

11A

THE CHURCH SPEAKS TO THE LAY MEMBER OF THE ORDER OF PREACHERS

SCRIPTURE: 1 Pt. 3:15-16:

Venerate the Lord, that is, Christ, in your hearts. Should anyone ask you the reason for this hope of yours, be ever ready to reply, but speak gently and respectfully. Keep your conscience clear, so that, whenever you are defamed, those who libel your way of life in Christ may be shamed. (NAB.)

SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL: Decree on the Apostolate of Lay People (Apostolicam Actuositatem, 18 Nov. 1965), n° 6, which is entitled, "The Apostolate of Evangelization and Sanctification":

6. The Church's mission is concerned with the salvation of men; and men win salvation through the grace of Christ and faith in him. The apostolate of the Church therefore, and of each of its members, aims primarily at announcing to the world by word and action the message of Christ and communicating to it the grace of Christ. The principal means of bringing this about is the ministry of the word and of the sacraments. Committed in a special way to the clergy, it leaves room however for a highly important part for the laity, the part namely of "helping on the cause of truth" (3 Jn. 8). It is in this sphere most of all that the lay apostolate and the pastoral ministry complete each other.

Laymen have countless opportunities for exercising the apostolate of evangelization and sanctification. The very witness of a Christian life, and good works done in a supernatural spirit, are effective in drawing men to the faith and to God; and that is what the Lord has said: "Your light must shine so brightly before men that they can see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven" (Mat. 5:16).

This witness of life, however, is not the sole element in the apostolate: the true apostle is in the lookout for occasions of announcing Christ by word, wither to unbelievers to draw them towards the faith, or to the faithful to instruct them, strengthn them, incite them to a more fervent life; "for Christ's love urges us on" (2 Cor. 5:14), and in the hearts of all should the apostle's words find echo: "Woe to me if I do not preach the Gospel" (1 Cor. 9:16).<sup>1</sup>

At a time when new questions are being put and when grave errors aiming at undermining religion, the moral order and human society itself are rampant, The Council earnestly exhorts the laity to take a more active part, each according to his talents and knowledge and in fidelity to the mind of the Church, in the explanation and defense of Christian principles and in the correct application of them to the problems of our times.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Pius XI, Encyclical Letter Ubi arcano, 23 Dec. 1922: AAS 14 (1922) p. 659; Pius XII, Encyclical Letter Summi Pontificatus, 20 Oct. 1939: AAS 31 (1939) pp. 442-443.

(From Austin Flannery, O.P., ed., Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents. Northport, N.Y.: Costello Publishing Co., [©1975], pp. 772-773.)

THE CODE OF CANON LAW: Book III, "The Teaching Office of the Church," Title 1, "The Ministry of the Divine Word":

Can. 759 -- In virtue of their baptism and confirmation lay members of the Christian faithful are witnesses to the gospel message by word and by example of a Christian life; they can also be called upon to cooperate with the bishop and presbyters in the exercise of the ministry of the word.

Can. 766 — Lay persons can be admitted to preach in a church or oratory if it is necessary in certain circumstances or if it is useful in particular cases according to the prescriptions of the conference of bishops and with due regard for can. 767, § 1.

Can. 767 — § 1. Among the forms of preaching, the homily is preeminent; it is part of the liturgy itself and is reserved to a priest or to a deacon; in the homily the mysteries of faith and the norms of Christian living are to be expounded from the sacred text throughout the course of the liturgical year. (§§ 2 and 3 refer to the obligation to have a homily at every Mass on Sundays and Holy Days of Obligation, and the desirability of having homilies at other Masses.) § 4. It is the duty of the pastor or the rector of a church to see to it that these prescriptions are conscientiously observed.

Book II, "The People of God," Title V, "Associations of the Christian Faithful":

Can. 298 — § 1. In the Church there are associations distinct from institutes of consecrated life and societies of apostolic life, in which the Christian faithful, either clergy or laity, or clergy and laity together, strive by common effort to promote a more perfect life or to foster public worship or Christian doctrine or to exercise other apostolic works, namely to engage in efforts of evangelization, to exercise works of piety or charity and to animate the temporal order with the Christian spirit.

§ 2. The Christian faithful should enroll especially in associations which are erected or praised or recommended by competent ecclesiastical authority.

Can. 301 — § 1. Competent ecclesiastical authority alone has the right to erect associations of the Christian faithful which set out to teach Christian doctrine in the name of the Church or to promote public worship or which aim at other ends whose pursuit by their nature is reserved to the same ecclesiastical authority. (§ 2 says that competent ecclesiastical authority can erect associations of the faithful for any spiritual purpose it wants.)

§ 3. Associations of the Christian faithful which are erected by competent ecclesiastical authority are called public associations.

Can. 303 — Associations whose members lead an apostolic life and strive for Christian perfection while living in the world and who share the spirit of some religious institute under the higher direction of that same institute are called third orders or some other appropriate name.

Can. 305 — § 1. All associations of the Christian faithful are subject to the vigilance of competent ecclesiastical authority, whose duty is to take care that integrity of faith and morals is preserved in them and to watch lest abuse creep into ecclesiastical discipline; therefore that authority has the right and duty to visit them in accord with the norm of law and the statutes; such associations are also subject to the governance of the same authority according to the prescriptions of the following canons.

§ 2. Associations of any kind whatever are subject to the vigilance of the Holy See; diocesan associations and also other associations to the extent that they work in the diocese are subject to the vigilance of the local ordinary.

Can. 311 — Members of institutes of consecrated life who preside over or assist associations in some way united to their institute are to see to it that these associations give assistance to the works of the apostolate in a diocese, especially cooperating, under the direction of the local ordinary, with associations which are ordered to the exercise of the apostolate in the diocese.

Can. 312 — § 2. ...the consent given by a diocesan bishop for the erection of a house of a religious institute also allows for the erection, in the same house or church attached to it, of an association proper to the institute.

Can. 313 — A public association as well as a confederation of public associations is constituted a juridic person by the decree by which it is erected by competent ecclesiastical authority in accord with the norm of can. 312; it also thereby receives a mission to pursue the ends which it proposes for itself in the name of the Church, to the extent that such a mission is required. [Note: Every Christian is expected to speak up for God, as indicated by the scriptural and conciliar selections on p. 1 above, but this refers to the Christian in his private capacity. To speak for God as a representative of the Church requires a canonical mission, in accord with Rom. 10:13-15: "Everyone who calls on the name of the Lord will be saved." But how shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? And how can they believe unless they have heard of him? And how can they hear unless there is someone to preach? And how can men preach unless they are sent?" (NAB.) Can. 313 means that the Holy See, by approving the Rule, grants to the Dominican Laity a "share in the mission of this Order" of Preachers (quoting from the Preamble to the Rule). Since therefore lay members of the Order of Preachers speak for God not only in their private capacity but as canonically approved representatives of the Church, it is incumbent upon them to know, propose, explain and defend, as attractively as possible, the Church's own authoritative positions, and not merely private or dissenting views.]

Can. 315 — Public associations on their own initiative can begin undertakings in keeping with their character, and they can direct them in accord with their statutes, but under the further direction of the ecclesiastical authority mentioned in can. 312, § 1. [Note: According to can. 312, § 1, this authority for us is the Holy See.]

Can. 317 — § 3. In associations which are not clerical, lay persons can exercise the office of moderator; the chaplain or ecclesiastical assistant shall not assume that role unless the statutes provide otherwise. [Note: This is the official English translation. The Latin means not that lay persons can or cannot be moderator, but rather that lay persons have it as their competence to be moderator, so that being moderator pertains to them unless the statutes of the group state otherwise. The Third Order of Preachers, aka. the Dominican Laity, is not a clerical association. The moderator among us is called the prior or prioress, from the Latin, "prior inter pares," "first among equals," a phrase dear to the Order because it evokes the democratic mode of procedure given us by St. Dominic himself.]

Can. 320 — § 1. Associations erected by the Holy See can be suppressed only by the Holy See. [The Third Order was erected as a public lay association under the jurisdiction of the Friars when Pope Innocent VII on 26 June 1405 approved the Rule issued in 1285 by Munio de Zamora, Master of the Order of Preachers. Since then all changes in the Rule have had to be submitted to the Holy See for its further approval, for what the Holy See has established, no lower authority can alter simply on its own.]

§ 2. [Does not apply.]

§ 3. A public association is not to be suppressed by competent authority without having heard its moderator and other major officials.

Can. 327 -- Lay members of the Christian faithful are to esteem greatly associations established for the spiritual purposes mentioned in can. 298, and especially those which propose to animate the temporal order with the Christian spirit and in this way greatly foster an intimate union between faith and life.

Can. 328 -- Those who preside over associations of the laity, even those associations erected in virtue of an apostolic privilege, are to see to it that they cooperate with other associations of the Christian faithful, where it is expedient, and willingly assist the various Christian works especially those in the same territory.

Can. 329 -- Moderators of associations of the laity are to see to it that the members of the association are duly formed for the exercise of the apostolate which is proper to the laity.

(From Code of Canon Law, Latin-English Edition. Washington, D.C.: Canon Lay Society of America, [© 1983].) [The items in square brackets are by the compiler of these 4 pp., Fr. Bartholomew de la Torre, O.P., 5 Nov. 1984.]

[CONCLUDING COMMENTS:

As we see from the preceding selections from the Code of Canon Law, the lay member of the Order of Preachers is given a share in that Order's own canonical mission to proclaim, in the name of the official Church, that Church's own proclamations. Though not all Christians are commissioned to speak in the name of the Church herself, we see from the scriptural and conciliar selections on p. 1, above, that all Christians are called to express in their own name, i.e. in their own private capacity as committed believers, the Catholic faith they live by. And so with Moses, the Dominican friar, sister or lay person cries out, "O that all th people might prophesy, and that the Lord would give them his spirit!" (Num. 11:29 Douay-Rheims trans.) Nevertheless, history shows that the verbal witnessing of al other Catholics is greatly affected by the vitality or lack thereof with which the Order of Preachers enters into its own proper mission, preaching. In every field specialists are needed so that the achievements of the non-specialists working in that field can be maintained and advanced. The Order of Preachers, including its lay branch, is the only group specially and specifically singled out by the Church under the guidance of the Holy Spirit for the ministry of the word. For we are th only Order of Preachers the Church has ever approved, the only group to which she has granted that most important title. That ~~is~~ noble title carries with it a great responsibility, that of being the Church's specialists in the critical task preaching. And just as history shows that the general quality of ecclesiastical preaching rises or falls with the Order's success or failure at that task, so also will the Catholic laity succeed in answering the conciliar call to speak out for ( only to the degree that the Dominican Laity is proficient in its own ministry of the word. Though God could have arranged it otherwise, the Spirit has set up the Order of Preachers as the principal channel whereby the charism of preaching is to flow to the Church. If we Dominicans but cooperate with grace, the Spirit will w through all of us, friars, sisters and lay people, to shape our preaching and that of all the Church. Our success will flow from and is to be measured not by learni or eloquence directly, but by our cooperating generously with grace!

Fr. Bartholomew de la Torre, O.P., 5 Nov. 1984, Wash., D.C.]

## THE PARADOXICAL ORIGINS OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. DOMINIC

from Marie-Humbert Vicaire, O.P., *Dominique et ses Precheurs*, 1977. Editions Universitaires, Fribourg, Switzerland. Jean-Francois Orsini, T.O.P., Ph.D. and Bartholomew de la Torre, O.P., Ph.D., Translators. Chapter of the Immaculate Conception, Washington, D.C. 1984.

Today the history of the Third Order of St. Dominic has been unburdened of the false legends and preconceived ideas that have laced it with their errors (1).

The first of these legends was that the Third Order dated as far back as St. Dominic himself. The Dominican Thomas Caffarini of Siena, who spread this opinion at the end of the XIVth century in a classic text, is the one most responsible for it. Since then his theory has been carried along and amplified without becoming any sounder. In order to prove that St. Dominic founded the Third Order and to cover the gap in documentation between the death of the founder and the certainty of the existence of the Third Order in 1285, he used much ingenuity to identify this institution with a series of preceding confraternities or militias, identifications which are all the more abusive in that some of these foundations had in fact as their authors not Preachers but Minors and even secular prelates. This pure invention has completely collapsed in our days.

Another misconception claimed that the Third Orders of mendicant religious orders were so self-evident that they could be considered to date back to the birth of these orders. This misconception was based on two authentic facts. First, that all of the mendicant orders and even some of the other orders of the XIII century, such as the Trinitarians and Servites, today have Third Orders, but this in itself does not constitute any proof about their origins. It was known, on the other hand, that the Order of Preachers was from its origin very much involved with lay people, and urban laity in particular. This is true, but it does not necessarily follow that these lay people were organized in chapters within the Order of Saint Dominic.

From its first appearance in the documents, the Third Order of St. Dominic, as we will see, constituted a true branch of the Order of Preachers from which the members, bound by a declaration of obedience to the Master General, receive their rule and regulations, their regular visitators, their directors and even the superiors of their local chapters. Nothing similar had ever existed in any other order of the XIIIth century, not even with the Franciscans (although there are reports, dated 1228-1229, of a Third Order of married people originating with St. Francis), and not even with the Humiliati, for whom the phrase Third Order was created in 1201. Finally, it is certain that up to the last decades of the XIIIth century, the Ordo de Paenitentia, from which after 1285 were to sprout simultaneously the Third Orders of Saint Francis and of Saint Dominic, did not wish in any way to be organically tied either to the Minors or to the Preachers. This situation was to change in later years.

Furthermore, if the Franciscan Third Order is much indebted to Saint Francis and came out of his Order in a very natural fashion, the Dominican Third Order has something truly paradoxical about it. This will be shown by stressing first its late origin.

## I. THE ORIGIN OF THE DOMINICAN THIRD ORDER IS LATE

### 1. The Second Order

Between 1257 and 1267, especially between 1257 and 1259, the Order of Saint Dominic was obliged by the Popes to incorporate within its ranks many convents of nuns, for which the Order

drew up a general rule in 1259. This in fact gave birth to the Second Order of Saint Dominic (2). The phrase Second Order was not yet used, but the reality existed.

The word incorporate which has just been used is not an invention; it is found in the documents (3). The union of the cloistered women communities with the Order of Preachers was carried out effectively like the incorporation of parishes, with the important difference that the properties of the incorporated monasteries did not go to the Order of Preachers, which had no capacity to receive them since it had in 1220 specifically renounced "all properties and revenues" (possessiones et redditus nullatenus recipiantur).

The word obliged signifies well the frame of mind of the Friars of Saint Dominic at the time of this incorporation. Since 1228, indeed, they had not ceased to take steps to avoid the burden of the sisters' monasteries. Humbert of Romans admits this in 1260 in his encyclical letter addressed to the nuns, for whom he had just published the constitutions. He recommends to them that they foster a special fervor. "Thus," he concludes, "the friars whom we have obliged to carry the pastoral burden for you, upon witnessing with joy the holiness of your way of life, will discharge this responsibility willingly rather than begrudgingly !" (4)

The Order, indeed, was afraid of three things: the weight of the spiritual burden, the cura animarum (care of souls), which required a great number of Fathers; the financial burden, which a mendicant order could in no way assume; and the fatigue that would come from having to visit the monasteries regularly. Thus, as early as October 15, 1239, the Order had received from the Pope the privilege to be dispensed from the cura monialium (care of nuns), a privilege which it got renewed in the course of the same year, then in 1243, 1257 and even again in 1261 (5). It is only in 1267 that the Order accepted the branch of the nuns, or the Second Order, in a complete and definitive manner. (6)

## 2. The Ordo de Paenitentia sancti Dominici

In 1285, the Master General of the Preachers, Munio de Zamora, took the initiative to have the rule of the Ordo de Paenitentia sancti Dominici (Order of Penance of Saint Dominic) drawn up and published (7). Soon after, on January 28, 1286, Pope Honorius IV granted to those who followed this rule the privilege, which was most precious at the time, of being exempt from interdict (8). The rule, however, and for a long time afterwards, was not confirmed by the Pope.

Munio de Zamora directed this rule to lay penitents, many of whom were grouped in that Ordo de Paenitentia which one can read about also in the history of the Third Order of Saint Francis and whose roots go back to the end of the XIIth century. The first efforts to give it organization date to the Memoriale of 1221-1228, a statute which regulates the life of the fraternities and determines a common visitator. This group of fraternities was widespread throughout northern Italy, where it formed the large Lombardy Province which assembled in chapter in 1280. At the same date other fraternities also existed, although less numerous, in central Italy. Master Munio, however, addressed himself only to that part of the Ordo de Penitentia whose members were connected to the Preachers, such as the penitents of the "black mantle" of Florence, whom we will see later. He also addressed himself to those lay penitents, especially female penitents, who were isolated or even in groups but not in fraternities. They extended, as we will see, over most of Western Europe. The Master thus offered these lay people, who had been independent up to now, an opportunity to accept the rule and, by promising obedience to the Master General, to enter within the jurisdiction of the Order of Preachers and so share in the life of its Brothers. This was the birth of the third branch of the Order, destined to live on to our own days.

However, as in with the term Second Order, the phrase Third Order was not yet utilized.

As in the case of the Second Order, the formal organization of the Third Order had been preceded and accompanied by widespread and varied activities on the part of the First Order with regard to different types of lay penitents.

### 3. The Preachers and the laity

From the very beginnings of his Order, Saint Dominic and some of his Brothers, had exercised spontaneously and by individual initiatives a fruitful ministry with lay people, especially women, who had dedicated themselves to a life of devotion. The ministry of Blessed Jordan of Saxony and of his great friend Brother Henry of Cologne towards "virgins, widows and true penitents" gives us a better understanding of this activity. We can find elements of this both in the Libellus de principiis ordinis Praedicatorum (Little Book on the Beginning of the Order of Preachers) (9) and in the letters of Blessed Jordan of Saxony to Blessed Diana d'Andalo (10). The lay people who requested the ministry of the Preachers abounded mostly in Italy. In 1247 the canonist of Bologna, John of God, talks of their way of life as of recent origin: "Quae de pulvere nuper surrexerunt" (they have but recently arisen as from the dust) (11). The important development in Lombardy of the Order of Penance is part of this situation whose mark remains in the names which are given to these men and women and which, within each of these lists, designate the same people:

Fratres de Paenitentia (brothers of penance), fr. de Paenitentia vitae conjugatorum (brothers of penance of conjugal life), continentes religiosi viri (continent religious men), pinzocheri.

Sorores de Paenitentia (sisters of penance), vestitae talis conventus (clothed of such and such priory), mantellatae (mantled), beginae, beghinae or beguinae, bizochae (dressed in grey),

pinzocherae, religiosae mulieres (religious women), pinzocherae.

Some of these names are self-evident. The name mantellata alludes to the black cloak which was the insignia of the laity connected with the Preachers. The name of beguines is the most pervasive and designates not only the sisters of Penance but also all types of pious lay women who, with or without a rule, with or without vows, profess a life of continence in isolation or in a community; it could come, as may the name of bizocha, from the Italian word "bigio", which designates a coarse, gray cloth out of which these devout women made their dress. As for the name pinzochera, this Italian name, the precise meaning of which escapes us, is readily given as an equivalent of mantellata "ad instar mantellatarum sive pinzocherarum ordinis Fratrum... Praedicatorum" (like the mantellatae or pinzocherae of the Order of Friars... Preachers) (12).

While male penitents in the strict sense were grouped in fraternities of Penitents according to the Memorial of 1221-1228 (13), the widows and the virgins stayed at home, especially in the cities. This obtained all the more for married women. They were often allowed to take the habit, that is to say the cloak or the veil, in a priory, as did the vestitae Sanctae Novellae (clothed ladies of Santa Maria Novella) of Florence. The bizochae fratrum sancti Dominici (bizochae of the Friars of St. Dominic) (14), mentioned in Agosta of Sicily in 1246, and the Dominae de Paenitentia plateae Sanctae Mariae Novellae (ladies of penance of the plaza of Santa Maria Novella), mentioned in Florence in 1258 (15), used to live together in a house close to the priory, the church of which they frequently visited.

Such groups were also found in Provence, in Germany and in France, where, before 1255, the chronicles of Richer of Sens mentions their pusilla habitacula (little dwellings), inhabited either by virgins, by matronae viduae continentes (continent matronly widows),

or by converted prostitutes, noble women or commoners who entrust themselves to the direction and spirituality of the Preachers whose church they frequented for the office of matins and for Mass sicut moris est beguinarum (as is the custom of the beguines) (16). We remember that in 1215, at the same time that he was founding his first community of Preachers in the house of Pierre Selhan, Saint Dominic took custody of a hospice of converted prostitutes at the Arnaud-Bernard gate (17). Farther north, under the instigation of the bishops or of the papal legates, this women's movement acquired distinctive features and developed between 1240 and 1280 into the great beguinages of France, of the Low Countries and of the Rhineland. These large establishments were often entrusted to the pastoral ministry of the Preachers. In some cases this women's movement developed into true religious orders, such as the "Penitents of Saint Mary Magdalene in Germany" who, founded at Worms in 1224, adopted in 1232 the rule of the Dominican nuns of St. Sixtus (18). Nevertheless too many women penitents remained isolated or not well grouped, even though they lived in the shadow of the Order. These pious women, called simply devout sisters, were marked by a veil, the habit, or even by a vow (19). It is clear then that some Preachers must have gone beyond the restrictions written into the Constitutions in 1228: "No one, henceforth, shall cut the hair of any woman, nor give her the habit, nor allow her to pronounce a vow (of chastity)" (20).

#### 4. The directives on the beguines

As early as 1228, indeed, the Order took very firm steps to control the relations of the Brothers with these semi-religious women. This is part of a global legislation whose obvious goal was to avoid paralyzing or compromising the Order through the "care" or the "guardianship of nuns or of any other women" (21). The categorical tone of these directives show that they constituted the end of a phase. The crisis had been brewing for several

years. The spread of this crisis was beyond the confines of a single Order. Before the Preachers, it had reached the Premonstratensians, the Cistercians and above all the Franciscans. By 1221, the first letter of Saint Francis had taken a clear position on the matter: "Let no Brother be attached to any woman through a vow of obedience, but after receiving from him spiritual counsel, let her become a penitent wherever she wishes" (22). We have seen that in the matter of the nuns the crisis would last about forty years.

Penitents were objects of further legislation passed by the General Chapters (five between 1240 and 1259) (23), and by chapters of the Roman Province (nine between 1240 and 1264) (24), of the Province of Lombardy (1275, but the acts were not kept before 1254) (25), and of Provence (1264 and 1288) (26). They are called religiosae mulieres, bisocae and more frequently bighinae (beguinae). They are clearly distinguished from nuns who are exclusively encountered in their monasteries, and from the numerous pious women who came for confession in the churches of the priories. The fundamental command not to bring to the Order the burden of another religious house of women, nor to advise any woman to take the veil or the black mantle, so solemnly given in 1228, was reiterated, sometimes with accompanying sanctions, in 1259 (General Chapter), in 1271 (Roman Province), and in 1275 (Lombardy Province). The chapters also pointedly forbade all acts which implied ties of authority and dependency, such as the distribution of a sacrament other than penance (like the anointing of the sick), the promotion or the demotion of a superior, and the canonical visitation of a house. From 1243, however, the main concern was the regulation of confession and of spiritual direction. In the priories, confessors for the beguines were to be instituted who were "clearly designated, mature and small in number" (27). Only priests could talk to the beguines in the church, but seldom. Their confessions had to be less frequent than in the cases of other



people. As concerns visits in their houses, they had to be "extremely rare", and for reasons of usefulness and necessity: to comfort the afflicted, or to hear the confessions of the sick. A maximum frequency of one confession every two weeks was decided. Apparently, the beguines, who had formed non-cloistered houses, besieged the Preachers for their spiritual services.

Humbert of Romans acknowledged this in his De officiis: "The confessor of these women, who are called beguines and who have the appetite for frequent confession, must temper this desire to communicate with such frequency as to be excessive and almost without utility; he must establish the terms of these confessions, contrary to which he will not hear them. He will never accept other types of meetings which are too frequent, and would always prefer to use with them a tone which is assured and firm, rather than too soft" (28).

The least we can say is that in the last quarter of the XIIIth century, the Order, which had by now accepted the custody of a number of monasteries of nuns, kept on being very reserved as concerns female penitents or beguines, without refusing them, however, the general assistance that it granted to all the laity, women as well as men. It seemed to be mostly concerned with those who lived in groups, in a house. In these circumstances, it is not the fact of the late establishment of an "Order of Penance of Saint Dominic" in 1285 which is surprising, but that it was established at all. Moreover, it will take some time to spread.

Although this type of life was illustrated for us in a sensational manner in the person of Saint Catherine, the mantellata of Siena (died 1380), we must admit that its history in the XIV century remains obscure to us, especially outside of Italy. Doubtless, the documents, wills, acts of the confraternities, archives of priories and chronicles are insufficiently studied. But even at that, there is little material to work on.

Two facts are indeed certain. Though we have many manuscripts of the

rule of Munio de Zamora dating from the XVth century, we do not have any from the XIVth century (29). They would certainly not have been lacking if the Order of Penance of Saint Dominic had somewhat spread, especially outside of Italy. On the other hand, it appears again and again that the natural diffusion of this Order is dependent on the action of Saint Catherine of Siena's

director, blessed Raymond of Capua (died 1399), who became Master of the Order, and of the Sienese Dominican, Thomas Caffarini. The latter was the one who was busy giving a history (30) to the Ordo de Paenitentia sancti Dominici, not an authentic history but a very efficacious one, and who was working to have its rule approved by Pope Innocent VII. It was approved on June 26, 1405 (31). It had to wait one hundred and twenty years for that! Again, it is through the ingenuity of Thomas of Siena that this way of life was widely made known. He succeeded on all points. The title Third Order appears at this time - the birth of a new name is always at least the sign of a re-birth. From then on the Third Order spread widely under a great variety of forms. It has given birth to many branches of the Order of Saint Dominic in this present period of the Church: laity of both sexes, couples, priests, convents isolated and congregations of religious men and women of all types and with very different ministries. This fecundity has not yet been exhausted.

We were thus correct to talk about a late origin of the Third Order of Saint Dominic. For by vocation the Preachers were from the start inextricably involved with the laity, and the Third Order is the fruit of this intimate connection. Then why is it that this fruit came so late? If one carefully considers both the tree and its fruit, as well as the circumstances in which that fruit was produced (i.e. the publication by Munio de Zamora of the rule of 1285), then one will perceive that this achievement was late because it was accidental and even paradoxical.

## II. A PARADOXICAL LAY BRANCH

### 1. An order of clerics

The Order of Preachers is by essence an order of clerics. Its founder, Dominic, belonged by his training, his state of life, his ministries and his inspirations to that group of clerical reformers who still in the XIIIth century gave thrust to the Gregorian reform. We will give only two illustrations. The Osma cathedral chapter of Canons Regular, founded in the midst of the Gregorian reform by two Cluniac bishops originally from the south of France, regained the fulness of its initial spirit just at the time Dominic was completing his clerical training. On May 11, 1199, the bishop, with the agreement of all the canons, asked the Primate of Spain to sanction, the king to accept and the Pope to confirm a series of statutes which reestablished, among other things, the radically communal life of the rule of St. Augustine, which imitated the way the Apostles used to live (32). On the other hand the ministry of Dominic in the Languedoc, as well as in Lombardy, was in full communion with the action of the Pontifical legates and of the local reforming councils, which culminated in the IVth Lateran Council. The founding of the Preachers in the XIIIth century took place, then, at the junction of two great reforming forces which had implemented and extended the reform of the XIth century: the evangelical return to the Vita Apostolica (Apostolic Life), i.e. the type of life led by the Apostles and the primitive Church (33), and the decrees and conciliar decisions made on the basis of Patristic collections and traditions (34).

However, the Gregorian reform had aimed at and accomplished mostly a reform of the clerics. Was it not the clerical state itself that was at stake and that was finally won back by the hierarchical Church in her battle over investiture and societal leadership? She wanted, and partly obtained, clerics who were worthy of their spiritual responsibilities.

Some of the clerics in the chapters of regulars were indeed touched and renewed by the Apostolic ideals of chastity, unanimity and poverty. On another front, the movement to found cathedral schools, which the creation of the universities a century later further expanded and deepened, allowed the majority of these clerics to become, as they should have been, educated men capable of heralding the word of God verbo et exemplo (by word and example). The clergy at the same time received from the reform movement a greater liberty from the laity (libertas ecclesiae), which was a condition for their purity and for the efficacy of their ministries.

Do these considerations not show sufficiently that the Order of Preachers as it was desired by Dominic is, in virtue of its dedication to preaching for the salvation of souls, the goal if not the eminence of the XIth century reform? The Order of Preachers is an order of scholars, specifically priestly. It practices the evangelical way of life, having added to the unanimity and selflessness of common life, demanded by the rule of St. Augustine, the daily abandonment to Providence which the mendicancy of the priory as well of the preacher represents (35). From the Pope the Order received a commission, parallel to but independent from that of the bishops, to share in the Church's prophetic function of ministering salvation through preaching and teaching God's word. The Order fulfills this mission in freedom, as it is not only free from temporal authority - by right and also de facto because of its poverty - but also from the Church hierarchy, not being required to attend to souls in the pastoral manner of the secular clergy.

Part of this reform of the Church which affected the whole history of the Middle Ages, the Order of Preachers was directly an attempt to reform the life and ministry of the clergy. It was only indirectly a reform of the whole Church. The Order was a reform of the part, not of the whole: of the clerics, not of all Christians, and therefore not of the lay

masses. Its evangelization, which was very real, was an evangelization of clerics according to the model of the Apostles, which by definition was not exercised by the laity.

It is all the more paradoxical then that the Order incorporated a lay branch to itself, whereas the Church of Innocent III and of the Popes of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries genuinely intended to reserve only for priests, whom it took so many efforts to reform, the traditional monopoly over preaching the faith, the very monopoly which defines the Friar Preacher.

## 2. Lay evangelism and proselytism

We do not intend to review again here the history of lay evangelism in the XIIth century, nor of its proselytism. Neither do we intend to show by which manner the hierarchical Church showed itself negative in the second part of the century, in its bishops and less drastically but still in a real manner in its Popes, towards proselytism by the laity (36). The Church after 1215 opened the way for the mendicant orders, but simultaneously favored with all her strength the progressive clericalization of these orders. Evangelical proselytism by the laity who intended to remain lay was expressed, especially in northern Italy, in Romagna, in Lombardy and in Tuscany, in the penitential movement and more specifically in the interconnected fraternities within the Ordo de Penitentia, for which the action of St. Francis and of his Brothers had been crucial.

## 3. The Penitents of the black mantle in Florence.

In Florence, in 1219, the Order of Preachers came into close communication with the Ordo de Paenitentia (37). A local fraternity of voluntary penitents had taken up at that time a ministry of public charity as well as of devotion. Wealthy Florentine bourgeois within this fraternity founded works of mercy in great style. Outside the city walls they

opened two hospices for travelers and wanderers; San Gallo and San Pancrazio. There they received in the first hospice the Friars of Saint Francis, and in the second the Friars of Saint Dominic.

In the course of the XIIIth century, these penitents asked for sermons from both Preachers and Minors without putting themselves under their government. About 1275, however, opposite orientations had come about and had set in among them, dividing them. Two groups existed which carried different mantles, or insigna: the gray of Franciscan orientation, and the black of Dominican orientation. Note that it was orientation, not subjection. The lay people of the Ordo de Paenitentia insisted above all on their independence. The blacks greatly outnumbered the grays and were headquartered in the hospice of Santa Maria Novella, which was attached to the church of the same name, which church had been given to the Dominicans. This hospice had become an important center of ministry. It received all sorts of gifts and progressively passed them on to the Dominican priory to ensure its existence. These were in a way reciprocal ties of fraternal nourishment, respectively spiritual and temporal, which bound together the penitents and the Order of Saint Dominic. Some members of the Florentine upper bourgeoisie had joined the penitent brothers of the black mantle. Toward the end of the century even members of the Mozzi family, which dreamed of dominating Florence by their financial power, would be found in the fraternity. All this led to unsettling consequences for the authenticity of its way of life.

For example, the rule of peace, a commitment by the penitents not to bear weapons as a sign of Christian pacifism, allowed some of them to escape the military duties of the cities by joining the fraternity. The civil authorities complained about this to Rome, but Rome sent back letters protecting the rights of the penitents. The matter of oaths was similar. The penitents had decided in 1221, as the first element in their

evangelical attitude, that no oath would be taken in order to signify that truth is an important Christian law by itself and in order to obey the Gospel precept, as they understood it, against oaths. Rome however intervened in order to preserve some especially necessary oaths, in particular the oath of peace and the oath of homage, which were the building stones of the feudal system. But the rule of the Florentine penitents adds further modifications: it will be possible to take an oath for buying, selling, bestowing donations ... "each time that it will be useful" (38). In addition, the black penitents, with their knack at managing works of charity, succeeded in controlling the assets of all the penitents of Florence, by which they exercised a great power over the city. They constituted in reality a powerful special interest group, a sort of "Opus Dei". One can wonder where charity ended and where politics or even peddling started.

#### 4. The rule of Munio.

The ambiguous and disordered situation of the penitents was not limited to Florence. In 1286, the bishop of Citta di Castello worked to give the penitents new hope and to unite them under the local fraternity (39). In Prato in 1284, the bishop issued statutes for all the female penitents of his diocese, whether they were isolated or in groups (40). But in Florence, Rome itself seems to have intervened. In 1284, a brother Claro, Guardian of the Minors, introduced himself as an Apostolic Visitor. He tried to bring together, though in a very flexible manner, all the gray and black penitents under the Order of Saint Francis so as to control them better and bring them back to genuine poverty. It was not the first try of this kind; in 1247, Innocent IV had for a short period entrusted to the Provincials of the Minors the control of all the penitents of Italy (41). This time however it was quite specific. The black penitents refused. They intended to keep their independence. Pressed by a Minor, they

appealed to the Preachers. We do not know the terms of the appeal, but we have the response. It is the rule of Munio de Zamora (42). It is apparently close to that which the Visitor from the Order of St. Francis, basing himself on the Memorial of 1221-1228, had drawn up for the benefit of the gray penitents; but it was magisterially reworked. The changes, slight in appearance, were capital.

To begin with, the Order admitted to the Ordo de Paenitentiae Sancti Dominici only those penitents who agreed to come under the direct jurisdiction of the Master of the Order and to receive a Dominican priest who would be the master and director of the fraternity and who would himself name the prior. These measures are not democratic at all; they hardly correspond to the spirit not only of the penitents but also of the Order itself, which however did not delay in softening these conditions. But these stipulations do reveal that the Order really intended to take responsibility for the lay branch and to grant to this branch the great hope of lay movements, always disappointed up to then: the mission of evangelical proselytism.

This is indeed the second element. The rule of Munio de Zamora does not include anything about works of charity, hospices, the raising of money or corporal works of mercy. On the other hand it opens the door from then on to participation in another kind of mercy, spiritual mercy. From the very beginning, the rule lays down as a sine qua non condition for all the penitents of Saint Dominic: "That they be of irreproachable conduct and of good repute. That they be suspect in no measure of heresy, but on the contrary, that they be in the Lord totally sons of Saint Dominic, namely: that they be filled to the utmost with a jealous and consuming zeal according to their proper state, for the truth of the Catholic faith" (43).

These corrections achieved two essential changes. On the one hand by substituting the work of spiritual mercy for the work of corporal mercy that used to be practiced by the black or gray

penitents of Florence, the Order makes the laity of St. Dominic enter into the apostolic definition of the Order of Preachers.

On the other hand by incorporating lay people into the Order, the rule brought them to the center of the Church. Someone had to take responsibility for the ministry of these lay people. Indeed, it is not possible to partake in the official diffusion of the faith without a mission to do so from the Church. All the texts remind us of this point as early as the middle of the XIth century: "How can we preach, if we do not receive a commission?" (44). It is necessary to be visibly mandated in order to preach. The lay people of Saint Dominic are mandated because they are attached to the Master of the Order and through him to the whole Order with its mission, which had been confirmed once and for all by the Pope (45).

Few of the black penitents in fact accepted the offer of Master Munio which would have deprived them of their independence and of their financial power. They preferred to reconcile themselves with the gray penitents and join them, thus separating themselves from the Preachers from then on.

But a way was truly laid open for the laity, a way which would allow them a direct and active participation in what is proper to the Preachers, the defense and diffusion of the truth of salvation. For accidental and paradoxical though this origin of the Third Order was in 1285 - and this circumstance explains the slow growth of the Ordo de Paenitentia Sancti Dominici in the XIVth century - it was not artificial. On the contrary. The definition that the Master of the Order gives to the Third Order in his rule is not only within the essential lines of the purpose of the Order of Preachers, it is consistent with the proper and constant orientation of the prior initiatives of the Order in regards to the laity. We must now examine this assertion and so further reveal the solidity with which the Third Order was set within the Ordo praedicatorum

universus (the whole Order of Preachers).

### III. DOMINICAN AUTHENTICITY OF THE THIRD ORDER

#### 1. Lay institutions

Because they are responsible and prophetic clerics, the Preachers have had since the beginning very close relations with the laity, to whom their apostolate was directed. Let us also recall the beginning of the Bull of recommendation of the Preachers by Honorius III in 1221: Cum qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophete, mercedem prophete accipiat ... (Since he who welcomes a prophet because he bears the name of a prophet receives a prophet's reward' [Matt. 10:41]) (46). The relationship between the laity and the Friars was further pronounced because of the latter's urban orientation.

"We have learned from sound witnesses," the officials of the town of Saint Junien wrote in 1291 to the Provincial Chapter of Provence" that the cities and towns in which your benevolence has succeeded in establishing a residence have become better to the naked eye ...for they welcome the people who bring peace, enlighten the motherland and free the people of God from the bonds of sin" (47).

From this ministry among the laity were soon born institutions, confraternities, militias, and groups of all kinds. These associations were naturally similar to those that everywhere during this epoch heightened that taste for community which was prevalent in the cities as well as in the countryside. They were nevertheless fundamentally oriented toward the moral and religious transformation of the participants. Being social, however, they also possessed an active bent. On both counts they contained a definite Dominican character.

#### 2. The confraternity of Saint Dominic (1234)

As early as 1234 which is the date of the canonization of Saint Dominic, it seems that a confraternity of the Saint was created by the Preachers of Bologna, where he is buried (48). The statutes naturally stress a conversion of life for the confreres, their asceticism and their prayers. However, they also contain an original element, which is not encountered in similar statutes. The confraternity is declared "instituted for the veneration of Saint Dominic and for the salvation of souls". Although said souls are principally the souls of the confreres, it remains that the formula is general in scope and that it can be detected as an echo of the prescription given by Dominic to his Brothers to behave in all occasions "as men who seek their salvation and the salvation of their neighbors". To be sure, the Order from its origin had been instituted "for preaching and the salvation of souls". (49)

### 3. The Militia of Jesus Christ of Parma (1235)

In 1233 there was founded among the nobility of Parma an order of knights with the objective of supporting the ministry of the Church (50). In the northern regions of Italy, the consequences of the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy on the one hand and the independence of the cities on the other often deprived the Church of the temporal help that monarchy and feodality used to grant her. It was therefore urgent for her, according to the Christian mentality which was still universal, to find reliable champions among the masses and the various classes. In 1235, the Preacher, Bl. Bartholomew of Vicenza, gave to the movement its statutes. The Militia of Jesus Christ was in no manner related to the Order of Preachers nor did it agree to select its pastors among its Friars. However, that the black mantle was its insignia brings at least the hint of a relationship. This indication is even more precisely given by the invocation of Jesus Christ, a characteristic at that time of every Catholic movement

which opposed the Cathars and their docetism (51). The definition of the Militia's goal further confirms its Dominican connections clearly. "The principal purpose" of the Militia was to mobilize the Christian nobility for the defence of the Church's freedom and orthodoxy. The statutes put a stress specifically on the second point. The knight must distinguish himself by "the integral purity of his faith", by "his obedience and devotion to the Pope and to the bishops", reserving to his own master only a "reverent attention". He agrees to the "defense of the Catholic faith against the heretical faiths, which he will manfully attack". He must prevent in his city any attack against the liberty of the Church either by the laws or by any other means. Finally, he agrees even to take up arms at the call of the Church against the oppression of the weak (52).

### 4. The Societies of the Virgin

Between 1232 and 1263 Societies of the Virgin appeared in Milan, in Florence, in Bologna and in other places upon the initiative of Saint Peter Martyr and other Preachers (53). Their purpose was to bring together in those cities the mass of authentic Catholics in order to rekindle their faith through devotion to Mary. Their long term purpose was to have them support the city authorities in the application of the laws voted by the cities in favor of orthodoxy.

We learn from the letter of establishment given by Humbert of Romans that the "Society of the Virgin" in Bologna, Mantua and Faenza "aimed at arousing devotion to Mary "in order to extirpate sodomy and confound heresy" (54)

In Bergamo the Dominican Friar Pinamonte, in collaboration with the Dominican bishop of the city, founded a congregation of the "Virgin of Mercy". It is essentially a charitable society, but its orientation is characteristic: "in honor of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, mother of God, and of all the saints, for the confirmation and exaltation of

the holy Catholic faith, the confusion and overthrow of the heretics and of the whole heretical perversion" (55).

We have here, obviously, a more specific and concrete inspiration than that of the old anthem Gaude Maria Virgo, cunctas haereses sola interemisti (Rejoice, O Virgin Mary, for you alone have destroyed all heresies). In this era of the XIIIth century, the profane and the sacred were generally meshed in Western Christendom and particularly in northern Italy, where religious questions were completely intermixed with the turbulences of imperial, Papal and urban high politics. The spiritual ministry of the Friars Preachers for the re-establishment of peace and for the defense of the truth of the faith was therefore inconceivable without the collaboration of the lay faithful who could, in the city councils, counter-balance the actions of the heterodox. In most of these cities St. Peter Martyr and his followers also founded Societies of the Faithful or Societies of the Faith. These made available to the Friars a number of lay people who could intervene in any politico-religious affair, including investigations of faith, more efficaciously than the older synodal witnesses.

#### CONCLUSION

Save for the confraternities, these different associations, especially the last ones mentioned, do not constitute a preparation for the Ordo de Paenitentia Sancti Dominici. They are marked too clearly by the struggle that the ministry of the Preachers faced in Italy in the second third of the XIIIth century. These are institutions of circumstance which are directed immediately to specific and provisory campaigns. In particular none of them comes close to taking the shape of a lay branch of the Order organically related to it under the authority of the Master, as did the Ordo de Paenitentia Sancti Dominici after 1285. None allows the laity to participate in the mission of faith in an internal and positive manner.

It is however remarkable that all these movements, from the confraternities of Saint Dominic to the Societies of Faith, neglected or pushed aside financial, social or political power which resulted from the temporal works of mercy, in which the laity of the time readily participated. Instead they offered their members a collaboration, at least of an external type, in that spiritual work of mercy which defines the Order of the Preachers, namely the salvation of souls through the diffusion, deepening and defense of the truth of the faith.

In conclusion we must remember that in 1285 the Order really succeeded in incorporating to itself a lay branch, which remains lay to this day. This lay branch participates not only in the spirituality of the Preachers but also in their specific ministry. It is however not through this branch that the Order reached the lay masses most broadly. Since its beginning, the Order's activity on behalf of the laity was exercised above all through its wide ministry of preaching, of confession and of spiritual direction; through its very diverse devotional confraternities, among which the Confraternity of the Virgin under the form of the Confraternity of the Rosary achieved in the XVth century a very powerful renewal; through a grant to participate in the merits of the Order bestowed by a letter from the Master; through suffrages at the time of death granted by a Chapter; by burial in a priory with anniversary masses; and finally through a series of occasional ministries. These latter included both campaigns for penance within that tumultuous movement called the Alleluia, and the celebration of jubilees in which flagellants in sensational proclamations of reconciliation, of peace, of moral renewal or of orthodoxy involved a whole city and sometimes even an entire province.

1. G.G. Meersseman, Dossier de l'Ordre de la Penitence au XIIIe siecle (Spicilegium Friburgense, 7), Fribourg 1961 and Premier auctarium au dossier de l'Ordre de la Penitence au XIIIe s. Le manuel des Penitents de Brescia, in Rev. d'hist. ecclesiastique, LXII (1967), 5-48. For the Franciscans: L'ordine della Penitenza de San Francesco d'Assisi nel secolo XIII in Collectanea Franciscana, LXIII (1973), fasc. 1-3; especially: H. Roggen, Les relations du Premier ordre franciscain avec le Tiers-ordre au XIIIe s., 199-209, and P. Peano, Les "Pauvres freres de la Penitence" ou du "Tiers-ordre du Bienheureux Francois" en France meridionale au XIIIe s., 211-217.

2. O. Decker, Die Stellung des Dominikanerordens zu den Dominikanerinnen, 1207-1267 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Gesch. des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland, 31), Vechta 1935.

3. Decker, Dominikanerinnen, 89-92.

4. Litterae encyclicae Magistrorum generalium O.P. (MOPH V) Ed. M.B. Reichert, Rome 1900, 57. Decker, Dominikanerinnen, 108.

5. BOP I, 107, 121, 354, and 385; VII, 16.

6. BOP I, 481. Decker, Dominikanerinnen, 110.

7. Ed. G.G. Meersseman, Dossier, 144-156.

8. BOP II, 10.

9. Ed. H. C. Sheeben, MOPH XVI, Rome 1935, no. 79 to 85.

Translator's Note: Also in Francis C. Lehner, O.P., ed., Saint Dominic: Biographical Documents (Washington, D.C.: The Thomist Press, 1964).

10. Ed. A. Walz, MOPH XXII, Rome 1951.

11. Du Gange, s.v. Pyrocara. John of God is a Portuguese canonist in Bologna, a disciple of Tancred.

12. Du Gange, s.v. Pinzochera, after the Bull of Boniface IX.

Translator's Note:

Du Gange, vol. 5, under Pinzocha, pinzochera, refers the reader to vol. 1, Bizochi, where this word is derived etymologically from the two (bi-) sacks worn by beggars, one before and one

behind suspended by two straps, one over each shoulder. Like other beggars, the Dominican Friars also used the sacks for carrying things during their travels on foot. Du Gange also gives grey cloth as a second, possible etymology for pinzocha, pinzochera, bizochi, but the reasoning is strained. Webster New World Dictionary (World Publishing Co.) gives beggar as the etymological meaning of Beghard or Bequine, which are the masculine and feminine forms respectively of the same word.

13. Ed. Meersseman, Dossier, 92-112.

14. Constantin d'Orvieto, no. 120. MOPH XVI, Rome 1935, 350.

15. Meersseman, Dossier, 195.

Translator's Note:

The church of Santa Maria Novella dates from the 9th c. and has been under the care of the Friars Preachers since 1221. The present church building dates from 1279, the present plaza from 1287; the older plaza still exists as the Piazza dell'Unita Italiana. In the church is buried Bl. Villana de' Botti (1332-1361), T.O.P., housewife.

16. Richeri gesta senonensis Ecclesiae, ed. G. Waitz, M.G. XXV, Hanover 1880, L. IV, Ch. 17 and 19, 307 and 308.

17. HSD I, Paris 1957, 329-331.

18. A. Simon, L'Ordre des Penitentes de Ste Marie-Madeleine en Allemagne au XIIIe s., Fribourg 1918.

19. Gui, De fundatione, 35, l. 11.

20. Thomas, 360. See for the date, 283, n. 109. Jordan, in his letter XLVIII, tells us that it is indeed a vow of chastity: "Illud statuimus... propter personas extraneas mulierum, quas fratres nostri in diversis provinciis, dum converti vellent, tondere, induere, vel ad professionem continentiae recipere facile consueverunt." MOPH XXIII, 54. See Letter XLIX, 55.

21. Ibidem.

22. Ch. XII, ed. H. Boehmer, Analekten z. Gesch. des Franciscus von Assisi, Tübingen 1930, 9.

23. AGOP I, years 1240, 1242, 1247, 1251, 1259. MOPH III, 17, 24, 26, 59, 98.

24. Acta capitulorum provinciae romanae, 1243, 1246, 1248, 1249, 1252, 1253,



- 1260, 1264, 1271. MOPH XX, 1, 5, 8, 8-9, 13, 15, 24, 30, 38.
25. Acta cap. pr. lombardiae, in AFP XI (1941), 153.
26. APOP 105 and 318.
27. AGOP I, 1247. MOPH III, 26.
28. Instructiones officialium ordinis (1264-67) in Humbert, Opera II, 368.
29. Meersseman, Dossier, 143.
30. Tractatus de ordine fr. de Poenitentia S. Dominici di Fr. Tommaso di Siena Caffarini, ed. M.-H. Laurent, Siena 1938.
31. BOP II, 473.
32. Bull of May 11, 1199, Koudelka, No. 1. See HSD I, 85-105
33. M.-H. Vicaire, L'imitation des Apotres. Moines, chanoines et mendiants. IVe - XIIIe s., Paris 1963.
34. M.-H. Vicaire, La pastorale des moeurs dans les conciles languedociens (fin XIe-debut XIIIe) in Le Credo, la morale et l'inquisition (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 6), Toulouse 1971, 85-117.
35. M.-H. Vicaire, Les deux traditions apostoliques ou l'evangelisme de S. Dominic in S. Dominic au Languedoc (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 1), Toulouse 1966, 74-103.
36. Vaudois languedociens et pauvres catholiques (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 2), Toulouse, 1967.
37. For what follows, see the introduction of Meersseman, Dossier, 9-28.
38. Regula Fr. de Paenitentia (fr. Caro.). Meersseman, Dossier, 134.
39. Three letters of bishop James Cavalcante, of July 24 1286. Meersseman, Dossier, 203-206.
40. Statute of Bishop Guidaloste (Sept. 1284) Meersseman, Dossier, 138-142.
41. Bulls of June 13 and of September 24, 1247.
42. Meersseman, Dossier, 144-156.
43. Ibidem, 144.
44. Rom. X, 15
45. Bull of Januay 21, 1217, Koudelka, No. 79. See Libellus no. 45 and HSD II, 71-75.
46. Cum qui recipit prophetam in nomine prophete mercedem prophete accipiat universitati vestre viros predicatores ... merito commendamus. Koudelka, No. 143.
47. Gui, De fundatione, 220.
48. G.G. Meersseman, Etudes sur les anciennes confreries dominicaines. I. Les confreries de S. Dominique, in AFP XX (1950), 6-113. Especially, 9-10.
49. Thomas, 363 and 311.
50. G.G. Meersseman, Etudes sur les anciennes confreries dominicaines. IV. Les milices de Jesus Christ, in AFP XXIII (1953), 275-308.
51. HSD I, 221-222.
52. Meersseman, Dossier, 291-292.
53. G.G. Meersseman, Etudes ...II. Les confreries de S. Pierre Martyre, in AFP XXI (1951), 51-91 and III. Les congregations de la Vierge, in AFP XXII (1952), 5-87.
54. G.G. Meersseman, Etudes ...II. Les confreries de S. Pierre Martyre, in AFP XXI (1951), 68.
55. Ibidem, 69.