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**Preaching to the *Unconverted*:
The Theology of Sin and Repentance and the Origins of Dominican Mission**

by

Edmund J. Mazza

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2004

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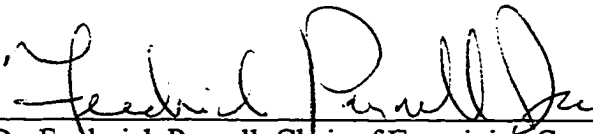
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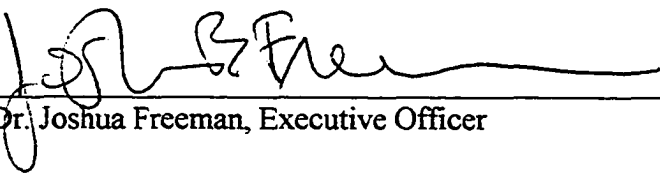
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

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by

Edmund J. Mazza

Adviser: Professor Howard L. Adelson

The thirteenth-century missionary effort of the Order of Preachers to convert Jews, Muslims and other non-Christians has been viewed by scholars as a manifestation of a “persecuting society.” Jeremy Cohen argues that the mendicants, under the direction of Friar Raymond of Peñafort, developed a new ideology against Jews which classified them as “heretics” no longer deserving of any tolerated place in Europe. Likewise, Robert Chazan has argued that the proselyzation of the friars embodied that same desire for a “more homogenous Christian environment” which underlay the Rhineland massacres accompanying the First Crusade of the eleventh century. This dissertation, however, argues for a revised view of the Dominican missionary overtures of the 1200s, one which identifies this movement not so much with the drive for *homogeneity*, as for *holiness*. Beginning with the efforts of twelfth-century Christian humanists such as Anselm of Canterbury, Peter Abelard, Bartholomew of Exeter, and Alan of Lille, it is possible to uncover what has, heretofore, gone unremarked in previous scholarship—these same authors who wrote polemical tracts targeting Jews and other non-Christians are also

chiefly responsible for developing a theology of sin and repentance and the Church's first handbooks for confession and preaching. In the thirteenth century, these tasks became the almost exclusive preserve of the mendicants. They filled a vacuum with regard to pastoring the laity which Waldensians, Cathars, and other heretical groups had sought to supply. But the preaching of the friars was not limited to the spiritual care of lay and heretical persons, it sought to fill that other pastoral vacuum—preaching to the unconverted. In the words of one witness, Dominic was “zealous for souls, not only those of Christians but also of Saracens and other unbelievers...he proposed to go to the pagans and die there for the faith...” Dominic sent Friar Paul instead, significantly, the author of the order's first *summa* on sin for the confessional. Like Paul, Friar Raymond of Peñafort composed one of the most celebrated *summae* on confession and undertook an unprecedented preaching campaign to non-Christians. Dominican writings reveal the same pastoral approach to non-Christians as to Christians.

**In loving memory of Professor Howard L. Adelson,
who, after my own father, was one of the finest men I've ever known.**

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Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction	1
Chapter Two: Twelfth-Century Theology: Approaches to Sin & Repentance, Jews & Infidels	20
Chapter Three: Paris, Penance, & Preaching: The Case of Alan of Lille	84
Chapter Four: The Pastoral Vacuum and the Dogs	117
Chapter Five: Friar Raymond of Peñafort: <i>Judicium et cura animarum</i>	149
Chapter Six: Conclusion	221
Bibliography	238

Chapter One: Introduction

It has become commonplace in medieval studies to speak of the “the development of a dangerous exclusionist tendency” or “formation of a persecuting society”¹ in Christian Europe of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Robert Chazan, author of *Daggers of Faith* (Berkeley, 1989) sees a connection between the anti-Jewish violence surrounding the First Crusade and the efforts of Dominicans and Franciscans to make Jewish converts a century-and-a-half later. He claims that although the Church officially repudiated mob violence and forced conversion, yet the same “desire to provide a more homogeneous Christian environment by removing the Jews—manifested itself in more legitimate fashion in an increasingly serious drive to convert the Jews of western Christendom by the force of reasonable argumentation.”² In this, he is in agreement with Jeremy Cohen. Cohen, however, in his work, *The Friars and the Jews* (Ithaca, 1982), takes matters a step further by posing a new mendicant theology against the Jews: “The prime concern of this book is with the hitherto unappreciated substance of the friars’ attack upon the Jews, the basic ideas and theological considerations that underlay their anti-Jewish activities and polemics. I shall argue that the Dominicans and Franciscans developed, refined, and sought to implement a new Christian ideology with regard to the Jews, one that allotted the Jews no legitimate right to exist in European society.”³ The main force of Cohen’s case lies in his analysis of the famous “Barcelona Confrontation,”

a debate between Dominican Friar Paul Christian and Rabbi Moses Nahmanides in 1263, and in Cohen's critique of the *Pugio Fidei*, a missionizing manual against Jews written by the Dominican Friar Raymond Martin. Based on his analysis, Cohen comes to the conclusion that the mendicants believed that thirteenth-century Jews following rabbinic tradition had broken from the classical Judaism of the Old Testament, thereby making themselves "heretics," and losing their right to be tolerated in contemporary medieval society.

Chazan disagrees with this interpretation of the work of Dominicans Christian and Martin. He argues that in the eyes of medieval Christians (and specifically in the arguments of Christian and Martin), the true breach of the Jews was not between the Old Covenant of the Law and the Prophets versus that of the Talmud, but in failing to become Christians and confess the New Covenant, that Jesus Christ had come as Messiah: "Friar Paul's intention was not to prove that present-day Judaism was a deviation from classical Judaism; his last goal was to prove the age-old Christian contention that Jewish law had been abrogated by the coming of the Messiah but to do so on the basis of rabbinic texts."⁴ But, as Chazan himself is quick to state: "While I have disputed Cohen's assertion of a new theological view regarding Judaism and the Jews implicit in the missionizing campaign that we have examined, I agree with his sense of deteriorating Jewish circumstances and of an ecclesiastical—or more narrowly mendicant—role in this deterioration."

One could narrow the focus even further and single-out the Dominican Friar Raymond of Peñafort and his disciples, as Cohen repeatedly does: "Raymond and his

school developed that approach into an organized and aggressive Christian mission to the Jews, very much a novelty in medieval Europe. Raymond de Peñafort was not satisfied with simply ridding Europe of contemporary Judaism; he committed himself to making contemporary Jews believing Christians.”⁵ Or, as Chazan writes: “Almost certainly the financial and personnel support reflected in the *Pugio Fidei* flows from the missionizing circle at the hub of which sat the active and influential Raymond of Penyafort.”⁶

It is remarkable that in both their works neither Cohen nor Chazan devote more than a thumbnail sketch of the life and work of Raymond of Peñafort, despite the centrality of the man to the events they purport to investigate. And despite the many viewpoints and actions they allege to be his, it is equally surprising that neither author quotes a single document from the hand of Raymond of Peñafort himself, relying instead on inferences from the writings and actions of his fellow Dominicans Paul Christian and Raymond Martin⁷. If their investigations led them to believe that Raymond was—to steal a phrase from István Bejczy—“the evil genius behind mendicant intolerance,” it is odd that they did not make any serious attempt to plumb the depths of the shadowy figure behind the syndicate.

It seems clear from Cohen and Chazan’s scholarship that the Dominican mission to the Jews was indeed a novelty, and could—to some extent—even be characterized as one man’s personal crusade. I shall, therefore, use the tools of intellectual biography in an approach to Raymond, in the hope that further light might be shed on the causes of this seminal event in the history of Christian-Jewish relations. Along the way, we shall examine in more detail Cohen’s assertions regarding the Dominicans in general, and

Raymond in particular: “Raymond de Peñaforte—who served as papal confessor when Gregory IX received Donin at the curia, who stood at the helm of the Order of Friars Preachers when the Dominicans played a leading role in the *auto-da-fe* of 1242 against the Talmud...clearly shared the view of contemporary postbiblical Judaism as a heretical departure from the biblical norm...”⁸

As a matter of fact, Raymond stepped down from his post as Master General of the Dominican Order in 1240 and thus was *not* “at the helm” when copies of the Talmud were publicly burned in Paris; and whether he “clearly” believed that the Jews of his day and their writings were heretical and deserving of *auto-da-fe*, is a matter that remains to be examined. Indeed, modern scholarship has grouped the Jews, with Muslims and heretics, as among the more prominent segments of medieval society targeted by Christians for persecution or exclusion. Chazan characterizes the question thus:

What is beyond doubt is the inclusion of the issue of the Jews on the agenda of the thirteenth century Church, not as an item of highest priority but as an item not to be neglected. It is from this basis that we must approach the issue of missionizing among the Jews. The most important group to be confronted in the renewed mid-thirteenth century commitment to proselytizing was the internal dissidents [heretics]; they had to be brought back into the fold at all costs. The realities of military and political power dictated that the Muslims occupy second place on the roster of potential targets. The Jews placed a distant third, for they were not numerically significant, and they showed an age-old recalcitrance that must have dimmed proselytizing enthusiasm.⁹

As we shall see, Raymond of Peñafort had as many dealings with heretics and Muslims as he did with Jews. He was responsible for the initiative to train Dominican friars in Arabic and to compose manuals for use in missionary efforts against them: “The

key figure in this enterprise is generally considered to be Friar Raymond of Penyafort. A man of great energy and diverse abilities...”¹⁰ Again, it seems logical to ask: Why Raymond? And only reinforces my contention that a better understanding of this friar from Barcelona will have much to tell us about the origins of these momentous missionary enterprises against non-Christians. What we may already be able to discern from the outset, however, is that the mendicant—or more narrowly Dominican—ideology of the thirteenth century was not wielded exclusively against Jews, and therefore, may require a broader understanding than has been argued by scholars like Cohen. As Chazan concludes:

For the Jews, then, the essential problem lay not in a specifically anti-Jewish thrust to the new missionizing, *but rather in the aggressive environment that turned Christian sensitivities to the missionizing endeavor*. Once this missionizing effort was set into motion and achieved only minimal results, inevitably the image of the Jews had to suffer further in the eyes of those who had committed themselves to the campaign. In this sense, then, the proselytizing of the mid-thirteenth century had deleterious results for the Jewish image in western Christendom. Old stereotypes of Jewish blindness and obtuseness were inevitably reinforced. This occurred not out of a specifically anti-Jewish hue to the missionizing or out of an initially negative disposition on the part of the missionizers. *The culprit was ultimately the new environment that spawned conversionist ardor.*¹¹ (Emphasis mine)

If the problem was not a new anti-Jewish theology, but a new environment that fanned the flames of missionary zeal, what environmental factors may we point to as potential catalysts for the missionizing phenomena? Speaking of the motivational climate of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Chazan writes: “At this juncture, the drive toward a more homogeneous Christian society emerged in broad segments of

European society. The techniques for achievement of this homogeneity varied, as is indicated convincingly in Benjamin Z. Kedar's excellent study of the alternative tactics of crusade and mission...vigorous self-confidence combined with uncertainty and insecurity moved the leadership of western Christendom to press for enhanced homogeneity within and for expansion ...without."¹² Anna Sapir Abulafia is of similar mind-set when she writes: "...what twelfth-century theologians had in common was their constructs of Christian universality and where they used reason they more often than not used it as that innate human quality that united mankind in knowledge of God. Thus Jews emerged from their writings as human outsiders...the foundations were laid for the institutional marginalization of Jews in the thirteenth century and beyond."¹³

Abulafia sees the seeds of future anti-Judaism sown in the otherwise "enlightened" works of the Christian humanists of the twelfth-century Renaissance. Paradoxically, it was precisely because of their newfound appreciation for reason and philosophy in the service of explicating Christian truth that they (and others after them) came to see Jews as less than reasonable and, therefore, less than human. She cites, for example, the pioneering work of Peter Abelard. In his *Ethics*, he actually exonerates the killers of Christ because they sincerely believed that they were serving God by doing so (Abelard goes so far as to assert that they would have sinned gravely had they *not* done so). For Abelard, the devotee of reason, "sin" resided in the *intention* of the doer, not in the deed done. This prompts Abulafia to wonder aloud "whether Abelard's attitude regarding the crucifiers of Christ not being sinners implies that he was rather more tolerant of Jews than were his contemporaries."¹⁴ Ultimately, her reply is in the negative,

for in his work, *Dialogue of a philosopher with a Jew and a Christian*, Abelard makes it abundantly clear that he believed that contemporary Jews “slavishly followed the Mosaic Law and its rituals rather than freely exercising human intention in communion with reason and the natural law.”¹⁵ Abelard’s Philosopher is even more critical: “Surely, the Jews alone, since they are animals and sensual and are imbued with no philosophy whereby they are able to discuss reasoned arguments, are moved to faith only by miracles of external deeds, as if it were the case that it belongs to God alone to effect these things and that no illusion could be produced in them by demons.”¹⁶ Abulafia concludes of Abelard: “To a man interested in man’s intention rather than the appearance of his deeds, a purely literal application of the precepts of the Pentateuch to the dos and don’ts of one’s daily life could easily have seemed intolerable. Abelard could not acknowledge that Jewish understanding of the Law of Moses had its own spiritual meaning...”¹⁷ Thus Abulafia concludes generally of the Christian humanists of the Twelfth-century Renaissance:

Many of these thinkers were inspired by a genuine confidence that the proper use of reason...would necessarily lead not only to understanding but also to concurrence with Christian doctrine. But since they also thought that reason was the hallmark of human beings, separating humans from animals, they were led to conclude that those who could not accept their rational conclusions about Christianity were not really human. What developed was an universalistic construct of humanity based on reason which was deemed to coincide with universal Christendom. The inherent inclusiveness of this construct (everyone has reason, so everyone can be a Christian and the Church is open to all true believers) was, in fact, decidedly exclusive to anyone or any group who could not conform to the agreed philosophical and religious formulae. Thus a sideline of the intellectual endeavors of the Twelfth-century Renaissance was the marginalization of Jews.¹⁸

Cohen, in his own way, likewise looks to the drive for “universality,” or “homogeneity,” as culprit factor in Jewish marginalization:

The new attitude to the Jews... appears to have derived even more from a mounting trend...An overriding concern with the properly ordered wholeness and functional unity of Christendom [which] manifested itself...in the spiritual and intellectual climate of the period. Numerous cultural historians have demonstrated how as an interest in a unifying synthesis overcame that in intellectual exploration and individualistic creativity, the humanism of the “renaissance” of the twelfth century gave way to the scholasticism of the thirteenth. The *summa*, the complete synthesis and clarification of a field of learning in accordance with accepted philosophical and logical principles, quickly came to constitute the crowning achievement of scholastic writers... Whereas the drive toward realizing the perfect unity of Christendom included the scholastic effort to produce intellectual syntheses which themselves mirrored that unity, the defensiveness of the thirteenth-century Church manifested itself in an attempt to rule and regulate human thought. Ideas or beliefs that did not accord strictly with those of the establishment were seen not only as undermining the Church’s authority but as threatening to destroy the Christian unity that the Church struggled to maintain.¹⁹

Interestingly, Chazan also cites the *summa* as evidence in his homogeneity argument:

The remarkable *summae* of the period convey a sense of confidence in the capacity of the human mind to achieve understanding, in the orderliness of Christian religious tradition, and in the rationality of the Church’s teaching. From this perspective, the enhanced ecclesiastical commitment to missionizing can be seen as a reflection of the brimming confidence of the Christian world at this juncture. Sure of itself and its teaching, the Church committed itself in unusual measure to the effort to carry its incontrovertible position to those outside itself, or, in other words, to those in error.²⁰

It is interesting that Cohen and Chazan both cite the genre of the *summa*, because Dominican Friar Raymond of Peñafort was himself the author of just such a *summa*, the

Summa de casibus, or Summa confessorum, the Summa on confession. It might have been just as appropriately named the *Summa on sin*, for in this lengthy treatise, Friar Raymond discusses the various kinds of sins and the ways a good confessor must discern the offence as well as the repentance of the sinner. Raymond's work was, in fact, hugely successful. As Hinnebusch writes: "The timeliness of the *Summa* is indicated by the instant welcome it received both inside and outside the Order. Few medieval books were so widely distributed. Scholars and schools wanted it in their libraries; it appeared on the list of book-prices established by the University of Paris in 1286; manuscript copies stand on the shelves of most European libraries, great and small."²¹

Could it be more than coincidence that the author of the most popular *summa* on sin in his day, was also the driving force behind the first systematic campaign to proselytize Jews and Muslims? Is it possible that the origins of missionary overtures to non-Christians are to be identified not so much with the drive for homogeneity, as for holiness?

Neither Cohen, nor Chazan, treat in their works of the origins of thirteenth-century missionizing in any direct way, beyond the allusions to universalism and homogeneity quoted above; this investigation does occur to some degree, however, in later works by both authors. As Cohen states the rationale for his latest work, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, 1999), "Indeed, reactions to my thesis on the significance of the friars, alongside the independent investigations of other historians, quickly convinced me that a fair assessment of later

medieval Christian ideas of the Jew demanded a more conscientious investigation of their antecedents.”²² Several chapters in Cohen’s book treat important twelfth-century figures such as St Anselm of Canterbury, Peter Abelard, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable, and Alan of Lille, among others. He summarizes his conclusions about them thusly:

...Christian theologians of the twelfth century did not yet articulate a construction of contemporary, rabbinic Judaism per se as a post-biblical Jewish heresy. Nevertheless, some of their pronouncements gravitated in that direction, and they certainly laid the groundwork for subsequent churchmen who did make that formulation explicit. The place accorded the Jews on Anselm of Canterbury’s map of the world had surely been called into question and at times circumscribed, even if the poetic imagination of Alan of Lille had not yet eliminated it entirely. Perhaps more aptly than she originally imagined, one recent student of Alan’s opus has observed that had Alan lived just a little later, he undoubtedly would have been a mendicant friar.²³

Cohen approves the suggestion that Alan would have made a good mendicant because Alan includes a polemic against the Jews in his *De Fide Catholica*, which was also directed against Muslims and heretics. One might also approve the suggestion that Alan would have made a good friar because, like Raymond of Peñafort, he also wrote a pioneering treatise on confession, the *Liber poenitentialis*.

Unlike the medieval handbooks of penance from former times, which were little more than lists of sins and their punishments, Alan’s work, “late in the twelfth century broke clearly with the earlier works of its type. The tariffs had virtually disappeared: the determination of appropriate penances was left entirely to the discretion of confessors.”²⁴

As Pierre Michaud-Quantin puts it:

Le Décret de Gratien mettait en relief dans la première moitié du XII^{ème} siècle le principe *Poenitentiae sunt arbitrariae*, les pénitences à imposer sont à déterminer dans chaque cas par le confesseur *ad arbitrium*, selon son appréciation, et exigeait en conséquence qu'il se renseignât sur les circonstances objectives et subjectives qui entouraient la faute avouée. Quelques années plus tard, l'évêque Barthélemy d'Exeter rédigea un *Poenitentiale*, qui reprenait et accentuait ces dispositions.

C'est dans la lignée de cette évolution que se place le *Liber Poenitentialis* d'Alain de Lille, professeur de théologie à Paris, mêlé aux luttes doctrinales contre Cathares du Languedoc puis moine cistercien. Mais cette œuvre rédigée dans les dernières années du XII^{ème} siècle se place résolument sur un plan nouveau et constitue de ce fait le premier des manuels de pastorale pénitentielle cherchant à atteindre les buts définis précédemment.²⁵

The revolution in the medieval understanding of the psychology of human repentance inaugurated by Peter Abelard, continued its practical development in the new penitential works of individuals like Bartholomew of Exeter and Alan of Lille. More and more, Catholic priests were being encouraged to look beyond the mere application of standard penances based on outward deeds, and pursue instead the inward motivations and mitigating circumstances of sin, as well as the heart-felt contrition of the sinner. We do not digress needlessly by broaching the issue of the evolution of the Christian doctrine of penance; rather, I believe it has everything to do with understanding the development of a Christian theology of mission with regard to Jews, Muslims, and heretics. More aptly than she originally imagined did Abulafia observe: "It is true that Abelard concluded in his *Ethics* that the Jews had not sinned by crucifying Jesus Christ. But this had more to do with Abelard's endeavor to find a truly satisfactory definition of sin than an attempt at exonerating those who were held responsible for killing Jesus."²⁶ I shall argue in this dissertation that it was precisely through the development of a theology of

sin and repentance that the Church came to produce an ideology of mission directed toward Jews and other non-Christians. It is surprising that it has gone unremarked in previous scholarship that the very men responsible for publishing the most important medieval writings on the sacrament of penance (Abelard, Alan of Lille, Bartholomew of Ely, etc.) were also the authors of the chief Christian works on Jews. As we shall explore in more detail in the next chapter, Christian intellectuals of the twelfth-century Renaissance may have deplored what they viewed as a lack of exercise of the human faculty of reason on the part of Jews, however, it does not necessarily follow that “Jews emerged from their writings as human outsiders...the foundations were laid for the institutional marginalization of Jews in the thirteenth century and beyond.”²⁷ As shall be shown in subsequent chapters, to the medieval Christian theologian, *to err* was certainly *human*, and formed the basis for a novel *medieval* construct of *inclusion* which the Dominicans carried out to its logical conclusion.

This dissertation will seek to answer the question: What was the “theological justification” underlying the concerted effort on the part of the friars to convert the Jews (and “pagans”), and was it new? Its purpose is to uncover the origins and nature of the Dominican concept of “mission.” In a very real way, the question compels us to re-examine the very essence of the Order of Preachers itself. What was its *raison d’être*? Did its original mandate include preaching to non-Christians, or was this the singular invention of Raymond of Peñafort? This theological exploration must necessarily seek to define “conversion” and “preaching” as they were understood in theological circles during the opening decades of the thirteenth century. What factors contributed to the

creation of a distinctive brand of Dominican preaching?

Such an inquiry also necessarily entails an exploration of the “conspicuous” role played by Friar Raymond: “Peñafoorte’s twofold reason for promoting the study of Hebrew among his friars: [was] to respond to the Jews...In his undoubtedly sincere Dominican zeal to convert the infidel and rid Christendom of any taint of heresy, Raymond de Peñafoorte could not tolerate the existence in Christian society of the heirs to such a corrupt and hostile rabbinic tradition.”²⁸ So Jeremy Cohen characterizes the influential Spanish Dominican, and his mission program. Cohen argues that while “the treatment of the Jews in the works of the canonists actually improved during the thirteenth century,” it did so only regarding minor matters; whereas, regarding such serious issues as “the right to study and disseminate rabbinic literature,” Raymond’s influence (and that of other Dominicans and Franciscans) turned society against Jews: “One Dominican conspicuously appears in the midst of many of the mendicants’ activities...the late medieval attacks on contemporary Jewry did have their theological justification...the mendicants stood in closer contact with the lay population of Europe than did the popes or the canonists...to transmit their sentiments to a wide and diversified audience.”²⁹

In his article, “*Tolerantia: A Medieval Concept*” (1997), István Bejczy, however, argues just the opposite—that medieval Christians imbibed a spirit of restraint from hostile acts against Jews (e.g., banning or disrupting Jewish worship), precisely because of Raymond of Peñafoorte’s “authoritative definition” of tolerance: “lesser evils are permitted so as to prevent greater ones. This is called the *permissio comparativa*, and it

does not excuse from sin. It should, however, be called *tolerantia* rather than permission.”³⁰ Bejczy notes that Pope Gregory IX entrusted Raymond with the momentous task of reconciling and codifying all existing Church law into one body. In 1234, the pope proclaimed the new canon law in the bull *Rex Pacificus*, to the universities of Paris and Bologna, in which he ordered that “Raymond’s work” alone should be considered authoritative (a work that stood in substance till 1917). As Bejczy argues, the *Decretals* of Gregory IX, as they came to be called, “contain several statements on circumstances under which evil practices may be left unpunished. The verb *tolerare* is frequently used in this context,” thus, “the influence of canon law on scholasticism in matters of tolerance invalidates Cohen’s distinction between tolerant popes on the one hand and intolerant mendicants on the other—a distinction which is little convincing anyway, since the canonist Raymond of Peñafort (who gave an authoritative definition of tolerance, as we have seen above) is depicted by Cohen as the evil genius behind mendicant intolerance.”³¹

That two scholars could have such diametrically opposed views of the thought and practice of such a seminal figure begs further study. Thus, within our investigation of the origins of the Dominican theology of mission, we may ask peripherally: What was the exact nature of ideological and practical influence “between popes and canonists on the one hand and intolerant mendicants on the other” with regard to non-Christians? Is it true that “the mendicants stood in closer contact with the lay population of Europe than did the popes or the canonists. They had the opportunity not only to pursue their ideology with the Jews but also to transmit their sentiments to a wide and diversified

audience;³² and if so, does that mean that popes, canon lawyers, and mendicants each had different and competing ideologies with regard to Christian approaches to Jews, Muslims, and other non-Christians? What did each of the ideologies have in common? How did they differ? Did they promote tolerance or intolerance? During the 1230s, the enigmatic Raymond of Peñafort occupied the office of chief canonist, papal confessor and penitentiary, as well as Master General of the Dominican Order. A close scrutiny of this person and his writings would seem to hold out unique returns, since within the span of one decade, he almost simultaneously, held the highest offices with regard to canon law, the papal curia, and mendicancy. What makes such a study of this Dominican even more desirable is that the scholarly editions of his life and works, *Raymundiana: Seu documenta quae pertinent ad S. Raymundi de Penafoti vitam et scripta* (Rome, 1898-1901), and *San Raimundo de Penyafort: Diplomatario* (Barcelona, 1954), are over a hundred years-old, and fifty years-old, respectively. Indeed, the only major work in English is a documented, but pious, saint's life from 1935.³³

In 1240, Raymond stepped down as master general, specifically to concentrate his efforts on the conversion of Jews and Muslims both within Spain and outside Christendom. But his was no ordinary missionary approach, as Cohen and others have remarked. Raymond's novelty was his insistence on the use of the liturgical languages of his religious adversaries, as well as the use of reasoned, philosophical argument. At his direction, Dominican schools of Hebrew and Arabic were created to train friars who would be sent as missionaries. It was at his request that Thomas Aquinas composed the *Summa contra gentiles*, an apologetics manual ostensibly for missionaries, using

philosophy to persuade unbelievers to become Christians.³⁴ Indeed, as Emmet Randolph Daniel puts it, during the first four decades of the thirteenth century

the rediscovery of Aristotle and the development of scholasticism helped spur...Ramon de Penyafort, Roger Bacon, and Ramon Lull to attempt to devise an apologetical and philosophical theology which missionaries, trained in non-Christian languages, could employ to demonstrate the truth of Christianity to learned Jews or Muslims. Roger Bacon was himself a Franciscan; Ramon Lull founded Miramar to train Friars minor and apparently became a tertiary. But neither Bacon nor Lull was able to exert any appreciable influence on the Order. Franciscan missionaries recognized the language problem;...but the Order never established missionary colleges.³⁵

Why did the *Dominican* Order establish missionary colleges? Was it merely because Raymond was former master general, whose word still held sway within the Order? He had actually already done for the Constitutions of the Dominican Order what he did previously for the Church at large—give definitive codification to its laws. His redaction for the Order of Preachers remained substantively unchanged until 1924. Or was there perhaps, something within the dynamic of the Dominican Order itself, which fostered such a receptive environment? What was distinct about the Dominican ideology of mission? As Daniel argues, W.A. Hinnebusch's *History of the Dominican Order: Origins and Growth* (1973), the standard work on the Order, confines itself mostly to the "constitution and organization of the Order. Although Dominican missions were widespread during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, historians have largely neglected this topic; the pioneer work by Berthold Altaner, *Die Dominikanermission des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Habelschwerdt, 1924), remains the only attempt at such a study..."³⁶

Endnotes

Chapter One: Introduction

1. Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith, Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989);
R. I. Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society, Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987).
2. Chazan, 1.
3. Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews, The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), 14.
4. Chazan, 173.
5. Cohen, 168-69.
6. Chazan, 116.
7. On one occasion, Cohen paraphrases a line from Pope Gregory the Great which Raymond included in his *Summa de casibus* 1.4.1.; Cohen, 106.
8. Cohen, "Scholarship and Intolerance in the Medieval Academy: The Study and Evaluation of Judaism in European Christendom," *American Historical Review* XCI (1986) : 608.
9. Chazan, 35.
10. Ibid., 29.
11. Ibid., 181.
12. Ibid., 2.
13. Anna Sapir Abulafia, "Twelfth-Century Renaissance Theology and the Jews" in *From Witness to Witchcraft, Jews and Judaism in Medieval Christian Thought*, ed. Cohen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 139.
14. A. S. Abulafia, "Intentio Recta an Erronea? Peter Abelard's views on Judaism and the Jews," in *Medieval Studies in honour of Avrom Saltman*, eds., B. Albert, Y. Friedman, and S. Schwarzfuchs, *Bar-Ilan Studies in History* 4. (Ramat-Gan, Israel, 1995), 14-15.
15. Ibid.

16. Peter Abelard, *Dialogue of a Philosopher with a Jew and a Christian*, trans. and ed. P. Payer (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1979), 78. Abulafia concludes there is no reason to suppose that Abelard would have disagreed with the Philosopher's remarks, especially considering his other statements concerning Jews in his own letters. Such a judgement is not necessarily conclusive, however, since Abelard also puts it into the mouth of the Philosopher to call the Christians "insane." [Payer, 21]

17. A. S. Abulafia, "Intentio Recta an Erronea?", 28.

18. A. S. Abulafia, "Twelfth-Century Renaissance Theology", 131.

19. Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 249-50; 255.

20. Chazan, 26.

21. W. A. Hinnebusch *History of the Dominican Order Origins and Growth*, (1973), 251.

22. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law, Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 314.

23. Ibid., 312.

24. Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1978), 189.

25. Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommae de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge (XII-XVI siècles)*, (Louvain, 1962), 38.

26. A.S. Abulafia, "Twelfth-Century Renaissance Theology", 132.

27. Ibid., 139.

28. Cohen, 164-65.

29. Ibid., 244.

30. István Bejczy, "Tolerantia: A Medieval Concept," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58 (1997): 370.

31. Bejczy, 373.

32. Cf., nt. 29.

33. T. Schwertner, O.P. *St. Raymond of Pennafort*, ed. C. M. Antony (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1935).
34. Petrus Marsilius, *Cronicae*, in Thomas Aquinas, *Liber de veritate catholice fidei contra errores infidelium*, trans. and ed Peter Marc et al., 3 vols. (Tours, 1961-67), 1:73; cited in Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 105.
35. Emmet Randolph Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages*, (New York: The Franciscan Institute St. Bonaventure University, 1992), xi-ii.
36. Daniel, 159.

**Chapter Two: Twelfth-Century Theology:
Approaches to Sin & Repentance, Jews & Infidels**

As we have seen, the missionizing fervor of the thirteenth-century friars has been viewed by Chazan and Cohen as another manifestation of that same desire for Christian homogeneity or universality which inspired the massacre of the Rhineland Jews in 1096. In this, both are in agreement with the earlier scholarship of Salo Baron:

In the Roman and Byzantine empires, and even in Western Europe before the age of the Crusades, the numerous tracts ‘Against the Jews’ primarily had Christian audiences in mind. Now, on the contrary, the Church viewed apologetic literature as but another weapon in its march toward world domination. The new offensive, seized by the preaching orders, also infused new vigor and introduced novel facets into the polemics which together with the vastly expanding missionary sermons and oral disputations, tried to persuade the Jews of the “foolishness” of their stubborn perseverance.¹

As David Berger notes, this view leads to an historiographic quandary concerning that in-between period, Christian Europe of the 1100s: “Once again, the twelfth century is left in a sort of limbo. Was it a watershed in the use of polemic as a weapon in the church’s ‘march toward world domination,’ or does this questionable distinction belong to the age of the friars?”² Berger whole-heartedly agrees with Chazan and Cohen about the universalistic aims of the thirteenth century mendicants, but he believes “unequivocally” that:

Despite the proliferation of Christian polemics in the late eleventh and twelfth

centuries, the evidence is overwhelming that these works were not rooted in a new or continuing missionary impulse. An examination of the reasons that polemicists gave for writing their tracts reveals a remarkable need to apologize for engaging in an activity considered improper on ideological grounds, and, even when there is no apology, hesitation, or refusal, the reasons given almost invariably do not include the idea that Christians should attempt to proselytize Jews.³

Even if Berger's assessment were, on the whole, an accurate one, it would still leave the origins of thirteenth-century Dominican missions unaccounted-for. In the time since Berger's article first appeared, scholars like Abulafia and Cohen have come to see an ideological displacement of the Jews in the thought of twelfth-century Christian writers, and have argued vigorously that such an intellectual push of "the Other" to the margins of society, preceded and informed later thirteenth-century practices of social exclusion of Jews and Muslims. As we touched upon in the opening chapter, Abulafia blames Christian humanist devotion to reason-as-universalistic-construct of humanity: "But since they also thought that reason was the hallmark of human beings, separating humans from animals, they were led to conclude that those who could not accept their rational conclusions about Christianity were not really human. What developed was an universalistic construct of humanity based on reason which was deemed to coincide with universal Christendom."⁴ Or as Cohen characterizes the twelfth century:

Changing circumstances led to a reclassification of the Jews along with other infidels, especially Muslims, and with heretics; they gave rise to a sense that Judaism constituted but one aspect of the disbelief that threatened the integrity of Christendom. In a word, a process of displacement had begun in Christian thought...The place accorded the Jews on Anselm of Canterbury's map of the world had surely been called into question and at times circumscribed, even if the poetic imagination of Alan of Lille had not yet eliminated it entirely.⁵

Our investigation of the ideological origins of Dominican mission to infidels will thus commence with St. Anselm of Canterbury and conclude with Alan of Lille. It shall be our purpose in this chapter to question whether there were any ostensibly missionary motives among twelfth-century Christian humanist writers and/or whether such authors truly characterized Jews as unreasonable and inhuman. It is my contention that a close study of Christian authors devoted to reason will uncover the true origins of missionary overtures to Jews, Muslims, and other non-Christians. We shall find that it is more than coincidence that the same scholastic writers who wrote polemical literature aimed at Jews and other infidels, are the same authors who developed a Christian theology of sin and repentance.

Few intellectuals in the history of the West have garnered the praise which St. Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109) has achieved. Among other titles, he has been dubbed, “the Father of Scholasticism” and “the Second Augustine.” David Knowles says of him: “Among all the host of medieval philosophers and theologians perhaps only Aquinas and Bonaventure are in his company as thinkers who have put into currency, so to say, ideas which may again and again provoke controversy and meet with contradiction, but which cannot with impunity be despised, for they will again and again make their appeal to another generation in the future.”⁶ One such idea is the famous “ontological argument,” a purely rational-proof for the existence of God as “something-than-which-a-greater-cannot-be thought.” If such a thing could be thought not to exist,

Anselm argued, then “that-than-which-a greater-cannot-be thought is not the same as that-than-which-a greater-cannot-be thought, which is absurd. Something than-which-a greater-cannot-be thought exists so truly then, that it cannot be even thought not to exist.”⁷ As Hyman and Walsh observe, “...as a straightforward philosophical proof, Anselm’s argument has excited discussion in almost every generation since he set it forth; and to judge from recent treatments, its career is far from over.”⁸

Anselm’s reputation for creativity stems from his vigorous enthusiasm for human reason and its ability to reveal the truth of faith. Our discussion of Anselm centers around his use of rational arguments to convince non-Christians of the truth of the Incarnation, in his work, *Cur Deus homo*, “*Why God Became Man*.” It is an especially important piece of evidence, for not only was it a work ostensibly directed at answering the objections of non-Christians, it was a treatise which “served for three hundred years as the definitive philosophical and theological explanation of the incarnation of Christ, the central mystery of the Christian faith.”⁹ As with the ontological argument in his *Proslogion*, however, there has been much debate as to what degree—if any—Anselm believed a “straightforward philosophical proof” could turn an infidel into a believer. For in the *Proslogion* itself, Anselm is at some pains to tell God: “For I do not seek to understand so that I may believe; but I believe so that I may understand. For I believe this also, that ‘unless I believe, I shall not understand’ [*Isaiah.7:9*].” Thus, Gilson, in his discussion of “The Problem of Christian Philosophy” has the “pure rationalist” put St. Anselm and St. Bonaventure together as true theologians, but not true philosophers, precisely because of their “stand on faith.”¹⁰ If one must believe with faith *before* reason

can enlighten one's mind, then why did Anselm write the *Cur Deus homo*, a philosophical dialogue between himself and his disciple Boso, who asks him questions about Jesus' Incarnation in the name of infidels? As Boso states at the outset: "Allow me then, to use the words of unbelievers. For since we are fervently seeking the rational basis of our faith, it is fair that I should present the objections of those who are altogether unwilling to approach our faith without rational argumentation. Although they seek a rational basis because they do not believe whereas we seek it because we do believe, nevertheless it is one and the same thing that both we and they are seeking."¹¹ We find additional support that Anselm thought he could persuade contemporary non-Christians to believe in Jesus Christ as Savior through reason alone at the conclusion of the work: "For you prove the necessity of God's becoming a man, and you do so in such a way that even if the few things you have introduced from our books are removed (e.g., what you mentioned about the three persons of God and about Adam), you would satisfy not only the Jews but also the pagans by reason alone."¹² For these reasons, scholars such as Van der Plaas, Roques, Gauss, and Southern have concluded that Anselm's intended audience was ostensibly Jews and Muslims. Cohen concurs, calling the *Cur Deus homo* "the treatise that offers the most insight into Anselm's estimation of Jewish unbelief."¹³ Cohen emphasizes that "[f]or medieval Christians, the Jews were the most familiar opponents of the doctrine of the incarnation; and, not long before the composition of the *Cur Deus homo*, Anselm spent the winter of 1092-93 together with Gilbert Crispin, abbot of Westminster, who was then at work on his own anti-Jewish treatise, *Disputatio Iudaei et Christiani (The Disputation of a Christian and a Jew)*."¹⁴ Abulafia, however, dissents

from this view. She states that: “although Anselm’s work on the *Cur Deus Homo* was probably stimulated by his pupil Gilbert Crispin’s interest in the Jewish-Christian debate, he himself was not using the term *infideles* to cover Jews. Nor was he referring to Muslims. Anselm’s work, including his large number of letters, betrays very little interest in any real non-Christians: Jews, Muslims or pagans...The disbelief he combated was the disbelief of those who were at least nominal Christians.”¹⁵ Or as she writes elsewhere: “The fundamental difference between the believers and the unbelievers in his audience is that the first group believes, and whilst believing searches for an understanding of what it believes. The second group has allowed itself to suspend belief until it understands. Both groups are Christians, or at least nominal ones.”¹⁶

I do not think that such an interpretation of Anselm’s target audience, however, can be an accurate one, based on what Anselm has to say in another of his writings. Some three to four years earlier, Anselm wrote a letter to Fulk, the bishop of Beauvais regarding the statements of Roscelin of Compiègne. Roscelin, like Anselm, was a teacher and dialectician who sought to use philosophical concepts to explain Christian doctrine. But as Roscelin and other teachers (notably Abelard) soon found out, such inquiry could often prove as dangerous as navigating a field of land-mines. The difference between orthodoxy and heresy could lie in the use or misuse of a single word, or the shade of meaning thereof. In Roscelin’s case, Anselm wrote Bishop Fulk to complain that he had heard that Roscelin had been making heterodox statements concerning the nature of the Trinity and that he had ascribed such erroneous opinions to the late Archbishop Lanfranc and to Anselm himself. In his letter, Anselm defends his

own adherence to the Apostles Creed and the Nicene Creed and states that any baptized Christian who denies the Trinitarian dogmas contained therein ought to be dispensed with—not reasoned with:

But if he was baptized and was brought up among Christians, then he ought not at all to be given a hearing. No explanation for his error should be demanded of him, and no explication of our truth should be presented to him. Rather, as soon as the detection of his falsehood is beyond doubt, either let him anathematize the poison which he produces and spews forth or let him be anathematized by all Catholics unless he recants...For our faith ought to be rationally defended against the impious, but not against those who admit that they delight in the honor of the name “Christian.” From these latter it must be rightly demanded that they hold firmly to the pledge made at baptism, but to the former it must be demonstrated rationally how irrationally they despise us.¹⁷

Clearly then, Anselm did not write the *Cur Deus homo* for Christians “in-name-only,” as Abulafia asserts, he wrote it for “the impious,” the *infideles* (those who have never been “Christened”) for whom he has Boso act as spokesperson, as well as for orthodox Christians who want to better understand the doctrines they already hold on faith. What is also made perfectly clear from Anselm’s words is that Jews and Muslims may be “impious,” but they are *not* heretics (as Cohen claims the Dominicans a century-and-a-half later perceived them to be): “For our faith *ought* to be rationally defended against the impious [*infideles*], but *not* against those who admit that they delight in the honor of the name ‘Christian.’” [i.e. heretics] Yet, Cohen does allege that Anselm “construed Judaism as exemplifying a primitive theological mind-set, representative of an inability to grasp the logic of Christianity, appropriately and necessarily surpassed by faith in Christ.”¹⁸ It is not clear to me where Cohen gets the idea that Anselm considered

Judaism as exemplative of a “primitive mind-set.” Nowhere in the *Cur Deus homo* does Anselm make such a claim. In the passage quoted above, when Anselm says that “to the former [*infideles*] it must be demonstrated how *irrationally* they despise us [Christians]” (Emphasis mine), he is not alleging that the intellect of an infidel is inferior (i.e., irrational) to that of a follower of Christ; Anselm merely means that if only the proper arguments were presented to the said non-Christian, in the proper harmonious arrangement, then that person’s intellect would no longer reject Christianity, (which is irrational to do, it being so rational) but embrace it. Indeed, one should ask why Anselm would have bothered to go to the trouble of writing the *Cur Deus homo* in the first place, if he felt that Jews and Muslims lacked the proper intellectual hardware for the job of processing it?

By alleging that Anselm construed Jewish minds as “primitive,” perhaps Cohen was hearkening to the opening chapter of the *Cur Deus homo* where Anselm states that he will proceed in dialogue form because “issues which are examined by the method of question-and-answer are clearer, and so more acceptable, to many minds—especially to minds that are *slower*” (Emphasis mine); also within the same passage, Boso tells Anselm: “...what I am asking of you, you will be writing *not for the learned* but for me and for those who are seeking this solution together with me”? Again, these remarks are no slights against Boso, the humble Christian believer, nor against all non-Christians in general, Anselm is merely stating the experiential fact that some minds work faster than others and a good teacher needs to be cognizant of *all* the students he is trying to reach in choosing his pedagogical methods, not only the prize pupils. It seems quite contrary to

the evidence to suggest that Anselm saw non-Christians as any less rational (and therefore less human) than Christians; the very fact that he puts it into the mouth of Boso to state: “Although they seek a rational basis because they do not believe whereas we seek it because we do believe, nevertheless it is one and the same thing that both we and they are seeking,” shows a oneness of purpose between Christians and non-Christians, a common humanity united in the desire for truth. And for devout Christians such as St. Anselm, was not this the ultimate reason *why God became man?*: “To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Everyone that is of the truth hears my voice” (Jn 18:37). Thus Anselm’s treatise is rather an example of the beginning of the development of a theology of inclusion of non-Christians, rather than exclusion, and for more than one reason.

Not only did Anselm believe that infidel intellects were up to the challenge of sifting through his rational arguments for the Incarnation of Christ on an equal footing with believing Christians seeking understanding, the *arguments themselves* demanded a non-Christian, as well as Christian, target audience; deeper meditation on the *universal* mission of Christ necessarily influenced Christian thinkers like Anselm to compose works targeted at *non-Christians*:

Boso: The unbelievers who scoff at our simplicity raise against us the following objection: that we dishonor and affront God when we maintain that He descended into the womb of a woman, that He was born of a woman...that He experienced weariness, hunger, thirst, scourging, and (in the midst of thieves) crucifixion and death.

Anselm: We do not dishonor or affront God; instead we give Him thanks from our whole heart, and we laud and proclaim the ineffable depth of His mercy...

Indeed, if unbelievers would carefully consider how appropriately the restoration of human nature was obtained in this manner, they would not deride our simplicity but with us would praise God's wise loving-kindness. For it was fitting that as death had entered into the human race by the disobedience of man, so life would be restored by the obedience of man [Cf. Rom 5:19]. And [it was fitting that] as the sin which was the cause of our condemnation had its beginning from a woman, so the Author of our justification and salvation would be born from a woman. And the Devil, who had conquered man by persuading him to taste of the tree, would be conquered by man through the suffering-on-he-tree which he himself inflicted. There are also many other things which when carefully examined manifest a certain inexpressible beauty in the fact of our redemption's having been accomplished in this manner.¹⁹

Anselm thinks that if unbelievers carefully consider his explanation of the restoration of human nature by God becoming man, then they will no longer mock Christians but together with them "praise God's wise loving-kindness." Firstly then, Anselm believes his non-Christian audience just as capable of analyzing his arguments, and secondly, his ultimate goal is to see them united with Christians praising God. This is the development of a theology of *inclusion* based on Christ's redemption: Because God made man in his own image, the human mind is capable of grasping reasonable arguments: Christian and non-Christian minds. Because death had entered into the human race through the disobedience of the first man, all are stained with the same sin: Christians and non-Christians. Because God became man and paid man's penalty for sin on the cross, He is the Redeemer of all and deserving of praise: Christian and non-Christian. With Anselm, we have the beginning of a deeper exploration of the mystery of God's mercy, of the development of a scholastic theology of sin and redemption and its implications for Christians—and non-Christians. Indeed, it is precisely inquiry into human sin and divine redemption that motivates Anselm to write a work answering the

objections of unbelievers—for Anselm’s investigation leads him to believe that salvation is for them also, and how else shall this redemption reach them if he does not supply rational proofs to convince them? The main premise of the *Cur Deus homo* is that “...as the sin which was the cause of our condemnation had its beginning from a woman, so the Author of our justification and salvation would be born from a woman.” Sin and Christ are the two polar opposites, sin was the cause of human alienation from God, Jesus the remedy by which humans are reunited to Him. Anselm argues that to understand who Christ is (why God became man), it is necessary to first comprehend the gravity of sin. To understand the gravity of sin, it is necessary to form a proper appreciation of the One against whom sin is committed: Almighty God:

Anselm: Since in this inquiry you are assuming the role of those who prefer to believe nothing except what has been established in advance by reason, I would like for us to agree to accept, in the case of God, nothing that is even in the least degree unfitting..If angels and men always rendered to God what they ought to, then they would never sin...The will of every rational creature ought to be subordinate to the will of God...This is the debt which angels and men owe to God. No one who pays this debt sins; and everyone who does not pay it does sin...Whoever does not pay to God this honor due Him dishonors Him and removes from Him what belongs to Him...everyone who sins is obliged to repay to God the honor which he has stolen. This [repayment of stolen honor] constitutes the satisfaction which every sinner is obliged to make God.²⁰

The theology of sin and repentance centers around the utter transcendence of God and man’s complete dependence on Him, hence, the need for all his willful acts to be in accordance with those of His Maker. If we are to understand Anselm’s treatise, we must understand his medieval Christian mind-set. For Anselm, God and theology are not some quaint pastime, like stamps and stamp-collecting to a modern philatelist, God is “that-

than-which-a greater-cannot-be thought!” The earth and all its inhabitants, even the totality of the universe itself, is less than a grain of sand in comparison with God. A slight against His honor is not some youthful indiscretion, it’s an unconscionable outrage:

A. Nothing ought less to be tolerated in the order of things than that the creature remove the honor owed to the Creator and not repay what he removes...if nothing is greater or better than God, then Supreme Justice (which is identical with God Himself) keeps nothing more justly than God’s honor in regard to the governance of things..what if it were necessary for the whole world and whatever is other than God to perish and be reduced to nothing or for you to do so small a thing which is contrary to the will of God?

B. When I consider the action itself, I see it to be something trifling. But when I reflect upon the fact that it is contrary to the will of God, I recognize that it is something extremely grave...even for the sake of preserving the whole of creation, it is not the case that I ought to do something which is contrary to the will of God.

A. What if there were more than one world, full of creatures, just as this world is?

B. If there were an infinitely multiple number of worlds and they too were exhibited to me, I would still give the same answer.

A. You can do nothing more rightly. But if it were to happen that contrary to the will of God you were able to take that look, consider as well what you would be able to render as payment for this sin...It is evident that God demands satisfaction in proportion to the extent of the sin...Therefore, you do not make satisfaction unless you pay something greater than is that for whose sake you ought not to have sinned.²¹

Boso complains to Anselm about this exceedingly sorry situation in which man was left after the Original Sin of Adam, and which we as individuals languish in due to the “actual sins” unique to our own doing. Anselm replies that indeed, the gates to paradise are quite securely shut to man, and man is not in a position to render the

satisfaction that can open them again:

A. But this work can only be accomplished if there is someone who pays to God, for man's sin, something greater than every existing thing besides God... Now, nothing except God surpasses everything that is not God... Therefore, only God can make this satisfaction... But only a man ought to make this satisfaction. For in any other case it would not be man who makes it... Therefore, if... it is necessary that the Heavenly City be completed from among men, and if this completion can occur only if the aforementioned satisfaction is made, and if only God can make this satisfaction and only a man ought to make it: it is necessary that a God-man make it.²²

That then, is the reason why God became man in the person of Jesus Christ.

Next, in order to explain the redemption of mankind from sin by a God-become-man, it is necessary for Anselm to classify what kind of being such a thing is and how it is equipped to carry out such a mission:

A. We must now investigate the manner in which a God-man can exist. For it is not the case that the divine nature and the human nature can be changed into each other so that the divine nature becomes human or the human nature becomes divine; and it is not the case that they can be so mingled that from these two natures there is formed a third nature which is neither fully divine nor fully human...

But if these two integral natures are said to be conjoined in some manner such that, nevertheless, the human nature is distinct from the divine nature and the one who is divine is not identical with the one who is human, then it is impossible for either one to do what must be done. For the one who is divine will not do it, because He will not be under obligation to do it; and the one who is human will not do it, because he will not be able to do it. Hence, in order that a God-man will do this, it is necessary that one and the same [individual] be fully divine and fully human, so as to make this satisfaction... Therefore, since it is necessary to find a God-man who retains the integrity of both natures, it is no less necessary that these two integral natures conjoin in one person...²³

Anselm here is explaining the Christian theology of the *hypostatic union* of two natures in Christ as defined at the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451, and earlier, in a famous tome of Pope St. Leo the Great. In layman's terms, *nature* is *what* something is and *person* is *who* someone is. If someone asked Anselm *what* his *nature* was, he would reply that he was a man, capable of doing whatever humans are capable of, and not capable of doing what humans are not capable of. If, on the other hand, he were asked *who* he was, he would reply that he was Anselm, the *person*, or individual who operates his human nature (body and soul).²⁴

In the case of person and nature with regard to Christ, Anselm reiterated the Catholic dogma that the Second Person of the Trinity, God the Son, Who already possessed a divine nature from all eternity, took upon Himself a human nature at a moment in history, so that this one divine Person might at the same time be true God and true man. And not merely a man of God's spontaneous creation, but a man sprung from Adam's seed: "For just as it is right that human nature make satisfaction for human nature's guilt, so it is necessary that the one who makes satisfaction be either the sinner himself or someone of his race. Otherwise, neither Adam nor his race would make satisfaction..."²⁵

After examining the implications of a divine person having a human nature, Anselm explains how His death more than outweighs the number and gravity of all sins ever committed, including the sins of those non-Christians who put him to death:

B. If to put Him to death is as evil as His life is good, how can His death overcome and blot out the sins of those who have put Him to death? Or if it

blots out the sin of one of them, how can it blot out any of the sins of other men as well? For we believe that many of the former have been saved and that countless other men are saved.

A. This question is answered by the apostle who said that: “if they had known it, they would never have crucified the Lord of Glory.” For a sin done knowingly and a sin done in ignorance are so different from each other that the evil which these men could never have done knowingly, because of its enormity, is venial because it was done in ignorance. For no man could ever will, at least knowingly, to kill God; and so those who killed Him in ignorance did not rush forth into that infinite sin with which no other sins are comparable. Indeed, in order to ascertain how good His life was, we considered the magnitude of this sin not with respect to the fact that it was committed in ignorance but as if it were done knowingly—something which no one ever did or ever could have done.²⁶

Anselm here, is pondering the mechanics of the commission of sin through the investigative tool of human reason. In so doing, he is laying the scholastic groundwork for those masters of theology who will come after him, even as he builds on the work of the Fathers and decretists who came before him. Anselm teaches that a sin cannot be considered deadly serious, or “mortal,” unless it is done knowingly. If knowledge of the evil of the deed is lacking, then the sin must be deemed slight or “venial.” He is espousing a principle (which Abelard shall elaborate further) that sin lies not in the objective deed done, but in the subjective mind-set of the do-er, or as he says in chapter four of the *De conceptu Virginali et Originali Peccato* (*The Virgin Conception and Original Sin*), “*Nulla essential est iniusta per se.*” As G. R. Evans comments: “Anselm’s tag that ‘nothing is unjust in itself,’ makes this personal choice of a good or evil purpose a defining characteristic. He thus gives us a partially “contextual” theory of injustice.”²⁷ As repeated above, if sin is committed, satisfaction ought to be made to God proportional

to the measure of the sin:

- A. Tell me, then: what will you pay to God in proportion to your sin?
- B. Penitence, a contrite and humbled heart, fasting and a variety of physical toil, the mercy of giving and forgiving, as well as obedience.
- A. In all these cases what are you giving to God?
- B. Do I not honor God when out of fear of Him and love for Him I in contrition of heart cast aside temporal mirth, when in fasting and toil I tread under foot the pleasures and repose of this life, when in giving and forgiving I generously bestow my possessions, and when in obedience I subject myself to Him?
- A. When you render something which you would owe to God even if you had not sinned, you ought not to reckon it as payment of the debt which you owe for your sin..²⁸

Anselm is not denying that heart-felt sorrow for sin and some kind of mortifying penance is a necessary condition for its absolution, he is merely reminding Boso that these human expressions would have no value had not the God-man already made satisfaction on his behalf. As Anciaux says of Anselm: “affirme lui aussi l’efficacité de la pénitence en la rattachant aux merites du Christ: ‘Sic homo ille redemit omnes alios, cum hoc, quod sponte dedit Deo, computat pro debito quod illi debebant. Quo pretio non semel tantum a culpis homo redimitur, sed etiam quoties cum digna poenitentia redierit, recipitur.’”²⁹

It is important to note that it is Anselm’s inquiry into the theology of sin and repentance that leads him to a consideration of non-Christians: past and present, not some abstract impulse for homogeneity or conformity of thought. The Jews and Romans

who put Christ to death in ignorance sinned venially, and through that very death, their sins may be blotted out. Likewise, contemporary Jews, Muslims, and pagans who reject the Incarnation of Christ through ignorance of the rationality of the doctrine, may be persuaded by reasonable argument and so come to salvation. What we have here is the foundation of the theological justification underlying the effort of the friars to convert the Jews, Muslims, and pagans, more than a century later: the beginnings of a theology of inclusion concerning non-Christians, which is the product of an examination of human sin and repentance. Anselm's treatise, however, must not be construed itself as indicative of an Anselmian missionary program to the non-Christians of his day. Though he lays the ideological groundwork for rational explanation of the Christian faith to non-believers, the call to an active preaching apostolate has not yet manifested itself.

Abulafia documents at some length, the lack of any practical contact on Anselm's part with contemporary Jews or Muslims.³⁰ Anselm is driven by the desire for holiness, that is to say, sinlessness and conformity to the will of God; his examination of the doctrine of sin and repentance leads him to compose a rational exposition of Christ's redemption so that non-Christians might come to faith, but it has not yet dawned on Anselm or the other Christian intellectuals of his day, to take these proofs and preach them to tangible persons in non-Christian precincts. Anselm's attitude, as clearly expressed at the outset of the *Cur Deus homo*, is to have a ready-made defensive remedy for turning non-believing adversaries into friendly co-religionists, *when and if they come to assail Christians, not the other-way round:*

For they [Christians] say that these considerations [the rational bases for the faith] please them...They make their request not in order to approach faith by way of reason but in order to delight in the comprehension and contemplation of the doctrines which they believe, as well as in order to be ready, as best they can, always to give a satisfactory answer to everyone who asks of them a reason for the hope which is in us. Unbelievers habitually raise this particular problem as an objection to us, while derisively terming Christian simplicity a foolish simplicity.³¹

Anselm's deep consideration of man's sin and God's mercy drove him to a consideration for the salvation of non-Christians, but it could not prompt him to a missionary apostolate; for the same abiding concern for sinlessness was understood by him largely within an eleventh-century Christian construct of holiness in which salvation is primarily to be associated with the monastic life. As Abulafia explains generally of the times:

Remission of sin was a vital quest both for those who sought out the religious life and for those who elected to stay in the world. In the greater part of the eleventh century members of the laity (especially the upper echelons of society) looked towards monasteries to help them find this remission. Gradual changes in perceptions of how and when a penitent was reconciled to the Church had meant that Christian sinners increasingly felt the need to offer some form of satisfaction to counter the temporal punishments they feared in this life and the next...by the end of the eleventh century changes in attitudes towards this idea of the remission of sin become visible. With a growing interest in the make-up of man and society, people began to wonder whether even more might be required of them to achieve forgiveness. They began to look for a more personal experience of penance. That experience was often sought through joining one of the new orders, which stressed the monk's individual seeking for God.³²

As Abulafia observes of Anselm directly: "He is, as Richard Southern has so brilliantly shown, a man firmly ensconced in his own monastic world. What concerns him most is to show Christians the way to the life of perfect belief and practice, which he

thought could be found most truly in the monastery.”³³ And we have in fact, a simile from Anselm which he used to educate the younger monks, which spells out so powerfully his world-view, that it must be quoted at length:

For God himself displays his enmity towards the devil in the way that a certain king would against a certain prince who was his enemy. For in his kingdom this king has a rather large city [*villam*], in the city a particular castle, and above the castle a vault...His enemy is so strong that he absconds totally unhindered with whatever he finds outside the city. He frequently enters the city and damages those houses which he find insecure, and those people who inhabit them he takes captive. Those houses which he finds secure, after he cannot destroy them, he reluctantly leaves them at last. He cannot ascend into the castle nor cause any harm to those who take refuge there, unless they return to the combat of the city. But if they return out of love for their parents, inasmuch as they hear that they are being killed and maltreated, or if they look back through an aperture or window, he can easily kill or wound them. Wherefore it is necessary that they never heed the cry of their parents nor return to combat nor look back, but always, just as they began, they must flee until they reach the height of the vault. For once they arrive there, they will be entirely secure.

And so that king is God, who wages war with the devil. Within his kingdom he has the community of Christians, within the community of Christians the society of monks [*monachatum*], and above the society of monks the fellowship of angels. Within the community of Christians certain people are ensconced in virtue, though many are insecure. In the monastic world the security is such that if anyone taking refuge there shall be made a monk—unless, recanting, he departs—he cannot be injured by the devil. In the fellowship of the angels there is the joy of such great security that if anyone ascends there he will never wish to return. The king—that is, God—has all this in his domain. Yet his enemy—that is, the devil—is so powerful that he carries off without resistance and submerges into hell all the Jews and the pagans whom he finds outside the community of Christians. He often enters the community of Christians itself and harms through temptation all those whom he finds infirm, and he takes captive the souls inhabiting their bodies. Yet those whom he finds secure, after failing to conquer them, he at last releases, albeit with regret. He cannot break into the monastic world, nor can he cause harm to those who have been made monks, unless they have returned to the secular world in body or in spirit.³⁴

Anselm’s monastic spirituality is certainly that of “flight from the world.” The

person truly bent on saving his soul should seek the safety of the cloister, and once he has put his hand to the plough, he must not return to the chaos—temporal and spiritual—that rages beyond its walls. Even should one hear the cries of one's own family members being spiritually "killed and maltreated," not only must that monk not return to defend them against the assaults of the devil, he must not even "look back through an aperture or window," or he will certainly be wounded by the piercing arrows of Satan's wrath. In Anselm's ultimate scheme of things, no one is to attempt to recover family members or non-Christians; they are left to share the same fate: "the devil—is so powerful that he carries off without resistance and submerges into hell all the Jews and the pagans whom he finds outside the community of Christians." The temptations of the world are so many and so evil that the only sure route to salvation is to renounce it completely. Family, friends, and religious adversaries do not have the Christian understanding or the wear-with-all to reach a happy end. In the final analysis, while Anselm believes non-Christians sinless with regard to Christ's death, he sees no hope for them without a share in his Life. It will be more than a century before this monastic world-view is turned completely on its head, when the followers of Dominic Guzman deliberately venture out into the fray of battle on what they perceive as a search and rescue mission of Christian and infidel. But before they release their arrows in preaching, "first the bow is bent in study," and for this philosophy they are indebted to Anselm.

Anselm's use of reason to explain Christian doctrines, particularly those on sin and virtue, would be taken up and carried even further by Peter Abelard; and like Anselm before him, it was precisely Abelard's scrutiny of sin and repentance that would lead him

to a consideration of contemporary non-Christians—in some ways, an even more sympathetic consideration.

Peter Abelard (1079-1142) has been a perennial favorite of medievalists. His independent spirit, his thirst for knowledge, his forbidden love, and ultimately his persecution by more conservative peers, have all done much to endear him to future generations of scholars who see much of the “modern man” in this twelfth-century cleric. Abelard’s rational treatise on the differences between monotheists, the *Dialogue of a philosopher with a Jew and a Christian* is often considered in the same favorable light. In Abelard’s work, as in Anselm’s *Cur Deus homo*, there is none of the venom or vitriolic found in other Christian writers who sought to prove the superiority of Christianity over Judaism and Islam. Nonetheless, this was the goal of Abelard’s text: to prove to enlightened Jews, and presumably to Muslims steeped in classical philosophy,³⁵ that Christianity was more perfectly harmonious with reason than the observance of Mosaic, or natural law, before it. The work thus serves as a second example of a rational approach to non-Christians, an approach which would later be taken up in earnest by Raymond of Peñafort and the Dominicans. Again we find, as in the former example of the *Cur Deus homo*, specific inquiry into the question of human sin and virtue has led to a consideration of those outside the Christian community:

This was begun through my efforts since it is the proper task of philosophers to search into the truth by rational means and in all things to follow not the

opinion of men but the lead of reason. Therefore, after eagerly attending our schools for some time and being instructed in their rational methods as well as their authorities, I was finally led to moral philosophy which is the goal of all disciplines, and I judged all other studies to be a foretaste of it. Immediately after learning as much as I could here about the supreme good and the supreme evil and about what makes a man blessed or miserable I carefully examined the different religious schools of thought around me into which the world is now divided. After I had examined all of them and compared them to one another, I resolved to follow the one most in harmony with reason.³⁶

Though the Philosopher is speaking here, it is not hard to hear Abelard explaining the reasons that brought him to writing his own treatise. Abelard, as we shall see, is intensely interested in the nature of sin and holiness. Not only has it driven him to compose a rational appeal to Jews and gentiles, it has colored his own perception of how they must view themselves:

Jew: Whoever thinks that our persevering zeal, which puts up with so much, is without reward, affirms that God is most cruel. Surely, no people is known or is even believed to have endured so much for God as we constantly put up with for him; and no one ought to claim that there can be any dross of sin which the furnace of this affliction has not burned away. Dispersed among all the nations, alone, without an earthly king or prince, are we not burdened with such great demands that almost every day of our miserable lives we pay the debt of an intolerable ransom?³⁷

Abelard is attempting several things here. In the first place, he is suggesting that a contemporary Jew shares his Christian belief in redemptive suffering, even if he does not share his belief in Christ as Redeemer: “can there be any dross of sin which the furnace of this affliction has not burned away?” Abelard sees the notion of unmerited-suffering-offered-as-sacrifice-to-atone-for-sin as something which Christians and Jews both share, a common concept in their shared humanity. Secondly, Abelard is

attempting to insinuate, albeit in veiled fashion, that a Jew has an innate understanding of “the debt of an intolerable ransom,” that is, the debt of Original Sin. This is a second facet uniting Christian and Jew, they are both *poor banished children of Eve*. Stuck in the same mire of sin as a Christian before baptism and forced to carry the same lifelong cross of suffering as any post-baptized Christian would, Abelard believes the Jew must have some palpable sense of this shared human condition. In fact, he is counting on the truth of these seminal suppositions to ultimately move the Jew to embrace his case for Christianity, once the full arguments are properly presented to him. In his other work on ethics, *Ethica* or *Scito te ipsum* (*Know Thyself*), written shortly after his dialogue,³⁸ not only does Abelard continue to expound on sin, he continues to propose Jewish belief in this doctrine:

David says: “For, behold, I was conceived in iniquities,” [Psalm 50:7]...In my view...David’s statement that he had been conceived in iniquities or in sins... represents the general curse of original sin by which everyone is subjected to damnation because of the fault of his parents, in accordance with what is written elsewhere: “No one is free from uncleanness nor is the one-day-old child if he is alive upon the earth.” [Job 14:4-5]...So when David says he was conceived in iniquities or in sins, he saw that he was subjected to a general sentence of damnation by virtue of the fault of his own parents and he referred these crimes back less to his immediate parents than to earlier ones.³⁹

Thus Abelard believes that like David, the Jewish thinker in his dialogue was referring to the shared lot of a common humanity tainted by the sin of its first parents when he said: “Are we not burdened with such great demands that almost every day of our miserable lives we pay the debt of an intolerable ransom?” To those who would argue that this line refers not to shared suffering in Original Sin, but to Jewish guilt for

the slaying of Christ, both Abelard's Jew and Abelard himself, are already familiar with this supposition and intend otherwise. As the Jew explains:

Jew: In fact, we are judged deserving of such great contempt and hatred by all that anyone who inflicts some injury on us believes it to be the greatest justice and the highest sacrifice offered to God. For they believe that the misfortune of such a great captivity has only befallen us because of God's supreme wrath, and they count as just vengeance whatever cruelty they visit on us, whether they be Christians or pagans...The Christians, however, seem to have a greater cause for persecuting us because, as they say, we killed their Lord.⁴⁰

The key word in the above phrase is "seem," for Abelard did not share the commonly held view among Christians that Jews were guilty of the sin of Deicide. In fact, Abelard held quite the opposite view, which he treats at length in the *Ethica*:

However, if one asks whether those persecutors of the martyrs or of Christ sinned in what they believed to be pleasing to God, or whether they could without sin have forsaken what they thought should definitely not be forsaken, assuredly, according to our earlier description of sin as contempt of God or consenting to what one believes should not be consented to, we cannot say that they have sinned in this, nor is anyone's ignorance a sin or even the unbelief with which no one can be saved. For those who do not know Christ and therefore reject the Christian faith because they believe it to be contrary to God, what contempt have they in what they do for God's sake and therefore think they do well?...the ignorance of such men is not to be imputed to sin at all.⁴¹

The case of the non-Christians who brought about Christ's death leads Abelard into a deeper investigation of what exactly we mean when we speak of "sin." Properly speaking, "sin is said to be that contempt of God or consent to evil..."⁴² Or, as Abelard explains at the outset:

...vice is that by which we are made prone to sin, that is, are inclined to consent

to what is not fitting so that we either do it or forsake it. Now this consent we properly call sin, that is, the fault of the soul by which it earns damnation or is made guilty before God. For what is that consent unless it is contempt of God and an offence against him? For God cannot be offended against through harm but through contempt. He indeed is that supreme power who is not impaired by any harm but who avenges contempt of himself. And so our sin is to hold the Creator in contempt, that is, to do by no means on his account what we believe we ought to do for him, or not to forsake on his account what we believe we ought to forsake. So, by defining sin negatively, that is to say, as not doing or not forsaking what is fitting, we plainly show there is no substance of sin; it subsists as not being rather than being, just as if in defining darkness we say it is the absence of light where light used to be.⁴³

The greatness of God...sin as contempt of His honor...the need for man to conform all his actions to the will of God, one does not have to strain to hear Anselmian chords reverberating throughout Abelard's moral set-piece. The same is also true of Abelard's theory that "sin" is not the will to sin which all men experience—which properly speaking must be called "vice"—but, rather, the *conscious consent* to that drive or will. As was typical of Abelard's turn of mind, he uses an earthy metaphor to get his point across:

There indeed...bad will and the sin seem to be the same. For example, someone sees a woman and falls into concupiscence and his mind is affected by the pleasure of the flesh, so that he is incited to the baseness of sexual intercourse. Therefore, you say, what else is this will and base desire than sin?

I answer that...we strive by fighting, so that elsewhere as winners of the struggle we may receive a crown. But in order that there be a fight, it is evident that there must be an enemy who resists, not one who actually gives up. This surely is our bad will, over which we triumph when we subdue it to the divine will...So sin is not lusting for a woman but consenting to lust; the consent of the will is damnable, but not the will for intercourse...The time when we consent to what is unlawful is in fact when we in no way draw back from its accomplishment and are inwardly ready, if given the chance, to do it...the addition of the performance of the deed adds nothing to increase the sin.⁴⁴

By advancing this intention-based moral thesis Abelard was, in fact, actively instigating a revolution in Western thinking. As Charles Radding notes on the above passage:

[Abelard] proceeds in quick order to distinguish vices, such as lust, from the consent of the mind to the vice and both of these from the forbidden act itself. What resulted was not just a technical vocabulary, but a conception of psychology that surpassed earlier ones by differentiating between natural desires and the conscious mind that consents to them or rejects them.

The thesis for which Abelard assembled this apparatus was that neither vice nor the act are themselves sinful but only the sinful intention. The importance of this stress on intention needs no emphasis here. We have already seen that confusion between action and intention was endemic in the early Middle Ages, whose most eloquent interpreters of interior life—men such as Gregory I and Peter Damian—tended to regard internal obedience as a heightening of good actions rather than a primary good itself. This view had to be refuted with great care, and Abelard devotes several pages to this purpose.⁴⁵

What is most important for us, however, is that as Abelard was busy committing his new insights into vice and virtue to writing, he was also engaging Jews and pagans—even discussing Jewish converts. The latter issue specifically comes up as Abelard refutes the notion that because something is pleasurable, it must therefore, be sinful:

They object that...pleasure may follow which increases the sin, as in sexual intercourse, or in [gluttonous]...eating...They would not in fact say this absurdly if they were to prove that carnal pleasure of this sort is sin...If they readily admit this, it is definitely not lawful for anyone to have this fleshly pleasure. Therefore, spouses are not immune from sin when they unite in this carnal pleasure allowed to them, nor is he who enjoys the pleasurable consumption of...fruit...And lastly the Lord, the creator of foods as well as bodies, would not be beyond fault if he put into them such flavours as would necessarily compel to sin those who eat them with pleasure. For how would he produce such things...if it were impossible for us to eat them without sin? And how can

sin be said to be committed in that which is allowed? For what were...unlawful and prohibited acts, if they are later allowed...are now committed wholly without sin, for example the eating of swine's flesh and many other things formerly forbidden to Jews but now permitted to us. And so when we see Jews converted to Christ also freely eating foods of this sort which the Law had forbidden, how do we defend them from blame if not by our claim that this is now granted to them by God? So if in such eating once forbidden but now conceded to them the concession itself excuses sin... If therefore to lie with a wife or even to eat delicious food has been allowed to us since the first day of our creation which was lived in Paradise without sin, who will accuse us of sin in this if we do not exceed the limit of the concession?⁴⁶

There is much to be mined from the above passage. The essence of Abelard's moral schema is that whatsoever God created in this material world, He created good. Natural carnal pleasures resulting from eating and reproducing are not sinful, since God invented them and since He explicitly sanctioned them in Eden before the Fall. Making the pleasures of the flesh sinful by their nature would make God the author of evil! As a result of Original Sin, Abelard argues, we suffer from more than one disordered passion (bad will) which makes us prone to actual sin, but these inclinations themselves are not sins. Unlawful and prohibited acts like fornication, or the eating of pork by a Jew before the Coming of the Messiah, "formerly prohibited," are now "conceded pleasures" after a man crosses the threshold of the marriage covenant, or the New Covenant of Christ's Church. And Abelard claims that one can "see Jews converted to Christ freely eating foods...which the Law had forbidden." His observation would seem to imply that such conversion was more than just a rare sight, which is intriguing in itself.

Abelard stops well short of suggesting any preaching effort to the Jews, nonetheless, two things are significant: 1) he chooses to remark that such conversions do

take place, and 2) in his *Dialogue*, he advances the same theory of the intrinsic goodness of the flesh as from his *Ethics*, in the hopes of persuading his Jewish interlocutor to the Christian faith:

In fact, your Law which grants merits or demerits only in this life for fulfilling or transgressing it, and carries a reward in both cases only here, likewise adapts everything to this bodily life so that it judges nothing clean or unclean from the point of view of the soul, and it does not provide any purifications for the impurity of souls, which we call sins in the proper sense. Hence it calls food clean and unclean in the same way as men; and it frequently calls beds and chairs and all utensils and even clothing...if you number the uncleanness of men for whom purifications have been established with those who have been defiled by sins, are you going to judge the woman who was cleansed after childbirth by a sacrifice to have committed a sin just because she bore a child?⁴⁷

Abelard's insistence on the inherent goodness of created matter and on sin defined exclusively as consent to a bad will, are what motivate him to encourage the Jew of his dialogue to look beyond the Law of Moses. This prompts Abulafia to observe:

In his eyes, Jews looked no further than the letter of the manifold rules and regulations of Mosaic law. To a man interested in man's intention rather than the appearance of his deeds, a purely literal application of the precepts of the Pentateuch to the dos and don'ts of one's daily life could easily have seemed intolerable. Abelard could not acknowledge that Jewish understanding of the Law of Moses had its own spiritual meaning; to him Mosaic precepts and their observance lacked any inner meaning other than being the portent of Christian truth.⁴⁸

Or, as Abulafia says elsewhere: "Jewish refusal to exchange the ceremonial details of the Law of Moses for a christological figurative signification means, in Abelard's eyes, that Jews do not have access to the inner spiritual truth which would direct them to true love of God."⁴⁹ I think, however, Abulafia is missing the point.

Abelard was a twelfth-century Catholic, not a first-century gnostic. Nowhere in his writings does he claim that “Jews do not have access to the inner spiritual truth which would direct them to true love of God.” For Abelard, reason was something with which *all* men were endowed, having been created in the image and likeness of God, including Jews. Abulafia, however, argues: “Abelard said that true knowledge was participation in the wisdom of God, he meant participation in Jesus Christ...It was only in and through Jesus Christ that man...could build up a loving relationship with God. By definition, Jews could have no part in any of this. Indeed, their denial of Jesus as the son of God could only mean to Abelard that they were not functioning as God meant all men to, not only in the realm of faith but also in the realm of reason.” This assessment is partly true, and partly not true. Abelard did believe that to serve God correctly, one needed to be baptized into Jesus Christ through means of his Church, and following well all that She taught; and likewise, he did believe that people served God not only through faith, but by reason as well, since according to the Church, Jesus is the Logos, or the wisdom of God Itself. But it is not true that Abelard believed that “Jews by definition could have no part in this.” Their denial of Christ was cutting them off from full participation in the life God intended for them, but it did not mean that their intellectual apparatus was incapable of processing logical arguments which might lead them to the fulness of life in Christ. If, as Abulafia argues, it was their lack of Christianity that made the Jews unreasonable in Abelard’s eyes, Abelard (as “the Christian”) would have refuted them personally in his dialogue, but it is the Philosopher who engages the Jew in debate, not the Christian—and this is not without its significance. Abelard structured his dialogue in this way, precisely

to show that philosophy is a means of reaching Jewish minds, since Jews and Christians are both endowed with reason, united in a common humanity. As a matter of fact, Abelard's Jew is presented as quite a civilized and logical inquirer into truth, and no doubt Abelard hoped for his eventual conversion. A Jew was neither *inherently* blind nor unreasonable (nor was his obedience to the Law of Moses entirely without praise); Abelard believed he could be persuaded to come to Christianity—indeed, he casually remarks in his *Ethica*, that many already have! Therefore, the argument that Abelard's appeal to reason somehow diminished Jews as less than reasonable and therefore, less than human is untenable. As for Abulafia's rebuttal that "Abelard, too, resorts to animal imagery when he writes that Jews are 'animals and sensual and are imbued with no philosophy whereby they are able to discuss reasoned arguments',"⁵⁰ we need to place that remark in its proper context. First off, let us recall that it is Abelard's Philosopher who calls Jews animals and unable to discuss reasoned arguments, and although Abelard's ideas are often expressed through the mouth of the Philosopher, not all of the Philosopher's sentiments are to be attributed to Abelard, particularly in this case. The Philosopher, being a gentile, is inherently condescending of Jews and Christians, as is clear from the outset, where he says: "I discovered the Jews to be stupid and the Christians insane." Abelard had a fondness for hyperbole, but we must not mistake rhetoric for the substance of his work. As we have seen, his arguments for the sinlessness of carnality were not directed solely at Jews, but against his more conservative co-religionists as well. Abelard encouraged everyone to use reason to look beyond the parameters of their religious views. He advanced his rational-moral theory

against his fellow monks as much against non-Christians and received scathing criticism for his novelties.⁵¹ And one of the positions which landed Abelard in trouble was his exoneration of the non-Christians who participated in the Crucifixion. What Anselm had called only a venial sin, Abelard claimed was no sin at all. In fact, he cites more than one instance where non-Christians are seemingly guilty of grave sin and yet innocent, for example, the case of St. Stephen, the *protomartyr*, and his infamous stoning to death by a Jewish mob. Abelard recalls the words spoken by Stephen and how they reecho those of Christ on Calvary, “Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.” [Acts 7:60]:

Furthermore, when Stephen says that what the Jews committed in ignorance against him is sin, he meant sin as that penalty which one bore by virtue of the sin of the first parents, together with other penalties arising from it, or that unjust action of theirs in stoning him. He asked that this should not be laid to their charge, that is, that they should not be physically punished for this. For God often punishes people here physically although no fault of theirs requires this...Blessed, Stephen, carefully considering this, prayed that sin, that is, the punishment which he took from the Jews or their wrong action, should not be laid to their charge, that is, that they should not be physically punished for this.

The Lord was also in this mind when he said: “Father, forgive them,” that is, do not avenge what they do to me, even with physical punishment. This could in fact have been done reasonably even if there had been no prior fault on their part, in order that others seeing this, or even they themselves, should recognize by punishment that they had not acted rightly in this.⁵²

Abelard concludes then, that although the non-Christians who killed Christ and Stephen, were ignorant of what they were truly doing, and thus did not *sin*, nonetheless, the objectively unjust action they perpetrated may be called a “sin,” and they could incur punishment although subjectively sinless. In fact, by the same logic, Abelard reasoned

that contemporary Jews and pagans could quite justly suffer eternal damnation, not because of any willful misdeed, or sin, on their part, but simply as a consequence of their ignorance of, and consequent unbelief in Christ and his Church:

Moreover, just as what they did through ignorance or even ignorance itself is not said to be properly sin, that is, contempt of God, neither is unbelief, even though this necessarily blocks the entry to eternal life for adults now using reason. It is sufficient for damnation not to believe in the Gospel, to be ignorant of Christ, not to receive the sacraments of the Church, even though this occurs not so much through wickedness as through ignorance...

However, I think that sin is properly said to be that which can nowhere happen without fault. But ignorance of God or unbelief in him, or those works which are not done rightly, can happen to many people without fault. For if someone does not believe in the Gospel or in Christ for the reason that no preaching has reached him—as the Apostle says: “How shall they believe him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher?”—what fault can be ascribed to him on account of his unbelief? Cornelius did not believe in Christ until Peter, when sent to him, taught him about Christ. [Acts 10] Although previously by the natural law he recognized and loved God, and through this deserved to be heard in his prayer and to have his alms accepted by God, yet if he had happened to depart from this light before he believed in Christ, we should by no means dare to promise him life however good his works seemed, nor should we number him with the faithful but rather with the unfaithful, however eagerly he had worked for his salvation.⁵³

Abelard is just as certainly referring to the Philosopher of his dialogue, as he is to the first-century gentile whom the apostle Peter baptized. What Abelard has written in this paragraph from the *Ethica*, may be looked upon as a summary of his *Dialogue*, for in both cases he is ultimately declaring that neither the steadfast observance of the Law of Moses, nor the Natural Law of the Philosopher—praiseworthy efforts though they may be—are sufficient for gaining eternal salvation. What is remarkable in hindsight is how Abelard could show so much understanding toward Jews and pagans and then simply

leave them to perdition. For as touched upon earlier, not only does he exonerate them from the sin of crucifying Christ, as did Anselm, Abelard goes so far as to declare that they would have sinned more seriously had they *not* done so: “And so we say that those who persecuted Christ or his disciples, who they thought should be persecuted, sinned in deed, yet they would have sinned more gravely in fault if they had spared them against their own conscience.”⁵⁴ Yet for Abelard, though ignorance excuses from sin, it does not admit of faith in the Gospel, and so consequently, Jews and pagans are as lost in his eyes as in Anselm’s dramatic siege simile. Nevertheless, such an attitude is all the more stupefying in Abelard’s case, for his study of sin not only led him to consider the lamentable fate of non-Christians, it sparked him to hit upon its salutary remedy, namely, Christian preaching: “For if someone does not believe in the Gospel or in Christ for the reason that no preaching has reached him—as the Apostle says: “How shall they believe him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher?”—what fault can be ascribed to him on account of his unbelief? Cornelius did not believe in Christ until Peter, [was]...sent to him...yet if he had happened to depart from this light before he believed in Christ...we should by no means dare to promise him life however good his works seemed.”⁵⁵

Abelard drops this line of thought about preaching to the unconverted just as quickly as he had picked it up. From this we may note that although Abelard represents the next step in the evolution of medieval thought, i.e. seeing further than Anselm with regard to those outside the Christian community, nonetheless, he is still one of the middle links in the chain of thinking that ultimately leads to the missionary effort of the

mendicants. If Anselm was “a man firmly ensconced in his own monastic world,” then Abelard is a next-stage-hybrid: “Peter Abelard was...both a monk who spent many years in various cloisters and a schoolman who taught openly in several scholastic centres such as Laon, Paris, Melun, the Mont Sainte Geneviève...Monks and schoolmen—monasticism and scholasticism—did not wholly share identical interests and outlooks.”⁵⁶ I would argue that it was Abelard’s deeper scholastic exposition of the intricacies of sin and virtue which led him to greater empathy for Jews and other non-Christians, raising the issue of preaching to them, though not acting upon it.

Indeed, Abelard’s treatment of human morality was perhaps the most systematic and in-depth endeavor undertaken since Augustine, and after discussing non-Christians and the absence of actual sin, Abelard in the *Ethica* next turns to the distinction between mortal and venial sin, a distinction for which he was greatly indebted to the learned Doctor of Hippo.⁵⁷ More important to the history of western theology (and psychology), however, is Abelard’s contribution regarding the reconciliation of the sinner, of which he sees three stages in the process: “Although therefore we offend God by sinning, there remain ways by which we may be reconciled to him. And so there are three things in the reconciliation of the sinner to God, namely repentance, confession, satisfaction.”⁵⁸ Repentance is “the sorrow of the mind over what it has done wrong.” For Abelard, this repentance can be fruitful or unfruitful. Repentance is fruitful if it caused by the love of God, and unfruitful if it happens at the thought of some punishment which shall follow. As in Anselm, Abelard is at pains to convince his reader of the greater magnitude of an offense against God, the heavenly king, than against even the most powerful authorities

on earth. At the same time, he remarks at the utter desirability of God because of his supreme goodness, and how it ought to inspire our devotion.⁵⁹

As with Abelard's insistence on human intention in the commission of sin, so was he unwavering as to heart-felt repentance as the necessary condition for its absolution. The revolutionary nature of Abelard's theses cannot be overstated. It is indeed an example *par excellence* of what Colin Morris dubbed, the twelfth-century "discovery of the individual": "...Germanic society had been generally unaware of the importance of intention. The penal codes usually prescribed punishments for actions and not for the intentions behind them, and the same was true of the Penitentials, where penances were attached to external acts rather than to internal states of mind...the point had been reached where, after the Battle of Hastings, a penance was imposed without any consideration of the sinner's intention to commit the sin again."⁶⁰

Although the penitents in question were soldiers who would likely kill again, the penitential takes no account of any inward repentance, the concentration is indeed fixed on the outward offence: "Anyone who...killed a man in the great battle must do penance for one year for each man that he killed. Anyone who wounded a man...must do penance for forty days for each man he struck.. Anyone who does not know the number of those he wounded or killed must...do penance for one day in each week for the remainder of his life; or, if he can, let him redeem his sin by perpetual alms, either by building or by endowing a church." Abelard's approach to sin, therefore, represented quite an advance in moral theology:

It has sometimes been thought that Abelard's emphasis upon the disposition and the intention of the sinner and the penitent was prompted by reaction to the crudities of an existing penitential system under which penances were imposed on sinners according to tariffs which were still set out in current manuals of penance and which were, in the judgement of some, imposed with insufficient regard for the dispositions of the individual penitent or sinner...Abelard himself in his *Ethics* gave considerable...importance...[to] the psychology of the individual sinner or penitent, but it did not at once render obsolete the old penitential collections with their lists of sins, nor were the best of these penitentials, even in the Carolingian age, less concerned with the dispositions of the soul than with tariffs for evil deeds.⁶¹

To contrast the view of the penitential of Hastings with the new Abelardian emphasis on repentance, Morris cites a hymn the feisty cleric once composed for the feast of St. Mary Magdalene: "Penitents' severe correction,/ When they pay long satisfaction,/ Tames the flesh,/ With their frequent fasts/ And with their hair-shirts' cruel rasps.../But the saint did not suffer thus,/ Finding God gentler far than us,/ For the Judge uses equity,/Nor does God who all hearts can see,/ Value more a long-lasting sentence/Than a true sorrowful repentance."

Abelard believed that God is so good, in fact, that when someone expresses sorrow for sin out of love for One so kind, God actually removes the sin of the sinner—before that person has made sacramental confession:

Moreover, with this sigh and contrition of heart which we call true repentance sin does not remain, that is, the contempt of God or consent to evil, because the charity of God which inspires this sigh does not put up with fault. In this we are instantly reconciled to God and we gain pardon for the preceding sin, according to the Prophet: "In what hour soever the sinner shall sigh, he shall be saved," [Ezek. 33:12] that is, he will be made worthy of the salvation of his soul...For although he may be prevented by some necessity from having an opportunity of coming to confession or of performing satisfaction, he by no means meets with hell on leaving this life sighing thus.⁶²

Some have characterized Abelard's ideas as a "direct attack on the system of public penance;"⁶³ they suggest that his arguments "implicitly regard penance and confession as essentially human institutions...Strikingly absent is any consideration of penance as a sacrament or as a ritual of the Church at which divine power is invoked."⁶⁴ Such views, however, carry Abelard's revolution too far. Though Abelard was the first cleric to propound a theory that sin is remitted by the penitent's inner act of repentance, he does not eliminate the role of the priest, nor does he negate the need for the penances they impose as a satisfaction:

It is incumbent upon us to deal now with confession of sins. The Apostle James urged us to this saying: "Confess your sins one to another..."...There are people who think that confession should be made to God alone...But I do not see what confession avails with God who knows all...For many reasons the faithful confess their sins to one another...both, that...we may be more helped by the prayers of those to whom we confess, and also because in the humility of confession a large part of satisfaction is performed and we obtain a greater indulgence in the relaxation of our penance...Lastly, priests, to whom have been committed the souls of those who confess, have to impose satisfactions of penance upon them, so that those who have used their judgement wrongly and proudly by showing contempt of God may be corrected by the judgement of another power, and that they may attend more safely to this the better they follow, by obeying their prelates, the will of these rather than their own.⁶⁵

In Abelard's eyes, though it is God who takes away the sin of the sinner, nonetheless, a priest has God-sanctioned power over a sinner's soul, the power of a judge who must apply the correction appropriate to the offence. Whereas, before, in the commission of the sin, the sinner had exalted his own will, by submitting himself to the priest, the sinner is denying his own will. But the image of priest-confessor as judge of

souls, is not Abelard's exclusive metaphor; he also sees the priest as divine physician: "But he who seeks medicine for a wound, however foul it is, however smelly, must show it to a doctor so that an effective cure may be applied. The priest in fact occupies the place of a doctor and he, as we have said, must establish the satisfaction."⁶⁶ It is incorrect of Radding to state that Abelard does not give "any consideration of penance as a sacrament or as a ritual of the Church at which divine power is invoked." A sacrament, as understood by the Church, is an outward sign, or ritual, expressing an inward act of God's grace obtained by Jesus Christ. The outward minister of the sacrament is most often a priest. Abelard's view of penance/confession was not essentially different from this: "So cases should be considered, and then the power of binding and loosing should be exercised; it should be seen [by the priest] what fault there is or what repentance has followed after the fault, so that those whom the Almighty visits by the grace of his compunction, those the decision of the pastor may absolve. For then the absolution of him that rules is true when he follows the judgement of the inward judge."⁶⁷

The first book of Abelard's *Ethica* ends with his study of confession. He started to write a second book, but it was never completed. As Abelard spent much of his first book toward an understanding of vice and sin, so he desired to devote the second to virtue and merit. The first distinction that he makes is that "prudence, that is, the discernment of good and evil," is not a virtue, but rather, produces all virtues. As for what virtue is, just as Abelard had differentiated between vice and sin, so too he explains the difference between virtue and good deeds.⁶⁸ It is possible to get some idea of the scope of Abelard's intended project, both from what he says here and also from what he

writes elsewhere, as in his *Sic et non*, and in his commentaries on Scripture. Luscombe points to several passages in Abelard's commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in which: "Abelard reserves three questions for lengthier consideration in the *Ethics*. First, since God's gifts are of grace, in what do merits consist? Secondly, do merits consist in will alone or also in deed? Thirdly, does virtue, which is not manifested in action, suffice for beatitude?"⁶⁹

As we have said, Abelard never got further than the opening paragraph of his treatise on the virtues. The task of fleshing-out a fuller description lay with "other twelfth-century moralists—for example, the author of the *Ysogoge in theologiam* [*Introduction to Theology*] and after him Alan of Lille..."⁷⁰ Not surprisingly for us, both these writers are equally distinguished for having written tracts targeted at Jews and other non-Christians.

The "author of the *Ysogoge*," as he is often referred to, is a hard person to pin-down historically. Abulafia writes that he is to be identified as: "the author of commentaries on the *Aeneid*, the *Timaeus* and *De Nuptiis*, but as an historical figure he cannot be placed."⁷¹ She notes further, that the only extant manuscript of the full text carries a dedication of the work, "written by a certain Odo for Gilbert Foliot, who had been a master in the schools, and prior first at Cluny and then later at Abbeville before returning to England as abbot of St. Peter, in Gloucester, in 1139."⁷² Although Arthur Landgraf, the modern editor of the *Ysogoge* argued that this dedication did not properly

belong to the work, Abulafia is convinced that Luscombe has more than adequately refuted Landgraf on this point.⁷³

While the exact identity of the monk Odo remains a mystery, it is nonetheless evident from his work that he composed his treatise in England sometime between the years 1138 and 1148. What is also clear is that Odo must have studied in Paris, for his *Ysogoge* bears the mark of its two rival schools, that of Peter Abelard, and the other of St. Victor, founded by William of Champeaux.⁷⁴ As Abulafia writes: “The text is an interesting mix of ideas coming from the schools of Abelard and the Victorines. Whole chunks of the compendium are based on the *Summa Sentarum*, itself a compilation of many sources, following the tradition of the school of Anselm of Laon [not Canterbury] and William of Champeaux on such issues as original sin and free will...taken as a whole, the work can be said to represent the crystallization of anti-Abelardian thought in the school of St. Victor.”⁷⁵ Yet, as regards our primary investigative focus, the treatment of morality, Odo’s work is a direct continuation of the line of thought of Abelard. As Landgraf writes: “Toutefois, la note abélardienne est surtout sensible dans le premier Livre, dans les chapitres consacrés aux vertus, au mérite, au péché. Même explication des vertus théologiques, de leur notion, de leur objet, de leurs rapports. Mêmes opinions au sujet de la division des vertus morales. Plus loin en se recontrent, pour ainsi dire dans les mêmes termes, les fameuses thèses abélardiennes...”⁷⁶

Odo begins his discussion of the virtues in the same manner as Abelard, beginning with prudence: “Prudentia est rerum bonarum vel malarum, utraumque discretio. Utraumque ideo ponitur, quia non natura bona et mala ab invicem dividit, sed

bona ab invicem, mala ab invicem, id est bona a melioribus vel minus bonis, mala a deterioribus vel minus malis.”⁷⁷ Or, as he says, elsewhere: “In quo Aristotilem sequimur, qui non putat prudentiam virtutem esse, quia neque inest bonis et malis nec in ea meritum ullum.”⁷⁸ Likewise, Odo’s discussion of the nature of evil, and the relationship between vice and sin, all follow the same Abelardian line: Evil lacks being in itself, it is rather, the absence of the good. Vices are bad motions within the soul, not sins in themselves, etc. Odo even goes further by citing the traditional seven from Gregory’s *Moralia: superbia, invidia, ira, accidia, avaricia, ingluvies, luxuria*. As for the nature of sin:

Peccatum autem est Dei contemptus. Quod non est aliud quam velle et nolle contra scientiam. Hoc autem fit, dum volumus quod ei scimus displicere, vel nolumus quod scimus ei placere. Displicere quidem ei scimus, quod ab eo est prohibitum; placere autem quod preceptum...Distat autem peccatum a vicio, quia viciium in nobis causa est, peccatum vero effectus. In homine vero, qui primus peccavit, peccatum causa fuit, viciium vero effectus. Iterum viciium est in corruptione nature, peccatum in voluntate.⁷⁹

Odo goes on to discuss the Augustinian delineation between mortal and venial sin, and then undertakes an extended discussion of Original Sin. Much like Anselm before him, Odo explores the great need mankind had to make satisfaction to God for His stolen honor:

Sed investigemus, collatis undique rationibus, utrum aliquas culpas sola sua misericordia dimittat Deus inpunitas, vel iusticia ab omni delinquente satisfactionem vel penam exigat...Preterea, quis nesciat creaturam dum peccat, quantum in se est, debito honore, id est proprie voluntatis subiectione, Creatorem privare? Sed quid iniustius perfertur quam summe iustitie iustum honorem auferri et non restitui? Nil equidem. Sed quo nil iniustius toleratur,

nequaquam decet Deum iustum perferre.⁸⁰

Odo trods the path of Anselm and Abelard, in search of a greater understanding of sin, how it impacts the relationship between God and man, and he ends his first book on this note. Yet, just as Abelard surpassed Anselm in discovering the depths of human ethics, so has Odo's treatment of morality brought him beyond the bounds even of Abelardian thought. For Odo opens the his second book by declaring a principle as revolutionary as any his irascible mentor ever loosed: "For, if it is proper for us to exhort those who are fashioned in the faith to live better, surely we should recall the Jews from their erroneous disbelieving sect." [*Nam si formatos in fide ad melius vivendum equum est nos hortari, utique et Iudeos ab erronea infidelitatis secta revocare debemus.*⁸¹]

Odo makes explicit what was implicit in Abelard's *Dialogue* and *Ethica* when he declares that the pursuit of sinlessness is as much for Jews as it is for Christians. Landgraf too, sees much of Abelard in Odo's initiative to Jews: "Le second livre de l'ouvrage est consacré, comme nous avons vu, pour une grande part à conversion des Juifs. Dans le *Dialogue* entre un philosophe, un Juif et un chrétien, Abélard, sans nul doute, a voulu contribuer lui aussi à éclairer la conscience des fils d'Israël et à les rapprocher de la vérité. L'on peut croire que le zèle déployé dans ce but par le fameux maître sur le terrain philosophique, a poussé l'auteur de l'*Ysagoge* à fournir pareille tâche dans le domaine de la christologie."⁸²

To justify an effort at bringing Jews to the Christian understanding of virtue, Odo cites the words of Christ himself: "I am not sent if not unto the lost sheep of the house of

Israel.” [Matt. 15:24] As a second supporting example, Odo cites Jesus’ reply to the Pharisees who questioned why he was seen publicly socializing with sinners: “They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick” [Matt. 9:12]. Just as Abelard had described sin as wound and penance as curative remedy from the hands of the priest/physician, so too Odo invokes the words of Christianity’s founder in the same context. Odo’s thought represents the next stage in the development of a theology of inclusion of non-Christians. If it is an obligation to help one’s spiritual brother to walk the straight path, it is in some ways even more important to help one’s religious adversary, since presumably, he is in worse spiritual shape. Again we see that *the study of sin* is the undeniable *impetus* for persuasive approaches to non-Christians.

But not only is Odo to be credited with following the thought of Anselm and Abelard to its logical missionary conclusion, he is responsible for another innovation: the use of the liturgical language of his religious opponent, in this case, Hebrew. Odo writes: “Crebre utique suscipiende sunt nobis contra illos altercationes plus hebreorum auctorum testimoniis quam rationibus incumbentes. Quis autem non videat in exhortando vel conferendo plus hebraice quam aliter prolata auctoritate hebreum moveri?”⁸³ Odo believes quite strongly that resort to argumentation in Hebrew is even more effective than the use of arguments from reason in persuading Jews. Anselm and Abelard had both appealed to the common God-given medium of human intellect in their efforts to answer the objections of Jews and other non-Christians. Odo now, sees human language as another unifying aspect between Christians and Jews, even as it had once been a punishment that divided men because of sin:

Babilonios temerario edificii molimine celum lacessentes linguarum divisione, uti condignum fuit, vis divina cohibuit. Sapientibus autem architectis veriore[m] superni ascensus turrim edificaturis omnibus omnia linguarum genera divinitus sunt collata. Quorsum hec? Nisi, ut evidenter pateat ita ad homines invicem contrahendos plurimum valere sermonis communionem, quemadmodum et discrepantia ad discernendos reperitur efficax. Quomodo enim absque certo mutue voluntatis iudicio ad convictum barbari pertrahetur grecus, ad familiaritarum latini hebreus, magis quam ad cohabitationem bovis asinus? Nam ut bestias natura uniformis, ita homines lingua communis ad vitam simul ducendam conciliat. Unde Ecclesia nullum sibi adquiescere volentem a suo arcens complexu habuit seminiverbios suos infidelem popule[m] erudientes, loquela eidem necessario iunctos.⁸⁴

If among the beasts, how much more among men, a common language leads to a common life together. This is the theology of inclusion. Christians and Jews both confront sin, language is a common means to achieve a common remedy, leading to increased unity. Unlike Anselm secure behind his walled fortress, Odo calls the true Christian to shed not merely external barriers, but even his own identity, in order to achieve reunion of infidels, citing Paul: “I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews” [1 Cor. 9:20]. Paul made his statement within the context of explaining his preaching ministry to the unconverted, a ministry which Abelard raised, but Odo actively promotes. But this ministry to the Jews will first require study and preparation, something Christians are already familiar with for their own good, but must now make an extra effort on behalf of their religious adversaries: “Preterea, si de divina pagina fidelium scolares invicem sepe ineunt sermocinalem conflictum, quid adversus catholice fidei hostes agendum est?”⁸⁵ Odo is concerned both with the literal level of learning Hebrew: for example, he instructs his reader that it is read from right to left, not left to right as

Latin and Greek; and concerned with the allegorical or spiritual sense: this change in reading direction signifies the passing of the message of Christ from the Jews to acceptance by the gentiles. Odo ends the preface to his second book with an explanation of his method of approach: he will incorporate Hebrew itself into his own text, as Abulafia explains:

Each time he quotes from the Old Testament he will give not only the Latin text, but also the Hebrew original, together with a Latin transliteration of the Hebrew. And he gives some instruction on the way he proposes to transfer Hebrew sounds into Latin characters. All this will serve those who still need to learn the Hebrew alphabet. In the event, this projected three-tiered system breaks down almost as soon as it started. Only one Hebrew quotation is transliterated into Latin characters. And only four Hebrew quotations are punctuated. We cannot be absolutely sure whether this was the fault of the scribes involved in the preparation of the Trinity manuscript or whether Odo was loathe to put in all the work his ambitious plan required...the manuscript evidence does speak in Odo's favour. For in each case the Hebrew lines are spaced in such a way that there would have been ample room to accommodate the Latin transliteration.⁸⁶

As we might expect, Odo begins the second book with a continued investigation of morality, notably, an analysis of the Ten Commandments. He explains that the Law was given by God to Moses to assist man after natural law had been vitiated by sin: "Lex predictis idcirco superaddita est, ut legem naturalem per peccatum corruptam repararet et ut itidem populum ad futuram veritatem figuris legalibus prepararet."⁸⁷

Next, Odo begins both his use of Hebrew and his answers to typical Jewish objections to Christianity. The first argument he makes is with regard to the allegation of Christian idolatry, that is to say, the making of graven images, which would seem to contravene the First Commandment. Odo, however, cites other verses from the Old

Testament where God asks that graven images be made, both on the Ark of the Covenant and the Temple of Solomon. The underlying assumption is that encountered before in Anselm and Abelard, image-making is not evil “in itself.” After examining the Law, Odo moves on to an extended discussion of the Prophets, for “ad remedium peccati agnito absque effectu nullatenus sufficere potuit, idcirco Legi successere prophetie. Videntes enim prophete populum, licet per Legem facienda et fugienda discernentam, minime tamen Legi optemperantem, ammonitiones adhiberent.”⁸⁸ Perhaps Odo viewed himself as Christian apologist in something of the same role, *vis-à-vis* the Jews of his own day. At any rate, Odo quotes many passages which he believes point to Christ as Messiah, particularly from Isaiah and Osse. This is the section of his work which contains the most passages in Hebrew.

When Odo finishes his examination of the Prophets, he is ready to take up the use of rational arguments to persuade Jews to come to the Christian faith: “Sed quoniam huius mysterii redemptionis nostre rationes vestra, Iudei, infidelitas aut ignorat aut se nosse dissimulat, de hac re a vestris ordiamur obiectis.”⁸⁹ Abulafia notes that Odo is particularly indebted in this section to Abelard’s *Commentary on Romans* and Anselm’s *Cur Deus Homo*: “In the footsteps of Anselm of Canterbury and Abelard, Odo takes the view that the Devil did not have jurisdiction over man after the Fall...Why, then, was the Incarnation necessary; could God in his omnipotence not simply pardon mankind for Adam’s sin? Why was it necessary for God to undergo spitting, flagellation, and a most shameful death in order to redeem man? The parallels with Anselm’s *Cur Deus homo* are obvious.” As she argued before about Anselm, so too Abulafia contends here, that

Odo's arguments in this section shift from being directed at Jews to being aimed at Christians who have doubts about their faith:

What is also obvious is that this section, which Odo entitled *Oppositiones Iudeorum*, has merged with internal deliberations about the central doctrine of their faith. Almost immediately we are referred to Christian disagreement about whether or not Jesus saved man from the Devil. Jews are not mentioned at all. At the very end of the section Odo rephrases the relevant phrase in Abelard's commentary to say, "Because this and similar material, which we have introduced from an opponent under the guise of an unbeliever, impels the important question of our redemption, let us repel him who argues in vain by putting forward the reasons transmitted by the Fathers concerning the Incarnation and death of Christ." But the person whom Odo addresses in this section as "you" is hardly an "unbelieving" Jew. For Odo speaks of "your John [the Baptist]" and "your Gospel." At the most, Odo's opponent is a nominal Christian coming up with a number of sticky questions concerning the rationale of the Incarnation.⁹⁰

First off, when Odo says that "this and similar material...we have introduced from an opponent under the guise of an unbeliever," he is merely using the same approach as Anselm did in the *Cur Deus Homo*, with Boso acting "under the guise of an unbeliever" to advance objections to the Incarnation. Both Anselm and Odo are trying to answer non-Christian opposition, not internal Christian dissent. As for Abulafia's contention that "at the most, Odo's opponent is a nominal Christian" because he speaks of "your John [the Baptist]" and "your Gospel," I hold that Odo was still referring to a Jewish audience and that the context bears this out:

Ergo, si Ade inobedientia mortem Filii Dei ad satisfactionem sui necessario exigebat, quam expiationem scelus in eius nece commissum deponit? Non deleteretur culpa prima hominis, nisi gravior superveniret. Ergo augeat homo scelera, quia noluit Deus nisi multiplicatis peccatis ignoscere. Nam quod a peccato hominem *dicitis* morte illa et non aliter liberatum, aperte falsum est.

Ante mortem enim *illam Ieremiam et vestram Iohannem* legitis ex utero sanctificatos. Ergo et a peccato liberatos. Scribit etiam *evangelium vestrum*, ante passionem Ihesum dixisse paralitico: *Confide, fili, remittuntur tibi peccata tua*. Similiter et de peccatrice, *quia dimissa sunt ei peccata multa*. Si igitur etiam ante mortem illam multi liberati sunt a peccatis, quomodo *dicitis* absque illa hominem nullatenus a peccato redimi? Summam gratiam assumpto homini Deus impendit, si, ut *dicitis*, eum sibi in persona univit. Ergo et minorem, scilicet peccatorum dimissionem ei potuit exhibere.

Quam ergo necessitatem *dicitis* fuisse, summum Deum ad ima nostre nature se inclinare, in edias, opprobria, sputa, flagella, et ignominiosam cum inquis mortem sustinere? Aut quomodo hominem morte illa iustificatum *dicitis*? Magis enim reus videtur esse, si iniquus servus commisit, propter quod innocentem dominum mori oportuit.

Quoniam et hec et his similia, que ex adverso sub persona infidelis induximus, non mediocrem movent de nostra redemptione questionem, incarnationis et mortis Christi rationes a patribus traditas afferendo frustra argumentem refelamus.⁹¹ (Emphasis mine)

There is much to learn from the above passage. To begin with, every time the expression “you say...” (*dicitis*) is used, the “you” in question is not a nominal Christian, it is a devout Christian who already accepts orthodox beliefs on faith, e.g. that God lowered himself and took a human nature, that there is no remission of sin without the sacrifice of Christ, etc. Neither is his accuser a Christian dissenter, but rather, a Jewish believer who cites Old and New Testament texts against the contentions of the Christian. Thus, he refers to “that Jeremiah and your John...your Gospel,” “your” meaning that belonging to devout Christians.

What is of greater interest to us, however, are the views on sin that Odo imputes to his Jewish interlocutor. The Jew argues against God becoming man because he doesn’t see the death of Christ as the necessary prerequisite for liberating man from sin.

He cites the example of the prophets Jeremiah and John the Baptist both being sanctified in the womb, something all true Christians accept—sanctified *before* Christ’s death had occurred. If they could be cleansed from sin before, why the need for His death? Odo’s Jew even cites Christ’s own words from Matthew’s Gospel, when he addresses the paralytic who had been lowered through the roof by his friends: “Be of good heart; thy sins are forgiven thee” [Matt 9:2].

Odo makes it clear that sin and the need for its remission constitutes common ground between Jew and Christian—what is at issue is Christ’s redemption. There is a unity in the experience of atoning for sin. There is a unity in membership in the human race. Odo’s Jew says: “God inclined to *our* ...nature,” that is to say, the common human nature belonging to Christian and Jew. And since the religious adversaries also share a common human intellect, the Jew is able to raise these logical objections, and the Christian is able to answer with reasoned responses in the hope of successfully persuading his objector.

We know that the objector must be Jewish, because Odo entitles this section “*Oppositiones Iudeorum*,” and because he uses Hebrew to explain the Christian’s rational answers in the next section: “*Rationes Incarnationis*.” Odo’s answer to the aforementioned objections is that no matter how righteous certain individuals may have been before the coming of Christ, they could not, of their own merits, make satisfaction to God for sin and so enter into eternal beatitude: “*Prevaricatus igitur nil habuit vel potuit, quo digne pro commissa satisfaceret culpa. Unde ante Christi mortem etiam eminentissimi iustorum, quia nulla eorum iustitia eis sufficebat, ad infernum*

migrabant.”⁹² To support his contention, Odo quotes several figures from the Old Testament: Jacob, Job, David, and Isaiah who all seem to admit that they stand outside heaven because of the debt of sin. In this section, Odo’s method is to first give the Hebrew rendering, then the Latin, then his commentary on the biblical text.⁹³

Like Anselm, Odo goes on to describe the mission of the Redeemer and how He was fitted to the task, having two natures in one Divine Person. When he completes his discussion of man being saved from sin by the God-man, Odo next turns to the means through which the saving grace of Christ reaches the sinner, that is to say, the sacraments: “Sed hactenus tanti nostre redemptionis misterii rationibus decursis, ordo est deinceps ad sacramenta transire. Est igitur sacramentum visibilis forma invisibilis gratie ibidem collate.”⁹⁴ Of principal interest to our investigation is that Odo treats of the Sacrament of Penance. Like Abelard before him, Odo treats of its three main aspects: repentance, confession, and satisfaction: “Tria autem sunt in penitencia necessaria: *compunctio, confessio, satisfactio*. *Compunctio est cordis contritio, ex recordatione commissi sceleris et timore futuri iudicii orta. Confessio vero est cum sui accusatione proprii operis iudicium, iuxta illud: Iustus in principio sermonis accusator est sui. Satisfactio autem est carnis afflictio cum bonis operibus in remedium per petra ti mali suscepta.*”⁹⁵

In terms of repentance or compunction, Odo explains the need for inward examination and heart-felt sorrow for sin. Confession is submitting oneself to judgment, and satisfaction a curative remedy for the sinful affliction. As the Highpriest Jesus declared that he had come not for the sake of the sound, but to minister to the sick, so

Odo advises the penitent to turn to the priests of the Church for healing: “Donec tamen satisfaciatur, Ecclesie adhuc debitor est, adhuc ligatus, nondum a debito future pene solutus. Dum autem ad sacerdotum ventum est, dum culpam suam se ipsum acusando reus fatetur, dumque iniuncta satisfactio condigna suscipitur, a debito future dampnationis solvit eum sacerdos, id est per sacerdotum Deus.”⁹⁶

As we have seen, Odo’s concern for sinlessness, inspired him not only to urge the faithful, but Jews as well, to the pursuit of Christian perfection: “For, if it is proper for us to exhort those who are fashioned in the faith to live better, surely we should recall the Jews from their erroneous disbelieving sect.” Like Anselm, he had meditated on the mission of Christ to save man from sin, and he borrowed much from the *Cur Deus Homo*. Like Abelard, Odo was a moralist who sought to define the grand scheme of human ethics and the importance of “repentance, confession, and satisfaction.” The genius of Odo was to blend the work of his predecessors into an unabashedly missionary treatise. Odo did not restrict himself to theoretical argumentation, instead he took the first practical steps toward effective apologetics by incorporating the use of Hebrew. We ought not to overlook the significance of the fact that he intended his only major theological work, not merely for Christian eyes, but “devoted a disproportionate segment of his *Ysagoge in Theologiam* to argumentation against the Jews.”⁹⁷ The same view that saw salvation for the Jew as much a priority as for the Christian, may be found in another English cleric who shared Odo’s Parisian training and abiding interest in the theology of sin; his name was Bartholomew and he would rise to the Bishopric of Exeter, but not before he had completed a work against the Jews and an influential penitential on sin.

Bartholomew (1115?-1184) was probably a native of Brittany, though by the time he was a young man he had found his way into the eminent company of the budding scholars surrounding Archbishop Theobald at Canterbury. As his modern biographer, Adrian Morey, describes this circle:

...included among its members [were] the future archbishops of Canterbury and York, as well as John of Salisbury. Probably Bartholomew was one of them, but at what precise period is not known. The older bibliographers assert that he studied at the university of Paris, and it would have been in some such centre of learning that he obtained his great skill as a canonist and the degree of *Magister* which he used later as archdeacon. But his position in the schools at Paris may have been more important than these bare facts would imply.⁹⁸

Morey explains that a contemporary poem called, *Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi*, contains a list of the masters teaching at Paris between June 1140 and April 1142.⁹⁹ The thirteen masters mentioned include the names of such luminaries as Peter Lombard, Peter Abelard, and Robert Pullen, as well as a certain “Bartholomew,” *Hinc et Bartholomeus faciem acutus,/rector, dialecticus, sermone astutus.*¹⁰⁰ Morey cites scholars such as Poole and Haskins in assigning these lines to Bartholomew of Exeter. If Bartholomew was a member of this distinguished group, Morey argues, it “would account not only for his wide circle of friends...but for the authority which his Penitential subsequently obtained both in England and on the Continent.”¹⁰¹ Extant manuscripts come from various locations throughout Britain including Bury St. Edmund’s, St. Denis at Southampton, Ramsey, St Mary’s Southwark, St. Mark’s Bristol, and Waltham. Of surviving copies from abroad, two were once owned by St. Victor at Paris, and a Cistercian abbey in Soissons, and a third is reputed to have come from Clairvaux. As

Morey points out: “A total of some eighteen copies of the manuscript exist, and of no English writing on the subject of penance can we say the same.”¹⁰²

As we have cited before, the penitential manuals of the early Middle Ages were usually little more than lists of sins and their penances, though these were not without their more extraordinary examples. Bartholomew of Exeter was indebted to such works from the hands of the leading minds of their times, notably, Burchard of Worms, Ivo of Chartres, and Gratian. The *Decretum* of Burchard contains a separate penitential “containing one hundred and fifty nine chapters drawn from all the chief sources including the Celtic penitentials, those of the Carolingian reform, and the *Hadriana*. He establishes a general theory of penance, and gives a list of punishments of the principal sins.”¹⁰³ Burchard also gives questions for the confessor to use for helping the penitent disclose his sins. The next great canonist, Ivo of Chartres incorporated about 1600 of the 1784 sections of Burchard’s penitential into his own *Decretum*. Ivo’s work, in fact, “is probably the main source of the penitential of Bartholomew.”¹⁰⁴

It is also not difficult to see the influence of twelfth-century thought in Bartholomew’s work, notably the influence of Peter Lombard and Abelard. The Bishop of Exeter “begins his chapter on confession with the usual comment as to its necessity if the penitent has time...”¹⁰⁵ Bartholomew writes: “*Confessio oris necessaria est, si penitens tempus habuerit. Unde Dominus per Prophetam: Dic tu iniquitates tuas ut iustificeris.*” [Isaiah 43:26]. He also cites Ambrose and Augustine on the need to confess.¹⁰⁶ Though, as Morey remarks, “he goes on to emphasize, as Abelard had already done in the *Sic et Non*, the classic phrase: *non potest quisquam iustificari a peccato nisi*

*fuerit peccatum ante confessus.*¹⁰⁷ Citing Bartholomew's Penitential, Anciaux writes, "Au milieu du siècle la doctrine est générale: sans contrition du cœur, sans repentir il n'y a pas de remission. Pour être efficace cette pénitence intérieure doit répondre à des conditions déterminées. D'autre part, les modalités de la pénitence extérieure sont en fonction de l'intensité du repentir."¹⁰⁸

But Bartholomew's chief contribution to the Church's understanding of sin lay not so much in the theoretical understanding of the repentance of the sinner, but in its practical expression between penitent and priest. As Morey points out, the bishop "is at some pains to instruct the confessor in the duties of his office, and he echoes contemporary feeling by his insistence on moderation as opposed to rigidity in the application of the penitential canons...Bartholomew follows the general tendency of the age in favour of mitigating the severity of the penalties for sin."¹⁰⁹ What is most important is that the confessor not merely act in an arbitrary fashion toward the sinner. The priest must exercise the virtue of prudence, asking questions of the penitent, as Burchard had first advised, in order to assist him in making a good confession:

Diximus etiam que sunt in quibus dispensatio pastoralis admittitur que non possunt omnibus penitentibus imponi omnia, sed ex multiplici rationis consideratione multipliciter sunt dispensanda. In quorum dispensatione primo omnium necessaria est pastoris prudentia et uita honesta. Deinde ut delinquentium inter se, et item delictorum inter se et reliquorum, que ad augendam et minuendam penitentiam vel penitentie tempora pertinent prudenter attendant. Sciat etiam que sit vera et que sit falsa penitentia, et quod in penitentiis dandis magis sit leuitas misericordie sequanda quam rigor iusticie, circa illos maxime qui vere penitentes esse creduntur, et, ut si fieri potest in assignandis penitentiis vicia contrariis virtutibus curentur. Maxime autem ut peccati fomes et causa procidantur.¹¹⁰

Bartholomew's pastoral concern for removing sin from the sinner also motivated him to engage those sheep outside his own flock, namely the Jews. As he writes in his *Dialogus contra Judeos*, "We hold discussions with them for their own salvation." (*Quotiens enim cum eis pro ipsorum etaim salute conferimus...*) Most likely written a few decades later than his penitential, Bartholomew's dialogue survives in a single manuscript at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Though the text remains unedited, sections of it appear in a scholarly essay by R.W. Hunt.¹¹¹ For example:

Magister: Nullus fidelium qui zelum dei habeat cum scientia eorum [sc. Iudeorum] calumnias seu blasfemias sine aliqua redargutione sustinet, sed nec cum ipsa coram infidelibus vel imperitis de fide contendit. Quotiens enim cum eis pro ipsorum etaim salute conferimus, inquietorum animalium more commune negotium semper impediunt, nolentes intelligere ut bene agant vel credant. Unde quantum salva caritate fieri potest, eorum non solum collationes, sed et colloquia universa declinare debemus, scientes quia corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia prava, et qui tetigerit picem inquinabitur ab ea.

Discipulus: Qualiter ergo, discemus quid eis respondendum quidve sit obiciendum, cum opus fuerit, nisi conferendo cum ipsis?

Magister: Hoc a fidelibus disce qui maiorem habent utriusque testamenti pertiam quam Iudei.¹¹²

We can learn several things from Bartholomew's statements. In the first place, there is a harshness in his approach to Jews which is lacking in Anselm and Odo. He is reluctant to encourage Christian debate with Jews and seems able only to sanction it as a necessary evil for the sake of their salvation. The fact that the master discusses the Jews with his disciple, instead of debating a Jew directly, also seems to dull the sharpness of his approach. In the end, he argues that although Christians and Jews share the Old

Testament, Jews do not interpret it in the same allegorical sense that would open their hearts to Christ:

Discipulus: In primis igitur quero que sit inter Iudeos et nos discensionis causa principalis.

Magister: Causam principalem soli deo cognitam credo, cuius iudicio iustissimo quamvis occulto facta est ex maxima parte cecitas in Israel, ut plenitudo gentium intraret ad fidem. Quo facto Israel convertetur ad Christum. Causarum vero nobis cognitarum dissensionis inter nos et illos hec michi prima videtur quod illi omnem veteris instrumenti scripturam in qua literalem possunt sensum invenire, ad literam semper accipiunt, nisi manifestum Christo perhibeat testimonium. Tunc enim aut scripturam negant, dicentes hoc in Hebraica veritate, id est in suis libris, non haberi, vel ad aliud aliquid fabulose convertunt, vel ut nondum completum prestolantur, vel alia aliqua fraude serpentina, cum arctari se sentiunt, elabuntur. Allegoriam vero nunquam nisi cum alium non habent exitum recipere solent. Nos vero non solum scripturas sacras, sed et res factas et facta ipsa mystice interpretamur, ita tamen ut nec rebus gestis historia, nec in scripturis competens intelligentia per allegorie libertatem aliquatenus evacuetur.¹¹³

Bartholomew would not be the only Paris-educated cleric to compose a penitential manual for confessors and a polemic on persuading Jews. We shall see that Master Alan of Lille and his university circle would take an extreme interest in sin and repentance and its application toward salvation—even of unbelievers.

Endnotes

Chapter Two: Twelfth-Century Theology:
Approaches to Sin & Repentance, Jews & Infidels

1. Salo Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, (New York, 1965-83) vol 9, 101. As cited in David Berger, "Mission to the Jews and Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Polemical Literature of the High Middle Ages," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 576-91.
2. Berger, 578.
3. Ibid.
4. Cf. Chapter 1, nt. 16.
5. Cf. Chapter 1, nt. 21.
6. D. Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (New York, 1962) 98.
7. M. J. Charlesworth trans. *St. Anselm's Proslogion with a Reply on Behalf of the Fool by Gaunilo and the Author's reply to Gaunilo*, (Oxford, 1965), III. As reprinted in Arthur Hyman and James J. Walsh eds. *Philosophy in the Middle Ages, The Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Traditions*, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1973), 150.
8. Hyman and Walsh, 149.
9. Thomas F. X. Noble, Barry S. Strauss, et al., eds., *Western Civilization, The Continuing Experiment*, 3rd Ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 339.
10. Etienne Gilson, *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1936), 5.
11. St. Anselm of Canterbury, *Cur Deus Homo*, trans. and eds., Jasper Hopkins and Herbert Richardson, (Toronto: Mellen Press, 1976), I. 3.
12. Ibid., II. 2.
13. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 172.

14. Ibid., 174.
15. A.S. Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, (London and New York, 1995) , 44.
16. Ibid., 43.
17. Hopkins and Richardson trans, 5.
18. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 178-79.
19. Hopkins and Richardson, I.3.
20. Ibid., I..10.
21. Ibid., I..13; 21.
22. Ibid., II. 6.
23. Ibid., II. 7.
24. "In each man are present together a *nature*, by which he is human, as are other men, and a *person*, by which he is distinguished from other men, as when he is called "this man" or "that man" or is called by his proper name (e.g., "Adam" or "Abel"). The sin of each man is in both his nature and in his person...Nevertheless, there is a sin which each man contracts together with his nature at the time of his origin [Original Sin], and there is a sin which he does not contract with his nature but which he commits after he is already a person distinct from other persons [personal or actual sin]." St. Anselm, *De conceptu Virginali*, trans. and eds., Hopkins and Richardson, 1.
25. Ibid., II. 8.
26. Ibid., II.15.
27. G. R. Evans, *Law and Theology in the Middle Ages*, (London and New York, 2002), 15.
28. Hopkins and Richardson, I. 20.
29. P. Anciaux, *La Théologie du Sacrement de Pénitence au XII Siècle*, (Louvain, 1949), 23 nt.1; St. Anselm, *Meditatio XI* (PL 158 :766).
30. Cf. A. S. Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 44; "St. Anselm and those Outside the Church," in *Faith and Unity: Christian Political Experience*, eds., D. Loades and K. Walsh, *Studies in Church History, Subsidia 6*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 11-37; "Theology and the

Commercial Revolution: Guibert of Nogent, St. Anselm and the Jews of Northern France,” in *Church and City 1000-1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke*, eds., D. Abulafia, M. Franklin and M. Rubin, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 23-40; and Christians Disputing Disbelief: St. Anselm, Gilbert Crispin and Pseudo-Anselm in *Religionsgespräch im Mittelalter*, eds., B. Lewis and F. Niewöhner, (Wiesbaden, 1992), 131-48.

31. Hopkins and Richardson, I. 1.

32. A. S. Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 56.

33. Ibid., 44; Sir. Richard Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990).

34. Sir. Richard Southern and Francis S. Schmitt, eds., *Memorials of St. Anselm, Auctores britannici Medii Aevi I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 66-67.

35. Two centuries before Petrarch, Abelard is certainly also dialoging with the Greco-Roman sages of antiquity.

36. Peter Abelard, *Dialogue of a philosopher with a Jew and a Christian*, trans. and ed. Pierre Payer *Medieval Sources in Translation 20* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 19-20.

37. Payer, 32.

38. Peter Abelard, *Ethics*, trans. and ed. D. E. Luscombe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), xxx.

39. Luscombe, 20-23.

40. Payer, 32-33.

41. Luscombe, 56-57.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., 4-7.

44. Ibid., 10-15. It seems the direct inspiration for Abelard's statement was the Vulgate verse from Matthew where Christ says: "Whosoever looks upon a woman to lust after her, has already committed adultery with her in his heart." (Matt. 5:28). Abelard cites Augustine's commentary, Cf. *De sermone Domini in monte*, I.12,

n.34 (PL 34. 1246).

45. Charles Radding, *A World Made by Men*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 210-11.

46. Luscombe, 16-19.

47. Payer, 69.

48. A.S. Abulafia, "*Intentio Recta an Erronea?*," 28.

49. A.S. Abulafia, "Bodies in the Jewish-Christian Debate," in *Framing Medieval Bodies*, eds., S. Kay and M. Rubin (Manchester, 1994), 130.

50. *Ibid.*

51. "...Bernard of Clairvaux and William of St. Thierry...were famous in their time...for their eloquent works on inner spirituality, but they had given little thought to propositions that Abelard was ready to put forward in total seriousness: that there was sin neither in desire nor pleasure; that actions themselves are morally indifferent; that anathemas and excommunications, if they are undeserved, do not exclude the believer from God's grace. Abelard's position on these matters must have seemed to them an attack on monastic asceticism and the status of the priesthood in general, and they responded with the persecutions that led to Abelard's condemnation at Sens in 1140." Radding, 212.

52. *Ibid.*, 58-61.

53. *Ibid.*, 62-65.

54. *Ibid.*, 66-67.

55. Cf. nt. 53.

56. Luscombe, xv-xvi.

57. "Some sins are said to be venial and, as it were, light, others damnable or grave...Sins are venial or light when we consent to what we know should not be consented to, but when, however, what we know does not occur to our memory...so sometimes we consent to boasting or to excessive eating or drinking, yet we know this should by no means be done, but we do not remember then that it should not be done. So such consents as we fall into through forgetfulness are said to be venial or light sins, that is, not to be corrected with a penalty of great satisfaction such as being punished on account of them by being put outside the church or being burdened with a heavy abstinence...greater faults...perjury, in murder, in adultery, and such like are said to

be damnable and weightier sins. We do not incur these like the others through forgetfulness, but commit them with assiduity, as it were, and with deliberation and are made abominable to God.” Luscombe, 68-71. Cf. Augustine, *Enchiridion*, cap. 69-71 (PL 40. 265); *Contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum*, I.14, n.28 (PL 44. 563-4).

58. *Ibid.*, 76-77. “The Apostle invites...all who are stubborn and do not take thought for the dreadful judgement of God, saying: “Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness and patience and longsuffering? Knowest thou not that the benignity of God leadeth thee to penance?” [Rom. 2:4] With these words he plainly declares what is wholesome repentance, proceeding from the love of God rather than from fear, with the result that we are sorry to have offended or to have shown contempt of God because he is good rather than because he is just. For the longer we show contempt of him because we do not believe...the more justly therefore he inflicts a heavier punishment for contempt of himself...We are very greatly afraid to presume anything in front of an earthly judge by whom we know we shall be sentenced with only a temporal, not an eternal penalty. Carnal desire makes us do or endure many things, spiritual desire few. Would that we would...endure...for God to whom we owe all as for our wife or children or...mistress!”

59. *Ibid.*, 84-87.

60. Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual*, (New York, 1972), 74.

61. *Ibid.*, xxxii-iii.

62. *Ibid.*, 88-89.

63. *Ibid.*, 71.

64. Radding, 213.

65. Luscombe, 98-99.

66. *Ibid.*, 100-01.

67. *Ibid.*, 120-21.

68. “But just as we distinguished vices from sins, so the virtues contrary to those vices seem to be somewhat differentiated from these goods with which we earn beatitude, and which consist in the good of obedience. For just as the virtues are the contrary of the vices, so sin, which is properly said to be contempt of God, seems opposite to the good of obedience, that is, the will which is ready to obey God.”

69. *Ibid.*, 130, nt. 2.

70. *Ibid.*, xx.

71. A.S. Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 161, nt.6; Cf. M. Evans, "The *Ysogoge in Theologiam* and the commentaries attributed to Bernard Silvestris," *Journal of the Warburg and the Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 1-2.
72. A.S. Abulafia, "Jewish Carnality in Twelfth-Century Renaissance Thought," in *Christianity and Judaism*, ed. Diana Wood, *Studies in Church History* 29, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992), 61.
73. *Ibid.*, 61-62; Cf. D. E. Luscomb, "The authorship of the *Ysogoge in Theologiam*," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 35 (1968): 7-16.
74. A.S. Abulafia *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, 12; "Jewish Carnality in Twelfth-Century Renaissance Thought," 62.
75. A.S. Abulafia, "Jewish Carnality in Twelfth-Century Renaissance Thought," 62.
76. A. Landgraf, *Ecrits théologiques de l'école d'Abélard, textes inédits—Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense*, 14 (Louvain, 1934), *l*.
77. Landgraf, 65.
78. *Ibid.*, 74.
79. *Ibid.*, 106.
80. *Ibid.*, 125.
81. *Ibid.*, 126.
82. Landgraf, *l*.
83. *Ibid.*, 127.
84. *Ibid.*
85. *Ibid.*
86. A.S. Abulafia, "Jewish Carnality in Twelfth-Century Renaissance Thought," 65.
87. Landgraf, 132.
88. *Ibid.*, 139.

89. Ibid., 155.
90. A.S. Abulafia, "Jewish Carnality in Twelfth-Century Renaissance Thought," 70.
91. Landgraf, 157-58.
92. Ibid., 160.
93. "He wants to prove that the Hebrew Bible confirms the Christian view that everyone was doomed to hell before the coming of Christ. The view is essential if one wants to argue that man needed to be redeemed by God-man. Jews, of course, denied that their holy ancestors, such as the Patriarchs, ever entered hell. Thus Odo declares that the use of the word "*sheol*" in Psalm 48(9):16 ("God will redeem my soul from the hand of hell when he shall receive me") proves that "*sheol*" does not always mean "pit," as Jews say it does. Here it clearly means hell. Odo addresses his words directly to Jewish opposition here...Odo carries on with his proof that God had to become man by continuing to make use of [Gilbert] Crispin and, especially, St. Anselm. He will not use Hebrew again until the very end of the third and final book of the *Ysagoge*." A.S. Abulafia, "Jewish Carnality in Twelfth-Century Renaissance Thought," 70-1.
94. Landgraf, 179.
95. Ibid., 209.
96. Ibid., 211-12.
97. Chazan, 22.
98. Adrian Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist, A Study in the Twelfth Century*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1937), 4.
99. Cf. *Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mappe*, ed. T. Wright (Camden, 1841), 29.
100. Morey, 4.
101. Ibid., 4-5.
102. Ibid., 108.
103. Ibid., 170.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid., 172.

106. *Ibid.*, 180.
107. *Ibid.*
108. Anciaux, 463.
109. Morey, 173.
110. *Ibid.*, 191-92.
111. R.W. Hunt, "The Disputation of Peter of Cornwall against Symon the Jew," in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, R.W. Hunt et al., eds., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), 147-48.
112. *Ibid.*

Chapter Three: Paris, Penance, & Preaching: The Case of Alan of Lille

Alan was probably born around the year 1120 in the city of Lille in Flanders. As a young man he must have studied at Paris and Chartres under the great masters of the late 1130s and 40s.¹ But it is not until Alan was himself a master at Paris that we can begin to discern some exactness as to the sequence of events of his life and works. At one end of a time-line, his earliest datable work, the *Quoniam homines*, would seem to place him at Paris between 1155 and 1165;² on the other, Otto of St Blaise writes in his chronicle that Peter the Chanter and Alan of Lille were both active masters at Paris in 1194.³

Indeed, there seems to have been more than a small rapport between these two academic luminaries of their day. The most vivid evidence for this affinity is a manuscript painting from the Abbey of Ottoburen undertaken under the direction of the Abbot Berthold (1228-1246) which contains a portrait of Alan and Peter together (f.216 v, 217), which is reproduced in most every modern work on either author. As D'Alverny describes it: "Le Chantre porte une longue robe, et un tonsure très accentuée, mais Maître Alain est représenté avec une costume de clerc séculier et son bonnet doctoral a un aspect plutôt frivole."⁴ The fact that Alan is depicted first, donned with his doctoral cap, with his hand and index figure raised would all seem to indicate that the artist wanted to depict Alan as the more important of the two, or at least, that he had something to teach

the approving Peter on that particular occasion. Peter's modern biographer, John Baldwin, acknowledges that when "he turned to theological doctrine, he was prone to adopt the solutions of the *Porretani*, particularly those of Alain of Lille."⁵ Both Alan and Peter are recognized as the first to acknowledge the distinction between dogmatic theology and "moral theology"—a phrase which seems to have been coined first by Alan in the 1160s.⁶ As Baldwin writes:

The separation of theology into faith and morality was expressed by the Chanter throughout his works...Elaborating upon this division in the *Distinctiones Abel*, the Chanter divided each part into two additional sections. Theology consisted of a celestial part, which promised divine knowledge by treating the articles of faith and by combating heresy, and of a sub-celestial part which instructed morality by distinguishing between virtues and vices. At the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries most Parisian theologians were discussing the more abstract moral questions, such as the nature of original sin, the influence of sensual appetites, the definition and classification of the virtues, and the role of intention in the moral act.⁷

Baldwin characterizes Peter's interest in practical morality as something more exclusive to the Chanter and his immediate circle; nevertheless, Alan must clearly be considered in the same vein for several reasons. First, as Baldwin himself admits, Peter's distinction between celestial theology concerning articles of the faith, and sub-celestial pertaining to morality in his *Distinctiones Abel*, may have been directly inspired by Alan's *De virtutibus et vitiis*.⁸ Second, there is a similar correlation to be noted between Peter's *Verbum abbreviatum* and Alan's *Ars praedicandi*. The thirteenth-century bibliographer Henry of Brussels considered the *Verbum abbreviatum* Peter's most important writing. Otto of St. Blaise identified Alan's *Ars praedicandi* as one of his

most noteworthy achievements. Both are less scholarly, more practical theological works dealing with the virtues and vices. D'Alverny cites more than thirty chapters in each work which may be substantively compared with the same chapters in the other.⁹

Like Peter's *Verbum abbreviatum*, Alan's *Ars praedicandi*, and *Liber poenitentialis* are entirely devoted to sin, repentance, and the practice of holiness. It was typical of this Parisian circle of theologians to devote themselves to a better understanding of human sin and divine forgiveness in order to better apply the sacrament in practice.¹⁰ The penitential works of Bartholomew of Exeter and Alan of Lille also aided these early thirteenth-century writers. As D'Alverny says: "De fait, les deux manuels qui suivent de plus près celui d'Alain sont dus à un victorin, Robert de Flamborough, et au vice-doyen du chapitre de Salisbury, Thomas Chabham."¹¹ Or as Little writes:

With the maturing of the sciences of jurisprudence and theology, as well as with the new independence of moral theology, scholars developed the genre of the *summa* of penance or the *summa* for confessors...Mention has been made of Alan of Lille's book on penance, with its advice for priests about hearing confessions, and of the canonist Robert of Flamborough's *summa*, a work that contains a large collection of cases of conscience. Around the time of the Fourth Lateran Council and the formation of the order of friars, Thomas of Chobham wrote a comprehensive *summa* for confessors.¹²

Little sees Alan as the continuator of Abelard's emphasis on intention in the remission of sin: "But as the new sciences of law and theology evolved, scholars pushed below the surface of mere action to get at the complexities of intention, motivation, peculiar circumstances, rules of evidence, and the psychology of contrition. Abelard was

the first great figure in that triumph of the twelfth-century school that Chenu called ‘the awakening of the conscience’. The resulting development of moral theology—the term seems to have been used first by Alan of Lille...led scholars to the systematic investigation of concrete cases.”¹³ Alan is very much an Abelardian when he writes about true contrition for sin in his *Liber poenitentialis*:

Quod enim oporteat de peccato dolere, probatur auctoritate multiplici. Ait enim Augustinus, in libro de poenitentia: “Poenitentia est quaedam vindicta dolentis, puniens in se quod dolet commisisse.” Item ait Augustinus: “Si poenitentiam agis, poenitens es; si non poenites, poenitens non es.” Ecce quidem adhuc, ut si vera poenitentia, concurrat mentis contritio, nec sufficit exterior satisfactio vel crebra lacrimarum profusio, nisi ex cordis fonte procedat. Unde Isidorius: “Quosdam accipere lacrimas ad poenitentiam cerno, sed affectum poenitentiae non habere conspicio, quia inconstantia mentis non recordatione peccati lacrimas fundunt, nunc vero reviviscente usu, ea quae fleverunt iterando committuntur.” Oportet etiam confiteri peccatum, quia non sufficit cordis contritio, nisi sequatur confessio, si tempus habeas confitendi.¹⁴

This passage demonstrates the common debt Alan and Abelard owed to the Church Fathers in the elaboration of their twelfth-century Renaissance theology.¹⁵ In Alan’s case, he was taking Abelard’s bold theory and stating it rather matter-of-factly in practical manuals to be used by priests all over Western Christendom. True contrition is sorrow of the heart, exterior weeping does not suffice. It is the inner workings of the human soul which most concern Alan. Like Abelard and Odo before him, he considers sin a plague upon the spirit that needs the ministrations of a physician. As Alan writes in the *Ars praedicandi*:

Remorse is...the first medicine in the cure of sin. Remorse is a spiritual washing of inner rebirth, without which adult baptism avails nothing...O happy bath of

repentance, which cleanses the human heart as often as necessary... This is the bubbling lye composed of the ashes of humility and the water of repentance, with which the head of the inner man, that is, the mind, is washed clean of the worms of the vices... Enter your own conscience; examine it. First consider the state of your own prudence. If it seems to you that it has turned inward through desire; if the throat [has erred] through gluttony, the ear in hearing debilitating melody or by willingly listening to evil-speaking, if the tongue has halted in word, the sense of smell erred in sweet smelling, the sense of touch in theft... if in any or in all of these you discover sin, wash it away with through the act of remorse. According to the extent of filthiness, measure the amount of the washing; according to the severity of the sickness, measure out the quantity of medicine.¹⁶

If true contrition is the first medicine in the cure of sin, the disease requires further medical attention from a specialist, as Alan says in the *Liber poenitentialis*: “Oportet etiam confiteri peccatum, quia non sufficit cordis contritio, nisi sequatur confessio, si tempus habeas confitendi... Ad ostendum enim quod de plenitudine poenitentiae confessio est, insinuat Dominus qui praecipit leproso sanato ut ostenderet se sacerdoti, per quod significatur quod spiritualis leprosus, id est peccator, debet ulcera peccatorum sacerdoti per confessionem declarare.”¹⁷

Alan is equally concerned that priests should see their role in this light. He opens the *Liber poenitentialis* thus: “Sapiens igitur medicus debet excipere quaeque meliora et discretiones omnium causarum investigare, sine quibus rectum iudicium stare non potest. Quia scriptum est ‘in nulla re appareas indiscretus, sed distingue quid, ubi, quamdiu, quando, qualiter debeas facere.’ Unde versus: quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando. Non omnibus enim una eademque libra pensandum est, licet uno constringantur vitio, sed discretio sit inter unumquemque eorum.”¹⁸

As a good doctor must make careful inquiry in diagnosing an illness, so too a

good priest must ask questions of his penitent to get at the root of the sin. As P.

Michaud-Quantin says of Alan:

L'auteur en effet considère essentiellement le confesseur comme le médecin de la vie spirituelle, et cette comparaison domine les directives qui gouverneront son attitude et son action. Il faut bien accueillir le malade—le pécheur—pour le mettre en confiance, le persuader qu'il peut guérir et lui donner ainsi le courage de se soumettre au traitement—à la pénitence. Puis vient l'establishment du diagnostic, qui exige de se rendre compte de l'état et des dispositions du pénitent, car ce sont des éléments en fonction desquels varie sa responsabilité morale, et des circonstances qui entourent la faute qu'il a commise; un interrogatoire détaillé, mettra le prêtre en possession de ces renseignements...¹⁹

The questioning of the penitent was not only meant as an exercise of discovery for the priest, but for the self-discovery of the individual as well. Through dialogue, the confessor helps the sinner to form his conscience.²⁰ Alan did not limit his use of the analogy of the physician to his guidebook on administering confession, it is raised with equal force in his handbook on preaching:

It is proper for the preacher to take up the position of an earthly physician or doctor. Just as an earthly physician varies the forms his remedies take according to the different diseases he treats, so a preacher should apply the remedies of admonition. Thus, if he preaches to the dissipated, let him bring to bear texts which speak against dissipation, and adduce appropriate reasoning...Now let the preacher cut with the knife by threatening; now let him apply the poultices of consolation. In the same way let him dispute against other vices, according to the way in which he sees his listeners to be entangled by different vices.

If he preaches to the poor, let him discourse on poverty, commending it, and taking his example from our head, Jesus Christ...If he preaches to the rich, let him invite them to give alms...If he preaches to soldiers, let him urge them to be content with their own wages, and not to threaten strangers...If he speaks to public-speakers let him warn them, lest they support an unjust cause for gain or weaken a just cause out of rancor and hatred...If he speak to the learned, let him warn them that they should teach as God prompts them, and that they should

make God the end of their efforts...If he directs them to prelates, let him exhort them on the subject of the governance of their people...If he preaches to the princes of the earth, let [the preacher] warn them, that they should strive after prudence, loath avarice...If he speaks to cloistered monks and religious, let him bring to bear for their instruction the examples of the Fathers of old...If he delivers a sermon to married people, let him commend the state of marriage...If to widows, let him emphasize the burdens of marriage...if to virgins, let them be recommended to cleanliness of body and purity of mind..²¹

The significance of Alan's *Ars praedicandi* and *Liber poenitentialis* and of the new *summae confessorum* in general, was that the salvific wisdom of the clerical elite of Paris was now capable of reaching the unlettered, both clerical and lay, throughout all the backwater of medieval Christian Europe. As D'Alverny remarks, "Le *Liber Poenitentialis* doit être rapproché de l'*Ars praedicandi* et des sermons, car il témoigne des mêmes préoccupations morales et apostoliques. Mais, plus encore que l'*Ars*, il a dû être composé à un moment où Alain avait charge d'âmes. Les moines ont pratiqué le ministère de la prédication, mais la rédaction d'un manuel qui s'adresse aux prêtres, et à des prêtres qui s'occupent eux-mêmes des laïques est plutôt du ressort d'un chanoine séculier ou régulier."²² Indeed, Alan at the very outset of the *Liber poenitentialis* is again at pains to stress the need to reach *everyone* with the healing message of repentance:

Hic est Liber qui Corrector vocatur et Medicus, qui correctiones corporum et animarum medicinas plenius continet et docet unumquemque sacerdotum et simplicem, quomodo vel qualiter unicuique succurre valeat, ordinatio vel sine ordine, pauperi, diviti, puero, juveni, seni, decrepito, sano, infirmo, in omni aetate, in utroque sexu, quo tempore presbyteri debeant vel valeant plebem sibi commissam ad poenitentiam invitare et tamquam fidelis medicus auxilium dare...hoc est inter liberum et servum, infantem, puerum, juvenem, adolescentulum, aetate senem, hebetem, gnarum, laicum, clericum, monachum, presbyterum, episcopum, diaconum, subdiaconum, lectorem, in gradu vel sine gradu, conjugatum vel sine conjugio, peregrinum, indigenam, virginem,

viduam, canonicam, monacham, debilem, infirmum, sanum, fornicantem cum animalibus vel cum hominibus contra naturam, continentem, vel incontinentem, voluntate, necessitate, vel casu, seu in publico peccantem, vel in abscondito et quali discretionem haec omnia emendet, ut et loca et tempora poenitendi discernat.²³

How far we are from Anselm's analogy of the fortified monastic city. What a difference a century makes in the elaboration of the Christian theology of sin and repentance. Where Anselm had depicted everyone but monks as practically destined for damnation, Alan urges the vocation to holiness even upon those who practice bestiality! Where Anselm had urged his brothers to hide behind the safety of the cloister walls, lest they be contaminated by the world, Alan exhorts holy men to seek out all the worldlings they can find and preach repentance to them and confer absolution upon their souls. Anselm's innovation had consisted in ending the monopoly of the exclusive use of the Fathers in the production of works of spirituality: instead, he brought reason to bear on theology and he introduced original sermons. But an even more radical shift occurs with Alan and his circle at Paris—the idea that holiness is not just for the holy:

The homilies of the Fathers had for centuries provided all that was needed for reading to members of monastic communities. Indeed, it seems to have been so rare for anyone to supplement them with an original sermon in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, that St. Anselm's preaching and his "table-talk" aroused much enthusiasm in the monasteries he visited almost as much for their novelty as for their excellence...Guibert, abbot of Nogent, a younger contemporary of Anselm who remembered with gratitude the spiritual direction he had received from him as a young man, composed a *Book on Making Sermons*...He envisages the preacher's task in terms of the needs of the monastic community...In his *Art of Preaching* Alan has not altogether turned his back upon these considerations, but it has a very different air...Alan wrote within a scholarly milieu very different from that of the monasteries in which Anselm and Guibert lived and worked. He certainly preached to monks, but he

addressed himself to fellow-scholars, too, to the heretics, to mixed popular audiences, and...to groups of widows or soldiers or princes or lawyers. The sheer variety of his experience had taught him a great deal about the practical needs of the preacher...the change which had taken place between the time Guibert wrote a book on preaching and the period when Alan composed his manual, is obvious enough.²⁴

Revolutionary change had occurred in Christian society and in clerical thinking.

The example of preaching to heretics is the most illustrative. Anselm's "heretics" were fellow scholars like Berengar, and Roscelin, who, in their search for theological precision had crossed the line into heterodoxy; as Anselm vociferously stated, they were not to be argued with, they were to be ostracized. Alan's heretics, on the other hand, were whole communities of princes, merchants, and peasants, more populous in some areas—such as certain regions in southern France—than Catholics! Observes Evans: "The pattern began to change as numbers grew and the diffusion of heretical ideas came to depend less on the rise of individual preachers with a talent for demagoguery. Heresy which had no obvious leader was harder to deal with and, if anything, more alarming. Bernard of Clairvaux remarked with concern on this new anonymity."²⁵ Far from ignoring such a threat, Alan crafted theological tracts countering each of their objections, one by one, in his lengthy work, the *De Fide Catholica*, also known as the *Contra haereticos*. Anselm rarely ventured from his monastic confines—certainly never on any missionary endeavors—but by the late twelfth century, even St. Bernard's Cistercians were being pressed into service to engage the heretics in Montpellier, Alan himself was there to assist them and with probably more than his scholarly treatise on the faith. As Evans has noted, "there is every reason to suppose that he was involved in [direct] preaching against

the Cathars and Waldensians.”²⁶

The case of the Cathars and Waldensians brings us to the heart of the matter. Though the two groups were in many ways strikingly different, (indeed, they often engaged one another in open dispute) one of the things they held in common was a certain measure of private interpretation of Scripture, and most certainly, lay-preaching thereof. The example of Peter Waldes, the founder, is instructive. A wealthy cloth merchant of Lyons, Waldes had a sudden religious conversion sometime in the early- to-mid 1170s. Having heard a minstrel relate the tale of St. Alexis, who left a life of riches to follow Christ in apostolic poverty, Waldes promptly did the same. Seeking out a master of theology, the pious merchant asked what was the surest way to salvation. The master cited Jesus’ reply to the rich young man in Matt 19:21: “If thou wouldst be perfect, go and sell all thou hast and give to the poor.” Because he was ignorant of Latin, the same desire for holiness moved Waldes to engage the help of two other clerics who translated the Gospels and many patristic passages into the vernacular for him. After absorbing as much learning as he could from Holy Writ, Waldes embarked on an apostolic campaign to bring holiness to others:

He began to preach the Gospel as well as to live it; indeed preaching it was a requisite part of living it. His audience was responsive, and many came forward not only to reform their own lives but also to join him in his evangelical enterprise. The evidence shows that people from almost all social levels were represented among his followers. Waldes vowed never again to possess any gold or silver, and never again to give a thought to the next day. He proposed to his followers that they observe poverty and evangelical perfection as had the Apostles. They accepted the challenge and emulated him in each detail. “Those who followed his example, having given away everything to the poor, became propagators of voluntary poverty” (*professores paupertatis spontanee*). The

women among them preached as well as the men. The uneducated and the unintelligent preached. People of even the most lowly occupations, reported Stephen of Bourbon with a slight tone of scandal, went out to preach. These early Waldensians preached in towns and villages in homes, in public squares, and even in churches.²⁷

In 1179, Waldes went to Rome to get Pope Alexander III's blessing for his newfound ministry. According to the *Chronicle of Laon*, "the Pope embraced Waldes, approving the vow of voluntary poverty he had taken, but ordering that neither he nor his associates take on the office of preaching except at the request of the local clergy."²⁸ For all intents, Waldes and his movement appeared to have found acceptance. A year later, Waldes appeared under the direction of a papal legate, Henry of Clairvaux, who "may have been considering employment of the Waldensians as preachers against the Cathari."²⁹ (At the request of Count Raymond V of Toulouse, Henry had led the Cistercian mission against the Cathars from 1178 to 1182.) Henry presided over a synod at Lyons at which Waldes was required to submit to a profession of faith, in answer to charges that his group had continued to preach and that "they had been making unduly inflammatory remarks about the clergy."³⁰ Once again, Waldes was back in good stead, but this second approbation was also short-lived. In 1182, John Bellesmains, the new Archbishop of Lyons summoned Waldes to reply to allegations that he and his followers were still in flagrant violation of their agreement with the Church. Peter Waldes is said to have answered the archbishop as Peter the Apostle did the Sanhedrin: "It is better for us to obey God than men" [Acts 1:]. Judging from the jealous accusations of the regular clergy against the mendicants a few decades later, it is a distinct possibility that the

charges of heretical and unauthorized preaching against the Waldensians were, in the majority, trumped-up. Unlike the friars, however, it would seem that Waldes and his movement despaired of an officially- sanctioned solution, spinning further into schism and heterodoxy. As Reginald Ladner writes: "...they turned their back on the Church and went their own way. Their influence and popularity increased, and they showed themselves more and more determined and bold...Lastly, they shook off all ecclesiastical control and declared that only those who were living in real imitation of the apostles in perfect poverty, had the right to preach. Whoever, whether man or woman, fulfilled this condition had, in virtue of his baptism, a mission to teach and preach everywhere."³¹

Waldes and his following were ultimately excommunicated by Archbishop John, and two years later at the Council of Verona, Pope Lucius III formally approved the same. It was during these tumultuous years that Alan devoted the second book of his *De Fide Catholica to Contra Waldenses*. J. M. Trout observes of his treatment: "Alan is narrow-minded and hostile where the Waldensians are concerned. On the other hand, he treats the Cathari, whose heresy was much more pernicious, as respected opponents."³²

Trout writes further:

Of the four books of the *Contra haereticos*, *Contra Waldenses* seems least likely to win a sympathetic response from those against whom it was directed. Alan looses all his power of invective against Peter Waldo and his followers. He accuses them not merely of ignorance, but also of laziness, fraud, and licentiousness...According to Alan, Waldensian gatherings end in orgies: "In their gatherings they give themselves up to gluttony and indulge their lusts, according to those who have left their company." They are lovers of sensual pleasures, preferring carnal pleasures to spiritual." Even hostile observers of the Waldensians, such as Walter Map, granted them an austere virtue.³³

It is not difficult to determine the source of Alan's animus against Waldes and his followers. Firstly, we are already familiar with Anselm's dictum: "Our faith ought to be rationally defended against the impious, but not against those who admit that they delight in the honor of the name 'Christian.'" From these latter it must be rightly demanded that they hold firmly to the pledge made at baptism, but to the former it must be demonstrated rationally how irrationally they despise us." Alan may have held the Waldensians to a higher standard since their heresy was less than a decade old. The Cathars, on the other hand, were already into their second and third generations in certain regions. Most Waldensians were born baptized Catholics, the same may not have held true for Cathars.

More important in accounting for Alan's ascorbic attitude to Waldes and his flock was their perceived usurpation of the privilege to preach. Preaching, as we have seen, was a matter that Alan was most passionate about. Ironically, Waldes may have troubled Alan so greatly because his spiritual resemblance was too close to his own: Both men sought lives of Christian perfection and the path these two Christians advocated for the achievement of this end is astonishingly similar. One of the first things Peter Waldes did upon his conversion was to make restitution for what he viewed as ill-gotten gains. For Waldes, it was certainly easier for the camel to pass the needle's eye, than a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. For him, the first step on the road to perfection was to be rid of wealth, and therefore, the occasion of sin: "If thou wouldst be *perfect*, go and sell all thou hast and give to the poor, and come follow me." Alan also viewed repentance for sin as the first rung in a longer ladder—Jacob's ladder:

Jacob beheld a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, on which angels were ascending and descending. The ladder represents the progress of the Catholic man in his ascent from the beginning of faith to the full development of the *perfect* man. The first rung of this ladder is confession...The man who repents his sin then should first set his foot on the first rung of this ladder by confessing his sin. He should mount to the second rung by praying to God that grace may be bestowed on him. The third rung is reached through thanksgiving for the grace which is given. The ascent to the fourth rung is made by studying Scripture so as to preserve the gift of grace—for Holy Scripture teaches how grace, once given, may be held fast. In this way the fifth rung is seen in sight, when a doubtful point arises, and the reader asks someone senior to help him understand it. The sixth rung is reached when the reader himself expounds Holy Scripture to others. He climbs the seventh rung when he preaches in public what he has learned from Scripture.³⁴

Had not Peter Waldes followed Alan's seven-step program to the letter? No doubt Alan would have heaped lavish praise upon Waldes had he simply stopped at Steps Five or Six. In his *Ars praedicandi*, Alan had indeed, laid-out a program for perfection, but the final step was reserved to bishops and priests: "Preaching ought to be the work of prelates, and sermons should be delivered by prelates. Two things are their province: learning and living; learning, so that they may instruct others; living so that they may set an example to others by living a good life."³⁵ In his *Contra Waldenses*, Alan is even more adamant that preaching is the preserve of priests and that Waldes and his minions lack their learning and living:

Hi Waldenses dicuntur, a suo haeresiarcha, qui vocabatur Waldus, qui suo spiritu ductus, non a Deo missus, novam sectam invenit, scilicet ut sine praelati auctoritate, sine divina inspiratione, sine scientia, sine litteratura praedicare praesumeret. Sine ratione philosophus, sine visione propheta, sine missione apostolus, sine instructore didascalus, cujus discipuli, imo, muscipuli, per diversas mundi partes, simplices seducunt, a vero avertunt, non ad verum convertunt...Quomodo etiam praedicabunt illiterati qui Scripturas non intelligunt? Nonne eorum praedicatio potius est in ruinam multorum quam

resurrectionem? Item, quomodo litteras noverunt, qui non didicerunt? Videmus etiam sanctiores iis non praedicare, qui intellectum sacrae Scripturae habent, ut multos Cistercienses, quia nimirum non sunt. Si sapientibus et sanctis periculosum est praedicare, periculosissimum est idiotis, qui nesciunt quod praedicandum, quibus praedicandum, quomodo praedicandum, quando praedicandum, ubi praedicandum.³⁶

As suggested above, Alan may have personally preached against the Waldensians during his stay in the Midi, for echoes of his oratorical skill are chronicled in the thirteenth century and beyond. As Trout writes:

The thirteenth-century poet John of Garland speaks of Alan confounding and subduing the heretics. Alan's reputation in debate is attested by Matthew Bonhomme in his *Commentarium in Parabolas Alani*, published in 1501. According to Bonhomme, Alan has abandoned his lecture hall to become, incognito, a conversus at Cîteaux. Summoned from sheep-herding to accompany his abbot to a Lateran Council, he saves the day for the Church when the heretics have demolished all other disputants. Alarmed at his skill they cry, "You must be either the Devil or Alan," to which he replies, "I'm not the Devil—but I am Alan." The story testifies that Alan's reputation as a debater was still alive three hundred years after his death. It might also be noted that the story portrays the heretics expounding and defending their views before the pope himself. Unfortunately, Bonhomme's tale cannot be considered biographically sound. The council mentioned could only be the Third Lateran Council of 1179. Since Alan was teaching in Paris as late as 1194, it is improbable that he was a Cistercian, monk or conversus in 1179.³⁷

The kernel of historical truth in Bonhomme's tale is that Waldes and his confreres were in Rome to see the pope at the time of the Lateran Council, though they did not dispute at its proceedings. (It is also true that Alan eventually joined the Cistercian Order.)

Alan may have vehemently opposed Waldes and his lay preaching movement, but as we have demonstrated, both men shared almost identical approaches to the art of

Christian perfection. In particular, both begin with sincere repentance for sin, and end with public preaching. Whether he would have liked to admit it or not, Alan was, in a very real and striking sense, Waldes' best propagandist. In his *Ars praedicandi* and *Liber poenitentialis*, Alan staunchly advocated a vibrant lay spirituality, if not lay preaching. As quoted above, his manual for confessors contains a colorful array of savory and not so savory penitents, for all of whom, the good doctor of the sacrament must help foster holiness; Alan's manual for preachers does likewise. No longer are sermons on virtuousness limited to audiences in monastic houses; married persons and soldiers are worthy of the same spiritual sustenance. There is an unconscious assumption here on Alan's part, and herein lies the heart of the matter: sermons from the pulpit, or counsels in the confessional are worthless, unless Alan is now recognizing lay people as fully capable of practicing monastic heroism. If he advocates this principle, then his complaint against the Waldensians is just so much fulmination while closing the gate, after the horse has already left the barn—thanks to his having unlocked it in the first place! The logical fruit of the practical theology of Alan and his circle at Paris is the recognition that prostitutes and tax collectors can now enter the kingdom of heaven faster than pharisees. We are, indeed, a long way from Anselm and the analogy of the monastic fortress barred against the world. The evolution of the theology of sin and repentance has led to an ever-widening theology of inclusion. Where Anselm had delivered his sermon on the sure path to salvation to young celibate male novices, Alan addresses a new homily, morphing Anselm's metaphor, so as to bring eternal life to individual sinners of the world. His sermon begins with God and creation:

In the higher part of the city he placed the upper heaven as if it were a castle, in which he collected the army of the angels, who, like a court in the service of God, would provide for the governance of lower creatures. But, proudly opposing their king and not maintaining their loyalty to their prince, certain members of the angeiic army wished to usurp control of this castle for themselves, and therefore they were driven out into the lower depths of this atmosphere. This is a castle which cannot be taken with physical armaments, it cannot be overcome by the attack of its enemies, it is not upheld by the power of princes, nor is it purchased with the fortunes of the rich; but only the poor in spirit [as in Matthew 5:31] enter therein, only the humble pass muster...

The demons, however, seeing themselves shut out of the heavenly castle in the lower part of the world, devised a fearful rampart from which they could attack the supernal castle and keep anyone from entering it. By means of his wicked plan, the devil thus fortified a position for himself in the first woman, through which he forced the entire human race to be of his household; and so he craftily attacked the heavenly castle, such that all were of his household, and the way to the heavenly kingdom lay open to no one. But when the heavenly king saw that his enemy had established his rampart on earth, he himself wished to situate another [fortress] on earth, from which he could break into the fortress of the devil and subject those taken captive by the devil to his own jurisdiction...A fortification was thus prepared for the Son of God in the glorious Virgin, whom he reinforced with multiple endowments of virtue...Into this stronghold thus fortified went the Son of God, who would wage war on the devil...In this fortress the Holy Spirit made weaponry for him, when he endowed him with a plenitude of virtues. Thus armed he went forth from the castle, when he was born out of this virginal womb. In that very venture he began to attack the fortress of the devil and to release some of his household to his own custody. For from the time that he was born, he was sought for the Gentiles through the faith of the Magi, and he gradually destroyed the weapons of his formidably armed enemy, establishing a new fortress for himself: the Church. For through his preaching and the working of his virtue he converted those of the camp of the devil to his own camp—that is, he included them within the unity of the Church. Yet when the devil saw his power weakened and the army of his camp diminished, he devised the death of the eternal king through the agency of his accomplices [complices], the unbelieving Jew [per infideles Iudaeos]...Ascending into heaven, he [Christ] left his multiple foundations on earth—that is, the faithful who are the rampart of God, who, *endowed with various virtues*, resist the effronteries of the devil.

Each and every one of us, dearest brethren, should establish himself as fortress for God, so that, finding suitable dwelling therein, he might thereby

*shut out the affront of diabolic temptation. Let everyone be aware of the means through which the devil tends to assault the fortifications of the soul: the crossbow of pride which, ascending even up to the heavens, wounded Lucifer. Let one take care lest the arrows of the demons enter through the windows of the senses, lest luxury enters through sight, greed through the ear, gluttony through taste.*³⁸ (Emphasis mine)

In Alan's world-view, the rampart against the devil is no longer the cloister, it is the Christian believer, himself. To find surety of salvation, one need not belong to a religious community, he can act as a religious individual. For Anselm, spiritual warfare was essentially a *passive* group-resistance against an *exterior* foe: "if they look back through an aperture or window, he [Lucifer] can easily kill or wound them. Wherefore it is necessary that they never heed the cry of their parents nor return to combat nor look back, but always, just as they began, they must flee until they reach the height of the vault. For once they arrive there, they will be entirely secure;" for Alan, it is *active* single-combat against the enemy *within*: "Let everyone be aware of the means through which the devil tends to assault the fortifications of the soul: the crossbow of pride which, ascending even up to the heavens, wounded Lucifer. Let one take care lest the arrows of the demons enter through the windows of the senses..."

As Alan sees it, a layman—or woman, may aspire to the heights of monastic holiness, as a practicing member of the Mystical Body of Christ, the Church. Alan's deep and abiding interest in moral theology has led him to believe that the practice of virtue is something of which each Christian is capable. Each individual acts as a visible foundation, one of many Christ has left on the earth to wage battle against Satan, in much the same way as God established the Virgin Mary and Christ and his Apostles. Mary,

“the glorious Virgin...reinforced with multiple endowments of virtue” is now the model, not only for monks, but for each of the faithful “who are the rampart of God...endowed with various virtues.” Yet, by declaring that Christians have the self-same vocation to holiness as Christ and the saints, Alan has once again, inadvertently, opened wide the doors to lay-preaching. Alan would have the individual layman imitate the example of Christ’s virtuousness, but exactly what sort of example did Christ leave? “He [the Holy Spirit] endowed him with a plenitude of virtues. Thus armed he went forth from the castle... to release some of his household to his own custody. For from the time that he was born, he was sought for the Gentiles through the faith of the Magi, and he gradually destroyed the weapons of his formidably armed enemy, establishing a new fortress for himself: the Church. For through his preaching and the working of his virtue he converted those of the camp of the devil to his own camp—that is, he included them within the unity of the Church.” Christ did not merely practice holiness, he actively preached it in mission to the Jews and Gentiles of his day, “those of the camp of the devil.” It is no coincidence that Alan wrote this sermon between 1179 and 1184. It is the time of the Cistercian mission to the Cathars, and more importantly, it is precisely the time of Peter Waldes and his followers. Were not the Waldensians actively carrying out to its logical missionary conclusion that imitation of Christ which Alan enjoins?

As much as Alan himself had nursed their spirituality, Waldensian defiance of the hierarchy of the Church made it impossible for him to accept them. Alan rejected the Waldensians for their *unauthorized* assumption of the *priestly* prerogative to preach; ultimately, it came down to the issue of Authority:

Qui primo, in hic navigunt contra divinam auctoritatem, et contra sacrae Scripturae praeconia, quod praedicant non missi a superiori praelato, aut a Deo...Per hoc etiam quod Christus misit apostolos et alios ad praedicandum, signatum est, quod minores in Ecclesia Dei praedicare non debent, nisi a majoribus mittantur. Et cum in Ecclesia Dei distribuuntur ordines per majores, ita praedicandi officium, cum sit maximum in Ecclesia Dei. Et sicut nullus promoveri debet ad sacerdotium, nisi eo modo quo Aaron, hoc est, ut sibi non usurpet, sic nec aliquis ad officium praedicatoris sua auctoritate accedere debet. Unde Core, sicut legitur in Numeris, cum sociis, quia alienum officium usurpavit, igne periit [Num. 16]. Legitur etiam in libro quarto Regum, quod Ozias rex quia sacrificandi officium sibi usurpavit, lepra percussus est [1 Kings, 15:2-26]. Similiter, lepra spirituali, id est peccato mortali percutitur, qui praedicatoris officium sibi usurpat.³⁹

Scholars habitually approach the issue of dissenters and churchmen through the paradigm of the dynamics of power and social control. Though not without merit, if over-used, this modern construct will tend to yield single-minded results, often overlooking the subtler complexities of what was after all, a *medieval* situation. No doubt, the Middle Ages witnessed the struggle for hegemony among competing social groups, no less than today's world, but to view the picture exclusively in these terms is to lose sight of other historical phenomena, no less real for being independent of motivations of power. The case of Alan and the heretics is one such example. For as much as he denounced the Waldensians, Alan expresses concern not merely for the threat they pose to the Church's monopoly of religious power, but for the threat they pose to their own immortal souls. As we have seen, Alan was intensely interested in the theology of sin and repentance. It is this pastoral preoccupation which moves Alan to view the Waldensians as sinners in need of spiritual remedy, in the same way as lepers who need medical attention. In this sense, the Waldensians are not excluded, they belong

to the theology of inclusion, in so far as they are sinners, not unlike orthodox Catholics who sin in other ways. Alan makes it clear in the above passage that the Waldensians are guilty of mortal sin, that is to say, doomed to hell if unrepentant. He compares their sinful plight to physical leprosy. But the heretics are not the only lepers in the colony; there are non-heretical Christians who fall into the same category by virtue of *their* sins.

As Alan writes in the *Liber poenitentialis*:

Sic sacerdos quasi spiritualis medicus, dum ad eum accedit peccator quasi spiritualis aegrotus. Primo, debet peccatorem verbis allicere, blandimentis mulcere, ut facilius aegrotus detegat morbum, detegat peccatum, ut melius post peccati detectionem, sacerdos cum prius proposuerit blandimenti verba, concludat satisfactionis verbera, monens ne erubescencia ductus suos diffiteatur reatus, ne coram homine crimina fateri vereatur, qui non homini sed Deo confitens loquitur. Nec apud iudicem poli confessus pro condemnato tenetur sed pro absoluto habetur, ostendens etiam auctoritate multiplici quod reatus deletur confessione peccati. Ait enim auctoritas: Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra [James 5:16] Et alibi: Dixi confitebor adversum me et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei [Psalm 31:5] et caetera. Christus etiam Jesus mundatis leprosis praecepit ut se ostenderent sacerdoti [Lk 17:4]. Per quod significatur quod ille qui laborat lepra spirituali debet se ostendere sacerdoti per confessionem delicti. Praeterea docens quod peccatum illud quod in praesenti detegitur in die iudicii tegetur, quod vero in praesenti velatur, in futuro revelabitur.⁴⁰ (Emphasis mine)

Alan would have sinners healed through confession and ultimately attain life everlasting. It is this same pastoral concern for souls that drives him, likewise, to answer the objections of the Waldensians and Cathars in his *De Fide Catholica*. What is significant for our investigation, is that Alan thought to include not only the heretics in the scope of his ministry, but also Jews and Muslims to whom he devotes books three and four of his work: “Convertantur haeretici ad catholicam unitatem, abrenuntiantes pravis dogmatibus; Waldenses pravis persuasionibus, Judaei observantiis carnalibus,

pagani superstitiosis opinionibus, ut sic ad veram aeternae beatitudinis unitatem ascendant.”⁴¹

As Abelard does in his *Sic et Non*, (and as Aquinas will do later in his *Summa*) Alan presents the view of his opponents in the scholastic fashion, setting out their arguments and then presenting his own solution. Like the others apologists we have examined, Alan uses philosophy in harmony with Scripture in an attempt to persuade Jewish intellects. Let us take, for example, his treatment of the Trinity:

Dicunt [Judaei] eundem esse Deum, et universorum creatorum... Si unus est Deus, sicut clamat sacra Scriptura, quomodo asserit Christianus, tres res inter se distinctas, scilicet, Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum, unius esse Deitatis? Quia si plures sunt, etiam plures dii, et non unus Deus esse videntur. Quomodo enim singularis natura unius personae ab aliis distinctae, esset natura alterius personae?... Sed Dominus ad Israel per Moysen ait: Audi, Israel: Dominus Deus noster, Dominus unus est [Deut. 9]. Non ergo triplex sicut Christiani dicunt his, nugantes, Deus est Pater, Deus est Filius, Deus est Spiritus sanctus. Alius item Pater, alius Filius, alius Spiritus sanctus, et interim negant tres deos esse. Quae est haec monstruositas ut in Trinitate sit unitas, et in unitate sit Trinitas?...

Ad primam objectionem sic respondemus; cum dicitur unus, vel unius naturae Deus est, nulla trium personarum excluditur, quia ipsae sunt unus Deus, et unius naturae, veluti dici potest de his vocibus adjectivis, albus, alba, album: qui profert enim unam, nullam aliarum vocum excludit, quia sunt unum nomen; nam, licet istae voces plures sunt, non tamen sunt plura nomina, sed unum, et unius institutionis nomen. Similiter tres personae sunt, unus et unius essentiae Deus. Quamvis enim in naturalibus verum sit, tot esse substantias vel naturas, quot sunt subsistentes personae; tamen qui naturam creavit, naturae subjectus non est; licet enim tres sint personae, unius tamen sunt naturae; quia si pluralitas esset naturarum, plura dicerentur esse rerum principia, quod abhorret fides catholica.⁴²

Understanding as Anselm did, that Jews do not accept the authority of the Christian Scriptures, Alan sought to employ philosophy to persuade them to accept the Church's understanding of God as Trinity. But note how unlike Anselm, Alan evinces a

strong sympathy for the Jewish point of departure, that is to say, how strange the Christian doctrine must first appear as seen through their eyes. The ability to place oneself in the shoes of those with whom one debates, represents an advance in the development of Christian psychology, as well as theology. Note further, how purposefully Alan couches his words so as to show commonality between his Jewish opponents and himself; notions that are abhorrent to their intellects are just as abhorrent to Catholic minds: “Quae est haec monstruositas ut in Trinitate sit unitas, et in unitate sit Trinitas?...quia si pluritas esset naturarum, plura dicerentur esse rerum principia, quod abhorret fides catholica.” Far from seeing Jews as less than reasonable, and therefore, less than human, Alan is capable of displaying a certain empathy and equality of intellectual capacity. But not only in these ways does Alan’s thought represent a progression in Christian conceptualization of “the Other,” he is also ahead of the curve by demonstrating familiarity with Jewish anti-Christian polemical arguments⁴³, and by going so far as to invoke an argument in his work—seemingly in his favor—from the Talmud itself:

In its greatest part the law has been abolished; it seems therefore that the law has no validity. Indeed in *Sehale* Elias says that the world will endure six thousand years—two thousand shall have been of vanity, which refers to the time before Mosaic Law, two thousand under Mosaic Law, and the following two thousand of the messianic age. But it is obvious that more than four thousand have passed; thus it is apparent that the law has passed and the messiah has come.⁴⁴

Amos Funkenstein, among others, sees Alan’s use of the Talmud as a critical step in the history of Christian polemic. As Cohen admits, “Alan’s *De fide* marks a new stage

in the role played by postbiblical, talmudic literature in Christian anti-Jewish polemic; for whereas Peter Alfonsi and Peter the Venerable condemned [contemporary] Judaism for its allegedly absurd rabbinic lore, the *De fide* cites a well-known talmudic homily in support of its claim that the messiah has already come.”⁴⁵ On the other hand, Cohen does not view one Jewish quotation as representative of any major transformation:

Alan’s writings contain no evidence of any personal familiarity with rabbinic literature. Making his sole reference to a passage in talmudic lore that he claimed bespoke the truth of Christianity, Alan hardly betrayed an awareness of the groundbreaking significance that Amos Funkenstein and others have attributed to his citation... The objections to Christianity refuted in the *De fide* may well reflect some knowledge of contemporary Jewish polemics, but the *De fide* adduces—and refutes—them in a highly theoretical non-confrontational mode of discourse. And although the *De fide* makes no reference whatsoever to the Augustinian doctrine of Jewish witness, it makes no suggestion that the Jews have outlived their distinctive function in Christendom. Whether or not Alan believed that the Jews served a purpose in a properly integrated Christian society, he certainly deemed them worthy of inclusion in his virtual summa on disbelief within that society.⁴⁶

It would be more appropriate to define Alan’s work not so much as a summa on disbelief in society, as a summa on *the sin* of disbelief in society. It is approaching Alan in entirely the wrong way to speak of whether he believed Jews had “outlived their distinctive function,” or “served a purpose in a properly integrated Christian society.”

Alan was a twelfth-century missionary, not a nineteenth-century utilitarian. He saw Jews as sinners, not as a social group, and it was their inclusion in the society of the saints in heaven that most concerned him. Alan saw his work as a Christian prelate as the continuation of the priestly mission of Christ himself: “He began to attack the fortress of the devil and to release some of his household to his own custody. For from the time that

he was born, he was sought for the Gentiles through the faith of the Magi, and he gradually destroyed the weapons of his formidably armed enemy, establishing a new fortress for himself: the Church. For through his preaching and the working of his virtue he converted those of the camp of the devil to his own camp—that is, he included them within the unity of the Church.”⁴⁷ Thus Alan preached to the Jews and the Muslims because he saw them as “weapons of his formidably armed enemy [Satan]” and simultaneously as “those taken captive by the devil to his own jurisdiction,” though originally “of his [God’s] household.” *This* is the trail blazing significance of Alan’s work: he sees *preaching* to Jews and Muslims as much a priority as preaching to lay Christians and heretics, because all sinners are the legitimate creation of God and should not be in the Devil’s possession. Alan was helping God take back His own.

As for those who would argue that we have no direct evidence that Alan ever preached to heretics, let alone, Jews and Muslims, it must be answered in reply that Alan’s medieval definition of “preaching” was less restrictive than our modern construct: “There are three kinds of preaching: that which is by the spoken word, of which it is said: ‘Go, preach the Gospel to every creature.’ *Another is by means of the written word, as when the Apostle says that he has ‘preached’ to the Corinthians because he has written them a letter.* The third is by deed, as it is said: ‘Every work of Christ is our instruction’”⁴⁸ (Emphasis mine). By Alan’s definition, his *De Fide* against Cathars, Waldensians, Jews, and Muslims is a work of preaching. And let us also re-emphasize that Alan did not view such preaching to the unconverted as “displacement” or “elimination” of an enemy, as Cohen asserts:

Changing circumstances led to a reclassification of the Jews along with other infidels, especially Muslims, and with heretics; they gave rise to a sense that Judaism constituted but one aspect of the disbelief that threatened the integrity of Christendom. In a word, a process of displacement had begun in Christian thought...The place accorded the Jews on Anselm of Canterbury's map of the world had surely been called into question and at times circumscribed, even if the poetic imagination of Alan of Lille had not yet eliminated it entirely.⁴⁹

Alan was clearly more concerned with the threat to the integrity of Jewish souls than with any danger they posed to Christian Europe. Alan and his circle at Paris were intensely interested in the revitalization of human souls. Penance and preaching were the inseparable hallmarks of all their social directives. Alan did not seek to displace or eliminate heretics, Jews, or Muslims on a spiritual, or secular level, his interest was in *their eternal welfare—a welfare he now equated with the same urgency as that of right-believing Christians*. This is Alan's contribution.

Far from contributing to any theoretical or practical marginalization of Jews, his works actually promoted tolerance, both in the medieval, and in the modern sense of the word. This is best shown in his repeated claims that neither Christian heretics nor Jews are to be killed or in any wise, molested, as he states in the *De Fide, Contra Waldenses*:

Et sicut iudex terrenus non usurpare officium ecclesiastici, ita nec ecclesiasticus terreni. Ecclesiam ergo defendere sanguinis reos, nihil aliud est quam eos non debere corporali poena punire, sed potius pro eis apud terrenum iudicem intercedere. Cum autem Dominus ait: Nolo mortem peccatoris (Ezech. 18), non intelligitur de morte corporis, sed de morte animae: non vult enim animae mortem, sed potius ut convertatur, et vivat spiritualiter. De Judaeis autem dicimus, quod non sunt occidendi. Si tamen laborent illis criminibus, pro quibus lex dictat hominem occidendum, iudex potest eos occidere, ut in hoc deserviat legi. Similiter, haeretici propter haeresim non sunt occidendi, sed propter characterem Christianum quem habent, ad caulam

Ecclesiae reducendi sunt.⁵⁰

Trout remarks of this statement: “Alan maintains that neither Jews nor heretics should be killed for their beliefs. Although *Contra haereticos* is directed to Moslems as well as Jews and heretics, he neglects to include Moslems in his plea for mercy. Perhaps Alan is absent minded. On the other hand, the omission might suggest that the work was written in the period of the Third Crusade, after the fall of Jerusalem.”⁵¹ The former is more likely the case, for in his *Liber poenitentialis*, Alan reiterates his protection of Jews and this time includes the “pagans,” his alternate expression for Muslims: “Si quis sine odii meditatione vel propter cupiditatem Judaeum aut paganum occiderit, quia ad imaginem Dei creatus est, et spem futurae conversionis extraxit, quadraginta dies in pane et aqua poeniteat.”⁵² Alan, of course, could only speak of that penance which the Church is able to administer, having already explained above the separation of the temporal and spiritual power in punishing offenders. What is more important, is that based on Alan’s statements above, it is hardly the case—as Cohen maintains—that Alan eliminated almost entirely the place accorded Jews in Christendom, or that he did so because they “threatened its integrity.”⁵³ He also insinuates that Alan would have made a good Dominican because of such beliefs. In Cohen’s assessment, Alan and the friars are ultimately responsible for the theological underpinning of a persecuting society:

Thus, as Moore has shown, leper, heretic, and Jew became virtually interchangeable designations in twelfth-century Christian taxonomies of society, exemplifying marginality and an impurity that threatened the fabric of Christian existence. At the end of the century, one encountered in Alan of Lille’s *De fide catholica contra haereticos* a new genre of polemical treatise,

which debated systematically and in turn heretics, Saracens, and Jews. Not long thereafter, the Dominican canonist Raymond of Penyafort followed the lead of Gratian and other twelfth-century masters by grouping together all “those who dishonor God by worshiping him vilely, namely Jews, Saracens, and heretics.”⁵⁴

To view Alan, or Raymond and the Order of Preachers through the lense of the dynamics of power and exclusion is to run the risk of importing modern societal suppositions into twelfth-century treatises, and of overlooking the presence of a distinct medieval construct of inclusion based on human sinfulness and divine redemption. As we have seen above, Alan believed that heretics, Jews, and Muslims were objectively guilty of the sin of offering improper worship to God, but in his handbook for confessors he makes it equally clear that although Jews and pagans are sinners, they are, nonetheless, human beings “created in the image and likeness of God,” and must not be violated, under pain of sin; Raymond of Peñafort shared this dual-outlook on the status of the unconverted, and again, where does Cohen find Raymond’s quotation? In a manual for priests in confession. Neither Alan nor Raymond viewed Jews as heretics, but as sinners. The scholastic syllogism runs thusly: all heretics are sinners, but not all sinners are heretics. As Evans writes: “Alan describes the Cathars as *haeretici temporis nostri*; the Waldensians are *haeretici* and their leader is a *haeresiarcha*, but the Jews and the Moslems are not strictly heretics. They do not call themselves Christians and Alan refers to the Jews as *Judaei* as though no further comment was required. The Moslems, he tells us, are called, vulgarly, *saraceni vel pagani*. Alan would not, then, want to call all the unbelievers to whom he addresses himself in the *Contra Haereticos* ‘heretics’.”⁵⁵

Given all of this, I cannot subscribe to Cohen’s, nor Abulafia’s assessment of the

twelfth-century precursors to the mendicants: "...what twelfth-century theologians had in common was their constructs of Christian universality and where they used reason they more often than not used it as that innate human quality that united mankind...Thus Jews emerged from their writings as human outsiders...the foundations were laid for the institutional marginalization of Jews in the thirteenth century and beyond."⁵⁶ It is a strange form of marginalization and human outsidership that defines Jews, not only as "living letters of the Law,"⁵⁷ but incarnated images of Almighty God Himself (*Judaeum aut paganum occiderit, quia ad imaginem Dei creatus est*⁵⁸). Alan's investigation of the theology of sin and repentance led him to further advance the budding theology of inclusion, not exclusion.

Anselm and Abelard had offered rational defenses of Christian theology for the benefit of non-Christian audiences, with Abelard in particular, attempting to persuade Jews to look beyond the Law of Moses in the attainment of moral perfection. Odo and Bartholomew went into even more detail: "if it is proper for us to exhort those who are fashioned in the faith to live better, surely we should recall the Jews," even holding "discussions with them for their own salvation." Alan's advance was to agitate for an active preaching apostolate, not only for the faithful, but for heretics, Jews, and other infidels. He considered them as deserving of pastoral attention as Christians, imbued with dignity by having been created in the image and likeness of God. On the practical level, Alan developed a more sophisticated Christian polemic, one that incorporated the objections of actual Jewish polemic, as well as verses from the Talmud itself.

The stage was set for the "coming of the friars."⁵⁹

Endnotes

Chapter Three: Paris, Penance, & Preaching, The Case of Alan of Lille

1. G. R. Evans, *Alan of Lille, the Frontiers of Theology in the Later Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983), 2-5; Alan of Lille, *The Art of Preaching*, trans. and ed. G.R. Evans (Kalamazoo, 1981), 3.
2. J. M. Trout, "Alan the Missionary," *Citeaux* 26 (1975): 147.
3. John W. Baldwin, "Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215, A Social Perspective." in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds., Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1982), 147; M. T. D'Alverny, *Alain de Lille, Textes Inédits*, (Paris, 1965), 17-18.
4. D'Alverny, 24-26.
5. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, & Merchants, the Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970), I, 48.
6. Little, 175.
7. Baldwin, 49.
8. *Ibid.*, II, 39 nt. 24.
9. D'Alverny, 148-49. "Il y a des rapports certains entre le plan du *Verbum abbreviatum* de Pierre le Chantre et l'*Ars praedicandi* d'Alain, ainsi que le montre le tableau suivant, où nous avons mis en regard les chapitres des deux auteurs dont les titres correspondent, mais il est difficile d'établir lequel a utilisé l'autre. Le *Verbum abbreviatum* est une somme de théologie pratique, et l'*Ars praedicandi* mérite aussi ce titre. Les mêmes préoccupations de pastorale, un égal souci de réformer l'Église en luttant contre les vices et les abus animent le zèle des deux maîtres...Il arrive aux deux auteurs d'alléguer les mêmes textes scripturaires, mais ils devaient se présenter naturellement à l'esprit de théologiens nourris de la Bible et des Pères à propos d'un même sujet...Le rapprochement le plus remarquable est sans doute la manière dont Pierre le Chantre et Alain envisagent la notion de paix, en distinguant la *pax temporis*, fausse sécurité du monde, la *pax pectoris*, tranquillité du cœur fondée sur la confiance en Dieu, et la *pax aeternitatis*, qui est celle de la béatitude éternelle. Si, comme il est probable, Alain a rédigé l'*Ars praedicandi* à la même époque que le *Liber poenitentialis*, qui est aussi une œuvre de théologie pastorale, les deux ouvrages doivent être à peu près contemporains."
10. Baldwin, 52-53. "The sacrament of penance...attracted the most attention from the Chanter and his followers...The discussion of specific cases for the

guidance of the confessor was the Chanter's and [Robert] Courson's important contribution to the medieval development of penance. By concentrating on individual and concrete moral questions Peter and Robert inspired the literature of the "Guides to Confessors." Both their general approach and many of their specific solutions were adopted by Robert of Flamborough, [and] Thomas of Chobham."

11. D'Alverny, 153-54.

12. Little, 193.

13. Ibid., 175.

14. Alain De Lille, *Liber Poenitentialis*, trans. and ed. Jean Longère *Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia* 18 (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1965), II, 168.

15. Morris, 74. "Traditionally, historians of ethics have stressed the neglect of the idea of intention by the Fathers, and its lack of development until the creative work of Abelard. Although his is certainly the most striking discussion of the subject, I would want to emphasize that the subject was one of general interest among his contemporaries, and that there is more material in monastic tradition than has often been recognized. The picture is therefore one which we find repeated on several occasions: twelfth-century writers recovered and expanded on a theme of earlier monastic thought, and Abelard stated in an extreme form ideas which were cautiously expressed by many other writers."

16. G. R. Evans, trans. *The Art of Preaching*, 120-22.

17. Longère, II, 168.

18. Ibid., 15.

19. Michaud-Quantin, 17.

20. "Nella nuova letteratura penitenziale delle *summae causuum* e dei manuali per confessori, malgrado rimanga intato l'interno complesso della metafora sanitaria applicata al sacramento (peccato come malattia, confessore come medico, ecc.), il compito del sacerdote viene presentato in primo luogo come forma d'esercizio di un potere giudiziario che spetta all'istituzione ecclesiastica nel *foro interno* della coscienza, come lo definiscono i canonisti...Un significativo risvolto di questa impostazione appare il fatto che, quando si apre il dibattito sul problema della conscientia erronea—vale a dire sul caso di colui che crede in buona fede di non commettere peccato con un specifico comportamento—l'unica soluzione additata è il deponere conscientiam, cioè accettare le indicazioni di coloro i quali, come predicatori, confessori e curati, sono incaricati di far conoscere la volontà divina non solo nei lineamenti generali, ma anche nei casi

specifici.” Roberto Rusconi, *L'ordine dei peccati, La confessione tra Medioevo ed età moderna*, (Bologna, 2002), 76-77.

21. G. R. Evans, *The Art of Preaching*, 146-49.
22. D'Alverny, 153.
23. Longère, 15-16.
24. G. R. Evans, *Frontiers of Theology*, 87-89.
25. Ibid, 103-04.
26. Ibid., 118.
27. Little, 122-23.
28. Ibid., 123.
29. Trout, 149; Cf. Christine Thouzellier, *Catharisme et Valdésisme en Languedoc à la fin du XII et en début du XIII siècle*, 2 edition (Louvain-Paris, 1969), 51.
30. Little, 123.
31. Reginald Ladner, O.P., “The Plight of Preaching in the Twelfth Century,” in *St. Dominic and his Work*, ed. Pierre Mandonnet, O.P. trans., Sr. Mary Benedicta Larkin, O.P. (St. Louis, B. Herder Book Co., 1944), 130.
32. Trout, 151.
33. Ibid, 150.
34. G. R. Evans, *Art of Preaching*, 15-16.
35. Ibid., 142.
36. Alan of Lille, *De Fide Catholica* II, PL 210: 258-59.
37. Trout, 148-49.
38. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 310-311; Cf. D'Alverny, 246-49 and Anselm's parable above, Chapter 2.
39. Cf. nt. 33.
40. Longère, 26.

41. *De Fide Catholica* IV, PL 210:430a.
42. *Ibid.*, 401-402.
43. Cf. David Berger, "Gilbert Crispin, Alan of Lille, and Jacob ben Reuben, A Study in the Transmission of Medieval Polemic," *Speculum* 49 (1974): 34-37.
44. Alan of Lille, *De Fide Catholica* III,10, PL 210: 410; as quoted in Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 309; David Berger first identified "*Sehale*" as the Babylonian Talmudic book, *Sanhedrin*, 97a. in his review of Cohen's *The Friars and the Jews*. However, the idea of a six thousand year world history may, in fact, be a rabbinic borrowing from early medieval Christian sources.
45. Cohen, 308-09.
46. *Ibid.*, 312.
47. Cf. Above, 83.
48. Evans, *Art of Preaching*, 120; Chap. 1.
49. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 312.
50. *De Fide Catholica*, PL 210:396c,d.
51. Trout, 149.
52. Longère, 77; *Liber poenitentialis*, II, 58.
53. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 312.
54. *Ibid.*, 157-58.
55. G. R. Evans, *Alan of Lille, The Frontiers*, 128.
56. A.S. Abulafia, "Twelfth-Century Renaissance Theology and the Jews," 139.
57. Bernard of Clairvaux; Cf. Cohen, Chap. 6.
58. Longère, 77; *Liber Poenitentialis*, II, 58.
59. Thomas of Eccleston, Thirteenth-century English chronicler.

**Chapter Four:
The Pastoral Vacuum and the Dogs**

“Preachers need knowledge...[but] there is a certain cultivated ignorance, when someone is able to learn and chooses not to; this is stupid and lazy and easily put right; therefore it is inexcusable.”¹ So Alan of Lille lamented the state of the clergy of his time for their neglect of education and their lack of enthusiasm for preaching. Alan sees such spiritual sloth as a betrayal of their calling to be Christ to others, and to underscore his point, he compares this mediocrity of the clergy to the muzzling of canines:

They are priests and prophets without reason, teachers of impossibilities, guessing at secrets. O vile ignorance, abominable folly, which imposes silence upon the prelate, and makes our watchdog, that is the shepherd, mute; this is the frog which, when it is thrust into a dog’s mouth, silences his barking. The prelates of our time seat themselves upon a throne before they are instructed beneath the birch: they don the robes of a Master before they undertake the hard work of the student. They choose to be eminent, not to be useful; the reward of honor, not the burden of hard work. To such a prelate it can be said: “Physician, heal yourself.”

Orator, plead for yourself; you who are a vicar of Christ, imitate his work, who “Began to do and to teach.” He who teaches but does not do, defiles Christ. He lays on those subject to him an unbearable burden, yet he is not willing to put out a finger to move it.

Some hide in a handkerchief the talent of divine wisdom which has been committed to them—that is, those who, out of idleness, do not wish to preach. Some hide it in the dung-heap—that is, those who in their deeds contradict their own words; others hide it in the mud—those who hide the word out of envy.

Alan was not alone in his fulmination against the failure of pastors to preach, nor

was he the only one to employ dog-imagery in doing so. It seems even hell itself, could find no better epithet for the priest who neglected his preaching than “dumb dog”:

But to the confusion and ignominy of the *prelati* and of those who ought to have instructed the people, the Lord preached the truth of the Gospel, or permitted it to be preached, through an evil spirit in a certain demoniac, who was then in Germany. When the latter was asked what his name was, or (*vel*) by whose authority he presumed to preach and to teach the people, he would reply: ‘My name is Pen-in-ink. For I am compelled by the Lord to preach the truth to shame (*in contemptum*) the dumb dogs who are unable to bark, and because I am unable to say anything except what is true and deserves to be written down, Pen-in-ink is my name.’²

The above account is included by James of Vitry in his *Historia occidentalis*. We are indebted to James for his reporting of the diverse social movements that marked the first half of the thirteenth century. Among the more noteworthy, James has much to tell about the Humiliati, Waldensians, Cathars, Beguines, Dominicans, and Franciscans. In his youth, the future bishop of Acre was part of the same Parisian circle as Peter the Chanter and Alan of Lille.³

James imbibed his interest in moral theology from these masters, as well as his critique of the clergy. D’Avray writes of the Chanter and his *Verbum Abbreviatum*: “Pierre le Chantre...filled a whole section of his best-known work with Scriptural texts ‘Against the evil silence (*taciturnitatem*) especially of *prelati*,’ and mentions as one sort of ‘evil silence’ their failure to preach.”⁴ James of Vitry continues this theme in Chapter Five of the *Historia*, entitled: “The Negligence and Sins of Prelates,” which is taken almost verbatim, from the title of the Chanter’s work on the subject. In the first four chapters, James describes the sins of Christendom, where everyone from usurers to

princes is weighed in the scales and found wanting; at the outset of the fifth chapter, he sums up why: “The cause of all these evils is found in the bad morals, deficiencies and ignorance of prelates...”⁵

By the dawn of the thirteenth century, not only the literati of Paris, but the curia of Rome were aware of a pastoral vacuum, sustained by the negligence of bishops and priests, and filled by only-too-eager groups of “heretics.” So Innocent III assesses the scene, invoking again, a now familiar canine theme: “Since the dogs of the flock do not bark, the (heretics) themselves bark, not that they may ward off the attacks of the wolf, but rather that they may cause the flock to stray away.”⁶ Apparently, the heretics themselves viewed their ministry in the same light: bearing a burden the clergy refuse to shoulder. “The Apostle [Paul] rejoices, whatever way Christ is preached, whether through the wicked or through the good, with a right intention or a wrong one. Why, then, should not the bishops also rejoice when Christ is preached by us? But they contradict us.”⁷ Such was the Waldensian lament. As for the Cathars, they went so far as to create their own independent episcopal administration and sacramental system. To cite one example:

In 1167, in the month of May, Pope Niquinta gathered the Church of Toulouse in the town of St-Félix, and a great crowd of men and women from the church of Toulouse and from other churches nearby collected there to receive the consolamentum, which the lord Pope Niquinta undertook to administer... When all this countless number was gathered, the men of the church of Toulouse wished to have a bishop and they elected Bernard Raimund... Afterwards Robert d'Épernon received the consolamentum and the order of bishop from the lord Pope Niquinta so as to be bishop of the Church in north France; similarly Sicardus the Cellarer received the consolamentum and was ordained bishop of the church of Albi; Marc received the consolamentum and was ordained

bishop of Lombardy; Bernard Raimund received the consolamentum and was ordained bishop of the church of Toulouse...⁸

Further information on the structure of the Cathar church and its sacraments comes to us from Rainer Sacconi, who was a practicing member for seventeen years before his conversion to Catholicism and subsequent entry into the Dominican Order. When Rainer, writing around the year 1250, describes their rituals, he cannot refrain from discussing their theology—or lack thereof. The Cathars, or Albigensians, are essentially dualists, because the majority maintain that the material world is the creation of the Devil, and only the world of spirit is good, the creation of God. From the Catholic point of view, this unusual dogmatic theology leads to an even more problematic sacramental theology. Sacraments, properly understood, are material signs that impart immaterial grace. As Christ was true God and true man, so too his sacraments are truly grace-filled, and yet, truly contain a physical mechanism through which the grace is imparted. From Rainer's point of view "Cathar sacraments" was a contradiction in terms, since the Albigensians already decried as evil, the fleshly hands through which supernatural goodness flows. Thus, for Rainer, their attempt to administer sacraments, could only be compared to the mimic of monkeys:

The sacraments of the Cathars. The Cathars, after the manner of apes, who try to imitate the acts of men, have four sacraments, though these are false and void, illicit and sacrilegious. They are: the laying on of hands, the blessing of bread, penance and ordination...The laying on of hands is called by them consolamentum and spiritual baptism, or the baptism of the Holy Spirit, without which, according to them, neither is mortal sin remitted nor the Holy Spirit given to anyone, but by its efficacy alone are both conferred. However the Albanenses hold in this an opinion a little different from the others. These say

that the hand itself does nothing, because it has been created by the devil according to them...but the Lord's prayer which they say when they lay on the hands is alone effective. All the other Cathars say that both are necessary and required, the laying on of hands and the prayer. It is also the common opinion of all the Cathars that through this laying on of hands there is no remission of sins if those who lay on their hands are then in mortal sin themselves. This laying on of hands must be done by two at least, not only by their prelates but also by their juniors and in case of necessity by Cathar ladies.⁹

Let us observe from the above the Cathar preoccupation with sin—or should we say Dominican Friar Rainer Sacconi's preoccupation with it? It is noteworthy how he emphasizes the role of sin in Cathar theology and it should come as no surprise that of the four Cathar sacraments, he treats of penance at greatest length and with greatest passion:

The penance of the Cathars is absolutely false and vain, deceitful and poisonous, as will be hereafter shown. For three things are required in true penance, contrition of heart, confession of mouth and satisfaction of work. I, brother Rainer, once a leader of heretics, now by God's grace a priest in the Order of Preachers, though unworthy, say unhesitatingly and testify before God, who knows that I do not lie, that nothing of these three is to be found among the Cathars or in their penance. The poison of error which they have drunk from the mouth of the old serpent does not permit them to have any sorrow for their sins. Here is a quadruple error: that the eternal felicity is not lessened for a penitent sinner on account of any sin he may have committed; that the pains of hell are not increased by lack of penitence; that the fire of purgatory is reserved for no one; but that by the laying on of hands both guilt and punishment are completely assuaged by God. The traitor Judas is not more gravely punished than an infant a day old, but all will be in glory and in punishment, as they believe, except the Albanenses, who say that all will be restored to their original condition, though not on account of their own merits, and that in each kingdom, that of God and of the devil, that is, some are greater than others...

It is clearly proved that they do not grieve for their sins, committed before their profession of heresy, since none of the men make restitution for usury, theft or rapine: they keep the fruits of these themselves or rather give them up to sons or nephews remaining in the world. They even say that usury is not a sin...

Moreover I can say without doubt that during the seventeen years I lived with them I never saw a single one of them pray secretly by himself, or show himself sorry for his sins, either by weeping or beating his breast and saying: "God be merciful to me a sinner," or anything similar that might be taken as a sign of contrition. They never implore the help or patronage of the angels or of the blessed Virgin or the saints and they never fortify themselves with the sign of the cross...¹⁰

Clearly, in addressing the heretics, the theology of sin and repentance is uppermost in Rainer's mind. But was it equally so in the minds of Cathars? It is difficult to assess how much weight should be given to Rainer's claims about Cathar spirituality. On the one hand, if he had truly been a member (and eventual "leader") for seventeen years, it would stand to reason that his observations are more accurate than not. On the other hand, the testimony of other hostile witnesses paint the Cathars in a remarkably better light. We might take for example, the reports of the Franciscan Friar James Capelli, who wrote around the year 1240. Though never a Cathar himself, he claims to be quite familiar with their habits:

Certainly the rumour of the fornication that is said to flourish among them is most false. It is quite true that once a month, either in the day or at night, so as to head off popular gossip, both men and women gather together, not to fornicate as some falsely suggest, but that they may hear preaching and make confession of their sins to their leader [*prelato*], as if by his prayer forgiveness for their sins would follow. They are unjustly torn apart in common talk with false charges of blasphemy, being accused of countless shameful and horrid acts of which they are innocent...From experience we assert that this is untrue and we urge that no one believe that they perpetuate such...shameful act[s]. For we know that they consider what they do to be good and indeed many things that they do are in the nature of good works; in fasts, in frequent prayer, in vigils, in sparseness of food and clothing, and—as I must truly confess—in austerity of abstinence, they surpass virtually all other religious.¹¹

It is significant that Capelli goes so far as to consider these heretical lay-folk as even more perfect than Catholic monks or priests. Clearly many, if not most, of the members of the Cathar church were genuinely interested in a life of holiness and in imitation of the sinless Apostolic ideal of Christianity. Indeed, the title “*Perfecti*,” was given to those who had committed themselves wholly to the observance of the Cathar way of life. Perfection was a process that required an initiation, again, modeled on the manner of the primitive Church.¹²

In their expression of lay piety, the Cathars took upon themselves what they were not receiving from their Catholic pastors: preaching on the words of the Lord’s Prayer and the remission of sin. Preaching on Sunday was not imposed as an obligation on every parish priest until the Counter Reformation, but local councils towards the turn of the century did encourage them to pray the Our Father, the Apostles Creed, and the Hail Mary with their flock and to explain their meaning to them.¹³

Where holiness lacked promulgation by prelates, it found an enthusiastic backing from an ever-more-capable laity. In 1218 James of Vitry gave the following evaluation of lay piety: “Not only those who renounce the world and go into religion are *regulares*, but so are all the faithful of Christ who serve the Lord under the Gospel’s rule and live by the orders of the single greatest Abbot or Father of all.”¹⁴ Or as D’Avray puts it:

Jacques [de Vitry] might also have mentioned the competition from heretics, for both the Waldensians and the Cathars were zealous in their preaching... The success of both heretical preachers and Jacques de Vitry’s “pseudo-preachers” suggests that the period around 1200 was a critical point in the history of the relations between popular religion and the institutional Church. Almost any kind of wandering preacher, it would seem, had a chance of winning a

following—one has the impression of a religious atmosphere unusually favorable to preaching of any kind, heretical or orthodox. In this atmosphere the medium was probably more powerful than the precise message. Jacques condemns evil preachers for taking in “lay people...and the simple, and over-credulous women;” it must have been easy to put a match to religious enthusiasm in the small crowded towns where they would have operated. Whether or not contemporaries were aware of it, there was a race between the institutional Church and its rivals to direct the unstable piety of the towns.¹⁵

As the thought of Alan of Lille, Peter Chanter, and James of Vitry all testify, what was needed in Christendom was preaching and confession for the vulgar masses—by those authorized to do so, for the unauthorized were quickly taking up their slack. In the *Historia occidentalis*, for example, James has nothing but praise for an actual Catholic preacher, Fulk de Neuilly.¹⁶

In singing Fulk’s praises, James of Vitry does not miss the opportunity of invoking dog-imagery:

Cependent Foulques ne recevait pas en vain la grâce de Dieu; il s’appliquait consciencieusement et avec ardeur à multiplier les fruits du talent qui lui avait été confié. Il souffrait de la faim comme un chien et tournait autour de la ville. Plus encore, parcourant tout le royaume de France et une grande partie de l’Empire dans l’impétuosité de son souffle il fracassait d’un souffle violent les vaisseaux de Tarsis, insistant à temps et à contratemps. Comme oubliant le chemin parcouru, il était tendu vers ce qui se trouvait devant lui. Ne refusant pas le sang à son épée elle-même au côté, allant et venant de porte en porte au milieu du camp, sans faire aucune acception des personnes, il livrait les combats du Seigneur avec les armes de justice de droite et de gauche. De même qu’un chien vivant vaut mieux qu’un lion mort, il ne cessait d’écarter par ses aboiements les loups de la bergerie du Seigneur. Il nourrissait les ignorants de la parole doctrinale, réconfortait ceux qui étaient désemparés par la parole de consolation, il instruisait et informait: ceux qui étaient en proie au doute par des paroles de conseil, ceux qui résistaient avec un langage plein de blâme, ceux qui erraient par des réprimandes, les paresseux par des paroles d’exhortation, les débutants par des paroles d’avertissement. Comme il brûlait d’ardeur, il lui suffisait de quelques simples mots pour embraser toute la population, non

seulement les petites gens, mais aussi les rois et les grands, à tel point que nul n'osait ni ne pouvait lui résister.¹⁷

No doubt had Fulk lived a little longer, he too, would have ended a Dominican friar. As we shall shortly encounter, Fulk's devotion to moral doctrine, popular preaching, and the care of souls, bear all the hallmarks of the praise Dominic was himself to receive. Indeed, as we shall see, it was ultimately to Paris and its "concern for practical moral problems" that Dominic was to turn for fresh recruits for his fledgling Order. It was here that he and Jordan of Saxony would find the confessors and preachers they sought.¹⁸ As Little puts it:

Those who studied with Peter [Chanter] included a future cardinal, Robert of Courçon, a future archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, and the famous preachers Fulk of Neuilly and James of Vitry. These men discussed, for example, the legitimacy of the activities of judges, notaries, merchants, teachers, and physicians...In the end they did not by any means approve all such activities, but they prepared the way for the spiritual justification of merchants and professionals that the thirteenth century theologians were going to develop. Thus, the educational scene on which the friars arrived shortly before 1220 was dominated by the urban school, an institution where grammar and logic had been brought to bear on theology and law, and where theologians and lawyers were devoting much of their effort to investigating and resolving contemporary social problems.¹⁹

Again we see that *the study of sin* is the undeniable *impetus* for pastoral approaches to laymen and women, heretics, and ultimately, even to non-Christians. Paris, as we have shown, not only diagnosed the "malady," but practiced the "remedy." Fulk's itinerant preaching, for example, has just been noted. As attested in the previous chapter, there is evidence that Alan of Lille preached morality to both lay and heretical

Christians in southern France. As Trout cites: “The thirteenth century anecdotalist Étienne de Bourbon tells of a ‘magister Alanus’ of Montpellier who informs some of the local knights that the height of chivalry is liberality in giving and doing good, while the greatest ‘rusticitas’ lies in doing harm to the poor. This corresponds to Alan’s sentiments expressed in the ‘*sermo ad milites*’ in his *Summa de arte praedicatoria*.”²⁰ It should surprise no one that Étienne de Bourbon was a Dominican friar.

James of Vitry also earned quite a reputation as a preacher, from Milan to the Midi:

À partir de 1211, Jacques de Vitry déploie une intense activité de prédicateur...s’engage tout d’abord dans la prédication contre les Albigeois... Vincent de De Beauvais fait un éloge appuyé de Jacques de Vitry en tant que prédicateur, en France, de la croisade anti-albigeoise et il lui attribue un rôle important dans le succès obtenu par les appels de la papauté pour cette cause... En janvier 1213, Innocent III appelle à une nouvelle croisade pour la Terre sainte. Dans ses *Annales*, Renier, moine de l’abbaye de Saint-Jacques, signale le grand succès obtenu, cette foi, par les prédicateurs de Liège.²¹

Pope Innocent III was no stranger to Paris himself, nor were his missions to heretics and pagans always of a military nature. As D’Avray points out, Innocent was more than a monarch, he had once been a theology student at Paris, and this may explain his enthusiastic support of public preaching.²² Mention has already been made in the previous chapter of the papal mission to convert the Cathars conducted by Cistercians acting as official legates during the years 1178-1182. A few short months after Innocent ascended the throne in 1198, he too, dispatched trusted Cistercians in an effort to turn back the heretics in southern France.²³

For years the masters at Paris and the popes at Rome had made repeated appeals for the most learned and holiest of churchmen to take up the great pastoral project of ministering to lay souls. The best and brightest in the Church at the turn of the thirteenth century were the Cistercian monks. Alan of Lille and Innocent III were only two of their more prominent admirers. Nevertheless, the care of lay souls was not in their original charter, save for the need to constantly pray for them and provide charity when needed. Alan, by suggesting the use of the Cistercians, and the popes, by their practical implementation of them, were actually using them against their intended monastic purposes (Though not a Cistercian, Anselm's warning to novices about mixing with the world still resonates). Even the more zealous among the order who embraced a pastoral mandate, fell under the criticism of their brothers:

Another task which Innocent III assigned to the Cistercians was...a question of...missionary activities in East Prussia. In a letter to the Archbishop of Gnesen the Pope recommended some Cistercian monks who had carried on a promising apostolate. These religious were decried by some of their own brethren who contended for observance and maintained that the purpose of the order was incompatible with the ministry of souls; the Pope took occasion to write about it in 1212 to the general chapter of the abbots. He ordered them to raise no obstacle to the apostolic work of the Archbishop of Gnesen, but, on the contrary, to give him brothers for his field of labor and in every way possible to support the project in East Prussia. He likewise recommended to the benevolence of the abbots the Cistercian missionaries in Pomerania and Poland.²⁴

Note that it is an archbishop who appeals to Pope Innocent for laborers for his vineyard. The job of shepherding souls was the primary duty of bishops (and by extension, their priests and presbyters), not monks; though a humble bishop from Osma, Spain and his trusted priest-in-arms, Dominic, were about to tinker with that distinction.

Ironically, they too wished to preach to the pagans in the East, but were turned down by that very pontiff so eager for recruits. The pair had come to Rome in 1205-1206 via a diplomatic mission in Denmark. Their missionary request denied, the two prelates left Rome to return to Spain, but first they stopped at Montpellier, where they encountered Innocent's legates to the Cathars. The following is a contemporary account of the meeting between Diego (and Dominic) and the Cistercians by the Cistercian historian, Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay:

There he found the venerable man Arnold, Abbot of Cîteaux, and Brother Peter of Castelnau and Brother Ralph, Cistercian monks, legates of the Apostolic See. Out of discouragement they were wanting to abandon the mission confided to them, for they had been able to gain nothing or practically nothing by their preaching to the heretics. Whenever they wished to preach to these heretics, the heretics brought up the scandalous behavior of the clergy; were they to choose to correct the lives of the clerics, they would have to take time away from their preaching. In the face of such a dilemma, the famous bishop [Diego] gave some helpful advice. He counseled and urged that, putting everything else aside, they throw themselves even more fervently into their preaching. Moreover, so as to clamp shut the mouths of the evil, they should follow and teach the example of the Pious Master, proceeding in all humility, going on foot, with neither gold nor silver, imitating in everything they did the apostolic way. But the legates, not wishing on their own to latch on to these ways, which they saw as quite innovative, did state that if some duly authorized person wished to go ahead of them and show the way, they would follow him most willingly.²⁵

Bishop Diego was confident that meeting the Cathars on their own terms would have the desired effect of turning them back to the fold of the faithful. He had already witnessed how, on a previous stop in Toulouse, en route to Scandinavia, the Scriptural sagacity and personal sincerity of his priest Dominic, had managed to convert one obstinate Albigensian innkeeper in just one sleepless night's stay. What was needed was

more of that ability to put oneself out for the sake of another, that is to say, authentic *caritas*, in imitation of Christ. With this goal of true pastorship in mind, Diego and Dominic worked in tandem with two remaining Cistercians, and in the spring of 1207, Abbot Arnold returned with twelve more abbots willing to follow Diego's program of voluntary poverty and preaching. Over the course of a year-and-a-half, the little group met with some success against the heretics, until a series of untimely deaths threatened to kill the whole enterprise. As Little relates:

The new form of mission scored some isolated successes, for example with the Cathars in Montreal in 1207 and with the Waldensians...at Pamiers in the same year. But then Ralph of Fontfroide died in September 1207, and later in the autumn Diego returned to Osma to tend to his duties there, though with the firm intention of returning to the anti-Cathar mission and of bolstering it with some of the resources of his diocese. The mission instead suffered a series of setbacks. Diego died at home on December 30, 1207. Two weeks later Peter of Castelnau was assassinated and Rome reacted by putting in motion the machinery of a crusade.²⁶

Dominic had been thrust into heading the mission in Diego's absence, and now in the earliest weeks of his new leadership he was facing a crisis with the potential to undo all the collective labor of their previous two years of work.

What sort of man had Diego left in charge? What ideology motivated Dominic and his work? Jordan of Saxony, the man who would succeed Dominic as head of the order he would one day found, has much to tell us on both these points. As a young canon regular of Diego's cathedral church, Dominic sought his inspiration in the example of Christ's total self-sacrifice for others:

Frequently and particularly he prayed that God would deign to give him true charity, efficacious to help and assure the salvation of men; for he thought he would only be a true member of Christ when he spent himself wholly, to the limits of his strength, for the welfare of men's souls, as the Savior of all, the Lord Jesus, offered himself for our salvation. He read a book called the *Conferences of the Fathers*, which treats of the vices and every point of spiritual perfection; he read it, I say, and loved to trace the paths of salvation in it, and strove to follow them with the full force of his mind. The book advanced him with grace's aid to a strong purity of conscience, to an ample light of contemplation, to the pitch of perfection..²⁷

It should come as no surprise that Dominic's study of avoiding vice and advancing in virtue (theology of sin and repentance), animated him to seek the spiritual welfare of others (theology of mission/inclusion). He represents in microcosm, the macrocosm we have been investigating. As a devout Catholic, Dominic believed in the theological doctrine known as the "Mystical Body of Christ." This unusual dogma maintains that Christ actually has two bodies: one that died on the cross and rose again hundreds of years ago, and another that exists in contemporary society made up of the community of the faithful. The dogma is not meant as a poetic metaphor, but a supernatural reality; the second body is to be identified with the person of Jesus Christ as much as his own flesh. Thus, Diego and Dominic held it on faith that once Christian, they really no longer lived, but that Christ lived in them. So Jordan speaks of Dominic as "a true member of Christ" in much the same way as we might say the individual cells in our bodies belong to us. The cell expends itself on our behalf and dies, but in doing so the greater organism lives on.

It is also a Church dogma that the death of Christ was essentially an act of love for every created human being: "Greater love hath no man than to lay down his life for

his friends.” Dominic sought to practice this *caritas*, or supernatural love for others, even to the point of his own demise, in imitation of his Master. This theme recurs throughout Jordan’s hagiography, but stands out with special relief, for example, during the war years when the threat of violence was always imminent, even among non-combatants:

At the time when the crusaders had taken the Cross, brother Dominic remained a sedulous preacher of God’s word till the death of the count de Monfort. How great were the injuries he received from the wicked in those days! Their snares he also spurned. On one occasion they threatened him with death, and he replied unperturbed: “I am not worthy of the glory of martyrdom; I have not yet earned this death.” Later, passing a place in which he suspected there might be an ambush laid for him, he sang and went on his way eagerly. When this was told to the heretics, they wondered at his unshakable firmness of purpose, and said to him: “Do you not fear death? What would you have done, had we seized you?” But he replied: “I would have asked you not to kill me quickly with sudden wounds, but to draw out my martyrdom by tearing my limbs one by one; then to show me each piece of my limbs before my eyes; afterwards to tear my eyes out and leave my trunk thus lying in its own blood, or wholly destroy it. By this lingering death I would earn a greater crown of martyrdom.” The enemies of truth were astonished at his words and laid no further ambush for him nor plotted against the life of the righteous man, since death would be a boon to him rather than bring him harm. He himself strove with all his strength and most fervent zeal to win for Christ the souls he could; and there came to be within his heart a wonderful, almost unbelievable, longing for the salvation of all.²⁸

“Longing for the salvation of all,” meant that Dominic saw every human being, even his religious adversaries, as precious in God’s eyes and therefore, worth the effort of spiritual saving. It would even appear, according to one account, that hell itself, was not unworthy of Dominic’s sympathy: “Blessed Dominic had such charity that he wanted to extend it to everybody, even the damned, and he used sometimes to weep for them.”²⁹

So Brother Ventura of Verona, prior of the Dominican convent in Bologna later testified under oath during Dominic's canonization proceedings.

Dominic's charity for souls, particularly, non-Christian ones, must have been a strong penchant, indeed, for several others repeatedly swear to it; firstly, Brother William of Monferrato: "Going to Rome once, when I was still in the world, I went to stay in the house of the bishop of Ostia,...and there I consorted with brother Dominic who used to come and see the cardinal frequently, and I recognized him as a holy man and I liked his way of life. I began to love him and I often spoke with him about the salvation of others...I went to Paris to study theology for two years, and there I received the habit of the Preachers from the blessed Dominic, although we had previously agreed to go and convert unbelievers."³⁰ Brother Rudolph of Faenza's sworn testimony amplifies this point: "I never saw a man whose service of God pleased me more than did that of the blessed Dominic. He longed for the salvation of all men, including Christians and Saracens, and especially the Cumans, to whom he wanted to go."³¹ Brother Paul of Venice adds: "He longed jealously for the salvation of believers and unbelievers alike. He sometimes said to me, 'When we have established our Order, we shall go to the Cumans and preach the faith of Christ and win them for the Lord.'³² Lastly, Brother Frugerio of Pennabilli reiterates these points: "He was zealous for souls, not only those of Christians, but also Saracens and other unbelievers. As evidence of this, he proposed to go to the pagans and die there for the faith, once he had organized his brethren."³³

Cognizant of Dominic's motivations, we can proceed to examine his methods.

The good priest and his little band labored in Languedoc for another ten years after

Diego's death. Unfortunately, the friars who testified to Dominic's sanctity tell us next to nothing about his days among the Cathars. Friar Jordan is practically our only contemporary source, and he has surprisingly little to say on the matter himself. What he does have to say, however, is quite tantalizing as far as the focus of our investigation is concerned:

There were frequent disputations under chosen judges at Pamiers, Lavaur, Montreal and Fanjeaux; and on the days appointed noblemen, knights, women and common folk came wanting to be present at the discussion of the faith. It happened that one particular celebrated disputation was arranged at Fanjeaux; for which a large throng of faithful and heretics gathered. Several of the faithful prepared pamphlets first, laying out arguments and authorities to confirm their faith; when they had all been examined the blessed Dominic's leaflet was reckoned the best and received general approval, and was laid before the three judges chosen to determine the disputation by the consent of the parties, beside the heretics' leaflet, which they had written on their own account. The aim was that whichever party's leaflet was reckoned by the judges the more reasonable, their faith should be accepted as superior. After much dispute the judges could not agree to support either party, and they fell on the plan of throwing both leaflets into a fire, so that if either was not burned it would doubtless contain the true faith. And so a large fire was kindled, and they threw in both leaflets. The heretics' book was immediately consumed, but the other, written by Dominic, the man of God, not only remained unharmed, but leapt a great distance out of the flames in the presence of all. It was thrown in a second, and a third time, and each time was thrown out of the fire; and so it demonstrated openly the truth of the faith and the holiness of the man who had written the leaflet...³⁴

The element of the supernatural aside, there is much that is tangible that we can take away from Jordan's hagiography. In the first place, let us note how the writing of polemical literature is an important part of the "preaching" of Dominic and his following. It is obvious that they held with Alan of Lille that "there are three kinds of preaching: that which is by spoken word...Another is by means of the written word, as

when the Apostle says that he has ‘preached’ to the Corinthians because he has written them a letter. The third is by deed...” They also, evidently, maintained with Alan that preaching is to be directed to persons of every estate. Jordan says that “noblemen, knights, women and common folk” were all present for these preaching events, “a large throng of faithful and heretics gathered.”

What is even more remarkable, is that we learn that *public disputations* were an essential activity of the embryonic Dominican Order. Jordan writes that they happened regularly and in many different towns: “There were frequent disputations under chosen judges at Pamiers, Lavaur, Montreal and Fanjeaux.” Lastly, let us observe that the early Dominicans believed that their religious opposition ought to be given the chance to lay out its best arguments in an impartial fight, and that above all, “reasonableness” should be the deciding criterion that proves the truth of the faith of the winner. The importance of this early Dominican evidence cannot be overstated. We have chronicled before us here, essentially, all the methods and tactics to be employed later by Friar Raymond of Peñafort and his associates in their mission to the Jews (and Muslims) of Spain. Raymond shared the methods of his founder and predecessor, and he also shared his motivations. As we shall examine in more detail in the next chapter, Raymond was clearly as profoundly interested in the theology of sin and repentance as Alan of Lille or Dominc of Osma. It is unnecessary to posit “a new Christian ideology with regard to the Jews, one that allotted the Jews no legitimate right to exist in European society,” as Cohen does. Nor is it entirely accurate, or in keeping with the facts which our analysis has uncovered to say that either of these men were primarily prompted by the “desire to

provide a more homogeneous Christian environment,” by ridding Europe of its religious adversaries, as Chazan repeatedly argues. This was, at least in part, the motivation of the Albigensian crusaders, but not that of Dominic and his missionaries. From every source available to us, it is obvious that Canon Dominic of Osma (along with the Parisian masters of theology we have examined), was intensely interested in sin and repentance, and the *eternal* welfare of others, not in social engineering to create a perfectly homogeneous temporal realm. I maintain that a fully-developed theology of sin and repentance is, virtually, the only ideology behind the missionary overtures of Dominic and Raymond to non-Christians. Let us cite further evidence to this effect for the case of the disputations between Dominic and the Cathars:

On one occasion a public debate was organized against the heretics. The local bishop proposed to go to it with an imposing entourage, but St. Dominic said to him, “No, my lord and father, that is not the way to go to meet such people. The heretics are to be convinced by an example of humility and other virtues far more readily than by any external display or verbal battles. So let us arm ourselves with devout prayers and set off showing signs of genuine humility and barefooted to combat Goliath.” The bishop accepted...and he sent his equipage away and they set off barefooted. The place they were going to was many miles away. On the way there they began to be uncertain of their route, so they asked the way of someone they thought was a Catholic, but in fact he was a heretic. “Certainly,” he said, “Not only will I show you the way, I shall be delighted to escort you there myself.” While he was taking them through a wood somewhere, he led them astray so viciously, through thorns and thistles, that their feet and legs became quite covered in blood. The man of God endured all this with the utmost patience; breaking out into a hymn of praise to God, he encouraged the others to praise God too and to be patient. “My friends,” he said, “hope in the Lord. Victory will be ours, because even now our sins are being washed away in blood.” The heretic saw their extraordinary and blissful patience, and he was pricked with compunction at the good words spoken by the man of God, so he admitted the poisonous way he had deceived them, and renounced his heresy. When they reached the place of the debate, everything came to a satisfactory conclusion.³⁵

This episode is told in Gerald de Frachet's *Lives of the Brethren*. Gerald entered the Order in 1225 in Paris and was provincial of Provence from 1251-59. His remarks about Dominic advising the local bishop to send away his ostentatious entourage would appear to be a hagiographical echo of Diego suggesting the Cistercians have done with their refinement and retinue.³⁶ What matters most for our purposes, however, is that alongside voluntary poverty, Dominic's preoccupation with freedom from sin, was an equally important theme that was handed down to future friars and incorporated into the early histories of the Order. What is significant for us is that the disputation with non-Catholics takes place within the larger context of sin and penance. Dominic and his followers believed in the Church's doctrine that acts of mortification were efficacious for freeing not only oneself from sin, but for obtaining pardon for others as well.

This doctrine of co-redemptive penance on behalf of one's neighbor (also known as the communion of saints) is a corollary of the dogma of the Mystical Body. Because the individual believer is a "member of Christ's body," his suffering may be offered in union with Christ's suffering, and so effect the conversion and salvation of sinners. The Scriptural authority for this doctrine stems especially from the Pauline epistles, as in Colossians: "And you, whereas you were some time alienated and enemies... Yet now he [Christ] has reconciled in the body of his flesh through death, to present you holy and unspotted... I, Paul, am made a minister. Who now rejoices in my sufferings for you and fill up those things that are lacking in the sufferings of Christ," (Col. 1:21-24) as if to say, the humanity of Christ has not fully suffered and died, until all Christians have done so.

This theme occurs again in Romans, “Now if we are children [of God], then we are heirs of God and co-heirs with Christ, if indeed we share in his sufferings in order that we may also share in his glory” (Rom.8:17). This means that the individual Christian can “offer-up” his daily sufferings to God, in union with Christ’s sacrificial offering, and so obtain the grace of pardon for himself and the rest of sinful humanity. Dominic and his Order had a particular devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary in this regard. Mary was viewed as the first “co-heir” of Christ, who united her sufferings to her son’s, to save sinners. Thus the Church applied the term “Co-Redemptrix,” to her, as she has a vital role to play united with Jesus the Redeemer in saving souls. Indeed, according to Gerald’s story, the blood which Dominic and his company shed is an example of co-redemptive penance and is responsible (along with their example) for the grace of conversion which God sends to their Cathar guide. This in fact, is not the only hagiographical episode in which this penitential form of spirituality is practiced by Dominic. Besides stories of chains and hair-shirts, there is the anecdotal remark of John of Spain, one of the few who actually preached alongside Dominic among the Cathars: “When he [Dominic] was traveling from one land to another, he took his shoes off, and when he arrived anywhere he put them on again, and he did this in all the towns and villages he came to...He used to get great delight from anything untoward that happened to him on the way. For example, if he tripped over a stone his face would light up as he said, ‘This is doing penance!’” John also tellingly adds that Dominic “always carried around with him...the letters of Paul, and he read them so often that he knew them by heart.”³⁷

Dominic was not the only one who saw his missionary preaching in the

penitential light of the imitation of Christ. As Little writes, Innocent III put matters in much the same way in a letter to the Cistercians, written shortly after they adopted Diego and Dominic's agenda: "On 17 November 1206 Innocent wrote to Ralph of Frontfroide. The pope's letter ordered an expansion of the apostolic mission, without specifying any figures, but specifying very clearly that any candidate chosen by Ralph must, besides being qualified for the work involved, be ready to imitate the poverty of Christ the pauper. He must be prepared to approach the heretics wearing wretched clothes but with a fervent spirit, so that, by the example of his deeds and the teaching of his words, the heretics might be recalled from their error."³⁸ Ultimately, it was to Innocent III that Dominic would turn to obtain official sanction for his preaching. This takes us from a study of Dominic and his initial followers to an examination of the more formal institution he soon came to found. We shall find that the motivations and methods of the man were incorporated into an organization writ large.

Let us observe that Dominic's original activities in southern France corresponded to the preaching apostolate of the bishop of Rome, and Diego, bishop of Osma. Sometime after Diego's death and the commence of the papal Crusade, Dominic befriended another bishop, Fulk of Toulouse (not to be confused with Fulk of Neuiley). Fulk approved Dominic's enterprise and in 1211, even gifted him a property at Prouille which became a convent for Cathar women converts. Thus, we see that Dominic's activity, from its beginnings, was always associated with the pastoral mandate of a bishop: "Dominic was still a canon and his Order had not yet been formed or approved; down to 1215 he was formally seconded from Osma, where he had professed as canon, to

Toulouse and its neighbourhood, for the ‘preaching’.”³⁹ By the charter issued by Fulk in 1215, “Brother Dominic and his associates” became the official helpers of the bishop in his task of diocesan preaching. We may also further observe that this first official approbation for a Dominican enterprise had an explicit theological basis in *sin and repentance for the masses*: “Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris quod nos F (ulco), Dei gratia Tolosane sedis minister humilis, ad extirpandam hereticam pravitatem et vitia expellenda et fidei regulam edocendam et homines sanis moribus imbuendos, instituimus praedicatores in episcopatu nostro fratrem Dominicum et socios eius, qui in paupertate evangelica pedites religiose proposuerunt incedere et veritatis evangelice verbum predicare...”⁴⁰ Later that year, Fulk and Dominic would seek the approval of an even higher authority for their penitential preaching.

In November 1215, more than 400 bishops and more than 800 priors and abbots descended upon Rome to inaugurate the Fourth Lateran Council. Fulk had taken his co-adjutor Dominic with him, no doubt to obtain official sanction from the pope for their arrangement in Toulouse. The approbation they sought at this time was for their local situation. A new monastic order for all Christendom seemed to fly in the face of the prevailing winds of the council.⁴¹ As Canon thirteen states: “Lest the extreme diversity of religious orders lead to confusion in the Church of God, we firmly prohibit anyone else to found a new religious order. But whoever wishes to enter the religious life, let him join an order already established. Similarly with anyone wanting to set up a new religious house, let him choose a rule...from among the approved religious orders.”⁴² Although a universal Order of Preachers was unpalatable for the bishops of 1215, the

preaching assistance which Dominic and his men were offering Bishop Fulk in Toulouse was exactly the kind of scheme Innocent had in mind.

Throughout the course of his reign, Pope Innocent made no secret of his disappointment with the rank-and-file bishops over the neglect of their primary pastoral duties. On more than one occasion, Innocent had recourse to the now familiar dog-metaphor: "His watchmen all blind...dumb dogs, not able to bark, hide the talent committed to them in the napkin like the unprofitable servant, since the word of the Lord has been bound in their mouth."⁴³ The pope was as aware as any master from Paris, or canon from Osma, that bishops and priests could not mold the faithful if they themselves lacked modeling. At Innocent's prodding, local reforming synods began to address the issue.⁴⁴ D'Avray observes of Innocent's program: "[it is to be noted] how the Fourth Lateran Council [1215], over which he presided, tried to raise the level of preaching and clerical education..."⁴⁵ Canon ten treats of preaching and penance:

Among other things that pertain to the salvation of the Christian people, the food of the word of God is above all necessary, because as the body is nourished by material food, so is the soul nourished by spiritual food, since "not in bread alone doth man live but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God" (Matt. 4: 4). It often happens that bishops, on account of their manifold duties or bodily infirmities, or because of hostile invasions or other reasons, to say nothing of lack of learning, which must be absolutely condemned in them and is not to be tolerated in the future, are themselves unable to minister the word of God to the people, especially in large and widespread dioceses. Wherefore we decree that bishops provide suitable men, powerful in work and word, to exercise with fruitful result the office of preaching; who in place of the bishops, since these cannot do it, diligently visiting the people committed to them, may instruct them by word and example. And when they are in need, let them be supplied with the necessities, lest for want of these they may be compelled to abandon their work at the very beginning. Wherefore we command that in cathedral churches as well as in conventual churches suitable

men be appointed whom the bishops may use as coadjutors and assistants, not only in the office of preaching but also in hearing confessions, imposing penances, and in other matters that pertain to the salvation of souls. If anyone neglect to comply with this, he shall be subject to severe punishment.⁴⁶

Lateran IV was a watershed in the history of Western Christendom for many reasons, not the least of which, for its canons relating to pastoral reform. A century after the Investiture Contest, the Church was moving past simony and lay investiture, to more pressing matters of ecclesiastical integrity, such as the ignorance and lack of preaching of its bishops and priests. Innocent, by “slipping” canon ten past the council fathers, was actually inaugurating something of a quiet revolution and Dominic’s friars would be its foot-soldiers. The pastoral vacuum which the bishops had left void, and which Parisian masters and heretics had both sought to fill, would become the special precinct of the Dominican Order. The protestations of canon thirteen aside, the historical conjunction of Fulk’s charter of 1215, and canon ten of the council had given Dominic’s cause a potential foothold in every diocese across the expanse of Europe. Herein lay the extraordinary character of the Dominican Order, which set it apart, not only from other lay apostolic movements, heretical and orthodox, but from other forms of mendicancy as well. As Mulchahey writes:

Others before them, the Waldensians in Lyons, the Umiliati in Lombardy, and the Poor Catholics...all too often [these] lay congregations ended up in dangerous disorder and even heresy. Foulques’ commission to Dominic and his companions represented a new experiment in which the Church hierarchy would for the first time employ its own clerics, ordained religious, as mendicant preachers...the commission to the Cistercian abbots had been temporary. [Whereas] Foulques had approved their place [Dominic and associates] in his diocese in perpetuity. This sort of permanent delegation of the bishop’s

preaching was something quite new, and in fact, charted a radically new course for the Church's system of pastoral care.

Also unlike earlier lay preachers, Dominic and his priests aspired to be known as orthodox and theologically informed evangelists. Armed with an education considered sufficient and appropriate by their diocesan, the preachers of Toulouse aimed to do what only bishops and legatine preachers had been allowed to do before: they would preach doctrine. Foulques' official sanction for them to do just that more than anything else set Dominic's friars apart from most other contemporary preachers. Those lay groups which had earlier been given papal approval for their preaching had been limited to moral exhortation and had been excluded quite explicitly from teaching doctrine...even Francis and his followers initially could do no more than preach penance. What the Church needed, and needed badly, were preachers who would not suffer from such restraint, nor feel the pull of the cloister, preachers who were educated and who could be trusted to represent the Church's teaching and to defend it from all attacks. This is the gap Dominic and his confreres attempted to fill, with the help of Bishop Foulques, right from the start.⁴⁷

As our previous discussion of the masters at Paris has shown, and as a close reading of canon ten demonstrates, confession was intimately linked to preaching and both were the proper preserve of prelates: "Wherefore we command that in cathedral churches as well as in conventual churches suitable men be appointed whom the bishops may use as coadjutors and assistants, not only in the office of preaching but also in hearing confessions, imposing penances, and in other matters that pertain to the salvation of souls. If anyone neglect to comply with this, he shall be subject to severe punishment." Thus it was that confession soon became the almost exclusive prerogative of the Order of Preachers. As Mandonnet points out, not even the Franciscans were extended this privilege until nearly thirty years after their founder first started preaching: "Les Frères Mineurs auxquels on pourrait aussi penser, étant surtout constitués à leur origine par des éléments laïcs, ne reçurent que le 7 Mai 1237, avec l'office de la

prédication, le ministère de la confession.”⁴⁸

It is my contention that this goes a long way in explaining why it is primarily the Dominicans, rather than the Franciscans, who engaged a preaching effort aimed at Jews and other unbelievers, and why Friar Raymond of Peñafort was at the hub of such missionary enterprises. As we have seen, it is the authors of manuals for confessors, (and preachers) who first stressed the need for an improved clerical effort at the care of lay souls—even infidel souls. It is not surprising then, that Dominic and his companions, who delved deep into the practice of confessing penitents and imposing penances, were equally as zealous for the salvation of all souls—believers and infidels alike. Jordan of Saxony once wrote that before he was born, Dominic’s mother had a dream in which she gave birth to a puppy with a firebrand in its mouth: “when it came from her womb, [it] seemed to set the whole world on fire. Thus was forecast the conception within her of a notable preacher, who would awake souls asleep in sin to be alert and watchful by the bark of sacred learning, and scatter over the whole world the fire, which Jesus came to set upon the earth.”⁴⁹

Endnotes

Chapter Four: The Pastoral Vacuum and the Dogs

1. G. R. Evans, *Art of Preaching*, 144; Chap. 38.
2. James of Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, Chap. 5, in D.L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars, Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985), 14-15.
3. Baldwin, I, 38. "In his sermons he was fond of recalling events which happened during his Parisian days, which he introduced with such phrases as "I remember when I was at Paris..." His *Historia occidentalis* contains a vivid description of the royal city and its schools on the eve of Foulques de Neuilly's arrival to study under Peter the Chanter. As for Jacques' own teachers, the only contemporary master whom he explicitly cites in his sermons is the Chanter, from whom he also borrowed a number of *exempla*. His *Historia occidentalis* includes a eulogy of the Chanter in unusually extravagant metaphors. Since Jacques was a student in Paris at the height of the Chanter's career, and because of Peter's prominence in Jacques' writings, one may assume that, with Foulques de Neuilly, the future preacher was a product of the Chanter's school."
4. D'Avray, 15; Cf. Peter the Chanter, PL 205:189-93.
5. James of Vitry, Chap. 5.
6. Innocent III, PL 215:819.
7. Foncaude, *Adversus Waldensium sectam*; PL, 204:817.
8. *The Council of the Cathar Church of Saint-Félix-deCaraman, 1167*, in *The Coming of the Friars*, ed. Rosalind B. Brooke (London, 1975), 153-54. Brooke remarks that "probably most scholars believe it authentic, but it is difficult to expel all doubt, for there is little evidence at this date by which to check its statements with sufficient precision..." 153.
9. Rainerius Sacconi, *Summa de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno*, in Brooke, 156-57.
10. *Ibid.*, 157-58.
11. James Capelli, *Summa contra haereticos*, in Little, 144.
12. Little, 142-43. "The novice was like a catechumen; he underwent a probationary period of at least a year of discipline and instruction. He became a full-

fledged Christian believer and member of the Christian Church when, by a simple ceremony, he took up the privilege and responsibility of saying the Lord's Prayer. This prayer was the central act of Catharist formal worship, and the initiation ceremony included a phrase-by-phrase explication of it. The Gloss on the Lord's Prayer is an entire work devoted to such an interpretation. In the most important of Catharist ceremonies, the consolamentum, a ceremony of spiritual baptism, the believer gained forgiveness for all his sins, and the perfected ones, those who had been through the same ceremony, administered baptism to the believer by placing their hands upon him. They did so as "true Christians, instructed by the primitive church"...The consolamentum was a ceremony that could not be repeated, yet a perfected one who had sinned had to confess and pray for forgiveness. The regular worship of the Cathars, called simply a "service," was held monthly and consisted of the acknowledging of sins and penitential requests for pardon."

13. Ladner, "The Plight of Preaching," 122; Cf. nt.14., *Odonis Episcopi Parisienis Syndodicae Constitutiones*; Mansi XXII, 681, "Let the priests always exhort the people to say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Hail Mary."

14. Little, 145.

15. D'Avray, 25-26.

16. Ibid., 23-24. "At first Foulques was not at all an exemplary priest, to judge from Jacques de Vitry's account. Then he underwent a conversion, began a life of penance, and started to recall his congregation to the way of truth by word as well as example. Ashamed of his ignorance, however, he set off for Paris...His teacher was Pierre le Chantre, and Foulques seems to have concentrated on moral doctrine. He was lucky to be studying at a time when a school with so definite a pastoral orientation was flourishing...Pierre le Chantre was not of the same calibre as either Abelard or Aquinas, but his concern for practical moral problems was what Foulques needed. He could go to his church...and pass on to his flock what he had learned during the week. Neighboring priests invited him to preach, and he spoke simply and unpretentiously to ordinary laymen (presumably their parishoners)...Itinerancy was perhaps the only way of reaching the masses who might not normally come into contact with a priest. Foulques's career is an early example of the European-wide influence of Paris on popular preaching."

17. James of Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis*, Chap. 8, ed. Longère, (Paris, 1997), 91-92.

18. D'Avray, 24. "It appears that Foulques's success was not confined to his lifetime, for, according to the *Historia occidentalis*, after his death many were fired by the fervor of charity and moved to follow his example. Jacques says that they, too, were successful, and gives a list of the most important...the Cistercian abbot Adam de Persigne is on the list: the Cistercians could be regarded as reluctant forerunners of the

friars... The list also further highlights the role of Paris. Of the seven names that Jacques lists, at least four—Stephen Langton, Robert de Courçon, Alberic de Laon, and Jean de Nivelles—were associated with its schools.”

19. Little, 175.

20. Trout, 147-48.

21. *Hystoria occidentalis*, 11-13.

22. D’Avray, 26.

23. Mandonnet, 148. “After delegating the two Cistercians, Rainier and Guy, without delay he sent Peter of Castelnau (who became a Cistercian later on), giving him full powers in the threatened territory. In July, 1200, still another legate was appointed for this region, John Cardinal of St. Prisca. But nowhere did they meet with success. Three years later, Peter of Castelnau and Raoul, both Cistercians were still working in the name of the Pope and fighting heresy. With the appointment of Arnold, the abbot general of Cîteaux, as papal legate, the Cistercians were given a monopoly, as it were, of the missions among the Albigenses, and in the Pope’s mind this was destined to be the mission of honor of the Order. But persistent failure had a demoralizing effect on the workers. More than once they asked the Pope to let them resign. Innocent never weakened; vigorously he exhorted them to persevere. With the arrival of Diego and of Dominic the mission took new life.”

24. *Ibid.*, 148-49.

25. Peter of Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria Albigensis*, II, 20-21, in Little, 153.

26. Little, 155.

27. Blessed Jordan of Saxony, *On the Origin of the Order of Preachers*, Chap. 13, in Brooke, 164.

28. *Ibid.*, Ch.34, Brooke, 167-68; Not only Friar Jordan, but Friar John of Spain, testified to Dominic’s desire to share in torture, as did Christ: “He often said that it was his desire to be whipped and cut up for the name of Christ, and finally to die.”

29. *Acta Canonizationis s. Dominici*, 12, in *Early Dominicans, Selected Writings*, ed. Simon Tugwell, O. P. (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 69.

30. *Ibid.*, 69-70.

31. *Ibid.*, 77.

32. Ibid., 83.

33. Ibid., 84.

34. Jordan, Ch.23-25, Brooke, 166-67.

35. Gerald de Frachet, *Lives of the Brethren*, in Tugwell, 87-88.

36. Diego and Dominic's voluntary poverty are an undeniably important aspect of the Dominican movement, but has little direct bearing on our investigation of Dominican encounters with Jews and other non-Christians, other than that mendicancy was a form of atonement for sin.

37. Tugwell, 75.

38. Little, 154.

39. Brooke, 186 nt.1.

40. *Monumenta diplomatica s. Dominici*, ed. Vladimir J. Koudelka, *Monumenta ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum historica* 25 (Rome, 1966), no.63, pp.56-58, in "First the Bow is Bent in Study..." *Dominican Education before 1350*, M. Michele Mulchahey, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1998), 6 nt. 11.

41. Little, 157.

42. Ibid.

43. Innocent III, PL 214:904.

44. Mulchahey, 7. "The program of preaching Foulques outlined for Dominic and his companions echoes a letter Pope Innocent III had addressed to the bishops of the Midi seven years earlier, in March of 1208, one of the bulls with which he had launched the Albigensian Crusade. There, too, we find instructions for combating heresy, strengthening the Catholic faith, eliminating vice, and implanting virtue through increased preaching activity. The Council of Avignon in 1209 had reminded the region's bishops of the contents of Innocent's letter, and encouraged them to seek the assistance of "virtuous and wise men," "*honesti et discreti*," if they could not fulfill the office of preaching adequately on their own. Foulques' commission to Dominic's community represents his practical application of such pastoral mandates: Dominic and the others were the wise and virtuous men who would assist him in preaching to the beleaguered Toulouse."

45. D'Avray, 26.

46. Lateran IV, *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*,
www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html.

47. Mulchahey, 8-9.

48. Mandonnet, "La Summa de Poenitentia Magistri Pauli presbyteri S. Nicolai," in *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Suppl. 3 (Festschrift Grabmann, I) (Münster-im-Westfalen, 1935), 533 nt. 34; Cf. Eubel, *Bullarii franciscani epitome*, apud Claras Aquas, 222.

49. Jordan, 5 in Brooke, 163.

Chapter Five:
Friar Raymond of Peñafort: *Judicium et cura animarum*

“He who moves the hearts of the people by preaching causes fruit to grow. But he who hears confessions bears fruit, because with his conscience as witness he knows what he has accomplished in the person who goes to confession. For to preach is to sow, but to hear confessions is to reap.”¹ So averred Peter of Reims, prior of the Dominican convent of St. Jacques, and prior provincial of France. Peter was underscoring the profound connection between preaching and hearing confession within the context of the theology of sin and repentance. As the last chapter has shown, this Dominican prior’s statement is in harmony with the pronouncements of the Fourth Lateran Council, which also drew attention to the pastoral connection between preaching and confession: “We command that in cathedral churches as well as in conventual churches suitable men be appointed whom the bishops may use as coadjutors and assistants, not only in the office of preaching but also in hearing confessions, imposing penances, and in other matters that pertain to the salvation of souls.” Peter’s profession is also proof that there was a like connection between the mission of Dominic’s order and the mandate of the council. As good coadjutors, they could sow the seeds of repentance for sin in the field of preaching and reap the harvest in the absolution of the confessional.

Scholars have made much of the fact that Lateran IV went out of its way to impress the matter of confession upon the minds of all the faithful. Canon twenty-one is the famous statute:

All the faithful of both sexes shall after they have reached the age of discretion confess all their sins at least once a year to their own (parish) priest and perform

faithfully and to the best of their ability the penance imposed, receiving reverently at least at Easter the sacrament of the Eucharist, unless perchance at the advice of their own priest they may for a good reason abstain for a time from its reception; otherwise they shall be cut off from the Church (excommunicated) during life and deprived of Christian burial in death...Let the priest be discreet and cautious that he may pour wine and oil into the wounds of the one injured after the manner of a skillful physician, carefully inquiring into the circumstances of the sinner and the sin, from the nature of which he may understand what kind of advice to give and what remedy to apply, making use of different experiments to heal the sick one.²

The council fathers have here employed the same theological language of sin-as-wound and confessor-as-divine-physician which we have encountered previously in Parisian-authored manuals for confession and preaching. Lateran IV took the analogy quite literally, as evidenced in canon twenty-two:

Since bodily infirmity is sometimes caused by sin, the Lord saying to the sick man whom he had healed: "Go and sin no more, lest some worse thing happen to thee" (John 5: 14), we declare in the present decree and strictly command that when physicians of the body are called to the bedside of the sick, before all else they admonish them to call for the physician of souls, so that after spiritual health has been restored to them, the application of bodily medicine may be of greater benefit, for the cause being removed the effect will pass away. We publish this decree for the reason that some, when they are sick and are advised by the physician in the course of the sickness to attend to the salvation of their soul, give up all hope and yield more easily to the danger of death. If any physician shall transgress this decree after it has been published by bishops, let him be cut off (*arceatur*) from the Church till he has made suitable satisfaction for his transgression. And since the soul is far more precious than the body, we forbid under penalty of anathema that a physician advise a patient to have recourse to sinful means for the recovery of bodily health.³

The Council clearly sought to inspire a thorough reform of pastorship throughout Christendom, a renewal of the *cura animarum*, a renewal, which Dominic's order was uniquely qualified to implement. Thus Katherine Jansen speaks of "the concomitant emergence of mendicant preaching, and the Fourth Lateran Council's reformulation of

the sacrament of penance...the friars worked out the practical implications of the Council's penitential theology."⁴ It would appear that an active and innovative collaboration between Dominic and the newly-elected pontiff, Honorius III made the merger a reality.

In the face of canon thirteen, which forbade any new religious orders, the late Pope Innocent had sent Fulk and Dominic back to Toulouse, encouraging them to meet with their confreres and to decide upon an already established monastic rule which should govern their order. As a cathedral canon regular, Dominic was quite comfortable with selecting the Rule of St. Augustine. This ancient rule was also the centerpiece of the more recently conceived Premonstratensian Order. Dominic and his group made the necessary verbal alterations that would enable this rule to work for them.⁵

On December 22, 1216, Pope Honorius approved Dominic's order in the bull "*Religiosam vitam*," placing the new community at Toulouse under his patronage. It would seem, however, that the young prior's "longing for the salvation of all," which Friar Jordan purports back to Dominic's days in Osma, emboldened him to propose to the pope a more universal endeavor. No more than four weeks had passed before Honorius signed another bull, "*Olim in partibus Tolosanis*," in which he implored the masters and students of Paris to come to Toulouse to assist "the Catholic preachers," who were actively missionizing there. Mulchahey observes: "We know that Dominic himself was behind the letter, the original of which for many years was kept in the order's Paris convent, and that the catholic preachers to which it refers are none other than Dominic and his early band of brothers. The name "*D(omi)nicus*" actually appears in the upper right hand corner of the verso of that original letter, below "R.," for "*Rescriptum*," indicating that the bull was to be released by the papal chancery to Dominic to deliver, rather than being forwarded directly to its Parisian addressees."⁶ We are thus led to

believe that Dominic himself, or his associates together with him, were about to leave the precincts of Toulouse, if for no other reason, than to recruit new foot-soldiers. The choice of Paris and its traditional “concern for practical moral problems” was deliberate, and tells us much about Dominic’s intentions for his rising order. Dominic and Honorius, however, were not finished yet.

Two days after the release of “*Olim in partibus Tolsanis*,” the pope issued “*Gratiarum omnium*,” in which, for the first time, the word “*praedicatores*” is used to denote Dominic’s followers. The other significance of “*Gratiarum omnium*,” was that it clearly established that the order no longer answered to a local bishop, but to the bishop of Rome. A third bull, “*Justis petentium*,” was released on February 7, 1217. “*Justis petentium*,” was a crucial amendment to his first bull of approbation, “*Religiosam vitam*.” This latest document changed the profession of Dominic’s members from a profession to a “church,” (*ecclesia*) to that of a “monastery,” (*monsterium*). Fulk had gifted the Church of St. Romain to Dominic for his use in Toulouse, and St. Romain is directly referred to in “*Religiosam vitam*.” By substituting the word “monastery,” Honorius was freeing Dominic and his friars from an exclusive attachment to the Church of St. Romain, or the diocese of Toulouse. Significantly, he also changed the wording of Dominic’s formal title from “Prior of St. Romain” to simply “you as prior, my son.” There could be no question now, Dominic and Honorius had created wide enough legal loopholes to fit a universal Order of Preachers out the gates of the city of Toulouse.

During the first years of its official existence, the Dominican Order found a welcome home in many quarters, and a grudging acceptance in others. Almost four years to the day he issued “*Justis petentium*,” Honorius felt confident enough to issue a final salvo, this one addressed to all archbishops, bishops and priests of Christendom. On

February 4, 1221, the pontiff released the aptly entitled encyclical letter “*Cum qui recipit prophetam,*” in which he declared for the first time that Dominicans who were priests be allowed to hear confessions. It was a priority the pontiff surely had in mind since the close of the Lateran Council; canon ten’s prescriptions for “suitable men” who could serve as episcopal coadjutors, resounds loudly enough in “*Cum qui recipit prophetam*”:

Hinc est quod dilectos filios fratres ordinis Predicatorum qui paupertatem et vitam regularem professi verbi Dei sunt evangelizationi totaliter deputati vobis duximus propensius commendandos, universitatem vestram rogantes et hortantes attenius ac per apostolica vobis scripta mandantes quatenus, cum ad partes vestras accesserint, ad predicandi officium ad quod deputati sunt caritative recipiatis eosdem, et populos vobis commissos ut ex ore ipsorum verbi Dei semen devote suscipiant sedulo admonentes pro divina et nostra reverentia in suis eis necessitatibus liberaliter assistatis, benigne permittentes presbiteris eorumdem cum expedierit penitentium confessiones audire et consilium eis iungere salutare, cum iidem fratres animarum intendentes profectibus discretos et cautos dirigant sacerdotes per quos salutare potest consilium preberi et remedium adhiberi et propter occasiones multiplices partiri expediat interdum in alios sollicitudinem pastoraalem...⁷

The timing of the release of “*Cum qui recipit prophetam*” may have been another “Dominican event” coordinated by Dominic in concert with Honorius. Besides the fact that it was issued at the start of Lent, the traditional penitential time of the Church year, it may also have been promulgated in advance of the General Chapter meeting which the Order was to hold on Pentecost of that year (May 30th). It was Dominic’s plan at this meeting to authorize preachers to be sent to Britain, Ireland, Scandinavia, Poland, the Near East, and to his beloved Cumans in Hungary. If the encyclical and the chapter were coordinated, it would further demonstrate that “Dominican mission,” properly understood, was driven by meditation on the theology of sin and repentance. What is more, I do not believe it an accident that Dominic asked one of his brothers, Paul of Bologna, to complete the first Dominican handbook on confession that same year; nor

was it coincidence that it was Paul whom he then promptly sent to the pagan Cumans, the infidels to whom Dominic himself, had always desired to preach. The connection between concern for sinners in the confessional and concern for sinners who have never been baptized, is palpable in the first decades of the Dominican Order. The case of Paul of Hungary (the epithet by which he came to be definitively known) is informative.

After Dominic had received papal approval for a universal apostolate in 1217, he had dispersed the majority of his membership to Paris, a few to Bologna, and a few elsewhere. These two university towns provided him with students and masters of intelligence and fervor, the kind he needed to serve an ever-widening circle of souls; Friar Paul was such a man. Paul had been a professor of canon law at Bologna when he was enticed into the order by the preaching of Friar Reginald of Orleans in 1219.⁸ By January 1221, he had been promoted to prior of the Dominicans in Bologna, who were attached to the Church of St. Nicholas. Thus, he begins his manual on confession by saying: “Quoniam circa pericula sunt animarum et difficultates quandoque emergunt. Ideo ad honorem Dei, beati nicolay et fratrum utilitatem ac confitentium salutem.”⁹ Of his *Summa de poenitentia*, we may observe three general features: first, it is succinct and practical; second, it shows the influence of his study of canon law; and third, it shows its indebtedness to the pastoral approach of St. Dominic himself.¹⁰

Some of the authorities which directly influenced Paul, by his own admission, were the new regulations concerning confession set down in canon twenty-one of the Lateran Council, which he refers to as the “*nova constitutio*.” And of course, there was the authority of his master Dominic: “ubi dicit prior noster, Magister dominicus.” Dominic’s concern that priests imitate the “longing for others” and the total self-sacrifice of Christ comes through in Paul’s directions:

Sequitur de allocutione sacerdotis et miti inductione ad confitendum. Debet

enim sacerdos propendere de dilectione dei patris, quando misit filium suum propter peccatores; de caritate christi pro peccatoribus redimendis, mortuus est spinis coronatus, lancea perforatus, manibus et pedibus clavis confixus, confiteatur ut mors christi sibi prosit. Item christus non venit propter iustos, set propter peccatores. Item non vult dominus mortem peccatorum set conversionem, iuxta illud nolo mortem peccatoris etc. Item confortet ipsum negatio petri, persecutio pauli, peccatum Magdalene, confexio et fides latronis, adulterium David, factum telonarii. Qui cum omnes quamvis graviter peccaverint, veniam per penitentiam obtinuerunt et quidam ex ipsis postea apostoli fuerunt et sancti. Item medicus spiritualis ad exemplum medici corporalis mulceat egrotum verbis dulcibus conpatiatur, et confortet infirmo salutem animi.¹¹

As Christ had answered in defense of his ministry, “It is not the well that need a physician, but the sick,” so too did Paul encourage confessors to view their role as an extension of Christ the divine physician. Paul, himself, was soon asked to teach not only by word, but by his own example. In one of his last official acts before he left this world, Dominic commissioned Paul and four companions to go preach and convert the Cumans. A Turkish-related people, the Cumans had ruled for several decades the territory stretching from the Volga to the Danube.¹² During the 1220s the Hungarians both checked their advance and sought their conversion. Paul and his companions began their mission in Hungary and then moved eastward. As Friar Gerald of Frachet relates it, the Dominican mission to the Cumans was to be a labor of many years that involved much Christ-like suffering and self-sacrifice:

Remembering the desire of Blessed Dominic to go and convert the pagans, especially the Cumans, who had absolutely no instruction about God, they invoked the guidance of the Holy Spirit and decided to send some virtuous brothers to that nation. There, after experiencing suffering and incredible hardships, they were rejected and forced to come back [to Hungary]. But the fire of the Holy Spirit and zeal for souls inspired them to try again. After a very difficult journey they reached those people near the Diepner [sic] river. There they often suffered hunger, thirst, lack of covering and persecutions; some of

them were held captive and two were killed, but the others persevered in the preaching mission they had begun.¹³

After much hardship, their tireless missionizing effort eventually bore fruit, most notably in the case of the conversion of a Cuman leader named Boris, along with some of the members of his family. This success was followed up by the conversion of an even more important chieftain named Membrok, and about a thousand people of his clan. Unfortunately for the friars, their preaching apostolate among the Cumans coincided with the coming of the Mongols, who brought death and destruction on an unprecedented scale to Dominican and Cuman alike:

After much hard work, by God's help, a convent was established, and the brothers began to preach confidently among the people. Only God can count the number of people who were converted to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ day after day. While the brothers' fervour and zeal for the conversion of these pagans was increasing more and more, God's hidden judgement permitted a persecution from the Tartars. This not only impeded the preaching of our brothers, but forced many of them to go sooner to the heavenly kingdom. Up to ninety brothers flew to the kingdom of heaven, some by the sword, others by arrows, spears, or fire. The mission to these pagans [Cumans] was interrupted while, as a result of the Tartar persecution, the Cumans were scattered to different parts of Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and other nearby regions. Finally most of them came to Hungary, where the king welcomed them. There, by common counsel and with the indispensable help of the king and queen, who were zealous for the faith, ten brothers were sent to preach to them. Up to today they are day and night at work in their office of preaching and have baptized many thousands of Cumans. Day by day, with God's help and the brother's zealous work, more and more are being baptized and united in the faith.¹⁴

Gerald of Frachet also reproduces a letter from the Dominican missionaries, dispatched to the Master General of the Order, which both testifies to their spiritual progress, as well as the continuing Mongol menace:

Brother Benedict and the other brothers living among the Cumans send greetings to the Master of the Order. The disciples of Jesus who came back from preaching reported to their Master what they had accomplished through God's grace. So we too, who were sent by the Order to this province for the same ministry of preaching the Lord's word, thought we should report to you, who occupy the office of Master over us, how things have gone with us. Reverend Father, we want you to know that from the time we went to Hungary, one prince after another of the Cumans was baptized. Each year, by God's grace, many thousands of nobles and ordinary people of both sexes of that people received the grace of baptism, and they try as best they can to practice the Catholic faith, both in Lent and at other Christian observances. They are also very grateful that these benefits came to them through our Order. But the cruelty of the Tartars is threatening them no less than other peoples in the east; it is even threatening them more, because they are nearer to the invaders. So we join them in asking the Lord in his mercy to protect and preserve this new garden of faith that the Order has planted; as you gather for the general chapter, please make it your first concern to ask all the brothers to pray for this whole people.¹⁵

Clearly, the Dominicans among the Cumans saw their role as missionary preachers as an extension of the work of Christ and his Apostles. They are concerned with the liturgical and sacramental life of their new Cuman converts, as well as with the threat posed to their physical lives by the Tartars ("the men from Tartarus," i.e. hell). As was stated at the outset, I believe there is much to the fact that Dominic chose Friar Paul, the author of the order's only manual on penance, to head the team that was sent to convert the pagan Cumans, the pagans Dominic had the greatest interest in. The "zeal for souls," of the Dominican missionaries in Hungary is in fact, very reminiscent of that possessed by their founder. That the friars were more interested in saving the Cumans from devils (temporal and eternal), than in ensuring that another "outside group" walk in lock-step with homogenous Catholic Europe, is evident, not only from the above accounts, but even more clearly from others. Confession and worthy reception of

Communion, the intercession of saints, along with the ever-present threat of tempting devils, constitute the most important elements in the Dominican tales of Cuman converts:

At last the Most High rewarded the work and perseverance of the brothers and gave them the grace of being listened to by the pagans. Thus they were able to baptize the leader of the Cumans, whose name was Boris, along with some of his family. After persevering for some years in the profession of the true faith, he slept in the Lord. Before dying, according to Christian custom, he went to confession and received Communion at the hands of the brothers in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, which the brothers had built as the nucleus of an eventual convent; there he was buried.

After him, they converted to the faith of Jesus Christ Membrok, an even more important leader, with about a thousand of his kinsmen. King Andrew of Hungary, the father of Saint Elizabeth, had the great joy of being his god-father. He too at his end was assisted by the brothers; in his last agony he said, "Let all Cuman pagans leave me now, because I see horrible demons around them; let only the brothers and the baptized Cumans stay, because the two brothers who were martyred are waiting for me to take me to the joys that they preached." He then died with wonderful joy and was buried in the same chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹⁶

Acting in concert with the sinless Blessed Virgin as co-redeemers in the salvation of others, was the guiding spirit of the Dominican mission to the pagans:

In the early days of the Order a brother was commanded to go to the Cumans to help in their conversion. He was gravely disturbed at this assignment and asked a hermit friend of his, who was a true friend of God, to pray to the Lord for him, since he could hardly believe that such an assignment was useful for him. The following night that pious and holy man prayed to the Lord with the greatest affection for him. The Lord showed him this consoling vision: He seemed to see a large river with a bridge over it, and men of different religious orders going over it happily, but one by one. The Preaching Brothers did not go over the bridge, but swam across the river, each of them dragging a vessel full of men. When some of them began to fail because of the excessive labour, he saw the Blessed Mary helping and lifting them up with her kind hand, so that they crossed by her help. After they crossed the river, he saw them with those they had carried in a most pleasant place, rejoicing with unspeakable joy. The hermit told this vision to the brother; strengthened very much by it, he fulfilled his

assignment, clearly recognizing that brothers who work for the salvation of men have heavier but more fruitful work to do than other religious who work for their own salvation. This work is full of unspeakable joy and in it they have the Blessed Virgin as their special helper.¹⁷

An Order of monks who work *directly* for “the salvation of men,” rather than “for their own salvation,” was unprecedented in Christian history. Yet, it was precisely this charism which defined the Order of Preachers. As we have seen, this concern for the salvation of non-clerics is first found in the works on the sacrament of penance and on preaching, of the latter half of the twelfth century. Dominic and his first companions then, following the example of good confessors like Alan of Lille, extended this pastoral concern for the salvation of others to the heretical Christians in the Midi. Understanding the logical progression, it should come as no surprise to us, that the Dominicans got into the business of preaching to non-Christian Cumans in the very weeks following their entry into the field of hearing universal confessions. If we would understand the Dominican mission to infidels, we must first recognize the underlying theology of sin and repentance and its byproduct, the *cura animarum*, or the theology of inclusion.

Paul of Hungary was not the only Bolognese jurist who found a home in the Dominican Order, or who wrote an influential summa on confession—or who led a missionary effort against non-Christians. To his company, we must now add Friar Raymond of Peñafort.

Of his early life, little is known of Raymond, aside from the fact that he was probably born in Peñafort, near the village of Vilafranca del Penedes, outside Barcelona,

between the years 1175-1180.¹⁸ In 1210, he and another canon of the cathedral of Barcelona left to study law at Bologna.¹⁹ Raymond had a successful university career leading to a professorship and authorship of his own book on canon law, the *Summa iuris*. Most likely completed between 1218 and 1221²⁰, the *Summa iuris* demonstrates both Raymond's skill at jurisprudence, as well as his fervor for an educated clergy, in association with the reforms of the Lateran Council. The latter is most evident in his opening statement:

Frequens instancia et ignita karitas sociorum, nexibus aureis indissolubiliter vinculata, meum diu pulsaverunt animum ut quasi pignus amoris aliquod mei laboris memoriale relinquerem eis et posteris profuturum. Cumque promptus essem ne viderer ingratus annuere postulatis, restitit in faciem temperancia dicens: Quid humeros vis transilire gigantum? Cur vires cum honore non metiris? Hoc audito erubi stupefactus. Tandem suscipiens in celum vidi medicam curare volentem; cui nomen spes; hec sue lenitatis alloquio stuporem religavit, paravit et ruborem, ita inquires: Temperancie consilio adquiesce, ne de te ipso resumens majora te inchoes, sed jacta in Domino cogitatum tuum et ipse te enutriet. Ascende cum Zacheo arborem Sichomorum ut videas Jhesum Christum; studeas in petre solidadte poni ut de petra mox merearis Dei faciem contemplari et, ut docearis de omnibus, karitatis habeas unctionem.²¹

Raymond's work addressed the need for ordinary priests to become more familiar with Church law. A properly informed clergy was the prerequisite for their pastoral vocation. As canon eleven of Lateran IV stated:

Not only in every cathedral church but also in other churches where means are sufficient, a competent master be appointed by the prelate with his chapter, or elected by the greater and more discerning part of the chapter, who shall instruct *gratis* and to the best of his ability the clerics of those and other churches in the art of grammar and in other branches of knowledge. In addition to a master, let the metropolitan church have also a theologian, who shall

instruct the priests and others in the Sacred Scriptures and in those things especially that pertain to the *cura animarum*.²²

T. M. Schwertner suggests that Raymond was himself, brought back from Bologna to Barcelona by Bishop Berengar de Palaciolo to assist in just such a capacity.²³ Berengar also brought with him the first group of Dominicans to his diocese. Raymond may have worked with them as Berengar's coadjutors and by 1222, was sufficiently convinced of their merits to enter their ranks himself. It may have been at this time that Raymond authored the *Summa pastoralis*, or *Libellus pastoralis de cura archidiaconi*.²⁴ Although its date is uncertain, its inspiration is not: "Ad instanciam autem episcoporum quorundam omnibus episcopis et prelati formam tradidit utilissimam et honestam secundam quam commissas eis ecclesias visitarent et tam clericorum quam laycorum saluti et honestati utiliter providerent."²⁵ In his work, Raymond is concerned first and foremost with instilling in prelates a zeal for souls. He states that it is the chief duty of an auditing prelate: "to teach by exhorting, arguing, reproofing and insisting opportunely and persistently and especially by preaching." Preaching by example is also of the utmost importance. The visitor is to find out how the pastor of the Church is conducting not only the sacraments, but himself.²⁶

But Raymond's greatest pastoral work was his *Summa confessorum*. It is also known as the *Summa de poenitentia*, or the *Summa de casibus conscientiae*. It was during these first years as a Dominican friar that Raymond likely completed his manual, incorporating much material from his previous *Summa iuris*.²⁷ Raymond's legal training is evident throughout his work, beginning with the opening prologue:

Ego Raimundus, inter fratres Praedicatorum minimus, immo inutilis servus, ad honorem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi et gloriose Virginis matris eius et beate Katherine, presentem summulam ex diversis auctoritatibus et majorum meorum dictis, diligenti studio compilavi ut si quando fratres nostri Ordinis vel alii circa

judicium animarum in foro penitentiali forsán dubitaverint, per ipsius exercitium tam in judiciis quam in scolis questiones multas et casus varios et difficiles ac perplexos valeant enodare.²⁸

In his university days, Raymond had written glosses on Gratian's *Decretum*, and this experience with the Church's canons would prove invaluable to his new manual for confessors. As Mulchahey writes:

The sort of law with which Raymond of Peñafort dealt as a teacher...was case-law, law composed principally of the decisions of popes in response to questions which had been put to them. The job of the teacher or compiler of such law was to explain the particular decision in terms of patristic authority or other precedent, and to extend the principle it implied to form a general rule, which, in its turn, could be applied in new situations. Raymond's experience with this approach led him to apply a very similar one in treating the topic of penance in his *Summa de casibus conscientiae*...According to the canon lawyer's point of view, sin or moral fault occurs when the divine will is violated. And because the divine will is expressed in the Church's law, sin can be judged by understanding if or how a particular case, given its particular circumstances, transgresses the law. The *Summa de casibus* aimed to help the confessor see the relationship between the cases presented to him, on the one hand and the principles embodied in the legislative dispositions of the Church, on the other. It is case law.²⁹

Getting the canons of the Church into the confessional of the priest was one of the principal aims of the Lateran Council, but besides being knowledgeable of canon law, the good confessor needed to apply the methods of canon lawyers in determining the culpability of the penitent within the particular circumstances of his sin. As Amédée Teetaert explains:

En outre, sous l'influence de la scolastique, la morale avait pris une forme casuistique, de même que le droit ecclésiastique; il n'est donc pas étonnant que cette direction, imprimée à la théologie et au droit, avec les exigences pratiques du ministère sacerdotal, aient provoqué la casuistique théologique, la *jurisprudencia divina*. Comme le ministère du prêtre dans le confessional présentait de multiples ressemblances avec l'activité du juge civil...Il était

d'autant plus difficile de les distinguer que le droit ecclésiastique, dans sa préoccupation de concilier les données du droit avec celles de la morale, amena bien souvent une fusion intime entre les domaines de ces deux sciences. Et même, où elles existaient séparées, il n'était souvent pas possible au confesseur de ne pas examiner le côté juridique d'un cas de conscience proposé...Les *Summae confessorum* constituaient de la sorte des sources fécondes où les confesseurs puisaient la science et les connaissances nécessaires. Et, à ce point de vue, elles d'une importance capitale et présentaient un intérêt indéniable...Parmi ces *Summae confessorum*, la *Summa casuum* de saint Raymond de Penyafort occupe certes une place d'honneur et constitue, sans conteste, la somme la plus célèbre et la plus importante par son intérêt et son influence considérable.³⁰

If canon law impacted the *summae confessorum*, the theology of sin and repentance was not without its reciprocal influence upon canon law, particularly in a most unlikely matter, the birth of the notion of “toleration.” As a matter of fact, it is quite possible to argue that as the theology of sin led to the concomitant theology of inclusion of non-Christians as found in the formulations of *summae confessorum* and certain polemical tracts, so too did its effect on canon law lead to a form of inclusion based on a *medieval* concept of *tolerantia*.

In Antiquity, *tolerantia*, was especially found in the writings of the Stoics, and it meant the bearing of anything troublesome to the mind or body. The term is also plentiful in the writings of the Church Fathers, where the term takes on a religious significance.³¹ The individual Christian believer patiently endures the wrongs of this life, not so much to become master of himself, but humble servant of an all-provident God, who allows the rain to fall equally on the just and the unjust alike. But with the dawn of medieval Christendom, *tolerantia* began to take on societal, rather than individual connotations. The word found its way into legal usage within the context of *sin* and its wider place in society. “Toleration” came to denote “not taking punitive action” against what were considered objectively disordered acts, either by individuals or groups of

individuals. As Bejczy explains:

Tolerance thus came to imply the self-restraint of political power, the abstinence from correctional or destructive force by the authorities governing society...The development of *tolerantia* as a political concept was especially furthered by canon law from the twelfth century onward. The two main collections of canon law, the *Decretum Gratiani* of about 1140 (which relied heavily on the Church Fathers, most notably on Augustine) and the *Decretals* of Gregory IX promulgated in 1234, contain several statements on circumstances under which evil practices may be left unpunished. The verb *tolerare* is frequently used in this context. The *Decretum* devotes a complete *quaestio* to the matter, in which Gratian concludes—perhaps realizing that mankind can never be purged completely from bad intentions—that evil which cannot be corrected without disturbing the peace in the Church, should rather be tolerated. Correspondingly the *Decretals* state that many things which would be suppressed if brought before a court are tolerated with patience. Both law collections point notably to Jewish rites as practices that are rightfully not to be interfered with.³²

Raymond of Peñafort, as we have seen, was thoroughly conversant with Gratian's canons, and in his *Summa iuris* gave his own reiteration of *tolerantia*:

Est enim permissio triplex: Prima, secundum quam permittitur quod nullo iure prohibetur, ut contrahere secundas nuptias. Sub hac continetur consilium. Secunda, quando contra constitutiones humanas aliquid indulgetur, ut contrahere in gradu prohibito. Haec dicitur proprie vera et absoluta permissio, et excusat a peccato. Tertia permissio est cum minora mala vitentur ut maiora vitentur. Haec dicitur permissio comparativa, et non excusat a peccato. Proprius tamen appellaretur tolerantia quam permissio. De hac dicit canon quod ea quae permittimus, non approbamus. De hac etiam dicit decretalis: *Multa per patientiam toleramus, quae si deducta essent in iudicium, exigente iustitia, cassaremus.*³³

The most important sections of the above passage are rendered by Bejczy:

Permission is taken in three different ways. First, when something is allowed that is not forbidden by any law...Second, when something is indulged that runs counter to human rules...This is properly called the true and absolute permission, and it excuses from sin. The third type of permission occurs when lesser evils are permitted so as to prevent greater ones. This is called the *permissio comparativa*, and it does not excuse from sin. It should, however, be called *tolerantia* rather than permission.³⁴

Raymond's definition of tolerance would thus seem to contain two pertinent aspects. In the first place, tolerance does not mean, as it does in modern discourse, that two contrary affirmations of truth are to be considered equally valid. Only one can be accurate, the other a falsehood, hence sinful, or "evil." Therefore the "toleration" of something necessarily implies that the something in question is, to a greater or lesser degree, not in harmony with the fullness of God's truth, upon which Justice, itself, is based, and so human law. Thus Raymond writes: "...*quod ea quae permittimus, non approbamus.*" The second component to his definition is that although certain tolerated acts are inherently sinful, it does not follow that corrective action must be taken to eradicate it. As a matter of fact, if doing so would lead to a greater sin, then the original sin must be left untampered with, that is to say, tolerated. As Bejzcy notes, later canonists took the definition of tolerance even further: "Joannes Andreae...distinguished three types of tolerance: *permissio simplex*, the mere abstention from punishing evil acts; *permissio tollens impedimentum*, which, moreover, obliged the Church to restrain other people from proceeding against the evil acts in question; and *permissio praestans iuvamen*, the case in which the Church was required to foster actively the occurrence of some evil act (e.g., the punishment of criminal clerics)."³⁵

It would seem from our initial examination of Friar Raymond's ideology that far from advocating "ridding Europe" of Jews and Muslims, he was, rather, (by his own definition) "tolerant." As Bejczy writes:

The main social groups that profited from the *tolerantia* recommended in canon law seem to have been non-Christians, especially Jews, and prostitutes. The concept of *tolerantia* was chiefly developed as an answer to the question of how ecclesiastical authorities should deal with the practices of Jewish religion. Jewish rites were considered an evil that had to be tolerated; the major evil that was thus prevented was the forced conversion of the Jews, for conversion to Christianity had to be a matter of free-will. Moreover, the Jews would be more willing to embrace the Christian faith, the canonists argued, when they were treated with benevolence. Accordingly, Joannes Andreae mentioned the Jewish rites as an example of acts that should meet with *permissio tollens impedimentum*: the Church should not only leave the rites unpunished but should also prevent others from disturbing them. The same arguments for tolerance applied to other unbelievers, notably to Muslims. Canon law mostly treated Jews and Muslims under the same headings, although canonists often took a harsher stance against the latter because, as a result of the crusades, Christianity was at war with them. The canonists agreed, however, that Muslims who lived in peace with Christians ought not to be attacked or expelled. Other infidels living on the borders of Christendom (Prussians, Lithuanians) had to be treated analogously.³⁶

One of the most famous Church edicts which can be classified as embodying *permissio tollens impedimentum*, was *Sicut Iudaeis*, issued by Calixtus II (1119-1124). It not only mandated non-interference with Jews, but threatened sanction against those who molest them:

Just as the Jews ought not to be allowed to do more in their synagogues than the law permits, so too they should suffer no reduction in the privileges that have been previously granted them. That is why, though they prefer to remain obstinate rather than acknowledge the words of the prophets and the secrets of their own scriptures and come to a knowledge of Christianity and salvation, because they have sought our protection and aid and in accordance with the

mercy of Christian piety...we grant them their petition and offer them our shield of protection. We also decree (*statuimus*) that no Christian shall use violence to force them to be baptized if they are reluctant or unwilling; but if any of them seeks refuge among the Christians because of his faith, after his willingness has been made clear, he shall become a Christian without suffering any calumny. For it is impossible to believe that one who comes to baptism unwillingly truly possesses the Christian faith.

Also, absent due authority, no Christian shall presume to harm them, kill them, take their money, or alter the privileges they have become accustomed to in that region. In addition, during the celebration of their festivals, no one should assault them with sticks or stones, nor should any services be required of them except those which have long been customary. And, in opposition to the depravity and avarice of evil men, we decree that no one shall desecrate or diminish Jewish cemeteries or, with the object of extorting money, exhume those buried there. If however—God forbid—someone knowingly acts in defiance of this decree, he shall suffer loss of honor and office, or be restrained by excommunication, until he makes satisfaction.

We wish, however, to place under the protection of this decree only those who have not presumed to plot in the subversion of the Christian faith.³⁷

Jeremy Cohen has accused Raymond of Peñafort of categorizing Jews as heretics and mounting his Dominican missionary effort in an attempt to have done with them. But it was Friar Raymond who actually saw to it that the principles of *Sicut Iudaeis* would be given a wide and lasting hearing, as we shall see.

Perhaps due in part to his fame as a former master from Bologna, and partly because of the popularity of his *Summa pastoralis* and *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, Raymond attracted the attention of the papal legate to Spain, Cardinal John of Abbeville. From 1227-1229, Raymond acted as John's coadjutor, assisting him in everything from the pastoral reform of the clergy, to the sensitive matter of the validity of the king's marriage, to the preaching of a new crusade against the Moors.³⁸ It was, however,

particularly in the realm of sin and repentance that Friar Raymond achieved his reputation: “sed precedens cum socio, peditando veniens ad locum quo venturus erat dominus Cardinalis, populum faciens convocari, absolvebat excommunicatos, confessiones audiebat et predicabat et cetera remedia populo impendebat.”³⁹ Raymond’s reputation preceded him all the way to Rome itself, where he was summoned to the court of Pope Gregory IX. According to Raymond’s biographer, the Pope was ready to pay the highest honors to Raymond’s penitential facility:

Dominus autem Gregorius ipsum benigne suscipiens, considerata ejus conversatione sancta, sciencia probata et providentia ipsius capellanum et penitenciarium instituit, et in confessorum suum specialem inter alios preeligit. Qui domino Pape frequenter injungebat loco penitentiae ut pauperes habentes in curia diversa negotia, qui propter indigenciam quandoque ab aliquibus repelluntur, misericorditer expediret, et in suis justis petitionibus exaudiret; qui hujusmodi penitentiam devote suscipiens eidem fratri Raimundo fiducialiter committebat, ut eos, juxta suam providentiam circumspectam, sine more dispendio expediret; propter quod dominus papa Gregorius, quandocumque sibi scribebat absenti, eum patrem pauperum in suis salutationibus nominabat.⁴⁰

Besides therefore, the privilege of being the pope’s own confessor, Raymond was also given the office of papal penitentiary, in which case, he administered confession in place of the pope himself. The office of Apostolic Penitentiary was a new and developing position within the curia, as a recent treatment states: “According to documents of 1200, a certain Cardinal Giovanni ‘de S. Paolo’ heard confessions for the pope. Quite probably he was assisted by other confessors placed under his authority. In the time of Pope Honorius III (1216-1227), the cardinal who exercised that office was known as ‘Penitentiary,’ ‘General Penitentiary,’ then ‘the Highest Penitentiary,’...He had

collaborators among whom were some ‘friars’ later called ‘Minor Penitentiaries.’”⁴¹

Again, we see another example of the developing importance of confession in the eyes of the papacy and of the friars as coadjutors or “expeditors of God’s mercy.” Being a friar, a canon lawyer, and the author of a lengthy *summa* on the subject, Raymond was naturally chosen to hear the pope’s confessions, as well as those who would wish to confess to the pope (certain sins being reserved to the absolution of the bishop of Rome). Interestingly, Raymond’s biographer explains that the office also involved ministering to those who had petitioned the Holy See and those who suffered from poverty. These facts underscore Raymond’s role as chief confessor as both judge of souls and also physician of souls, an extension of the “charitable” mission of Christ and his vicar on earth.

It was during these years that the pope entrusted another prodigious task to Raymond, that of collecting and codifying all existing canon law into one harmonious whole.⁴² Doubtless, it was no mean feat which Raymond grappled with as he poured over endless glosses on Gratian and centuries of pronouncements from the popes, Fathers, and councils. What is of particular significance for our investigation is that Raymond deliberately chose to include the principles of *Sicut Iudaeis* in his multi-volume collection, which came simply to be known as the *Decretals* of Gregory IX, or the *Liber extra*. The *Decretals* contains several references to *tolerantia*. This prompts Bejzcy to strenuously disagree with Cohen’s characterization of Raymond: “Moreover, the influence of canon law on scholasticism in matters of tolerance invalidates Cohen’s distinction between tolerant popes and canonists on the one hand and intolerant mendicants on the other—a distinction which is little convincing anyway, since the

canonist Raymond of Peñafort (who gave an authoritative definition of tolerance, as we have seen above) is depicted by Cohen as the evil genius behind mendicant intolerance.”⁴³

The fact of the matter is that while Jews did suffer legal restrictions against their liberty, the same Church canons granted them a degree of religious freedom and protection unthinkable for Christian heretics. As Bejczy writes, “Heretics and homosexuals were not even in theory allowed to dwell in the margins of society, like Jews and prostitutes. Heresy and homosexuality were not seen as minor evils that society could afford. Heresy endangered the very core of Christian civilization, whereas homosexuality was felt to threaten the distinction between the sexes...*Tolerantia* was a way of walking honestly towards outsiders; towards insiders, strictness prevailed.”⁴⁴ If Raymond was operating under an alleged new Dominican ideology that viewed Jews as heretics, he passed up the perfect opportunity to brand them as such for all to see, in his *Decretals*, the definitive codification of universal Church law. And one year later, in the final edition of his *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, Raymond again, regarded the two groups separately: “Dictum est supra de Iudaeis, & Paganis, qui per infidelitatem Deum inhonorant: nunc agendum de Haereticis, qui a fide deviantes in Deum multipliciter peccant.”⁴⁵

This authoritative distinction between infidels (Jews, Muslims, and pagans) and heretics, became widespread among priests of the Dominican Order, as well as among secular prelates, throughout Christendom, owing to the enormous popularity and circulation of Raymond’s *summa*. As Mulchahey writes at length:

The *Summa de casibus* was welcomed with open arms by Raymond's fellow Dominicans, for whom, as we have seen, it became one of the fundamental textbooks for their discussions "*de moralibus*," just as the sentences of Peter Lombard stood as the set text for the *schola*. The *Summa de casibus* is one of the few works ever mentioned by name in Dominican educational documents: even the famous *ratio studiorum* of 1259 recommended it. The Roman Province early encouraged the brothers of Tuscany, and especially all young priests, to study the *Summa de casibus* dilligently, right alongside the Bible, the Lombard's *Sentences*, the *Historia scholastica*, and the writings of the Fathers. Humbert of Romans, in his book of *Instructiones*, listed the *Summa de casibus*, as one of the books all conventual libraries were to obtain, and even mentions Raymond of Peñafort by name when he tells confessors that they should refer to the *Summa* "*magistri Raymundi*" before absolving excommunicates or simoniacs. It was also from Humbert we first learned that the *collationes scientificae* designed to train the friars in moral science were meant to focus on the *Summa de casibus* and similar texts. The work was one familiar to all the friars—Dominican convents from Florence to Barcelona had their own copies—and it was distributed by the Paris stationers to the wider world. Raymond of Peñafort's modern reputation may rest on the *Liber extra* and perhaps on his later services as master-general of the Dominican order, which included the revising of the order's Constitutions in 1239, but his contemporary fame was largely owing to his confessor's manual, the *Summa de casibus*.⁴⁶

If there was a distinct Dominican ideology towards Jews, it was the one set down by Raymond in his *summa* on confession: Jews, along with other "infidels," were sinners because they did not worship God in the manner that was now ordained, i.e., through Christ and his Church; by the same token, however, they did not sin as "greatly" as "heretics," who "deviated" from their Christian faith. But as Mulchahey mentions, Raymond not only left his stamp on future generations of Dominicans because of his *summa*, he also influenced the order by becoming master general, and by solidifying its Constitutions for the next seven hundred years.

Raymond's feverish pace at the papal court apparently led to a breakdown of his

physical health.⁴⁷ Gregory IX ordered his own personal physician to look after him and when he decided it would be best for Raymond to leave Rome for recuperative native Spanish air, the pope is quoted as saying that he preferred to see his “beloved Raymond absent from him, rather than dead at his feet.” With the pontiff’s blessing therefore, Raymond resigned from his work at the curia, though retaining his power to absolve penitents in the pope’s stead.

It is at this juncture in Raymond’s biography that we must again address Cohen’s assertions regarding Raymond’s alleged view of Jews as heretics: “Raymond de Peñaforte—who served as papal confessor when Gregory IX received Donin at the curia, who stood at the helm of the Order of Friars Preachers when the Dominicans played a leading role in the *auto-da-fe* of 1242 against the Talmud...clearly shared the view of contemporary postbiblical Judaism as a heretical departure from the biblical norm...”⁴⁸ Actually, in an attempt to make the pieces of his thesis fit, Cohen is mistaken on virtually all three counts. Nicholas Donin was a Christian convert from Judaism about whom little is known except for the fact he had a serious axe to grind. In 1236, he approached Pope Gregory IX “with a list of charges against rabbinic Judaism—the postbiblical, ‘oral’ tradition to which the Jews of his day adhered. Donin leveled most of his accusations against the Talmud, but he also used Jewish liturgy, rabbinic commentaries on the Bible and Talmud, and various collections of midrashim to substantiate his charges.”⁴⁹ Cohen emphasizes that the first nine of Donin’s theses “concern the Jews’ allegiance to rabbinic doctrine and their neglect of biblical precepts.”⁵⁰ Cohen argues that Donin was trying to paint the Talmud as a deviation from the Old Testament and that Raymond and Gregory

IX—individuals already obsessed with doctrinal regularity—came to view the Talmud and contemporary Jewish use of it, as heresy.⁵¹

In the first place, however, it must be stated that by April of 1236, Raymond was on a boat bound for Barcelona, and thus, was probably nowhere near the pope when he received Donin's thirty-five theses. Moreover, I think it highly unlikely that he was still conducting much official business for Gregory IX during the first three months of that year, given his severe ill-health. So for all intents and purposes, Raymond was not a party to the Donin matter in any direct way. As for the pope, he did not even respond in any official capacity for another three years. Even Cohen himself, in his latest work, has toned-down his language on a supposed role for Raymond in the Donin affair: "he served as Gregory's personal confessor, perhaps even until Nicholas Donin brought his indictment of the Talmud to the curia."⁵²

When Gregory IX finally got around to investigating Donin's charges against the Talmud, he issued a letter addressed to the Christian kings of Europe, in which he repeated Donin's allegations and asked that on the first Sabbath of Lent of the following year (March 3, 1240), while Jews are gathered at synagogue, all their books be taken for proper examination and given into the custody of trusted Dominicans and Franciscans.⁵³ It would seem, however, that only Louis IX of France actually carried out the pope's orders, and that furthermore, he was disposed to allow the Jews an opportunity to defend the Talmud, before consigning it to flames:

According to the Latin manuscript describing the whole judgement against the Talmud, two types of proceedings took place. The first probably comprised the

famous disputation between Nicholas Donin and Rabbi Yehiel ben Joseph of Paris, held under royal auspices and presided over by the queen mother, Blanche of Castile. The second kind of proceeding may have consisted of a more formal inquisitorial interrogations conducted before a panel of distinguished judges, headed by Eudes de Chateauroux, chancellor of the University of Paris. Yehiel and three other noted French rabbis, Judah ben David of Melun, Samuel ben Solomon of Château-Thierry, and Moses ben Jacob of Coucy, were ordered to appear before this inquest; but when the first two offered similar testimony under separate interrogation—Yehiel on June 25–26, 1240, and Judah on June 27—the other two were left unquestioned. The clerical court found the Talmud guilty as charged and condemned it to the stake. The Jews managed to forestall execution of the sentence by bribing one of the bishops on the tribunal to intercede with the king. But the prelate soon died, Louis IX regarded the death as ominous, and perhaps after further official inquiry twenty or twenty-four wagon loads of manuscripts—probably ten to twelve thousand volumes—were burned in Paris in the Place de Grève over the course of one and one-half days in 1242.⁵⁴

Now, to the matter of mendicant ideology and complicity in a matter of heresy. Pope Gregory certainly disregarded any notion of tolerance by his intrusion into Jewish worship services and confiscation of religious texts, as did King Louis, by their subsequent destruction. Whether such unprecedented affronts were done to eradicate “heresy,” is the question that is open to debate. In 1247, in a revealing account, Odo (Eudes) de Chateauroux, chancellor of Paris and bishop of Tusculum, one of the leading participants of the “Talmud trial,” presented the new pope, Innocent IV, with a summary of the inquiry’s findings. Innocent had apparently received an appeal from a group of French rabbis who told him that without the Talmud “they cannot understand the Bible and the other precepts of their laws in accordance with their faith.” Innocent, it seems, was prepared to grant them this concession in keeping with the canonical principle of *tolerantia*, and says as much in a letter to King Louis,⁵⁵ but Odo attempted to dissuade

the pontiff:

A careful examination having afterwards been made, it was discovered that the said books were full of errors, and that the veil covers the heart of these people to such a degree that these books turn the Jews away not only from an understanding of the spirit, but even of the letter, and incline them to fables and lies...It would, therefore, be most disgraceful, and a cause of shame for the Apostolic Throne, if the books that had been so solemnly and so justly burned in the presence of all the scholars, and of the clergy, and of the populace of Paris, were to be given back to the masters of the Jews at the order of the pope—for such tolerance would seem to mean approval. Saint Jerome, speaking of the lepers whom the Lord cured, says that there is no perverse doctrine that does not contain some truth, and so likewise no heretics are to be found who do not think well of some one article of the Faith. There are books that contained errors, and hence no matter how much good they contain, they were, nevertheless, condemned by the authority of the councils, in the same way that heretics are condemned although they do not err in everything. Thus, although these books contain some good things, though not many, nevertheless they deserve condemnation. This is the very teaching of which Saint Jerome made mention in the Gospel of Matthew, that it makes errors into commands of God, as the Lord Himself bore witness.⁵⁶

As we attempt to put Odo's judgement into its historical context, the question comes down to this: must a document that is considered "error-full," necessarily be categorized as "heretical"? When Odo compares the books of the Talmud to the heretical writings condemned at historical Church councils, is he saying that they are similar in that they both contain a mixture of error and truth, or is he saying that they are similar because they are both heretical? Cohen strongly affirms the latter. "The analogy between heresy and heretical books, on one hand, and the oral law denounced by Jerome (identified by Odo as *deuterosis*) and the Talmud on the other hand, is unmistakable. The Talmud, concluded Odo, was condemned and must be condemned for its heretical contents and character."⁵⁷ Or as Cohen says elsewhere of Odo's verdict: "not only did it

[the Talmud] deter the Jews from Christianity, but it steered them away from the literal observance of Mosaic law. Talmudic Judaism did not told true to the biblical faith and observance the toleration of which Augustine had repeatedly preached; by implication, the talmudic Jew did not serve the purpose that justified his presence in Christendom.”⁵⁸

Robert Chazan does not share Cohen’s interpretation. As he sees the case against the Talmud:

One set of claims involved internal Jewish discomfort with the Talmud, a sense that it represented deviation from the norms of biblical teaching. Although given an initial hearing by the officials of the papal court, this line of attack was quickly dropped. More important from the point of view of the Church were the allegations that the Talmud sanctioned, and even recommended, behaviors that were anti-Christian (contravening the prohibition of actions harmful to the Christian host society), that it contained material that blasphemed Christianity (yet another kind of harm), and that it taught doctrines that were fundamentally absurd and hence intolerable. All these allegations were based on firsthand reading of the talmudic sources and roused considerable concern in ecclesiastical circles.⁵⁹

I would agree with Chazan’s interpretation. As far as the Dominican involvement in the Talmud trial, it is not necessary to postulate a new mendicant ideology against Jews to explain their role in the affair. As we have seen throughout our own investigation, the principal role for a Dominican friar was to be an episcopal coadjutor. Whatever commission fell under the scope of a bishop, it could be carried out by a member of the Order of Preachers. When it fell to the lot of the bishops of France to seize and examine the Talmud, the Dominicans were naturally there to assist them. As Chazan writes: “...the Dominicans and Franciscans of Paris...[their] involvement in the anti-Talmud campaign was a reasonable extension of their general responsibility for the

propriety of doctrine in Christian society.”⁶⁰

As for Raymond of Peñafort, as we have shown, it is most likely the case that he had left the curia before Donin ever appeared on the scene. Though he was probably not unaware of the pope’s eventual dealings with him and Gregory’s ultimate decision to confiscate the Talmud, there is no evidence to suggest that Raymond had any particular involvement with any of this. To the contrary, all the evidence suggests that Raymond was preoccupied with other matters, matters of sin and repentance. It is recorded in his bull of canonization that after leaving Rome for Barcelona, his ship put in at Tossa, where a crowd of people was found carrying a dying fisherman who had lost all consciousness:

As Raymond, who had just landed, approached, he cried out in the sight of all these people, and in a voice which all could hear: “Barulo, do you wish to confess?” ...And the dying man replied in a loud voice: “Yes, my Lord, I do earnestly wish it.” With a commanding gesture of his arm Raymond sweeps back the crowd of curious on-lookers, and on the spot receives the last confession of the fisherman. Immediately afterwards he disappears. This miracle was performed in the sight of hundreds. In 1284, the Bishop of Gerona received the sworn testimony of Benedict de Bosco, Prior of Barcelona, and that of several other priests as to the truth of this miracle...the people of Tossa... yearly celebrate the feast of the Saint with great pomp. Ancient hymns, wherein this miracle is fittingly recalled are sung by them...⁶¹

For our purposes, it is significant to note that one of the miracles leading to Raymond’s canonization is specifically a confession miracle. Indeed, during the months of his convalescence in Catalonia, Raymond was especially occupied with absolving penitents, including King James of Aragon: “*El Conquistador* himself...comes to seek absolution from the papal penitentiary for having attempted to impede the consecration

of a bishop. Raymond absolves the royal penitent after having received two letters from Rome. James takes his place at the door of the cathedral of Huesca, with a rope around his neck, craving the forgiveness of everyone who went into pray.”⁶² Raymond also had occasion to reconcile the powerful magnate Robert de Castel Rousillon, who, having been convicted of heresy, apparently tried to evade censure by false promises of going on Crusade.⁶³

It was at this time that the master general of the Dominicans, Jordan of Saxony, died in a shipwreck off the coast of Syria. Jordan had governed the order for fifteen years; now, with St. Dominic’s successor gone, it was a time for serious introspection and prayer on the part of the Friars Preachers, as they deliberated upon a worthy candidate to replace him. The General Chapter of Bologna of 1238 selected Friar Raymond, and he reluctantly acquiesced to their decision. He would rule for only two years, however, begging the brothers of the General Chapter of May 1240, to release him of this responsibility. Thus, Raymond was not “at the helm” of the order when some its friars were enlisted in the interrogation of the Talmud in Paris the following month, nor was he when thousands of copies were burned two years later. The roots of the Dominican mission to the Jews do not really lie within this episode; they are more accurately to be perceived as an outgrowth of Raymond’s vocation to the penitential *cura animarum*, of the founding principles of the Order of Preachers itself—the one matter that truly occupied the bulk of Raymond’s term as master general.

It was at the first General Chapter which St. Dominic and his friars held exactly twenty years earlier, that the founder and his brethren first proposed to “clarify the

institutional identity of their order, and to expand their early customary into a set of formal Constitutions.”⁶⁴ As such, their “mission statement” may be found in the prologue which they drafted: “Our Order, is recognized as having been especially instituted from the beginning for preaching and the salvation of souls, and our study should be principally and ardently directed to this end with the greatest industry, so that we can be useful to the souls of our neighbors.”⁶⁵ Thus, it was Dominic’s “zeal for souls” which was formally recognized as the purpose of their order, with study and preaching serving as the first means to this end. Raymond of Peñafort did not tamper with these lines when he was entrusted with the task of recasting the Constitutions, rather, he preserved them, and took their message to heart. As Mulchahey points out, so did Humbert of Romans, Raymond’s contemporary and second successor as master general: “the Dominican order, writes Humbert, really has two ends, namely, *praedicatio*, is more properly speaking the particular purpose of the order, this end is clearly subordinated to the order’s more general and universal end, the *salus animarum*.”⁶⁶ Humbert expressed these sentiments in his *Commentary on the Prologue to the Constitutions*, where he also speaks of the need for Dominican schooling: “Study is not the purpose of the order, but it is exceedingly necessary if we are to achieve the aforementioned ends, namely preaching and the saving of souls, for without study we can do neither.”⁶⁷

It should come as no surprise, therefore, that it was under Humbert’s master generalship that Raymond would achieve his greatest success in his missionary endeavor to train friars in non-Christian languages to be sent to the Jews and Muslims. Humbert and Raymond shared the same Dominican ideology of sin, repentance, and the *salus*

animarum. In his famous treatise *On the Formation of Preachers*, Humbert again, reiterates the essentially missionary goals of the order. In the section entitled, “The Thoroughly Good Results of Preaching,” he explicitly states that the Dominican mission is first of all, to *non*-Christians :

There are ten thoroughly good effects which sometimes result from preaching.

First, the conversion of unbelievers to the faith, which obviously occurred during the preaching of the apostles and disciples of Christ, which converted the whole world to Christ. “Some men from Cyprus and Cyrenaea went into Antioch and began to speak to the gentiles, proclaiming the Lord Jesus to them, and the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number of believers was converted to the Lord” (Acts 11:20-21).⁶⁸

Humbert then goes on to explain the underlying theology of sin and repentance:

Secondly, the conversion of wicked men to repentance. “The men of Nineveh did penance at the preaching of Jonah” (Luke 11:32).

Thirdly, the conversion of worldly men to humility. There have been many men brought from worldly pride to a humble way of life because of their listening to the word of God. “When Ahab heard these words, he tore his clothes and covered his flesh with sackcloth, he fasted and slept on sackcloth and walked with his head bowed” (3 Kings 21:27).

Fourthly, sinners going to confession. Many people are stirred by what they hear in sermons to confess sins they have never confessed before. At the preaching of John, “The whole of Jerusalem went out to him, and all Judaea and all the region round the Jordan, confessing their sins” (Matt. 3:5-6).

Fifthly, reception of the Holy Spirit. Many people receive him while listening to sermons. “While Peter was still speaking, the Holy Spirit fell upon all of them who were listening to the word” (Acts 10:44).

Sixthly, the sanctification of men from their sins. The word of God has the power to make men holy, according to the principle, “Sanctify them in the truth; your word is truth”; “You are now clean, because of the word which I have spoken to you” (John 5:3).

Thus, we see that the pursuit of holiness, not homogeneity, is the driving force

behind the preaching of the Dominican Order. It seeks to augment the number of Christians, but their kingdom is not of this world:

Seventhly, the increase of the mystical body of Christ. Many souls are added to it through preaching. "On that day about three thousand souls were added" (Acts 2:41) at the preaching of Peter.

Eighthly, the release of the devil's prey. "From his teeth I rescued his prey" (Job 29:17). This is interpreted as referring to the devil's prey, which is rescued by preaching.

Ninthly, joy to the angels. They rejoice when they hear the glory of Christ being proclaimed far and wide in preaching. So Christ says to the Church in Cant. 8:13, "Dweller in the gardens, my friends are listening to you." This is glossed, "That is, the angels." And it is implied that they enjoy what they hear, because this is the significance of the word "listen."

Tenthly, the defeat of the devil's forces. As a result of preaching, the devil, with all his army of sins, has been chased out of many provinces and cities and estates and towns and from the hearts of many individuals. "Three hundred men pressed forward blowing trumpets, and the Lord set a sword in every township, and they slaughtered each other as they fled" (Judges 7:22). This is interpreted to refer to the preachers of the Blessed Trinity.

Humbert's tenure as master general of the Dominicans, from its very beginnings, was to be associated with the conversion of non-Christians. The General Chapter of 1254 which elected him as its leader was deliberately held in Budapest, where, as Gerard of Frachet writes, "the high chief of the Cumans was baptized with his wife and army, after the brothers had worked many years for their conversion. His daughter, a woman of good character, was married by Stephen, the elder son of the king of Hungary who had already been crowned as king and was very devoted to our Order."⁶⁹

As Humbert noted above, preaching first required study, and preaching to the unconverted meant first of all, study of their languages. At the General Chapter in Milan in 1255, Humbert addressed a now famous encyclical letter to all the brethren, in which

he proclaims that his heart has many desires, “and this is not the least...to see...the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ carried by ours to the Jews, to the Saracens who have been deceived for a long time by their false prophet, to the idolatrous pagan, to the barbarians and to all the nations, so that we may be His witnesses and may bring salvation to all people even to the extremities of the earth.”⁷⁰ It is clear to see that Dominican ideology did not single out the Jews for conversion, everyone was targeted to be convinced by Christian argument. As master general of the order, Humbert identifies its mission as an extension in time and space of that of their supreme Master, Jesus Christ. His clarion call to the friars is a direct echo of Christ’s last words to his Apostles on the Mount of Olives: “Go ye into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned” (Mark 16:15-16); “And you shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and even to the extremities of the earth” (Acts 1:8). Underlying this universal mission to souls is the theology of sin and repentance:

And he said to them: “These are the words which I spoke to you while I was yet with you, that all things must needs be fulfilled which are written in the law of Moses and in the prophets and in the psalms, concerning me.” Then he opened their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures. And he said to them: “Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer and to rise again from the dead, on the third day; And that penance and remission of sins should be preached in his name, unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And you are witnesses of these things” (Luke 24: 44-48).

The papacy had actually preceded Humbert in reasserting Christ’s call to bring salvation to all peoples; though most likely, it did so under the direct inspiration of

Raymond of Peñafort. It was in 1235, while Raymond was actively ministering to Gregory IX as confessor and penitentiary, that the pontiff issued the bull *Cum hora undecima*, which was a universal appeal for the evangelization of the unbaptized: “since the eleventh hour has come in the day given to mankind...it is necessary that spiritual men [possessing] purity of life and the gift of intelligence should go forth with John [the Baptist] again to all men and all peoples of every tongue and in every kingdom to prophesy because, according to the prophet Isaias, the salvation of the remnant of Israel will not occur until, as St. Paul says, ‘the *plenitudo gentium* enters first’ into...heaven.”⁷¹

Muldoon explains the biblical significance of Gregory’s eleventh-hour appeal:

The bull...contained the basic statement of the church’s missionary function...The opening lines...reflected the apocalyptic tradition that was strong among the members of the Franciscan order in its early years...The task of the missionaries was to fulfill Christ’s injunction to preach the gospel to all men so that the process of salvation might be completed. They were to strengthen those Christians whose faith was weak, to correct the false doctrines of heretics, and to bring the non-believers into the fold. In order to facilitate the missionaries’ work, Gregory IX granted them a number of special privileges, including the right to hear confessions anywhere, to absolve excommunicates, to dispense converts from various kinds of irregularities, probably referring to minor impediments involving marriage and generally to ease the way into the fold of those outside of it.⁷²

These special privileges were exactly the kinds of works with which Raymond of Peñafort especially busied himself as penitentiary; thus over the course of the years 1234-1235, we recognize Raymond’s hand, not only in the codification of the Church’s law, but in the charting of a new evangelization. Once again, the theology of sin and repentance is exposed as the undergirding beneath the Church’s missionary efforts. It

was at this precise time that Raymond authored a set of canonical responses in reply to questions of sin posed to the Holy See by Dominicans and Franciscans already at work in Tunisia. As Muldoon explains:

During the pontificates of Honorius III (1216-1227) and Gregory IX, the missionary zeal of the Franciscans and Dominicans led to further papal contact with the ruler of Morocco. In order to ease their way, Honorius authorized some modifications in the garb they wore so that they would not attract unnecessary attention. Some years later, Gregory IX wrote to the ruler of Morocco inviting him to receive baptism at the hands of the friars working in his land, an invitation that was refused. On the other hand, the ruler of Morocco was not uninterested in relations with the papacy. In 1235 he sent an embassy consisting of two Genoese merchants to the pope seeking to arrange a treaty with the papacy. The embassy, which is known from Gregory's response, led to the dispatching of a Franciscan friar to Morocco for discussions with the Moroccan ruler. The use of a Franciscan as the papal envoy suggests that the main purpose of an agreement with the Moroccan ruler was the protection of the Christians living there and the friars who were being sent to minister to them. In addition, the friars were expected to preach to the Moslems.⁷³

In his reply to the Dominicans and Franciscans, Raymond makes it clear that he is interested in the eternal salvation of both the Christians and Muslims in Tunis, and he is not unmindful even of the temporal welfare of the infidel at Christian hands:

Item utrum sunt excommunicati qui vedunt christianos Sarracenis, maxime cum tales compelluntur fieri Sarraceni pro majori parte? Respondemus: Non sunt excommunicati, sed mortaliter peccant.

Item quidam furantur Judeos vel Sarracenos et maxime feminas et ducentes eos in terram Sarracenorum per coacionem faciunt eos profiteri coram Sarracenis quod sint christiani vel christiane et sub nomine christiano vendunt eos, querimus utrum tales sunt excommunicati propter injuriam quam faciunt nomini christiano? Respondemus: Non sunt excommunicati, sed mortaliter peccant.

Item utrum sunt excommunicati milites christiani vel alii qui conversantur cum Sarracenis et obligant viros vel feminas de familiis suis Sarracenis, necessitate compulsi, et maxime qui eos obligant non credunt se posse sufficere

ad redemptione ipsorum? Contigit quod taliter obligati fiunt Sarraceni et postea cum repetuntur non redduntur. Respondemus similiter.

Item quidam captivi christiani et christiane conversantur cum Sarracenis habentibus infantulos, querimus utrum possimus talibus consulere ut baptizent eos furtive sine voluntate conscia parentum sub spe quod taliter baptizati, si decedant antequam attingant ad annos discretionis, salvabuntur, licet presumatur de talibus baptizatis, quod, cum annos discretionis attigerint, displicebit eis eos fuisse baptizatos, si eis consistiterit de baptismo suscepto? Respondemus: Baptizati habentur tales.⁷⁴

The issue of salvation in the Christian-Muslim encounter was a priority for Raymond and had been for some time. Coming, as he did, from Catalonia, he could not have remained uninfluenced by the *Reconquista*. Indeed, to some degree, as papal legate, he had actively instigated it. Enhanced concern for the temporal and eternal welfare of souls was a natural outcome of a revolution in Iberian hegemony. Because of its acquisition of Muslim towns and villages, in just one generation the kingdom of Aragon witnessed a population increase of almost fifty percent.⁷⁵ It is against this backdrop that we must contextualize Raymond's overtures to infidels. In the same year which saw the release of *Cum hora undecimus* and Raymond's replies to the friars of Morocco, Raymond obtained approval from Pope Gregory for an order specifically devoted to the redemption of Christian slaves from Muslim captivity. The Order of Our Lady of Ransom (also known as the Order of Our Lady of Mercy) had first sprung in the 1220s, from a collaborative effort between Friar Raymond, Peter Nolasco, and King James I, involving a shared vision of the holy Virgin, who had requested its inauguration. Peter, fleeing war-torn Languedoc with young James, had first approached Raymond, not surprisingly, in the confessional at Barcelona. He held a passionate concern for Christian

prisoners of war, as did Raymond, according to his biographer.⁷⁶ Thus it was that Raymond applied his juridical talent in establishing yet another set of laws governing a religious society. The Order of Our Lady of Mercy, borrowed from the rule of St. Augustine and the Dominicans, but it was essentially a military-monastic order; Peter Nolasco and other nobles of a spiritual bent, had first started out as a confraternity in Barcelona to care for the sick in hospitals, as well as for ransoming Christian prisoners. The establishment of the Mercedarians was therefore, a solidification and continuation of this initial venture. As Schwertner describes it: "Though...a military Order, at no time did it allow its members the use of the sword. The Mercedarians sought to ransom the captive by money; they wept with those who wept, and sold themselves into captivity for the liberation of Christian slaves as their fourth vow has it: 'And if necessary, I shall remain captive in the hands of the Saracens, for the redemption of the faithful of Christ.'"⁷⁷

The Christ-like self-sacrifice of the Mercedarians had both individual and corporate precedents. Jordan of Saxony writes that St. Dominic once offered himself in ransom to the heretics, while his namesake, St. Dominic of Silos, a member of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives, had done likewise many times himself. In 1198, Innocent III had written a letter of introduction for the Order of the Trinity to the ruler of Morocco on behalf of their efforts. His letter also suggested that "the prince might be interested in exchanging Moslems held by Europeans for Christians held captive in Morocco."⁷⁸ Thus it was that popes and holy men had for some time been interested in establishing various missions to Muslims in North Africa, and not

always of a hostile nature.

If Gregory IX's Moroccan policy had its forerunners, it also had its successors. Innocent IV (1243-1254) reissued *Cum hora undecimus* in 1145 and in that same year sent a delegation of Dominicans to the sultan, while on mission to the Mongols :

After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain the assistance of the sultan in crossing over from the Moslem-held lands of the Near East into the Tartar lands, the two Dominicans reached the Tartars by different routes. One by product of the Dominican contact with the sultan was a letter from him to Innocent IV concerning the possibility of a disputation between representatives of both faiths. The sultan pointed out that the Dominicans did not know Arabic and that there was no one among his subjects sufficiently learned in Christian teachings to debate the Dominicans effectively.⁷⁹

The sultan was not the only one to criticize the Dominicans for a failure in fluency. Ten years later, in his address to the General Chapter of 1255, Humbert of Romans, not only called for a renewed missionary effort, he admonished those friars who were reluctant to minister to non-Christians because of their lack of training in foreign tongues. He attributed their fault not to their intellects, but their wills: "scarcely any of the Brethren wish to study" foreign languages, because of an inordinate affection for their native lands and families.

Humbert concludes his letter by appealing to the friars to exhibit some of that same Christ-like self-sacrifice as Dominic himself first displayed on behalf of souls:

If therefore, under the inspiration of the Grace of God, any one of you is willing to apply himself according to our wish to the study of Arabic, Hebrew, or Greek languages, or any other barbarian tongue; or if there be anyone disposed to go out from his own country to pass into Palestine, Greece, or any other provinces which lie adjacent to infidel countries, where there is great need of Religious

who are capable of suffering much for the Order, for the Faith, *for the salvation of souls* and the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, I beg him to make it known to me.⁸⁰ (Emphasis mine)

It is most likely that in the intervening years (1245-1255) between the observations of the sultan and Master Humbert, the first Dominican school of language was established in Tunis. As with the creation of the Mercedarians, it was a feat involving a miraculous vision and the cooperation of Raymond of Peñafort and James of Aragon:

Pro quorum conversione procuranda totus erat caritatis incendiis inflammatus, et super hoc sibi quedam visio mirabilis divinitus est ostensa, in qua sibi est a Domino revelatum, quod per Fratres Ordinis Praedicatorum deberet inter gentes infideles multorum conversio ad fidem catholicam procurari: propter quod magis ac magis accensus cum licentia Magistri Ordinis et cum auxilio domini Regis Castelle et domini Regis Aragonum studium lingue arabice fieri procuravit, in quo viginti Fratres Ordinis Predicatorum vel plures in lingua illa per ipsius dilligentiam sunt instructi...⁸¹

The master general who gave Raymond license to begin his *studium lingue* was his successor, John Wildeshausen. Master John was a Dominican who was himself devoted to the study of languages, to preaching to infidels—and notably, to confession and absolving penitents on behalf of the papacy. In his entry for the year 1241, Gerald of Frachet writes:

Brother John was elected Master at Paris. He was a German from the town of Wildeshausen in Saxony...He was received in the early days of the Order [1220-1221], and was an outstanding preacher in many languages: German, Italian, French and Latin, and his preaching produced good results everywhere he went. Therefore he was taken as assistant to many cardinals and acted as penitentiary in various Papal missions. While he was prior provincial of Hungary, he was

made bishop of Bosnia.⁸²

Hungary, as we have seen, was mission territory for the Dominicans. It was here that Friar John established a reputation for sanctity in the *cura animarum*, as King Bela of Hungary testified to the order after John's death in 1253:

How wonderful was the virtue and good life of Bishop John of Bosnia, of holy memory, who first lived among us and then became the Master of your Order. As we and the people of our kingdom take delight in recalling his memory, we are stirred to devotion and contrition. He was a kind father to the afflicted, using his little episcopal revenue only to help the poor. In a word, he took pity on the pitiable and suffered for the suffering. His preaching was inspired by the Holy Spirit, enlightening and moving his listeners as he attracted them like honey. He was a true witness of Christ, filled with the grace of God and was loved by all. His merits could not stay hidden, but were brought to light by miracles as people with unruffled faith asked for his prayers. We and others can testify that he raised a dead man, made the crippled to walk and the blind to see. We also, impressed by his holy life, often confidently asked for his prayers to help people who were seriously ill...⁸³

It speaks to the spiritual motivations behind the Dominican schools of language that two men proposed as saints were responsible for their creation. We may also observe the hand of Master John in the promotion of Raymond's *studia*, from another historical source, specifically, the Spanish provincial chapter of 1250, held in Toledo. As Mulchahey writes: "In 1250, the Spanish provincial chapter announced its plans to establish a new convent in North Africa, and fluency in Arabic was wisely noted as key to the friars' success there. By way of explanation for a mission outside its own borders, the chapter declared its concern for infidel souls, but also cited an order the Spanish friars had received from master-general John of Wildeshausen that they choose from

amongst themselves who would devote their energies to the study of Arabic.”⁸⁴

Mulchahey’s translation of the minutes from the chapter reads as follows:

Wishing to fulfill the command of the master and conscious of the usefulness of the plan to present lives, but especially to those who will come after us, we assign brother Arnolfo Guardia, brother Pedro de Cadireta, brother Ramón Martín, brother Pedro Ariam, brother Pedro de Puteo, brother Pedro de San Feliz, brother Dominic Estevan, and Pedro de Canoles, to study Arabic [*ad studium Arabicum*], enjoining this in remission of their sins by our authority and that of the master, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. We designate the above-named Arnolfo Guardia the others’ superior, and we shall bring their number up to twelve at the first opportunity God provides.⁸⁵

In addition to a foundation at Tunis, we are told of a second school in Murcia. As Peter Marsilio, the distinguished Dominican and counselor to James II, writes: “*Studia linguarum pro fratribus sui Ordinis Tunicii et Murciae statuit, ad quae fratres Cathalanos electos destinari procuravit, qui in multum fructum animarum profecerunt et in suae decoratum speculum nationis.*”⁸⁶ As for the *fructum animarum*, Raymond’s biographer writes:

...ex quo fructus maximus est secutus, nam plures quam decem millia Sarracenorum a Fratribus eis predicantibus sunt conversi, et inter Sarracenos de Hispania et etiam in Africa divulgata est veritas fidei christiane, et jam taliter approbata, quod multi eorum precipue sapientes dispositi sunt ad suscipiendam fidei catholice veritatem et magistri Fratrum in lingua scilicet arabica fere omnes per ipsorum industriam sunt conversi.⁸⁷

“Ten thousand Muslim converts” is probably a greatly exaggerated figure; the bottom line is that Raymond’s school-to-mission effort undoubtedly achieved much initial success in both Tunis and Murcia. A report from Raymond to the Order from

c.1258, reads as follows:

The progress made by the ministry of the brothers in Africa and Spain can be summarized in the following areas:

First among Christian soldiers staying there, many of whom are hungry for the word of God.

Secondly, among the Aramaeans, who are Christians but slaves of the Muslims. They understand only Arabic and greatly desire brothers to teach and strengthen them.

Thirdly, among apostates who are being brought back to the faith through the efforts of the brothers. Many Christians are tempted to apostatize because of extreme poverty or because of allurements by the Muslims have held onto their faith and have been strengthened in it through the efforts of the brothers.

Fourthly, both Muslims and many Christians misled by them thought that Christians are idolaters because of the images that they venerate in church. Many of these have, by the grace of God and the teaching of the brothers, been brought back to the truth.

Fifthly, among Christian captives, whom the brothers instruct and strengthen in their faith; sometimes even get them released.

Sixthly, there is progress among the Muslims themselves, especially among their princes, notably with the *amir al-mu'minin*, or king of Tunisia. God has given them more grace and favour than it is advisable to write about at present. The door seems to be open for inestimable fruit, as long as the harvesters are not lacking. Many Muslims, especially at Murcia have been converted to the faith both secretly and openly.⁸⁸

We can learn several things from Raymond's report. In the first place, the brothers' knowledge of Arabic is not only a tool for the conversion of Saracens, it is part of a broader effort to save Christian, as well as infidel souls. Raymond speaks of Dominican approaches to Christian slaves, who understand only Arabic, and of Christian soldiers and prisoners who also need the ministrations of Catholic priests. Among the

Muslims, Raymond especially indicates a degree of success among Tunisian nobles, including the king himself. It seems that much progress had indeed been made in the decade since the sultan exchanged embassies with Pope Innocent IV. Paraphrasing Christ's words, Raymond notes that the potential harvest is great and thus, more laborers are required.

It was to this end, as we have seen, that Humbert of Romans exhorted the friars of the General Chapter of 1255. At the following year's meeting in Paris, we find him evidently satisfied: "From Spain we learn that the Brethren, who for some years have given themselves up to the study of the Arabic language, have made great progress, and what is still more praiseworthy is that they have converted Saracens, many of whom have already received Baptism."⁸⁹ Papal support for Raymond's *studia linguarum* was not lacking in the face of early achievement. As André Berthier notes:

Une série de bulles dans lesquelles le pape s'intéresse au sort des Prêcheurs de Tunis, confirme cette opinion. En 1256, Alexandre IV ordonne au provincial d'Espagne d'envoyer des religieux à Tunis. Il renouvelle ce commandement en 1258. Le 15 juillet 1260, il écrit à Raymond de Péñafort, qui lui a rendu compte du succès de la mission de Tunis, et lui confirme la délégation donnée par le provincial d'Espagne de pouvoir envoyer des religieux à Tunis. Il semble aussi que ce soit au groupe des frères de Tunis que se rapporte, dans le Chapitre provincial de Saragosse de 1257, l'avertissement donné aux frères de penser au *negocium arabicum* et la recommandation faite aux prieurs de les engager à prier fréquemment dans les chapitres, pour les religieux assignés *huic negocio*.⁹⁰

The pertinent section of Pope Alexander IV's letter to Raymond runs thusly:

Significasti nobis et Nos libenter audivimus, quod fratres Predicatores missi de mandato nostro Tunisium et alias barbaras nationes, tam in conversione infidelium, quam etiam in corroboratione fidelium, operantur fructum non

modicum per gratiam Iesu Christi. Quia vero tibi filio priore provinciale fratrum Predicatorum Hispanie commissum dicitur ut possis huiusmodi fratres mittere ad terras Saracenorum, et ad alias infidelium nationes, Nos, eius supplicationibus inclinati, presentium auctoritate concedimus ut tu et quicumque alius frater tui Ordinis, cui predictus prior super hoc commiserit vices suas, valeatis auctoritate nostra fratres ad hoc idoneos ad easdem partes mittere, ac id eis in remissionem iniungere peccatorum.⁹¹

It is possible to trace the development of two other language schools for this period in Barcelona and Valencia City. As for the former, the chapter of 1259 had this to say: “Iniungimus priori provinciali Hispanie. quod ipse ordinet aliquod studium ad addiscendam linguam arabicum. in conventu Barchinonensi. vel alibi. et ibidem collocet fratres aliquos. de quibus speretur. *quod ex huiusmodi studio possint proficere ad animarum salutem.* Quicumque autem et de quacumque provincia. voluerit addiscere linguam arabicam. scribat hoc magistro.”⁹² (Emphasis, mine) Once again. we are reminded of the “other-worldly” purposes of these language schools and the conversant missionaries they produced.

Perhaps the most famous pupil of Raymond’s *studia*, and the one who would later go on to teach at the school in Barcelona, was Friar Raymond Martin, whom we actually encountered earlier, in the list of friars to be sent to North Africa in 1250. Speaking of the friars who completed their language studies, Burns says of Martin, “The ideal graduate was a man like Ramon Martí, described shortly after his death as ‘philosophus in arabico’.”⁹³ It was in 1257, while Martin was working in Tunis that he composed his *Explanatio simboli apostolorum*, “a tract addressed to all infidels which endeavored to prove the twelve articles of the Apostles Creed primarily with quotations from

Scripture.”⁹⁴ In 1260 Martin completed a *Summa* against the Koran, which is now lost, along with an Arabic dictionary, the *Vocabulista in arabico*. But as Cohen writes:

It was in his anti-Jewish writings, though, that Martini demonstrated the greatest advances in polemical methodology. In 1267 he wrote the *Capistrum Iudeorum*, a work that not only proffered prophetic evidence to establish the advent of the messiah but also refuted Jewish objections to such argumentation taken from rabbinic literature. The *Capistrum* revealed signs of a growing recourse to propaedeutic rational argumentation on Martini’s part, an approach entirely lacking in the earlier *Explanatio*. Similarities between the *Capistrum* and the *Summa contra Gentiles* have led some scholars to the conclusion that Aquinas consulted Martini’s work while writing his own, finding the method of using sources currently regarded by the infidel as authoritative by the infidel a very helpful technique. Martini, however, himself found the *Capistrum* ineffective for converting the Jews, apparently because they had refused to accept as evidence biblical or rabbinic sources adduced in their Latin translations. The friar consequently compiled the *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Iudeos*, a work completed in 1278, which marked the climax of his polemical career.⁹⁵

Besides mutual borrowing between themselves, there is strong reason to believe that both Martin and Aquinas were directed to compose their missionary manuals at the express order of Raymond of Peñafort. As Cohen writes regarding the *Pugio*:

Martini relates in his introduction, “It has been enjoined upon me, that...I compose such a work as might be available like a dagger for preachers and guardians of the faith.” In the next paragraph, he begs to be excused for “this rash and bold undertaking,” partly because of the “not inappropriate refusal of the prelate’s command,” presumably a refusal to free Martini from this arduous task. The “prelate” who insisted upon the composition of the *Pugio* was in all likelihood Martini’s master and teacher Raymond.⁹⁶

As for Aquinas’ *Contra Gentiles*, we have the testimony of Peter Marsilio, as we have seen, one of Raymond’s early biographers:

Conversionem etiam infidelium ardentem desiderans, rogavit eximium doctorem sacrae paginae, magistrum in theologia fratrem Thomam de Aquino ejusdem Ordinis, qui inter omnes hujus mundi clericos, post fratrem Albertum philosophum, maximus habebatur, ut opus aliquod faceret contra Infidelium errores; per quod et tenebrarum tolleretur caligo et veri solis doctrina credere nolentibus panderetur. Fecit magister ille quod tanti patris humilis deprecatio requirebat, et Summam, quae contra gentiles intitulatur, condidit, quae pro illa materia non habuisse parem creditur.⁹⁷

Like Anselm and Abelard before him, Aquinas provided Raymond with a polemical work containing arguments based on reason, rather than on Scripture alone.

He writes:

To proceed against individual errors, however, is a difficult business, and this for two reasons. In the first place, it is difficult because the sacrilegious remarks of individual men who have erred are not so well known to us that we may use what they say as the basis of proceeding to a refutation of their errors. This is, indeed, the method that the ancient Doctors of the Church used in the refutation of the errors of the Gentiles...In the second place, it is difficult because some of them, such as the Mohammedans and the pagans, do not agree with us in accepting the authority of any Scripture, by which they may be convinced of their error. Thus, against the Jews we are able to argue by means of the Old Testament. But the Mohammedans and the pagans accept neither one nor the other. We must, therefore, have recourse to the natural reason, to which all men are forced to give their assent.⁹⁸

Aquinas believed Muslims—and Jews and pagans—just as human, and therefore, just as capable of consenting to rational argument, as any Christian. The charge, therefore, that Raymond of Peñafort, through his Dominican missionary program, was somehow responsible for the ideological dehumanization of non-Christians is hardly tenable. As for Raymond Martin and his *Pugio fidei adversus Mauros et Iudeos*, Burns argues, “A Hebrew student...[Martin] was diverted to this new field by public controversy

with the Jews of Barcelona in 1263.⁹⁹ Before we turn to Martin and the *Pugio*, let us then, turn our attention to the origins of the Barcelona Disputation, and the role of Raymond of Peñafort.

It has been suggested that as counselor and sometime confessor to James I, Raymond is probably directly responsible for the king's initiative to hold the famed Christian-Jewish disputation and to compel the Jews of Barcelona to listen to the sermons which he and other Dominicans, notably Friar Paul Christian, delivered with missionary intent. Furthermore, we may speculate that it was just such preaching on Raymond's part which was responsible for bringing Paul himself into the Christian fold in the first place. As Cohen writes:

Born a Jew in Montpellier, Pablo had originally been named Saul, and he had studied Jewish literature under the direction of Rabbis Eliezar ben Emmanuel of Tarascon and Jacob ben Elijah Lattès of Venice. But probably as early as 1229, when Raymond de Peñaforte had preached and missionized in Provence, Pablo converted to Christianity and quickly joined the Order of Preachers. In accordance with the objectives of the great Dominican master who had converted him, he devoted the rest of his life to proselytizing among his former coreligionists. In the view of at least one modern scholar, Pablo had already debated the distinguished Rabbi Meir ben Simeon of Narbonne several years before the great disputation at Barcelona which was probably not his first meeting with Nahmanides either.¹⁰⁰

As for the celebrated Barcelona Disputation, Friar Paul and Rabbi Moses debated over the course of four days between Friday July 20, and Friday July 27, 1263, before the whole royal court and a crowd of Christian, as well as Jewish subjects. It should be noted straight off, that to suggest that the two disputants met on a level playing field, is of course, historically inaccurate. In the first place, Rabbi Moses and his Jewish

audience had clearly been coerced into participating in the forum by the king and the Dominicans. As Chazan writes:

This discrepancy in roles is revealed first in the convoking of the meeting in Barcelona. Both the Latin and Hebrew accounts emphasize that the discussion was not negotiated by the two parties; it was engineered by the Christian side and foisted on the Jews. More specifically, it resulted from powerful pressures exerted by the Dominicans on King James I of Aragon. Had the king refused to order Jewish participation, the clash would never have taken place. This is indicated succinctly by the Latin text: "Moses the Jew, called 'rabbi,' was summoned from Gerona by the lord king at the urging of the Dominicans and was present there along with many other Jews, who seemed reputed among other Jews most learned."¹⁰¹

Secondly, we ought to observe that Rabbi Moses' role was cast in a decidedly defensive posture. As the Latin text has it:

Deliberations were undertaken with the lord king and with certain Dominicans and Franciscans who were present, not that the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ—which because of its certitude cannot be placed in dispute—be put in the center of attention with the Jews as uncertain, but that the truth of that faith be made manifest in order to destroy the Jews errors and to shake the confidence of many Jews...Friar Paul proposed to the said rabbi that, with the aid of God, he would prove from writings shared and accepted by the Jews the following contentions, in order: that the Messiah, who is called Christ, whom the Jews anticipate, has surely come already; also that the Messiah, as prophesied, would be divine and human; also that he suffered and was killed for the salvation of mankind; also that the laws and ceremonials ceased and should have ceased after the advent of the said Messiah.¹⁰²

Chazan remarks:

According to this report, the truth of Christianity was not to be put in question; rather, the Jews were to be refuted and shaken in their faith. The agenda, as here depicted, was indeed ordered in such a way as to make this possible...This tack, through which the Christian side stood to lose nothing while the Jews

were profoundly threatened, can only indicate Christian control. In addition, the four specific points chosen for the discussion likewise reflect a Christian point of view. They involve issues through which the truth of Christianity might be proved. No Jewish spokesman, given freedom of choice, would have selected such items for debate. Again, we emerge with a clear sense that the agenda was designed by the Christian side and forced on the Jews.¹⁰³

As for Rabbi Moses, it seems he did what he could to make his passive role a more active one under the concrete circumstances. He writes for example:

I replied and said: "I shall do as the king commands, if you give me permission to speak as I wish. In this matter I request the permission of the king and of Friar Raymond of Penyafort and his associates who are here." Friar Raymond of Penyafort replied: "So long as you do not speak disrespectfully." I said to them: "I do not wish to stand before your judgement in this matter. However I do ask to speak as I wish concerning the disputation, just as you say what you wish. Indeed I do have the sense to speak properly, but it must be as I wish." They all then gave me permission..¹⁰⁴

Rabbi Moses' statement is noteworthy on several accounts. It is, in fact, the only time he makes reference to Raymond of Peñafort in the context of the entire debate and Raymond's reply contains his only recorded words in regard to the whole matter of his Dominican missionary enterprise toward Jews. The fact that Moses asked permission of the king and *Raymond by name*, would indicate, as Cohen and other scholars have suggested, that the Dominican friar was the true architect behind the disputation. It might also, however, suggest something else in addition.

Wishing to have more of a free hand in his own defense, Rabbi Moses specifically asks permission of Raymond. The former master general grants him this permission as long as he does not blaspheme Christ or his Church. This incident may be

significant for at least two reasons. On the second day of the debate, Moses again attempted to address James I and this time was cut off by the monarch himself: "I said to our lord the king: 'My lord, hear me.' He said to me: 'Let him [Paul] speak first, for he is the interrogator.'" Later that day, when Paul protested to James the length of Moses' answers, the king again chastened the rabbi: "Be silent, for he is to pose the questions." Finally, on the last day of the debate, Moses, weary of repeated interrogation, once more sought a more even-handed format from the king: "justice requires that I pose the questions one day and Friar Paul answer me since he posed questions for three days." The king replied: "Nonetheless you must respond to him." Besides showing the contrived nature of the theological contest, these exchanges show that King James was repeatedly unwilling to grant Moses any leeway. Raymond, on the other hand, by Moses' account, was willing to let the rabbi have some liberty in his own defense. This may suggest a more accommodating attitude on the part of Peñafort than upon the king.

As Peter Marsilio describes Raymond: "Infideles etiam Judei videlicet et Sarraceni honestatis ejus excellentiam admirantes et dulci ac racionabili alloquio delectati circa eum devocionem specialem et reverenciam caritatis incendiis inflammatus..."¹⁰⁵ It would seem that Raymond's approach to Jews (and other non-Christians) was that of "sweet and reasonable" discourse stemming from an alleged supernatural love, or *caritas*, for the salvation of their souls. This was certainly the Dominican ideal, as propounded by the life and work of the founder of the order. The one thing that Moses quotes Raymond as saying is that he ought to speak "respectfully." Apparently then, although Raymond had no scruples about forced debates or sermons

coerced at Sabbath observances, nevertheless, he held some store by respectful speech with regard to one's ideological opponent. Rabbi Moses certainly has nothing derogatory to say about Raymond's deportment during the proceedings. Furthermore, Raymond's remark that the rabbi may speak his mind so long as he does not speak disrespectfully (of Christ and the Christian faith), goes a long way toward explaining his involvement in the subsequent campaign to purge all Jewish books in Aragon of blasphemy. The king's edict specifically mentions Friar Raymond, Friar Paul, and Friar Arnold of Segarre, as composing the panel empowered to censor any instances of perceived insult.¹⁰⁶

The edict of James I represents a return to Innocent IV's policy toward the Talmud of twenty years earlier. Jews will be allowed to keep their books, but they will be expunged of any derogatory references to Christ or the Virgin or any other perceived attacks on the faith. That Raymond of Peñafort heartily supported such measures, however, does not mean that he equated contemporary Jewish practice with heresy, as Cohen staunchly alleges:

Having considered the attacks of Pablo Christiani and Raymond Martini on the Jews, we can now view the "school" of Raymond de Peñaforte not only as a specific group of friars but also as a school of thought, the proponent of a particular anti-Jewish polemical ideology: rabbinic Judaism had no place in Christendom, and every effort thus had to be made to convert its Jewish adherents. It was no accident that Raymond Martini followed in the *Pugio fidei* the agenda for Pablo Christiani's debate with Nahmanides, and that the same crucial point, the fourth proposition on Pablo's agenda, underlay both friar's positions: contemporary Jewish observance of the Mosaic commandments was inherently improper and heretical even for the Jews.¹⁰⁷

The point that Cohen misses here is that a devout Dominican need not view

rabbinic Judaism as “heresy” in order to simultaneously hold the view that “every effort thus had to be made to convert its Jewish adherents.” The fact that Dominican leaders found numerous passages from the Talmud to be irreverent was enough to call for its censure. Blasphemy is as much a sin as heresy. Raymond of Peñafort made “every effort” to convert the Jews because they were considered *infidels*, not *heretics*. Thus he also made every effort to convert Muslims, a subject Cohen wisely avoids in order to maintain his thesis. As for his contention that Friar Paul’s fourth debate proposition: “that the laws and ceremonials ceased and should have ceased after the advent of the said Messiah” represents an indictment of contemporary Jewish worship as heretical, the same counter argument holds. Chazan thoroughly rebuts Cohen’s allegation and thus, needs to be reproduced at some length:

Cohen builds an elaborate scheme with regard to the Barcelona confrontation. He begins by noting the four-part agenda advanced by Friar Paul...according to Cohen, the last item—that Jewish law was null and void—was the key to Christian success, with the first item—that the Messiah had already come—serving as the foundation for this last, decisive assertion...[However,] the argument that the fourth item was the crucial one is untenable. Cohen suggests that proving the advent of the Messiah alone would not have sufficed—that contemporary Jewish practice had to be proved superfluous or, better, misguided. He proposes to show this from Nahmanides’ opening statement... Cohen claims that...the rabbi charged the friar with the task of proving the nullity of Jewish practice. To cite Nahmanides’ formulation: “If these sages believed in the messianic role of Jesus, that he was truly the Messiah and that his faith and religion were true, and if they wrote these things from which Friar Paul intends to prove this, then how did they remain in the Jewish faith and in their former tradition? For they were surely Jews, remained in the Jewish faith, and died Jews.”

Cohen understands Nahmanides to be saying, “If the rabbis of the Talmud knew the Messiah had come and still practiced Judaism, how did Pablo’s fourth proposition follow from his first? Why should medieval Jews forsake their

religious observances and convert to Christianity?” This, however, is clearly not what Nahmanides was saying...He did not grant that the rabbis might have believed in the advent of the Messiah and still remained Jews. Instead, he pointed to the unthinkable nature of that combination, arguing that there is no way that the rabbis could have believed that Jesus was the promised Messiah and still remained Jews...The fact that they did not abandon Judaism is thus clear proof that they did not believe in Jesus as the Messiah. Rather than showing the centrality of the last item on the agenda, this passage shows the independence of the first item...If the case for Jesus as Messiah had been made convincingly, then the Jews should have left the fold. The fourth item was far from crucial; it was merely a further effort to discomfort the Jews, to sow seeds of doubt wherever possible.¹⁰⁸

Thus Chazan concludes that Friar Paul’s innovative contribution to the Christian-Jewish debate was not in propounding that Jews practiced heresy because they followed rabbinic teachings, but in his use of rabbinic sources in an attempt to prove that Jews were infidels, i.e. deniers of Christ as Messiah:

Thus, on close inspection, Cohen’s case based on the Barcelona confrontation dissolves. The fourth item on the agenda was in no sense the crucial item; it is fully plausible that this issue was never raised at Barcelona. Friar Paul’s intention was not to prove that present-day Judaism was a deviation from classical Judaism; his last goal was to prove the age-old Christian contention that Jewish law had been abrogated by the coming of the Messiah but to do so on the basis of rabbinic texts. There is, therefore, no evidence in the Barcelona confrontation of a new ideological view of Judaism and the Jews.¹⁰⁹

But Cohen also bases his view of “the school of Raymond de Peñafort” on the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymond Martin. As noted above, he contends that Martin argued on the same lines as Paul Christian with regard to present-day Jews and heresy when he composed his manual for Dominican missionary preachers. Cohen writes:

Martini distinguishes three different genera of expressions of Jewish belief.

First, he speaks of the law and prophecies of the Old Testament, which along with their correct interpretations would, albeit pre-figuratively, establish the truth of Christianity. These interpretations or *traditiones* were preserved by the Jews of the Bible as part of their oral tradition, which eventually came to be recorded by the rabbis of the Talmud. Such correct interpretations of Scripture must be extracted from rabbinic literature “like pearls out of a great dungheap.” Second, in contradistinction to these select few *traditiones*, the vast majority of talmudic teachings are described as the aforementioned dungheap, the head of a dragon or toad, or the venomous sting of the bee. This body of literature, replete with “absurdities,” propagates the false beliefs “regarding the messiah and so many other matters which the Jews have believed from the time of Christ.” Third, Martini identifies his present enemy, “the perfidy of the modern Jews,” which expresses itself as both “impudence” and “evil.” It is against this brand of Judaism that he intends to direct the Christological *traditiones* of the first.¹¹⁰

While Chazan lauds Cohen’s appraisal of Martin’s first two categories of “traditions” found in Talmudic literature, he argues that the “perfidy,” and “impudence” of the third, is really just reflective of the second. As for Cohen’s further argument, that these three categories represent three historical stages of Judaism in Martin’s eyes, the first consisting of the Jews of the Old Testament, the second, the Jews of the Talmud who lived during and after the time of Christ, and the third “the *Iudei moderni* of Martin’s own day, [who] maintained the perverse beliefs of the rabbis who preceded them, inheriting and persisting in all the vices of talmudic Judaism,”¹¹¹ Chazan again replies that the third group is really just a reiteration of the second: “Once again, the tripartite scheme means nothing. There are really only two groups for Friar Raymond (and all mainstream Christian theologians): pre-Christian Jews and post-Christian Jews.” Cohen vociferously asserts a new mendicant ideology against the Jews, but as Chazan writes, he ultimately produces no real evidence to support such a theological innovation:

More significant than the futility of this tripartite scheme is Cohen's failure to show any significant innovation in Friar Raymond's view of rabbinic Judaism. While he quotes copiously and well the friar's harsh denunciations of the Talmud and the rabbis, at no point does Cohen show us how this view deviates from prior conceptions of Judaism and the Jews. That Friar Raymond's formulation was unusually vituperative can be readily agreed; that it was in any way theologically innovative is not demonstrated. For, after all, prior Christian views of the Jews are hardly laudatory with regard to Jewish law and lore. The traditional assumption was that the Jews of Jesus' lifetime had misread their Scriptures and had, as a result, failed to acknowledge Jesus as the promised Messiah. Rabbinic literature—poorly known, to be sure—was assumed to be the continuation of Jewish misunderstanding of the covenant. Once more, Friar Raymond is introducing no new notion here. Rather, as stressed repeatedly throughout this study, his contribution lay in a knowledge of rabbinic literature far richer than that generally available and in creative utilization of that knowledge for Christian missionizing purposes.¹¹²

As a corollary to all this, therefore, Cohen is quite out of line in the way he attempts to portray the thought and work of Raymond of Peñafort:

In 1263 the setting of a formal disputation had necessarily put several constraints on Pablo's expression of his own sentiments regarding the Jews...Nor could he afford to alienate his Jewish audience with overtly hostile and castigating references to contemporary Jews, if in truth he hoped to convert them. Martini, however, addressing the *Pugio fidei* to Christian missionaries who would in turn dispute with the Jews, had no such need for discretion. The practical ramifications of Raymond de Peñaforte's ideology concerning the Jews, the dire need to suppress the heresy of modern rabbinic Judaism and convert the infidel to Christianity, which became evident in the various activities of Pablo Christiani's career, found full expression in the text of the *Pugio fidei*.¹¹³

As has been observed, Martin's *Pugio* is particularly pejorative in tone, which makes it inconsistent with what we do know of Raymond of Peñafort's pastoral approach of "sweet and reasonable discourse" and "not speaking disrespectfully." Even taking

into account Cohen's observation that it was intended for the eyes of Christian preachers and not the ears of their Jewish listeners, the vituperative nature of the text does not seem to represent the authentic thought of any "school" to which Peñafort would have associated his name. What's more, Peñafort had been dead for four years already when Martin first published the *Pugio*. To call it, therefore, "the *magnum opus* of Raymond de Peñaforte's school's mission to the Jews," does a certain injustice to Peñafort. While there is no reason to doubt that the former master general asked Martin to compose a manual for missionaries, as we know he did Aquinas, there is no need to attribute Martin's animus to the reticent Peñafort. Neither do I believe it historically accurate to brand his mission to the Jews as a campaign to eradicate heretics:

The approach of Raymond de Peñaforte and his followers to rabbinic Judaism, then, represented no ideational break at all with the stance taken at the Paris trials of the 1240s, but rather a more sophisticated development of it. The attack of the mendicant Inquisition on contemporary Jewry relied on the claim that rabbinic Judaism, embodied in the Talmud, which had just become known to the Church was heretical and evil. In their belief that all heresy threatened the proper order of a universal Christian society, and especially incensed by evidence of hostility toward Gentiles in the Talmud which they assumed applied to Christians, the friars began to see no place for the Jews in Christendom. Raymond de Peñaforte, Pablo Christiani, and Raymond Martini, who agreed whole-heartedly with this evaluation, did not stop at merely trying to extirpate manifestations of contemporary Judaism from Christian Europe. Instead they sought a more lasting and comprehensive remedy for the problem. For they were zealously committed not only to defending the faith but also to converting the infidel; and so they undertook an active program of missionizing among the Jews best serviced by the exploitation of certain rabbinic texts.¹¹⁴

To suggest, as Cohen does, that Raymond of Peñafort "began to see no place for the Jews in Christendom," is quite an unsubstantiated stretch of history, not to mention,

sweep of bravado. In *The Friars and Jews*, Cohen does not quote one iota from any of Raymond's known works in support of such a claim. Instead, he passes judgement on Peñafort from the words and deeds of Paul Christian and Raymond Martin—which themselves do not uphold such a thesis, as Chazan has aptly demonstrated above.

Raymond's methods—and motives—are clear enough from those who knew him best:

In lingua etiam hebraica cum ipsius consilio et favore, fratres aliqui taliter sunt instructi, quod possunt Judeorum convincere malitias et errores, qui jam non possunt, sicut actenus consueverant, audacter negare textum verum et glossas suorum sapientum antiquiorum cum sanctis nostris in hiis que ad fidem catholicam pertinent concordates. Falsitates insuper et corruptiones quas in Biblia in locis pluribus inseruerant ad occultanda mysteria Passionis et cetera sacramenta fidei, falsarii veritatis per Scripturas eorum authenticas revelantur, quod est ad eorum maximam confusionem et confirmationem fidei christiane. Illo vero qui de Sarracenorum vel Judeorum secta erronea convertebantur ad fidem Domini Jhesu Christi, ad venerabilem patrem fratrem Raimundum sic fiducialiter accedebant tanquam ad refugium singulare, ac si eos omnes in Domino genuisset, quibus sustentationem vite a regibus et prelati Ecclesie optinebat et eis congratulando in fide catholica instruebat, confirmans et hedificans eos doctrinis salutaribus et exemplis.¹¹⁵

Raymond directed that certain friars be trained in Hebrew and commence study, not only of the Old Testament, but also of the Talmud, in order that the “mysteries of the Passion and other sacraments of the faith, might be revealed through their authentic scriptural texts.” The “mysteries of the Passion” are none other than Paul Christian's first three propositions from the Barcelona confrontation: 1) that Jesus, “the Christ” had already come, 2) that he was both true God and true man, and 3) that by his sufferings and death he has gained the grace of salvation for all sinners. This is the same core apologetic message to infidels as first propounded over a century-and-a-half earlier by

Anselm in the *Cur Deus homo*. Notice also, that as Chazan contends, Friar Paul's fourth proposition, that the laws and ceremonials of Judaism have ceased to be necessary, is a superfluous corollary of the first three items on Paul's agenda, not the crucial point upon which Cohen rests his thesis—and is not included in the above account by Raymond's biographer, as are the other three.

The “errors” of the Jews in the eyes of Peñafort and the Dominicans are the traditional ones ascribed to them, rejection of Christ's self-revelation and the sacraments of his Church, not the use of the Talmud. They are considered objectively guilty of “infidelity,” or “blasphemy,” not “heresy.” There is a distinction between the two sins, and no one in Christendom was more familiar with the distinctions between sins than Raymond of Peñafort! In fact, he is quite explicit on the point in his *summa confessorum*—in his own hand: “Dictum est supra de Iudaeis, & paganis, qui per infidelitatem Deum inhonorant: nunc agendum de Haereticis, qui a fide deviantes in Deum multipliciter peccant.”¹¹⁶

Far from “see[ing] no place for the Jews in Christendom...[and] trying to extirpate manifestations of contemporary Judaism from Christian Europe,” Raymond is quite clear as to their continued right to exist (as also Muslims) and to do so unmolested:

Debent autem, sicut ait tam Iudei, quam Sarraceni auctoritatibus, rationibus, & blandimentis potius, quam asperitatibus ad fidem Christianam de novo suscipienda provocari; non autem compelli; quia coacta servitia non placant Deo. 45. dist. qui sincera. Idem dicit Concilium Toletanu, ut ead. dist. de Iudaeis. si tamen coacti conditionaliter, puta, per minas, vel rerum suarum ablationem, vel verbera, vel aliam similem coactionem susceperunt aliquod sacramentum baptismi, & postea recesserunt a nostra fide, sunt compellendi redire; ne nomen Domini blasphemetur; & fides, quam susceperunt, vilis, ac contemptibilis

habeatur, ut 45.dist. de Iudaeis. conditionaliter coacti, ideo dico; quia si absolute coacti essent corporaliter cum violentia traherentur, & super insunderetur aqua, no conferretur character baptismi. extr. de bapt. & eius ess maiores. circa finem.¹¹⁷

Raymond also elaborates in this section, a specific legal policy of medieval toleration :

Patet ex praemissis, quod Ecclesia iudicat de his, quae foris sunt, & infligit eis multiplices poenas. Contra: dicit Apostolus I. ad. Cor. 5. *Quid enim mihi de his, qui fortis sunt iudicare?* Solutio. non potest Ecclesia iudicare de his; ut infligat eis poenam spiritualem, vel imponat religionis regulas: sed poenas temporales potest eis infligere, & spiritualem etiam indirecte, removendo Christianos ab eorum communione. Item Papa iudicat supra de haereditate restituenda conversis ad fidem, contra extr. qui filii sint legit. causam. Dic, quod istud facit Papa ratione fidei, quam susceperunt. Item cum dicat H. Cultus legis, ab adventu Christi, non differt ab idolatria; & Origenes etiam dicat, quod iam secundum legem non possunt servire Deo 16.q.7.& hoc quid est, quod Ecclesia dat eis auctoritatem peccandi mortaliter, dum praecipit, eos non impediri ritus suos servare? Item si peccant mortaliter in hoc, quare non puniuntur sicut pro aliis delictis? Ad hoc dic, quod Ecclesia non dat eis auctoritatem peccandi, sed permittit; ne, sicut ait Gregorius, quos potest de plano ratio revocare, pellat procul adversitas: praeterea si Iudaei ab hoc prohiberentur, vel ab hoc punirentur temporaliter, iam cogentur ad fidem, quod fieri non debet, ut supra dictum est.¹¹⁸

As we have cited previously, Raymond's *summa*, had one of the widest diffusions of any book of the High Middle Ages. His *tolerantia* toward Jewish existence, and in particular, his citation of canon law to support his point, had an incalculable effect upon forming tolerant Christian attitudes toward the infidel. No doubt, he spread the already established notion that Jews and Muslims were sinners, yet, precisely because they were, he argued that they ought to be "tolerated." As if his influence upon Christendom

through his handbook for confessors was not enough, let us remember that Raymond codified Gratian's *Decretum*, along with all other existing Church canons, in the *Decretals (Liber extra)*. As Becjzy argues, Raymond included in his compilations many instances of the doctrine of *tolerantia* toward infidels—as opposed to heretics. Thus, as Becjzy writes:

The main social groups that profited from the *tolerantia* recommended in canon law seem to have been non-Christians, especially Jews, and prostitutes. The concept of *tolerantia* was chiefly developed as an answer to the question of how ecclesiastical authorities should deal with the practices of Jewish religion. Jewish rites were considered an evil that had to be tolerated; the major evil that was thus prevented was the forced conversion of the Jews, for conversion to Christianity had to be a matter of free-will. Moreover, the Jews would be more willing to embrace the Christian faith, the canonists argued, when they were treated with benevolence. Accordingly, Joannes Andreae mentioned the Jewish rites as an example of acts that should meet with *permissio tollens impedimentum*: the Church should not only leave the rites unpunished but should also prevent others from disturbing them. The same arguments for tolerance applied to other unbelievers, notably to Muslims. Canon law mostly treated Jews and Muslims under the same headings...[As in Raymond's *Summa de poenitentiae*.]¹¹⁹

It would appear then that Cohen did not take into account Raymond's role in promoting *tolerantia* as confessor or canon lawyer, when he wrote: "Peñaforde's twofold reason for promoting the study of Hebrew among his friars: [was] to respond to the Jews...In his undoubtedly sincere Dominican zeal to convert the infidel and rid Christendom of any taint of heresy, Raymond de Peñaforde could not tolerate the existence in Christian society of the heirs to such a corrupt and hostile rabbinic tradition." Even as a zealous missionary, however, it is possible to perceive Raymond of Peñaforde as contributing to the medieval toleration of non-Christians. Inasmuch as he

instructed Thomas Aquinas, as well as Raymond Martin, to compose a missionary manual, we might do well to observe Aquinas' notion of *tolerantia*, and see Master Peñafort as something of a formative Dominican influence upon him. As Bejczy writes:

Thomas answered the question whether non-Christian cults should be tolerated by Christian rulers in the affirmative (with a reference to the *Decretum Gratiani*). Those who are in power, Thomas explained, rightly permit certain evils lest some good be brought to nothing or greater evils take their place. Accordingly, prostitution is allowed by human government, because, as Augustine said, society would be devastated by unchecked lust if prostitution were forbidden. So, although infidels may sin by their rites, they are to be tolerated if some good can be drawn from them or if some evil is avoided. Thus, the rites of the Jews should be tolerated, because they foreshadow the Christian faith, which is a good; for in this way we obtain testimony to our faith from our enemies. The rites of the other infidels, from which no good proceeds, can be tolerated so as to avoid scandal or hatred towards Christianity...

Tolerance for the sake of the good that may result from the permitted evil seems to have been Thomas's own idea. This idea did not alter the fact that the tolerated evil remained as evil as it ever was. Thomas alleged that the Jews sin in their rites and he called them "our enemies." His argument shows that one did not have to like the Jews to be tolerant; to the contrary, one had to dislike them to be tolerant, for tolerance only applied to evil.¹²⁰

Even someone as patently hostile as Raymond Martin would not accept students at his language school who were merely academically curious about Muslim philosophy, only those who wished to learn the language of the Saracens in order to save their souls: "Iniungimus priori provinciali Hyspanie. quod ipse ordinet aliquod studium ad addiscendam linguam arabicam. in conventu Barchinonensi. vel alibi. et ibidem collocet fratres aliquos. de quibus speretur. quod ex huiusmodi studio possint proficere ad animarum salutem. Quicumque autem et de quacumque provincia. voluerit addiscere linguam arabicam. scribat hoc magistro."¹²¹ Medieval toleration, or "inclusion," if you

will, had quite a different ideology, or “theology,” behind it than does the modern concept. Yet, both share a common notion of restraint of punitive action, of finding a way to co-exist in society. The point which Bejczy underscores is that sin/evil was at the heart of Christian relations with non-Christians, not some abstract drive to have infidel minds walk in lock-step in one “homogenous” or “universal” political entity: “Christian Europe.” What was at stake, in the words of Raymond of Peñafort was “sin,” the violation of “the honor of God,” the identical expressions found in Anselm’s rational dialogue with infidels of decades earlier. Concomitantly, what was uppermost in Dominican minds was the eternal salvation of Christian—and non-Christian souls. *This* is the innovative ideology behind the school of Raymond of Peñafort—that Jews and Muslims are capable of salvation and need as much pastoring as Christians. In previous chapters we demonstrated the slow but steady onset of this realization in scholarly Christian minds prepared to accept it. The new mendicant theology then, clearly had its antecedents in the Christian humanists of the twelfth-century renaissance. The Church did not need Nicholas Donin to tell it how “pernicious” the Talmud was before Christian apologists began studying Hebrew and rabbinic literature: witness Odo and Master Alan of twelfth-century Paris. Churchmen did not wait for Paul Christian to upbraid his Jewish upbringing before mounting a campaign to proselytize Jews—it was because of the preaching of St Raymond and St. Dominic’s earliest friars, that Paul was converted in the first place. What each of these “innovative” Christian apologists did share, however, was a deep and abiding interest in sin and repentance. It was what led them to compose manuals on vice—it was what prompted them to begin preaching to the unconverted.

Endnotes

Chapter Five: Friar Raymond of Peñafort: *Judicium et Cura animarum*

1. Pierre de Reims, in D'Avray, 50.
2. Lateran IV, *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html
3. Ibid.
4. Katherine L. Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen : preaching and popular devotion in the later Middle Ages*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 201.
5. Mulchahey, 19. "Their framework was to be Augustinian and regular...at the same time, the liturgical life, the ascetical life, and the contemplative life had been given a revolutionary new orientation. At Dominic's hands the regular life became also the life of the itinerant preacher; contemplation was transformed into study, the direct preparation for preaching in word, while austerity and poverty became the preconditions for preaching by example. These ideas may have been present in embryo in the life of the canons of Osma, but the Dominican Customs of 1216 gave them parturition, and thereby made the preachers of Toulouse a new and distinct species."
6. Ibid., 20-21.
7. Valdimir Koudelka, ed. *Monumenta diplomatica*, no. 143, 145-46, in Mulchahey, 53.
8. Mulchahey, 530.
9. "Rationes poenitentiae, Fratrum Praedicatorum," in *Florilegium Casinensis* 4 (Monte Cassino, 1880), 193.
10. Mulchahey, 531. "The *Summa de poenitentia* is a very brief work in comparison with the tracts by Alan of Lille, Robert of Flamborough, and Thomas of Chobham which immediately preceded it. It presents a very succinct and, systematic summary of the key points of moral theology relevant to the sacrament of penance. Its primary source is Gratian's *Decretum*, causa 33, q.3, known as the *De poenitentia*. This provides Paul of Hungary with a firm groundwork of legal and theological definitions of penance and a multitude of opinions from the most important authorities on various aspects of the sacrament."
11. *Florilegium Casinensis*, 193.

12. Gerald de Frachet, *Vitae fratrum*, trans. and ed. Joseph Kenny, O. P., www.op.org/nigeriaop/kenny/VF.htm.
13. *Vitae fratrum*, 6.
14. *Ibid.*, 6.1.
15. *Ibid.*, 6.2.
16. *Ibid.*, 6.1.
17. *Ibid.*, 1.6.
18. Ribas, *Estudios historicos y bibliograficos sobre San Ramon y Penyafort*, (Barcelona, 1890), 11-15.
19. Franciscus Balme and Ceslaus Paban, *Raymundiana: Seu documenta quae pertinent ad S. Raymundi de Pennaforti vitam et scripta*, II, *Momumenta ordinis fratrum praedicatorum historica*, IV, (1898-1901), 3.
20. Mandonnet, "La Carrière Scolaire de S. Raymond de Pennafort," *Analecta sacris ordinis fratrum praedicatorum* 14 (1920): 277-80; Denifle first called attention to this summa in *Die Universitäten*, I, 15, no. 76. Cf. Stephan Kuttner, "The Barcelona Edition of St. Raymond's First Treatise on Canon Law," *Seminar* 8 (1950): 52-67.
21. *Raymundiana*, II, 5.
22. Lateran IV, 11.
23. Schwertner, 36; Cf. *Raymundiana*, I, 20.
24. Echard, *Scriptores*, I, 106-110; Leopold Delisle, *Catalogue des Manuscripts*, I (1849), 592-649.
25. *Raymundiana*, I, 28.
26. Schwertner, 102-03. "In the second part he [Raymond] outlines the manner in which the visitation is to be conducted. Thus, for example, the visitor should attend the various services conducted by the parish priests, should have an eye upon the administration of the Sacraments, should watch over the rendition of ecclesiastical chant, should inspect the parish records, interrogate the faithful and the neighboring priests and finally address a few words to the faithful. Here too, it will be the duty of the visitor to inquire into the private life of the pastor, his conduct toward the priests and religious of the surrounding country, toward his parishioner and such members of his own family

who may reside with him; how the goods of the parish are administered; whether the administration of the sacraments and the preaching of the Word of God are carefully looked after; whether he is kind to the poor. In the third part, the visitor is instructed as to the time and method of reforming abuses and the ecclesiastical laws which must be kept in mind in so doing, while in the last part the entire procedure is set forth. Here the respective rights of pope, bishop, visitor and parish priest are clearly outlined.”

27. Kuttner, “Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der *Summa de casibus* des hl. Raymund von Pennafort,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte Kan. Abt.* 85 (1953): 419-48.

28. *Raymundiana*, II, 9.

29. Mulchahey, 534; 536.

30. A. Teetaert, “La *Summa de poenitentia* de Saint Raymund de Penyafort,” *Ephemerides theologicae Lovaniensis* 5 (1928): 54-55.

31. Bejczy, 368.

32. *Ibid.*, 368-69.

33. *Summa de iure canonico*, trans. and eds. Xaverius Ochoa and Aloisius Diez, *Universa bibliotheca iuris I. A* (Rome, 1975), I. 5. 4, 8-9.

34. Bejczy, 369-70.

35. Johannes Teutonicus, *Glossa D. 3 c.4 ad v. permittit*, *Ibid.*, 370.

36. Bejczy, 371.

37. *Sicut Judeis*, in John Hood, *Aquinas and the Jews*, (Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 29-30.

38. *Raymundiana*, II, 10-13.

39. *Ibid.*, I, 23.

40. *Ibid.*

41. “Penitentiary, Apostolic,” in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 75.

42. *Raymundiana*, I, 23. “Deliberatione habita diligenti quomodo prolixitas et inordinatio decretalium reduceretur ad rectum ordinem et compendium utile toti mundo, tunc dominus papa Gregorius fratri Raimundo hujusmodi compilationem

commisit principaliter faciendam; qui, tanquam filius obediencie, confidens de misericordia Jhesu Christi fideliter et humiliter humerum suum tanto submitit et oneri et labori. Mira res! Suscipiebat humiliter obediencie onera tanquam leve jugum Domini suave; sed dignitatum fugiebat honores, exemplo Domini, qui voluntarius crucem portavit impositam, sed fugit, cum quereretur ad regnum.”

43. Bejczy, 373 nt. 38.
44. Ibid., 375.
45. St. Raymond of Peñafort, *Summa de Poenitentia*, (Rome, 1603), I, 6.
46. Mulchahey, 538-39.
47. *Raymundiana*, I, 24-25.
48. Cohen, “Scholarship and Intolerance,” 608.
49. Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 60.
50. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 321.
51. Ibid., 322.
52. Ibid., 334.
53. Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and Jews in the XIIIth Century*. (Philadelphia, 1933), 239-43.
54. Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 62-63.
55. Grayzel, 274-81.
56. Ibid., 278.
57. Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law*, 324-25 nt14.
58. Ibid., 325.
59. Chazan, *Daggers of Faith*, 33.
60. Ibid., 34.
61. Schwertner, 74-75.
62. Ibid., 75; Cf. *Raymundiana*, II, 59-60.

63. Ibid; Cf. *Raymundiana*, II, 63-65.
64. Mulchahey, 3.
65. Ibid., Cf. Latin text in *Constitutiones antique ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 311, in A. H. Thomas *De oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen: Voorgeschiedenis, Tekst, Bronnen, Ontstaan en Ontwikkeling (1215-1237)*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 42 (Louvain, 1965).
66. Ibid., 4-5; Cf. *Expositio magistri Humberti super Constitutiones fratrum Praedicatorum*, in Humbertus de Romanis, *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J. J. Berthier, II (Turin, 1956), c.21, 39.
67. Ibid; c.12, 41.
68. Humbert of Romans, *On the Formation of Preachers*, in Tugwell, 275-76.
69. *Vitae fratrum*, 7.
70. Humbert of Romans, *Epistolae*, (anno 1255), in *Opera*, II, 492-93, in Schwertner, 113-14.
71. Pope Gregory IX, *Cum hora undecima*, in James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), 36-37.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., 39-40.
74. *Raymundiana*, II, 31-32.
75. "In the space of twenty-two years (1226-48), Muslim possessions were reduced from a third of the entire Iberian peninsula to the area covered by the petty kingdom of Granada. This sudden absorption of new lands had a different effect on the crown of Aragon than on Castile. In the latter, a nation of 3 million conquered some 300,000 people in Andalusia, with the resultant increase of only 10 percent in population; whereas Aragon and Catalonia, with a combined population of half a million, found that in Valencia alone they had taken on 150,000 people, representing an increase of 30 percent." Anthony Bonner trans. and ed. *Selected Works of Ramon Lull*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), I, 94-95, in Chazan, 5.
76. *Raymundiana*, I, 36. "Circa captivos vero redimendos considerabat christianorum negligentium nisi forte circa aliquos caros suos, et quod etiam pauci sufficiunt ad eorum redemptionis precia persolvenda et pauciores ad ipsos Sarracenos,

ubi detinentur accedere corporaliter attemptabant; propter quod inventi sunt aliqui qui, captivitatis horribiles miseras non valentes aliquatenus sustinere, compulsi sunt apostatare a fide catholica terroribus vel promissis. Compaciens igitur tantis cruciatibus et miseriis corporum et tantis periculis animarum et tactus dolore cordis intrinsecus, cogitavit, Domino inspirante, utriusque periculis obviare et querens dilligenter et inveniens fideles homines ad hoc ydoneos et devotos instruxit eos, dans vivendi formam, consulens eis quod recipere officium et breviarum Ordinis Predicatorum regulam Augustini et constitutiones aliquas Fratrum Praedicatorum eorum competentes.”

77. Schwertner, 49.

78. Muldoon, 39.

79. Ibid., 43.

80. Burns, 102.

81. *Raymundiana*, I, 32.

82. *Vitae fratrum*, 7.

83. Ibid, 6.

84. Mulchahey, 345.

85. Ibid., 345.

86. *Raymundiana*, I, 12.

87. *Raymundiana*, I, 32.

88. *Vitae fratrum*, 6.

89. Humbert, as cited in Schwertner, 114-15. Cf. Mulchahey, 347.

“The response was more than Humbert could have hoped. His encyclical letter of the following year, 1256, contains Humbert’s praises of the friars who have generously answered his plea. Not only were many friars now applying themselves to the study of languages—“sweating over learning foreign letters and tongues”—Humbert speaks optimistically about fruit to be gained in current missions amongst the Cumans, Tartars, Georgians, and Prussians. The Maronites in the Holy Land have asked the friars to correct their books, Humbert reports, and progress amongst the Spanish Moors is not lacking.”

90. A. Berthier, “Les écoles de langues orientales fondées aux xiii siècle par les dominicaines en Espagne et en Afrique,” *Revue africaine* 73 (1932): 92-93.

91. “Diplomatari de San Ramón de Penyafort” ed. and trans. Fernando Valls y Taberner. *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 5 (1929): 35.

92. Mulchahey, 347 nt. 376.

93. Burns, 95.

94. Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 131; Cf. Joseph M. March, “En Ramón Martí y la seva ‘Explanatio simboli apostolorum,’ *Institut d’estudis catalans–Anuari*, (1908), 443-96.

95. Cohen, 131. Burns explains the matter of Martin and Aquinas in this way: “A direct or causal connection between the labors of Martí and Aquinas, argued persuasively but then abandoned on grounds of chronology, is once more being sustained. The two Dominicans had sat together as students under Albert the Great, their works display parallels and borrowings, and their separate interest in the Arago-Catalan mission is clear. Earlier arguments by Miguel Asín y Palacios for direct borrowing by the *Contra gentiles* from the *Pugio* had been frustrated, however, by the separate works of Luis Getino (1905) and José Llovera (1929) that dated the *Pugio* at 1278, a decade after the time commonly assigned to the work of Aquinas—1261 to 1264, or even 1258-1263. Evidence of a connection remained strong, so that in 1969 José Casciaro fell back upon informal pre-publication interchange between two friends as the explanation. Meanwhile Pierre Marc, in his 1967 introduction to the critical edition of the *Contra gentiles*, grappled anew with the dating of the problem; external and internal evidence led him to reverse previous conclusions and to assign the work to the last years of Aquinas’ life, roughly 1270-1273. There now seems little doubt that Aquinas used Martí’s earlier *Capistrum* (1267), while Martí’s later drew upon the *Contra Gentiles* for his own *Pugio*; further interchange, along Casciaro’s line, also seems probable.” Burns, 100.

96. Cohen, 164.

97. *Raymundiana*, I, 12. As Burns explains at greater length: “Unaware of this future revolution in dating and innocent of the complexity of Mudejar Spain, certain older scholars had expressed skepticism over the missionary motives of Aquinas, seeing only the “gentiles” of the Paris academic scene as his target. Thus M.M. Gorce rejected the witness of Peter Marsili, Penyafort’s fellow Dominican and biographer, on the grounds that “except perhaps for some teachers or rabbis’ in the realms of Aragon, “one cannot see very well what profit” could be drawn from this work of extreme erudition and real philosophical difficulty.” The puzzlement betrays ignorance of the high civilization flourishing in Valencian and Murcian Islam during the centuries leading up to the crusade; it also rests on a misunderstanding as to the nature of the Dominican schools for which the work was desired. Besides, Marsili was a man eminent in the

Islamic mission, distinguished in letters and learning, a counselor to Jaume II, and well placed to know the facts. When he put his account together at the Barcelona center, thirty-five years after the death of its director Penyafort, many who had known that great man were still alive to dispute irresponsible claims. His witness is definitive. Today one can even point to the moment when Penyafort's appeal was conveyed to Aquinas—during Martí's trip to Paris, in November 1269 to March 1270. Aquinas surpassed Penyafort's request for a handbook, of course, creating a master work useful against not only the Greco-Arab views in their Parisian and varied Islamic forms but against the full range of *errores infidelium* facing Christendom." Burns, 100-101.

98. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra gentiles*, 1.4, 2:4; in Cohen, 106.
99. Burns, 102.
100. Cohen, 108.
101. Chazan, 73.
102. Yitzhak Baer, "The Disputations of R. Yehiel of Paris and of Nahmanides," (Hebrew). *Tarbiz* 2 (1930-31): 185, Chazan, 74.
103. Chazan, 74.
104. Baer, 310.
105. *Raymundiana*, I, 12.
106. "Diplomatari de San Ramón de Penyafort." Edited by Fernando Valls y Taberner. *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 5 (1929), 286-287. "Quoniam Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum et fidem eius per quam salvari credimus et speramus cum omni diligencia honorare debemus et contra omnes adversarios pro viribus defensare, statuimus et districte precipiendo mandamus universis iudeis in toto districtu nostro ubique commorantibus quod quasum beatum Mariam virginem gloriosam in libris vestris vel quibuscumque fratrum Paulum Christiani, ordinis fratrum praedicatorum, viva voce vel litteris cum consilio fratris Raymundi de Pennaforti et fratris A. Segarra eiusdem ordinis, scindatis omnino de libris vestris infra spacium trium mensium postquam per vos ipsos... inveneritis vel postquam vobis denunciatum fuerit per dictum fratrem Paulum de consilio predictorum fratrum, et nunquam ipsas blasfemias in illis locis vel aliis in perpetuo reponatis. Aliouin si hoc, ut dictum est, non feceritis, propter blasfemiarum enormitatem ac detestacionem et propter mandati nostri transgressionem, quicumque in hoc culpabilis inventus fuerit ex vigore istius statui atque mandati nostri punietur M morabetinorum, et libri predictas blasfemias continentes, absque cuiuslibet excusacionis remedio, publice comburentur. Eadem insuper districcione precipimus nostris baiulis universis ut predictum mandatum nostrum faciant diligenter execucionem mandari et etiam faciant XX vel XXX iudeos de maioribus et

discrecionibus in qualibet aliama sive communitate iudeorum in animabus suis et aliorum iudeorum de predicta comunitate iurare quod universa predicta fideliter in se adimpleant et procurent ab aliis adimpleri; ita quod predictas blasfemias ut supradictum est de libris suis scindant et ulterius non reponant. Hoc autem faciant baiuli antedicti, si de nostra confidunt gratia vel amore.”

107. Cohen, 164.
108. Chazan, 170-72.
109. Ibid., 173.
110. Cohen, 139.
111. Ibid., 151.
112. Chazan, 174-75.
113. Cohen, 154.
114. Ibid., 168.
115. *Raymundiana*, I, 32-33.
116. *Summa de poenitentiae*, I, 5, 1.
117. Ibid., I, 4, 1.
118. Ibid., I, 4, 5.
119. Cf. nt. 34.
120. Bejczy, 372.
121. *Acta I* (Valenciennes, 1259), 101, in Mulchahey, 348.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The development of a theology of sin and repentance lies at the heart of the origins of Dominican mission to non-Christians. St. Anselm meditated on the mystery of the Incarnation and Redemption of the human race by Christ the God-man. He was the first to attempt to use reason in the delineation of sin and the means for its atonement. Significant for us, his thought was not only to provide a more harmonious explanation for his fellow Christians, but also for those infidels who rejected the notion of Divine Incarnation/Redemption as philosophically and theologically absurd. His underlying assumption behind the *Cur Deus homo* was that the intellects of Jews and other non-Christians were fully capable of processing his rational arguments for the Christian faith. He states quite explicitly, that he is motivated by a desire to see the Mercy of God—“that-~~than-which-a greater-cannot-be~~ thought”—be properly revered by non-Christians united “with us...praising God’s wise loving-kindness.” Anselm has no social agenda against Jews or other non-Christians. Interestingly, he will gladly answer their objections, but not those of Christian heretics. Though they are both in error, the two are separate to his mind. Alas, however, Anselm sees little chance of salvation for either group, nor does he hold out much hope for Christians living in the secular world. It is the eleventh century. The Devil’s soldiers besiege every territory and none are safe except consecrated religious behind cloister walls. He urges no preaching to worldlings—Christian or

otherwise. Those who aspire to sinlessness and salvation must find a monastery, the monks will not come to them.

Peter Abelard was also a staunch believer in the power of human reason to probe the depths of the mystery of human iniquity and divine forgiveness. Building on Anselm's theological foundation, Abelard is the chief architect of a revolution in the psychology of ethical behavior. He, more than any other, most clearly enunciates the principle that "sin" is not the will (inclination) to sin, but consent to that will; neither does "sin" reside in the sin committed, but in the intention of the sinner *to sin*. It is Abelard's inquiry into the mechanics of sin which leads him to an investigation of non-Christians and their religions—not any threat they pose to Christendom: "...after learning as much as I could here about the supreme good and the supreme evil and about what makes a man blessed or miserable, I carefully examined the different religious schools of thought around me into which the world is now divided...I...compared them...to follow the one most in harmony with reason."¹ Like Anselm, Abelard believes that Jews and pagans may be brought to Christianity through philosophical dialogue. He tries to persuade them, as he tries to persuade his fellow monks, that human intention, not the literal application of the law, makes a man sinful or righteous. Abelard finds condemnation from his peers for expounding his radical doctrines on sin, and especially for maintaining the position that the Jews who killed Christ did not even sin venially in doing so. But ultimately, though he exonerates Jews and pagans, their subjective sinlessness will not save them from final damnation.² It is indeed, an historical irony that Abelard simultaneously barred the way to heaven for non-Christians and declared its

practical remedy—preaching to the unconverted. Abelard has often been designated as a man ahead of his time. As we have seen, he was also a man caught between two worlds: the cloister and the classroom.

It was in the schools of Paris that Abelard trained a new generation of budding scholars in his intention-based theories of sin and repentance. Odo the obscure and Bartholomew the bishop of Exeter, both benefitted from their Abelardienne milieu. Like Abelard, Odo writes a treatise on the virtues and vices. He also treats of the three requirements necessary for the reconciliation of the sinner: *compunctio*, *confessio*, *satisfactio*. Odo's study of sin and repentance leads him to make explicit what was implicit in the dialogues of Abelard and Anselm: "For, if it is proper for us to exhort those who are fashioned in the faith to live better, surely we should recall the Jews from their erroneous disbelieving sect."³ As Abelard had characterized sin as wound and penance as the curative remedy of the confessor, so too Odo justifies approaching Jews with preaching: "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick" (Matt. 9:12). Odo has made explicit the link between the pastoral work of the confessor and that of the preacher, as well as the need for both to minister not only to the Christian flock, but to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. 15:24). The pursuit of holiness has brought him to this realization, not any drive for homogeneity in Europe. Like his predecessors, Odo makes use of rational arguments to answer Jewish objections to Christian premises, but what is more, he introduces the practical use of Hebrew to achieve his end. He stresses to his fellow churchmen that they must now take up the labor of learning the language of their religious adversaries, if their missionizing is to

bear fruit. To substantiate his claim, Odo quotes the greatest Christian missionary and Jewish convert: “I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews” (1 Cor. 9:20). Odo’s contemporary, Bartholomew also drank deep from the wellspring of Parisian moral erudition and sought to implement the learning of the schools in pastoral approaches to the faithful. He composed a groundbreaking *Penitential*, or manual for confessors, in which he sought to move beyond the mere lists of sins and penances of previous generations, to a deeper appreciation of the relationship between penitent and confessor. He urges understanding and wisdom on the part of the priest. The confessor must engage in a dialogue with the sinner, in order to judge the offense and its penance. This deeper pastoral concern for the Christian flock, also led Bartholomew to grudgingly advocate dialogue with sinners outside the fold. In his *Dialogus contra Judeos*, he makes it clear that his considerations for engaging Jews are *not* of this world: “We hold discussions with them for their own salvation.”⁴

Like Bartholomew, Alan of Lille is associated with Paris and its pastoral concern for the moral problems of the laity. He too, produced an innovative penitential guide for confessors, the *Liber poenitentialis*, as well as the *Ars praedicandi*, a handbook for preachers. Both works were among the first of their kind, and it was the theology of sin and repentance which was the underlying connection between them. Abelard had posed an intensely personal relationship between the sinner and God, one in which the intention of the individual was key, both for the commission of the sin and the absolving power of his contrition. Alan’s contribution was to put Abelard’s revolutionary thoughts into a form in which they might more easily spread to every priest in Christendom. As he

writes in the *Ars praedicandi*: “According to the extent of filthiness, measure the amount of the washing; according to the severity of the sickness, measure out the quantity of medicine.”⁵ But if the sorrow of the penitent is the first medicine to be applied to the sickness of sin, the disease requires the further ministrations of a specialist, as Alan writes in the *Liber poenitentialis*: “Sapiens igitur medicus debet excipere quaeque meliora et discretionones omnium causarum investigare, sine quibus rectum iudicium stare non potest.”⁶ Alan also views the role of the preacher in the same light as he does the confessor: physician of souls:

Pertinet ad praedicatorum gerere statum materialis physici, vel medici. Sicut enim materialis medicus pro diversitate morborum, variat genera remediorum; sic praedicator debet adhibere remedia admonitionum. Ut, si luxuriosus praedicat, contra luxuriam auctoritates afferat, rationes inducat; ostendat illam abominabilem apud Deum et apud homines; quomodo feteat infamia, feteat in carne propria, feteat apud proximum, feteat apud Deum. Nunc ferro secet per comminationem, nunc foveat per consolationem. Simili modo contra alia vitia disputet, secundum quod auditores viderit variis vitiis irretitos. Si pauperibus praedicat, de paupertate disserat, commendans paupertatem...⁷

Interestingly, Alan’s investigation of the theology of sin and repentance has led him to the conviction that sanctity is no longer the exclusive sanctuary of the cloistered, it is just as possible for secular souls. Thus, in his *Ars praedicandi*, he urges a universal call to penance: to the poor, to the rich, to soldiers, lawyers, prelates, princes, monks, married persons and many others.⁸ This same vocation of sinlessness for the laity is recommended with equal vigor in his *Liber poenitentialis*.

Hic est Liber qui Corrector vocatur et Medicus, qui correctiones corporum et animarum medicinas plenius continet et docet unumquemque sacerdotum et

simplicem, quomodo vel qualiter unicuique succurre valeat... in omni aetate, in utroque sexu, quo tempore presbyteri debeant vel valeant plebem sibi commissam ad poenitentiam invitare et tamquam fidelis medicus auxilium dare...hoc est inter liberum et servum, infantem, puerum...episcopum... infirmum, sanum, fornicantem cum animalibus vel cum hominibus contra naturam, continentem, vel incontinentem, voluntate, necessitate, vel casu, seu in publico peccantem, vel in abscondito et quali discretionem haec omnia emendet, ut et loca et tempora poenitendi discernat.⁹

In Alan's eyes, holiness is no longer just for the holy. The minister of the sacrament of confession, acting with a doctor's discretion, shall lead the penitents of all persuasions to Christian perfection, from boys to bishops, from homosexuals to heretics. It was this conviction which motivated him to compose yet another treatise, the *De Fide Catholica*, or *Contra haereticos*. Unlike Anselm who refused even to debate with the heterodox, Alan preached the Gospel to them in both work and in word, personally visiting those regions of southern France which were then enmeshed in heresy. There was no longer any choice. It was the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and whole communities of Waldensians and Cathars were now thriving. Their very existence, in fact, gave ironic substantiation to Alan's notions of sustainable lay piety. But if lay persons, both Catholic and heretic, were as capable as holy brothers of practicing monastic holiness, then so too were non-Christians. Alan then, deems it necessary not only to preach to Waldensians and Cathars, he also includes persuasive arguments against Jews and Muslims in his *De Fide Catholica*. As we have seen, this has led scholars like Jeremy Cohen to conclude that Christian apologists like Alan saw infidels as a threat to the unity of society. His treatise is just one more example of the marginalization of non-Christians: "Thus, as Moore has shown, leper, heretic, and Jew

became virtually interchangeable designations in twelfth-century Christian taxonomies of society, exemplifying marginality and an impurity that threatened the fabric of Christian existence. At the end of the century, one encountered in Alan of Lille's *De fide catholica contra haereticos* a new genre of polemical treatise, which debated systematically and in turn heretics, Saracens, and Jews.¹⁰ I would argue, however, that if Alan is among those Christians who utter the word "leper" interchangeably with heretic and Jew, it is not because he views Jews as heretics, but because he views both groups as suffering sinners who need the treatment of a specialist as much as any leper: "Sic sacerdos quasi spiritualis medicus, dum ad eum accedit peccator quasi spiritualis aegrotus...Christus etiam *Jesus mundatis leprosis praecepit ut se ostenderent sacerdoti* [Lk 17:4]. *Per quod significatur quod ille qui laborat lepra spirituali debet se ostendere sacerdoti per confessionem delicti. Praeterea docens quod peccatum illud quod in praesenti detegitur in die iudicii tegetur, quod vero in praesenti velatur, in futuro revelabitur.*"¹¹

It is not any threat they pose to the homogeneity of Christendom which moves Alan to preach to the unconverted, it is the threat to their own arrival in a kingdom "not of this world."¹² To this end, Alan, like the other twelfth-century theologians we have examined, carefully crafted apologetic arguments which could convince non-Christian intellects. Alan even took the revolutionary step of including arguments derived from Talmudic sources themselves in his proselytization. Thus, I cannot agree with Anna Sapir-Abulafia's contention that "...what twelfth-century theologians had in common was their constructs of Christian universality and where they used reason they more often than not used it as that innate human quality that united mankind in knowledge of God.

Thus Jews emerged from their writings as human outsiders...the foundations were laid for the institutional marginalization of Jews in the thirteenth century and beyond.”¹³ If twelfth-century theologians truly considered Jews inhuman and incapable of rational persuasion, the attempt to persuade them in this manner would have ended with the death of Anselm. Instead, as we have seen, repeated efforts were made throughout the century to include Jews and other non-Christians within the scope of the “good physician’s” practice. Having been created in the image and likeness of Almighty God Himself, argued Alan, Jews and Muslims needed preaching and penance as much as anyone: “Si quis sine odii meditatione vel propter cupiditatem *Judaeum aut paganum* occiderit, quia *ad imaginem Dei creatus est, et spem futurae conversionis extraxit*, quadraginta dies in pane et aqua poeniteat.”¹⁴ (Emphasis mine) Because they are living images of God, anyone who kills them is liable for temporal and spiritual consequences. It is this theology of sin and repentance and its practical expression as found in the penitential manual of the confessor and handbook of the preacher, which serves as the true source for later Dominican efforts to convert Jews and Muslims in the next century.

Alan of Lille and his Parisian contemporaries, Peter the Chanter, Fulk de Neuilly, James of Vitry and many others, all recognized the importance of moral theology and the simultaneous existence of a pastoral vacuum. Because prelates did not preach to the faithful, the heretics were eagerly filling their place. Pope Innocent III addressed the issue both in his repeated urgings to the bishops and in his continued use of Cistercian missionaries against the Cathars. But his greatest stroke was in approving the preaching enterprise of Bishop Diego of Osma and his coadjutor Dominic. Significant for our

investigation, their life of apostolic poverty and preaching also gave pride of place to public debate .¹⁵ From the very beginnings of the order, the followers of St. Dominic believed that frequent public disputation with their religious adversaries would achieve their conversion. Both the heretics and the friars are allowed the opportunity to defend their respective positions. Let us further note that the practice of composing polemical literature is considered a key aspect to this preaching, and that the deciding factor in establishing the authenticity of religious belief ought to be its “reasonableness.” These are the same methods that were zealously employed by Dominic’s successor, St. Raymond of Peñafort, particularly in his mission to the Jews of Spain.

The testimony of the early Friars Preachers makes it clear that Dominic was motivated by a spirit of Christ-like self-sacrifice on behalf of others and that his passion permeated the embryonic Dominican Order. Far from engaging heretics and non-Christians because of a “desire to provide a more homogeneous environment,”¹⁶ Blessed Jordan of Saxony and other of Dominic’s closest associates assure us that he strove rather, “with all his strength and most fervent zeal to win for Christ the souls he could; and their came to be within his heart a wonderful, almost unbelievable, longing for the salvation of all.”¹⁷ The witnesses to his sanctity are unanimous in their opinion that Dominic was “zealous for souls, not only those of Christians, but also of Saracens and other unbelievers. As evidence of this, he proposed to go to the pagans and die there for the faith, once he had organized his brethren.”¹⁸ The sincerity of Dominic and his earliest followers would even seem to have been attested by non-Christians themselves, if Brother John of Spain is to be believed: “St. Dominic was loved by everybody, rich and

poor, Jew and pagan [Muslim] (there were many of these in Spain), in fact by everybody except for the heretics and enemies of the church whom he pursued and refuted in debate and in preaching.”¹⁹ The ideology of the founder of the Dominican Order was not to “rid Europe”²⁰ of those who “threatened the fabric of Christian existence,”²¹ it was to rid Christians, as well as non-Christians, of all attachment to sin. Even his celebrated debates with the heretics have less to do with “ethnic-cleansing” than with the “happy bath of repentance”²²:

While he [a Cathar heretic] was taking them [St. Dominic, a bishop, and others] through a wood somewhere, he led them astray so viciously, through thorns and thistles, that their feet and legs became quite covered in blood. The man of God endured all this with the utmost patience; breaking out into a hymn of praise to God, he encouraged the others to praise God too and to be patient. “My friends,” he said, “hope in the Lord. Victory will be ours, because even now our sins are being washed away in blood.” The heretic saw their extraordinary and blissful patience, and he was pricked with compunction at the good words spoken by the man of God, so he admitted the poisonous way he had deceived them, and renounced his heresy. When they reached the place of the debate, everything came to a satisfactory conclusion.²³

Dominican meditation on the theology of sin and repentance found practical expression in many ways, but particularly in preaching and the hearing of confessions. Dominic’s vision of pastoral service to the masses accorded well with the designs of the papacy as manifested in canon ten of the Fourth Lateran Council.²⁴ Through a series of papal pronouncements between the years 1216 and 1221, Pope Honorius III, crafted legal sanction for the Dominicans to act in the role of “coadjutors and assistants” to the bishops, “not only in the office of preaching, but in hearing confessions and imposing penances.” In particular, his encyclical letter of February 1221, *Cum qui recipit*

prophetam, ensured that Dominican priests should be accepted everywhere as confessors of the sacrament of penance. The release of *Cum qui recipit prophetam* coincided with the creation of the new order's first manual for confessors, authorized by Dominic and composed by Friar Paul, the canon lawyer of Bologna. Paul's *Summa de poenitentia* borrowed from the work of previous penitential writers as well as from the wisdom of his master Dominic. He continues the now familiar metaphor of the confessor-as-doctor: "Qui cum omnes quamvis graviter peccaverint, veniam per poenitentiam obtinuerunt et quidam ex ipsis postea apostoli fuerunt et sancti. Item medicus spiritualis ad exemplum medici corporalis mulceat egrotum verbis dulcibus conpatiatur, et confortet infirmo salutem animi."²⁵

The same concern for the salvation of souls which moved Dominic and Paul to create the *Summa poenitentia*, also spurred Dominic to send Paul to the pagan Cumans of Eastern Europe. It is because of his missionary exploits to convert them that the saintly Dominican was forever after fondly recalled as Paul of Hungary. We learn from Dominican chronicles that those friars who suffered and died in the attempt to convert these non-Christians, did so not out of any abstract need to preserve uniformity of European thought, but to save sinners from hell: "...brothers who work for the salvation of men have heavier but more fruitful work to do than other religious who work for their own salvation. This work is full of unspeakable joy and in it they have the Blessed Virgin as their special helper."²⁶

Like Paul before him, Raymond of Peñafort had studied and taught law at Bologna, entered the Dominican Order, and composed a *Summa de poenitentia* for

confessors. Raymond's summa quickly became the most authoritative moral treatise in both the order and in Christendom at large. His reputation as a wise confessor was so strong in fact, that as we have seen, Pope Gregory IX made him his personal confessor as well as papal penitentiary in charge of dispensing the pope's own absolution to penitents. Kings, counts, and countryfolk all received pardon at Raymond's hands. It should come as no surprise then, that Raymond's meditations on the theology of sin and repentance ultimately led him to usher in an unprecedented campaign to convert Jews and Muslims. No doubt he had a hand in the drafting of *Cum hora undecima*, a call to universal evangelization which Gregory IX issued in 1235.

As master general of the Dominican Order from 1238-1240, Raymond gave definitive codification to the ancient constitutions of the Friars Preachers and ensured that the evangelical ideals of its saintly founder would long endure: "Our Order, is recognized as having been especially instituted from the beginning for preaching and the salvation of souls, and our study should be principally and ardently directed to this end with the greatest industry, so that we can be useful to the souls of our neighbors."²⁷ Following both the letter and spirit of the law, Raymond, after resigning his master generalship and with the help of his successors, went about establishing schools of non-Christian languages in Spain and North Africa so that the brothers might be more successful in preaching to the unconverted.

Like Odo before him, Raymond saw the value of learning Hebrew (and Arabic). Like Alan of Lille, Raymond also encouraged the use of rabbinic literature in persuasive arguments against the Jews. Dominican friars Paul Christian and Raymond Martin relied

heavily upon this innovative technique in their polemical exploits. As with Anselm and Abelard, Raymond asked Aquinas to compose arguments for the persuasion of infidels based on reason rather than scripture. And as St. Dominic had given him an example, so Raymond too makes a practice of debating-as-preaching, orchestrating the celebrated Barcelona Confrontation of 1263 between Friar Paul and Rabbi Moses.

As we have seen, Cohen repeatedly postulates a distinct Dominican ideology or “school of Raymond de Peñafort,” one that “alotted the Jews no legitimate right to exist in European society”²⁸ because they practiced *rabbinic* Judaism and were, therefore, “heretics.” But as has also been made clear, Cohen is unable to produce one word from the hand of Raymond of Peñafort himself in support of such a claim; in fact, Raymond declares just the opposite in his *Summa de poenitentia*: “Dictum est supra de Iudaeis, & paganis, qui per infidelitatem Deum inhonorant: nunc agendum de Haereticis, qui a fide deviantes in Deum multipliciter peccant.”²⁹ Or as he writes elsewhere: “Debent autem, sicut ait tam Iudei, quam Sarraceni auctoritatibus, rationibus, & blandimentis potius, quam asperitatibus ad fidem Christianam de novo suscipienda provocari; non autem compelli; quia coacta servitia non placant Deo. 45.dist. qui sincera.”³⁰ Raymond did not mount his missionary effort to the Jews because he saw “no place for the Jews in Christendom,”³¹ but because the theology of sin and repentance now *held* a place for them; for, unlike previous penitential *summae*, Raymond’s may, in fact, be the first manual for confessors to specifically include Jews and Saracens along with Christians in the chapters on sins and sinners. This is a theology of inclusion, not exclusion, and it based on human sinfulness and divine redemption. However, what truly cinches this

argument is when Raymond says above that Jews and pagans ought to be approached by preachers by means of “sweet words” (*blandimentis*), for when he does so, he is using the *identical* word which Alan of Lille first used to describe how a *confessor ought to approach the penitent sinner as physician*:

Sic sacerdos quasi spiritualis medicus, dum ad eum accedit peccator quasi spiritualis aegrotus. Primo, debet peccatorem verbis allicere, blandimentis mulcere, ut facilius aegrotus detegat morbum, detegat peccatum, ut melius post peccati detectionem, sacerdos cum prius proposuerit blandimenti verba, concludat satisfactionis verbera, monens ne erubescencia ductus suos diffiteatur reatus, ne coram homine crimina fateri vereatur, qui non homini sed Deo confitens loquitur. Nec apud iudicem poli confessus pro condemnato tenetur sed pro absoluto habetur, ostendens etiam auctoritate multiplici quod reatus deletur confessione peccati. Ait enim auctoritas: Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra [James 5:16] Et alibi: Dixi confitebor adversum me et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei [Psalm 31:5] et caetera. Christus etiam Jesus mundatis leprosis praecepit ut se ostenderent sacerdoti [Lk 17:4]. Per quod significatur quod ille qui laborat lepra spirituali debet se ostendere sacerdoti per confessionem delicti. Praeterea docens quod peccatum illud quod in praesenti detegitur in die iudicii tegetur, quod vero in praesenti velatur, in futuro revelabitur.³² (Emphasis mine)

The language of the confessor to Christians is now the language of the missionary to non-Christians—and this is no isolated coincidence of taxonomy. For even in the most patently hostile Dominican polemic, Raymond Martin’s *Pugio Fidei*, the very opening paragraph betrays his preacher’s debt to the theology of sin and repentance:

Iniunctum est mihi ut de illis Veteris Testamenti quos Iudaei recipiant, libris, vel etiam de Talmud ac reliquis scriptis suis apud eos authenticis quis tale componam quod quasi pugio quidam praedicatoribus Christianae fidei atque cultoribus esse possit in promptu, ad scindendum quandoque Iudaeis in sermonibus panem verbi divini; quandoque vero ad eorum impietam...³³

Compare Martin's use of the "knife" to that previous wielding by Alan of Lille:

*Perinet ad praedicatorum gerere statum materialis physici, vel medici. Sicut enim materialis medicus pro diversitate morborum, variat genera remediorum; sic praedicator debet adhibere remedia admonitionum. Ut, si luxuriosis praedicat, contra luxuriam auctoritates afferat, rationes inducat; ostendat illam abominabilem apud Deum et apud homines; quomodo feteat infamia, feteat in carne propria, feteat apud proximum, feteat apud Deum. Nunc ferro secet per comminationem, nunc foveat per consolationem. Simili modo contra alia vitia disputet, secundum quod auditores viderit variis vitiis irretitos. Si pauperibus praedicat, de paupertate disserat, commendans paupertatem...*³⁴ (Emphasis mine)

Martin's *pugio* is not the *dagger* of the assailant, it is the *work-blade* of the surgeon. What we see here is that the physician of the confessional, the same physician who preaches to the Christian laity, is now the same physician who preaches to Jews and Muslims. How could the connection between the theology of sin and repentance and preaching to non-Christians be any clearer? For the Dominicans, the conclusion was inescapable: Jews, Muslims, and other infidels needed repentance and salvation as much as Christian sinners, thus the crying need for preaching to the unconverted.

Endnotes

Chapter Six: Conclusion

1. Cf. Chapter 2, nt. 31.
2. Ibid., nt. 48.
3. Ibid., nt. 76.
4. Ibid., nt. 105.
5. Cf. Chapter 3, nt. 16..
6. Ibid., nt.18.
7. Alan of Lille, *Ars Praedicandi*, xxxix, PL 107d (184).
8. Ibid.
9. Cf. Chapter 3, nt. 23.
10. Ibid., nt. 50.
11. Ibid., nt. 36.
12. Ibid., nt. 37.
13. Ibid., nt. 52.
14. Ibid., nt. 48.
15. Cf. Chapter 4, nt. 34.
16. Cf. Chapter 1, nt. 2.
17. Cf. Chapter 4, nt. 28.
18. Ibid., nt. 33.
19. Tugwell, 74-75.
20. Cf. Chapter 1, nt. 5.
21. Cf. Chapter 3, nt. 50.
22. Cf. nt. 5.

23. Cf. Chapter 4, nt. 35.
24. Ibid., nt. 46.
25. Cf. Chapter 5, nt. 9.
26. Ibid., nt. 15.
27. Ibid., nt. 63.
28. Cf. Chapter 1, nt. 3.
29. Cf. Chapter 5, nt. 115.
30. Ibid., nt. 116.
31. Ibid., nt. 113.
32. Cf. nt. 12.
33. Raymond Martin, *Pugio Fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos*. (Paris: Apud Mathurinum Henault, 1651), 1.
34. Cf. nt. 7.

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