

# CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN

#### MEDIEVAL LIFE AND THOUGHT

Edited by G. G. COULTON, LITT.D., HON. D.LITT., F.B.A. Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, Honorary Fellow of St Catharine's College, University Lecturer in English

### THE EARLY DOMINICANS





### THE EARLY DOMINICANS

STUDIES
IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY
DOMINICAN HISTORY

BY

R. F. BENNETT, M.A.

Hulsean Prizeman, 1934 late Donaldson Bye-Fellow, Magdalene College Cambridge

CAMBRIDGE AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS 1937



## **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107632073

© Cambridge University Press 1937

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1937 First paperback edition 2013

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-107-63207-3 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



 $T_{\it o}$ 





#### GENERAL PREFACE

THERE is only too much truth in the frequent complaint **1** that history, as compared with the physical sciences, is neglected by the modern public. But historians have the remedy in their own hands; choosing problems of equal importance to those of the scientist, and treating them with equal accuracy, they will command equal attention. Those who insist that the proportion of accurately ascertainable facts is smaller in history, and therefore the room for speculation wider, do not thereby establish any essential distinction between truthseeking in history and truth-seeking in chemistry. The historian, whatever be his subject, is as definitely bound as the chemist "to proclaim certainties as certain, falsehoods as false, and uncertainties as dubious". Those are the words, not of a modern scientist, but of the seventeenth-century monk, Jean Mabillon; they sum up his literary profession of faith. Men will follow us in history as implicitly as they follow the chemist, if only we will form the chemist's habit of marking clearly where our facts end and our inferences begin. Then the public, so far from discouraging our speculations, will most heartily encourage them; for the most positive man of science is always grateful to anyone who, by putting forward a working theory, stimulates further discussion.

The present series, therefore, appeals directly to that craving for clearer facts which has been bred in these times of storm and stress. No care can save us altogether from error; but, for our own sake and the public's, we have elected to adopt a safeguard dictated by ordinary business commonsense. Whatever errors of fact are pointed out by reviewers or correspondents shall be publicly corrected with the least possible delay. After a year of publication, all copies shall be provided with such an erratum-slip without waiting for the chance of a second edition; and each fresh volume in this series shall contain a full list of the errata noted in its immediate predecessor. After the lapse of a year from the first publication of any volume, and at any time during the ensuing twelve months, any possessor of that



#### viii GENERAL PREFACE

volume who will send a stamped and addressed envelope to the Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4, shall receive, in due course, a free copy of the *errata* in that volume. Thus, with the help of our critics, we may reasonably hope to put forward these monographs as roughly representing the most accurate information obtainable under present conditions. Our facts being thus secured, the reader will judge our inferences on their own merits; and something will have been done to dissipate that cloud of suspicion which hangs over too many important chapters in the social and religious history of the Middle Ages.

G. G. C.

July 1930



#### AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The present work owes its origin to an essay with which I was successful in winning the Hulsean Prize for 1934. The subject set for that competition was "The Early Dominicans and their Times", and I have used a shortened form of this title for purposes of publication. In this connexion, however, I should like to draw attention to the word "Studies" in the subheading: the following pages make no wider claims than are here suggested, and have no pretension to be a complete history of the Order of Preachers in the thirteenth century. My object throughout has been simply to investigate certain important aspects of the Order's history at the time, and to present my results side by side under various headings—indicated by the chapter-titles—without attempting to combine all together into a full narrative, or to work out a final judgment.

The expansion and partial re-writing of the original essay was largely done during the past academic year in Munich, where I was given a much-appreciated opportunity of study through the generosity of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College in electing me to the Donaldson Bye-Fellowship for 1935–6. I should like to express here my deep sense of indebtedness to the College for their kindness. The additions and alterations have been made at the suggestion and under the general direction of Dr Coulton, to whom I also owe a very great debt of gratitude for help and advice during the past five years. I do not wish, however, to imply that either Dr Coulton or any other here mentioned is in any way responsible for errors and inaccuracies of which I may have been guilty.

I can scarcely hope that I have altogether avoided leaving traces of the two stages in which the work has been written, but must content myself with hoping that they are not too obvious and that repetitions are not too frequent. A word may be added in defence of my method of citing the Acta Capitulorum Generalium by dates rather than by page-references. Dr Berthold Altaner has already complained (Theologische Revue, 1927, p. 382)



x

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-63207-3 - The Early Dominicans: Studies in Thirteenth-Century Dominican History R. F. Bennett Frontmatter More information

#### **AUTHOR'S PREFACE**

that the latter method, which is customary, leaves much to be desired in that it obscures development by omitting chronological information, and suggests using both date and page. I have rejected this on account of its cumbrousness, which would lead to an unnecessary enlargement of the footnotes, and have decided to use dates alone because so much often depends upon them in the establishing of an argument. Since it is only at the end of the thirteenth century that the Acta, in Reichert's edition, occupy more than three or four pages each year, no great difficulty should be experienced by anyone who may wish to check my references.

In conclusion, it is my pleasant duty to thank the following, in addition to those already mentioned: the Electors to the Hulsean Prize, for permission to publish my work in an altered form; Professor Paul Lehmann and Professor Rudolf von Heckel, of the University of Munich, for their assistance and kindness in many ways during my stay in Germany; Herr J. Gabler, also of Munich, who put his wide knowledge of Dominican sources at my disposal; the Prior and Brothers of St Dominic's Priory, N.W. 5, for allowing me to use their library on many occasions, and for their kind hospitality; Mr Geoffrey Barraclough, of St John's College, for letters of introduction in Germany and for invaluable help with the proof-reading; and finally my parents, Mr F. R. Salter of Magdalene College, and others in Cambridge and elsewhere, for the constant encouragement they have given me.

R. F. BENNETT

MAGDALENE COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

April 1937



#### CONTENTS

PAGE
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY—EUROPE IN 1200 1-17
Politics—Church—Economics—Learning—Towns—Heresies—Defence measures of the Church—Preaching—Neglect of it by the Church of 1200—Decay of monastic Orders—of secular clergy—Greater merit of heretics in this respect—Importance of Languedoc—Provençal civilisation.
CHAPTER II. ST DOMINIC 18-30
Detailed examination impossible—Early years—Determines on preaching—Subordination to Rome—Emphasis on study—A deliberate purpose of saving the Church?—Characteristics—Neglect of his memory.
CHAPTER III. POVERTY
Two mistaken views: (1) St Dominic insistent on poverty from the beginning, (2) St Dominic copied St Francis—History of poverty—Innocent III—Council of Montpellier—Acquisition of property—Bull of foundation—Decision of 1216—More acquisitions—Decision of 1220—Reasons for this—St Dominic's ideas changed and were never extreme—Growth of an extremist legend—Poverty as a means to an end—Views of Jordan, Humbert and Aquinas.
CHAPTER IV. LEARNING 52-74
Adopted as an aid in the apostolate—Foundation in Paris 1217—The friar's course of study—Theology—Dangerous attractions of philosophy—Study of arts legalised 1259—Augustinian and Aristotelian currents in thirteenth-century theology—Aquinas and Albertus Magnus—Siger de Brabant—Attempt to condemn the new Aristotle as heretical—Mysticism and the unlearned—Mysticism and the Second Order.
CHAPTER V. THE DOMINICAN PREACHER 75-93
Progress of the Order as measured by its numbers—Purpose of the chapter—Sermons and sermon exempla—Sources—Qualities necessary in the preacher—Classes of preachers and their privileges—Nature of the sermons—philosophical subtilitates—distinctiones—Use of exempla—Language of preaching.
CHAPTER VI. THE PREACHER'S CONGREGATION . 94-111
Difficulty of the subject—The sermons were preached by moralists and so paint a very black picture—Interruptions during the sermon—Inattention—Excuses for non-attendance—The poor make the best congregation—Condemnation of the rich—of merchants—Usury—Theft—Gluttony and drunkenness—superstitious women—Missions—their lack of success—An evil world.
CHAPTER VII. THE SERMONS
A few typical subjects—Method of delivery—Charity—Medieval Puritanism shown in references to tournaments, dancing, feminine adornment—The preacher played on the fear of death, Devil and Hell—Estimates of numbers of the damned—Rewards of virtue.



xii CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER VIII. THE DOMINICAN ORDER IN ITS RE-	
LATIONS WITH THE SURROUNDING WORLD .	128–144
Relations with bishops—The Inquisition—Dominicans as bishopstion to their promotion to the episcopacy—Diplomatic activity—Corelaxation—Relations with secular clergy—A cause of their deper Rome—Privileges—The procurator—The crisis of 1254—Dominic on secular clergy—Relations with Franciscans.	onsequent idance on
CHAPTER IX. SIGNS OF DECAY	145-156
A static period at the mid-century followed by a definite declevidence of the Acta—Ornaments—Begging—Money—Horses, servants—Fasting—Silence at table—Learning—Women—Decay pline—Views of various writers—Humbert and the decrease of aus	ine—The carriages, of disci-
CHAPTER X. AUTHORITY AND THE CONSTITUTION An aristocratic tendency—Its forms—Was the Dominican co	
democratic?—Influence of Roman law—Power of the officers deritheir administrative functions—Examples of this power—The	circator—
Censorship—The scrutiny—Views of various writers on obe Aquinas—Humbert—Reality of the autocratic tendencies—Conclubest period ends circa 1280—Final remarks: Dominic and Francis	ision: the
APPENDIXES	
I. Procul a Domo	176-177
II. Additional Evidence regarding Poverty	178
III. Sermons and the Mass	179–181
ABBREVIATIONS AND AUTHORITIES	182-186
INDEX	-00-