St. Dominic
Notes

1. Mt. 24:12.

2. Prophetic visions like these are too much part of the stock-in-trade of hagiography, Christian and pagan alike, for us to be very confident of their reliability here. "Setting the world on fire" goes back to Hecuba, the mother of Hector of Troy (Apollodorus III 12:5). St. Bernard's mother is supposed to have had a dream about a dog (signifying a preacher) before Bernard was born (PL 185:470). See F. Lanzoni, *Il Sogno Presago della Madre Incinta*, *Analecta Bollandiana* 45 (1927) pp. 225–61.

3. Bl. Diego of Azevedo, prior of Osma, then bishop from 1201 until his death on December 30, 1207. He was an eager supporter of his predecessor, Martin Bazán, in his attempts to reform the clergy of his diocese, and was instrumental in turning the Cathedral Chapter back into a Chapter of Canons Regular. See Vicaire, *SDHT* pp. 35–6.

4. I.e., Denmark or Northern Germany. Koudelka, AFP 43 (1973) p. 9.

5. For a truer account, see Cernai, above, pp. 86–7. For an evaluation of the different accounts of the beginnings of the preaching in Languedoc, see Vicaire, *Dominique et ses Prêcheurs*, pp. 133–6. For the dating of the meeting at Montpellier, see J. Gallén, *Les Voyages*. Jean de Mailly's account is derived from Jordan, *Libellus* 19, which telescopes three distinct historical realities into one. The twelve abbots were in fact recruited afterwards by Amalric (Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 106); the large gathering of prelates with one papal legate occurred at Montpellier in 1215, not 1206 (Cernai, 543). This telescoping in the Dominican tradition may be due to an unconscious desire to highlight the importance and originality of the Dominicans by ignoring the real contribution made to the preaching in Languedoc by the legates and other preachers. Cf. Stephen of Bourbon, 251, where a Provençal Dominican tradition is reported, according to which the twelve abbots (curiously become 13, not an apostolic number!), when faced with the heretics' criticism of their horses and wealth, simply abandoned their mission and went home, in evident contrast to Diego, who responded by sending his retinue away (see above, p. 87). This tradition is quite false to the facts, as we learn them from good contemporary evidence (Vicaire, *SDHT* pp. 106–114), but is in accordance with the feeling, endorsed by successive popes, that the Order of Preachers was a God-sent provision for a desperate situation (cf. Honorius III's Bull, *Quoniam abundavit* [MOPH XXV p. 124] and Gregory IX's Bull of Canonization of St. Dominic [MOPH XVI pp. 190–4]).

6. For this dispute, which took place at Montréal, see Vicaire, *SDHT*

pp. 101–5; Griffe, II pp. 255–7. In spite of the miraculous element in the dénouement, the role of doctrinal argument in the dispute should not be minimised. If we may trust Puylaurens, 9, about 150 heretics were converted by the *arguments* of the Catholics.

7. Bl. Fulk of Marseilles (c. 1155–1231). At first a poet and businessman, he and his family all became Cistercians c. 1195; c. 1201 he became abbot of Le Thoronet. In 1205 he became bishop of Toulouse. See Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 119; SCH 12 pp. 83–93.

8. This was in accordance with the ruling laid down at the Council (Lateran IV, canon 13).

9. It was normal for houses of canons to adopt Constitutions of their own, as well as the Rule of St. Augustine. Cf. Thomas, *Constituties*, pp. 8–29. The Dominicans made use of those of the strict Order of Praemonstratensian canons, though their borrowing was very selective. See below, Appendix, pp. 456–65.

10. These doggerel verses are not original to Jean de Mailly. They are also found in the autograph of the Praemonstratensian chronicler, Robert of Auxerre. See A. Dondaine, *Jean de Mailly*, p. 308.

11. Simon de Montfort (c. 1165–1218): commander in chief of the Albigensian Crusade until he was killed during the siege of Toulouse in 1218. For a sensitive account of the man, see Y. Dossat, CF 4 pp. 281–302. He was a friend and supporter of St. Dominic, and got the saint to baptize one of his daughters (who subsequently became a Cistercian nun at St. Anthony's, Paris) and to solemnize the wedding of his eldest son, Amaury; another daughter, Amicie de Joigny, both persuaded her son to join the Order and herself founded a monastery of Dominican nuns, of which she became the prioress, at Montargis (MOPH I p. 322). Simon's younger son was the Simon de Montfort who is famous in English history.

12. Matthew of France, who had come to the *Midi* with the Crusaders, became prior of the canons at Castres, where he met St. Dominic when the saint visited the church there; he shortly afterwards joined the Order (MOPH XXII p. 12); the church itself was later given to the Order, in 1258 (MOPH XXIV p. 135). Whether the title "abbot" was meant to indicate that Matthew was to be superior of the whole Order (as Jean suggests, following Jordan, *Libellus* 48), or just superior of the brethren in Paris, is controverted. See Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 234; Koudelka, AFP 33 (1963) pp. 92–4. In any case, he never functioned as more than the superior of the brethren in Paris. As prior of Paris he accepted the gift of the hospice of St. Jacques in 1221 (MOPH XXV pp. 160–2).

13. It was St. Dominic's constant ambition to go off and preach to the pagans, an ambition first fired, it seems, during his journey to Denmark with Diego. See Vicaire, *SDHT* pp. 56–7; Koudelka, AFP 43 (1973) pp. 5–11. He did not realise this ambition himself, but before his death he was able to send

Dominican missions to Scandinavia and to Hungary (Vicaire, *SDHT* pp. 363–4).

14. "Master" had less grandiose associations than "abbot" in the church of this period, and involved less canonical separation of the superior from his community. It was a title often used for the head of a band of itinerant preachers, or the head of a pious confraternity. See Koudelka, AFP 33 (1963) pp. 90–5; Thomas, *Constituties* p. 74[300]; CF 2 p. 66; Meersseman, *Ordo Fraternitatis*, p. 161. In particular, it had been used of the head of the preaching in the Midi (Cernai, 51, 67), and of Dominic after the establishment of his preaching there (Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 474[124]).

15. Bl. Reginald, canon of St. Aignan, joined the Dominicans in 1218, and was immediately put in charge at Bologna, as St. Dominic's vicar. While there he recruited energetically, with marked success. In 1219 he was sent to Paris, where, amongst others, he attracted Jordan of Saxony to the Order (Jordan, *Libellus* 58, 61–3). Both Reginald and his bishop were involved in the Albigensian Crusade (Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 248). † 1220.

16. Cf. Eph. 6:15.

17. Cardinal Stefano di Fossanova: appointed papal chamberlain in 1206, he became a cardinal in 1212. He was an important benefactor of the Cistercian abbey of S. Galgano near Siena, one of whose monks, James, features in several early Dominican stories. The cardinal became a good friend and supporter of St. Dominic and of the nuns at S. Sisto, for whom he secured various revenues, including some from England, a country with which he had been connected for some time. He died c. 1227. See Koudelka, AFP 35 (1965) pp. 5–15.

18. Acts 10:20.

19. Conrad of Urach, former abbot of Villers in Belgium, had been present at the siege of Toulouse in 1217 and may have known of Dominic since then. See Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 344. According to Ferrandus, *Legenda S. Dominici* 43, he told the Dominicans, "Although I wear the habit of a different religious profession, inwardly my mind is yours. I belong to your Order."

20. Text from the Preface of the Mass of our Lady. It became one of the mottos of the Dominican Order.

21. On the so-called Testament of St. Dominic, see R. Creytens, AFP 43 (1973) pp. 29–72. It is a literary invention, not an accurate report of anything St. Dominic actually said on his deathbed. This does not, of course, mean that it does not reflect his teaching fairly.

22. On the "curse" of St. Dominic, see Creytens in the article cited in the previous note. Once again, it is a literary device, not a historical record.

23. Bl. Guala entered the Order in 1219; he founded the convent in Brescia, and was made bishop of Brescia in 1229. †1244. See AFP 10 (1940) p. 345; MOPH XXII p. 75.

24. Cf. Gen. 28:12.

25. Cf. Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 387. This refers to part of the ceremony of Canonization.

26. The details of the Translation of St. Dominic are unusually well attested. Apart from the evidence in the Canonization Process, and that of Bartholomew of Trent, both contained in this book, we have two other eye-witness accounts: one ascribed, falsely, to Jordan (MOPH XVI pp. 82–8) and one from Pelagius of Portugal († 1240) (Kaeppeli, *Scriptores* III p. 210).

27. It is interesting that the traditional ascetic practice of keeping vigil in thus re-interpreted to apply to study. Thomas of Cantimpré claims that one reason why the friars were better lecturers in the University of Paris was that they "kept vigil and studied" at night, while the secular Masters ate and drank so much in the evening that they were unable to do this (*De Apibus* II x 31). That there was a conflict between some of the less intellectual brethren from the very early years of the Order (who were more enthusiastic about their prayers and devotions, and not very sensitive to the need for study) and the more educated friars who joined later is suggested by such stories as we find in MOPH I pp. 160–1 and Humbert II 91–2 (about a brother who "turned silly because of his excessive devotion"). In 1260, when Gerald de Frachet completed the *Lives of the Brethren*, people looked back with a certain nostalgia, as well as a certain amusement (not to mention a certain exaggeration), to the days when the brethren were habitually to be found in church (MOPH I p. 148). But it was Dominic himself who initiated the policy of looking for recruits especially in University circles, and the emphasis on study in the Constitutions goes back at least to 1220, if not to 1216 (Prim. Const. I 13: the novices are to be told that they ought to be "intent on study, always reading something or thinking about something, by day and by night, at home and abroad"; II 29 specifies that students can stay up at night, if they want to, to study). Ideally, in fact, study and prayer merged to form a whole life of attentiveness to God and his words and works (cf. William of Tocco, *Life of St. Thomas Aquinas* 30).

28. It is interesting to notice in Pecham's reply to Kilwardby's letter to Dominican novices how the Franciscan instinctively takes "toil" (*laborare*) to refer to the hardships and austerities of life, whereas the Dominican instinctively applies it (as here) to working at something useful. See Pecham, *Tractatus Tres*, pp. 128–9.

29. Cf. above, note 19.

30. Interlinear Gloss to 2 Tim. 4:5.

31. Cf. Marginal Gloss to 2 Tim. 4:5, though the printed text and the MSS I have seen all have "To prevent him from tormenting himself too much," not the text given in Thomas Agni.

32. Marginal Gloss to Matt. 5:13.

33. Interlinear Gloss to Matt. 5:14.

34. Ecclus. 48:1.

35. Luke 1:17.

36. Matt. 5:17. The marginal Gloss includes the interpretation of these words to mean that Christ completed the Law by adding to it. Cf. next note.

37. Marginal Gloss to Matt. 5:19. The actual text of the Gloss reads: "Undoing the Law means not putting into practice what you understand correctly, or failing to understand what you have distorted, or whittling away the integrity of what the Lord added to the Law" (this is the text as it is found in the *Catena Aurea*, and, judging from the MSS I have looked at, it is a better text than that printed in Lyranus). I am not confident that the text of Thomas Agni ought not to be emended accordingly.

38. Cf., for example, Hilary (PL 9:937A), Chrysostom, *Homilies on Matthew* 16:4, Bede (PL 92:26D), Augustine, *On the Sermon on the Mount* I 8:20.

39. Interlinear Gloss to Luke 14:17.

40. This is presumably a rather inflated way of referring to St. Dominic's stopping the rain miraculously (cf. Jordan, *Libellus* 101).

41. This echoes what St. Bernard says about our Lady in *Sermons on the Assumption* IV 8 (V p. 249:17–18).

42. Cf. Luke 1:49.

43. Ventura entered the Order either in 1219 or in 1220 (Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 514[9]), became prior of Bologna in 1221, and was at some time provincial of Lombardy, but we do not know when (AFP 10 [1940] p. 373).

44. There is no consistency in the MSS in the way in which St. Dominic is designated. Koudelka (AFP 42 [1972] p. 60) suggests that C's fairly consistent use of *frater* or *magister* is likely to be original; but even C allows the occasional *beatus* and gives evidence that in his lifetime St. Dominic was addressed as *pater*. Even *sanctus* must be regarded as possible; Margaret of Hungary is frequently so designated in the seemingly reliable text of her Canonization Process. I have therefore simply followed B the whole way through.

45. In spite of the arguments of A. H. Thomas (AFP 39 [1969] pp. 5–52), it seems to me that we can and should take seriously the evidence that at least some early Dominicans were professed as Dominicans *before* receiving the habit. The earliest form of profession seems to have been a very simple gesture of a man putting himself "in the hands of" Dominic (or his representative). The subsequent clothing would indicate that this self-giving had been accepted and that the consequence of it was incorporation into St. Dominic's brotherhood of preachers. The mood is well caught in *Lives of the Brethren* IV 10 iv (see below, p. 131).

46. CV read "almost every day."

47. *Firmus* B, if correct, must be being used in a sense pointing to the development of Italian *fermato*. *Infirmus* T is out of the question. CV omit the word.

48. This probably refers to St. Dominic's deathbed conversation reported in Jordan, *Libellus* 92. It is a typically Dominican touch that St. Dominic should have ventured on this, to him, rather dubious self-revelation in order to be *useful*. The basic orientation of the Order towards usefulness is affirmed in many texts, especially and most authoritatively in the Prologue of the Constitutions (see below, p. 457).

49. The Cistercian abbey of Chiaravalle della Colomba, between Parma and Piacenza, was founded by St. Bernard in 1137 (Lippini p. 251[22]).

50. There are several references to St. Dominic's "Rule," which possibly hark back to an early formulation of the friars' principles of life, before the formal Constitutions were drawn up. Cf. Thomas, *Constituties*, pp. 58–60 for different views that have been propounded on this question. For a different interpretation, see Koudelka, AFP 33 (1963) p. 93.[13]

51. Ugolino (c. 1148–1241): nephew of Innocent III, who made him a Cardinal in 1198, and Cardinal Bishop of Ostia in 1206. In 1227 he became Pope as Gregory IX. He was a friend and supporter of both Dominic and Francis. In 1221 he was mandated by the Pope and the Emperor to raise troops in Northern Italy for a new Crusade and also to support their campaign to enforce the decrees of Lateran IV (cf. below, note 90). He was in Venice on June 13, and Dominic joined him there. According to CV Dominic arrived back in Bologna towards the end of July.

52. Rudolph of Faenza. See his own testimony, pp. 76–78. He entered the Order in 1219, on the occasion of the church of which he was parish priest being given to the Order. He was almost immediately made procurator of the convent. He died not long after 1250 (MOPH I p. 275; Quétif-Echard I p. 127).

53. Santa Maria del Monte was a Benedictine priory on St. Benedict's Hill, just south of Bologna. There was a popular shrine of our Lady there (Lippini, p. 252[25]).

54. On the history and archaeology of the great Dominican church and convent in Bologna, see Venturino Alce, *Il Convento di S. Domenico in Bologna nel secolo XIII* (Bologna, 1973).

55. Cf. John 17:12.

56. St. Dominic's promise is recalled in a much-loved responsory, *O Spem Miram*, composed some time before 1256.

57. The podestà in 1233 was Uberto Visconti (Sorbelli, p. 101).

58. William of Monferrato received the habit from St. Dominic in 1219. If, as seems probable, he is the "William" referred to in the most affectionate terms by Honorius III (MOPH XXV p. 137), he must have been left at the papal curia in 1220, and then decided to return to Paris for further study in December of that year. In 1235 he was at last given the satisfaction of being sent to the missions; he died in the East some time after 1237 (Quétif-Échard I pp. 48, 104–5).

59. It is out of the question that William should have known Diego personally. Possibly he had heard of Diego's comments through Ugolino (Gregory IX), or through former canons of Osma who had become Dominicans (Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 502[136]).

60. Amizo of Milan: a lawyer and notary of the Sacred Palace until he received the habit from St. Dominic in Milan in 1219. As prior of Padua, he would have been at the Provincial Chapter at Bologna in 1233, following immediately after the General Chapter. He acted as notary in 1252 for the commission investigating the murder of Peter of Verona (AFP 10 [1940] p. 320; AFP 23 [1953] p. 111[6]; Lippini, p. 266[44]).

61. *Maturus* CV, *modestus* BT.

62. This refers to the re-opening of the tomb for devotional purposes a week after the Translation.

63. Buonviso entered the Order in 1219. The same year he was sent to preach in his home town of Piacenza, and later, probably in 1221, he founded a convent there (Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 511[134]).

64. CV omit the curious detail that Buonviso apparently submitted this part of his evidence in writing. The procedure is certainly unusual, but this makes it all the less likely that it is a later falsification. Written testimonies from people not called to give evidence in person are not unknown; cf. Raymund of Peñafort, MOPH IV ii p. 54.

65. 1 Peter 3:9.

66. John of Spain, also known as John of Navarre, entered the Order in 1215; in 1217 he was, reluctantly, sent to Paris, but in 1218 he turns up in Rome, and from there is sent to Bologna, and is back again in Paris by August. We hear of him again in Languedoc in 1236 (Jordan, *Libellus* 51, 55; Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 249; Balme-Lelaidier I p. 128).

67. The church of St. Romain was given to the Dominicans in July 1216 (MOPH XXV pp. 68–9), though, if John's dates are correct, they must have had the use of it since at least August 1215. They stayed there until 1230, when they took possession of their new and definitive site, where they built the magnificent church and cloister of the Jacobins, recently restored to something of its former glory (CF 9 pp. 185–6).

68. I.e., Lateran IV (1215).

69. However repugnant it may seem to the modern mind, the use of the discipline was widespread in this period. The intense desire of many christians of the time to suffer with Christ and to do penance for their sins led them to seek out ways of afflicting themselves. But, as we can see from the Letters of Jordan of Saxony, for instance, the friars were not prepared to let this desire for self-punishment go entirely unchecked, nor did they lose sight of the fact that feats of bodily mortification are no substitute for the development of essential christian virtues.

70. The archbishop of Narbonne was Arnaud Amalric (see below, note 100); the bishop of Toulouse was Fulk (see above, note 7).

71. The house of St. Jacques, which was to become one of the main centres of Dominican life, and which gave the friars their French nickname of *Jacobins*, was put at their disposal in 1218 (Jordan, *Libellus* 53) and was given to them definitively in 1221 (MOPH XXV pp. 160–2). Before that it had been, since its establishment in 1209, a student hostel. After the Dominicans had moved in there, it became a University college as well as a convent, since lectures in theology were given there (Vicaire, *SDHT* pp. 260–1; Hinnebusch, *History* I pp. 58–9). In due course the Dominicans themselves began to provide Masters in theology, the first being Roland of Cremona, who graduated as a Master in theology and began to lecture in 1229 (Glorieux, *Répertoire* n. 1).

72. This was John of St. Albans, a lecturer in theology who had founded the hostel of St. Jacques; on him see Hinnebusch, *History* I p. 73.[112] After giving the hostel to the Dominicans, he lectured there at the request of the Pope (MOPH XXV p. 162). Later John of St. Giles, who entered the Order in 1230, established the second chair of theology there (Glorieux, *Répertoire* n. 3).

73. In March 1220, the Dominicans in Paris handed over control of their property at la Ferté-Alais to one of the chaplains of the Cistercian nuns at St. Anthony's, Paris (a monastery connected with the de Montfort family, as we learn from Stephen of Bourbon, 288; Simon de Montfort's daughter, Petronille, who was baptised by St. Dominic, became a nun there [MOPH I p. 322]); in May 1220 the archbishop of Sens authorised the foundation of a new monastery of Cistercian nuns at Villiers on the strength of this property (MOPH XXV pp. 122–6).

74. CV specify that the reason for this proposal was to secure the freedom of the clerics to devote themselves to study and preaching (cf. Acts 6:2–4). The Order of Grandmont grew out of the eremitical foundation of St. Stephen Muretus at Muret in the late eleventh century. It was from him that St. Dominic culled his famous principle of speaking always with God or about God (SOG p. 21). The laybrothers in the Order had abused their privileged position so cruelly that the Pope and the King of France had had to intervene, and it was only in 1216 that some kind of settlement was reached. See J. Becquet, "La première Crise de l'Ordre de Grandmont," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin* 87 (1960) pp. 283–324; Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 311.

75. I have added "rich and" from CV.

76. On the meaning of St. Dominic's "pursuit" of heretics, see Vicaire, *Dominique et ses Prêcheurs*, pp. 36–57, 143–8. There is no evidence that he ever deviated from his peaceful methods of preaching and debate. To call him

"Inquisitor" is, at the very least, anachronistic, as the office did not exist until ten years after his death.

77. I have added this sentence from CV.

78. Comminges is probably a mistake; it should be Couserans (Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 485[125-6]). Two witnesses in the Languedoc Canonization process say that they heard Dominic declare that he would "run away by night with his stick rather than accept a bishopric or any other such honour" (MOPH XVI p. 186). As Vicaire brings out well (*SDHT* pp. 152–3), the reason for Dominic's refusal is not just humility, but a concern to protect his freedom as a preacher and, above all, to maintain the clear distinction between the apostolic preaching of God's word and any exercise of power or authority.

79. It is interesting to notice that, as we learn from Jordan, *Libellus* 10, he did not just offer *ad hoc* assistance to the poor, he "founded an almonry" (cf. Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 451[70]).

80. The practice of begging only for one day at a time is primitive. It is found, for instance, in the *Life of Alexander Akoimetes* III 27, and cf. Didache 11:6. St. Dominic could have learned it from Grandmont (*Rule* 9 and 13), or from the Poor Catholics (G. Gonnet, *Enchiridion Fontium Valdensium* [Torre Pellice, 1958] p. 133). St. Francis seems to have adopted it too: see K. Esser, *Anfänge*, pp. 247–252. The Dominicans later abandoned it, to avoid wasting time that could have been given to study and preaching: see AGC 1240; Thomas of Cantimpré, below, p. 134; St. Thomas, IIa IIae q. 188 a.7.

81. *Potestatem haec faciendi* BT must mean "the authority to depose him." CV have a significantly different text: "Since the brethren refused to depose him, brother Dominic decided to have diffinitors appointed who would have authority, for the duration of the Chapter, over him and all the others, and over the whole Chapter, to make decrees and decisions and ordinations." There is a similar text in §2 in CV, similarly missing in BT. It is hard to choose between the two readings. In 2 and 33 the extra words in CV seem out of place; BT has all that is needed in 2, and in 33 it seems decidedly odd that St. Dominic should give such far-reaching powers to a limited group just because the whole group refused to depose him. Furthermore, in Dominican law going back, probably, to 1221 (Prim. Const. II 7-9), the whole Chapter is treated as constituting the diffinitory, and it is difficult to believe that this differs radically from the practice followed in 1220; even though, as Thomas points out, the Cistercian practice of entrusting certain decisions to a restricted group of diffinitors has left some traces in the Dominican legislation of 1221 (Prim. Const. II 20-1; *Constituties*, pp. 192-5), this surely refers only to matters of administrative detail, not to crucial matters of legislation. It is far more credible that, having failed to get the whole Chapter to depose him, St. Dominic instituted a procedure by which they could change their minds without making them all discuss the whole thing all over again. On the other hand, if we accept the reading of BT, it is very hard to imagine what could

have prompted the subsequent addition in CV.

82. On the archaeological and historical evidence for our knowledge of the precise place where St. Dominic died, and on the recent discovery of part of the original floor, see Venturino Alce, *La Cella dove morì S.Domenico* (Bologna, 1978). The site is now a chapel and is a favoured place of Dominican pilgrimage.

83. Stephen of Spain entered the Order in 1219; he was provincial of Lombardy from 1229–1238. In 1249 he became archbishop of Torres in Sardinia. He died before 1261 (AFP 10 [1940] p. 373; MOPH XXII p. 93; Eubel I p. 532).

84. CV, supported by Flaminius, give the detail that the books which Dominic sold were annotated in his own hand, and also add: "and they began to preach with him from that time onwards." From this, several scholars have inferred that Dominic lectured for a time at Palencia, as well as being a student there, and that he began his career as a preacher while still in Spain, either at Palencia or at Osma. See, for instance, Quétif-Échard I pp. 4, 52; Mamachi, p. 124; V. D. Carro, *Domingo de Guzman* (Madrid, 1973), pp. 289–298 (giving references to the highly fanciful development of Dominic's Spanish apostolate in some earlier writers); J. M. de Garganta, *Santa Domingo de Guzmán* (Biblioteca de Autores Christianos, Madrid, 1966) pp. 59–60. However, Stephen is plainly confused in his chronology, and other dependable sources, such as Jordan and Rodrigo of Cerrata (who was specially interested in the early Spanish background of Dominic) do not mention any teaching activity of Dominic at Palencia or any apostolate in Spain before the founding of the Order. It is quite possible, though, that some of the Spaniards who later joined Dominic had already known and admired him in Palencia (cf. Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 30).

85. The *venia* was a ritual prostration, used in many situations, including the rites of clothing and profession. For an illustration, see Vicaire and von Matt, *St. Dominic* no. 132.

86. The essential nucleus was (and is) the feudal gesture of putting one's hands in those of the superior and putting oneself at his disposal.

87. The Dominicans evidently liked loud singing in choir. Cf. Humbert, II p. 105.

88. Cf. Primitive Constitutions I 19, II 31, II 35.

89. John of Vicenza was a flamboyant and controversial figure, who made fierce enemies, like the Franciscan chronicler Salimbene, but was regarded by others as a saint. Thomas of Cantimpré gives him a hagiographical write-up (*De Apibus* II i 3ff). He played an important part in the devotional uprising of 1233 known as the "great Alleluia" (see Vicaire, *SDHT* pp. 377–9). For a rather negative assessment, see Tugwell, pp. 36–7. Cf. also pp. 128–9 below.

90. The evident satisfaction with which the gruesome fate of heretics is

greeted is a reminder that it was popular demand, as often as not, that called for the burning of heretics. It was only in 1224 that Frederick II decreed that this should be the penalty for convicted heretics (text in BOP I 126); before that, the burning of heretics was due to lynching rather than to the verdict of any court of law. During the thirteenth century popular opinion wavered considerably, but at least in some places at some times it was fiercely against the heretics. See Yves Dossat, CF 6 pp. 236–7, 370–4; Meersseman, AFP 21 (1951) p. 58; R. Manselli, *Studi sulle Eresie del secolo XII* (2nd ed., Rome, 1975) pp. 19–38; Vicaire, *SDHT* pp. 94, 469.[95] On the concerted campaign of Frederick II and the Pope to root out heresy and enforce the decrees of Lateran IV, see C. Thouzellier, RHE 45 (1950) pp. 508–42. This campaign should not be confused with the work of the Inquisition, which was only just beginning to come into existence in 1233. In view of the popular image of the Inquisition, it is worth recording the judgment of the most recent book on the subject, that the Inquisition "was set up in order to moderate popular zeal against heretics" and that "It substituted the rule of law for mob violence. . . . Once the Inquisition was established, except for isolated instances . . . the pyromania which had characterised lay attempts to suppress heresy came to an end" (Bernard Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition* [London, 1981] pp. 57, 98).

91. Theodoric (archbishop of Ravenna 1228–1249).

92. Paul of Venice entered the Order in 1219. It is possible, but not certain, that he is the same as the Paul mentioned in *Lives of the Brethren* I vi 4 (see below, p. 137). He died later in Venice, after a sickness that may be connected with the kidney trouble referred to in §45 here (MOPH I p. 270). We do not know the date of his death.

93. Cf. Primitive Constitutions II 31.

94. Cf. Primitive Constitutions II 26.

95. The Humiliati had a little church at Porto Legnago; in the early fifteenth century it passed to the Dominicans (Lippini, p. 301[91]).

96. Frugerio of Pennabilli. I follow Lippini in opting for Pennabilli, rather than the various other places that could earn a man the designation *Pennensis*. Nothing more seems to be known of him, unless he is the same as the Frugerius who was rebuked by the Provincial Chapter of the Roman Province in 1254 for totally neglecting his responsibilities as a visitator (MOPH XX p. 18).

97. If this refers to preaching to all comers, rather than to speaking about God or to God, it failed to get into the Constitutions.

98. Matt. 6:6.

99. *Libellus* 13.

100. On these three monks and their missions, see Vicaire, *SDHT* pp. 80–93. Arnaud Amalric was abbot of Poblet (1196–8), then of Grandselve (1198–1202), before becoming abbot of Cîteaux. In 1204 he was sent by the

Pope to combat heresy in the *Midi*. In 1212 he became archbishop of Narbonne. He died in 1225. For a balanced assessment of his character, see Griffe, II pp. 231–6. Less favourable, Vicaire, CF 4 pp. 265–8. Peter of Castelnau was archdeacon of Maguelonne from 1197; he became a Cistercian at Fontfroide in 1203, in which year he also became the Pope's legate in the *Midi* to counteract the heretics. In 1208 he was murdered by the heretics; his death, and the suspicion of implication in it that fell upon Count Raymond of Toulouse, led Innocent III to call the Crusade against the Albigensians. Raoul was also a monk of Fontfroide, also papal legate since 1203. He died in 1207. He seems to have been more of a preacher and less of a campaigner than his two colleagues.

101. From at least the time of the Council of Lombers in 1176, the attempt to discredit the Catholic clergy had been a major part of the heretics' strategy (Mansi XXII 159–60). But it was not only the heretics who complained about the clergy. In a letter from about July 1, 1200, Innocent III makes a swinging attack on the state of the clergy in the South of France, and particularly Berenger, the archbishop of Narbonne, "Whose God," he says, "is money" (PL 214:905; cf. Griffe, II pp. 210–2). A similarly savage attack is made in a letter of May 28, 1204 (PL 215:355–7). Jacques de Vitry, *Hist. Occid.* I–V, gives a very gloomy account of the state of civic and ecclesiastical life in Europe in the early thirteenth century, and lays the blame squarely on the clergy. Cf. Mandonnet-Vicaire II pp. 17–22; Renard, pp. 175–6.[16,17] In 1204 Innocent III instructs his legates in the South of France to make sure that their conduct and speech are such that "not even a heretic will be able to find fault with them" (PL 215:360B).

102. Acts 1:1.

103. I.e., Dominic, at this time still subprior of Osma.

104. *Historia Albigensis* 20–1.

105. Stephen of Bourbon, 83.

106. *Lives of the Brethren* II 2.

107. Matt. 10:10.

108. Cf. 1 Cor. 9:9.

109. 1 Cor. 9:14.

110. This was the Cathedral of Toulouse.

111. Koudelka (MOPH XXV p. 57) proposes to emend *nos* to *bos*, but this does not seem necessary.

112. I take this rather contorted sentence to mean that the bishop proposes to make this his spiritual return for the tithes and other dues paid by the laity to the church. Fulk's experimental employment of diocesan preachers may have influenced Lateran IV's canon 10 on preachers. Cf. R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, p. 57.

113. 1215. MOPH XXV n. 63.

114. The same man as John of Spain. Cf. note 66 above.

115. Laurence the Englishman: apart from a vision he is said to have had in connexion with the friars' establishment in Paris, nothing more seems to be known of him (Jordan, *Libellus* 51).

116. *De Quatuor* III 7:8.

117. Peter Selhan: one of the very first to make profession to St. Dominic, he not only gave himself to the Order in 1215, he also gave his house in Toulouse, and there the Order began to take its institutional shape. He used to say, "The Order did not receive me, I received the Order" (Gui, *Libellus de Magistris*, p. 400). Probably in 1218 he was sent to Paris, from where, in 1219, he was sent to Limoges to establish a priory there; he was prior there until 1232. He died in 1257 (Jordan, *Libellus* 38; MOPH I p. 324; MOPH XXIV pp. 57–9).

118. Bernard de Savène (Eubel I p. 313, Gallia Christiana II 527–8).

119. *De Quatuor* I 8.

120. "Dom Dominic": this unexpected appellation of St. Dominic presumably echoes what Peter called Dominic in the early days, when Dominic was still technically a canon of Osma. The title "dom" was still given by some people to Dominic and other Dominicans for some years (e.g., MOPH XXV nos. 70, 74, 95, 139).

121. MOPH XXIV p. 59 (immediately after an almost exact citation of the paragraph given above from Salagnac).

122. *Immurati* here means "recluses," not, as is sometimes supposed, "prisoners." Cf. Koudelka, AFP 35 (1965) p. 17.

123. Tob. 1:15.

124. §158.

125. §199.

126. *Lives of the Brethren* II 15.

127. Bl. Bertrand of Garrigues is called "Prior of St. Romain" in October 1216 (MOPH XXV pp. 69–71); he was one of the party sent to Paris in 1217. In 1221 he became the first provincial of Provence. His family made over to the Order the original nucleus of the site in Toulouse where the Jacobins was to be built (MOPH XXII p. 151).

128. *Lives of the Brethren* II 19.

129. The Old Testament symbolism is classic. Augustine (PL 42:432–7) uses Leah and Rachel as types of the active and contemplative lives, and Jacob as the type of the would-be contemplative engaged in active apostolic work. Israel was normally taken to mean "seeing God," in spite of the fact that the Marginal Gloss on Gen. 32:28 refers to St. Jerome's refutation of this etymology.

130. In fact there is reason to believe that quite a few monks were leaving their monasteries in this period, often to join newer apostolic movements like the friars. Cf. Selge, pp. 267–8; Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen*, pp. 391–2; PL 172:1411; PL 181:1722; Thomas, *Constituties*, p. 168.[182] For

Cistercians who became Dominicans, see below, pp. 257, 479; also ASOP I pp. 370–2; Vicaire, *SDHT* pp. 247, 364.

131. *De Quatuor* I 7.

132. *Libellus* 92.

133. Moneta of Cremona: a well-known Master of Arts lecturing in Bologna; when Bl. Reginald began his spectacular recruiting mission there in 1218, Moneta at first tried to resist, but was soon won over, and made profession to Reginald at the end of the year, though it was over twelve months before he was free actually to join the Order (MOPH I pp. 169–70). He was co-founder with Roland of Cremona of the convent in Cremona (1228). C. 1241 he composed a *Summa against the Catharists and Waldensians*. †c. 1250. See Kaeppeli, *Scriptores* III p. 137–9.

134. *De Quatuor* III 2:5.

135. William first became friendly with Dominic when he was still employed in the papal chancery (MOPH I p. 334); in 1222 he became bishop of Modena, then Cardinal Bishop of Sabina in 1244. †1251 (Eubel I pp. 7, 370). Bartholomew of Trent, who knew him personally (AFP 45 [1975] p. 100) tells us that he asked St. Dominic to receive him into the Order (ASOP XXII p. 42). Though he never became a friar, he seems to have had some affiliation to the Order (cf. Vicaire, *SDHT* p. 462[108]).

136. May 23 was the Monday, but the night was regarded as belonging liturgically to the following day.

137. Gen. 27:27.

138. 2 Cor. 2:15.

139. Introit for the Mass of the Tuesday after Pentecost.

140. *Translation of St. Dominic.*

141. It is unlikely that the author has specific works of these writers in mind; more probably he is going by some anthology of texts. All the fathers listed here, except Leo and Hilary, are quoted in the section on Prayer in the mid-thirteenth century florilegium, *Pharetra*, ascribed, falsely, to Bonaventure and printed in all the older editions of his works. Most of them feature also in slightly later *Manipulus Florum* of Thomas of Ireland.

142. Cf. *Commentary on the Sentences* IV d.15 q.4; *Summa Theologiae* IIa IIae q.83.

143. I do not know what works of Albert the author had in mind, but prayer is discussed several times in his commentaries on the works of the pseudo-Denys. See especially vol. XXXVII of the Cologne edition, s.v. *oratio* in the Index. The *De Forma Orandi* ascribed to him by its editor, A. Wimmer (Regensburg, 1902), also ascribed to Vincent of Beauvais (Quétif-Échard I p. 238), is almost certainly by Peraldus, in view of the close similarity to certain works of his.

144. William Peraldus (c. 1200–1271) treats of prayer in his *Summa de Virtutibus* III v 7.

145. 2 Cor. 12:2ff.
146. Luke 22:44.
147. Psalms 30:23, 115:11.
148. It is the altar itself which was regarded as a symbol of Christ; there does not seem to be any question yet of a tabernacle on the altar. However, Humbert already assumes that there would generally be a tabernacle on the main altar (I 175; cf. *Ordinarium* 290), though he does not seem to know of any particular devotion of praying before the Blessed Sacrament.
149. Ecclus. 35:21.
150. Judith 9:16.
151. Matt. 15:25.
152. Luke 15:21.
153. Matt. 8:8.
154. Cf. Psalm 118:107.
155. It is perhaps relevant that *maiestas* was used to designate a figure of Christ in glory (cf. mid-twelfth century Praemonstratensian constitutions, I 4).
156. It is revealing that *humiliari*, for all practical purposes, it taken as equivalent to "bow." Cf. Humbert, Sermons III 24:12 (see below, p. 354).
157. Luke 18:13.
158. 2 Sam. 24:17.
159. Prayer of Manasseh 9–10.
160. Cf. Marginal Gloss to Ps. 43:25: "If you kneel on the ground, you can still humble yourself further; if you do humble yourself further, so that your stomach sticks to the ground, then you can go no further. So this verse expresses extreme self-abasement."
161. Psalm 118:25.
162. Matt. 2:11.
163. Psalm 94:6.
164. Psalm 118:158.
165. Psalm 17:36.
166. Cf. Humbert II p. 145. He points out that this is a universal custom, even though it is not written into the Constitutions.
167. The apostle James the Less was famous for kneeling so much that he had knees like those of a camel (Eusebius, *History of the Church* II 23).
168. Mark 1:40.
169. Acts 7:60.
170. Psalm 27:1.
171. Isaiah 12:3.
172. Psalm 122:2.
173. There is a serious problem about exactly what happened, as we have a rather different account also emanating from Cecilia, in her *Miracula*

2, not to mention a somewhat more sober account in Jordan, *Libellus* 100, which comes from another eye-witness, Tancred, the prior of Rome.
174. 3 Kings 17:21.
175. *Lives of the Brethren* II 3. M has *en otra manera*, which must represent *aliter;* this must either be taken to mean "elsewhere" (cf. Humbert, Sermons I ii), or be emended to *alibi.* R omits the word, CV^1V^2D adjust the text to make it refer back to an earlier passage in Dietrich.
176. Hebr. 5:7.
177. 3 Kings 17:21.
178. *Miracula* does not necessarily refer to any particular published collection of miracle stories. Account of miracles of St. Dominic were officially being collected at Bologna at least from 1255 (ACG 1255).
179. R omits this section.
180. Cf. Isaiah 64:6.
181. Psalm 27:2
182. Psalm 84:9.
183. Exodus 3:1ff.
184. The classic progression was *reading–meditation–prayer–contemplation.* Cf. Hugh of St. Victor, *De Meditatione* 1; St. Thomas, *Sent.* IV d.15 q.4 a.1; Guigo II, *Ladder of Monks* 2ff. The implication here is that St. Dominic misses out the middle term, going directly from 1 to 3, and from 2 to 4.
185. *Caputium:* although the dictionaries do not seem to notice this usage, *caputium* often means "scapular" as well as "hood" (in the earlier form of the Dominican habit these were not two separate garments, as they are now). Humbert II p. 6, at least in Berthier's text, treats *scapulare* and *caputium* as interchangeable; novices are told to fold their *caputium* on their knees when they sit down (II p. 220). At profession it is the *caputium* that is blessed (II p. 215; but *scapulare* in Primitive Constitutions I 16). The habit can be said to consist of the tunic, *caputium* and cappa (Humbert I p. 237; *Directorium* 11:10 [AFP 26 (1956) p. 118]). A capitular admonition about *scapularia* in ACG 1260 is repeated with the word *caputia* in ACG 1261. Cecilia, *Miracula* 1, reports that Dominic's *caputium* was so short that it only came down to his knees.
186. Hosea 2:14.
187. Psalm 38:4.
188. R omits this final story.