

UNIT 1.3.2.
The Apostolic Ideal

The
Apostolic Ideal
of the
Early Dominicans

Eugene Cachia O.P.

Rabat, Malta
Dominican Bookstore,
1956; rpt. 1966

INTRODUCTION

The changes introduced by the Second Vatican Council are bound sooner or later to reach every aspect of Christian life. Religious life is also included in the Church's adjustment to actual needs. The Decree on the Adaption and Renewal of Religious Life insists that one of the processes "for the appropriate renewal of the religious life is the continuous return to the original inspiration behind a given community." "All loyal recognition and safekeeping should be accorded to the spirit of the founder as also to all the particular goals and wholesome traditions which constitute the heritage of each community." This heritage determine the spirituality of a religious order.

Such a heritage essentially consists in its theological doctrine and practical life. In judging the spirituality of a religious order it is a grave mistake to neglect to take into consideration its way of living. This applies particularly to the Dominican spirituality. With the rise of St. Thomas, the Friars Preachers could claim to possess a proper school of theology; before the middle of the thirteenth century the Dominicans were generally under the influence of the Victorines. Nevertheless straight from their foundation, the Dominicans followed a particular way of living. This characteristic gave a proper stamp to all the members of the order and sharply distinguished them from other religious.

It is the end of this study to examine the second element of Dominican spirituality, as represented by the early Friars Preachers. The life of the friars, however, may be considered merely materially by viewing the daily routine of their religious duties. Under this aspect, the early Dominicans had much in common with former religious, especially with the Canons-regular. By such a survey the spirit that animated the first Dominicans would be completely missed. The motive, that inspired all their actions, can only be grasped by considering the apostolic activities. It was around such an ideal that their whole life was centred.

In treating about the apostolic ideal of the early Dominicans, the period to be considered has been limited to the first forty years of their history i.e. to the government of Humbert of Romans. By that time the Order of Preachers had reached maturity in several camps of its life. Its legislation had been codified by 1228 and in 1236 it was again rearranged. Its liturgy was on the point of being firmly and uniformly established by its fifth Master General. Its legislation about studies had to wait for only a few years to receive the finishing touches. On the other hand, the Order was not old enough to experience the reaction of a decline. Thus by 1254 there is no doubt that the Order of Preachers was in its full vigour.

Because of the comprehensive scope of this study, some of the points may be found to have been covered rather briefly. This is in accord with our work, which has been simply to provide a general idea of the way in which the early Dominicans accomplished their apostolic activity. Moreover we have chiefly insisted on the official documents, relating to the Order, and to contemporary and sub-contemporary writers of the period. These writers help not only to attain the events of the period but also to glimpse at their own mentality. Thus we may avoid the common pitfall of judging past events through our own viewpoint. Certainly the work of later historians, who have greatly helped to clarify several points have not been neglected; but to avoid a long list of references, we have generally omitted to mention them, when they are unanimous and their interpretation of the original sources is obvious.

In the bibliography we have included only works which have been of general interest for our study. The omission of any work does not imply that it has been neglected in our consultation of authorities or that it is of slight value. Finally thanks are due to several Dominican Fathers who inspired this work and in any way encouraged its publication.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Acta Can.	Acta Canonizationis S. Dominici, ed. A. Walz, MOPH, XVI.
Acta Gen.	Acta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum, ed. B. Reichert.
Acta Prov.	Acta Capitulum Provincialium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, Première province de Provence, province Romaine, province d'Espagne, ed. C. Douis, Toulouse 1894.
Acta Rom.	Acta Capitulum Provincialium Provinciae Romanae, ed. T. Kaeppli — A. Dondaine, MOPH, XX.
AFP	Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum.
ALKG	Archiv für Litteratur — und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters.
AOP	Analecta Sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum.
BOP	Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum.
I Const.	Constitutiones Antiquae Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1228, ed. H. Denifle, ALKG, I, 193-226.
II Const.	Constitutiones Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum secundum redactionem Sancti Raimundi de Penafort, ed. R. Creytons, AFP, XVIII, 29-68.
MOPH	Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica.
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. Migne.
Vitae Fr.	Gerardus de Fracheto, Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum, ed. B. Reichert, MOPH, I.
Vita Reg.	Humbert de Romans, Opera de Vita Regulari.

CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	iii
TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS	vi
CHAPTER	
I. The Apostolic Ideal and St. Dominic	1
1. The Apostolic Ideal in the Times of St. Dominic	1
2. Education and Virtues of St. Dominic	4
3. Experience with the Apostolic Missioners	7
4. Expansion of the Order of Preachers	12
II. Role and Character of Dominican Preaching	16
1. Preaching — the End of the Order	16
2. Doctrinal Preaching	22
3. Universal Preaching	28
III. Preaching and Other Activities	37
1. Preaching and Teaching Activities	37
2. Preaching and Sacerdotal Ministry	43
IV. The Source of Dominican Preaching	53
1. The Existence of a Contemplative Element	53
2. The Preservatives of Contemplation	60
3. The Character of Dominican Contemplation	66
V. The Means of Dominican Preaching	71
1. The Importance of Study	71
2. The Plan of Dominican Study	77
3. Study and Preaching	82
CONCLUSION	86
BIBLIOGRAPHY	87

CHAPTER I

THE APOSTOLIC IDEAL AND ST. DOMINIC

Although an ideal may be conceived in a moment of inspiration, it is quite natural, however, that several causes unwittingly help in its formation and that several years of preparation, sometimes even unconsciously, precedes the final decision. Such was the case with the apostolic ideal of the early Friars Preachers. Obviously there was a close connection between this ideal and St. Dominic; the founder of the Order of Preachers. The external causes that influenced St. Dominic to embrace the apostolic ideal were its attraction and its position during the twelfth century. Moreover, for several years, this ideal had its development in St. Dominic; and this is easily traced by considering the different stages in his life and experiences. These may be divided into three categories: his education and virtues which were a sort of remote preparation for his mission; his experience with the apostolic missionaries, when he was unconsciously learning about the pitfalls to be avoided for the survival of an Order, such as his, dedicated to preaching; and the gradual expansion of the Order of Preachers.

1. The Apostolic Ideal in the Times of St. Dominic

It was Jesus Christ who laid the foundation of the apostolic ideal. He sent forth his disciples to proclaim the doctrine that He had taught. But at the same time, he also wanted them to corroborate their doctrine by their example and therefore He sketched for them the life, they were to lead. They were to go about two by two, on foot and without gold and silver. They were also to

gain their bread from those, to whom they preached, and were to be content with what was provided to them.¹

This sort of poverty came to be styled evangelical poverty; while the programme, as sketched by Jesus Christ for his disciples, quite rightly earned the name of apostolic ideal, since it was first practised by the apostles. Two elements constituted the essence of this ideal and they are preaching, which includes the authorization to preach, and a saintly life, particularly noted for its poverty.

The apostolic ideal, however, is to be distinguished from the apostolic life. After the ascension of Jesus Christ in heaven, the responsibility of continuing His mission fell on the shoulders of the apostles. Around them there also gathered the first small band of faithful. These members of the primitive church, on account of their fervour and small number, managed to be a whole large Christian family. They led a new type of life, which is described in the acts of the Apostles.² They shared all their belongings and they possessed everything in common. This sort of life was later known as the apostolic life, since it was first practised by the faithful in the times of the apostles.

The life of the apostles and of the primitive church appealed throughout all ages to the good sense of the faithful. A return to the simplicity of the primitive church played an important part in the development of monasticism. While the application of the apostolic life to clerics, introduced by St. Augustine among his priests, gave birth to the canonical movement. It was, however, during the eleventh and twelfth century that the attraction of the apostolic ideal was most keenly felt. During this period of unrest, all sorts of upheavals faced the Church and even heresies followed in the wake of this movement.

The mission of the apostles was in reality inherited by the bishops because they alone were the descendants of the apostles

¹ Cf. Matthew, X, 9-14; Mark, VI, 8-11; Luke, X, 1-11. The three Evangelists do not present a totally uniform picture for each one adds some peculiarity: to carry no staff (Matthew), no bread (Mark), not even a sack (Luke).

² Acts, IV, 32-7.

in the full sense of the word. They alone, by right of office, had the duty to preach. In this office they were helped by the parish priests, by the canons and by the abbots.³

But the ordinary Catholic preachers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries often failed to embrace the apostolic ideal; this occurred either through negligence or through the difficulties of their position on account of which they were unable to dedicate themselves to such an activity.⁴

Yet at the same time the faithful were keenly yearning to see this apostolic ideal in some concrete form. Hence, when the heretics burst into the gap by claiming to be the real exponents of this ideal, they attracted a great number of followers. The most active among the heretical groups of preachers were the Albigenses and the Waldenses.⁵

At the same period a return to the primitive zeal of the apostles was also having its repercussions within the Catholic Church itself. Saintry priests, on their own initiative and helped by the Popes' permission, became itinerant preachers. The chief among those who remained faithful to the Church were: Robert of Arbrissel (d. 1117), St. Norbert, founder of Prémontré (d. 1134), Lambert of Liege (d. 1173) and Fulk of Neuilly (d. 1202). They were very active in their apostolic labours and accomplished a lot of good. But their influence was restricted to their own life-time, for none of them left his apostolic activity as an inheritance to some community.⁶

3 "Sed officium prædicandi, id est publice docendi non habent nisi missi, id est episcopi et presbyteri in ecclesiis suis, et abbates in monasteriis suis; quibus commissa est cura animarum." E. Martène, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, Paris 1717, V, 1622.

4 P. Mandonnet, *St. Dominic and His Work* (trans. by M.B. Larkin of St. Dominique, l'idée, l'homme, et l'oeuvre, ed H.M. Vicaire and R. Ladner, Bruges 1939) pp. 15-16, 120-7.

5 Although greatly differing among themselves in origin and doctrine both the Albigenses and the Waldenses adopted the same way of preaching and living. H. Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen in Mittelalter*, Berlin 1935, pp. 91 ff; A. Dondaine, *Aux Origines du Waldéisme*, *Archivum Fratrum Prædicatoorum*, XVI; J. Guiraud, art. *Albigois*, *DHGE*, I, 1619-28.

6 P. Mandonnet, *op. cit.*, pp 140-6; H. Grundmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-9.

Thus the apostolic ideal seemed to be slipping from the grasp of the Catholics and, therefore, the Church took extraordinary measures to claim it back within its ranks. The Popes themselves tried to incorporate the apostolic ideal into the Church's organism, both by combating heretics through bands of apostolic missionaries and also by reconciling and granting special privileges to converted heretics.

The apostolic missions were held at different periods of the twelfth century. Generally they were under the guidance of a Cardinal and they included within their ranks some bishops and mostly Cistercian abbots. But since their activities were occasioned by circumstances and events, such as heresy in Southern France, it was rather a local and temporary measure.⁷

Innocent III also tried to win over to the Church the several apostolic movements by permitting them to carry on their own activities within the Catholic Church and under its supervision. In this way the Humiliati were reconciled with the Church in 1201 and the same thing occurred to some Waldenses in the case of the "Poor Men" of Lyon in 1208. But again the experiment failed.⁸

The apostolic ideal, however, was not to be denied to the true Church of Jesus Christ. Neglected by the ordinary Catholic preachers, claimed as their own prerogative by heretics and popular movements, unattained by several extraordinary and vain efforts on part of the Catholics, it was finally, firmly and permanently established in the Catholic Church by the early Friars Preachers through the genius of St. Dominic.

2. Education and Virtues of St. Dominic

The apostolic ideal with which St. Dominic was closely connected required both a high standard of knowledge and sound virtues; for an apostle is a preacher not only by word but also

⁷ In 1147, Eugenius III sent Cardinal Albericus and St. Bernard; in 1177 another mission was sent by Alexander III; in 1188 Abbot Henry, then a Cardinal and a former missionary, resumed preaching; in 1200 Innocent III sent Cardinal John of St. Prisca and Guy of Vaux de Cernai against the Albigenses. cf. H. Grundmann, *op. cit.*, pp 37-8.

⁸ P. Mandonnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-153; H. Grundmann, *ibid.* p. 92.

by deed. Knowledge, whether infused or acquired through study, is essential for preaching; while a life of virtues affords an authoritative confirmation to the teaching of a preacher. St. Dominic throughout his youth and early manhood, was gifted with both these qualities, so necessary for the fullness of the apostolic ideal.

The intellectual life of St. Dominic started when as a boy he went to reside with his uncle, the archpriest of Gumiel de Izan. His uncle had the duty of supervising the instruction of the young Dominic and as is most probable sent him to the school of the Regular Clerics of the Order of St. James of the Sword.⁹ The education of a churchman was intended to lead to a life of clerical piety; for the churchman was expected to take an active part in the liturgical prayer of the Church, which abounded in biblical episodes and were based on a dogmatic line of thought. Hence when following this course, St. Dominic was instructed in grammar, ecclesiastical Latin; the reading of the Bible in Latin, and also in the rules of chanting.¹⁰

Later he joined the higher school of Palencia, which was then one of the best in Spain. He stayed in this town in which he studied the liberal arts and theology for more than five years. He concentrated largely on theology, because more in line with his former education and his future occupation. He was a hard worker and at the end of his studies, he must have possessed the best education, that could be acquired in Spain at that period.

Just on being ordained priest, he was claimed by Martin de Bezan, Bishop of Osma, for his own diocese; and at the instigation of Diego d'Acebes, he was installed canon of the cathedral chapter and thus he came in contact with Diego who was then the prior of the chapter and who was trying to introduce therein

⁹ This branch of the Order had the obligation of instructing the children of the knights, who constituted the Military Order of St. James of the Sword. Several of the Guzman family belonged to this Order, while Pedro Garcia, a relative of Johanna d'Aza, was one of its founder. Moreover one of its schools was quite near to Gumel d'Izan.

¹⁰ ".....in usu ecclesiastico....." Jordanus de Saxonia, *Libellus de Principis Ordinis Prædicorum*, ed. H.C. Scheeben, *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Prædicorum*, XVI, Rome 1935, p. 28, no. 5.

the Gregorian reform. For more than six years, St. Dominic shared the life of the canons with its liturgical atmosphere and canonical observances. He continued to work hard, and it is stated that he hardly ever left the canonical residence; while being thus formed in the canonical traditions, he also applied several hours to study.¹¹

Thus at the end of his early manhood, St. Dominic might be said to have been a complete and perfect cleric and although at the moment he had no intention of embracing the apostolical ideal in all its extension, intellectually he possessed all the essential qualities for undertaking such a mission. Always intended to be a cleric, he had followed an ecclesiastical course of studies; he was also a brilliant scholar, possessing the orthodox faith of the Church, and he was enkindled with a love of the liturgy and of the priesthood.

Yet it was not only intellectually that he was prepared for the apostolic ideal, for at the same time he was also paramountly endowed with all the moral qualities of an apostle. His virtues, especially his charity and zeal, could easily be judged by glancing at some episodes of his early life. Dominic was brought up by saintly parents among saintly surroundings. His first school of virtue was the family of Bl. Johanna d'Aza where he was taught the value of the supernatural. Later at Palencia, his virtues were conspicuous among his fellow students. Even among the canons at Osma, his good qualities attracted the attention of all, who knew him, for by 1201, in spite of his comparatively young age, he was already sub-prior of the cathedral chapter.¹²

His love of God is shown by the long hours and vigils he spent in prayer, while his great charity towards his neighbour may be clearly seen from two incidents of his life. Once, during a famine at Palencia where he sold his books to help the needy;¹³

11 Jordan, *Libellus*, MOPH, XVI, 32, no. 18. The life of St. Dominic among the canons is quite accurately described. Bl. Jordan also states that one of the favourite books of St. Dominic were the *Collationes*.

12 Jordan, *Libellus*, MOPH, XVI, 32, no. 12. The reason for his election is given as the influence of his sanctity upon their canons.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 31, no. 10.

and a few years later, when he offered himself to be sold as a slave, in place of a young man, bewailed by his sister.¹⁴ Such charity could not but burst forth in works of zeal. His secret prayer, while canon at Osma, was that he might work for the salvation of souls;¹⁵ and while passing through Southern France, he once stood awake the whole night to discuss with and convert his heretical host at Toulouse.¹⁶

Divine Providence was thus slowly, secretly but steadily preparing St. Dominic for the great undertaking and mission of definitely establishing the apostolic ideal within the Catholic Church by endowing him with the essential qualities of an apostle, which he was later to hand over as an inheritance to his Friars Preachers. Later Divine Providence was also to furnish him with the best opportunities of obtaining the necessary training for such a mission.

3. *Experience with the Apostolic Missioners*

When Bishop Diego and St. Dominic arrived in Rome in 1205, they asked the Pope to grant them permission of undertaking missionary work among the Cumans; but Innocent III did

¹⁴ Constantinus de Urbeveteri, *Legenda S. Dominici*, ed. H.C. Scheeben, MOPH, XVI, 299, no. 18. The truth of this incident is put in doubt by some modern historians, because of its frequent recurrence in the lives of saints, living at the same period. Nevertheless its value as a pointer of Dominic's charity is not diminished. Bl. Jordan (*Libellus*, MOPH, XVI, 42-4, no. 35) mentions a similar episode but he puts it later in St. Dominic's life.

¹⁵ Jordan, *Libellus*, MOPH, XVI, 32, no. 13.

¹⁶ Petrus Ferrandi, *Legenda S. Dominici*, ed. M.H. Laurent, MOPH, XVI, 216-7, no. 11; also cf. MOPH, XVI, 293, no. 12, p. 377, no. 11. Stephanus de Salaniaco and Bernardus Guidonis (*De Quattuor in quibus Deus Prædicatorum Ordinem insignivit*, ed. T. Kæppeli, MOPH, XXII, Rome 1949, p. 174) attached undue importance to this episode by considering that from that moment the Order of Preachers was born. M. Jacquin (*The Friar Preacher Yesterday and To-day*, London 1915, tr. H. Pope pp. 2-3) inclined also to this opinion, though he has the good sense to add "The first idea of the Order of Preachers had not yet, of course, the clearness of detail..."

not grant them their request. They turned back to Spain,¹⁷ but on their way they stopped at Castelnau, a small town at the gates of Montpellier.

Their arrival at this town was to be the turning point in their lives, particularly in that of St. Dominic; for it was there that they met the papal legates Arnold Amalric, Abbot of Citeaux, and his companions Peter of Castelnau and Raoul of Fontfroide. The efforts of these papal legates to stem the heretical progress at Languedoc had met with little success. They had encountered a stiff resistance from the heretics who sneeringly pointed an accusing finger at the clergy and their scandalous way of life and at the lack of evangelical poverty in the legates themselves.¹⁸

With a sigh of relief, they welcomed Bishop Diego, to whom, on account of his sanctity and learning, they turned for advice. And Diego was quite willing to help; he soon suggested to the legates a new way of dealing with the heretics. His plan was simple enough but it left the legates breathless at its daring novelty; in fact, they only accepted on condition that he became

17 Was Diego commissioned by the Pope to work in Languedoc or was he ordered expressly to return immediately to Osma? It is certain that the Pope ordered him to go back to Osma but there are no proofs to show that the Pope expected Diego either to stop at Languedoc or to hurry to Osma. Peter des Vaux de Cernai states "preceptum ut ad sedem propriam remearet" (*Histoire Albigenis*, ed. Guerin and Lyon, Paris 1926, p. 20); while Bl. Jordan notes "reverti in Hispaniam properabat" (*Libellus*, MOPH, XVI, 35). He was not ordered by the Pope to stop at Languedoc for the legates would not have been reluctant to adopt instantly his suggestions; nor were the monks accompanying Diego intended for Languedoc; they might have been meant for the canonical reform at Osma. Nor it is likely that the Pope expected him to avoid any delays on his return to Osma, for otherwise his long sojourn in France would have amounted to sheer disobedience.

18 Peter des Vaux de Cernai mentions only the scandalous lives of the clergy (*loc. cit.*); but Bl. Jordan also adds the expense and richness of the legates' train (*ibid.*, no. 20, p. 36). P. Mandonnet (*op. cit.* p. 307.) rightly observes that the abbots "were in no position to display the gorgeous train which the biographers of St. Dominic have been pleased to picture". Nevertheless although less rich than that of former legates-Cardinals, their way of travelling must have been inconveniently conspicuous in contrast to that of the heretics.

their leader; for the presence and authority of a bishop would shield them from any accusations of undue leanings to the heretics, while at the same time the whole responsibilities of the undertaking would thus be placed on the shoulders of Diego.¹⁹

Diego's solution consisted in adopting the way of living of the heretical preachers, and this, in the eyes of the legates, was just playing with fire. He wanted to appeal directly to the people by preaching to them not only by words but also by example; while at the same time he intended to attack their leaders themselves in public disputes.

The apostolic missionaries were therefore to practice evangelical poverty and by doing so they would be able to cut the ground from under the heretics' feet whose chief argument would disintegrate in the face of a formidable group of dedicated and exemplary preachers ready to endure untold hardship. Hence his method was threefold:— evangelical poverty of the preachers; disputes with the heretical leaders; exhortation to the people to conversion and their reconciliation with the Catholic Church.

What St. Dominic's contribution was to the formulation of this plan, is well nigh impossible to determine. He was on very intimate terms with Bishop Diego and he generally shared his views. He might also have informed the bishop of the ideas and arguments of his converted host of Toulouse. The way in which he exerted himself to carry out Diego's plan rather suggests that he had an important part in its formation. In any case, if he was not its co-originator, he was totally attracted by its nobility. Later it completely absorbed his activities and he made it his own by the way, he adhered to its fulfilment, even when left almost single-handed.

The legates accepted the suggestion of Diego and dismissed their equipage. Diego retained with him a few clerics, among

19 ".....quasi caput totius negotii....." Jordan, *Libellus*, MOPH, XVI, 37, no. 22. "Caput", because they were sheltering behind him; "quasi", because he had no official appointment from Rome. The legates even took the precaution to write to the pope and ask for the approval of Diego's plan. The answer, which was favourable, was sent to the legates on the 11th November 1206 (cf. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, series Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris 1844-64, t. CCXV, col. 1024-5).

whom was St. Dominic; they were to augment the small number of apostolic missionaries. In the manner of the apostles, the band of missionaries left Montpellier to enter the district which was infested with heresy. They travelled on foot and begged their food from door to door.²⁰ They underwent great hardships, for their sustenance depended on what they could earn by way of alms; a way of life that fluctuated according to different circumstances. The only things they retained with them were only books, necessary for the recitation of the divine office, since all of them were clerics, or for study, or for discussions against the heretics.²¹

The disputes against the leaders of heresy constituted the second line of attack in the offensive of the apostolic missionaries. Just as by evangelical poverty, they were trying to attract the people and to drive a wedge between them and their leaders; so by public discussions they aimed at overthrowing the leaders themselves. Disputes were held at Servian, Bezier, Carcassonne, Verfeil, Montreal, Fanjeauz and Pamier.²²

These discussions, like the chivalrous tournaments of the knights, sometimes lasted for a whole week. They were held in public and each side was represented by its ablest theologians, while a judge, accepted by both parties, presided at the meetings. The contenders laid knotty problems to each other which each party was asked to explain and solve, if it could; they argued and counter-argued. It was really a trial of strength in the camp of learning and the spectators often felt keen interest while sometimes enthusiasm ran very high.²³

The apostolic missioners had to fight against heavy odds. Their opponents were well versed in Sacred Scripture, the spectators were prejudiced against the Catholic preachers and even the judges sometimes were biased towards the heretics. Hence the apostolic missionaries employed, as their most fruitful line of

²⁰ Cernai, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 ff; "...mendicarent hostiatim panem suum..."
ibid., p. 47.

²¹ Jordan, *Libellus*, MOPH, XVI, 37, no. 22.

²² Cernai, *op. cit.*, p. 22 ff.

²³ M. Jacquin, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

argument, that of applauding the poverty of the heretics; but at the same time they exhorted them to see the unreasonableness of achieving any real good by attacks on the bishops and by a separatist movement. Then they tried to convince the heretics of their erroneous doctrine.²⁴

In this manner, the apostolic missionaries, with St. Dominic among them, were working very hard, when their number was suddenly increased by the arrival of twelve Cistercians Abbots, brought by Arnold, the Abbot of Citeaux. But the tenacity of the heretics, the inexperience of the Cistercians in a ministry, alien to their vocation, the small results of the hard labour, forced the abbots to return very quickly to the homely atmosphere of their monasteries. The burden again fell on the shoulders of the apostolic legates, Diego and Dominic.

After the establishment of the monastery of Prouille, Diego returned to Spain to settle the affairs of his diocese and to collect funds for the new monastery. But he died on the way. In the meantime, Peter of Castelnau was assassinated and the banner of the crusade was raised against the heretics; and the horrors of war were let loose on the country. St. Dominic continued to preach around Fanjeaux and to take care of Prouille which became the rallying point of a small band of preachers under the unofficial guidance of St. Dominic.²⁵

It was, however, during these ten years of activity in Southern France, that St. Dominic gained invaluable experience. His ministry among the heretics enkindled still more in him the love

²⁴ This method scored a huge success at the first dispute which was held at Servian (cf. Cernai, *op.cit.* p. 23). It also yielded about 150 converts in the town of Montreal. Through one of these disputes the Spaniard, Durandus de Huesca, a later leader of the reconciled Waldenses, was convinced of his errors. In one of the disputes the judge was Arnold de Crampagnano, a secular cleric and sacristan of St. Anthony, who was one of the "believers" of the Waldenses.

²⁵ St. Dominis was left by Diego as head in spiritual matters; thus he was not absolute leader. In fact his companions had no tie of obedience to him. "....." *Eis autem qui remanserunt fratrem Dominicum in spiritualium cura..... preposuit.....*" Jordan, *Libellus*, MOPH, XVI, 39, no. 29.

of the apostolic ideal; while at the same time, he recognised its usefulness as a means to meet the needs of his times.

But he also perceived that a high standard of learning was required by the preachers to hold their own against the onslaught of the heretics who could cite Scripture with great facility in support of their doctrine. In this respect, the schooling of St. Dominic as a churchman stood him in good stead. Still he saw the importance of the fact that it was not only learning and preaching which counted for the success of the apostolic ideal. This ideal could not survive on preaching alone which constituted only one of its elements. The people themselves were clamouring for something more tangible from the preachers; they were asking for deeds corroborating the preachers' doctrine. Such deeds could only mean a life of poverty and mortification.

Besides this experience of the qualities, essential for an apostolic preacher, St. Dominic, by following closely the rise and fall of the groups of converted heretical preachers, also recognised the pit-falls, that were to be avoided by a congregation of preachers, embracing the apostolic ideal. They were to possess the orthodox faith of the Church and they had to have the permission which only the authorities of the Church could give.

4. *Expansion of the Order of Preachers*

It is impossible to determine with absolute certainty the exact time when St. Dominic decided to found his Order. He had continued to preach in Southern France as the unofficial head of a few disciples; but his followers really formed a fixed community only in 1215, when Peter of Seila and Thomas of Toulouse, two upright men of Toulouse, offered themselves and their properties to the cause of St. Dominic.²⁶ Almost simultaneously the newly established community acquired official ecclesiastical approval when Fulk, Bishop of Toulouse, appointed them as official preachers of his diocese.

The ideal of the new society, under the guidance of St. Dominic, included both elements of the apostolic ideal. Its mem-

²⁶ Jordan, *Libellus*, MOPH, XVI, 44, no. 38.

bers were "to extirpate heresy, combat vice, teach the faith and instruct men in good morals";²⁷ while they also were to "choose evangelical poverty on behalf of Christ and labour by words and example to enrich others with heavenly gifts".²⁸ Indeed "they had proposed to journey religiously and on foot and to preach the word of evangelical truths".²⁹

Besides this programme, as sketched in the Act of Toulouse, the new society was also intended to be composed chiefly of clerics. St. Dominic took great care that those who lacked the necessary knowledge, should undertake the schooling of clerics.³⁰ For the Church, which always and especially at that moment looked askance at the preaching of laymen, wanted only clerics to preach.

The newly formed band of preachers, we must surmise, possessed also some sort of rule or constitutions. They must have had some laws, regulating their way of living and their conduct, such as their time of rising, sleeping, attending office etc. No trace could ever be found of any document that stated that the community of Toulouse before 1216 had assumed any of the older rules.

Indeed St. Dominic, when accompanying Bishop Fulk to Rome, intended to obtain the approval of this rule of his community from the Pope. But Innocent III, knowing that the IV Lateran Council was going to enact a law prohibiting the institution of new societies, advised St. Dominis to return to Toulouse and to select some older Rule. St. Dominic consented to the Pope's suggestion,

²⁷ "..... ad extirpandam hereticam pravitatem et vicia expellenda et fidei regulam adocendam et homines sanis moribus imbuendos, intituimus predicatores....." Monumenta Historica S.P.N. Dominici, fasc. I. ed. M.H. Laurent, MOPH, XV, 66, no. 60.

²⁸ "..... qui pro Christo, evangelicam paupertatem eligentes, universos et singulos exemplo et doctrina donis celestibus nituntur et alaborant ditare....." Ibid.

²⁹ "..... qui in paupertate evangelica, pedites religiose proposuerunt incedere et veritates evangelice verbum predicare....." loc. cit.

³⁰ He then sent them to the school of Alexander Stavensby, cf. M.T. Mamachi, Annalium Ordinis Prædicatorum Libri Duo, Rome 1756, pp. 253-4.

although he could have claimed that his community preceded in time the projected law, which was not yet promulgated.³¹

He thus returned to Toulouse to confer with his frairs about the choice of a rule. He perceived that he had to shelter under the traditional cover of an approved rule and an accepted way of living. Around these factors he had to mould his new scheme, by introducing any innovations slowly and carefully, lest suspicion and the opposition of the bishops be aroused. It was also easier to obtain official approval of his programme, once it had already been put in practice.

The community of St. Romans at Toulouse unhesitatingly selected as their rule, that of St. Augustine. Then they added to it several customs of the Premonstratensians and also took the bold step of renouncing to their estates and properties. These decisions, taken together, marked another landmark in the development of the apostolic ideal of the early Friars Preachers.

The Rule of St. Augustine was selected because it was the automatic choice of any society of clerics. St. Dominic wanted his disciples to be essentially clerics, since only clerics, after having obtained the permission of the bishops, had the right and office to preach.³² Moreover the Rule of St. Augustine contained only spiritual exhortations and recommendations and thus did not encumber them with several material obligations; on the contrary, on account of its flexibility, it left ample room for their innovations regarding study and preaching.³³

To the Rule of St. Augustine they added several regulations, relating to food, fasting, beddings and clothes, which they based on the Constitution of Prémontré. The Premonstratensians possess-

31 Jordan, *Libellus*, MOPH, XVI, 45-6, no. 41. The Bishops were ready to obstruct any new undertakings since all religious novelties with which the Pope had vainly toyed in order to win the heretics had failed, cf. P. Mandonnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-4.

32 The Rule of St. Benedict was reserved to monks who were really lay in origin and character, and who only occasionally and out of necessity undertook any preaching.

33 Humbert of Romans, *Opera de Vita Regulari*, ed. J.J. Berthier, Rome 1889, vol. I, p. 51; Stephanus de Salaniaco-Bern. *Guidonis*, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

ed the strictest customs among the canons-regular and they suited the needs of the Dominicans, who as apostles wanted to follow a strict religious life.³⁴

Papal approval of the new religious institution was obtained on the 22nd December 1216, when Honorius III approved the Dominicans as canons, following the Rule of St. Augustine.³⁵ Officially, therefore, they were only recognised by the Pope as canons-regular; but in reality they were already a religious community dedicated to preaching. Moreover they had selected evangelical preaching and had renounced their estates.

Papal confirmation of their apostolate arrived on 21st January 1217;³⁶ and a year later their camp of activity was extended to the whole world.³⁷ Thus the Order of St. Dominic became officially the Order of Preachers with a universal mission. Its character was then definitely sealed in 1220 at the first General Chapter at Bologna when they established their code of laws and when by giving up all their rents they decided to live on alms.

³⁴ Humbert, *Vita Reg.*, II, 2-3.

³⁵ MOPH, XV, 84, no. 64; *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum*, ed. A. Brémond, Rome 1729, vol. I, 4. It is to be noted that the Constitution of the Dominicans were never confirmed by the Pope and thus they could be amended by the friars.

³⁶ MOPH, XV, 90, no. 70; BOP, I, 4.

³⁷ MOPH, XV, 98, no. 84 (11th February 1218).