but little else. To it

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[45] Cluster 3982, cluster minlength 200, see the data at https://github.com/ReimaValimaki/Polemic-reuse-data/. Retrieved 11/06/2024.
[46] Cf. van Liere, *Medieval Bible*, 208.

applies Zalc's and Lemercier's observation that a network structure where everything is interconnected is trivial and not worth analysing as a network.[47] In order to meaningfully observe connections between texts, further filtering of the data is required.

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[47] Lemercier and Zalc, *Quantitative Methods in the Humanities*, 102.

Patristic authors and medieval polemics

We filtered data further to isolate the text reuse of patristic authors in antiheretical polemics from the general circulation of biblical verses in medieval literature. First, we focused on BLAST output with a minimum cluster length of 200 characters. Shorter quotations were lost, but we can claim with higher confidence that the remaining reuse is genuine—in other words, not simply repeated biblical verses. Second, we filtered out output clusters with the conditions that a) a cluster contains at least one hit to a patristic author (Ambrosius, Boethius, Gregory I, Jerome, Irenaeus of Lyon, Isidore, Lucifer Calaritanus and Tertullian) and b) it contains at least one hit to a medieval polemic or inquisition text.[48] This resulted in 667 clusters. We further filtered out all clusters that have a hit to Vulgate, reducing the number of clusters to 400 and excluding most Bible reuse. In the following analysis, we use this latter output, which contains 89 works of the original 189 in the input data.[49]

We must remind the reader that we do not consider our results to represent the full number of patristic quotes in medieval polemics of the corpus—far from it. The limit of 200 characters leaves out short passages. However, a comparison between the different patristic works gives an idea of the scale to which these works were cited at length relative to each other. What BLAST's output loses in the recall of short quotes it gains in all-against-all comparison of dozens of works, which would not be a realistic endeavour based on the manual extraction of quotes.

This output still contains many other works than patristic texts and polemics. Therefore, we extracted network data from the output forming edges only between patristic texts and medieval polemics. Due to the filtering of BLAST's output with a focus on patristics and polemics, this network data is more likely to represent the actual flow of information between them than the general overview of the text reuse in the previous subchapter. Even these edges do not, however, automatically mean that the medieval author in question used a patristic original. There are a number of possible indirect sources, such as florilegia, canon law, glossae and exegetical works, but as the origin of an authoritative quotation mattered little to the medieval reader, it is of secondary importance for our analysis.

The extracted network data yielded 98 nodes (out of the 184 in the full network) and 447 edges (unique instances of text reuse),[50] which summed up to 210 edges upon merging. Even with this significantly reduced data, network graphs are not particularly informative, and

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[48] Works with the genres "Medieval, polemic" and "Medieval, inquisitor's manual" and the Acts of the Synod of Arras (1025), cf. Appendix B.

[49] See https://github.com/ReimaValimaki/Polemic-reuse-data/ (retrieved 11/06/2024) for the output. In addition to automatic filtering, we manually removed cluster 1 that contained hits to *Corpus Corporum* metadata, which had remained as a relic in the BLAST analysis. While such noise is typical in BLAST's results, in the extracted network data, this large cluster yielded artificial edges that affected the results.

[50] Due to automatic extraction from the clusters, medieval texts are sometimes defined as "source" and patristic texts as "targets" in the edgelist. This is purely a technical feature of the dataset that should be read as undirected network data.

we focus on degree and weighted degree. The degree should again be read as representing the number of other works with which a work is connected via text reuse, and the weighted degree represents the total number of discovered instances of text reuse.[51] In Table 3, the first line means that Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* is reused in eight medieval polemics of the corpus a total of 95 times. The results were somewhat surprising, given the prevalence of Augustine's influence on medieval polemics in the scholarly literature.

Table 3: Top 10 patristic works reused in medieval polemics, minimum cluster length 200, ordered according to the weighted degree

Author	Work	Degree	Weighted degree
Gregory the Great	*Dialogi*	8	95
Jerome	*Epistolae*	20	44
Augustine	*De civitate dei*	11	29
Isidore	*Sententiae*	3	23
Irenaeus of Lyon	*Contra hereticos II*	12	23
Gregory the Great	*Homiliae in Ez.*	12	21
Augustine	*Sermones de Scripturis*	11	19
Gregory the Great	*Homiliae in Evangelia*	9	18
Augustine	*In Ioannis Evangelium tract.*	10	17
Gregory the Great	*Moralia II*	5	14

The most widely reused work, Gregory's *Dialogi,* is a fundamental text of the medieval Christian culture, above all as monastic reading and as a model for later hagiography.[52] It is not, however, primarily an antiheretical work. *Dialogi* rises to the top of the list thanks above all to one medieval polemic: *De altera vita* by Lucas Tudensis, the

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[51] Weighted degree includes some duplicates from the cases where BLAST has split the same quote into two or more clusters. Therefore, it should be interpreted with some caution.

[52] Gerwing, 'Gregor I. d. Gr.'

bishop of the Galician diocese of Tuy in 1239–49.[53] Lucas builds his refutation of heresy upon Gregory's writings, and out of 95 text passages reused from Gregory's dialogues in the corpus' medieval polemics, 86 are in Lucas' *De altera vita*.[54] The bishop of Tuy did not hide his indebtedness to Gregory, whom he quoted throughout his treatise. On the contrary, in the prologue, he describes how, unlike the shepherds who fail to guard their flock, the former Pope Gregory is

> in dignity and morals the vicar of the Son of God in the plenitude of power, who elevated and exalted upon the throne, presides over pastors as the highest one, casting from this throne of the Son of God inflaming beams of holy preaching to the heart of believers desiring heavens, and voices singing songs of salvation to the glory of God, and thunders that frighten souls with threats of God's severe judgement and with harsh punishments of heretics and all corrupt people.[55]

Lucas Tudensis was exceptional in elevating Gregory to the model of fighting heresy, but Gregory's prominence among the reuse of patristic works is not only because of Lucas' preference for him. Gregory's *Moralia* and *Homiliae* are also among the most quoted patristic authors and his homilies are used by a more diverse group of authors than *Dialogi.* All in all, only one clearly polemical work is among the top ten, Irenaeus of Lyon's *Contra hereticos.* From Augustine, *De civitate dei, Sermones de scripturis* and *In Ioannis Evangelium tractatus* are the most quoted works and the only ones to make it to the top 10, although his anti-Manichean *Contra Faustum* is eleventh on the list (degree 8, weighted degree 13).

The patristic texts that medieval polemics quoted at length were works important to medieval theology and literature in general. Of the works mentioned in Table 3, Augustine's *De civitate dei*, *Sermones de scripturis* and *In Ioannis Evangelium tractatus* and Jerome's *Epistulae* are also among the top 10 works in Table 2 above, describing the whole network of reuse in the data. Expectedly, antiheretical polemics dealt with the core issues of medieval theology. Gregory's famous passage on purgatory (*Dialogi*, cap. xxxix) circulates as a relatively long quote in antiheretical treatises,[56] but also in Gratian's *Decretum* and the

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[53] Lucas wrote his treatise in the 1230s when he was still a deacon, probably between 1235 and 1237, see Falque Rey, 'Introducción', x.

[54] In addition, BLAST discovered in Lucas' treatise repeated text reuse from Isidore's *Sententiae* (20) and *Etymologiae* (2), Augustine's *De civitate dei* (10), Gregory's *Moralia* (7) and his *Homiliae in Evangelia* (5) and single quotes from Augustine's *De libero arbitrio, In Iohannis Evangelium tractatus* and *Sermones de scripturis.* Again, quotes shorter than 200 characters are not taken into account.

[55] "Beatissimus Papa Gregorius, apostolorum principis Petri successor, dignitate ac moribus Filii Dei in plenitudine potestatis uicarius super solium excelsum et eleuatum inter pastores praesidet summus, de ipso filii Dei throno uel solio emittens fulgura sanctae praedicationis corda fidelium desideriis caelestibus inflammantia et uoces laudis Deo cantantes cantica salutaria atque tonitrua comminationibus districti Dei iudicii et asperis sententiis haereticorum animos et prauorum omnium deterrentia." Lucas Tudensis, *De altera vita*, praefatio, 5.

[56] Durand of Huesca, *Liber antiheresis*; Lucas Tudensis, *De altera vita*, Anonymous; *Attendite a falsis prophetis.*

florilegium *De varietate librorum* that was transmitted under Haymo of Halberstadt's authority.[57] Turning the table, let us look at which medieval works are the most "patristic" according to this data.

Table 4: Top 10 medieval polemics reusing patristic texts, minimum cluster length 200, ordered according to the weighted degree

Author	Work	Degree	Weighted degree
Lucas Tudensis	*De altera vita*	10	133
Moneta of Cremona	*Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*	26	53
Durand of Huesca	*Liber antiheresis*	16	39
Thomas Aquinas	*Liber contra impugnantes dei cultum*	8	22
Salvo Burci	*Liber suprastella*	13	21
Durand of Huesca	*Liber contra manicheos*	12	16
Peter of Verona	*Summa contra hereticos*	12	16
Hermannus de Scildis	*Tractatus contra hereticos*	7	11
Peter Abelard	*Liber adversus hereses*	9	11
Thomas Aquinas	*Contra doctrinam retrahentium*	8	11

On this list, the treatise by Lucas Tudensis stands out from the rest, followed by Moneta of Cremona's 400,000 words-long display of his liberal arts education,[58] and Durand of Huesca's *Liber antiheresis*, an anti-dualist treatise Durand wrote in 1191–1192 when still a Waldensian—he converted to Catholicism in 1208. Also, the revision of the anti-dualist treatise, *Liber contra manicheos*, which he wrote in

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[57] Clusters 662, 5276 and 5277 in cluster minimum-length 200 data.

[58] On Moneta, see Biller, 'Moneta's Confutation of Heresies and the Valdenses'; Sackville, 'The Textbook Heretic: Moneta of Cremona's Cathars'.

1222–23, makes the list.[59] Not surprisingly, the famous scholastic philosopher and theologian Thomas Aquinas uses extensive quotes from patristic works, as does Peter Abelard. Of the copious Italian thirteenth-century polemical engagement with heretics, Peter of Verona's *Summa contra hereticos* and Salvo Burci's *Liber suprastella* accompany Moneta on the list.[60] Hermannus de Scildis's treatise represents fourteenth-century Augustinian theology, and we will come back to him shortly.

When considering the effects of patristic theology on medieval antiheretical polemics, one should pay attention to the fact that most works listed in Table 4, important though they have been for modern scholarship, did not enjoy great popularity in the middle ages. Moneta, with twenty-one thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts, is the only relatively popular polemical treatise among them. In addition, Moneta's treatise has a demonstrable influence on late medieval polemics against heresy, primarily through Petrus Zwicker's anti-Waldensian works, which themselves were very popular in the fifteenth century.[61] In comparison, Salvo Burci's treatise exists in one incomplete manuscript, and Peter of Verona's in two.[62] Durand of Huesca's *Liber contra Manicheos* has two manuscripts, one in Paris and another in Prague.[63] *De altera vita* by the Galician bishop Lucas Tudensis is an outlier among medieval anti-heretical polemics and likely had no impact on the rest of the genre. The work survives in one sixteenth-century manuscript and according to its editor, its transmission between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries "es un total misterio."[64]

While one cannot make a one-to-one comparison between the extant copies and medieval influence of a literary work, the number of surviving manuscripts provides an indication of the works' popularity. These treatises' modest number of manuscripts is in stark contrast with the really popular thirteenth-century works, such as the anonymous *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum* and Raynerius Sacconi's *Summa*, surviving in dozens of copies.[65] These are absent from the top 10 list. They are far less ambitious in style and erudition than the works of Moneta, Durand of Huesca or Lucas Tudensis, but had a practical attitude in addressing the problem of heresy, which probably explains their popularity. The *Disputatio* is a

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[59] Rouse and Rouse, 'The Schools and the Waldensians: A New Work by Durand of Huesca', 87.

[60] The Italian thirteenth-century anti-heretical polemics are best summarised in Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 13–40; Trivellone, 'Des Églises cathares en Italie? Pour une étude critique des italiennes'.

[61] Biller, 'The Anti-Waldensian Treatise'; Välimäki, *Heresy in Late Medieval Germany*, 38–193.

[62] According to Trivellone, 'Des Églises cathares en Italie? Pour une étude critique des italiennes', 39.

[63] Thouzellier, *Une somme anti-cathare: le Liber contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca*, 27–30.

[64] Falque Rey, 'Introducción', xliii, xlv.

[65] Trivellone, 'Des Églises cathares en Italie? Pour une étude critique des italiennes', 39, lists 53 thirteenth-fourteenth-century copies for the treatise; also Raynerius Sacconi's works survives in over fifty manuscripts, see Sanjek, 'Summa de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno (Raniero Sacconi)', 39–41; Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, 136–37.

theological refutation based mainly on the Bible,[66] and Sacconi describes in detail the different "sects" of Cathars.[67] They do not dwell on patristic theology, and there is no particular reason to think that they reflected the descriptions of ancient sects to their own century.

Finally, we narrow down the patristic works to Augustine to investigate which medieval polemics engaged with his ideas about heresy. We did this by filtering the network data down to edges between Augustine[68] and medieval works, resulting in only 70 nodes with 116 weighted edges. Here, we focus on degree, representing the number of Augustine's works cited. The top five citers are found in the previous table.

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[66] Ed. Hoécker, *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum.*
[67] Ed. Sanjek, 'Summa de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno (Raniero Sacconi)'.
[68] Including also sermons of dubious or contested authorship that circulated in Augustine's name in the Middle Ages.

Table 5: Top 10 medieval polemics reusing Augustine's texts, minimum cluster length 200, ordered according to degree

Author	Work	Degree	Weighted degree
Moneta of Cremona	*Adversus Catharos et Valdenses*	17	32
Durand of Huesca	*Liber antiheresis*	8	14
Durand of Huesca	*Liber contra manicheos*	8	12
Salvo Burci	*Liber Suprastella*	8	12
Peter of Verona	*Summa contra hereticos*	8	9
Hermannus de Scildis	*Tractatus contra hereticos*	7	11
Bonacursus	*Vita hereticorum*	5	8
Peter Abelard	*Liber adversus hereses*	5	7
Petrus Venerabilis	*Adversus Iudaeos*	5	5
Lucas Tudensis	*De altera vita*	4	13

Moneta is by far the most diverse reuser of Augustine's works, citing not only Augustine's homiletic and exegetical works but also polemics such as *Adversus Iudaeos, Contra partem Donati* and *Contra Faustum*. Of the other works, the Augustinian Eremite Hermannus de Scidlis merits special attention. He cites at length five of Augustine's works not found by BLAST in other antiheretical texts in the corpora: *De utilitate credendi, De natura boni, Contra epistulam Fundamenti* and *De moribus ecclesiae*. Hermannus, who wrote his treatise between 1330 and 1357, thus represents more of a late medieval Augustinian spiritual tradition than a continuum in medieval antiheretical polemics engagement with Augustine.[69] Outside the top 10 list, one should pay attention to Eckbert von Schönau: BLAST found only three quotes

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[69] Ed. Zumkeller, *Hermanni de Scildis O.S.A.*

long enough to pass its filters, but they are related to Augustine's anti-heretical treatise: *De haeresibus, Contra Secundinum* and *Contra Faustum*.

Looking at Augustine's works with the highest degree of reuse, an overall picture emerges. The most reused works are his homiletic and exegetical works and *De civitate dei.* Of primarily polemical treatises, only *Contra Faustum* and *Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum* make it to the top 10. Like with patristic authors in general, the medieval authors and compilers of anti-heretical treatises quoted works of general theological significance, which were also more readily available in florilegia, glossae and canon law than specific polemical works.

Conclusions

Did medieval churchmen project the patristic view on heresy to their own age and invent the "medieval Manichee"? As the title of Peter Abelard's famous treatise, the answer is *sic et non*. There is no denying that some twelfth-century authors such as Guibert of Nogent and Eckbert of Schönau sought inspiration from Augustine's and other church fathers' descriptions of Manichees and thought that the same cult flourished in their own era. Equally undeniable is Augustine's effect on medieval canon law concerning heretics, schismatics and their coercion to faith.

The analysis of text reuse gives another perspective: medieval polemicists quoted patristic authors, and not primarily their polemical but homiletic and exegetical works. More importantly, intensive engagement with patristic works and their ideas with heresy occurred mostly in works of extremely limited circulation, the best example being Lucas of Tuy's *De altera vita.* One of the most "patristic" medieval authors was, in fact, a heretic himself when he wrote his first anti-dualist treatise: the Waldensian Durand of Huesca. An exception to this rule is Moneta of Cremona's massive treatise, which compiled together and through its popularity passed on an impressive array of primarily biblical but also patristic and classical arguments. However, neither quantitative analysis nor qualitative reading of popular works, such as Raynerius Sacconi's *Summa* or the anonymous *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, let alone many shorter tracts on heresy, support the interpretation that the medieval conception of heresy relied primarily on Augustine and other patristic authors. Augustine, Isidore, Gregory the Great and Jerome were present as models of doctors who debated and defeated heresy. Medieval authors adopted some names of ancient sects, as well as biblical references and exegetical arguments against them from patristic sources, often transmitted through florilegia, canon law and other compilations, but direct and intensive engagement with patristic polemics was not as common as it might appear.

A final conclusion is to be made about BLAST, which proved a promising but also challenging tool for analysing text reuse in patristic and medieval Latin literature. The omnipresence of the Bible makes it difficult to spot any other text reuse, and the BLAST output requires several steps of filtering to yield interpretable results. Lowering the

minimum cluster length to capture short quotes and allusions would produce increasingly noisy data. BLAST is, however, extremely tolerant of poor-quality textual data, capturing reuse even from a digitised sixteenth-century print. A recommendable future use of BLAST is the detection of the reuse of relatively long snippets of text (over 300 characters) in a corpus of mass-digitalised early modern and nineteenth-century prints and editions of medieval texts available on Google Books and Archive.org. The quality of OCR in printed sermon and exempla collections, pastoral manuals and early editions of chronicles and archival documents is usually so poor that they are beyond most applications of language technology, but not BLAST, with which one can build from "wood, hay and stubble" (1 Cor. 3:12) a corpus that stands the test of fire.

Appendix A

The works and editions used in the BLAST input.

The list is not in an alphabetical order.

author: Petrus Alfonsi
title: Dialogus contra Iudaeos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 157
edition year: 1854
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0535D-0672A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Abelard
title: Dialogus inter philosophum Iudaeum et Christianum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 178
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1611-1684D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Abelard
title: Liber adversus haereses
edition title: Patrologia Latina 178
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1823A-1846D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Venerabilis
title: Adversus Iudaeos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 189
edition year: 1854
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0507C-0650B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Venerabilis
title: Adversus Petrobrusianos haereticos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 189
edition year: 1854
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0719C-0850D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Venerabilis
title: Adversus sectam Saracenorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 189
edition year: 1854
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0661-0720B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Ermengard of Béziers
title: Contra Haereticos
edition title: Patrologia latina 204
edition year: 1855

editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1235A-72B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Pseudo-Ermengard of Béziers
title: Manifesto haeresis Albigensium et Lugdunensium
edition title: 'Durand de Huesca et la polémique anti-cathare'
edition year: 1959
editor: A. Dondaine
publisher: -
journal: Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum
pages: 268-271
URL: -

author: Alain of Lille
title: Contra haereticos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 210
edition year: -
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0305A-0430A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Anonymous
title: Attendite a falsis prophetis
manuscript signum: St Florian MS XI 152
folios: 48v-50v

author: Anonymous
title: Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum hereticum
edition title: Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum: die Auseinandersetzung der katholischen Kirche mit den italienischen Katharern im Spiegel einer kontroverstheologischen Streitschrift des 13. Jahrhunderts
edition year: 2001
editor: C. Hoécker
publisher: SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzo
journal: -
pages: 3-80
URL: -

author: Anonymous
title: Disputationes nonnullae adversus haereticos
edition title: La eresia catara; saggio storico filosofico con in appendice
edition year: 1920
editor: D. Bazzocchi
publisher: Licinio Cappelli
journal: -
pages: i-ccx
URL: -

author: Anonymous of Passau
title: Tractatus de erroribus hereticorum
edition title: A critical edition of the treatise on heresy ascribed to Pseudo-Reinerius, with an historical introduction
edition year: 1962
editor: M. A. E. Nickson
publisher: Queen Mary, University of London

journal: -
pages: 1-154
URL: -

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum
edition title: CSEL 60
edition year: 1913
editor: Karl F. Vrba
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra epistulam Fundamenti
edition title: CSEL 25.1
edition year: 1891
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Faustum Manichaeum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 42
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0208-0518
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Gaudentium Donatistarum
Episcopum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 43
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0708-0752
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De Haeresibus
edition title: Patrologia Latina 42
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 0022-0050
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: n.a.
title: Bible
edition title: Vulgata Clementina
edition year: 2006
editor: Vulsearch, The Clementine Text
Project
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: http://vulsearch.sourceforge.net/

author: Durand of Huesca
title: Liber antiheresis
edition title: Die ersten Waldenser: mit
Edition des Liber antiheresis des Durandus
von Osca 2
edition year: 1967
editor: K.-V. Selge

publisher: De Gruyter
journal: -
pages: 3-257
URL: -

author: Durand of Huesca
title: Liber contra Manicheos
edition title: Une somme anti-cathare: le
Liber contra Manicheos de Durand de
Huesca
edition year: 1964
editor: C. Thouzellier
publisher: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense
journal: -
pages: 67–336
URL: -

author: Hermannus de Scildis
title: Tractatus contra haereticos negantes
immunitatem et iurisdictionem sanctae
Ecclesiae
edition title: Hermanni de Scildis O.S.A.:
tractatus contra haereticos negantes
immunitatem et iurisdictionem sanctae
Ecclesiae et Tractatus de conceptione
gloriosae virginis Mariae
edition year: 1970
editor: A. Zumkeller
publisher: Augustinus-Verlag
journal: -
pages: 3-108
URL: -

author: Moneta of Cremona
title: Summa adversus Catharos et
Valdenses
edition title: Monetae Adversus Catharos et
Valdenses: libri quinque
edition year: 1743
editor: T. Ricchini
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Peter von Pillischdorf
title: Contra Pauperes de Ludguno
edition title: Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum
Patrum 25
edition year: 1677
editor: J. Gretser
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 299E-302F
URL: -

author: Pseudo-David of Augsburg
title: Tractatus de inquisitione hereticorum
edition title: Der Tractat des David von
Augsburg über die Waldesier
edition year: 1879
editor: W. Preger
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 203-235
URL: -

author: Salvo Burci
title: Liber Suprastella
edition title: Liber Suprastella
edition year: 2002
editor: C. Bruschi

publisher: Istituto storico italiano per il
Medio Evo
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Wasmud von Homburg
title: Tractatus contra Hereticos Bekardos,
Lulhardos et Swestriones
edition title: Tractatus contra hereticos
Beckardos, Lulhardos et Swestriones des
Wasmud von Homburg. Archiv für
mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte 14
edition year: 1962
editor: A. Schmidt
publisher: -
journal: Archiv für mittelrheinische
Kirchengeschichte 14
pages: 336-386
URL: -

author: Petrus Zwicker
title: Cum dormirent homines
edition title: Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum
Patrum 25
edition year: 1677
editor: J. Gretser
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 277F–299G
URL: -

author: Petrus Zwicker
title: Refutatio errorum, redaction 1
manuscript_signum: Vienna, ÖNB, MS
1588
folios: 191r-211v

author: Isidore of Sevilla
title: Etymologiae
edition title: Etymologiarum sive originum
libri XX
edition year: 1911
editor: Wallace M. Lindsay
publisher: Typographeo Clarendoniano;
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Isidore of Sevilla
title: Sententiarum libri tres
edition title: Patrologia Latina 83
edition year: 1850
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 537D-738B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Anonymous
title: Liber scintillarum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 88
edition year: 1850
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 597D-718A
URL: -

author: Halitgarius Cameracensis
title: De vitiis et virtutibus
edition title: Patrologia Latina 105
edition year: 1831

editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 652D-694B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Pseudo-Haymo Halberstatensis
title: De varietate librorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 118
edition year: 1852
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 875A-958D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Smaragdus of St Mihiel
title: Diadema monachorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 102
edition year: 1851
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 593C-690A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/browser/8733

author: Paschasius Radbertus
title: De fide, spe et charitate
edition title: Patrologia Latina 120
edition year: 1852
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1387A-1490A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Othlonus Ratisponensis
title: Liber proverbiorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 146
edition year: 1853
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 299B-338A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Eckbert von Schönau
title: Sermones XIII adversus Catharos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 195
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 13-98
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Hugo Rothomagensis
title: Dialogorum libri VII
edition title: Patrologia Latina 192
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1137-1152
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Hugo Rothomagensis
title: Contra haereticos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 192
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -

pages: 1255-1298
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Venerabilis
title: Epistolae
edition title: Patrologia Latina 189
edition year: 1854
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 61D-472B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Venerabilis
title: De miraculis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 189
edition year: 1854
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 851A-954A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Jerome
title: Adversus Jovinianum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 23
edition year: 1845
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 207-338
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Paschasius Radbertus
title: Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini
edition title: Patrologia Latina 120
edition year: 1852
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1255C-1350D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Anonymous
title: Quaestio de sacramentis hereticorum
edition title: Monumenta Germaniae
Historica
edition year: 1897
editor: Ernst Dümmler
publisher: Hahn
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Alger de Liège
title: De sacramentis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 180
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 739-854C
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Auctores varii
title: Acta synodi Atrebatensis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 142
edition year: 1854
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1269-1312
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Bernard of Clairvaux
title: Sermones in Cantica canticorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 183
edition year: 1854
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 785A-1198A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Guitmundus Aversanus
title: De corporis et sanguinis Christi
veritate
edition title: Patrologia Latina 149
edition year: 1853
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1427A-1494D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/browser/10305

author: Petrus Damianus
title: Epistolae
edition title: Patrologia Latina 144
edition year: 1853
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 205-497
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Raynerius Sacconi
title: Summa de Catharis
edition title: Raynerius Sacconi O.P.,
Summa de catharis.
edition year: 1974
editor: F. Šanjek
publisher: -
journal: Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum
44
pages: 42-60
URL: -

author: Anonymous
title: Brevis summula contra errores notatos
hereticorum
edition title: La somme des autorités à
l'usage des prédicateurs méridionaux au
XIIIe siècle
edition year: 1891
editor: C. Douais
publisher: Picard
journal: -
pages: 114-143
URL: -

author: Anonymous
title: De heresi catharorum in Lombardia
edition title: La hiérarchie cathare en Italie I
edition year: 1949
editor: A. Dondaine
publisher: -
journal: Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum
19
pages: 306-312
URL: -

author: Peter Lombard
title: Sententiae
edition title: Patrologia Latina 195
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne

publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 519-964
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Irenaeus of Lyon
title: Adversus haereses
edition title: Sancti Irenaei Libros quinque adversus haereses
edition year: 1857
editor: W. Wigan Harvey
publisher: Cantabrigae, Typis Academicis
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Gregorius I
title: Dialogi
edition title: Patrologia latina
edition year: 1849
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 149B-0430A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Caesarius of Heisterbach
title: Dialogus miraculorum
edition title: Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi ordinis cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum
edition year: 1851
editor: Josephus Strange
publisher: J.M. Heberle
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Johannes Scottus Eriugena
title: Versio operum S. Dionysii
edition title: Patrologia Latina 122
edition year: 1853
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1025-1194
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Thomas Aquinas
title: Summa contra Gentiles
edition title: Textum Leoninum / Corpus Thomisticum
edition year: -
editor: Roberto Busa; Enrique Alarcón
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/scg1001.html

author: Thomas Aquinas
title: Contra doctrinam retrahentium a religione
edition title: Textum Leoninum / Corpus Thomisticum
edition year: -
editor: Roberto Busa; Enrique Alarcón
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -

URL: https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/ocr.html

author: Thomas Aquinas
title: Contra errores Graecorum
edition title: Textum Leoninum / Corpus Thomisticum
edition year: -
editor: Roberto Busa; Enrique Alarcón
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/oce.html

author: Thomas Aquinas
title: Liber contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem
edition title: Textum Leoninum / Corpus Thomisticum
edition year: -
editor: Roberto Busa; Enrique Alarcón
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/oci0.html

author: Thomas Aquinas
title: Liber de perfectione spiritualis vitae
edition title: Textum Leoninum / Corpus Thomisticum
edition year: -
editor: Roberto Busa; Enrique Alarcón
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/oap.html

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De vera religione
edition title: Patrologia Latina 34
edition year: 1941
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 122-172
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De fide et symbolo
edition title: CSEL 41
edition year: 1900
editor: Joseph Zycha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De civitate Dei
edition title: CSEL 40
edition year: 1900
editor: Joseph Zycha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: In Epistolam Ioannis tractatus
edition title: Patrologia Latina 35
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1977-2062
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De Baptismo
edition title: CSEL 51
edition year: 1908
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Epistolae 1
edition title: CSEL 34.1
edition year: 1895
editor: Alois Goldbacher
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Epistolae 2
edition title: CSEL 34.2
edition year: 1898
editor: Alois Goldbacher
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Enarrationes in Psalmos 2
edition title: Patrologia Latina 37
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1034-1966
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Enarrationes in Psalmos 1
edition title: Patrologia Latina 36
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 68-1027
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: In Joannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV
edition title: Patrologia Latina 35
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1380-1976
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo

title: De diversis queastionibus ad Simplicianum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 40
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 102-148
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra sermonem Arianorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 42
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 684-708
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/browser/7438

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Maximinum Arianum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 42
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 743-814
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Julianum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 44
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 642-874
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Psalmus contra Partem Donati
edition title: CSEL 51
edition year: 1908
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Epistulam Parmeniani
edition title: CSEL 51
edition year: 1908
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Litteras Petiliani
edition title: CSEL 52
edition year: 1909
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Epistula ad Catholicos de Secta Dontatistarum

edition title: CSEL 52
edition year: 1909
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Cresconium
edition title: CSEL 52
edition year: 1909
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Liber de Unico Baptismo
edition title: CSEL 53
edition year: 1910
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Breviculus Collationis cum Donatistis
edition title: CSEL 53
edition year: 1910
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/browser/14803

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Partem Donati post Gesta
edition title: CSEL 53
edition year: 1910
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Sermo ad Caesariensis Ecclesiae
Plebem
edition title: CSEL 53
edition year: 1910
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Gesta cum Emerito Donastistarum
Episcopo
edition title: CSEL 53
edition year: 1910
editor: Michael Petschenig
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/browser/14985

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Confessiones
edition title: CSEL 33

edition year: 1896
editor: Pius Knoell
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De moribus Ecclesiae
edition title: Patrologia Latina 32
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1309-1378
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De duabus animabus
edition title: CSEL 25.1
edition year: 1891
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De libero arbitrio
edition title: Patrologia Latina 32
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1221-1310
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Fortunatum
edition title: CSEL 25.1
edition year: 1891
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Adimantum
edition title: CSEL 25.1
edition year: 1891
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Secundinum
edition title: CSEL 25.2
edition year: 1892
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Felicem
edition title: CSEL 25.2
edition year: 1892
editor: Joseph Zicha

publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De Natura Boni
edition title: CSEL 25.2
edition year: 1892
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De utilitate credendi
edition title: CSEL 25.1
edition year: 1891
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De agone Christiano
edition title: CSEL 41
edition year: 1900
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De bodo viduitatis
edition title: CSEL 41
edition year: 1900
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De cura pro mortuis gerenda
edition title: CSEL 41
edition year: 1900
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra adversarium legis et
prophetarum
edition title: Patrologia Latina
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 603-666
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Adversus Judaeos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 42
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -

pages: 51-64
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De natura et gratia
edition title: CSEL 60
edition year: 1913
editor: Joseph Zicha
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: De gratia Christi
edition title: CSEL 42
edition year: 1902
editor: Karl Vrba
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas
edition title: Patrologia Latina 42
edition year: 1841
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 670-678
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Tertullian
title: Adversus omnes haereses
edition title: CSEL 47
edition year: 1906
editor: Aemilius Kroymann
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Tertullian
title: De preascriptionibus adversus
haereticos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 2
edition year: 1844
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 9A-74A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Ambrose of Milan
title: De fide
edition title: Patrologia Latina 16
edition year: 1845
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 527A-698C
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Ambrose of Milan
title: De officiis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 16
edition year: 1845
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 23A-184B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Boethius
title: De consolatione Philosophiae
edition title: CSEL 67
edition year: 1934
editor: Guilelmus Weinberger
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Bernard Gui
title: Practica Inquisitionis
edition title: Practica Inquisitionis heretice
pravitatis
edition year: 1886
editor: C. Douais
publisher: A. Picard
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Anonymous
title: Qualiter respondendum illis
edition title: Les hérétiques du Midi au
XIIIe siècle. Cinq pièces inédites
edition year: 1891
editor: C. Douais
publisher: -
journal: Annales du Midi 3
pages: 369-370
URL: -

author: Anonymous
title: Detestandi sunt in heresi pertinaces
edition title: Les hérétiques du Midi au
XIIIe siècle. Cinq pièces inédites
edition year: 1891
editor: C. Douais
publisher: -
journal: Annales du Midi 3
pages: 370-375
URL: -

author: Jacobus de Voragine
title: Legenda Aurea
edition title: Legenda Aurea, vulgo Historia
Lombardica dicta
edition year: 1890
editor: Th. Graesse
publisher: G. Koebner
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Stephen of Bourbon
title: Tractatus de diversiis materiis
predicabilibus
edition title: Anecdotes historiques,
légendes et apologues
edition year: 1877
editor: A. Lecoy de la Marche
publisher: Renouard
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Henry Harrer
title: Tractatus contra begardos
edition title: Henry Harrer's Tractatus
contra begardos
edition year: 2015
editor: Tomasz Gałuszka

publisher: Dominikański Instytut
Historyczny w Krakowie
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Gratian
title: Decretum
edition title: Corpus iuris canonici I
edition year: 1955
editor: E. Friedberg; E.L. Richter
publisher: Akademische Druck- u.
Verlagsanstalt
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Bernard of Clairvaux
title: Sermones in diversis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 183
edition year: 1854
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 537A-748C
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Berthold von Regensburg
title: Sermones
edition title: Predigt gegen Ketzer - Studien
zu den lateinischen Sermones Bertholds
von Regenburg
edition year: 2011
editor: Ariane Czerwon
publisher: Mohr Siebeck
journal: -
pages: 203-233
URL: -

author: Gregorius I
title: Homiliae in Evangelia
edition title: Patrologia latina 76
edition year: 1849
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1057A-1312C
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Gregorius I
title: Homiliae in Ezechielem
edition title: Patrologia latina 76
edition year: 1849
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 785A-1072C
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Gregorius I
title: Moralia I
edition title: Patrologia latina 75
edition year: 1849
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 509D-1162B
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Gregorius I
title: Moralia II
edition title: Patrologia latina 76
edition year: 1849

editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 9A-782A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Varia
title: Liber Sextus etc.
edition title: Corpus Iuris Canonici II
edition year: 1955
editor: E. Friedberg; E.L. Richter
publisher: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Alain of Lille
title: Anticlaudianus
edition title: Patrologia Latina 210
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 483-576
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Alain of Lille
title: De planctu naturae
edition title: Patrologia Latina 210
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 431-482
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Alain of Lille
title: Distinctiones dictionum theologicalium
edition title: Patrologia Latina 210
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 685-1011
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Jerome
title: Epistolae
edition title: Patrologia Latina 22
edition year: 1845
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 325-1124
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Jerome
title: In Hieremiam Prophetam
edition title: CSEL 59
edition year: 1913
editor: Sigfried Reiter
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Jerome
title: Dialogus contra Luciferianos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 23
edition year: 1845
editor: J.P. Migne

publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 153-182
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Jerome
title: Dialogus contra Pelagianos
edition title: Patrologia Latina 23
edition year: 1845
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 493-590
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Bonacursus
title: Manifestatio haeresis Catharorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 204
edition year: 1855
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 775A-792D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Andreas Florentinus
title: Summa contra haereticos
edition title: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, QQ zur Geistesgesch. 23
edition year: 2008
editor: Gerhard Rottenwöhrer
publisher: Hansche Buchhandlung
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.dmgh.de/

author: Anonymous
title: Summa contra haereticos [Summa IV]
edition title: La somme des autorités à l'usage des prédicateurs méridionaux au XIIIe siècle
edition year: 1891
editor: C. Douais
publisher: Picard
journal: -
pages: 67-112
URL: -

author: Peter of Verona
title: Summa contra haereticos
edition title: Medium aevum monographs
edition year: 2020
editor: Donald S. Prudlo
publisher: The Society for the Study of Modern Languages and Literature
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Jacques de Vitry
title: Exempla 1
edition title: The exempla or illustrative stories from the Sermones vulgares of Jacques de Vitry
edition year: 1890
editor: Thomas F. Crane
publisher: Folklore Society
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Jacques de Vitry
title: Exempla 2

edition title: Die Exempla aus den Sermones feriales et communes des Jakob von Vitry
edition year: 1914
editor: Joseph Greven
publisher: C. Winter
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Gerardus de Fracheto
title: Vitae fratrum
edition title: MOPH 1
edition year: 1896
editor: B.M. Reichert
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Thomas Aquinas
title: Summa Theologiae
edition title: Textum Leoninum / Corpus Thomisticum
edition year: -
editor: Roberto Busa; Enrique Alarcón
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.corpusthomisticum.org/sth0000.html

author: Varia
title: Liber Extra, Decretalium Gregorii papae IX compilationis libri V
edition title: Corpus Iuris Canonici II/Bibliotheca Augustana
edition year: 1888
editor: E. Friedberg; E.L. Richter; Angus Graham
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost13/GregoriusIX/gre_0000.html#1

author: Varia
title: Lateran III, Canones
edition title: Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils I
edition year: 1990
editor: Norman P. Tanner
publisher: Georgetown University Press
journal: -
pages: 205-226
URL: -

author: Varia
title: Lateran IV, Canones
edition title: Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils I
edition year: 1990
editor: Norman P. Tanner
publisher: Georgetown University Press
journal: -
pages: 227-272
URL: -

author: Varia
title: Lyons I, Canones

edition title: Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils I
edition year: 1990
editor: Norman P. Tanner
publisher: Georgetown University Press
journal: -
pages: 273-302
URL: -

author: Varia
title: Lyons II, Canones
edition title: Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils I
edition year: 1990
editor: Norman P. Tanner
publisher: Georgetown University Press
journal: -
pages: 303-332
URL: -

author: Varia
title: Vienne, Canones
edition title: Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils I
edition year: 1990
editor: Norman P. Tanner
publisher: Georgetown University Press
journal: -
pages: 333-402
URL: -

author: William of Auvergne
title: Opera Omnia I
edition title: Opera Omnia I
edition year: 1674
editor: -
publisher: ex tip. F. Hotot
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Humbertus de Romanis
title: Liber de predicacione sct. crucis
edition title: Humbertus de Romanis OP, Liber de predicatione sct. Crucis
edition year: 2007
editor: Kurt Villads Jensen
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://www.jggj.dk/saracenos.htm

author: Lucas Tudensis
title: De altera vita
edition title: Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis
edition year: 2009
editor: Emma Falque Rey
publisher: Brepols
journal: -
pages: -
URL: -

author: Anonymous
title: De confessione hereticorum et fide eorum
edition title: Durand de Huesca et la polémique anti-cathare
edition year: 1959
editor: A. Dondaine
publisher: -
journal: Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum 29

pages: 272-273
URL: -

author: Ardisius Placentinus
title: De pauperibus de Lugduno
edition title: Durand de Huesca et la
polémique anti-cathare
edition year: 1959
editor: A. Dondaine
publisher: -
journal: Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum
29
pages: 273-274
URL: -

author: Vincent Ferrer
title: Sermones de sanctis
edition title: Beati Vincentii natione
Hispani, ... Sermones de Sanctis
edition year: 1570
editor: Damianus Diaz Lusitanus
publisher: apud Philippum Nutium
journal: -
pages: -
URL:
https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_ULcz
ODnLGrsC

author: John Wycliffe
title: Sermones I
edition title: Iohannis Wyclif Sermones
edition year: 1887
editor: Johann Loserth
publisher: Wyclif society
journal: -
pages: -
URL:
https://archive.org/details/iohanniswycli
fse0701wycl/

author: John Wycliffe
title: Sermones II
edition title: Iohannis Wyclif Sermones
edition year: 1888
editor: Johann Loserth
publisher: Wyclif society
journal: -
pages: -
URL:
https://archive.org/details/iohanniswycli
fse02wycl/mode/2up

author: John Wycliffe
title: Sermones IV
edition title: Iohannis Wyclif Sermones
edition year: 1890
editor: Johann Loserth
publisher: Wyclif society
journal: -
pages: -
URL:
https://archive.org/details/iohanniswycli
fse0704wycl/page/n3/mode/2up

author: John Wycliffe
title: Sermones III
edition title: Iohannis Wyclif Sermones
edition year: 1889
editor: Johann Loserth
publisher: Wyclif society
journal: -
pages: -

URL:
https://archive.org/details/iohanniswycli
fse0703wycl/

author: Bonaventura
title: Sermones
edition title: Doctoris seraphici S.
Bonaventurae opera omnia
edition year: 1901
editor: David Fleming
publisher: Collegium S. Bonaventurae
journal: -
pages: -
URL:
https://archive.org/details/doctorisserap
hic09bona/page/n7/mode/2up

author: Bonaventura
title: Opuscula varia
edition title: Doctoris seraphici S.
Bonaventurae opera omnia
edition year: 1891
editor: Aloysius a Parma
publisher: Collegium S. Bonaventurae
journal: -
pages: -
URL:
https://archive.org/details/doctorisserap
hic05bona/

author: Peter Abelard
title: Sermones
edition title: Patrologia Latina 178
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 379A-610D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Venerabilis
title: Sermones
edition title: Patrologia Latina 189
edition year: 1854
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 353B-1006A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Aelred of Rievaulx
title: Sermones de tempore
edition title: Patrologia Latina 195
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: A209A-360D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Innocent III
title: Sermones communes
edition title: Patrologia Latina 217
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 595D-650A
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Innocent III
title: Sermones de diversis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 217

edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 649B-690D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Innocent III
title: Sermones de sanctis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 217
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 451A-596C
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Innocent III
title: Sermones de tempore
edition title: Patrologia Latina 217
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 313A-450D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Petrus Damianus
title: Sermones
edition title: Patrologia Latina 144
edition year: 1853
editor: J.P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 505C-924D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Sermones 1
edition title: Patrologia Latina 46
edition year: 1842
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 946-1004
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Sermones de Sanctis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 38
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1248-1483
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Sermones de Scripturis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 38
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 24-994
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Augustine of Hippo
title: Sermones de diversis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 39
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -

journal: -
pages: 1494-1638
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Auctor incertus (Augustine?)
title: Sermones suppositii de Sanctis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 39
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 2095-2172
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Auctor incertus (Augustine?)
title: Sermones dubii
edition title: Patrologia Latina 39
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1639-1718
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Auctor incertus (Augustine?)
title: Sermones suppositii de Scripturis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 39
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1735-1972
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Auctor incertus (Augustine?)
title: Sermones suppositii de diversis
edition title: Patrologia Latina 39
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 2174-2354
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Auctor incertus (Augustine?)
title: Sermones suppositii de tempore
edition title: Patrologia Latina 39
edition year: 1841
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1973-2096
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Lucifer Calaritanus
title: De non conveniendo cum haereticis
edition title: CSEL 14
edition year: 1886
editor: Wilhelm von Hartel
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 1973-2096
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Gebeno Eberbacensis
title: De eisdem hereticis ex Apocalipsi
edition title: De eisdem hereticis ex
Apocalipsi et de septem temporibus a
praedicatione Christi usque in finem seculi
edition year: 2004
editor: José Carlos Santos Paz
publisher: SISMEL.Edizioni del Galluzzo
journal: -

pages: 1973-2096
URL: -

author: Stephanus de Sancto Georgio
title: Reprobatio nefandi sermonis [--] de quodam Nemine heretico et dampnato
edition title: Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters
edition year: 1888
editor: Franz Ehrle
publisher: Herder'sche Buchhandlung
journal: -
pages: 340-348
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Hugo Eterianus
title: De haeresibus Graecorum
edition title: Patrologia Latina 202
edition year: 1855
editor: J. P. Migne
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: 227-396D
URL: https://mlat.uzh.ch/

author: Guillelmus Peraldus
title: Summa de virtutibus
edition title: Summae virtutum ac vitiorum I
edition year: 1546
editor: -
publisher: sub scuto Coloniensi
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://archive.org/details/SummaVirtutumAcVitiorum15461/

author: Guillelmus Peraldus
title: Summa de vitiis
edition title: Summae virtutum ac vitiorum II
edition year: 1546
editor: -
publisher: sub scuto Coloniensi
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://archive.org/details/SummaVirtutumAcVitiorum15462/

author: Albertus Magnus
title: Sermones
edition title: Beati Alberti Magni [-] Sermones
edition year: 1883
editor: Petrus Jammy
publisher: E. Privat
journal: -
pages: -
URL: https://archive.org/details/sermones00albe/

author: Anonymous
title: Summula contra hereticos
edition title: Summula contra hereticos. Un traite contre les cathares du xiiieme siecle
edition year: 1987
editor: Jean Duvernoy
publisher: -
journal: -
pages: -
URL: http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/pdf/summula.pdf

author: Hugo Eterianus
title: Contra Patarenos
edition title: Hugh Eteriano: Contra Patarenos
edition year: 2004
editor: SarahHamilton
publisher: Brill
journal: -
pages: 155-176
URL: -

Appendix B

Id	Label	Author	Genre
Zwicker_CumDormirentHomines.txt	Petrus Zwicker, CDH	Petrus Zwicker	Medieval, polemic
Zwicker_RefutatioErrorum1.txt	Petrus Zwicker, Refutatio	Petrus Zwicker	Medieval, polemic
WilliamOfAuvergne_OperaOmnia.txt	William of Auvergne, OO	William of Auvergne	Medieval, other
AuctorIncertus-AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesSuppositiiDeDiversis.txt	Augustine (dub), Sermones DD	Augustine (dub)	Patristic, sermon
Pseudo-HaymoHalberstatensis_DeVarietateLibrorum.txt	Ps-Haymo of Halberstadt, De varietate librorum	Ps-Haymo of Halberstadt	Medieval, florilegium
Augustinus_EnarrationesinPsalmos1.txt	Augustine, Enarrationes1	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_InEpistolamIoannisTractatus.txt	Augustine, In epistolam Ioannis	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_InIoannisevangeliumtractatus.txt	Augustine, In Ioannis evangelium	Augustine	Patristic, other
Bonaventura_Sermones.txt	Bonaventura, Sermones	Bonaventura	Medieval, sermon
InnocentiusIII_SermonesDeSanctis.txt	Innocentius III, Sermones DS	Innocentius III	Medieval, sermon
WasmudvonHomburg_TractatusContraHereticos.txt	Wasmud von Homburg, Tractatus	Wasmud von Homburg	Medieval, polemic
BibleVulgate.txt	Vulgata	n.a.	Bible
VincentFerrer_SermonesDeSanctis.txt	Vincent Ferrer, Sermones DS	Vincent Ferrer	Medieval, sermon
GregoriusI_Moralia.txt	Gregorius I, Moralia	Gregorius I	Patristic, other
AlbertusMagnus_Sermones.txt	Albertus Magnus, Sermones	Albertus Magnus	Medieval, sermon
Anon_LiberScintillarum.txt	Anonymous, Liber Scintillarum	Anonymous	Medieval, florilegium
Gratian_Decretum.txt	Gratian, Decretum	Gratian	Medieval,

			canon law
GregoriusI_HomiliaeInEvangelia.txt	Gregorius I, Homiliae	Gregorius I	Patristic, sermon
InnocentiusIII_SermonesDeDiversis.txt	Innocentius III, Sermones DD	Innocentius III	Medieval, sermon
MonetaCremonensis_AdversusCatharosEtValdenses.txt	Moneta of Cremona, Adversus	Moneta of Cremona	Medieval, polemic
Vienne_Canones_DEC.txt	Vienne, Canons	n.a.	Medieval, canon law
DurandOfHuesca_LiberAntiheresis.txt	Durand of Huesca, Liber antiheresis	Durand of Huesca	Medieval, polemic
PeterOfVerona_SummaContraHereticos.txt	Peter of Verona, Summa contra hereticos	Peter of Verona	Medieval, polemic
ThomasAquinas_SummaTheologiaeTertia.txt	Thomas Aquinas, Summa III	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, other
Anon_DisputatioInterCatholicumEtPaterinum.txt	Anonymous, Disputationes	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
Augustinus_ContraDuasEpistulasPelegianorum.txt	Augustine, Contra duas epistulas	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_DeCivitateDei.txt	Augustine, De civitate dei	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_EnarrationesinPsalmos2.txt	Augustine, Enarrationes2	Augustine	Patristic, other
PetrusCluniacensis_Sermones.txt	Petrus Venerabilis, Sermones	Petrus Venerabilis	Medieval, sermon
ThomasAquinas_SummaContraGentiles.txt	Thomas Aquinas, Summa contra gent.	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, polemic
AelredusRievallensis_SermonesDeTempore.txt	Aelred of Rievaulx, Sermones DT	Aelred of Rievaulx	Medieval, sermon
AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesDeSanctis.txt	Augustine, Sermones DS	Augustine	Patristic, sermon
Augustinus_ContraAdversariumLegisEtProphetarum.txt	Augustine, Contra adversarium	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
PaschasiusRadbertus_LiberDeCorporeEtSanguineDomini.txt	Paschasius Radbertus, Liber de corpore	Paschasius Radbertus	Medieval, other

PetrusCluniacensis_AdversusPetrobrusianosHaereticos.txt	Petrus Venerabilis, Adversus Petrobrusianos	Petrus Venerabilis	Medieval, polemic
PetrusDamianus_Sermones.txt	Peter Damian, Sermones	Peter Damian	Medieval, sermon
AlanusDeInsulis_ContraHaereticos.txt	Alain of Lille, Contra hereticos	Alain of Lille	Medieval, polemic
AlgerusLeodiensis_DeSacramentis.txt	Alger of Liège, De sacramentis	Alger of Liège	Medieval, other
Ambrose_DeFide.txt	Ambrose, De fide	Ambrose	Patristic, other
AndreasFlorentinus_SummaContraHereticos.txt	Andreas of Florence, Summa contra hereticos	Andreas of Florence	Medieval, polemic
Anon_DisputationesNonnullae.txt	Anonymous, Disputationes nonnullae	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
Anon_SummaIV.txt	Anymous, Summa IV	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
Anon_SynodusAtrebatensisActa.txt	Synod of Arras	n.a.	Medieval, canon law
Anonymous_SummulaContraHereticos_ed.Duvernoy.txt	Anonymous, Summula contra hereticos	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
AuctorIncertus-AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesSuppositiiDeTempore.txt	Augustine (dub), Sermones DT	Augustine (dub)	Patristic, sermon
AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesDeScripturis.txt	Augustine, Sermones Dscrip	Augustine	Patristic, sermon
Augustinus_ContraFaustum.txt	Augustine, Contra Faustum	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_ContraJulianum.txt	Augustine, Contra Julianum	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_ContraSermonemArianorum.txt	Augustine, Contra serm. Arianorum	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_DeNaturaEtGratia.txt	Augustine, De natura et gratia	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Bonacursus_VitaHaereticorum.txt	Bonacursus, Vita hereticorum	Bonacursus	Medieval, polemic

Bonaventura_OpusculaVaria.txt	Bonacursus, opuscula varia	Bonacursus	Medieval, other
DurandOfHuesca_LiberContraManicheos.txt	Durand of Huesca, Liber contra manicheos	Durand of Huesca	Medieval, polemic
EckbertusSchonaugiensis_SermonesContraCatharos.txt	Eckbert of Schönau, Sermones conta Catharos	Eckbert of Schönau	Medieval, polemic
ErmengardDeBeziers_ContraWaldenses.txt	Ermengard of Beziers, Contra hereticos	Ermengard of Beziers	Medieval, polemic
GregoriusI_MoraliaII.txt	Gregorius I, Moralia II	Gregorius I	Patristic, other
GuillelmusPeraldus_SummaDeVitiis.txt	William Perault, Summa de vitiis	William Perault	Medieval, other
GuitmundusAversanus_DeCorporisEtSanguinisChristi.txt	Guitmundus Aversanus, De corporis	Guitmundus Aversanus	Medieval, other
HalitgariusCameracensis_DeVitiisEtVirtutibus.txt	Halitgarius Cameracensis, De vitiis et virtutibus	Halitgarius Cameracensis	Medieval, florilegium
HugoEterianus_ContraPatarenos.txt	Hugo Etherianus, Contra patarenos	Hugo Etherianus	Medieval, polemic
HugoEterianus_DeHaeresibusGraecorum.txt	Hugo Etherianus, De heresibus grecorum	Hugo Etherianus	Medieval, polemic
HugoRothomagensis_Contra-haereticosSuiTemporis.txt	Hugo Rothomagensis, Contra hereticos	Hugo Rothomagensis	Medieval, polemic
HugoRothomagensis_Dialogi.txt	Hugo Rothomagensis, Dialogi	Hugo Rothomagensis	Medieval, other
InnocentiusIII_SermonesCommunes.txt	Innocentius III, Sermones C	Innocentius III	Medieval, sermon
InnocentiusIII_SermonesDeTempore.txt	Innocentius III, Sermones DT	Innocentius III	Medieval, sermon
Isidorus-Hispalensis_Etymologiae.txt	Isidore, Etymologiae	Isidore	Patristic, other
JohnWycliffe_Sermones_II.txt	John Wycliffe, Sermones II	John Wycliffe	Medieval, sermon
JohnWycliffe_Sermones_III.txt	John Wycliffe, Sermones III	John Wycliffe	Medieval, sermon
JohnWycliffe_Sermones_IV.txt	John Wycliffe, Sermones IV	John Wycliffe	Medieval, sermon

PetrusAbaelardus_LiberAdversusHaereses.txt	Peter Abelard, Liber adversus hereses	Peter Abelard	Medieval, polemic
PetrusCluniacensis_Adversus-Judaeos.txt	Petrus Venerabilis, Adversus iudaeos	Petrus Venerabilis	Medieval, polemic
PetrusDamianus_Epistolae.txt	Peter Damian, Epistolae	Peter Damian	Medieval, other
PetrusLombardus_Sententiae.txt	Peter Lombard, Sententiae	Peter Lombard	Medieval, other
SalvoBurci_LiberSuprastella.txt	Salvo Burci, Liber suprastella	Salvo Burci	Medieval, polemic
SmaragdusS.Michaelis_DiademaMonachorum.txt	Smaragdus S. Michaelis, Diadema	Smaragdus S. Michaelis	Medieval, florilegium
ThomasAquinas_ContraDoctrinamRetrahentium.txt	Thomas Aquinas, Contra doctrinam retrahentium	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, polemic
ThomasAquinas_LiberContraImpugnantesDeiCultum.txt	Thomas Aquinas, Liber contra impugnantes	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, polemic
ThomasAquinas_SummaTheologiaePrima.txt	Thomas Aquinas Summa I	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, other
ThomasAquinas_SummaTheologiaePrimaSecundae.txt	Thomas Aquinas Summa Ia II	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, other
ThomasAquinas_SummaTheologiaeSecundaSecundae.txt	Thomas Aquinas Summa IIa II	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, other
Augustinus_Epistolae2.txt	Augustine, Epistolae 2	Augustine	Patristic, other
AuctorIncertus-AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesSuppositiiDeSanctis.txt	Augustine (dub), Sermones DS	Augustine (dub)	Patristic, sermon
AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesDeDiversis.txt	Augustine, Sermones DD	Augustine	Patristic, sermon
Augustinus_Confessiones.txt	Augustine, Confessiones	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_DeBaptismo.txt	Augustine, De baptismo	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_DeVeraReligione.txt	Augustine, De vera religione	Augustine	Patristic, other
BernardClaraevallensis_SermonesDeDiversis.txt	Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermones DD	Bernard of Clairvaux	Medieval, sermon
BernardusClaraevallensis_SermonesInCanticaCanticorum.txt	Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermones CC	Bernard of Clairvaux	Medieval, sermon

GregoriusI_HomiliaeInEzechielem.txt	Gregory I, Homiliae in Ez.	Gregorius I	Patristic, sermon
Hieronymus_DialogusContraPelagianos.txt	Jerome, Dialogus contra pelagianos	Jerome	Patristic, polemic
IsidorusHispalensis_Sententiae.txt	Isidore, Sententiae	Isidore	Patristic, other
ThomasAquinas_LiberDePerfectioneSpiritualisVitae.txt	Thomas Aquinas, Liber de perfectione SV	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, polemic
Anon_DeSacramentisHaereticorum.txt	Anonymous, De sacramentis hereticorum	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
AuctorIncertus-AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesDubii.txt	Augustine (dub), Sermones	Augustine (dub)	Patristic, sermon
Augustinus_ContraCresconium.txt	Augustine, Contra Cresconium	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_DeAgonechristiano.txt	Augustine, De agone christiano	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_DeDiversisQuaestionibus.txt	Augustine, De diversis quaestionibus	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_DeFideetSymbolo.txt	Augustine, De fide et symbolo	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_DeGratiaChristi.txt	Augustine, De gratia Christi	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_DeMoribusEcclesiae.txt	Augustine, De moribus ecclesiae	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_EpistulaAdCatholicosDeSectaDonatistarum.txt	Augustine, Epistula de secta Donatistarum	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
GuillelmusPeraldus_SummaDeVirtutibus.txt	William Perault, Summa de virtutibus	William Perault	Medieval, other
Hieronymus_Epistolae.txt	Jerome, Epistolae	Jerome	Patristic, other
PaschasiusRadbertus_DeFideSpeEtCharitate.txt	Paschasius Radbertus, De fide, spe et charitate	Paschasius Radbertus	Medieval, florilegium
PetrusAbaelardus_Sermones.txt	Peter Abelard, Sermones	Peter Abelard	Medieval, sermon
PetrusCluniacensis_Epistolae.txt	Petrus Venerabilis, Epistolae	Petrus Venerabilis	Medieval, other
ThomasAquinas_ContraErroresGraecorum.txt	Thomas Aquinas, Contra errores grecorum	Thomas Aquinas	Medieval, polemic

Anon_Attendite a Falsis prophetis.txt	Anonymous, Attendite a falsis prophetis	Anony mous	Medi eval, pole mic
Anon_BrevisSummula.txt	Anonymous, Brevis summula	Anony mous	Medi eval, pole mic
Anon_DeConfessioneHereticorum.txt	Anonymous, De confessione hereticorum	Anony mous	Medi eval, pole mic
Augustinus_ContraLitterasPetiliani.txt	Augustine, Contra litteras Petiliani	Augusti ne	Patris tic, pole mic
Augustinus_ContraMaximinumArianum.txt	Augustine, Contra Maximinum	Augusti ne	Patris tic, pole mic
CaesariusOfHeisterbach_DialogusMiraculo rum2.txt	Caesarius of Heisterbach, Dialogus 2	Caesari us of Heister bach	Medi eval, exem pla
LucasTudensis_DeAlteraVita.txt	Lucas Tudensis, De altera vita	Lucas Tudensi s	Medi eval, pole mic
Augustinus_ContraSecundinum.txt	Augustine, Contra Secundinum	Augusti ne	Patris tic, pole mic
Augustinus_ContraFortunatum.txt	Augustine, Contra Fortunatum	Augusti ne	Patris tic, pole mic
JohnWycliffe_Sermones_I.txt	John Wycliffe, Sermones I	John Wycliff e	Medi eval, serm on
BernardGui_PracticaInquisitionis.txt	Bernard Gui, Practica	Bernard Gui	Medi eval, inqui sitor's manu al
LiberExtra.txt	Liber Extra	n.a.	Medi eval, canon law
LiberSextusEtc.txt	Liber Sextus	n.a.	Medi eval, canon law
LateranIV_Canones_DEC.txt	Lateran IV, Canons	n.a.	Medi eval, canon law
Lyon2_Canones_DEC.txt	Lyon II, Canons	n.a.	Medi eval, canon law
Lyon1_Canones_DEC.txt	Lyon I, Canons	n.a.	Medi eval, canon law

AnonPassau_Tractatus.txt	Anonymous of Passau, Tractatus	Anonymous of Passau	Medieval, polemic
OthlonusRatisponensis_Proverbia.txt	Otholonus of Regensburg, Proverbia	Otholonus of Regensburg	Medieval, florilegium
AuctorIncertus-AugustinusHipponensis_SermonesSuppositiiDeScripturis.txt	Augustine (dub), Sermones DScri	Augustine (dub)	Patristic, sermon
Augustinus_DeCuraGerendaProMortuis.txt	Augustine, De cura gerenda pro mortuis	Augustine	Patristic, other
Hieronymus_AdversusJovinianum.txt	Jerome, Adversus Jovinianum	Jerome	Patristic, polemic
LateranIII_Canones_DEC.txt	Lateran III, Canons	n.a.	Medieval, canon law
Tertullian_DePraescriptionibus.txt	Tertullian, De praescriptionibus	Tertullian	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_ContraAdimantum.txt	Augustine, Contra Adimantum	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_Epistolae1.txt	Augustine, Epistolae 1	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_ContraEpistulamParmeniani.txt	Augustine, Contra epistulam Parmeniani	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_ContraGaudentiumDonatistarumEpiscopum.txt	Augustine, Contra Gaudentium	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
GregoriusI_Dialogi.txt	Gregorius I, Dialogi	Gregorius I	Patristic, other
CaesariusOfHeisterbach_DialogusMiraculorum1.txt	Caesarious of Heisterbach, Dialogus 1	Caesarius of Heisterbach	Medieval, exempla
IrenaeusOfLyon_ContraHaereticos2.txt	Iranaeus of Lyon, Contra Hereticos 2	Iranaeus of Lyon	Patristic, polemic
JacobusDeVoragine_LegendaAurea.txt	Jacobus de Voragine, Legenda aurea	Jacobus de Voragine	Medieval, other
JoannesScotusEriugena_VersioOperumSDionysii.txt	Johannes Scotus Eriugena, Versio op. S. Dionysii	Johannes Scotus Eriugena	Medieval, other
Augustinus_ContraFelicem.txt	Augustine, Contra Felicem	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
AugustinusHipponensis_Sermones1.txt	Augustine, Sermones 1	Augustine	Patristic,

			serm on
Hieronymus_InHieremiamProphetamLibri Sex.txt	Jerome, In Hieremiam Prophetam	Jerome	Patris tic, other
AlanusDeInsulis_DistinctionesDictionumT heologicalium.txt	Alain of Lille, Distinctiones	Alain of Lille	Medi eval, other
PetrusPillichsdorf_ContraPauperesDeLudg uno.txt	Petrus Pillichsdorf, Contra Pauperes de Lug.	Petrus Pillichs dorf	Medi eval, pole mic
Ambrose_DeOfficiisMinistrorum.txt	Ambrose, De officiis minis.	Ambros e	Patris tic, other
PetrusAlphonsus_Dialogus.txt	Petrus Alphonsus, Dialogus	Petrus Alphon us	Medi eval, pole mic
JacquesDeVitry_Exempla1.txt	Jacques de Vitry, Exempla 1	Jacques de Vitry	Medi eval, exem pla
StephenOfBourbon_DeDiversisMateriisPre dicabilibus.txt	Stephen of Bourbon, De diversis materiis	Stephen of Bourbo n	Medi eval, exem pla
JacquesDeVitry_Exempla2.txt	Jacques de Vitry, Exempla 2	Jacques de Vitry	Medi eval, exem pla
Humbertus-de-Romanis_Liber-de-predicatione-sct-Crucis.txt	Humbert of Romans, Liber de predicatione St Crucis	Humbe rt of Romans	Medi eval, pole mic
VitaeFratrum.txt	Vitae fratrum	n.a.	Medi eval, other
PetrusAbaelardus_DialogusInter-PhilosophumJudaeumEtChristianum.txt	Peter Abelard, Dialogus	Peter Abelard	Medi eval, pole mic
Augustinus_DeUtilitateCredendi.txt	Augustine, De utilitate credendi	Augusti ne	Patris tic, other
Augustinus_LiberDeUnicoBaptismo.txt	Augustine, Liber de unico baptismo	Augusti ne	Patris tic, other
Augustinus_AdversusIudaeos.txt	Augustine, Adversus Iudaeos	Augusti ne	Patris tic, pole mic
Augustinus_DeNaturaBoni.txt	Augustine, De natura boni	Augusti ne	Patris tic, other
Augustinus_ContraEpistulamFundamenti.t xt	Augustine, Contra epistulam Fundamenti	Augusti ne	Patris tic, pole mic
PetrusCluniacensis_AdversusSectam-Saracenorum.txt	Petrus Venerabilis, Adversus sectam saracenorum	Petrus Venera bilis	Medi eval, pole mic
LuciferCalaritanus_DeNonConveniendoCu mHaereticis.txt	Lucifer Calaritanus, De	Lucifer Calarita nus	Patris tic,

	non conveniendo		pole mic
Tertullian_AdversusOmnesHaereses.txt	Pseudo-Tertullian, Adversus omnes haereses	Pseudo-Tertulli an	Patris tic, pole mic
IraneusOfLyon_ContraHaereticos1.txt	Iranaeus of Lyon, Contra Hereticos 1	Iranaeu s of Lyon	Patris tic, pole mic
Augustinus_ContraPartemDonatiPostGesta .txt	Augustine, Contra partem Donati	Augusti ne	Patris tic, pole mic
HermannusDeScildis_Tractatus.txt	Hermannus de Scildis, Tractatus	Herman nus de Scildis	Medi eval, pole mic
PetrusCluniacensis_DeMiraculis.txt	Petrus Venerabilis, De Miraculis	Petrus Venera bilis	Medi eval, other
BertholdVonRegensburg_Sermones.txt	Berthold of Regensburgh, Sermones	Berthol d of Regens burg	Medi eval, pole mic
Augustinus_DeDuabusAnimabus.txt	Augustine, De duabus animabus	Augusti ne	Patris tic, pole mic
Augustinus_DeLiberoArbitrio.txt	Augustine, De libero arbitrio	Augusti ne	Patris tic, pole mic
Augustinus_GestaCumEmerito.txt	Augustine, Gesta cum Emerito	Augusti ne	Patris tic, other
Augustinus_PsalmusContraPartemDonati.t xt	Augustine, Psalmus contra partem Donati	Augusti ne	Patris tic, pole mic
Boethius_DeConsolationePhilosophiae.txt	Boethius, De consolatione	Boethiu s	Patris tic, other
StephanusDeSanctoGeorgio_ReprobatioNef andiSermonisEditiPerRadulphum.txt	Stephanus de Sancto Georgio, Reprobatio	Stephan us de Sancto Georgio	Medi eval, pole mic
Hieronymus_DialogusContraLuciferianos.t xt	Jerome, Dialogus contra Luciferianos	Jerome	Patris tic, pole mic
HenryHarrer_TractatusContraBeghardos.tx t	Henry Harrer, Tractatus contra beghardos	Henry Harrer	Medi eval, pole mic
Augustinus_ContraPriscillianistasEtOrigeni stas.txt	Augustine, Contra Priscillianistas	Augusti ne	Patris tic, pole mic
Pseudo-Ermengard_ManifestoHaeresis.txt	Pseudo-Ermengard of Beziers, Manifesto	Pseudo-Ermeng ard of Beziers	Medi eval, pole mic
GebenoEberbacensis_DeEisdemHereticis.tx t	Gebeno of Eberbach, De eisdem hereticis	Gebeno of Eberbac h	Medi eval, pole mic

PseudoDavidvonAugsburg_Tractatus.txt	Pseudo-David of Augsburg, De inquisitione	Pseudo-David of Augsburg	Medieval, inquisitor's manual
Augustinus_SermoAdCaesariensisEcclesiaePlebem.txt	Augustine, Sermo ad Caesarensis ecclesiae	Augustine	Patristic, sermon
Augustinus_DeBonoViduitatis.txt	Augustine, De bono viduitatis	Augustine	Patristic, other
Augustinus_DeHaeresibus.txt	Augustine, De haeresibus	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Augustinus_BreviculusCollationisCumDonatistis.txt	Augustine, Breviculus coll. cum Donatistis	Augustine	Patristic, polemic
Anon_DetestandiSuntInHeresiPertinaces.txt	Anonymous, Detestandi sunt	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
Anon_DeHeresiCatharorum.txt	Anonymous, De heresi catharorum	Anonymous	Medieval, polemic
RayneriusSacconi_SummaDeCatharis.txt	Raynerius Sacconi, Summa de Catharis	Raynerius Sacconi	Medieval, polemic

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See Appendices A and B for a full list of works used in the text reuse analysis.

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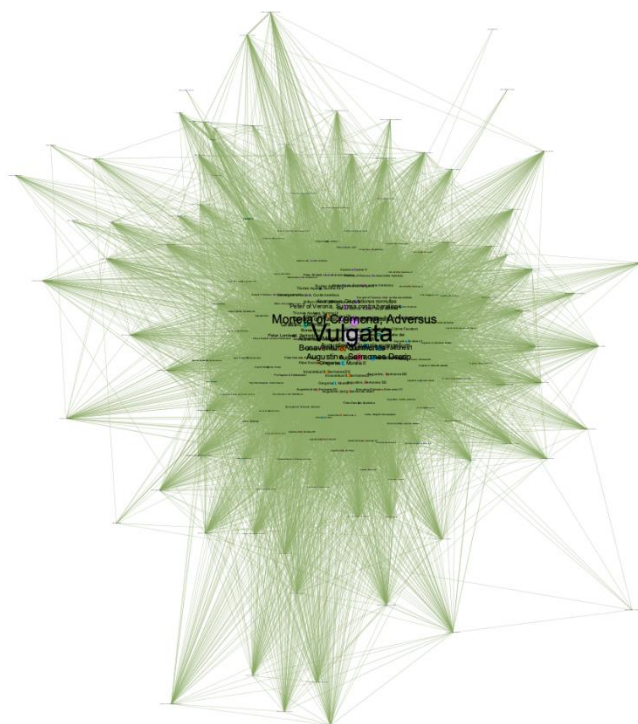
Images and captions

Image 1. The complete network of BLAST output with cluster minimum length of 100 characters. Gephi 0.10.1. ForceAtlas 2, scaling 50, gravity 1. Edge weights rescaled to 1–100.