Forming Medieval Dominicans:

The Reappropriation of Augustine's *Rule* in Humbert of Romans' *Expositio regulae beati Augustini*



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ABSTRACT

This thesis closely examines an understudied but widely-circulated medieval work known as the *Expositio regulae beati Augustini* (*Commentary on the Rule of Augustine*) composed by Humbert of Romans (c. 1200–77), the fifth Master of the Order of Friars Preachers (Dominicans). More specifically, it considers the historical context and controversy that prompted Humbert to write the *Expositio*, its relationship to the internal and external challenges facing the friars, and the extent to which Humbert consciously reinterpreted Augustine's *Rule* in order to shape the behaviour and institutional culture of the friars during a crucial stage in the consolidation of the Order's self-understanding and collective identity.

While the *Expositio* has typically been interpreted as an *apologia* in defence of the *Rule's* merits, its role as a tool of socialisation aimed at creating a corporate culture and inculcating a sense of distinctiveness has not yet been thoroughly explored. Building upon the work of other scholars, this thesis provides an extended examination of the *Expositio*, scrutinising the *Expositio* not only in light of its immediate context but also as part of the long reception history of Augustine's *Rule* in the Middle Ages. Along with seeking to better understand Humbert's goals in authoring the text, the contents of the *Expositio* are also examined with different questions than have typically been asked, probing their role in shaping the social behaviour, discipline, and self-policing of the friars. Finally, consideration is given to its historical impact, which appears to have been greatest long after Humbert's death, during the 'observant movement' of the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Evidence also suggests that the *Expositio* was widely read outside the Dominican Order during this period, shedding further light on the reception history of Augustine's *Rule*.

LONG ABSTRACT

This thesis closely examines an understudied but widely-circulated medieval work known as the *Expositio regulae beati Augustini* (*Commentary on the Rule of Augustine*) composed by Humbert of Romans (c. 1200–77), the fifth Master of the Order of Friars Preachers (Dominicans). More specifically, it considers the historical context and controversy that prompted Humbert to write the *Expositio*, its relationship to the internal and external challenges facing the friars, and the extent to which Humbert consciously reinterpreted Augustine's *Rule* in order to shape the behaviour and institutional culture of the friars during a crucial stage in the consolidation of the Order's self-understanding and collective identity.

Elected as Master of the Order in 1254 at the height of the struggle between the mendicants and the secular clergy at the university of Paris, Humbert undertook a series of initiatives aimed at stabilizing the Dominican Order and solidifying its position in the church and medieval society. Humbert's *Expositio*, the longest of his works and seemingly the longest medieval commentary on Augustine's *Rule*, provided the friars with an interpretative hermeneutic that reframed the *Rule's* contents and allowed Humbert to engage a multitude of topics concerning the friars' mission and mode of life.

To investigate Humbert's reappropriation of Augustine, this study first briefly traces the history of the *Rule* from its composition in the late-fourth century to its 'rediscovery' by the 'canons regular' during the so-called Gregorian Reforms and its eventual adoption by the Friars Preachers in 1216. The *Rule* initially appealed to the early followers of Dominic in Toulouse because of its ancient authority and its textual flexibility, enabling the friars to pursue their preaching ambitions while under the umbrella of Augustine's legacy. The *Rule* itself was supplemented with *consuetudines* and ultimately a set of changeable *Constitutions* that facilitated this mission. As the Order became more

firmly established, however, other concerns began to arise.

In particular, the second generation of Dominican friars faced different challenges than those involved in the Order's first establishment. Rapid growth, a perceived need to consolidate the Order's life and institutional identity, and a desire to distinguish the Order from the canons regular and other religious communities pressed upon this second generation. Perhaps conscious of the Franciscan experience, the Dominican Cardinal Hugh of St. Cher expressed concerns about the Order's swift expansion, which he feared might contribute to the loss of religious discipline and observance. Subsequently, Pope Alexander IV issued the decree *Sanctis desideriis* on 3 February 1255, empowering Hugh of St. Cher to replace Augustine's *Rule* and the Order's variable *Constitutions* with a fixed, unified text.

Humbert's *Expositio regulae* has often been seen as a response to *Sanctis desideriis*, or at least to its attendant circumstances, since the pope's proposal to produce a fixed *Rule* was ultimately set aside in favour of retaining the composite *Rule*-and-*Constitutions* form of Dominican government. As is clear from the early chapters of the *Expositio*, Humbert favoured the retention of Augustine's *Rule* and presumably played a key role as Master of the Order in successfully avoiding its replacement.

Yet while *Sanctis desideriis* offers an important piece of context for understanding Humbert's *Expositio*, the *Expositio's* greater significance may lie in its role as a tool of socialisation that Humbert deployed to help create a unified culture with shared patterns of behaviour among the friars—a role that has not yet been thoroughly explored. More than simply a vision statement or even a window onto the life of the friars, the *Expositio* not only shows how the friars lived (or failed to live) according to their own laws and customs, but also how Humbert sought to influence and change their habits. This takes on a particular importance when seen in the context of the secular-mendicant controversy at Paris and the

friars' larger confrontations with antifraternalism and their growing prominence in the church and medieval society.

This thesis aims, therefore, to consider how the *Expositio* repurposed Augustine's *Rule* in order to form the friars in particular behaviours, including self-policing, which facilitated their larger mission and equipped them to better withstand the challenges of the mid-thirteenth century. As a tool of socialisation, the *Expositio* not only trained the friars to avoid provoking public scandal or opposition, but also contributed to the process of identity-making among the friars—a theme discernible in many of Humbert's other writings.

Therefore, after tracing the history of Augustine's *Rule* and establishing the *Expositio's* contemporary context, this thesis explores several of the Augustinian *topoi* that Humbert repurposes for his own ends. At roughly 600-pages, the *Expositio* takes up Augustine's brief *Rule* into Humbert's own larger project and offers a wide-ranging commentary on numerous aspects of medieval religious life far removed from Augustine's original monastery. Moreover, Humbert not only advances his own ideas about how the friars ought to relate and interact among themselves, but also the image he wanted the Order to project to outsiders and society at large.

Humbert's multiple and interlocking goals, which included forging a greater social unity, fostering a culture of fraternal correction, and crafting a distinctive and identifiable Dominican identity are all examined. At the same time, parallels with Humbert's contemporary, Bonaventure, the Minister General of the Franciscans, are likewise considered, as well as parallels with other rule commentaries, which highlight both the derivative and unique qualities of Humbert's work. Attention is also given to some contemporary sociological theories concerning 'collective identity', especially insofar as they seem useful or fruitful for future interdisciplinary investigations.

Along with witnessing to the continuing authority of Augustine in the Middle Ages, the *Expositio* illustrates how the reception of Augustine's writings could take unexpected turns. Surprisingly, while Humbert largely sought to form his immediate contemporaries, the greatest historical impact of his *Expositio* may have been long after his death, during the 'observant reform' of the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of the over 100 surviving manuscripts of the *Expositio*, most date from this period, when it appears that the *Expositio* served as a resource for those desiring a return to a more observant and 'pristine' past. Evidence also shows that the *Expositio* was read and quoted outside the Dominican Order during this period, including among such diverse communities as Carthusians, Cistercians, and Brigittines. This adds another layer to the reception history of Augustine's *Rule*—one that passed through the mediation of Humbert of Romans.

By building upon the work of other scholars, this thesis attempts to provide the most extended treatment of the *Expositio* to date. It approaches the *Expositio* synchronically in relation to the medieval context of its composition and also diachronically in relation to the reception history of Augustine's *Rule*, viewing the *Expositio's* mediation of the *Rule* as another phase in this process. Above all, this thesis approaches the contents of the *Expositio* with a series of new questions, probing its historical role as a tool of socialisation, its legacy in shaping the collective identity of the friars, and its broader impact in subsequent centuries.

To My Parents

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It would be an impossible task to acknowledge all the individual acts of generosity from which I benefitted while writing this thesis. I would be remiss, however, if I did not offer a special word of gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Lesley Smith, without whom this thesis would not have come to fruition. Indeed, I owe her thanks for supporting my initial inquiries when applying to Oxford as well as her continued guidance over the past five years through my MSt and DPhil.

I likewise wish to express my appreciation to the many professors who welcomed me at Oxford, especially those who guided me in the study of palaeography and who deepened my knowledge of Latin. I also benefitted from the resources of numerous research libraries and the helpfulness of their librarians and staff, especially when requesting digital copies of folios or complete manuscripts. While it is not possible to thank each person individually, the bibliography testifies to their aid and assistance.

My thanks is also certainly due to Fr. Thomas Crean, OP, who shared his personal, unpublished translation of Humbert's *Expositio*. While the translation that appears in this thesis is my own, Fr. Crean's work was invaluable in aiding my study of the text and I look forward to seeing his finished work published in the near future.

The Dominicans at Blackfriars Hall provided both accommodations and fraternity during my first three years at Oxford, for which I am truly grateful. I wish to likewise express my sincerest gratitude to the Dominican Province of St. Joseph and Fr. John Langlois, Regent of Studies, for permitting me to undertake doctoral work and for the personal and financial support provided by the Province throughout this programme.

Finally, while this thesis seeks only to contribute to the body of academic and historical scholarship on the Middle Ages, it will hopefully not be out of place for me to express my devotion and thanks to Mary, Queen of Preachers, for her maternal support and intercession, which have aided me more than words can express.

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ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	*Acta Apostolicæ Sedis* (Rome, 1909–)
Acta cap. gen.	Reichert, B.M., ed. *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 9 vols., Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica, 3–4, 8–14 (Rome-Stuttgart, 1898–99, 1900–4)
Acta prov. Lombardiae	Kaeppeli, T., ed., 'Acta capitulorum provinciae Lombardiae (1254-1293) et Lombardiae inferioris (1309-1312)', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 11 (1941), 138–72
Acta prov. Prov.	Douais, C., ed., *Acta capitulorum provincialium ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum. Premier province de Provence, province romaine, province d'Espagne* (Toulouse, 1894)
Acta prov. Romanae	Kaeppeli, T. and Dondaine, A., eds., *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae Romanae* (1243–1344), Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica, 20 (Rome, 1941)
AFH	*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (Rome, 1909–)
AFP	*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Rome, 1931–)
ASOP	*Analecta* [*Sacri*] *Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum* (Rome, 1893–)
BOP	Ripoll, T. ed., *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 8 vols. (Rome, 1729–40)
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout, 1963–)
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1953–)
Constitutiones antiquae	A.H. Thomas, ed., *Constitutiones antiquae ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* in *De oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 42 (Leuven, 1965), 305–69
Cronica ordinis	B.M. Reichert, ed., *Vitae Fratrum O.P. necnon Cronica Ordinis ab Anno MCCIII usque ad MCCLIV*, MOPH, I (Rome, 1897), 320–328
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1864–)

CUP	H. Denfile and E. Chatelain, eds., *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889–97)
De eruditione praedicatorum	J.J. Berthier, ed., *De eruditione praedicatorum,* in *De Vita Regulari*, II (Rome, 1888), 373–484
De officiis	J.J. Berthier, ed., *Instructiones Magistri Humberti de Officiis Ordinis,* in *De Vita Regulari*, II (Rome, 1888), 179–371
De sing. cleric.	Anonymous, *On the Celibacy of the Clergy*, trans. by D.S. Fruchtmann, 'De Singularitate Clericorum: A Third-Century Treatise Against Spiritual Marriage' (MA Dissertation, Indiana University, 2007), 1–41
De trinitate	Augustine, *De Trinitate*. W.J. Mountain, ed. Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout, 1968). English trans.: E. Hill, *The Trinity* (Brooklyn, New York, 1991)
De unitate ecclesiae	Augustine, *De unitate ecclesiae*, PL 43, cols. 391–446
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1912–)
Exp. const.	Reisner, S. 'Die *Expositio super constitutiones fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum* des Humbertus de Romanis' (PhD Thesis, University of Vienna, 2004), 111–290
Exp. reg.	J.J. Berthier, ed., *Expositio Regulae B. Augustini secundum B. Humbertum* in *De Vita Regulari,* I (Rome, 1888), 43–643
ISTC	British Library, *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/
Lat. IV	N.P. Tanner, ed., 'Lateran IV (1215)', in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, I (Washington, 1990), 227–71
Legenda maior	Humbert of Romans, 'Legenda maior sancti Dominici' in Tugwell, S., ed., *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, MOPH, XXX (Rome, 2008), 450–533
MOPH	*Monumenta Ordinis [Fratrum] Praedicatorum Historica* (Rome, 1896–)
Obiurgatio	L. Verheijen, ed., *La Règle de Saint Augustin,* I (Paris, 1967), 105–7. English trans.: G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule* (Oxford, 1987), 105–9
Opusculum tripartitum	Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum tripartitum*, in O. Gratius, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*, II (London, 1690), Appendix, 185–229.

Ordo monasterii	L. Verheijen, ed., *La Règle de Saint Augustin*, I (Paris, 1967), 148–52. English trans.: G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule* (Oxford, 1987), 75–79
PG	Migne, J.-P., ed. *Patrologiæ cursus completus ... Series Græca*... (1857–66)
PL	Migne, J.-P., ed. *Patrologiæ cursus completus ... Series Latina*... (1844–55)
Praeceptum	L. Verheijen, ed., *La Règle de Saint Augustin*, I (Paris, 1967), 417–37. English trans.: G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule* (Oxford, 1987), 81–103
Prologus et Praefatio	Anonymous, *Prologus et Praefatio cuiusdam Sapientis in Regulam Beati Augustini*, ed. by S. Weinfurter in 'Vita canonica und Eschatologie', in *Secundum Regulam Vivere* (Windberg, 1978), 158–67
De questionibus	'Magister Richardus de Sancto Victore de Questionibus Regule Sancti Augustini Solutis' ed. by M.L. Colker in 'Richard of St. Victor and the Anonymous of Bridlington', *Traditio* 18 (1962), 201–23
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes* (Paris, 1943–)
SOPMA	T. Kaeppeli and E. Panella [vol. 4], eds., *Scriptores Ordiniis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1970–93)
ST	Sancti Thomae Aquinatis. *Summae theologiæ*, *Opera omnia iussu impensaque Leonis XIII P. M. edita,* t. 4–12 (Rome, 1888-1906). English trans.: Fathers of the English Dominican Province, *Summa Theologica*, 5 vols. (Allen, Texas, 1981)
Vitae fratrum	B.M. Reichert, ed., *Vitae Fratrum O.P. necnon Cronica Ordinis ab Anno MCCIII usque ad MCCLIV*, MOPH, I (Rome, 1897), 1–304

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NOTICE CONCERNING TRANSLATIONS

All translations of Latin primary texts, including but not limited to Humbert of Romans' *Expositio regulae beati Augustini* and his *Expositio super Constitutiones fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum* are my own unless otherwise indicated. Quotations from secondary sources in languages other than English are either taken from published translations (where available) or are indicated as my own translation in the citation.

OVERVIEW

This thesis closely examines an understudied but widely-copied medieval work known as the *Expositio regulae beati Augustini* (*Commentary on the Rule of Bl. Augustine*) composed by Humbert of Romans (c. 1200–77), the fifth Master of the Order of Friars Preachers (Dominicans).[1] More specifically, it considers the historical context and controversy that prompted Humbert to write the *Expositio*, its relationship to the internal and external challenges facing the friars, and the extent to which Humbert consciously reinterpreted Augustine's *Rule* in order to shape the behaviour and institutional culture of the friars during a crucial stage in the consolidation of the Order's self-understanding and collective identity. As will be shown, this also involves a revision of some of the previously held views about the *Expositio*, its purpose, and its overall significance.

To that end, Chapter I begins by surveying the relevant historiography and historiographical trends regarding the study of medieval religion and scholarship pertaining to Humbert of Romans and the Dominican friars. This historiographical overview provides the background and major bibliographical reference points necessary for locating this thesis in relationship to the broader scholarship that informs its inquiry, its scope, and its limitations.

Chapter II commences by tracing the historical reception of Augustine's *Rule* from its fourth-century origins to its adoption by the Friars Preachers in 1216. This brings into focus how the *Rule* itself came to serve diverse purposes in different religious communities over the course of time and how the friars' themselves and their thirteenth-century contemporaries would have perceived this text at the time of its adoption by the Order. In turn, this illuminates the role of the *Rule* in the construction of the friars' self-understanding

[1] The term 'Dominican' does not seem to have come into widespread use until the fifteenth century. See P. Mandonnet, *St. Dominic and His Work* (St. Louis, 1945), 447–59. While admittedly anachronistic, it is nonetheless widely used in historical scholarship even for this earlier period and remains a useful shorthand for 'Order of Friars Preachers', which lacks a simple adjectival form.

and identity. Of particular relevance here is the *Rule's* association with the so-called Gregorian Reforms of the eleventh century and its widespread use from that point forward by the reformed 'canons regular'.[2] The choice of Augustine's *Rule* also had organisational implications, opening and closing certain doors for the future development of the Friars Preachers. Chapter II lays the foundation, therefore, for an inquiry into Humbert's *Expositio* by establishing what the *Rule's* original adoption in 1216 subsequently meant for the friars of Humbert's generation, who inherited this already-ancient and meaning-laden text as part of a larger web of contextual relations.

While Chapter II considers the reception of Augustine's *Rule* diachronically, Chapter III looks synchronically at the contemporary context in which Humbert wrote. Specifically, it inquires into the personal, ecclesiastical, and political circumstances that appear to have most profoundly impacted the *Expositio's* composition. To accomplish this task, Chapter III is organised into two parts. The first explores several overlapping circles of context, beginning with Humbert's time at the university of Paris, his interaction with Hugh of St. Cher, and his entrance into the Friars Preachers. Moving outward from this, attention is given to Humbert's various initiatives as Master of the Order in light of the Order's rapid growth, the various 'antifraternal' writings and activities organised in opposition to the friars, the intense controversy surrounding the role of the mendicants at the university of Paris, and the broader social and ecclesial challenges facing new religious communities at the time. Humbert responded to these pressures in large measure by

[2] Although the use of the term has varied somewhat according to time and place, 'canons' were generally clerics entrusted with the liturgical celebrations at a cathedral or major church and who were organised under the local bishop's authority. In this context, 'secular canons' refer to those canons who were not necessarily bound by any specific commitment to poverty or to a common life. In contrast, 'canons regular' professed obedience according to a particular rule of life (*regula*) that usually included the renunciation of personal property and a stricter form of communal living. See C. Dereine, 'Chanoines, des origines au xiii siècle', DHGE, XII, cols. 353–355; G.B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (New York, 1967), 388–90; L.K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY, 1983), 99–112. For the 'Gregorian Reforms' in general, see 2.4 below.

emphasizing uniform 'formation' and behaviour among the friars themselves—something that can be clearly seen in the *Expositio* and, it is argued herein, constitutes one of Humbert's major goals in authoring this text.

The second part of Chapter III turns to the crisis that is generally taken as the proximate cause of the *Expositio's* composition: the authorisation given by Pope Alexander IV to Hugh of St. Cher in 1255 to rewrite the Order's governing documents. This would have eliminated Augustine's *Rule* and the Order's *Constitutions* as distinct texts in favour of a newly-composed and unified 'Dominican rule'. Remarkably, despite enjoying the apparent favour of the Pope and Hugh of St. Cher, this initiative failed to produce any effect and seems to have been quickly abandoned. Humbert was Master of the Order at this time and the second part of Chapter III examines how the *Expositio* can be understood in relation to these events and its role (if any) in repelling this initiative, setting the stage for an analysis of the text itself in Chapter IV.

Chapter IV constitutes the heart of this thesis, directly examining the material history and textual contents of the *Expositio*. The chapter begins by considering the attribution of the *Expositio* to Humbert, its dating, transmission (including extant manuscripts, printed editions, translations, etc.), relationship to other rule commentaries, and the major sources utilised in its composition. A close analysis of the *Expositio's* textual and rhetorical elements follow upon this. This includes its structural organisation, which partly derives from the arrangement of the *Rule* itself but which also reflects the imposition of Humbert's own conceptual structures and hierarchies. Substantial attention is then directed to the various themes and Augustinian *topoi* found within the *Expositio*. Rather than simply reiterating Augustine's thought, Humbert reframes and repurposes Augustine's language for his own ends, yielding a commentary that is not merely descriptive or elucidatory, but which is ordered towards shaping the public and private behaviour of the

friars, while also fostering a sense of distinctiveness and mission among them. In short, Humbert does not merely expound upon the *Rule*, nor simply praise its merits, but reappropriates it and deploys it as a tool for forming an institutional culture.

With the analysis of Chapter IV in hand, Chapter V seeks to further unpack Humbert's goals in authoring the text, which included establishing greater uniformity among the brethren, policing unacceptable behaviour, regulating interaction with outsiders, and projecting a particular public image of the Order. Ultimately, Humbert sought to forge a social unity among the friars that was fully coordinated towards a common mission (i.e., preaching and conversion). To the extent they seem helpful for understanding this formation of an institutional religious culture, some contemporary sociological theories are highlighted in this chapter, especially as potential areas for future interdisciplinary research. Chapter V then proceeds to inquire about the historical impact of the *Expositio*. While this thesis does not claim—nor depend upon proving—that Humbert's goals were actually realised and fulfilled by his *Expositio*, it nonetheless hopes to fill a lacuna in the existing historiography by asking what can be known about the text's influence. As Chapter V explains, it may have had its greatest influence long after Humbert's death, during the period of the 'observant movement' of the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Moreover, the distribution of surviving manuscript suggests that the *Expositio* found an audience outside the Order of Preachers during this period, constituting another stage in the reception history of Augustine's *Rule*—one now mediated by Humbert's commentary.

Finally, Chapter VI offers a synthetic view of the thesis and provides a summary of its overall findings, including its broader relevance for medieval historiography and interdisciplinary studies. Attention is likewise given to the potential value of further research regarding the role of rule commentaries in general and Humbert's *Expositio* in particular.

CHAPTER I
HISTORIOGRAPHY

In 2007 and 2008, the noted historian and scholar Giles Constable offered a series of reflections about medieval historiography over the past fifty years. He observed that 'one of the most striking changes ... [has been] the rise in interest in religion.'[1] Although religion—at least in certain respects—was never wholly absent from historical studies of the Middle Ages, Constable noted a distinct shift away from the history of ecclesiastical institutions and towards a greater focus on the lived experience of religion and medieval spirituality (an admittedly polyvalent term).[2] Constable's remarks echoed earlier observations by John Van Engen, who had offered his own influential analysis of developments in medieval historiography and the relevance of religion in the Middle Ages, and aligns closely with those made more recently by James Mixson, Miri Rubin, Christine Caldwell Ames, and a host of other medievalists—all of whom have reflected upon this turn in medieval historiography and contributed in diverse ways to the study of medieval religion.[3] John Arnold, further expounding on these same developments, observed that

[1] G. Constable, 'From Church History to Religious Culture: The Study of Medieval Religious Life and Spirituality', in *European Religious Cultures: Essays Offered to Christopher Brooke on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. by M. Rubin (London, 2008), 3. Constable also gave a slightly adapted version of this essay in an address at the Central European University, now published under the title 'Recent Trends in the Study of the Middle Ages', *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU*, 15 (2009), 355–65. Both of these talks compliment his earlier and still useful observations in 'The Study of Monastic History Today', in *Essays on the Reconstruction of Medieval History*, ed. by V. Mudroch and G.S. Couse (Montreal, 1974), 21–51.

[2] Constable, 'From Church History to Religious Culture', 3–8, et passim.

[3] J. Van Engen, 'The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem', *The American Historical Review*, 91/3 (1986), 535; J. Mixson, 'Religious Life and Religious Orders', in *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity: 1050-1500*, ed. by R.N. Swanson (London, 2015), 50; M. Rubin, 'Religion', in *A Concise Companion to History*, ed. by U. Rublack (Oxford, 2012), 319; C.C. Ames, 'Medieval Religious, Religions, Religion', *History Compass*, 10/4 (2012), 335–36; P. Biller, 'Popular Religion in the Middle Ages', in *Companion to Historiography* (London, 1997), 225–33; See also the more recent comments by J. Van Engen, 'The Future of Medieval Church History', *Church History*, 71/3 (2002), 497–502; 'Historiographical Approaches to Monasticism in the Long Twelfth Century', in *The High and Late Middle Ages*, The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West, 2 (Cambridge, 2020), 654–55; cf. also the observations (and cautionary notes for ecclesiastical historians) in S. Foot, 'Has Ecclesiastical History Lost the Plot?', *Studies in Church History*, 49 (2013), esp. 6-25. Note that this development has by no means be limited to medievalists or ecclesiastical historians. See, for example, the observations about the 'return of religion' in late-twentieth century scholarship in other historical disciplines in A. Chapman, J. Coffey and B. Gregory, eds., *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame, 2009), 5–11.

from the mid-twentieth century onward medieval historians increasingly tacked away 'from studying religion primarily via its theology and its formal institutions, to looking at religion as part of the world in which it flourished'.[4] This did not occur in a vacuum but at the same time that the field of medieval history was 'profoundly influenced by developments in other disciplines'[5], embraced interdisciplinary approaches[6], and gave increasingly greater scope to marginalised and dissenting voices from the past.[7]

Although these broad trends in medieval historiography have had many implications for understanding the Middle Ages, of particular relevance to this thesis is the shift in how medieval religious communities are studied. As institutional histories have given way to a greater consideration of religious life as a lived experience, historians have tended to uncover ever-greater variety in the daily lives, beliefs, and behaviours of monks, nuns, canons, and friars.[8] This can be seen especially in comparison to earlier histories that

[4] J. Arnold, 'Histories and Historiographies of Medieval Christianity', in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. by J. Arnold (Oxford, 2014), 30.
[5] J.M.H. Smith, 'Introduction: Regarding Medievalists: Contexts and Approaches', in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. by M. Bentley (London, 1997), 111.
[6] As G. Jaritz notes, 'the trend toward interdisciplinarity has become one of the most important developments in the methodology of Medieval Studies in the second half of the twentieth and in the 21st century' (G. Jaritz, 'Interdisciplinarity in Medieval Studies', in *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms – Methods – Trends*, ed. by A. Classen, 3 vols, 2010, I, 712). Jaritz's article also provides a useful orientation and bibliography for tracing some of the cross-currents between other disciplines and Medieval Studies.
[7] A considerable number of works have been written in recent decades concerning alterity, exclusion, and marginalised voices in the medieval past. For critical starting points, see P. Freedman and G.M. Spiegel, 'Medievalisms Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies', *The American Historical Review*, 103/3 (1998), esp. 698-704; R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 2007); B.H. Rosenwein, S. Farmer and T. Head, 'Monks and Their Enemies: A Comparative Approach', *Speculum*, 66 (1991), 764–96; D. Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam, 1000-1150* (Ithaca, NY, 2002); C.C. Ames, *Medieval Heresies: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam* (Cambridge, 2015), esp. 139-146; D. Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Updated ed. (Princeton, 2015); the collected essays in S.L. Waugh and P. Diehl, eds., *Christendom and Its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000-1500* (Cambridge, 1996). Note that the 'Bibliographical Excursus' added to the second edition of Moore's work also contains a valuable discussion (pp. 172–189) of the literature published since the first edition of his book. Regarding Moore's views, see also the critique in J. Arnold, 'Persecution and Power in Medieval Europe: The Formation of a Persecuting Society, by R.I. Moore', *American Historical Review*, 123 (2018), 165–74; and also his earlier 'Repression and Power', in *Christianity in Western Europe, c. 1100-c. 1500*, ed. by M. Rubin and W. Simons, The Cambridge History of Christianity, 4 (Cambridge, 2009), 355–71.
[8] Mixson, 'Religious Life and Religious Orders', 50. Illustrative of this trend among recent studies of the mendicant friars is the prevalence of works that prefer to speak of mendicant 'cultures' or 'mendicancies' (plural) and which highlight the diversity of views and practices among members of such orders. See, for example, the collected essays in S.J. Cornelison, N.B.-A. Debby and P. Howard, eds., *Mendicant Cultures*

tended to adopt overarching frameworks of growth and decline when writing about religious life.[9] Moreover, the shift away from institutional histories—which tended to treat the histories of individual religious communities as fairly self-enclosed stories—has gone hand-in-hand with a greater focus on how these communities related to and were shaped by their network of relationships within the larger social, cultural, and material aspects of a society. Such contextual elements are now seen as crucial for understanding not only the history of religious communities but also their lived experience and associated spirituality (-ies).[10] Beyond a community's rule or constitutions, the texts that permeated and shaped the daily rhythms of prayer, study, and devotion have also been increasingly examined for their role in forming a community's religious culture—and, at the same time, for revealing how that culture might shape the way those texts were received, understood, and internalised.[11] The interdisciplinary turn in medieval studies has likewise highlighted the role of art, architecture, and music in forming the self-understanding and identity of

in the Medieval and Early Modern World: Word, Deed, and Image (Turnhout, 2016); C.J. Mews and A. Welch, eds., *Poverty and Devotion in Mendicant Cultures, 1200-1450* (London, 2016); D.S. Prudlo, ed., *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies* (Boston, 2011). In fact, this trajectory was already discernible in the 1970s among certain studies of monks and monastic communities. See Constable, 'The Study of Monastic History Today', 29–37.

[9] Mixson, 'Religious Life and Religious Orders', 51. Concerning this narrative tendency among Dominicans specifically, see M.A. Vargas, *Taming a Brood of Vipers* (Leiden, 2011), 10–16. For recent attempts to pursue a more comparative and contextual approach, see the foundational essay by K. Elm, 'Decline and Renewal of the Religious Orders in the Late Middle Ages: Current Research and Research Agendas', in *Religious Life between Jerusalem, the Desert, and the World: Selected Essays by Kaspar Elm*, trans. by J.D. Mixson (Leiden, 2015), 138–88.

[10] As Mixson observes, H. Grundmann's now-classic work already anticipated this development in the 1930s 'by taking seriously the intersections of spirit and society, economy, and culture that shaped medieval religious movements' (Mixson, 'Religious Life and Religious Orders', 50). See H. Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, trans. by S. Rowan (Notre Dame, 1995). Perhaps especially emblematic of the many works that could be cited as reflecting this development is Little, *Religious Poverty*.

[11] Particularly important for inaugurating this shift was Jean Leclercq, whose work, *The Love of Learning and The Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, has gone through three English editions (1961, 1974, 1982) and numerous reprintings after having first been published in French as *L'Amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu: Initiation aux auteurs monastiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1957). As the English subtitle suggests, Leclercq's work was not an institutional history but rather a study of monastic culture and spirituality with its literary, material, and devotional aspects (see Van Engen, 'The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem', 525).

religious communities and their members.[12] To this must also be added the importance of gender and sexuality, which have emerged as significant areas of inquiry within Medieval Studies, and which have led to new questions and methodologies in the study of medieval religious life.[13]

Although institutional histories may have been eclipsed by these developments, the opposite has been true for the process of *institutionalisation*, which has received a great deal of attention. This can be seen especially among scholars influenced by Gert Melville, whose *Research Centre for the Comparative History of Religious Orders* has published over 70 volumes focusing on how religious life and spirituality intersected with the codification of written norms within wider social, cultural, and ecclesial contexts.[14] Especially evident is the influence of Max Weber's sociology of religious life and his

[12] A full bibliography on these themes far exceeds what is possible here, but some examples of recent works that emphasise the relationship between these disciplines and identity formation in mendicants communities are T. Kennedy, ed., *Sanctity Pictured: The Art of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders in Renaissance Italy* (London, 2014); C.A. Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying: Friars and the Medieval City* (New Haven, 2014); J. Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches* (New Haven, 2013); C.A. Bruzelius, 'The Architecture of the Mendicant Orders in the Middle Ages: An Overview of Recent Literature', *Perspective*, 2 (2012), 365–86; M. Rubin, 'Liturgy and Sacraments in the Formation of Religious Identity', in *Religiosità e civiltà. Identità delle forme religiose (secoli X-XIV)*, ed. by G. Andenna (2011), 257–64; J. Boyce, *Carmelite Liturgy and Spiritual Identity: The Choir Books of Kraków*, Medieval Church Studies, 16 (Turnhout, 2009); A. Todenhöfer, 'Apostolisches Ideal im sozialen Kontext: Zur Genese der Bettelordensarchitektur im 13. Jahrhundert', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 34 (2007), 43–75; R.A. Sundt, '*Mediocres Domos et Humiles Habeant Fratres Nostri*: Dominican Legislation on Architecture and Architectural Decoration in the 13th Century', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 46 (1987), 394–407. Although pertaining to monastic rather than mendicant identity, see also S. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125* (Ithaca, 2006). See also the brief observations in Constable, 'From Church History to Religious Culture', 11.

[13] Although the literature in this area is considerable, helpful orientations to the historiography of gender and sexuality in the study of medieval religious communities can be found in B. Rosenwein, 'Views from Afar: North American Perspectives on Medieval Monasticism', in *Dove va la storiografia monastica in Europa?*, ed. by G. Andenna (2001), 71–75; and also E. L'Estrange and A. More, 'Representing Medieval Genders and Sexualities in Europe: Construction, Transformation, and Subversion, 600-1530', in *Representing Medieval Genders and Sexualities in Europe*, ed. by E. L'Estrange and A. More (2016), 1–14. For recent publications and an attempt at a comprehensive online bibliography of primary and secondary sources for the study of medieval women's religious communities, see http://monasticmatrix.osu.edu/.

[14] An overview of the *Vita regularis* series is given in G. Melville and others, '« Vita Regularis » - an International Series Currently Comprising Fifty Volumes on « Orders and Interpretations of Religious Life in the Middle Ages »', *Revue Mabillon*, 21 (2010), 255–68. For the research centre itself, see G. Melville, 'FOVOG, Comparing the Medieval History of Religious Orders. On the Aims and the Structure of an International Collaborative Research Centre in Germany', *Revue Mabillon*, 20 (2009), 251–58. Mixson has opined that Melville's 'line of inquiry has arguably produced the most vibrant of all work on the religious orders in the last 20 years' (Mixson, 'Religious Life and Religious Orders', 52).

concepts of 'charisma' and 'routinization' on this particular project—and not unreflectively.[15] Scholars who have followed this trajectory and who study the codification of norms and the formation of institutional cultures in religious communities have also emphasised the need to move beyond simple assessments of foundational documents and embrace the complex web of textual sources that coexisted with these documents. Such sources provide insights into what rules and constitutions left unsaid and how a community's rule and constitutions were interpreted (or reinterpreted) in new and creative ways over time. Historians interested in such questions have also benefitted from a considerable increase in the publication and indexing of customaries, commentaries, chronicles, religious legislation, and other source materials associated with medieval religious life.[16]

Therefore, within both the wider historiographical developments surveyed above and their particular application to the study of medieval religious communities, this present thesis can be situated as an attempt to better understand both the lived experience of the Dominican friars in the mid-thirteenth century and, more centrally, as a study of Humbert of Romans' specific attempt to shape the institutional and religious culture of the friars through the text of his *Expositio regulae*. While Humbert's *Expositio* has often been looked upon by historians as an *apologia* in favour of his Order's retention of the *Rule of Augustine* as a governing document, this thesis locates the *Expositio* more properly as an example of

[15] For example, the volume by G. Andenna, M. Breitenstein and G. Meville, eds., *Charisma und religiöse Gemeinschaften im Mittelalter*, Vita regularis, 26 (Munich, 2005) deals specifically with this topic.
[16] Simply to give two current examples: the ongoing *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* (CCM), first begun in 1963, is slated to eventually encompass 25 volumes and has given scholars a powerful tool for comparing monastic customaries across communities, thus increasing our understanding of how these communities lived and interpreted their rules in practice; in addition, the publication of the *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (Leiden, 2010 and 2016) has provided entries for over 2,500 medieval chronicles that open up extensive possibilities for medieval historians and for those studying this literary genre. For those researching Dominicans, the indexes and documentation provided in the four volumes of the *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi,* edited by Thomas Kaeppeli and published from 1970–93, have aided scholars in locating medieval manuscripts and printed books associated with the friars. Moreover, primary sources have continued to appear in new editions in the longstanding series *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* (1896 to present) as well as through other publishers and series.

'formation literature' designed to inculcate certain values and behaviours among the friars through exhortation and the rhetorical use of *auctoritates* and *exempla*—i.e., through various means of moral suasion. As such, it witnesses not only to the lived experience of the friars (who clearly departed at times from Humbert's religious ideals), but also to a conscious attempt on the part of Humbert to influence his fellow friars' mode of life in ways that would serve his larger goals for the Order. Taking a cue from scholars working in the line opened up by Melville—albeit with some reservations about the applicability of certain sociological frameworks offered by Weber and others (see 3.3.7 and 5.3)—a major focus of this thesis is analysing Humbert's attempt to codify and deepen behavioural norms and expectations through the *Expositio* and thus mould the Order's institutional culture.

As a rule commentary, the *Expostio regulae* belongs to a medieval literary genre that has just begun to receive sustained attention by historians.[17] As Jörg Sonntag recently observed in rather understated language, 'the genre of the rule commentary has not yet been analysed in all its complexity'.[18] Yet this situation is rapidly changing. In fact, while a substantial number of rule commentaries remain unpublished—and, indeed, are often grouped indiscriminately in manuscript catalogues with unrelated monastic texts—the increasing number of studies on such commentaries suggests a growing awareness of their historiographical value.[19] Indeed, with the right understanding of their role, as David Flood

[17] Note, for example, that the vast, multivolume *Typologie des sources du moyen âge* (1972–) has not yet issued a volume dedicated to commentaries on religious rules or constitutions, despite (or perhaps because of) their considerable number and variety.

[18] J. Sonntag, 'Les commentaires des règles monastiques et religieuses médiévales. Nouvelles propositions autour du commentaire de la règle de Pontigny', *Revue Mabillon*, 26 (2015), 276. Translation mine. This echoes earlier observations by M.A. Schroll, *Benedictine Monasticism as Reflected in the Warnefrid-Hildemar Commentaries on the Rule* (New York, 1941), 18.

[19] Signs of an increasing scholarly interest can be seen in various publications, including several recent volumes under the title *Early Commentaries on the Rule of the Friars Minor*, ed. by D. Flood, as well as J. Sonntag, ed., *Sermones in Regulam s. Benedicti. Ein zisterziensischer Regelkommentar aus Pontigny* (Berlin, 2016); Sonntag, 'Les commentaires des règles monastiques et religieuses médiévales', 276–82; J. Sonntag, 'Die Erklärung des Wesentlichen. Einleitung zur Sektion "Identität im Prozess. Mechanismen zur Perfektionierung des Normativen im Spiegel der mittelalterlichen Regelkommentare"', in *Identität und Gemeinschaft: Vier Zugänge zu Eigengeschichten und Selbstbildern institutioneller Ordnungen*, ed. by M. Breitenstein and others (Berlin, 2015), 3–11; Hildemar de Corbie, *Commentaire de la Règle de saint Benoît*, trans. by M.-M. Caillard (Le Coudray-Maccouard, 2015); C. Dartmann, 'Die Konstruktion monastischer

has noted, such commentaries 'become extremely useful in helping to unravel the sometimes tortuous intellectual path that leads from the *Rule* to its expression in daily life'.[20] And it is thus sometimes only in the commentaries that one can discover the reasons behind certain norms, the challenges that community members faced (both personally and socially) in keeping their rule's provisions, and the deeper intellectual and spiritual principles that a community's rule was thought to embody. Therefore, given the greater historiographical interest in the lived experience of religion discussed above, as well as the focus on questions of institutionalisation and the codification of norms, it is not surprising that rule commentaries are now beginning to be mined as historical sources—an undertaking to which this thesis hopes to contribute.

The close study of any historical text naturally requires engagement with the study of its author (when known). In Humbert's case, this has its own historiographical contours. Humbert left no autobiography, although he is the probable author of a brief account of his entrance into the Order of Preachers contained in the *Vitae fratrum* (discussed in 3.2.1 below). Despite having been sometimes called 'one of the most influential religious figures of the thirteenth century', his life has received only intermittent attention among

Identitäten in karolingerzeitlichen Kommenatren der Regula Benedicti', in *Identität und Gemeinschaft*, ed. by M. Breitenstein and others (Berlin, 2015); M. Niederkorn-Bruck, 'Kommentare zur Benedikts-Regel aus der Melker Reform', in *Identität und Gemeinschaft* (Berlin, 2015), 47–87; B. Gebert, 'Eintracht als Wesentliches der Gemeinschaft. Ein pseudo-hugonischer AugustinusregeIkommentar als Ergebnis einer Perfektionierung des Normativen im observanten Dominikanerinnenkloster St. Katharina, Nürnberg', in *Identität und Gemeinschaft* (Berlin, 2015), 31–45; M.D. Ponesse, 'Editorial Practice in Smaragdus of St. Mihiel's Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict', *Early Medieval Europe*, 18/1 (2010), 61–91; Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Commentary on the Rule of Benedict*, trans. by D. Barry (Kalamazoo, 2007); B. Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before the Council of Trent* (Leiden, 2004), 128–40; E.A. Matter, 'The Commentary on the Rule of Clare of Assisi by Maria Domitilla Galluzzi', in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy* (Philadelphia, 1994), 201–11; B.B.F. McCaffree, 'Glossa Super Regulam Beati Benedicti: An Eleventh-Century Commentary on the Benedictine Rule' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Notre Dame, 1994); J. Châtillon, 'Un commentaire anonyme de la Règle de saint Augustin', in *Le Mouvement canonial au Moyen Age*, ed. by P. Sicard (1992), 163–200; C.W. Bynum, 'Stephen of Paris and His Commentary on the Benedictine Rule', *Revue Bénédictine*, 81/1–2 (1971), 67–91.

[20] D. Flood, ed., *Early Commentaries on the Rule of the Friars Minor*, 3 vols (St. Bonaventure, NY, 2014), I, i–ii.

historians.[21] At the beginning of the twentieth century, two treatments of Humbert's life appeared in French, both of which still displayed quasi-hagiographical approaches toward their subject but which also engaged their source materials in ways that were more open to newer methods of critical analysis. The first of these was the now-obscure *Le Bienheureux Humbert de Romans, cinquième général de l'ordre des Frères prêcheurs*, written by Marguerite de Waresquiel and published in Paris in 1901.[22] The other French biography of Humbert, written by D.A. Mortier and published in 1903, was included in an eight-volume series titled *Histoire des maîtres généraux de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*.[23] Mortier's work remains well-known among historians of the Dominican Order and continues to be cited, although much of his research has now been superseded. This remains the last biography of Humbert to be published in French, although the 1969 entry by H.-M. Vicaire in the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* provides some essential correctives and a more current (as of 1969) survey of Humbert's writings and their contents.[24] As with the other scholars considered below, Vicaire considered the central motive behind the composition of the *Expositio regulae* to be Humbert's desire to affirm the value of Augustine's *Rule*—

[21] E.T. Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto, 1984), 3. Brett's assessment of Humbert's influence echoes those of M.-H. Vicaire, 'Humbert de Romans', *Dictionnaire de spiritualité: ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire* (Paris, 1969), col. 1113.
[22] M. de Waresquiel, *Le bienheureux Humbert de Romans: cinquième général de l'Ordre des Frères-Prêcheurs* (Paris, 1901). This book was a considerable expansion of a shorter work by the same author that was published in Lyon under the same title in 1895.
[23] While the eight volumes were published over the course of 1903–20, the section dedicated to Humbert can be found in the first volume of D.A. Mortier, *Histoire des maîtres généraux de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*, 8 vols (Paris, 1903), I, 415–664.
[24] Vicaire, 'Dictionnaire de spiritualité', cols. 1108-1116. Since Vicaire, the more recent *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* has provided an updated bibliography of primary and secondary works, but still refers the reader to Vicaire for biographical information. See 'Humbert de Romans', *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1995), col. 357. Other contemporary works in French that are engaged with Humbert's corpus still tend to draw on Mortier (albeit in combination with authors outside the Francophone world). See, for example, A.-E. Urfels-Capot, *Le Sanctoral de L'Office Dominicain (1254-1256)* (Paris, 2007), 46–49.

a view this thesis hopes to show is ultimately insufficient to account for the totality of the text.[25]

Among German scholars, Humbert's writings received critical attention in 1916 when his *Opus tripartitum*—written in preparation for the Second Council of Lyon (1274)—was the principle focus of a doctorate by Bertha Birckman titled *Die vermeintliche und die wirkliche Reformschrift des Dominikanergenerals Humbert de Romanis*.[26] The primary value of Birckman's study was her drawing attention to this (then) largely-overlooked work and her analysis of Humbert's views about ecclesiastical and imperial reform at this late stage in his career. She also engaged certain textual questions about the relationship of the *Opus tripartitum* as a whole to individual sections of the text that had circulated independently. Her brief summary of Humbert's life, however, largely echoes Mortier. Yet she appears to have been the first to question a common view (at the time) that Humbert had made a trip to the Holy Land, arguing instead that Humbert's language in the *Opus tripartitum* referred rather to a visit he made to Apulia—a kingdom also referenced in the *Expositio regulae* (the relevance of which is discussed in 3.2.2).[27]

The first and, at present, only German biography of Humbert was written by Fritz Heintke and published in 1933 under the title *Humbert von Romans: der fünfte Ordensmeister der Dominikaner*.[28] Like Mortier, Heintke's scholarship requires updating and qualification. Nevertheless, Heintke's work remains a useful introduction to some of the historiographical questions surrounding Humbert and his corpus. Perhaps more

[25] 'Ce dernier point découvre son mobile: combattre la désaffection des frères envers la règle traditionnelle, adoptée jadis pour satisfaire au canon 13 du 4e concile du Latran, et exciter à la prendre au sérieux' (Vicaire, 'Dictionnaire de spiritualité', col. 1111).
[26] B. Birckman, *Die vermeintliche und die wirkliche Reformschrift des Dominikanergenerals Humbert de Romanis* (Berlin, 1916). The most recent print edition of the *Opus tripartitum* remains Humbert of Romans, 'Opus tripartitum', in *Appendix ad fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*, ed. by O. Gratius, 2 vols (London, 1690), II, 185–229.
[27] Birckman, *Die vermeintliche und die wirkliche Reformschrift des Dominikanergenerals Humbert de Romanis*, 65–66.
[28] F. Heintke, *Humbert von Romans: der fünfte Ordensmeister der Dominikaner*, Historische Studien, 222 (Berlin, 1933).

importantly, it also reflects a move toward a greater use of literary and textual criticism in understanding Humbert's works.[29] His remarks about the *Expositio regulae* and its dating are considered later (see 4.2.2), but on the whole he is closer to this thesis' view than Vicaire when he balances Humbert's desire to 'save' the *Rule* with an acknowledgment that the *Expositio* mostly reflects what Humbert thought the Order needed to hear.[30] Heintke also brings forth many other interesting observations about Humbert and his corpus, but his attempt to identify Humbert of Romans with Humbert of Panzano has not been accepted by scholars.[31]

The sole biography of Humbert to appear in any language since Heintke's work in 1933 was written by E.T. Brett and published in English in 1984, largely as an expansion of his 1979 doctoral thesis on the same topic.[32] As the only recent biography, it is widely cited and offers the broadest historiographical overview of Humbert's life and writings that is currently available. In many ways Brett's biography represents a more contemporary version of Heintke's earlier work and follows a somewhat similar outline. His sketch of Humbert's life depicts him as a highly influential figure in the Middle Ages and a prolific author who guided the Order through several challenging moments. According to Brett, Humbert also 'placed a personal imprint on the character of the Order which is second only to that made by the founder.'[33] Brett does not, however, consider Humbert to be particularly

[29] The novelty of this was recognized at the time, see A. Walz, '(Review) Heintke, Fritz, Humbert von Romans', *Angelicum*, 10/3 (1933), 429.
[30] 'Und weil es Humbert außer um das, was Augustin sagt, vor allem noch darum zu tun war, was der Dominikanerorden brauchte, erklärt es sich, wie er zu dieser kurzen Regel eine so umfangreiche Auslegung schreiben konnte' (Heintke, *Humbert von Romans*, 86).
[31] Heintke, *Humbert von Romans*, 48–51; cf. S. Tugwell, ed., *Early Dominicans: Selected Writings* (New York, 1982), 46 n. 145; Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 4.
[32] For the original thesis, see E.T. Brett, 'The Life and Works of Humbert of Romans: Fifth Master General of the Dominican Order (1254-1263)' (unpublished PhD Thesis, Rutgers University, 1979). F. Heintke, *Humbert von Romans: der fünfte Ordensmeister der Dominikaner*, Historische Studien, 222 (Berlin, 1933). Both Heintke and Mortier's studies remain useful in some respects, but Mortier in particular reflects a strong hagiographical tendency. Along those same lines are the notes in J.-D. Folghera, 'Le Bienheureux Humbert de Romans: Maître de Prédication', *L'Année Dominicaine*, 65 (1929), 49–54, 84–87, 115–20, 149–54, 177–81, 229–33.
[33] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 3.

original in his thought nor does he judge Humbert's goals to be considerably different than those of the Masters who preceded him. Rather, Brett argues that Humbert was 'basically conservative in his ideas' but still 'played a major role in crystallizing the character of the Order' through his successful policies and substantial literary output.[34] On the whole, this thesis shares that characterisation of Humbert and accepts much of Brett's analysis of both Humbert's life and writings. Nevertheless, this thesis does identify some limitations in Brett's scholarship, especially in regard to the *Expositio*, and Brett's biography is best read in tandem with the more recent scholarship of Simon Tugwell.

While Tugwell has not contributed a new biography, his edition of Humbert's *Legendae Sancti Dominici*, which appeared in 2008, offers both a critical edition of Humbert's two *legendae* of Dominic and also several extended digressions on Humbert's life and writings.[35] In particular, Tugwell puts forward a far more precise chronology of Humbert's life while also resolving (and in some cases opening) various questions about his writings. Insofar as the *Expositio* is concerned, Tugwell examines certain textual problems (discussed at various points in this thesis) and offers a revised view of its dating—tied, of course, to Tugwell's overall chronology of Humbert's life. Apart from this most recent work, Tugwell has also published several articles pertaining to particular aspects of Humbert's literary activity.[36] Without attempting to summarise the totality of his contribution, Tugwell's work has been centred on the primary sources of Humbert's

[34] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 117.
[35] S. Tugwell, ed., *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici*, MOPH, XXX (Rome, 2008).
[36] Among those pertaining most directly to Humbert are S. Tugwell, 'L'évolution des *vitae fratrum*', in *L'ordre des Prêcheurs et son histoire en France méridionale*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 36 (2001), 415–18; 'Christ as Model of Sanctity in Humbert of Romans', in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans*, ed. by K. Emery Jr. and J.P. Wawrykow (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1998), 92–99; 'Humbert of Romans "Compilator"', in *Lector et Compilator: Vincent de Beauvais*, ed. by M.-C. Duchenne, M. Paulmier-Foucart, and S. Lusignan (Grâne, 1997), 47–75; 'Humbert de Romans', trans. by A.-M. Colandréa and É Siegel, *Mémoire Dominicaine*, 2 (1993), 21–32; 'Humbert of Romans' Material for Preachers', in *De Ore Domini*, ed. by T.L. Amos, E.A. Green, and B.M. Kienzle (Kalamazoo, 1989), 105–18; *Early Dominicans*, 179–384.

writings and therefore, as with Brett's biography, this thesis dialogues extensively with his scholarship.

Apart from the major works mentioned above, a number of scholarly articles in recent years have also touched on more narrow aspects of Humbert's thought or significance.[37] Yet these have also contributed to the larger picture of Humbert's impact in the Middle Ages and the general context for his composition of the *Expositio*. In line with broader historiographical trends, Humbert's views about medieval heresy inquisitions (*inquisitiones heretice pravitatis*) and (to a much greater extent) the Crusades have also received scholarly attention in recent years. Concerning the former, Humbert rarely mentions the inquisitorial activities of the friars in his corpus and thus he has not been the subject of any particular attention (at least insofar as heresy inquisitions are concerned) in the major works of R.I. Moore, James Given, M.G. Pegg, or Edward Peters.[38] On the other

[37] Among recent articles focusing on specific aspects of Humbert's thought, particular mention should be made of J. Berlioz, 'Storytelling management et récits exemplaires. Le Prologue du De dono timoris du dominicain Humbert de Romans (mort en 1277)', in *Institution und Charisma: Festschrift für Gert Melville zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by F.J. Felten, A. Kehnel, and S. Weinfurter (Cologne, 2009), 549–58; K. Brunner, 'Theorie als Praxis, Praxis als Theorie. Humbert von Romans und Thomas von Aquin', in *Bettelorden in Mitteleuropa: Geschichte, Kunst, Spiritualität*, ed. by H. Specht and R. Andraschek-Holzer (St. Pölten, 2008), 656–62; Tugwell, 'Christ as Model of Sanctity in Humbert of Romans', 92–99; Tugwell, 'Humbert of Romans "Compilator"', 47–75; A.E. Bernstein, 'The Exemplum as "Incorporation" of Abstract Truth in the Thought of Humbert of Romans and Stephen of Bourbon', in *The Two Laws*, ed. by L. Mayali and S.A.J. Tibbetts (Washington, 1990), 82–96; H. Feiss, '*Circatores:* From Benedict of Nursia to Humbert of Romans', *American Benedictine Review*, 40/4 (1989), 346–79; Tugwell, 'Humbert of Romans' Material for Preachers', 105–18; C. Casagrande, *Prediche alle donne del sec. xiii: Testi di Umberto di Romans, Gilberto da Tournai, Stefano di Borbone* (Milan, 1978); E.T. Brett, 'Humbert of Romans and the Dominican Second Order', *Memorie Domenicane*, 12 (1981), 1–25; C. Carozzi, 'Humbert de Romans et L'Histoire', in *1274 Année Charnière, Mutations et Continuités* (Paris, 1977), 849–62; A. Murray, 'Religion Among the Poor in Thirteenth-Century France: The Testimony of Humbert de Romans', *Traditio*, 30 (1974), 285–324. For articles pertaining to Humbert and the inquisition, see n. 39 below; for the Crusades, see n. 40 below.

[38] Nor does any mention of Humbert appear in the recent collection of essays edited by D. Prudlo, *A Companion to Heresy Inquisitions* (Leiden, 2019). Humbert does receive a brief mention by Malcolm Lambert in his *Medieval Heresy*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 2002), 304–5, but it concerns Humbert's general observations about preaching to sceptical congregations and is not (directly) linked to heresy inquisitions. The relative silence of Humbert regarding heresy inquisitions has not gone unnoticed by scholars, even if the meaning of such silence is ambiguous. See, for example, G. Viarengo, 'Gli inquisitori e frate Giordano di Sassonia', in *Praedicatores, Inquisitores*, ed. by W. Hoyer, The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition, 1 (Rome, 2004), 57. One place where Humbert was thought to have referenced the inquisitorial office (with a negative assessment) is in his commentary on the Order's *Constitutions*, but this has been shown to refer to royal inquests and not heresy inquisitions. See Y. Dossat, 'Inquisiteurs ou enquêteurs? À propos d'un texte d'Humbert de Romans', *Bulletin philologique et historique jusqu'à 1715 du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1957, 105–13.

hand, C.C. Ames has made greater note of Humbert, observing among other things that two of his model sermons in his *De eruditione praedicatorum* (c. 1267–77) had a potential role in equipping preachers to assist in the work of heresy inquisitions—a role increasingly associated with the Order of Preachers from the 1230s onward.[39] Ames also argues that Humbert's edition of the *Legenda maior* of Dominic further contributed to Dominic's being retrospectively cast as an inquisitor (a topic discussed in 3.3.4 below).

Concerning the Crusades, several recent works have touched on Humbert's preparatory work for the Second Council of Lyon (1274) and the promotion of a new Crusade in that context.[40] However, these writings by Humbert—which focus on much broader ecclesiastical concerns than the challenges facing the Order—were all products of his later years, well after his composition of the *Expositio regulae* (c. 1250s) and his service

[39] C.C. Ames, *Righteous Persecution: Inquisition, Dominicans, and Christianity in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2009), 39–44, 59. Interestingly, C.H. Haskins observed much earlier that one of the same model sermons supports the view that local populations sometimes saw the punishments imposed on convicted heretics as cruel (incorrectly, in Humbert's view). See C.H. Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture* (Oxford, 1929), 224 n. 3. On the training of friars for inquisitorial activities more generally, see M.M. Mulchahey, '*Summae Inquisitorum* and the Art of Disputation: How the Early Dominican Order Trained Its Inquisitors', in *Praedicatores, Inquisitores*, ed. by W. Hoyer, The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition, 1 (Rome, 2004), 145–56.

[40] In addition to the critical edition of his handbook for Crusade preachers, *De predicatione crucis* (see n. 42 below), several of Humbert's model Crusade sermons have been edited and translated into English in C.T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000), 210–29. See also his comments in C.T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), 43, 106, 109, 114–18. For Humbert's writings concerning the Muslim world, see the extremely helpful orientation provided in T. Burman, 'Humbert of Romans', ed. by D. Thomas and A. Mallett, *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History (1200-1350)* (Leiden, 2012), 509–14. See also the analysis of Humbert's views about the prospect of Muslim conversions in V.L. Portnykh, 'Hat Humbert von Romans Wirklich Seine Ansichten Zu Kreuzzug Und Mission Geändert?', *Deutsches Archiv Für Erforschung Des Mittelalters*, 71/2 (2015), 611–19. Also useful are J. Brundage, 'Humbert of Romans and the Legitimacy of Crusader Conquests', in *The Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn. Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa*, ed. by B.Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), 302–13; P.J. Cole, 'Humbert of Romans and the Crusade', in *The Experience of Crusading*, ed. by M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge, 2003), I, 157–74; B.M. Kienzle, 'Preaching the Cross: Liturgy and Crusade Propaganda', *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 53 (2009), 25–27. Humbert's preparatory work for the Second Council of Lyon is found in his *Opus tripartitum* (see n. 26 above). Note that the first part (chs. I–XXVII, pp. 185–206) addresses the proposed Crusade. Humbert views on the Albigensian Crusade, which took place several decades before he became Master, can perhaps be gleaned from his edition of the *Legenda maior*. On this, see Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, 36; *Legendae*, 16.2-8 (p. 467). As with much of *Legenda maior*, however, Humbert has taken this section entirely from the earlier *Legenda* of Peter Ferrandi. Cf. M.-H. Laurent, ed., 'Legenda sancti Dominici auctore Petro Ferrandi', in *Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici*, MOPH, XVI (Rome, 1935), 19 (p. 222).

as Master of the Order (1254–63). Therefore, while these historiographical themes are certainly worthy of greater exploration in terms of Humbert's overall significance as a medieval figure, their direct relevance to this particular thesis is more limited and thus only briefly considered herein.[41]

Concerning Humbert's corpus, critical editions of several of his works have appeared in recent years, opening new possibilities for historical scholarship. In addition to the already-mentioned *Legendae Sancti Dominici*, editions of Humbert's *De dono timoris* and *De predicatione crucis* appeared respectively in 2008 and 2018.[42] Moreover, an unpublished doctorate completed in 2004 by Sonja Reisner included a critical text of Humbert's unfinished *Expositio super constitutiones* (not to be confused with his *Expositio regulae*).[43] While these testify to a growing interest in Humbert's writings, the two volumes of Humbert's collected works edited by J.J. Berthier and published under the title *De vita regulari* in 1888–89 remain the principle source for most of Humbert's other texts—including the *Expositio regulae*.[44] The limits and merits of Berthier's edition of the *Expositio*, as well as the manuscripts employed by Berthier and those cited throughout this thesis, are discussed at length in Chapter IV.

Without pre-empting the analysis below, it is nonetheless appropriate to note that the *Expositio* itself has received only modest scholarly attention—a striking lacuna in the historiography given the extent of the *Expositio's* representation in surviving manuscripts (see 4.3.1) and its distinction as Humbert's longest work. One early twentieth-century historian who took note of Humbert's *Expositio* was Elizabeth Speakman in her 1907 essay

[41] Insofar as the *Expositio regulae* itself is concerned, there is no mention of the Crusades (whether upcoming or past) and only a single chapter (ch. 104) that contains any references to the inquisitorial activities of the courts (but not necessarily by friars or regarding heresy). See *Exp. reg.*, civ (pp. 334–36).
[42] Humbert of Romans, *De dono timoris*, ed. by C. Boyer, CCCM, 218 (Turnhout, 2008); Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione crucis*, ed. by V. Portnykh and C.V. Veire, CCCM, 279 (Turnhout, 2018).
[43] S. Reisner, 'Die Expositio super constitutiones fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum des Humbertus de Romanis' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Vienna, 2004). Concerning this edition and its significance, see the discussion in 4.2.3 below.
[44] Humbert of Romans, *De Vita Regulari*, ed. by J.J. Berthier, 2 vols (Rome, 1888).

on *The Rule of St. Augustine*—despite her being unaware that it had become available in Berthier's edition several years earlier.[45] A prescient piece of early scholarship, Speakman drew out the distinct character and appeal of Augustine's *Rule* vis-à-vis other monastic rules and also offered an overview of the *Rule's* reception history, including its appearance and exposition in rule commentaries. In many places Speakman anticipates the observations made by later scholars. She does, however, reflect the commonplace view of scholars at the time when she dismisses the value of rule commentaries for understanding the history of monastic life and declares that they often 'resolved ... into a series of sermons, interesting less as glosses than as literary efforts marked by the special qualities of the author.'[46] As noted above, recent scholarship has taken a more positive view of the historiographical value of such commentaries—and, indeed, the value of medieval sermons—for understanding medieval religious life and its history. Yet despite undervaluing its historiographical import, Speakman may have been far closer to understanding the *Expositio's* character and intended purpose than many later scholars when she compared it to a series of medieval sermons. For as this thesis argues, it is precisely the exhortatory and homiletic quality of the *Expositio*—although not properly belonging to the genre of a sermon—that is crucial for understanding its significance as a rhetorical tool intended to shape an institutional culture. This differs from the view, mentioned above and discussed at length in 5.2, that has interpreted the *Expositio* primarily as a defence of Augustine's *Rule* or simply as providing a 'vision' of religious life.

After Speakman, who discussed the *Expositio* only briefly, Humbert's text remained in obscurity until the 1960s. One modest exception can be found in the writings

[45] E. Speakman, 'The Rule of St. Augustine', in *Historical Essays in Commemoration of the Jubilee of the Owens College, Manchester*, ed. by T.F. Tout and J. Tait, Publications of the University of Manchester: Historical Series, 6 (Manchester, 1907), 57–75. Speakman relies on the excerpts of the text found in the seventeenth-century anthology by M. de La Bigne, *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, 27 vols (Lyon, 1677), XXV, 567–664.
[46] Speakman, 'Rule of Augustine', 73.

of Charles Homer Haskins, who manifested an awareness of the *Expositio* (or at least excerpts from it) and referenced it in a few footnotes—although he was also apparently unacquainted with Berthier's edition.[47] Haskins' sporadic references to the *Expositio* suggest that he found it useful mostly for its details about university life and the practice of study in the Middle Ages—themes of significance in his (then-revisionist) view of the Middle Ages as a vibrant intellectual period.[48] But, while the *Expositio regulae* was cited, it was not a specific object of study.

The *Expositio* also received some limited attention in 1928 when a series of précis of its contents were provided in French by J.-D. Folghera in a volume of *L'Année Dominicaine* (reprinted as a fascicule in the following year).[49] These, however, were little more than summary abstracts of the text's major sections without analysis. It did not, therefore, advance any new scholarship on the *Expositio*—although it presumably contributed to a greater awareness of the text (even if only among French Dominicans).

The first real attempt to engage the *Expositio* as an object of historical study in its own right was undertaken by Raymond Creytens (himself a French Dominican) in 1963. In the first of his two articles surveying Dominican commentators on the *Rule of Augustine*, Creytens explored the *Expositio's* manuscript tradition, general contents, sources, dating,

[47] Like Speakman, C.H. Haskins appears to draw his knowledge of the *Expositio* from the excerpts contained in La Bigne (see n. 45 above). For his references to the *Expositio*, see his collected essays in *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, 41 n. 2; 51 n. 1; 57 n. 1; 64 nn. 3–4; 65 n. 4; and 223, n. 3.

[48] Haskins' notable impact on the study of the Middle Ages, including his use of the term 'renaissance' to describe the Twelfth Century, are well known and still generate considerable discussion. See, among others, G.M. Spiegel, 'In the Mirror's Eye: The Writing of Medieval History in North America', in *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore, 1997), 62–67; S. Vaughn, 'Charles Homer Haskins (1870-1937)', in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline*, ed. by H. Damico and J.B. Zavadil (New York, 1995), I, 169–84; N. Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, Works, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1991), 245–86. Caution is due, however, with Cantor's work. See the review by B.D. Hill, 'Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, Works, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century, by Norman Cantor', *The American Historical Review*, 97/5 (1992), 1499–1500.

[49] J.-D. Folghera, 'La Règle de Saint Augustin, Commentée Par Le Bienheureux Humbert de Romans', 64, 1928, 21–28, 136–42, 232–41, 315–21, 382–86, 421–27, 455–65, 486–91; J.-D. Folghera, *La Règle de Saint Augustin, Commentée Par Le Bienheureux Humbert de Romans* (Paris, 1929).

and influence.[50] Creyten's article, which was very thorough in many respects and yet cursory in others, provided the essential coordinates for all subsequent scholarship on the *Expositio*. Not the least among his contributions was the identification of nearly one-hundred surviving manuscripts, which in turn opened the door for more rigorous textual criticism than was possible for Berthier as well as for consideration of the *Expositio's* distribution. Although now nearly sixty years old and in need of updating in its details, Creyten's work remains foundational. This thesis seeks to build upon this foundation not by merely updating his article but by drawing together recent research that allows the *Expositio* to be better understood in relation to Humbert's own goals and his larger historical context, which necessarily involves asking new questions that were not yet included in Creytens' initial foray into the commentary.

As noted above, both Brett and Tugwell have contributed to our understanding of Humbert's life and writings, including the *Expositio*. Tugwell's remarks are mostly directed towards particular textual questions and dating issues, but Brett's biography of Humbert's life and works includes a more general chapter on the *Expositio*. Brett's treatment, while helpful, can probably best be described as an overview and summation of selected passages from the *Expositio*, which give a general sense of the work but does not provide much beyond what one might find in reading Folghera, Heintke, and Creytens. He does not, for example, engage the manuscript tradition, nor do his suggestions regarding the dating of the *Expositio* stand up to the challenges levelled by Tugwell (see 4.2.2). Nevertheless, Brett offers the only overview of the work in English and it remains a useful introduction to the text.

[50] R. Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs Dominicans de La Règle de S. Augustin Du XIII^{e} Au XVI^{e} Siècle', *AFP*, 33 (1963), 121–57. This first article is dedicated entirely to Humbert's *Expositio regulae*. The second and final article in the series focus on the much later commentary of Nicholas Trevet. See R. Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs Dominicans de La Règle de S. Augustin Du XIII^{e} Au XVI^{e} Siècle. II. Les Commentateurs Du XIV^{e} Siècle. A. Nicolas Trevet', *AFP*, 34 (1964), 107–53.

Far more, however, remains to be said. Humbert's intentions in composing the text, its relationship to the internal and external challenges that the Order was facing, and its impact on the friars in the long and short terms all invite further scholarship. Moreover, while one can observe in Brett, Heintke, and Tugwell, a desire to locate the *Expositio* in relation to Humbert's corpus, less has been said about how it fits in relation to the Order's larger development—although its presumed role in derailing the proposal to replace the *Rule* and *Constitutions* with a unified Dominican Rule is routinely mentioned. A 2005 article by John Van Engen, while not specifically about Humbert's *Expositio*, goes further by mentioning the *Expositio* in connection with the Order's evolution from 'canons regular' to 'friars' with their own ecclesial and canonical categories.[51] This too is an area where much remains to be said and this thesis likewise hopes to contribute to this aspect of the Order's historiography.

A distinct but related area of exploration concerns the reception history of Augustine's *Rule*. While a great deal has been written about the *Rule* as a piece of monastic legislation (see the review of recent scholarship in 2.2) and progress has been made by historians in trying to understand its rediscovery by reform-minded canons in the Middle Ages (see 2.3–2.6), much remains unknown about how Augustine's *Rule* and its individual sections were lived and interpreted. This is especially evident when one considers how the context for its interpretation shifted from the era of its composition to its ultimate adoption by the friars in the thirteenth century. Adopting a larger historiographical perspective, which sees the *Rule* as a text whose own interpretative hermeneutic was frequently in flux, is an important aspect of how this thesis seeks to better understand Humbert's reappropriation of the text—namely, that in crafting his own lens for reading the *Rule*, he

[51] J. Van Engen, 'From Canons to Preachers: A Revolution in Medieval Governance', in *Domenico Di Caleruega e La Nascita Dell'Ordine Dei Frati Predicatori* (Spoleto, 2005), 271–72.

was engaging in an activity that already had a long history of its own. This, in turn, also prompts questions about whether the same text of the *Rule* actually served rather different purposes for Dominic at its adoption than it did for Humbert in his *Expositio*, notwithstanding Humbert's ostensibly conservative call to retain the *Rule* as part of Dominic's own plan for the Order.

To be clear, given the ample challenges of analysing any untranslated medieval text as vast and unexplored as Humbert's 600-page *Expositio*, this thesis cannot hope (nor intend) to engage in a dialogue with every historiographical trend noted above. Such an undertaking would also be premature given how much remains to be clearly established about the *Expositio* itself. Nevertheless, this thesis is especially cognisant of certain paths that cannot be fully travelled at this stage but which could be fruitful avenues for further study. This pertains especially to investigations that would require greater comparative analysis. Accordingly, this thesis is modest in its ambitions, aware that certain comparative projects, to be done fully and properly, would require reframing this thesis around different questions—essentially writing a different kind of thesis—in order to sufficiently develop and execute such analyses within the space permitted. Therefore, although this thesis does make some use of comparative analysis, the limits of what can be accomplished often only permit the scouting of certain possibilities for future exploration rather than fully exploring them at this stage.

Among potentially fruitful paths for further exploration would be a study of how the Order as a whole changed and underwent adaptation from its first to second generations as it expanded into new regions—far beyond the contested lands and beliefs of the Languedoc—and undertook new pastoral, diplomatic, and institutional activities.[52] As one

[52] Such a study would obviously also wish to draw upon recent scholarship pertaining to the debate over the existence or construction of 'Catharism' as well as the religious-political dynamics of the Languedoc in the thirteenth century, with particular attention given to those works that have highlighted the relationship between the Order's earliest history and its co-emergence with the rise of medieval heresy inquisitions.

who belonged to the second generation of Dominicans, Humbert's concerns are clearly shaped by the Order's shifting circumstances during this period. Yet as regards the life of the Order, the *Expositio* is a text primarily directed *ad intra* that speaks infrequently (or at least indirectly) of the Order's wider external activities. Therefore, although this thesis does identify and highlight some of the new circumstances of the second generation of Dominicans and how these seem to have informed the *Expositio's* concerns—especially with regard to the mendicant controversy that was occurring simultaneously at the University of Paris—a more strictly comparative study focused on the Order's expanding roles and geographical distribution could surely educe more indirect connections and presumably go further in casting the *Expositio* as reflective of the second generation's circumstances vis-à-vis their predecessors. Such a study would, however, want to avoid reducing the totality of this complex text to this aspect. For although the *Expositio* does reflect these new conditions, it also reflects other concerns, some of which were particular

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Among the most pertinent studies (or sections of studies) are L. Albaret, 'Les Prêcheurs et l'Inquisition (XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles)', in *Inquisition et société en pays d'Oc*, ed. by J.-L. Biget (Toulouse, 2014), 87–100; K. Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors* (Chicago, 2011), 53–74; Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, 35-37 et passim; Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, esp. 163-164, 176; E. Peters, '"Quoniam Abundavit Iniquitas": Dominicans as Inquisitors, Inquisitors as Dominicans', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 91/1 (2005), 105–21; C.C. Ames, 'Does Inquisition Belong to Religious History?', *The American Historical Review*, 110/1 (2005), esp. 17-25; L. Albaret, '*Inquisitio Heretice Pravitatis*. L'inquisition dominicaine dans le midi de la France aux XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles ou la première inquisition pontificale', in *Praedicatores, Inquisitores, I: The Dominicans and the Medieval Inquisition: Acts of the First International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition (23-25 February 2002)*, ed. by W. Hoyer (Rome, 2004), 420–46; D.J. Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon: The Limits of Papal Authority* (London, 2004), 79–110; M.G. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton, 2001), esp. 48-51; P. Epinoux, 'Une réponse à l'hérésie: Dominique et les dominicains', in *Le pays cathare. Les religions médiévales et leurs expressions méridionales*, ed. by J. Berlioz (Paris, 2000), 101–21; J. Given, 'Social Stress, Social Strain, and the Inquisitors of Medieval Languedoc', in *Christendom and Its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution, and Rebellion, 1000-1500*, ed. by S.L. Waugh and P. Diehl (Cambridge, 1996), 67–85; R. Kieckhefer, 'The Office of Inquisition and Medieval Heresy: The Transaction from Personal to Institutional Jurisdiction', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46/1 (1995), 36–61. Beyond these, the journal *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* has dedicated numerous volumes to the local functioning of the church and heresy inquisitions in the Languedoc. Moreover, new publications of primary sources, including chronicles, handbooks, and some of the inquisitional records housed in the Doat Collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, have also broadened the possibilities for locating the Order's founding in this context, although some of these sources obviously pertain to periods after the Order was already well-established. The primary and secondary bibliography provided in P. Biller, C. Bruschi and S. Sneddon, eds., *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc: Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282* (Leiden, 2010), 982–89, as well as this edition itself, provide numerous paths for further investigation of these sources.

to Humbert himself while many were less the result of new circumstances than unresolved tensions from the Order's founding (not the least of which was how the *Rule* itself actually fit with the Order's mission and spirituality). This thesis strives to highlight these diverse facets of the text, while readily acknowledging that a primarily comparative study would allow certain aspects to be brought forward with greater resolution.

A second path that could be explored more deeply is a greater comparative analysis with the Franciscan friars and the parallel (or divergent) solutions adopted by each Order as they confronted their often-overlapping difficulties in the mid-thirteenth century. Here too, this thesis does attempt to highlight certain parallels, especially with Bonaventure, the Minister General of the Franciscans during part of the same period in which Humbert served as Master of the Dominican Order. Bonaventure's writings, particularly insofar as they seem to be aimed at shaping a corporate memory of Francis and forming a common culture into which new Franciscan friars were inducted, seem highly relevant. Yet Bonaventure is only part of the Franciscan story and more could be done in a comparative project aimed at analysing these two Orders, their leaders, their legislation, and their common and particular challenges. Within this context, the *Expositio* could then be situated and related to our understanding of their respective histories and spiritualities. Such a framing of the question would naturally complement the work undertaken in this thesis, but it is hoped that this thesis will provide the necessary coordinates about the *Expositio* so as to make such comparative studies more readily achievable and fruitful.

Beyond this, another area for further exploration concerns the literature and concept of 'reform' in the Middle Ages.[53] Recent decades have seen extensive scholarship in this

[53] Scholarship on 'reform' in the Middle Ages naturally tends to focus on particular movements, time periods, geography, or institutions. Accordingly, a full bibliography is impossible. Nevertheless, among the standard studies on the ideas and language of ecclesiastical reform are Ladner, *The Idea of Reform*; Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*; and G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996). Beyond these, however, an excellent bibliography and overview of the historiography of reform and medieval religious communities can be found in M.C. Miller, 'New Religious

area and this offers another lens through which the *Expositio* could be examined beyond what is attempted here. At the same time, however, one must note that Humbert did not consider himself a reformer of the Order, nor does he generally use the term 'reform' (*reformatio*) in reference to his attempts to standardise or coordinate the Order's activities. Consistent with this, the *Expositio* itself, with one passing exception, never uses the term 'reform', nor does it employ the term 'renewal' (*renovatio*) or the verbs 'to restore' (*recuperari*) or 'to rekindle' (*recalescere*) in this context—all of which had been associated with earlier monastic reforms.[54] Even his project of liturgical codification, although sometimes termed a 'reform' in secondary literature, is more typically understood by scholars as the ultimate stage in a series of standardisation efforts by the Order's General Chapters aimed at achieving uniformity—a key concern of Humbert's—rather than as a reform in the sense of returning to a pristine past or revising a stable and existing order.[55]

Movements and Reform', in *A Companion to the Medieval World*, ed. by C. Lansing and E.D. English (Chichester, 2009), 211–30. Particular note should also be made of the more recent work by Steven Vanderputten, who provides a helpful corrective to the tendency to treat reform as limited to discrete moments in time. See especially his *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900–1100* (Ithaca, 2017). For the later 'Observant Reform' movement, helpful orientations to the historiography are found in J.D. Mixson, 'Religious Life and Observant Reform in the Fifteenth Century', *History Compass*, 11/3 (2013), 201–14; and B. Roest, 'Observant Reform in Religious Orders', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, ed. by M. Rubin and W. Simons (Cambridge, 2009), IV, 446–57.

[54] Humbert speaks only once of 'reforms' (*reformationes*) in the *Expositio*. This occurs in a list of various things, including 'corrections' and 'restrictions', which Humbert says friars 'who resist the good' tend to oppose. See *Exp. reg.*, xviii (p. 75). The verb *renovare* is also used once, but not in the sense of renewal. See *Exp. reg.*, cxxvi (p. 385). For an overview of the language of reform in the Middle Ages, in addition to the works noted above (n. 53), see I.S. Robinson, 'Reform and the Church: 1073-1122', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History: c.1024-c.1198* (Cambridge, 1995), IV, PART I, 268–76.

[55] Scholars continue to investigate and debate how much uniformity existed in the Order's liturgical practices prior to the commissioning of Humbert by the 1254 General Chapter to produce new liturgical books. Efforts at standardisation certainly preceded Humbert, most notably through the unsuccessful efforts of the 'Four Friars' commissioned by the 1249 General Chapter. Yet in the cases of both the Four Friars and Humbert, these 'reforms' seem more concerned with standardisation than with remaking the liturgy according to overarching ideological goals, although they obviously followed certain principles and not others in making choices among texts, music, and rubrical directions. Humbert's broader concerns for uniformity and its relationship to liturgy are discussed in 3.3.3, but for the specific question of reform and standardisation in Dominican liturgy, see the helpful background provided in E. Giraud, '*Totum Officium Bene Correctum Habeatur in Domo*: Uniformity in the Dominican Liturgy', in *Making and Breaking the Rules: Discussion, Implementation, and Consequences of Dominican Legislation*, ed. by C. Linde (Oxford, 2018), 153–72; S. Tugwell, 'The Quest for Liturgical Uniformity', in *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici* (Rome, 2008), 1–25.

This does not mean, of course, that Humbert and his goals cannot be understood in relation to medieval notions of reform in general. Indeed, the mendicant movement as a whole can be understood as a reform movement in relation to both the church and society, particularly insofar as they sought to pair ideas about the *vita apostolica* with new forms of poverty, mendicancy, and itinerant preaching.[56] Furthermore, a recent work by Andrew Jotischky has highlighted the extent to which mendicant orders, including Dominicans, saw themselves as heirs to earlier reform movements.[57] This is incorporated into the analysis found in 4.5, but further exploration could certainly draw out greater linkages between these earlier reform movements and the Order in Humbert's era. The *Expositio*, of course, may not be the best text to highlight this relationship since its sources are so broad and diverse

[56] For scholarship pertaining to medieval reform movements in general, including the mendicants, see n. 53 above. The specific social origins and influences behind the emergence of mendicant orders in the Middle Ages—as well as their relationship to earlier reform movements—continues to be explored and debated. Most studies tend to focus on individual orders (especially Franciscans and Dominicans) or the emergence/presence of mendicants in particular regions, but broader orientations to the topic and its historiography can be found in A. Thompson, 'The Origins of Religious Mendicancy in Medieval Europe', in *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, ed. by D. Prudlo (Leiden, 2011), 3–30; as well as the still relevant article by B.H. Rosenwein and L.K. Little, 'Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities', *Past & Present*, 63, 1974, esp. 16-32; and Little, *Religious Poverty*, 147–217. A standard account of the emergence of the mendicant orders is given in C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars*, Rev. ed. (London, 2013), 1-25 et passim; but since it mostly relies on the same research as the first edition (1994), the revised edition (2013) has been critiqued for lacking engagement with more recent scholarship (discussed above) that has stressed the social context in which the friars arose, including how their early development was shaped by engagement with medieval heresy inquisitions, the Crusades, etc. See the review by A. Holloway, 'The Friars: The Impact of the Mendicant Orders on Medieval Society by Clifford H. Lawrence (Review)', *Parergon*, 30/2 (2013), 212–13. The same critique seems equally applicable to the otherwise standard account given in A. Vauchez, 'The Religious Orders', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. by D. Abulafia (Cambridge, 1999), V, 232–55; while much richer referencing to recent secondary literature is provided in the narrative of G. Melville, *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life* (Collegeville, 2016), 200–297. For discussions of the *vita apostolica* and its specific relevance to the rise of the mendicants, in addition to the already-mentioned works of Ladner and Grundmann, see the classic accounts in M.H. Vicaire, *The Apostolic Life* (Chicago, 1966); and E.W. McDonnell, 'The Vita Apostolica: Diversity or Dissent', *Church History*, 24/1 (1955), 15–31; and also the relevant observations in J.D. Dawson, 'William of Saint-Amour and the Apostolic Tradition', *Mediaeval Studies*, 40 (1978), 230–33; with a more recent treatment and bibliography provided in M.-H. Vicaire and G. Rocca, 'Vita Apostolica', *Dizionaire degli Instituti di Perfezione* (Rome, 2003), cols 199–204.

[57] A. Jotischky, 'Patterns of Historical Thinking in the Mendicant Orders', in *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and Their Pasts in the Middle Ages* (2002), esp. 281-283. In addition to Jotischky, other studies touching on the question of how the thirteenth-century mendicants understood themselves specifically in relation to earlier communities include T. Ertl, 'Auf der Suche nach Zucht und Ordnung. Die Mendikanten des 13. Jahrhunderts zwischen Pluralisierung und Kontrollverdichtung', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 29/4 (2002), 491–93; D. Berg, 'Vita minorum. Zum Wandel des franziskanischen Selbstverständnisses im 13. Jahrhundert', *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, 45 (1982), esp. 175-184.

as to obscure rather than highlight some of these connections—although its use of Bernard of Clairvaux does align with some of Jotischky's particular observations about the Friars Preachers (as is discussed in 4.5).

Long after Humbert, the 'Observant Reform' did explicitly embrace the language of reform in the late-fourteenth century and also widely copied Humbert's *Expositio*. Their attraction to Humbert's work comes from a very different set of historical circumstances than Humbert's own era (see 5.4.3). Yet the initial exploration undertaken in 5.4.3 could eventually be developed into its own study, especially in light of emerging scholarship on this period.[58] Indeed, as newer studies on the Observant Reform begin to redress this well-known lacuna in Dominican historiography, prospects will only increase for situating the *Expositio* more fully in relation to this period and its own concerns about the practice and experience of religious life.[59]

Ultimately, any historical study opens up far more paths than can be thoroughly investigated and a potentially infinite number of overlapping themes that invite comparative analysis. Therefore, while remaining aware of the many potentialities for engagement with these and other topics—and also the broader historiographical implications that can be only partially unfolded—this thesis ultimately seeks to lay a foundation for these additional levels of analysis by coming to terms with how the *Expositio*

[58] The Dominican 'Observant Reform' has received far less attention from historians than the Order's founding and early history. Nevertheless, several recent studies have begun to throw new light on this period. For those that pertain most closely to Dominicans, see the list of works given in A. Huijbers, '"Observance" as Paradigm in Mendicant and Monastic Order Chronicles', in *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*, ed. by J. Mixson and B. Roest (Leiden, 2015), 111 n. 2. Huijbers own work, A. Huijbers, *Zealots for Souls: Dominican Narratives of Self-Understanding during Observant Reforms, c. 1388-1517* (Berlin, 2018), is also a significant contribution to the field. For important observations about how the Observant Reform did (and did not) impact the spirituality of Dominican nuns, see the recent C.T. Jones, *Ruling the Spirit: Women, Liturgy, and Dominican Reform in Late Medieval Germany* (Philadelphia, 2017), which also includes an extensive bibliography of earlier works pertaining to Dominicans nuns and the reform. For surveys of the recent historiography on the Observant Reform beyond simply Dominicans, see especially Mixson, 'Religious Life and Observant Reform in the Fifteenth Century', 201–14; Roest, 'Observant Reform in Religious Orders', IV, 446–57.

[59] For a helpful overview of the past and present state of scholarship on the Dominican Observant Reform, see *Zealots for Souls*, 178–83.

itself should be understood as a medieval text. Fundamentally, this is a thesis about a text—one which can be located along the reception history of Augustine's *Rule* and which needs to be read in light of overlapping contexts, but which is also a massive composition and instrument of socialisation worthy of historical study its own right. It is a text composed by a significant medieval author that has lain largely unexplored by historians and even somewhat miscast in regard to its purpose. Therefore by unwinding its (admittedly) ponderous and labyrinthine structure, augmenting (and correcting) our understanding of its genre and function, and by drawing out its key themes and underlying concerns, the stage will hopefully be set not only for a future edition of this text but also for its fuller incorporation into the historiography of medieval religious life and the Middle Ages in general as the character and context of this medieval work becomes clearer and its value for historians less obscure.

CHAPTER II
A GENETIC HISTORY OF AUGUSTINE'S *REGULA* AND ITS ADOPTION BY THE FRIARS PREACHERS

2.1 Introduction

In the late-spring or early-summer of 1216, Dominic of Caleruega (1170–1221) and his followers in Toulouse adopted of the *Rule of St. Augustine* as the basic governing document for their new community.[1] The text in question was almost certainly the *Regula recepta*, a common medieval variant of Augustine's original *Regula ad servos Dei*. This chapter will explore the history and evolution of Augustine's *Rule*—a term that confusingly denotes more than one work attributed to the bishop of Hippo—from its fourth-century origins to the thirteenth-century variant adopted by Dominic and commented upon by Humbert. This chapter adopts a 'genetic' approach to this history, tracing the specific lineage of this form of Augustine's *Rule* through its intermediate states. Although a complex and winding story, this background brings into focus how the *Regula recepta* came to be available and plausible as an option for a new religious community in the time of the friars and how their choice of this particular, ancient rule would have been understood by their contemporaries. Accordingly, it highlights its relationship to the eleventh-century Gregorian Reforms and how the selection of Augustine's *Rule* impacted the community's future development. This chapter therefore lays the foundation for an analysis of the *Expositio* by establishing the historical and interpretative environment in which the *Rule* was received and commented upon.

[1] Although commonly styled 'Dominic de Guzmán', recent scholarship has held that the link to the 'de Guzmán' family is an attribution of later centuries. See A. Lappin, 'On the Family and Early Years of St. Dominic of Caleruega', *AFP*, 67 (1997), 19–22; S. Tugwell, 'Notes on the Life of St. Dominic', *AFP*, 67 (1997), 59; cf. M.-H. Vicaire, *Histoire de Saint Dominique*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Paris, 1982), I, 68–69 n. 94. For the adoption date of Augustine's *Rule*, see S. Tugwell, 'Friars and Canons: The Earliest Dominicans', in *Monastic Studies II*, ed. by J. Loades (Bangor, Wales, 1991), 203.

2.2 Recent Scholarship on Augustine's Monastic Legislation

Although more than thirty monastic rules survive from late-antiquity and the early-medieval period, many are just beginning to be adequately studied.[2] Yet this has not been the case for the *Rule of Augustine*, which has attracted enough focused scholarship over the past several centuries to warrant a several historiographical remarks. To begin, it is helpful to recognize that scholarship concerning Augustine's *Rule* has undergone considerable change over the past fifty years. The 1967 publication of Luc Verheijen's two-volume study, *La Règle de Saint Augustin*, gave scholars a new critical edition based upon an examination of a vast number of extant manuscripts.[3] Verheijen's study, which opened up new possibilities for assessing the development of Augustine's *Rule*, also helped to clarify how three distinct works, the *Ordo monasterii*, the *Regula ad servos Dei* (commonly referred to as the *Praeceptum*), and *Epistula 211* (formed by the merger of two separate sources), had all circulated in different contexts under the designation of Augustine's '*Rule*'. Beginning in the sixteenth century, scholars began to carefully distinguish these texts and to publish various editions.[4] Yet Verheijen's study added abundant new information about the variants and permutations that had spread throughout the Middle Ages, explored the relationships among them, and offered important hypotheses about authorship, dating, and other controversies. Subsequent scholarship has further strengthened most of Verheijen's core findings, even if differing in some details.[5]

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[2] A. Diem, '… ut si professus fuerit se omnia impleturum, tunc excipiatur. Observations on the Rules for Monks and Nuns of Caesarius and Aurelianus of Arles', in *Edition und Erforschung lateinischer patristischer Texte* (Berlin, 2014), 192.

[3] L. Verheijen, *La Règle de Saint Augustin*, 2 vols (Paris, 1967).

[4] M.D. Ponesse, 'Regula', ed. by K. Pollman and W. Otten, *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine* (Oxford, 2013), 465. Ponesse's article offers an excellent overview of both the *Rule's* historiography and the current scholarship regarding its history and contents. For the oft-mentioned role of Erasmus and his edition of the *Rule* in shaping subsequent discussions about authorship, see also V. Mellinghoff-Bourgerie, 'Erasme éditeur et interprète de Saint Augustin', in *Augustinus in der Neuzeit*, ed. by D. de Courcelles and K. Flasch (Turnhout, 1998), 53–81.

[5] See, in particular, R. Arbesman, 'The Question of the Regula Sancti Augustini', *Augustinian Studies*, 1 (1970), 237–61; G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and His Monastic Rule* (Oxford, 1987), 65, et passim. Verheijen also published further investigations on the subject, e.g., L. Verheijen, *Nouvelle Approche de la*

One of the consequences of Verheijen's work has been the reassessment of earlier theories about how Augustine's monastic legislation had been redacted over time. Prior to Verheijen's work, it had been commonly held that the *Praeceptum*—the monastic rule most closely associated with canons regular and other male religious communities during the Middle Ages—was derived from the second half of Augustine's *Epistula 211*, which contained a nearly identical rule for nuns. In fact, the earliest suggestion that the *Praeceptum* was derived from a feminine version appeared around 1120 in a letter by bishop Gaultier of Maguelonne.[6] A similar hypothesis was put forward by Erasmus when he published the *editio princeps* of the *Rule* in 1528.[7] The question also resurfaced from time to time in subsequent centuries as different scholars and notable figures sought to revive or rebut this idea.[8]

Verheijen's study ultimately concluded that the *Praeceptum* was authored before *Epistula 211* and that the second half of *Epistula 211* was derived from the *Praeceptum* itself.[9] Thus, the female version of the *Rule* (i.e., *Epistula 211*, nos. 5–16) appears to have been derived from the *Praeceptum*, but modified with the substitution of female pronouns. Both manuscript evidence and other internal factors examined by Verheijen strongly support this view.[10] Nevertheless, despite the nearly fifty years that have elapsed since Verheijen's study, 'much secondary literature has failed to catch up with recent research in this area' and the *Praeceptum* is still frequently described as having been originally composed for nuns.[11] Yet since the target audience for Augustine's *Praeceptum* is

Règle de Saint Augustin, Vie Monastique, 8 (Bégrolles-en-Mauges, 1980); L. Verheijen, 'La Règle de saint Augustin: L'état actuel des questions (début 1975)', *Augustiniana*, 35 (1985), 193–263.

[6] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, 140; Verheijen, *La Règle*, ii, 19–20; The text of Gaultier's letter can be found in C. Dereine, 'Saint-Ruf et ses coutumes aux XI e et XII e siècles', *Revue Bénédictine*, 59/1–4 (1949), 169–74.

[7] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, 143; Verheijen, *La Règle*, ii, 17–27.

[8] Verheijen, *La Règle*, ii, 27–70.

[9] Verheijen, *La Règle*, ii, 201–5.

[10] Verheijen, *La Règle*, ii, 176–201.

[11] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, 147; Ponesse, 'Regula', 466.

undoubtably a key factor in understanding its contents, this thesis will rely upon Verheijen's findings in its analysis, particularly in Chapter IV.

2.2.1 *Ordo monasterii*

Before turning to the *Praeceptum's* development over time, it is first necessary to mention the *Ordo monasterii*.[12] Like the *Praeceptum*, the *Ordo* has long been attributed to Augustine, although unlike the *Praeceptum,* contemporary scholars have expressed numerous doubts about his authorship.[13] While clearly written as a set of instructions for a male monastic community, nothing in the text links it to any of Augustine's particular initiatives or interventions while bishop. On the other hand, certain late fifth-century and early-sixth century authors like Caesarius of Arles (d. 542) quote the *Ordo*, helping to establish a *terminus ad quem* within two generations of Augustine.[14] It also frequently precedes Augustine's *Praeceptum* in the earliest manuscripts.[15] As G. Lawless describes in his close study of the Latin text, the *Ordo* is a 'chiselled' work, which wastes no words and reveals a 'skilled craftsman' in its careful and balanced rhetorical construction.[16] These factors hint at Augustinian authorship, although its extreme brevity—less than 400 words—and lack of overlap with Augustine's other writings make any reliable determination about authorship impossible.[17]

Uncertainty about its author notwithstanding, the opening words are perhaps the most well-known passage from any text that has circulated under the banner of Augustine's *Rule*:

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[12] For a critical edition of the *Ordo monasterii*, see *La Règle*, I, 148–52. Note that there is a misprint on p. 149, l.12. Read: *mense* for *mena*; cf. G. Bonner, *Augustine of Hippo: The Monastic Rules*, ed. by B. Ramsey, trans. by G. Bonner and Sister Agatha Mary (Hyde Park, NY, 2004), 109, n. 4.
[13] For a survey of the field, see Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, 167–68.
[14] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, 169.
[15] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, 169–70.
[16] G. Lawless, 'Ordo Monasterii. Structure, Style and Rhetoric', *Augustinianum*, 22/3 (1982), 479.
[17] Ponesse, 'Regula', 462.

Ante omnia, fratres carissimi, diligatur Deus, deinde et proximus, quia ista sunt praecepta principaliter nobis data.[18]	Before all things, dearest brothers, love God, and then your neighbour, because these are the foremost precepts given to us.

This opening, derived from Mt. 22:37–40 (cf. Mk. 12:28–31; Lk. 10:27), identifies the highest goals of the community. The *Ordo* could have begun rather differently, especially given its nature as a practical text with a quasi-legal character, but the author adopts an explicitly theological starting point by appealing to revealed precepts—precepts 'given to us'—upon which the author crafts his own legislation. Ultimately this opening sentence outlasted the use of the *Ordo* itself and was joined to the *Praeceptum* (see 2.5 below), perhaps because it so concisely linked divine authority with the monastic form of life, while also clearly distinguishing (and subordinating) human legislation to these two commands.

The distinction between divine and human authority emerges more fully in the lines that follow. The author acknowledges in a subtle but seemingly self-conscious manner his own limited capacities as a merely human composer of legislation. While the first two precepts are 'given to us' (*nobis data*), the *Ordo* continues with the remark: '*we describe* how we ought to pray...' (*...nos oportet...describimus*).[19] From that point forward, the details of monastic life are given in a straightforward and unadorned fashion, while the nature of their binding character is left unstated. This silence would come to play a significant role in the Middle Ages as various orders of canons regular wrestled with different claims about whether the *Ordo* needed to be followed in its entirety.

Despite its economy of words, especially in comparison with the *Rule of Benedict* or the *Rule of Basil*, the *Ordo monasterii* offered a rather specific set of norms for daily life in common (e.g., which psalms are to be prayed, times for work and leisure, and appropriate behaviour for meals and silence). Lawless describes it as having a 'domestic and intramural

[18] *Ordo monasterii*, 1. Translation mine.
[19] *Ordo monasterii*, 2. Emphasis added.

character', which goes forward 'revealing one regulation after another, not at all unlike announcements or messages on a notice board.'[20] Although succinct, its highly specific provisions were later found to be overly restrictive by certain communities in the Middle Ages (see 2.5 below). Yet at the time of its original composition, this short, focused legislation may have been perfectly tailored to a new community, especially in an age when western monastic life was just beginning to emerge.

What the *Ordo* does not do, however, is provide further theological context or motives for its individual norms. Despite its opening line and its explicitly Christological closing, the *Ordo* could never be confused with a sermon or homily. The body of the text focuses almost exclusively on practical matters, describing what must be done and when, and limiting its scope to these concerns. The more explanatory and exhortative *Praeceptum* was therefore a natural complement to this text and, as noted above, was often found in tandem with the *Ordo* in early manuscripts.

2.2.2 *Regula ad servos Dei* (*Praeceptum*)

In contrast with the *Ordo monasterii*, scholars have consistently affirmed Augustine's authorship of the *Praeceptum*. Erasmus expressed no doubt that the language of the *Praeceptum* proceeded from the pen of Augustine, despite his strong scepticism about the *Ordo*.[21] Moreover, before Verheijen's study further strengthened the claim for Augustinian authorship, T.J. Van Bavel had argued convincingly for the same due to the high degree of correspondence between the *Praeceptum* and Augustine's other writings, both in regard to word choice and parallel passages.[22] Among other things, the text contains the earliest known use of the adjective *emendatorius*—a neologism seemingly coined by Augustine

[20] Lawless, 'Ordo Monasterii. Structure, Style and Rhetoric', 472.
[21] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, 143.
[22] 'Parallèles, vocabulaires et citations bibliques de la "Regula Sancti Augustini". Contribution au problème de son authenticité.', *Augustiniana*, 9 (1959), 12–77; cf. Verheijen, *La Règle*, II, 187–97.

and found in his corpus at various points.[23] Greater confidence about Augustine's authorship also follows from the fact that the *Praeceptum* is a considerably longer document than the *Ordo*, thus enabling a fuller comparison with the rest of Augustine's writings. It likewise possesses a rhetorical style more favourable to such comparisons, at least relative to the sparse language of the *Ordo*.

While the *Ordo* offers a brief but specific set of norms for a monastic community's daily activities, the *Praeceptum* speaks more broadly about the motives and behaviours that should characterise monastic life. In this regard, the *Praeceptum* encompasses far more than the *Ordo*, looking beyond the exterior praxis of the community and consciously aiming to shape interior dispositions and character. On the other hand, the *Praeceptum* is far less specific regarding the community's daily routine. It does not, for example, identify precise prayer times, meal times, or the particular liturgical prayers to be said or sung—omissions that subsequently made it attractive for communities constructing their own horariums and particular practices in later centuries (see 2.4–6). Both Van Bavel and Lawless held that the text was probably dictated by Augustine and Van Bavel notes that it 'gives the impression of being a summary of oral conferences'.[24]

Although widespread agreement now exists regarding Augustinian authorship of the *Praeceptum*, opinions vary widely regarding its date, depending on whether it was intended for a community at Hippo (c. 397), Carthage (c. 400), or Hadrumentum (c. 426–27).[25] Of these possibilities, c. 397 seems to enjoy the greatest consensus among scholars.[26] Yet if one adopts this view, questions still remain as to which of the two monasteries at

[23] *Praeceptum*, iv.9; G. Lawless, 'Three Historical Questions About the Rule of St. Augustine', *Word and Spirit*, 9 (1987), 57. The context for *emendatorius* is in regard to punishment (*Praeceptum*, iv.9). It can be variously translated as 'corrective', 'purifying', or 'emendatory'. See C.T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879), s.v. emendatorius.
[24] T.J. Van Bavel, *The Rule of Saint Augustine*, trans. by R. Canning (Garden City, N.Y., 1986), 6; Lawless, 'Three Historical Questions', 56.
[25] Ponesse, 'Regula', 463; see also Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, 148–52.
[26] Lawless, 'Three Historical Questions', 63; P. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Princeton, 2012), 173.

Hippo—one consisting of lay-monks, the other of clerics at the bishop's house—was the intended recipient of the *Praeceptum*.[27] Lawless and others favour the first possibility. While not universally held, this aligns well with what is known about Augustine's literary activity and the circumstances of his life during this period. It also seems consistent with the non-clerical character of the *Praeceptum*.[28] Assuming this is correct, it adds another interesting dimension to the reception history of the *Rule* since it was largely clerical communities (including the canons regular and the Friars Preachers) that embraced the *Praeceptum* from the eleventh century onwards (see 2.4).

Although the *Praeceptum's* claim to Augustinian authorship rests on more solid ground than the *Ordo monasterii*, the two texts possess a deeply intertwined history. As noted, the *Ordo* and the *Praeceptum* often appear together in early manuscripts, including Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12634, which is the earliest surviving example of the conjoined texts and which dates from the late-sixth to early-seventh century (figure 2.1). The repeated copying of these two texts in a continuous manner occurred throughout the Middle Ages and in this combined form—known in the scholarly literature as the *Praeceptum longius*—it came to exercise a considerable influence on cathedral canons from the end of late antiquity through the early Middle Ages.[29]

Concerning the text of the *Praeceptum* itself, modern critical editions divide the text into eight chapters, although Humbert's *Expositio* follows a different pattern and divides the text into seven. In its original form, the *Praeceptum* begins: 'Here are the rules we lay down for your observance, once you have been admitted to the monastery.'[30] This matter-of-fact opening, although lacking the grounding in revealed precepts found in the *Ordo*, is followed by a series of practical instructions and exhortations inspired by

[27] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, 148–49.
[28] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, 149–52.
[29] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, 124, 168–70; Ponesse, 'Regula', 463; Verheijen, *La Règle*, II, 216.
[30] *Praeceptum,* i.1.

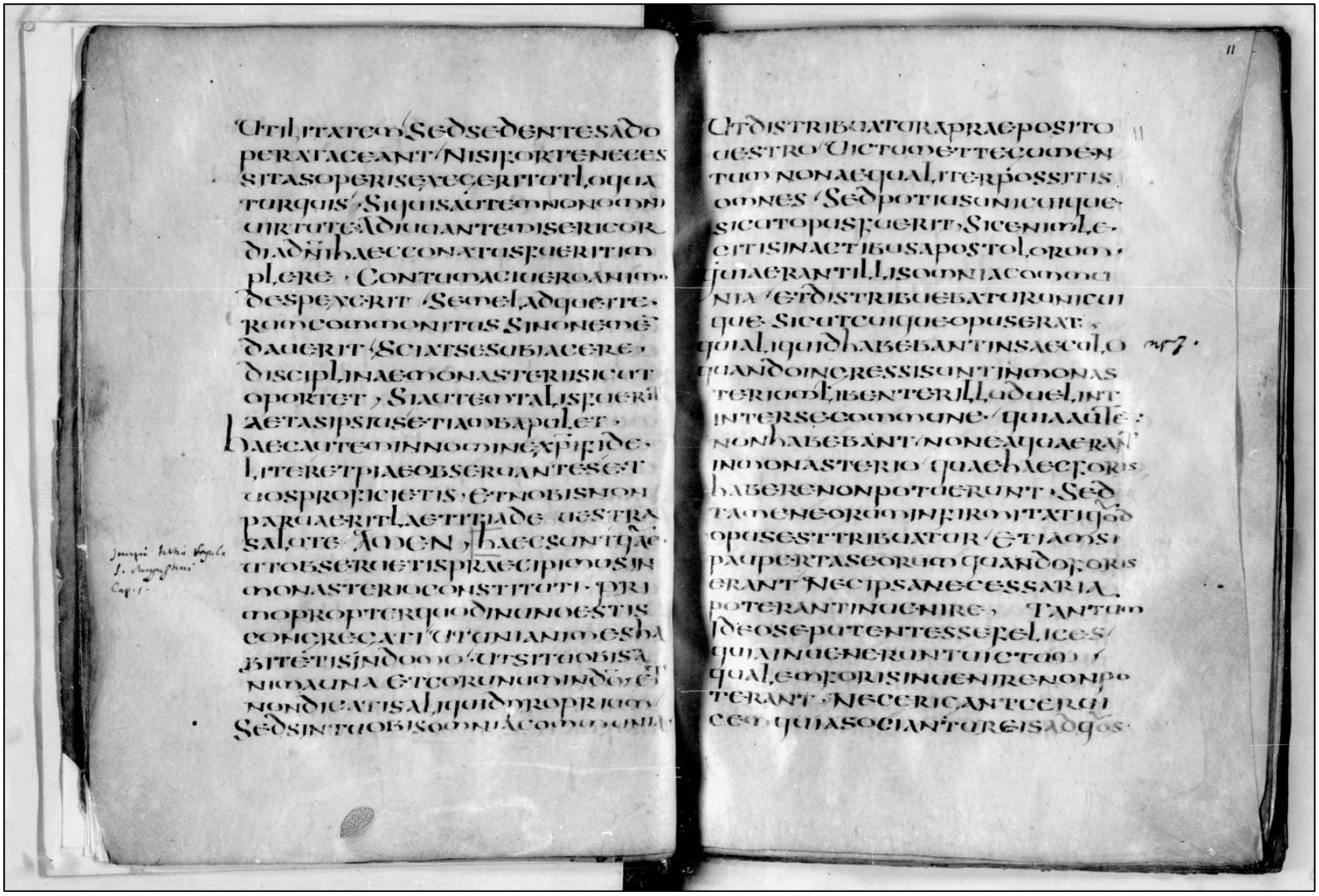


Figure 2.1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12634, fols. 10v-11r (6th/7th c.)

In this earliest example of the *Praeceptum longius*, the text of the *Ordo monasterii* precedes the *Praeceptum.* The text of the *Praeceptum* begins two-thirds down the left-hand (verso) folio immediately after the word ‘ AMEN’ .

Acts 4:32–35 and its description of the early Christian community. This passage from *Acts* occupies a central place in the monastic writings of Augustine and appears approximately fifty times throughout his corpus.[1] Possidius, the fifth-century author of the *Vita S. Augustini*, also confirms that Augustine sought to create a community 'in the manner of the apostolic model'.[2] Accordingly, the *Praeceptum* can be understood as Augustine's attempt to provide practical norms for a monastic community based on the *vita apostolica*—the way of life characteristic of the Apostles—and to foster it in his own era.

A key element in Augustine's monastic spirituality, as expressed in the *Praeceptum*, is his understanding of communal unity. This unity consists in being of 'one mind [*anima*] and one heart in God' (cf. *Acts* 4:32).[3] This, in turn, is manifested and promoted through the common ownership of goods, something that *Acts* 4:32–35 describes as a feature of the early Christian community at Jerusalem. According to the theological categories current in Augustine's time and also in the Middle Ages, the union of minds and hearts in God has its visible signification—its 'sacrament'—in the common sharing of goods.[4]

Although other authors, including Pachomius and John Cassian, drew upon *Acts* 4:32–35 as a source for monastic life, Augustine's interpretation has its own distinct features.[5] This is even more evident when compared to the monastic rules that drew their principles from other starting points:

> The contrast ... between the [Rule of] the Master's monasticism and Augustine's could hardly be greater. The Master stood in a tradition which found inspiration in the 'master and disciple relationship' of the Egyptian desert, in which the disciple put himself under an experienced monk and was expected to obey him without question ... Augustine, in contrast, starts from the bond of friendship among Christian souls, united by love of God and of one's neighbour. As a result the

[1] T.J. Van Bavel, 'The Evangelical Inspiration of the Rule of St. Augustine', *The Downside Review*, 93 (1975), 87.
[2] Bavel, 'Evangelical Inspiration', 87.
[3] *Praeceptum*, i.2.
[4] D. Sanchis, 'Pauvreté Monastique et Charité Fraternelle Chez Saint Augustin: Note Sur Le Plan de La Regula', *Augustiniana*, 8 (1958), 17.
[5] Bonner, *The Monastic Rules*, 64 n. 30.

> Augustinian Rule is not, and cannot be, authoritarian in the way that *The Rule of the Master* and the Benedictine *Rule* are authoritarian.[6]

To put it another way, Augustine's *Rule* reflects a primarily fraternal or 'horizontal' orientation, as opposed to the more hierarchical or 'vertical' orientation characteristic of rules built on master-disciple relationships.

Augustine's *Rule* does, of course, have structures of authority: the *Praeceptum* describes two authority figures, the superior (*praepositus*) and the priest (*presbyterus*). The superior is one 'who serves [the brothers] in love' and provides for their needs.[7] The priest, to whom the superior must defer in certain matters, has greater oversight and authority concerning the community.[8] When exercising their authority, both the superior and the priest must be obeyed by the monks, although these vertical relationships are set within a highly communal context—one that emphasizes mutual charity and service.[9] Obedience, in turn, is presented as a way that community members show mercy (*miseremini*) to their superior.[10]

The distinction between 'superior' and 'priest' in the *Praeceptum* lends support to the theory that the community envisioned by Augustine was not (primarily) a clerical one. While probably intended for a community of like-minded lay persons, the *Rule* came to be associated with altogether different expectations in the Middle Ages as it was adopted by canons regular, who were largely or entirely ordained clerics (see 2.3–2.5). The lay-monks who originally composed Augustine's community would have been a community of 'brothers' not only in the spiritual sense but also in the technical, canonical sense of non-ordained individuals committed to a common life. This, in fact, reflected the general expectation for monastic communities in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, as can

[6] Bonner, *The Monastic Rules*, 65–66.
[7] *Praeceptum*, vii.3.
[8] *Praeceptum*, vii.1–2; Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, 152.
[9] *Praeceptum*, vii.3–4
[10] *Praeceptum*, vii.4.

be seen in communities that followed Benedict's *Rule* where most monks would not have been ordained until later centuries.[11] This also helps to explain the absence of any reference to the celebration of the Eucharist in the *Praeceptum*: the text focuses on the behaviour of the majority of the community and not the sacramental tasks proper to the priest serving the monks.

The eight chapters of the *Praeceptum* cover various aspects of the monastic life, including material provisions and common ownership (ch. 1), prayer (ch. 2), food and drink (ch. 3), chastity (ch. 4), clothing for the monks and care of the sick (ch. 5), mutual forgiveness and avoidance of quarrels (ch. 6), obedience (ch. 7), and the regular reading of the *Rule* (ch. 8). These themes heavily overlap across chapters since Augustine did not observe a strict division of topics within the text. It would be, moreover, a mistake to conclude that the *Praeceptum* is primarily concerned with the praxis of religious life—as is the case with the *Ordo monasterii*. Rather, as P. Ranft observes, 'the *Rule* is, in fact, a rule almost wholly about relationships'.[12] The attention given to common possessions, the role of superiors as servants of the community, and the functioning of obedience and fraternal correction redound to Augustine's concern with how the community members are to live together in charity. It is the proper relational functioning of the community's members, both with God and among themselves, which dominates the text of the *Praeceptum*—a feature that Humbert builds upon (see 4.7). The relational focus of the *Praeceptum* helps to explain the lack of attention to many of the more mundane details of community life, especially when compared to other monastic legislation from late

[11] See the discussion in C. Stewart, 'Prayer Among the Benedictines', in *A History of Prayer: The First to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by R. Hammerling, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 13 (Leiden, 2008), 218–20 and the additional bibliography given in n. 44.
[12] P. Ranft, 'The Rule of St. Augustine in Medieval Monasticism', in *Proceedings of the PMR Conference*, 11 (Villanova, 1986), 143.

antiquity:

> The *Rule* gives the impression of an effort to emphasise essentials rather than of a serious attempt at complete legislation. ... whole phases of discipline of which Pachomius treats are ignored; for instance, the great monastic counsel of silence is not even mentioned. Still less does it enter into discussions like those of Basil, almost metaphysical in character, such as whether it is ever lawful to disobey because of the difficult nature of a command.[13]

The absence of these features, perhaps due to the intentionally limited scope and rhetorical style of the *Praeceptum*, made it ripe for additional commentary. Its pairing with the *Ordo monasterii* was a natural way to supply for some of these lacunae and, in more recent times, the *Praeceptum* was sometimes hypothesized to have been a commentary on the *Ordo*—a view now generally discounted.[14] Yet even when combined, a great deal was left unsaid, inviting others—including Humbert of Romans—to supply the details wherever the text was silent.

2.3 The Early Influence of Augustine's *Rule* (pre-eleventh century)

Although the number of communities that actually adopted the *Ordo*, the *Praeceptum*, or the combined *Praeceptum longius* seems to have been minimal prior to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the influence of these texts during the first millennium was felt in other, subtler ways. Due to the authority of Augustine, these texts were often copied and transmitted alongside other monastic rules and the writings of the Church Fathers as part of a corpus of monastic readings (*lectiones*), upon which monks were encouraged to meditate.[15]

In addition, Augustinian legislation also exerted a limited influence on the composition of other monastic rules in the West. Here, however, it was not the *Praeceptum*

[13] Speakman, 'Rule of Augustine', 63.
[14] The suggestion that the *Praeceptum* was a commentary on the *Ordo monasterii* was put forward in the eighteenth century and found a contemporary advocate in P. Mandonnet. See *St. Dominic and His Work*, 200–210.
[15] T.J. Van Bavel, 'Introduction to the Rule', in *The Rule of Saint Augustine: Masculine and Feminine Versions*, trans. by R. Canning (London, 1984), 5.

or *Praeceptum longius* directly, but rather the feminine version of the *Praeceptum* found in the latter half of *Epistula 211*. Both the *Rule of the Master* and the *Rule of Benedict* show the influence of *Epistula 211*.[16] It is therefore widely acknowledged that this text contributed certain Augustinian ideas to the larger stream of Benedictine monasticism.[17]

Yet notwithstanding its continued transmission and influence during this period, Augustine's legislation was rarely adopted outright and was heavily overshadowed by the spread of Benedictine monasteries. The existence of manuscripts such as Reims, Bibliothèque municipal, ms. 392, which contains a ninth-century copy of the *Praeceptum longius* that was owned by Archbishop Hincmar of Reims (845-882) as well as copies that were associated with cathedral chapter libraries (e.g., Laon, Bibliothèque municipal, ms. 328[bis]), suggests a latent interest in the *Rule*.[18] But, insofar as the organization of cathedral canons was concerned, Augustine's monastic legislation seems to have had no significant impact during this same period. Little or no influence can be seen, for example, in the rules composed by Chrodegang of Metz (c. 712–766), a text that shaped the lives of many canons from the eighth century onward.[19] G.B. Ladner summarizes the absence of the *Rule's* influence on clerics in that era by noting that 'between the sixth and the eleventh century there is in fact no definite evidence that the clerical *vita communis*, where it was practised, was based on the Augustinian *Rule*.'[20] This does not imply that Augustine's monastic legislation was left unread, but simply that it was not used to organize clerical or monastic

[16] J.R. Fortin, 'Saint Augustine's Letter 211 in The Rule of the Master and The Rule of Saint Benedict', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 14/2 (2006), 225–34.
[17] Fortin, 'Saint Augustine's Letter 211', 227 n. 14.
[18] Arbesman, 'The Question of the Regula Sancti Augustini', 248. The text of the *Praeceptum longius* can be found in Reims, Bibliothèque municipal, ms. 392, fols. 66r–73v, and Laon, Bibliothèque municipal, ms. 328[bis], fols.139v–145v (originally owned by the cathedral chapter in Laon). Arbesman also mentions Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 2826, fols. 148r–151v, which he states originally belonged to the cathedral chapter in Limoges, although markings on the manuscript suggest that it may have been the Abbey Saint-Martial in Limoges (see fol. 5r).
[19] J. Bertram, tran., 'The Rule of St. Chrodegang', in *The Chrodegang Rules* (London, 2017), 18. A possible, modest exception may be the injunction to read the rule regularly, which may derive from *Praeceptum*, viii.2.
[20] Ladner, *The Idea of Reform*, 386.

communities.[21] But, ironically, this period of 'dormancy' may have actually facilitated the revival of Augustine's *Rule* in the high Middle Ages. For with the new interest in reforming clerical life in the eleventh century, Augustine's legislation was seen as both an ancient and yet seemingly untapped resource. Therefore, with its 'rediscovery' in the eleventh century, the *Rule* came to play a significant role in shaping the common life of canons regular, which went hand in hand with the broader ecclesiastical reforms making their way across Europe.

2.4 The Gregorian Reforms

As noted, a shift occurred in the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries as Augustine's monastic legislation—despite having been primarily written for lay-monks—began to be seen as a desirable set of norms for clerics living in common. This unexpected turn has long been a topic of inquiry among medieval historians, who have offered diverse answers as to why Augustine's legislation suddenly became fashionable.[22] The implementation of the so-called 'Gregorian reforms'—associated with (but not exclusive to) Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085)—during this period partially explains this development, especially since a principle goal of these reforms was to renew clerical life and conduct throughout the church.[23]

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[21] Interestingly, to the extent the *Rule* does appear in this period, it seems to already be associated with reformers (e.g., Benedict of Aniane and his *Codex Regularum*). Bonner, *The Monastic Rules*, 30.
[22] See the overview in Ranft, 'The Rule of St. Augustine in Medieval Monasticism', 143.
[23] As Ladner observes, one of the principle developments under Gregory VII was a shift from the notion of 'reform' as primarily a matter of renewing the individual to the notion that the church as a whole could and should be a subject of (continuous) renewal. See G.B. Ladner, 'Two Gregorian Letters: On the Sources and Nature of Gregory VII's Reform Ideology', in *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols (Rome, 1983), II, 686; and 'Gregory the Great and Gregory VII: A Comparison of Their Concepts of Renewal', *Viator*, 4 (1973), 17–27. An immense literature exists on the Gregorian Reforms, many aspects of which (including the name) have been the subject of ongoing scholarly debate. The most recent major biographies on Gregory VII are U.-R. Blumenthal, *Gregor VII. Papst Zwischen Canossa und Kirchenreform* (Darmstadt, 2001); and H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085* (Oxford, 1998), both of which address his role in promoting reforms. Without attempt to be exhaustive, other works of particular significance and relevance to reforms include K.G. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005); I.S. Robinson, *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century: Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII* (Manchester, 2004); J. Howe, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons* (Philadelphia, 1997); Robinson, 'Reform and the Church: 1073-1122', IV, PART I, 268–354; G. Tellenbach, '"Gregorianische Reform." Kritische Besinnungen', in *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit: Vorträge beim Wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium aus Anlass des Achtzigsten Geburtstags von Gerd Tellenbach*, ed. by K. Schmid (Sigmaringen, West

Yet even before Gregory VII came to occupy the papal office, individuals such as Peter Damian (c. 1007–1072/3) were advocating for clerics to live in common, particularly as a way to foster better ecclesiastical discipline, observance, and clerical continence.[24] Although this '*vita communis*' was not a new idea for clerics, its revival was seen as an essential piece of clerical reform.[25] In tandem with this, communal poverty—that is, the renunciation of personal goods—was put forward as another key component of clerical reform, one that would also allow clerics to better serve the care of souls. In his *Contra Clericos Regulares Proprietarios*, Peter Damian went so far as to argue that only those 'who have no benefit of terrestrial wealth' are suitable for the office of preaching.[26] The emphasis on preaching (in combination with poverty and the common life) was a new element in the medieval understanding of the *vita apostolica*, which had previously been understood by monks (e.g., Benedictines) as equally descriptive of their own life.[27] Now, however, a reformulated *vita apostolica* increasingly brought together common life, poverty, and ministry in a combination that went hand-in-hand with a wider push for clerical reform. Papal authority and synodal decrees helped to propel these initiatives by Damian and others forward. This can be seen in the Lateran Synod (1059), held under Pope Nicholas II, which saw the future Pope Gregory VII—then Cardinal Hildebrand—promoting ideas already present in Damian's preaching.[28]

The call for clerical reform, linked to the revival of a renewed *vita apostolica*, played a critical role in the popularisation of Augustine's *Rule* and its continuing evolution into new, variant forms. Practically from the beginning of this period, groups of canons

Germany, 1985), 99–113; and the collection of articles contained in the special issue 'La Réforme Grégorienne', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, 96.1 (2010); and the earlier collection by A.M. Stickler and others, eds., *Studi Gregoriani per la storia della 'Libertas ecclesia'* (Rome, 1989), XIII.

[24] P. Ranft, *The Theology of Peter Damian: 'Let Your Life Always Serve as a Witness'* (Washington, 2012), 142–45.

[25] Ladner, *The Idea of Reform*, 402.

[26] Trans. from McDonnell, 'The Vita Apostolica: Diversity or Dissent', 16. Cf. PL 145, 490.

[27] Constable, 'From Church History to Religious Culture', 8; Vicaire, *The Apostolic Life*, 82–83.

[28] Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085*, 45–46.

chose Augustine's *Rule* as a basis for organising themselves as canons 'regular'.[29] While the *Chrodegang Rule(s)* had served as a popular basis for ordering canonical life since the eighth-century, K. Madigan observes that 'from the perspective of the Gregorian reformers and their sympathizers, it had two critical defects: it permitted canons to own personal property and it allowed them to dwell in private houses'.[30] These provisions were now seen as leaving open too many possibilities for clerical worldliness and concubinage, both of which were focal points of the reform. The *Institutio Canonicorum*, developed by Benedict of Aniane in the early ninth-century, suffered from the same perceived defects. Augustine's legislation, on the other hand, offered reformers a contemporary remedy in the form of a more ancient *Rule*. Not only was it ancient, but it was also invested with the authority of a revered theologian-saint. Therefore, once the *Rule* was 'rediscovered' around the 1060s, 'nearly all the new orders of regular canons adopted it, so much so that the name of regular canons became synonymous with Augustinian canons'.[31]

Examples of the spread of Augustine's *Rule* can be multiplied, but the case of the Canons of San Frediano warrants particular attention. Consisting of a loose confederation of canonries that included an influential and observant community in Lucca, scholars have commonly held that these canons were invited by Pope Alexander II (r. 1061–73), who had himself previously served as the bishop of Lucca, to assume the liturgical functions at St.

[29] P. Ranft, *The Theology of Work: Peter Damian and the Medieval Religious Renewal Movement* (New York, 2006), 113–14. While the canonical reform movement traced above is relevant to the cathedral canons of Osma (and thus to the origins of the Dominican Order), it should be noted that the growth of canons regular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was not due solely to reformist efforts or to pressure from bishops. Rather, communities of canons regular emerged in this era through several different processes and were often diverse in their monastic observances and pastoral activities. For an orientation to this complex topic and its historiography, see C.W. Bynum, 'The Spirituality of Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century', in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982), 22–58.
[30] K. Madigan, '*Regula*, Use after Augustine', ed. by A.D. Fitzgerald, *Augustine Through the Ages* (Grand Rapids, 2009), 709.
[31] Ranft, *Theology of Work*, 114; A. Zumkeller, *Augustine's Ideal of the Religious Life* (New York, 1986), 93; Little, *Religious Poverty*, 102.

John Lateran in Rome in 1061—thus bringing Augustine's *Rule* to the Pope's cathedral.[32] In fact, the history is more complex. It would seem that attempts to reform the Lateran canons had already been underway (albeit without much success) from at least the time of Leo IX (r. 1049–54), with the process only completed under Paschal II (r. 1099–1118)—the pope who was probably responsible for actually bringing the canons from Lucca to the Lateran.[33] Yet even if this occurred during this later pontificate, one could hardly imagine a more prominent pedestal upon which to display the reformed canonical life for the clergy.[34] Concurrently, as the broader Gregorian reforms took hold, bishops also began 'regularising' their existing clergy and Augustine's *Rule* became a common mode of life for cathedral canons across much of western Europe.[35]

Although reform-minded bishops chartered many new communities of canons who embraced the *Rule*, the process of reforming existing communities proved more challenging.[36] Among many of the communities established prior to the reform, 'evidence suggests that in its earliest reception, the *Rule*, rather than affecting a thoroughgoing reform, was superimposed upon local tradition and co-existed alongside local usage and custom'.[37] Therefore, the reform of existing canons by means of the *Rule* was not

[32] This view is still frequently repeated, e.g., T. Carlotta, 'Patron and Liturgy: The Liturgical Setting of the Cathedral Church of San Martino in Lucca after 1070 and the Gregorian Reform', in *Romanesque Patrons and Processes*, ed. by J. Camps and others (London, 2018), 251; L. Duval-Arnould and J. Johrendt, *Statuti e costituzioni medievali del Capitolo Lateranense*, Tabularium Lateranense, 2 (Vatican City, 2011), 23; cf. U.-R. Blumenthal, 'Statuti e Costituzioni Medievali Del Capitolo Lateranense (Review)', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 98/3 (2012), 555.

[33] T. Schmidt, 'Die Kanonikerreform in Rom und Papst Alexander II: 1061-1073', *Studi Gregoriani*, 9 (1972), 207–21; see also T. Schmidt, *Alexander II (1061-1073) und die römische Reformgruppe seiner Zeit*, Päpste und Papsttum, 11 (Stuttgart, 1977), 46, 153; E.B. Garrison, 'Three Manuscripts for Lucchese Canons of S. Frediano in Rome', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 38 (1975), 2–3; R. Savigni, *Episcopato e società cittadina a Lucca: da Anselmo II (+1086) a Roberto (+1255)*, Studi e Testi, 43 (Lucca, 1996), 257–58.

[34] Recent studies (see n. 33 above) have also raised doubts about whether these canons, although certainly reformed, were actually using the *Rule of Augustine* at the time they were entrusted with the Lateran. There is no question, however, that the *Rule* was ultimately employed by the Lateran canons, as is evident from various papal bulls (e.g., Anastasius IV, *Potestatem ligandi*, 30 Dec 1153; J. Pflugk-Harttung, ed., *Acta ponticum romanorum inedita* (Stuttgart, 1886), III, no. 126.).

[35] Zumkeller, *Augustine's Ideal*, 93–94.

[36] Arbesman, 'The Question of the Regula Sancti Augustini', 248–49.

[37] D.R. Reinke, '"Austin's Labour": Patterns of Governance in Medieval Augustinian Monasticism', *Church History*, 56/2 (1987), 160.

necessarily a simple or straightforward affair. This, in fact, may have been the situation at Osma—where Dominic of Caleruega became a canon regular—where it appears the reform was an uneven process (see 2.6). The fact that Augustine's *Rule* was popular among reforming bishops did not mean that long-established modes of religious life changed overnight, even if a larger trend was clear. Moreover, with its newfound success, the *Rule* itself also began to undergo subtle changes.

2.5 From the *Praeceptum longius* to the *Regula receptus*

Not surprisingly, the sudden blossoming of Augustine's fourth-century monastic legislation in a late-eleventh-century environment raised certain practical difficulties. The *Praeceptum longius*, containing the combined text of the *Ordo* and *Praeceptum*, offered a daily programme of life designed for a Mediterranean monastic community. Yet as the Springiersbach canons in the diocese of Trier (modern-day Germany) experienced, the provisions of the *Praeceptum longius* for diet, labour, and liturgy did not necessarily align well with the climate and conditions of Northern Europe.[38] As a result of their correspondence with Pope Gelasius II, the canons were given permission in 1118 to 'moderate' provisions that could not be reasonably observed. The difficult provisions, it would seem, were largely or entirely contained within the *Ordo* rather than the *Praeceptum*.[39]

The challenges experienced by the Springiersbach canons, although frequently discussed as an example in the secondary literature, were by no means unique.[40] The resolution that ultimately emerged among the canons regular in the twelfth century was the

[38] Bonner, *The Monastic Rules*, 32–33.
[39] Bonner, *The Monastic Rules*, 33.
[40] Although illustrative, some secondary scholarship has probably overstated the precise importance of the Springiersbach canons. Eusebius Amort pointed to the Springiersbach canons in 1747 as evidence for why the *Ordo monasterii* was abandoned in favour of the *Praeceptum*. P. Mandonnet developed this further in 1937 by suggesting that the Springiersbach canons themselves were at the origin of *Regula recepta* by 'decapitating' the *Praeceptum longius*. See *Saint Dominique: l'idée, l'homme et l'œuvre*, 2 vols (Paris, 1937), I, 149–62. Yet this has been convincingly challenged by Verheijen, *La Règle*, II, 117–24.

creation of a shorter, hybrid text. This hybrid kept only the venerated '*Ante omnia*' sentence from the *Ordo*, but retained the complete text of the *Praeceptum*.[41] The origins of the resultant text, known as the *Regula recepta*, have been traced by Verheijen to the 'Ashburnham' family of twelfth-century manuscripts.[42] Thus, while retaining the *Ordo's* first sentence and its grounding in divine precepts, the *Regula recepta* effectively undid the merger of the *Ordo* and the *Praeceptum* that had yielded the *Praeceptum longius* centuries earlier. While an earlier era had seen the *Ordo* and *Praeceptum* as helpfully complimenting each other, the abandonment of the body of the *Ordo* made it possible for the redacted text to flourish in the twelfth century in tandem with the growth of the canons regular.

The *Regula recepta* emerged, therefore, as a solution tailored to those attracted to the apostolic ideals they perceived in Augustine's legislation but who found the *Ordo's* monastic horarium unworkable. Developments in liturgy between the fifth and twelfth centuries had also rendered parts of the *Ordo* obsolete—a problem easily resolved once the body of the *Ordo* was suppressed.[43] In turn, as the *Regula recepta* became the primary means by which Augustine's *Rule* spread successfully in the twelfth century, the stage was set for its crossover into new religious communities in subsequent centuries, including the Friars Preachers.

2.6 Dominic and the Cathedral Canons at Osma

In the medieval diocese of Osma (modern-day Spain), a letter by Alfonso VII (1105–57) from 3 January 1136 provides the first evidence of the local canons following the *Rule of Augustine*.[44] Although little is known about the initial adoption of the *Rule* at Osma, the

[41] Verheijen, *La Règle*, II, 118–20, 212–13.
[42] *La Règle*, I, 211–33; II, 117–24, 212–13. Verheijen also suggests that Ivo of Chartres (1040–1115) at the abbey of Saint-Quentin de Beauvais might be behind the creation of the *Regula recepta*, although this cannot be established definitively.
[43] Arbesman, 'The Question of the Regula Sancti Augustini', 249.
[44] The letter, which arranges for the cathedral and its canons to receive certain tithes, can be found at no. 14 in J. Loperráez Corvalán, *Descripcion histórica del obispado de Osma*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1788), III, 15.

cathedral canons' commitment to its provisions seems to have varied widely over time as the composition of the community fluctuated, the bishops of Osma changed, and various attempts at reform were begun or abandoned.[45]

The canons appear, however, to have undergone a thoroughgoing and stable reform under bishop Martin Bazán (r. 1189–1201), which probably took place sometime before 11 May 1199, as can be inferred from a confirmatory letter of Pope Innocent III.[46] Although the particular version of Augustine's *Rule* employed at Osma cannot be determined on the basis of manuscript evidence, it is practically certain that the canons were using the *Regula recepta*, given that it was the most prevalent form of the *Rule* by this date.[47]

A key figure in the successful reform of the canons at Osma was Diego d'Acebes, who was closely tied to bishop Bazán. He was subprior of the canons, then prior by 1199, and ultimately bishop of Osma (r. 1201–7) after Bazán's death in 1201. The Dominican friar Jordan of Saxony (c. 1190–1237) states that it was during Diego's term as prior that he successfully persuaded the canons to observe Augustine's *Rule*, albeit with some resistance.[48]

Significantly, Dominic of Caleruega entered the cathedral canons of Osma during Diego's priorship and made his profession according to the *Rule of Augustine* at that time.[49] His entrance can be dated to 1196–97, when Dominic was twenty-four or twenty-five.[50] Over roughly the next twenty years, Dominic would have repeatedly heard, meditated upon, and lived according to the *Regula recepta* at Osma, along with the additional rules and customs that had been adopted the cathedral—in short, a mode of life shaped by the broader

[45] M.-H. Vicaire, *Saint Dominic and His Times*, trans. by Kathleen Pond (New York, 1964), 41–42.
[46] See no. 188 in D. Mansilla, ed., *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III, 965-1216*, Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana. Sección: Registros (Rome, 1955), I, 205.
[47] See Ponesse, 'Regula', 464.
[48] Jordan of Saxony, *On the Beginnings of the Order of Preachers*, trans. by S. Tugwell, Dominican Sources (Chicago, 1982), I.4 (p. 1); cf. Tugwell, 'Notes (1997)', 41–43.
[49] W.A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, 2 vols (Staten Island, 1966), I, 18.
[50] Vicaire, *Saint Dominic*, 42.

Gregorian Reforms that had only recently taken hold among his fellow canons. His experience at Osma would therefore have introduced him to the *Rule* precisely as a text championed by reformers—one that was held up as embodying the life of the apostles, i.e., the *vita apostolica*.[51]

2.7 The *Regula recepta* and the Order of Preachers

The early history of the Order of Preachers has been studied heavily by many historians, including not only those interested in the history of the Dominican friars or religious life but also those focused on the Languedoc region, medieval heresy inquisitions, the Albigensian Crusade, and other overlapping topics.[52] Rather than attempt to duplicate these studies or provide an overly superficial survey of Dominic and Bishop Diego's experiences and involvement in the contested lands and beliefs of the Midi, our focus will be limited to the adoption of Augustine's *Rule* and the facts most pertinent to controversy surrounding this text and Humbert's engagement with it.[53]

In October 1215, after having established a local community of preachers in a house donated by Peter Seila (d. 1257) in Toulouse, Dominic and the bishop of Toulouse, Fulk of

[51] See Vicaire, *Saint Dominic*, 43.

[52] Although in need of supplementing with more recent scholarship, the standard histories of the early Dominican Order remain Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, esp. vol. I; and Vicaire, *Histoire de Saint Dominique*; with the first edition translated into English as Vicaire, *Saint Dominic*. Significant new scholarship and revisions to these reconstructions can be found in S. Tugwell, 'Notes on the Life of St. Dominic (Series)', *AFP*, 65 (1995): 5-169; 66 (1996): 5-200; 67 (1997): 27-59; 68 (1998): 5-116; 73 (2003): 5-109. As noted earlier, intersecting scholarship has also greatly modified and altered how the Order's earliest history is understood. A full listing is impossible here, but an excellent historiographical overview and substantial bibliography is offered in D.S. Prudlo, 'The Friars Preachers: The First Hundred Years of the Dominican Order', *History Compass*, 8/11 (2010), 1275–90. Prudlo's bibliography includes numerous works pertaining to the Order's involvement in medieval heresy inquisitions (e.g., Ames, Moore, Pegg, etc.), but one should also add the useful collection of essays in W. Hoyer, ed., *Praedicatores, Inquisitores I: The Dominicans and the Mediaevel Inquisition: Acts of the 1st International Seminar on the Dominicans and the Inquisition, Rome 23-25 February 2002*, Dissertationes Historicae, 29 (Rome, 2004) and subsequent volumes of the same series (2006, 2008) focusing on later periods; also the very recent collection edited by Prudlo, *A Companion to Heresy Inquisitions*, which includes additional bibliography.

[53] Although the basic contours of Dominic and Diego's travels are commonly accepted, debate still surrounds Dominic's own presence or absence between 1208–11, during the early phase of the Albigensian Crusade. See especially S. Tugwell, 'Notes on the Life of St. Dominic', *AFP*, 73 (2003), 69, 107–8; MOPH, XXV, no. 13; S. Tugwell, 'Schéma chronologique de la vie de Saint Dominique', in *Domenico di Caleruega e la nascita dell'ordine dei frati predicatori* (Spoleto, 2005), 4–6.

Marseille (c. 1150–1231), approached pope Innocent III and sought papal confirmation for an 'order of preachers' (*ordo praedicatorum*).[54] Although historians continue to debate the precise nature of what Dominic and Fulk were intending at this stage, it seems clear is that they at least desired the 'transformation of the papal mission against heresy into a permanent preaching institution'.[55] Less clear, however, is the geographic extent they envisioned or the particular organizational model they intended to adopt.[56] Dominic's community in Toulouse had been given a local charter in 1215 from bishop Fulk, granting them delegation to continue preaching within the diocese—as the earlier Cistercian-led papal mission had done. It also outlined the community's purpose as preachers and authorised a form of life that incorporated apostolic poverty.[57] Yet such an arrangement was still fundamentally impermanent so long as it relied on the pleasure of the local bishop for its authorisation. Papal 'confirmation', if granted, would secure the preaching mission's stability as an '*ordo*' with its own enduring character—although this need not have been constituted as a religious order *per se*.[58]

One might have expected Innocent III to have been unambiguously positive toward Dominic and bishop Fulk's initative. Indeed, bishop Fulk's original charter for the community had explicitly expressed its goals by quoting from an earlier bull (8 March

[54] The original deed, dated 25 April 1215, transferring of Peter Seila's property to the community survives in Paris, Archives nationales, ms. J 321, n° 60. The text is transcribed in MOPH, XXV, no. 62. For Peter Seila [or Cellani] in general and his subsequent role as an inquisitor after 1233, see especially the recent study by J. Feuchter, *Ketzer, Konsuln Und Büßer: Die Städtischen Eliten von Montauban Vor Dem Inquisitor Petrus Cellani (1236/1241)*, Spätmittelalter, Humanismus, Reformation, 40 (Tübingen, 2007), 257–59, 268–72, 320–43, et passim. For his role at this early stage in establishing Dominic's community, see also M.-H. Vicaire, 'La Maison de Pierre Seila, à Toulouse, Où l'ordre Fut Fondé (1215)', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 1 (1966), 159–66. For the date of Dominic and Fulk's meeting with Innocent III, see S. Tugwell, 'Notes on the Life of St. Dominic', *AFP*, 65 (1995), 7 n. 4.
[55] *Legendae*, 291.
[56] For the debate regarding the Dominic's intention to establish a distinct religious order, see Tugwell, *Legendae*, 291; 'Friars and Canons', 193–207; and especially 'Notes (1995)', 4–53; cf. M.-H. Vicaire, 'L'Ordre de Saint Dominique en 1215', *AFP*, 54 (1984), 5–38.
[57] V.J. Koudelka, ed., *Monumenta diplomatica S. Dominici*, MOPH, XXV (Rome, 1966), no. 63 (pp. 56-8).
[58] Tugwell, 'Notes (1995)', 23, and on the distinction between an 'ordo' and 'religious order' in this context, see 25–28; cf. E. Freeman, 'The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, the Prohibition against New Religious Orders, and Religious Women', *Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, 44/1 (2018), 7–10.

1208) of Innocent III to the bishops of southern France, calling upon them 'to root out the corruption of heresy, to drive away vice, to teach the creed, to inculcate in people sound morals'.[59] Likewise, the desire of Dominic's community to permanently engage in preaching, while certainly not the only way Innocent sought to repress movements he judged heretical, nonetheless fit with his larger ambitions pertaining to preaching and the elimination of heresy.[60] K. Jansen's observation that Innocent displayed a 'preoccupation with preaching' warrants particular attention here, which she argues was 'a result ... of his intellectual formation at Paris.'[61] As pope, he repeatedly called upon pastors to preach against movements the church considered heretical, and he denounced the clergy's failures to do so by comparing them to 'mute dogs' (cf. Is 56:10) in his sermon *Ego sum pastor*

[59] Trans. from Vicaire, *Saint Dominic*, 172. The text of Innocent's bull can be found in H. Potthast, ed., *Regesta Pontificum romanorum, 1198-1304*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1874), i, no. 3323 (p. 284).

[60] A vast literature exists on Innocent III and his overall aims. The biography by J.C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216): To Root Up and To Plant* (Leiden, 2003), offers the most recent chronological survey of the papacy, taking into account contemporary historical research and including an extensive bibliography. Up-to-date historiography on his papacy can be obtained from four key collections of essays: F. Andrews, C. Egger and C.M. Rousseau, eds., *Pope, Church, and City: Essays in Honour of Brenda M. Bolton* (Leiden, 2004); A. Sommerlechner, ed., *Innocenzo III: Urbs et orbis; Atti del congresso internazionale: Roma, 9–15 settembre 1998*, 2 vols (Rome, 2003); J.C. Moore, B.M. Bolton and J.M. Powell, eds., *Pope Innocent III and His World* (Aldershot, 1999); J. Power, ed., *Innocent III: Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World?*, 2nd edn (Washington, 1994); to which can also be added the collected writings of M. Maccarrone, *Studi su Innocenzo III*, Italia Sacra, 17 (Padua, 1972); and *Nuovi studi su Innocenzo III*, ed. by R. Lambertini (Roma, 1995); as well as those of B.M. Bolton, *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot, 1995). On the specific matter of Innocent III's intentions and activities regarding the Languedoc region, the works cited above in n. 52 of Chapter I are most relevant, while works related to the repression of heresy and its origins (or construction) are surveyed in n. 7 of Chapter I. Beyond these, however, the intersection of Innocent's goals with those of Dominic's own preaching ambitions receive additional attention in K. Jansen, 'The Word and Its Diffusion', in *Christianity in Western Europe, c. 1100-c. 1500*, ed. by M. Rubin and W. Simons, The Cambridge History of Christianity, 4 (Cambridge, 2014), 118–26; Tugwell, 'Notes (1995)', 30; Maccarrone, *Studi su Innocenzo III*, 306, 325–26. The dream attributed to Innocent III of Dominic (or, earlier, Francis) supporting the Lateran church is also relevant here for its linking of these themes. See the study by J. Gardner, 'Päpstliche Träume und Palastmalereien: Ein Essay über mittelalterliche Traumikonographie', in *Träume im Mittelalter: Ikonologische Studien* (Stuttgart, 1989), 113–24; and also the observations of H.J. Grieco, 'Pastoral Care, Inquisition, and Mendicancy in the Medieval Franciscan Order', in *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies* (Leiden, 2011), 117–21, 124–26, 154–55.

[61] Jansen, 'The Word and Its Diffusion', 118. Jansen notes that Peter the Chanter and his collaborators in Paris sought 'to demonstrate the relationship between moral theology and everyday life, bringing their conclusions to the laity through preaching', the impact of which could be seen in subsequent preaching initiatives of Innocent III (ibid., 118). The central study on Peter's influence remains J.W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols (Princeton, 1970).

bonus (c. 1203–4).[62] Along the same lines, his well-known letter to Arnald, Abbot of Citeaux (r. 1201–11/12) ,included the first papal instruction on preaching since Gregory the Great—a figure Innocent took as a model in his pastoral ambitions (in theory, if not always in practice).[63]

Yet the pope's reply to their request for confirmation of an 'ordo praedicatorum' suggests that he was also highly cognisant of potential ecclesiastical pitfalls, including the objection of other bishops.[64] He steered their efforts by instructing them to adopt a pre-existing rule for their community.[65] In so doing, he anticipated the directives—probably already written in draft form—that were subsequently given by the Fourth Lateran Council, which opened less than one month later on 11 November 1215. Canon thirteen of the Council forbade the creation of new forms of religious life and required all new religious houses to adopt an existing rule.[66] Perhaps seeing beyond Dominic and Fulk's immediate goals, Innocent put them on a path that gave their preaching mission and its associated community a permanent character, but also fitted this idea into a pre-existing ecclesial framework, and laid the foundation for the community to expand far beyond the Languedoc region.[67] As a religious order (*religio*) dedicated specifically to preaching, this was a new

[62] K.H. Kendall, 'Sermons of Pope Innocent III: The Moral Theology of a Pastor and Pope' (Syracuse University, 2003), 213, 221–26, 403, 415. See also the study and sermons found in Innocent III, *Sermoni (sermones)*, ed. by S. Fioramonti (Vatican City, 2006).
[63] Innocent III, *Between God and Man: Six Sermons on the Priestly Office*, trans. by C.J. Vause and F.C. Gardiner (Washington, 2012), 1. For Innocent III's devotion to and culling from Gregory the Great, see C. Egger, '*The Growling of the Lion and the Humming of the Fly*: Gregory the Great and Innocent III', in *Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honour of Brenda M. Bolton*, ed. by F. Andrews, C. Egger, and C.M. Rousseau (Leiden, 2004), 13–46.
[64] Tugwell, 'Notes (1995)', 29–30.
[65] Tugwell, 'Notes (1995)', 7.
[66] N.P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols (Washington, 1990), I, 242 (can. 13). Note that the precise scope and nature of the restrictions in canon 13 of Lateran IV has been the source of increasing scholarly debate over the past decade. See, in particular, G. Constable, 'The Fourth Lateran Council's Constitutions on Monasticism', in *The Fourth Lateran Council and the Development of Canon Law and the* ius commune, ed. by A.A. Larson and A. Massironi (Turnhout, 2019), 149–53; Freeman, 'The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, the Prohibition against New Religious Orders, and Religious Women', 1–23; A. Boni, 'Reinterpretazione di una Costituzione Conciliare (Concilio Ecumenico Lateranense IV a. 1215, Costituzione 13', *Antonianum*, 84/3 (2009), 441–95.
[67] Tugwell, 'Notes (1995)', 30, 32; A. Reltgen-Tallon, 'Innocent III et saint Dominique', in *Innocent III et le Midi*, ed. by M. Fournié, D. Le Blévec, and J. Théry, Cahiers de Fanjeux, 50 (Toulouse, 2015), 345–49; A.J. Lappin, 'From Osma to Bologna, From Canons to Friars, From Preaching to The Preachers: The

initiative in the church and something Dominic and the late bishop Diego were unlikely to have foreseen when they first joined the papal legates in southern France.[68]

With the pope's approval in principle, Dominic's community in Toulouse adopted the *Rule of Augustine* in summer of 1216.[69] Although no manuscript evidence survives containing the version of the *Rule* they adopted, it is practically certain that they chose the *Regula recepta*. As already noted, this was the common form of the *Rule* in use among canons at this point and it appears in the two earliest Dominican manuscripts containing copies of the *Rule* (see discussion in 2.8 below).

The decision to adopt Augustine's *Rule* may seem obvious, especially given Dominic's own experience with the canons regular at Osma. Yet other rules also existed for canons and religious orders, including the Cistercian *Carta caritatis* that most of the members of the earlier papal preaching mission in the Languedoc had followed.[70] Moreover, there is nothing to suggest that Dominic and bishop Fulk—who had described their initiative as an *ordo praedicatorum*—had gone to the pope with the intention of creating an order of canons regular. Yet the decision to adopt Augustine's *Rule*—so universally associated with canons regular during this time—placed this new community of preachers squarely in that category. Furthermore, once the selection of Augustine's *Rule* had been made, Innocent's successor, Honorius III, confirmed certain privileges for the Order with the decree *Religiosam vitam eligentibus* (22 December 1216), which described the community as a 'ordo canonicus'.[71] As Tugwell points out, this decree lacked any

Dominican Path Towards Mendicancy', in *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, ed. by D. Prudlo (Leiden, 2011), 44.

[68] The practice of bishops delegating the authority to preach to individual priests or even to groups of canons had longstanding precedent. It was, however, the notion of a permanent community (ultimately established as a religious order) for this specific purpose that was innovative. Vicaire, *Saint Dominic*, 172–73.

[69] Tugwell, 'Schéma chronologique', 11–12.

[70] Jordan of Saxony, *On the Beginnings of the Order of Preachers*, iii.19 (p. 6).

[71] The original decree survives in Toulouse, Archives dép. de la Haute-Garrone, ms. 112 H1. An edited edition can be found in V.J. Koudelka, ed., *Monumenta diplomatica S. Dominici*, MOPH, XXV (Rome, 1966), no. 77 (pp. 71-76).

specific mention of the community as an 'ordo praedicatorum'.[72] At this stage, given the papacy's inclination to handle Dominic and Fulk's initiative through a standard ecclesiastical framework, the focus on preaching might well have been subsumed by the structures and obligations of canonical life.[73] Yet as subsequent papal legislation from 1216–20 shows, papal decrees gave progressively greater recognition to the various adaptations and accommodations desired by the community.[74] This was also a period during which they were growing in their experience as a functioning community of preachers and thus, as noted, a clearer sense of their identity as a distinct form of religious life is progressively reflected in these decrees.

At the same time, the Order grappled with how to express its preaching mission in legislative texts of a more local nature. Since the *Rule* left a great deal unspecified, communities of canons typically supplemented it with auxiliary legislation, often in the form of *consuetudines* (customaries).[75] As also noted earlier, customaries have only recently begun to attract attention as sources for understanding medieval religious life. Along these lines, recent scholarship has sometimes distinguished between 'inspirational customaries' and 'normative customaries'.[76] The former tended to be more prevalent before the late-eleventh century and primarily offered hagiographical examples for imitation, while the latter helped to define the proper norms by which a community lived. By Dominic's time, normative customaries had become widespread, enabling the maintenance of greater uniformity across multiple houses following the same rule. This went hand-in-hand with the emergence of religious 'orders', whose organizational structure was more

[72] Tugwell, 'Friars and Canons', 203.
[73] Tugwell, 'Friars and Canons', 205.
[74] For the relevant papal bulls from 1216–1220, see V.J. Koudelka, 'Notes Sur Le Cartulaire de S. Dominique', AFP, 33 (1963), 89–120; 34 (1964), 5-44; cf. Tugwell, 'Friars and Canons', 194, 204.
[75] Little, *Religious Poverty*, 102, 104.
[76] See the discussion in I. Cochelin, 'Customaries as Inspirational Sources', in *Consuetudines et Regulae* (Turnhout, 2014), 27–72.

centralized than a simple collection of independent or semi-independent monasteries with a common foundational history.[77]

That Dominic's followers chose to formulate a customary at the same time they adopted Augustine's *Rule* is unsurprising—this much would have been expected of any community adopting the *Rule*. What is surprising, however, is the extent to which this first customary seems to have been ill-suited for a community of preachers. Although one might have expected this first customary to adapt and supplement Augustine's *Rule* with a view towards preaching, evidence suggests that the 1216 customary 'proved difficult to reconcile with the apostolic labours of the brethren'.[78] In fact, the primary source for this customary appears to have been the legislation of the Premonstratensian canons.[79] One explanation is that 'the 1216 customs were meant to give the preachers an uncontroversial identity to facilitate their acceptance by the church'—not unlike their adoption of Augustine's *Rule*.[80] Yet regardless of the precise motivations behind it, a consequence of the burdensome experience resulting from the first customary was that it set the stage for further legislative experimentation and an attitude of openness toward future revisions.[81]

The role of Augustine's *Rule* emerges as particularly interesting in this regard, given that the *Rule*, considered by itself, actually provided a great deal of flexibility for the friars to develop a distinctive form of life. The *Regula recepta*, freed from the specifics of the *Ordo monasterii* in the *Praceptum longius*, had relatively few detailed provisions. Its moral counsels (e.g., to be fervent in prayer, to avoid envy, to avoid unchaste glances, etc.) did not bind the community to any particular monastic schedule that would be incompatible

[77] Cochelin, 'Customaries as Inspirational Sources', 34–35.
[78] Tugwell, 'Friars and Canons', 204.
[79] S. Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government III: The Early Development of the Second Distinction of the Constitutions', *AFP*, 71 (2001), 11; cf. Tugwell, *Early Dominicans*, 455.
[80] Tugwell, 'Friars and Canons', 204.
[81] Tugwell, 'Friars and Canons', 204.

with apostolic endeavours.[82] By way of contrast, other monastic rules (e.g., the *Rule of Benedict*) would have required more extensive adaptation, while the older rules for canons (e.g., Chrodegang's *Rules*) reflected a 'pre-reformed' mode of life that lacked an explicit commitment to communal poverty, which the preachers had found integral to their success with heretics. In short, had the *Regula recepta* not been popularized in the preceding period by the canons regular, who also illustrated various ways of adapting it, the early Friars Preachers might well have struggled to find a legislative vehicle to achieve their ends, greatly altering the final shape of their Order.

As for the customary first adopted in 1216, no copy has survived of this transitional document.[83] Yet as the papal bulls of 1216–20 made increasing allowances for the preaching ambitions of this community, the language by which the papacy referred to them also underwent a shift. While described as an '*ordo canonicus*' in 1216 by Honorius III, his bull of 21 January 1217 referred to them simply as '*praedicatores*'.[84] Later, his bull of 11 February 1218 referred to them as '*fratres ordinis praedicatorum*' for the first time in a papal document.[85]

At the same time the community was clarifying its identity in legislation, it was also expanding to new locations. At first, this meant spreading from Toulouse to Paris, but by 1220 the friars had approximately one dozen houses.[86] Their first General Chapter, held on Pentecost in 1220, transformed their 1216 customary into what could more properly be called the Order's *Constitutions*, although the phrase 'book of habits/customs' (*liber consuetudinis*) would continue to be used until 1249.[87] Increasingly, Dominic and those

[82] *Praeceptum*, i.1; iii.2.
[83] Note, however, that A.H. Thomas does attempt to date and reconstruct various aspects of this customary in his edition of the *Constitutiones antiquae* in *De oudste Constituties van de Dominicanen*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 42 (Leuven, 1965). This should be read, however, in tandem with S. Tugwell's extensive reconsideration of the same in 'Dominican Structures of Government III', 4–182.
[84] MOPH, XXV, 78–9.
[85] MOPH, XXV, 86–7.
[86] S. Tugwell, 'Dominic the Founder', *Dominican Ashram*, 4 (1985), 137.
[87] Tugwell, 'Dominic the Founder', 138–41.

associated with him could no longer be called canons regular in any real sense. Moreover, the friars appear to have stopped thinking of themselves in that category—if, in fact, they ever had. As Tugwell notes, 'after 1220 the Dominicans progressively dropped from their constitutions all terminology proper to canons regular'.[88] Yet although the General Chapter of 1220 had reworked their customary and established new mechanisms for the governance of the Order, the *Rule of Augustine* was left untouched.[89] Since the Order had initially received papal confirmation with Augustine's *Rule* in 1216, papal approval would presumably have been required to rewrite or abandon the *Rule*. Yet the *Constitutions* edited by 1220 Chapter did not require such approval, nor was such approval sought, since the *Constitutions* only supplemented the *Rule*—despite becoming considerably longer.

Certainly from 1220 onward, although prefaced by the text of Augustine's *Rule*, the Order's *Constitutions* served as the more comprehensive document governing the friars' lives and reflecting their purpose and mission. Subsequent General Chapters, held each year, routinely amended the *Constitutions* and expanded its provisions.[90] The *Rule* itself remained in place and continued to serve two critical functions: it provided the original legal foundation upon which the Order had secured papal approval and it enabled the Order to rapidly change and adapt without needing to seek outside confirmation, provided that the *Rule* itself remained unchanged.

On one hand, this arrangement whereby the Order had two fundamental governing documents—a brief, invariable *Rule* and a substantial set of changeable constitutions—had obvious political and administrative advantages. The inherent flexibility of this system

[88] Tugwell, 'Friars and Canons', 206.
[89] This is not to suggest that the structures of Dominican government were fully developed and operative by 1220, as the various articles by Tugwell on the 'Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government' cited throughout make clear. On this point, see also Van Engen, 'From Canons to Preachers', 261–95.
[90] General Chapters of the Order were held annually until they switched to every two years in 1370 and every three years in 1553. See the discussion in S. Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government IV: Election, Confirmation, and "Absolution" of Superiors', *AFP*, 72 (2002), 104.

helps to explain the Order's ability to flourish in diverse circumstances as it came to occupy a new and visible role within medieval society and found its way into prominent institutions (e.g., the universities of Paris and Oxford). On the other hand, it also set the stage for later questions to be raised about the fundamental relationship between the form of life described in *Rule*, the language of the *Constitutions*, and the essential character of the Order itself. A note of ambiguity was implicit in this arrangement, which had grown out of the Order's foundational experience, but which both Hugh of St. Cher and Humbert of Romans would confront a generation later.

2.8 The 1254 General Chapter and the *Regula correcta*

A final word needs to be said about the precise text of Augustine's *Rule* utilized by the friars. As noted, it seems practically certain that the community in Toulouse adopted the *Regula recepta* in 1215. Unfortunately, the first textual evidence only appears in 1254, the same year Humbert of Romans was elected Master of the Order and also given the task of 'correcting' the text of the *Rule* (*corrigat litteram regul*[*a*]*e*) by the General Chapter.[91]

The task of correcting the *Rule* did not refer to rewriting the whole text, but rather to producing an *exemplum*, free of scribal errors or omissions, which would serve as the standard for subsequent copying. The results can be seen in two surviving manuscripts since Humbert's '*Regula correcta*' was included with the revised set of liturgical books also mandated by the same Chapter.[92] To produce these books, a 'prototype' (or 'archetype') was first created from which a series of *exempla* were then copied for use in the Order's various provinces.[93] The original prototype no longer exists, but three *exempla*

[91] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Buda, 1254), 68.
[92] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Buda, 1254), 68.
[93] For the creation of these *exempla*, see E. Giraud, 'The Dominican *Scriptorium* at Saint-Jacques, and Its Production of Liturgical Exemplars', in *Scriptorium: Wesen, Funktion, Eigenheiten* (Munich, 2015), 247–58; and her earlier study 'The Production and Notation of Dominican Manuscripts in Thirteenth-Century Paris' (unpublished PhD, University of Cambridge, 2013), 89; also S. Lusignan, 'Humbert de Romans et la communication écrite au sein de l'ordre des Dominicains', in *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge*, ed. by S. Cassagnes-Brouquet and others (Rennes, 2003), 205–6.

copied from it do survive, two of which contain the text of the *Regula correcta*. The more elaborate and older of these, found in Rome, Santa Sabina, ms. XIV L1, dates from shortly after 1256 and includes the complete text of the *Regula correcta* on folio 36v (figure 2.2).[94] A smaller manuscript, London, British Library, Add. ms. 23935, was finished in the early years of the 1260s and served as a portable copy for the Master so that he might correct the texts used by the provinces when carrying out visitations.[95] This also contains a copy of the *Regula correcta*, found on fols. 73v–74v. Only very minor textual differences exist between London, British Library, Add. ms. 23935 and Rome, Priory of Santa Sabina, General Archives, ms. XIV L1, which is consistent with their having been derived from a common source. The third surviving exemplar of the Order's liturgical books, found in Salamanca, Priory of San Esteban, ms. SAL.-CL.01, is highly incomplete and lacks a copy of the *Rule* for comparison.[96]

Although the relationship between the text of the *Regula correcta* and the text of the *Rule* found in the *Expositio* will be taken up in 4.2.2, two passages in Humbert's the *Regula correcta* warrant special comment. Notably, in the third sentence of the *Regula correcta*, Augustine calls for the community to be '*anima una et cor unum in deo*' (figure 2.3). According to Verheijen's critical edition of the *Praeceptum*, the original text read '*in deum*', although the variants '*in deo*' and '*in domino*' can be found in certain manuscripts.[97]

[94] For studies of this manuscript and its use, see L.E. Boyle and P.-M. Gy, eds., *Aux Origines de La Liturgie Dominicaine: Le Manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L1* (Rome, 2004).
[95] Giraud, 'Production and Notation of Dominican Manuscripts', 122–24. An inscription on fol. 2r of the manuscript provided confirmation of its original purpose: 'This book was made for the Master of the Order, whoever he may be at the time, so that whosoever may hesitate over anything in the Office may be able to be rectified by it [the book]' (Eng. trans. from Giraud). Sadly, the inscription is no longer visible due to the application of a chemical treatment.
[96] For further information about this manuscript and its contents, see the study by B. Fueyo Suárez, 'El *exemplar* de la liturgia dominicana de Salamanca (manuscrito *San Esteban* SAL.-CL.01)', *AD*, 28 (2007), 81–118.
[97] Verheijen, *La Règle*, I, 319.

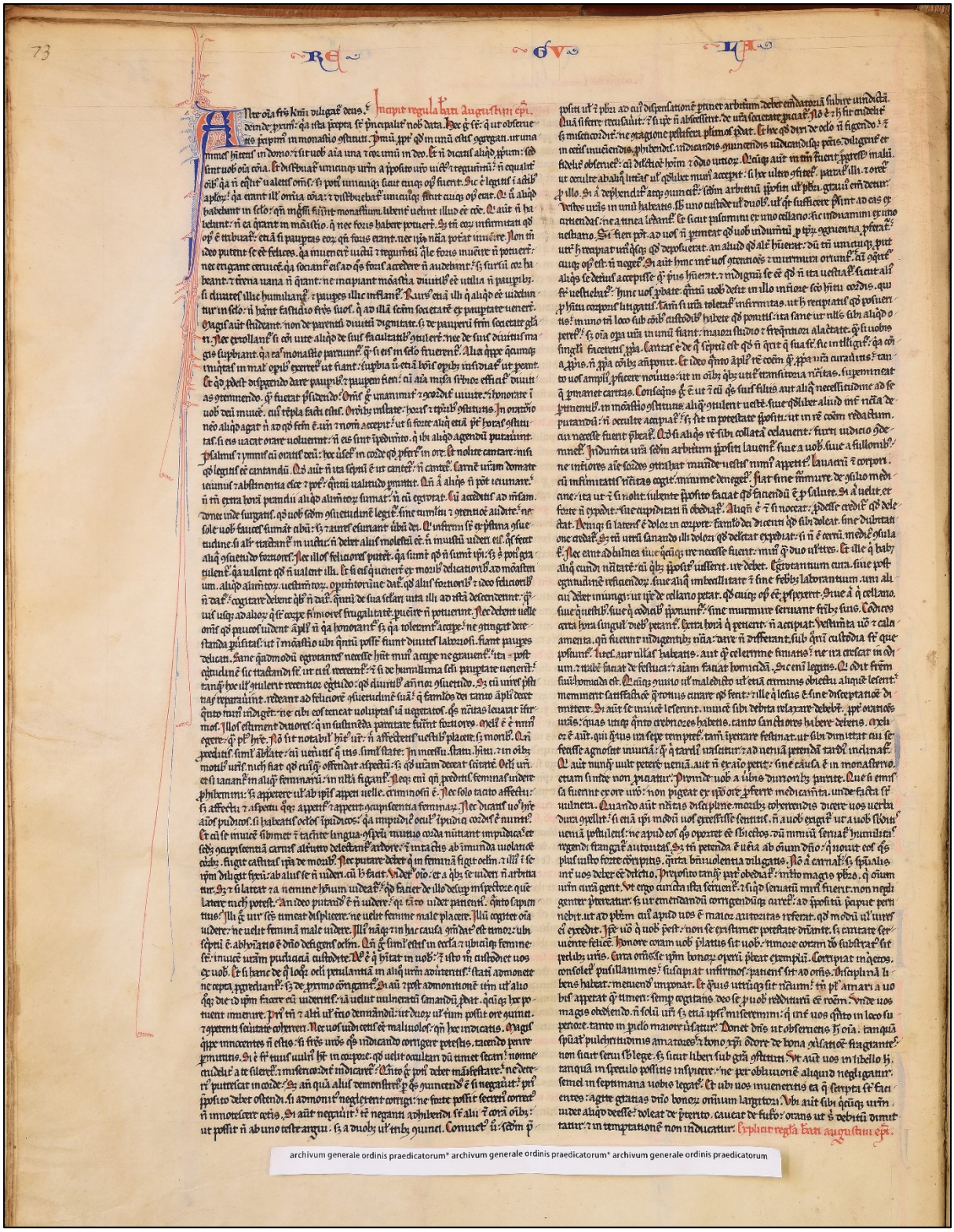


Figure 2.2: Rome, Priory of Santa Sabina, General Archives, ms. XIV L1, fol. 36v (c. 1256)
The text of the '*Regula correcta*' issued under Humbert of Romans

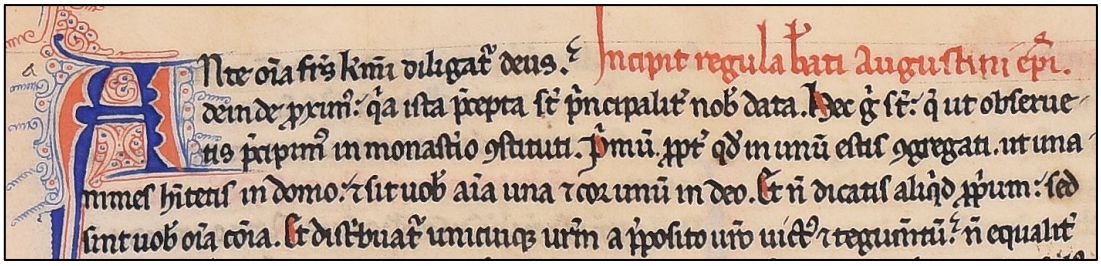


Figure 2.3: Rome, Priory of Santa Sabina, General Archives, ms. XIV L1, fol. 36v
The '*in deo*' variant can be seen in the fourth line.

In particular, the '*in deo*' variant can be found within a family of manuscripts that Verheijen labelled as group Δ and which also has a variety of subgroups.[98] As mentioned earlier, the oldest surviving manuscript of the *Praeceptum longius*, found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12634, dates to the late-sixth or early-seventh century. This manuscript belongs to group P, one of the Δ subgroups, and thus it also contains the same 'in deo' reading (figure 2.4) as Humbert's *Regula correcta*.

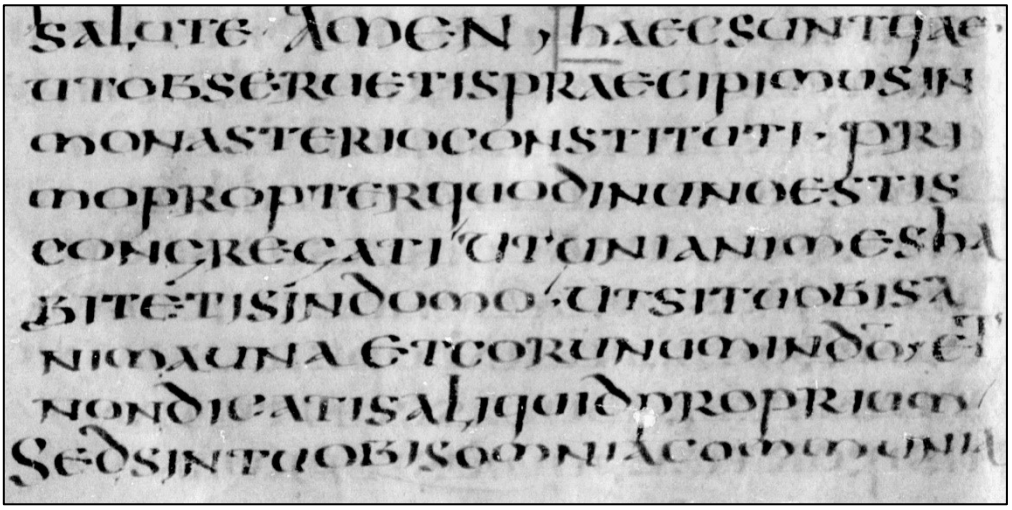


Figure 2.4: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12634, fol. 10v
The '*in deo*' variant common to the Δ family can be seen in the seventh line of this oldest *Praeceptum* manuscript (late 6th–7th c.)

At the same time, while the *Regula correcta* contains the '*in deo*' variant found among the Δ group, it also contains a sentence absent from these manuscripts. In section V.3, according to Verheijen's numbering for the *Praeceptum*, the *Regula correcta* includes the additional sentence '*Quod si aliquis rem sibi collatam celaverit, furti iudicio*

[98] Verheijen, *La Règle*, I, 319.

condemnetur' (if someone having been given something hides it, he shall be judged a thief). Although not unknown as a variant among the manuscripts, Verheijen thinks it probably originated as an interpolated gloss.[99] Interestingly, the manuscripts incorporating this variant and those that possess the '*in deo*' variant do not generally overlap. Humbert's *Regula correcta* seems unusual in this regard. The sole exception explicitly noted by Verheijen is London, British Library, ms. Harley 3107, which contains both '*in deo*' and the '*Quod si aliquis*' sentence (see fols. 109v and 111v), but this manuscript reflects the feminine version of the *Rule* found within the context of *Epistula 211*.

Insofar as the production of the Dominican *exempla* is concerned, we can be certain that both Rome, Priory of Santa Sabina, General Archives, ms. XIV L1 and London, British Library, Add. ms. 23935 were copied by professional scribes in Paris under the auspices of the priory of St. Jacques.[100] Verheijen's study does not discuss these manuscripts directly, but the *Regula correcta* gives the impression of a hybrid text, which probably resulted from the comparison of multiple sources during its production (possibly by Humbert himself, but in any event under his overall oversight). It does not, in any case, contain any notable language without precedent in the textual tradition nor reflect any unusual omissions. For our purposes, therefore, it suffices to note that although the *Regula correcta's* precise lineage remains somewhat obscure, it falls solidly within the spectrum of the common textual tradition of the *Regula recepta* and seems to simply reflect the intersection of several transmission streams.

2.9 Conclusions

As we have seen, by the time Augustine's *Praeceptum* reached Dominic in the form of the *Regula recepta*, it had not only undergone a complex process of transmission but also

[99] Verheijen, *La Règle*, I, 381–82.
[100] Giraud, 'Production and Notation of Dominican Manuscripts', 27, 78–88.

several shifts in its contextual setting. What was, at the beginning, a form of legislation probably intended for a fourth-century lay monastic community, ultimately passed quiescently through several centuries before re-emerging in the era of Gregory VII as both an emblem and tool of the canonical reform movement. Containing language that supported communal poverty, the *Regula recepta*—itself a composite text containing the first line of the *Ordo monasterii* and the full text of the *Praeceptum*—gave the canons regular a legal framework for implementing their medieval appropriation of the *vita apostolica*. Dominic of Caleruega experienced this form of life personally when he joined the cathedral canons at Osma under bishop Diego. This lasted roughly twenty years before Diego and Dominic became involved with the preaching mission of the papal legates in southern France.

Regardless of whether or not Dominic would have chosen the *Rule of Augustine* for his own community of preachers without the urging of Innocent III, once the *Rule* was adopted, Dominic and his community managed to transform their newfound status as canons regular into a rather different form of religious life. As Chapters III and IV of this thesis show, Humbert of Romans displayed a certain duality when addressing this historical development. His *Commentary on the Constitutions* suggests that political expediency was a major factor in the *Rule's* adoption, while his *Expositio regulae* goes to some length to argue that Dominic found the *Rule* itself ideally suited for the life of mendicant preachers. These, of course, are not entirely exclusive positions. Yet, ultimately, Humbert's primary concern was not to answer *why* the *Rule* had been adopted but to reappropriate the text in light of the challenges of his own age. His *Expositio* not only provides a defence of the *Rule* as an essential element of the friars' way of life but also a rhetorical deployment of its provisions and language, going far beyond the text itself and taking advantage of its flexibility for rather different purposes than Dominic had done.

Insofar as the reception history of the *Rule* itself is concerned, the life of the friars

that emerged from their appropriation of the *Regula recepta* in the early-thirteenth century was unlike anything Augustine could have easily envisioned for his original monastery. It also differed considerably from the canons regular who were the more recent heirs of the *Rule*. Indeed, a common thread throughout the history of the *Rule* was its capacity to serve different functions for the different communities that embraced it. In this regard, Humbert of Romans aligns with those before him in trying to shape what role the *Rule of Augustine* would play in his community, both in his age and for the generations that followed.

CHAPTER III
CONTROVERSY AND CRISIS: LOCATING THE *EXPOSITIO REGULAE* IN CONTEXT

3.1 Introduction

Humbert of Romans' *Expositio regulae* lies at the intersection of many historical currents. While the specific textual sources that Humbert drew upon in the *Expositio* will be examined in Chapter IV, this chapter will consider the personal, ecclesiastical, and political circumstances that appear to have influenced Humbert's composition of the *Expositio*. Rather than an isolated publication, the *Expositio* can be seen to fit rather comfortably within Humbert's larger project of promoting greater uniformity and shaping the social culture of the Order for the sake of advancing its mission.

To situate Humbert's *Expositio* contextually, this chapter will be organised into two parts. The first will examine several overlapping circles of context, beginning with Humbert's time at the university of Paris, his relationship with Hugh of St. Cher, and his entrance into the Order. Moving outward from this, attention will be given to Humbert's governance of the Order in the period surrounding the *Expositio's* composition. Particular attention will be given to the problems of growth, the challenge of 'antifraternal' writings and activities, the controversy surrounding the role of the friars at the university of Paris, and the broader ecclesial problems facing new religious communities at that time. As should become clear from this analysis, Humbert's response to external opposition heavily emphasised uniform 'formation' and consistent behaviour among the brethren themselves.

The second part of this chapter will move from these broader contextual considerations to the specific crisis commonly associated with the *Expositio.* Precisely at the time the friars were facing opposition at the university of Paris, a move was underway at the papal curia to reshape the governmental structure of the Order. Remarkably, despite the apparent support of such powerful figures as Hugh of St. Cher and Pope Alexander IV,

this effort failed to produce any change in the Order's government, notwithstanding the promulgation of the papal bull *Sanctis desideriis* authorising such changes. Ultimately, the *Rule of Augustine* and the Order's *Constitutions* remained distinct and intact. Humbert was Master of the Order at this time and the second part of this chapter will therefore explore how the *Expositio* can be understood in relation to these events.

In sum, this chapter will attempt to establish the *Sitz im Leben* in which the *Expositio* was written so as to provide an optic for understanding both the text and its implications. This analysis will dovetail with the next chapter, wherein the text of the *Expositio* itself will be examined, exploring its major themes and relevance for the life of the friars.

PART I

3.2 The Personal Context: Humbert of Romans

3.2.1 The University of Paris and Humbert's Entry into Religious Life

The *Cronica ordinis*, a thirteenth-century chronicle of the history of the Order of Preachers, records Humbert's 1254 election as Master of the Order.[1] According to the *Cronica* and also Humbert's contemporary Thomas of Cantimpré (1201–72), Humbert came from the village of Romans (now Romans-sur-Isère, France), in the Burgundy region, within the ancient diocese of Vienne, Isère.[2] The date of his birth is not mentioned in the *Cronica,* nor

[1] The precise dating and editorial history of the *Cronica ordinis* is complex. Its earliest strata may predate late 1252, but it was updated repeatedly and eventually appended to the *Vitae fratrum*. See S. Tugwell, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government II: The First Dominican Provinces', *AFP*, 70 (2000), 78 n. 140. Cf. also the introduction in MOPH, I, xv. The text of the *Cronica* can be found in the same volume on 320–38.

[2] *Cronica ordinis*, 336–7; Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, ed. by G. Colverius (Douai, 1627), II.57 (p. 585). Note that a new critical edition of the Latin text (with German translation) of *Bonum universale de apibus* has just been published, although it was not yet available to consult at the time of this thesis. See J. Burkhardt, ed., *Von Bienen lernen: Das* Bonum universale de apibus *des Thomas von Cantimpré als Gemeinschaftsentwurf*, 2 vols (Regensburg, 2020). Note also that the ancient diocese of Vienne should not to be confused with the modern department of Vienne, located elsewhere in France.

in any other source, although it is generally held to have occurred between 1193 and 1200, with the latter part of the range favoured by more recent scholars.[3]

Among his contemporaries was Hugh of St. Cher (c. 1200–63), the first Dominican cardinal and an early mentor of Humbert at Paris, who was roughly the same age and from the same Burgundy region.[4] Humbert likewise knew and interacted with Albert the Great (c. 1200–80) and Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–74), as well as Vincent of Beauvais (c. 1190–c. 1264), Richard Fishacre (c. 1200–48), and the Order's first martyr, Peter of Verona (1206–52). All of these individuals, including Humbert himself, belonged to the 'second generation' of Dominican friars: those who entered the Order around or shortly after Dominic's death in 1221. The importance of this fact cannot be overstated since, as discussed below, their understanding and sense of the Order's mission and identity did not come from an experience of Dominic as a charismatic figure. Rather, their knowledge and experience of Dominic and his intentions were mediated through preaching, written texts—including the *Rule* and the *Constitutions*—and the collective memory of individuals who could still recall the Order's earliest years. Perhaps unsurprisingly, a preoccupation with documenting the Order's early history and preserving its initial zeal seems to have been an abiding concern of this generation. The legislation of numerous General Chapters and the creation of both the *Cronica* and the *Vitae fratrum* (Lives of the Brethren) during this time witnesses to this reality. As Chapter IV will show, Humbert's *Expositio* reflects something of this same preoccupation.

Unfortunately for historians, Humbert discusses his own life infrequently in his writings. He seems to have followed the advice he gave to the Order's members: 'you will

[3] Heintke, *Humbert von Romans*, 25 n. 68; Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 4 n. 3.
[4] See P.-M. Gy, 'Hugues de Saint-Cher Dominicain', in *Hugues de Saint-Cher (+1263)*, ed. by L.J. Bataillon, G. Dahan, and P.-M. Gy, Bibliothèque d'histoire Culturelle du Moyen Age, 1 (Turnhout, 2004), 23. Also relevant is the survey of Hugh's career in R.E. Lerner, 'Poverty, Preaching, and Eschatology in the Revelation Commentaries of "Hugh of St. Cher"', in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, ed. by K. Walsh and D. Wood (Oxford, 1985).

arrive at perfect humility ... if you leave out of your speech the pronoun *I*.'[5] The most extensive source for Humbert's life and entry into the Order is the *Vitae fratrum*, first compiled by his Dominican contemporary Gerald of Frachet (d. 1271–81). This work has a complex redaction history, having been officially undertaken at the instructions of the 1255 and 1256 General Chapters, but existing in different versions completed by Gerard in 1258 and 1259, as well as subsequent versions edited by Humbert himself.[6] Ostensibly intended to record the notable deeds and miracles associated with the early days of the Order, the *Vitae* contains both useful biographical data and notable information about the Order's early growth and the friars' preaching.

Concerning Humbert, the *Vitae* describes how he was sent to study at the university of Paris as a young man (*iuvenculus*) where he obtained a masters in arts and subsequently pursued qualifications in canon law.[7] In time, the lectures in theology appear to have captured his attention, a fact he kept hidden from his companions.[8] Ultimately, Humbert appears to have entered the Order before undertaking a formal degree in theology, while the status of his canonical training (i.e., whether he received a degree) remains unclear.

As an historical source, the *Vitae* must be approached cautiously and critically, especially given its hagiographical purposes and complex redaction history. Nonetheless, there is little reason to doubt the veracity of its passing references to Humbert's education in Paris, especially given that the *Vitae* was circulated at a time when Humbert and others who knew of his studies at Paris would have still been alive. Moreover, Humbert's election as Master of the Order came at a time when the friars were experiencing a crisis at the

[5] *De tribus*, xxxv (p. 21); English trans. from Humbert of Romans, *The Religious Vows and Virtues*, trans. by J. Harrison (London, 1922), 45. Emphasis in translation.
[6] Tugwell, 'L'évolution des *vitae fratrum*', 415–18; cf. MOPH, I, xvi. For the 1255 and 1256 General Chapters' instructions concerning the project, see *Acta cap. gen.* I (Milan, 1255), 77, and (Paris, 1256), 83. The text can be found in Géraud de Frachet, *Vitae Fratrum*, ed. by B.M. Reichert, MOPH, I (Rome, 1897).
[7] *Vitae fratrum*, 171.
[8] 'Cum autem, postquam rexerat in artibus, audiret iura canonica, interdum in mane, sociis suis nescientibus, ibat ad scolas theologie', *Vitae fratrum*, 171.

university of Paris and there is good reason to suspect that his familiarity with the university contributed to his election.

What is known of Humbert's studies in Paris also aligns well with the surviving body of his writings. His qualifications in canon law are evident in various works, such as the *Questiones circa statuta ordinis praedicatorum*, which is essentially a series of replies to canonical questions.[9] Likewise, his editing of the Dominican nuns' constitutions and his decision to author the (unfinished) *Commentary on the Constitutions* for the friars both reflect a legally-minded temperament, concerned with legislation and canonical norms. Within the *Expositio*, certain chapters address relatively subtle canonical questions. These chapters sometimes depart from Humbert's typical rhetorical style and demonstrate the more formalized style of a medieval *quaestio*, implying that Humbert was either drawing on his own canonical training or inserting specific material from canonical sources (see 4.5 below). Humbert's education in the arts may also be at work in the various references to classical sources found in the *Expositio*. Yet insofar as theology is concerned, while the *Expositio* includes numerous *auctoritates* and *exempla* for moral and spiritual instruction, it lacks a strong speculative dimension. All of this is consistent with what we know of Humbert's education prior to entering the Order.

Concerning Humbert's social background, his Parisian education implies that his family possessed sufficient means to provide for such schooling. It also appears that he was not the only member of his family to attend a university. The *Vitae* describes Humbert as having brothers and sisters, including an older brother who studied canon law at Bologna and Paris.[10] In addition, the family's ability to offer regular hospitality to Carthusian visitors, also mentioned in the *Vitae*, further suggests that they possessed some degree of

[9] For the text of the *Questiones*, see R. Creytens, 'Commentaires inédits d'Humbert de Romans sur quelques points des constitutions dominicaines', *AFP*, 21 (1951), 205–14.
[10] *Vitae fratrum*, 173. The *Vitae* describes Humbert as the youngest of many brother and sisters, but this detail may be suspect since it fits a familiar hagiographical trope of the youngest becoming the greatest.

material surplus. Finally, Thomas of Cantimpré remarks that Humbert was '*vir generosus et spectabilis genere*'—a choice of language that suggests a noble or aristocratic background, although the usual cautions about hagiographical biographies should be kept in mind.[11]

Notwithstanding the emphasis on equality found in Augustine's *Rule*, one's social status did not simply disappear upon taking a religious habit. Rather, Humbert's background and education enabled him to assume certain roles within the Order that were not necessarily open (at least in practice) to someone with a less privileged upbringing. This can be illuminating when trying to grasp Humbert's perspective as the author of the *Expositio*, especially insofar as it concerns the social dynamics of religious life. For example, when Humbert stresses the observance of poverty, it can be helpful to know that Humbert voluntarily accepted religious poverty in the face of a potentially much more comfortable life. On the other hand, he probably never experienced the material insecurity that might make trusting in Divine Providence more difficult for those who lacked the same background. More broadly, while Humbert may (or may not) express opinions shared by the majority of friars, his own formative experiences should be seen as reflective of the educated, elite strata of the Order's membership rather than the general body of friars.

As for Humbert's religious upbringing, E.T. Brett remarks that 'his parents evidentially were pious', which echoes the view of earlier historians.[12] According to Gerard of Frachet, visiting Carthusians were frequently welcomed 'in his father's house', and

[11] *Bonum universale de apibus*, II.57 (p. 585). This quote also appears in Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 4 n. 4. Note, however, that Brett silently changes (corrects?) the 1627 edition to 'vir generosus et spectabilis generis' and applies the words to Humbert's father, although they would still obviously apply to Humbert by extension. See A. Bartal, ed., 'Spectabilis ac Generosus', *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis regni Hungariae* (Hildesheim-New York, 1970); A. Blaise, ed., 'Generosus', *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aeui* (Turnhout, 1975); B. Merrilees and W. Edwards, eds., 'Generosus', *Firmini Verris Dictionarius* (Turnhout, 1994). Mortier hints at the possibility of a noble background, but makes no judgment. *Histoire des maîtres généraux*, I, 416.

[12] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 4. Note that Brett's words are slightly more cautious than Mortier, *Histoire des maîtres généraux*, I, 416. Mortier's 1903 work, while remaining useful, has a strong hagiographical flavour and tends to amplify the evidence.

Humbert's father prayed intensely at the time of Humbert's birth.[13] Nothing, however, is recorded about Humbert's mother or her religious practice. Humbert also had an older brother who entered the Carthusians, but no mention is made of the family's reaction to Humbert's entering the Friars Preachers.[14]

In any event, Humbert's entry into the Friars Preachers can be reliably dated to his time as a student in Paris in the 1220s. During this period, relations between the friars and the university masters were still relatively tranquil.[15] A description of Humbert's entrance into the Order can be found in the *Vitae*, which also provides evidence of his early interactions with Hugh of St. Cher and Humbert's perspective on university life in Paris.[16]

Without quoting the *Vitae* in full, it suffices to note that Humbert is described as a young man at the university struggling with questions about his future and whether to enter the Carthusians or Dominicans. According to the account, the preaching of the Dominican Jordan of Saxony did not succeed in leading Humbert to the Order, but his path changed when he visited the local church of St. Peter of Bobus, where the diocesan parish priest approached him. In the course of their conversation, this unnamed priest urged him to renounce the 'pomp' of academia and to go to the Dominican priory of St. Jacques. At the same time, according to the account, the *responsorium* for the liturgical readings began to be sung, which asked 'where can I flee except to you, my God?' The effect of this experience and the counsel of the priest led Humbert to subsequently approach his teacher, Hugh of St. Cher, and reveal his newfound intention to enter the Friars Preachers. Hugh

[13] *Vitae fratrum*, 171, 173.
[14] *Vitae fratrum*, 171.
[15] T. Rayborn, *Against the Friars: Antifraternalism in Medieval France and England* (Jefferson, North Carolina, 2014), 37.
[16] See *Vitae fratrum*, 170–73.

responded that he too intended to join the friars, and so Humbert entered the Order on 30 November 1224, followed by Hugh of St. Cher on 22 February 1225.[17]

Significantly, the manuscripts containing Gerard of Frachet's earliest version of the *Vitae* do not contain this narrative, although it does appear in the later versions edited by Humbert himself around 1260.[18] Although not explicitly named, the context makes clear that Humbert is the subject, which seems consistent with Humbert's own preference (mentioned above) for avoiding self-references in preaching and for avoiding the use of friars' names more generally in writing.[19] Together, this favours the conclusion that this section of the *Vitae fratrum* was an autobiographical addition by Humbert himself.[20]

Brett holds that this same narrative 'is highly significant in understanding Humbert's future policies' because 'as master general and later as author of religious tracts, he fought vigorously against purely intellectual tendencies within the Order.'[21] Yet the *Vitae* may actually tell us less about the *origins* of Humbert's views than the later policies themselves. Given that this section of the *Vitae* was almost certainly written after 1258, by which point roughly thirty-five years had elapsed since the events it describes and by which point Humbert had already been Master of the Order for at least four years, one would expect the narrative to show the influence of Humbert's mature perspective. That Humbert chose to abandon the life of a Parisian academic for the life of a mendicant friar is evident. But the details of the account also hint at Humbert's initiatives in the late 1250s to address the secular-mendicant controversy in Paris.

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[17] *Vitae fratrum*, 170–73. The dates for Humbert and Hugh's receptions into the Order can be calculated by combining the information in the *Vitae* with the *Cronica ordinis*. For a discussion of the issues involved in this calculation, see Heintke, *Humbert von Romans*, 29 n. 80.

[18] For example, it is absent from Toulouse, Bibliothèque de Toulouse, ms. 487, where one would expect to find it on fol. 25v after the narrative about fr. Reginald. Tugwell has identified this manuscript as containing a redaction of the *Vitae* from around 1258 that predates Humbert's editing. Tugwell, 'L'évolution des *vitae fratrum*', 416.

[19] This phenomenon can be observed in Humbert's *De dono timoris* and his *Legenda maior* of St. Dominic. See Tugwell, *Legendae*, 53.

[20] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 230 n. 46.

[21] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 5.

One can note, for example, how the anonymous parish priest is presented as a 'good person' (*homo bonus*), albeit a 'simple' (*simplex*) one.[22] The preaching of Jordan of Saxony did not persuade Humbert to join the Order, but the diocesan priest's support of the friars is presented as the key catalyst that moved Humbert to enter religious life. In the period right before this was written, Humbert was actively working to resolve the animosity that existed in Paris between the friars and the university masters, as can be seen from the letters Humbert sent from the 1255 General Chapter in Milan.[23] The *Vitae's* account seems to serve this larger goal, not because it presents the parish priest in a basically positive light, but because the Order's struggle was primarily with the university *masters* and not the parochial clergy. The parish priest in the *Vitae* is presented as belonging to the latter category, as both his ministry and his characterisation attest. Brett argues that the first of Humbert's letters issued in 1255 was actually aimed at dividing these two groups: 'Humbert apparently hoped by his concessions [in his 1255 letter] to make peace with the local parish clergy and bishops, thereby forcing the university masters to carry on their battle without the important support of this large and influential group.'[24] Although Brett does not connect this political strategy with the narrative given in the *Vitae*, it makes a great deal of sense that the parish priest in the *Vitae* would be presented positively in contrast to the university's academic 'pomp'. After all, this priest belonged precisely to the class of clergy that Humbert wished to win over and separate from the university masters.

The *Vitae* also serves as an apt example of how the friars were able to use vocational stories, including Humbert's own, as 'recruiting tools' to promote the Order among university students. Humbert's struggles and his decision to enter the Order would probably

[22] *Vitae fratrum*, 171.
[23] The text of Humbert's letters sent in connection with the 1255 General Chapter can be found in B.M. Reichert, ed., *Litterae encyclicae magistrorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum: Ab anno 1233 usque ad annum 1376*, MOPH, V (Rome, 1900), nos. V-VII (pp. 16-24); or in *De Vita Regulari*, II, 486–500.
[24] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 26.

have resonated with others at the university who either read the *Vitae* or heard its stories recounted. Such stories would also have reinforced the friars' own vocational decisions. In the *Vitae*, the parish priest was 'good', but also 'rather simple'. He is credited, however, with recognizing that the Order was the natural place for educated university students: 'see how many great masters and clerics leave the world and enter Saint Jacques'.[25] There seems to be no thought by the chaplain that a university student would follow his own way of life. Rather, the students wishing to imitate the (more holy) masters should go to the Friars Preachers. Taken in total, the narrative clearly reflects the image the Order was trying to present in the 1250s and 60s to students who might join the friars, not to mention the friars themselves.

If this section of the *Vitae* more closely reflects Humbert's contemporary concerns at the time of his writing than the precise details of his early life, this does not reduce but rather increases its value in providing context for the *Expositio*. Among other things, the *Vitae* establishes that Humbert had a pre-existing bond with Hugh of St. Cher before either had entered the Order, with Humbert having been one of his pupils at Paris. One could easily write an interlocking biography of these two figures, given that their paths crossed continually from this point forward. As noted earlier, both were also from Burgundy and both rose to prominence quickly, with Hugh becoming the first Dominican cardinal and Humbert becoming Master of the Order. Hugh's capacity to form collaborative relationships has also been noted elsewhere, specifically in regard to his theological output.[26] His interactions with Humbert provide something of a parallel example of his ability to forge such relationships in political and administrative spheres. It also seems fair

[25] *Vitae fratrum*, 172. Translation mine.
[26] L. Smith, 'Hugh of St. Cher and Medieval Collaboration', in *Transforming Relations: Essays on Jews and Christians throughout History*, ed. by F. Harkins (Notre Dame, 2010), 241–64. See also M.M. Mulchahey, '*Societas Studii*: Dominic's Conception of Pastoral Care as Collaborative Study and Teaching', in *Domenico Di Caleruega e La Nascita Dell'Ordine Dei Frati Predicatori* (Spoleto, 2005), 441–65, which considers Hugh of Saint Cher (pp. 445, 463), but also the Order more generally as a collaborative society.

to describe Hugh as Humbert's early patron, given that Humbert repeatedly assumed offices that Hugh had previously filled, perhaps at Hugh's recommendation (see 3.2.2). Yet as will be discussed, this did not necessarily mean that Hugh and Humbert always agreed or saw eye to eye on every matter. In fact, the role of Augustine's *Rule* in the life and governance of the Order may have been precisely a point on which they disagreed (see 3.7).

3.2.2 Humbert's Ecclesiastical-Political Career and Rise to Prominence

Hugh of St. Cher arrived at the novitiate only three months after Humbert had entered it in 1224.[27] The Order's early *Constitutions* established a novitiate of six months, although depending on the judgment of the prior it could last longer or even be shortened for those with more experience.[28] Novitiates existed to form new members in a particular mode of religious life and Humbert subsequently gave extensive instructions in his *De officiis* about how the novitiate ought to be conducted, albeit from the perspective of some forty years later.[29] Humbert's writings indicate that he thought the novitiate to be a critical stage in a friar's life. He wrote that the Novice Master 'must give great care to the novices, knowing that all hope of religious life depends upon their initial formation'.[30] As we will see, a concern with the formation of the brethren pervades Humbert's writings, and not only in regard to novices.

A successfully completed novitiate ended with the profession of a vow of obedience—the only vow explicitly taken by the Friars Preachers, although poverty and chastity were implicitly included.[31] After the novitiate, both Humbert and Hugh rapidly

[27] Gy, 'Hugues de Saint-Cher', 24.
[28] *Constitutiones antiquae*, d. I, c. xv (p. 325); Mulchahey provides a number of examples where the novitiate was shortened and also an overview of the entrance process and its development. See *'First the Bow Is Bent in Study...' Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto, 1998), 79–85. Note that the length of novitiate was eventually changed to one year, but only after papal intervention in 1244 (see pp. 82–83).
[29] *De officiis*, v (pp. 213–33). It seems *De officiis* was written during Humbert's term as Master, perhaps between 1260–63. Tugwell, *Legendae*, 22 n. 52. See also 3.3.5 below.
[30] *De officiis*, v (p. 213). Translation mine.
[31] Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, I, 129.

came into positions of prominence within the Order. Hugh served as the Prior Provincial of the French Province from c. 1236–44 and possibly earlier.[32] Meanwhile, Humbert served as 'lector' in priory of Lyon and was subsequently elected as prior of that same community no later than 7 March 1236.[33]

During his tenure as prior of Lyon, several notable friars emerged from the priory's ranks: Stephen of Bourbon (d. 1261), William Peyraut (c. 1199–1271), and Peter of Tarentaise (c. 1224–76), the last of whom became Pope Innocent V (r. 21 January–22 June 1276).[34] These and other prominent Dominicans became part of a network of individuals within the Order that Humbert came to know and (presumably) influence. That Humbert himself impressed a number of friars within the Order can be seen from his rapid ascent to the office of prior, but even more so by his selection for the office of Prior Provincial of the Roman Province. This may have come about anywhere from 1238 to 1242, indicating that by that time his capacity for administration had been recognized beyond the territory of France.[35] He would remain in the role of Roman Provincial until either 1244 or 1246.[36]

At the same time, it would be a mistake to assume Humbert's upward progress was due solely to personal skills or charisma. As Tugwell notes, Humbert would have replaced John Colonna as the Roman Prior Provincial—a friar whose family ties may have been politically inconvenient for the Order by 1240–41.[37] Tugwell also speculates that the decision to select Humbert may have come at the suggestion of Hugh of St. Cher.[38] Hugh

[32] Hugh may have also had an earlier term as Provincial from 1227–30, but this is disputed. See Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government II', 74–78, esp. n. 135.
[33] *Cronica ordinis*, 337; Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 6; Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government II', 37.
[34] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 6.
[35] See Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 9 n. 24; Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government IV', 116; R. Aubert, 'The Evolution of Dominican Structures of Government. IV. Election, Confirmation and "Absolution" of Superiors [Review]', *Revue d'histoire Ecclésiastique*, 99/2 (2004), 115 n. 34.
[36] See n. 55 below regarding uncertainty over the date.
[37] Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government IV', 114–15. The Colonna family had come to oppose pope Gregory IX by this point.
[38] Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government IV', 115 n. 35.

would have been the Provincial of France at this time and presumably in a position to influence the decision.[39] Although obviously talented, Humbert's good fortunes in the social hierarchy of the Order were never simply of his own making.

During his service as Provincial of Rome, Humbert's governance of this strategically important Province would have necessarily acquainted him with many of the challenges facing the Order and the church more generally. Specifically, Humbert would have carried out visitations throughout the Italian peninsula, introducing him to the region's far-reaching politics.[40] As noted in Chapter I, it was once commonly held that Humbert had made a trip to the Holy Land during this time, but E. Birckmann argued in her 1916 study of the *Opus tripartitum* that Humbert's language about visiting a chapel where he encountered Saracen soldiers in league with Frederick II probably took place in the Apulia region (southern Italy, Adriatic coast).[41] Interestingly, as Heintke later observed, some corroboration of Humbert's knowledge of Apulia might also be found in the fact that the Kingdom of Apulia is mentioned by name in the *Expositio*, where Humbert refers approvingly to the restraint observed by the Apulia nobles in their consumption of wine.[42] Likewise, in a rare instance of Humbert recounting a first-person experience in the *Expositio*, he also recalls having met a friar who had been captured by Frederick II—an encounter that may have happened during this same trip.[43] In short, while any trip by Humbert to the Holy Land now seems questionable, the complex political alliances and

[39] Cf. Gy, 'Hugues de Saint-Cher', 25.
[40] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 7–8. On the role of the visitator, see *Constitutiones antiquae*, d. II, c. 19 (p. 355); cf. *De officiis*, xliii (pp. 350–56).
[41] Birckman, *Die vermeintliche und die wirkliche Reformschrift des Dominikanergenerals Humbert de Romanis*, 65–66; Brett offers a helpful list of historians who held to the view that Humbert made such a trip (incl. Berthier and Mortier) in *Humbert of Romans*, 7 n. 17. Brett and Tugwell, like Heintke earlier, follow Birckman in considering the evidence for such a trip to be lacking.
[42] Heintke, *Humbert von Romans*, 31; *Exp. reg.*, lxiii (p. 197); Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 8. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of the *Expositio regulae* are my own.
[43] *Exp. reg.*, lx (p. 192).

events of that region would have been at least passingly familiar to him from his service and experiences in overseeing the friars of the Province of Rome.

As Prior Provincial, Humbert likewise presided over provincial chapters that brought together superiors and representatives of the province. Documentation from the Roman Provincial Chapters of 1243 and 1244 appears to survive in Rome, Priory of Santa Sabina, General Archives, ms. XIV A1, fols. 126r–127r, although the precise nature and dating of these early *acta* remain disputed.[44] Naturally, it is tempting to look for Humbert's influences on these texts, especially given what is known about his later career. The legislation attributed to the 1244 Provincial Chapter includes, for example, an explicit act by the Prior Provincial revoking certain permissions for friars to acquire personal money in special circumstances.[45] This dovetails well with the concerns Humbert later expressed about the observance of poverty in the *Expositio*.[46] Moreover, the same *acta* also contain remarks about the standardisation of the lectionary, a particular focus of Humbert (see discussion 3.3.4). Yet while acknowledging a certain harmony between some of this legislation and Humbert's own preoccupations, the uncertain dating and the Order's complex legislative process make it difficult to draw firm conclusions about Humbert's influence on these texts. This legislation may also point to influence in the opposite direction, suggesting that some of Humbert's later interests and concerns first emerged from ongoing discussions within the Order's provinces.

Humbert also attended several General Chapters as the Roman Provincial, which were held alternatingly in Paris or Bologna each year until the General Chapter of 1244

[44] The text of these *Acta* along with subsequent Chapters of the Roman Province are printed in T. Kaeppeli and A. Dondaine, eds., *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae Romanae* (1243–1344), MOPH, XX (Rome, 1941), 1–4 and following, and hereafter referenced as *Acta prov. Romanae*; cf. Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government IV', Appendix III (137-146).
[45] *Acta prov. Romanae* (Rome, 1244), 3.
[46] See, for example, *Exp. reg.*, v (p. 51), cxxii (p. 378).

allowed other possible locations, beginning with the 1245 Chapter in Cologne.[47] Therefore, by the time Humbert served as Master (and authored the *Expositio*), his knowledge of both the general state of the church and the Order's particular challenges throughout Europe would have been extensive.

In Rome, Humbert's proximity to the Roman curia also placed him in a position to interact extensively with the Holy See and its officials. Although it may seem odd in retrospect, the Master of the Order had no fixed residence during this period and travelled continually between the locations of each General Chapter while carrying out visitations. Until the fourteenth century, the Order's top-level administration was therefore highly mobile, conducting business on the road or from the priory the Master happened to be visiting.[48] This may have left the Roman Provincial as a *de facto* representative of the Order before the Holy See whenever this was needed.[49] Tugwell notes that although 'it is unclear to what extent the Roman Provincial generally acted as an intermediary between the Order and the Holy See, the fact that some cardinals considered Humbert *papabilis* suggests that he personally must have had fairly regular dealings with the curia.'[50]

Tugwell's remark that some cardinals may have considered Humbert as a candidate for the papacy probably stems from the account of Thomas of Cantimpré, who refers to '*plures Cardinales*' having voted for Humbert in the papal election of 1243, which chose Sinibaldo Fieschi as Innocent IV.[51] Considering Innocent IV's contentious pontificate and his decision to side with the university masters against the mendicant friars in their dispute at the university of Paris, one can only wonder how things might have developed differently

[47] Each General Chapter typically specified the location of the next General Chapter near the end of its *acta*. E.g., for the location of the 1245 Chapter, see *Acta cap. gen*. I (Bologna, 1244), 30; Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government IV', 138.
[48] Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, I, 202.
[49] Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government IV', 145.
[50] Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government IV', 145.
[51] Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, II.57 (p. 585). Note that while Thomas of Cantimpré refers to Innocent IV's election, question have been raised about whether Humbert might have received votes in a different conclave. See Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government IV', 115.

had Humbert been elected. Of course, Thomas' account need not be taken at face value and may reflect an exaggerated admiration for Humbert. On the other hand, an extraordinarily long papal interregnum of eighteen months did take place between the death of Celestine IV (10 November 1241) and the election of Innocent IV (25 June 1243) and this period does coincide with Humbert's service as Provincial in Rome. Thomas presents Humbert as personally close to the curia and enjoying their favour, which seems consistent with Humbert's capacity—well-demonstrated by this point—to impress others as an effective administrator.[52] Certainly, his career was one of rapid ecclesial advancement and given his travels throughout the regions of Italy at this stage, it is not completely implausible that his name may have occurred to some of the cardinal electors.

In any case, roughly one year after the papal election of 1243, it was Innocent IV who created Hugh of St. Cher a cardinal on 28 May 1244.[53] Since Hugh had been serving as Prior Provincial of France, a vacancy was created in that office.[54] Historians have generally held that Humbert immediately succeeded Hugh, but some have suggested that Humbert may have remained as Provincial of the Roman Province until 1246.[55] In either case, the Provincial of France was arguably the most prominent position in the Order apart from the Master himself, due to the Order's earliest foundations in Toulouse. Friars were frequently called from that office to higher positions, as is evident from Hugh having been

[52] '...adeo Romanae curiae gratiosus et charus fuit...' Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, II.57 (p. 585).
[53] Gy, 'Hugues de Saint-Cher', 26; Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government II', 77.
[54] Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government II', 77.
[55] Supporting the view that Humbert immediately succeeded Hugh in 1244 are Mortier, *Histoire des maîtres généraux*, I, 423; Heintke, *Humbert von Romans*, 51–52; and Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 9. In the alternative chronology, Peter of Rheims (fl. 1221–47) would have served as the French Provincial during the intervening period. For this view, see G. Meersseman, ed., *Laurentii Pignon Catalogi et Chronica*, MOPH, XVIII (Rome, 1936), 83–84; Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government II', 76–78; 'Dominican Structures of Government IV', 116–22.

created a cardinal and Peter of Rheims becoming bishop of Agen in 1245.[56] And Humbert, of course, would become Master of the Order.

During his time as Provincial of France, Humbert may have begun *De tribus votis substantialibus religionis*.[57] The title, which is not original to the work, is misleading. As Vicaire notes, 'the letter does not speak even once of the "vows"'.[58] Rather, the work examines the virtues[59] that foster religious life and various other considerations about how friars ought to live and act. As such, it is a highly relational treatise, one that endeavours to shape the interactions of the friars with each other and with the outside world—a recurring emphasis in Humbert's writing.

Both Brett and Tugwell see *De tribus* as setting the stage for Humbert's later and larger projects. According to Brett, 'virtually all its subject matter [in *De tribus*] is treated in much greater detail by Humbert in his *Expositio regulae Beati Augustini,* and perhaps it served as a reference in the development of the latter'.[60] Tugwell makes a similar case but argues that *De tribus* was the 'precursor' to the *Commentary on the Constitutions* rather than the *Expositio*.[61] This aligns with Tugwell's preferred chronology, wherein the *Commentary on the Constitutions* was begun before the *Expositio*. These views, however, are not mutually exclusive. Ideas that are present in *De tribus* can be found in a more

[56] Although it is disputed as to whether Peter of Rheims served a brief (second) term as Provincial of France from 1244–45, it seems firmly established that he served as Provincial of France from 1224–33 (with a possible interruption). Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government II', 74–76.
[57] The Latin text can be found in Humbert of Romans, *De Vita Regulari*, I, 1–41. It was also published in an English translation as Humbert of Romans, *The Religious Vows and Virtues*. Brett concurs with Vicaire in dating the work to c. 1255, while Humbert was beginning his term as Master, partly due to the fact that Humbert identifies himself as Master at the beginning of the work. Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 195–96. Yet Tugwell argues 'the beginning of the text has plainly been doctored' and that certain manuscripts lack the specific reference to Humbert as Master. Tugwell therefore prefers a date between 1247–54, while Humbert was still Provincial of France. *Legendae*, 399–404.
[58] Vicaire, 'Dictionnaire de spiritualité', col. 1110. Translation mine.
[59] As with many medieval authors, the language of virtue and vice permeates Humbert's writings. When used in this thesis, it is always in the context of a quotation, paraphrase, or summary of Humbert's own thought (or that of another ancient or medieval author) and it is not intended, therefore, to necessarily indicate personal agreement with Humbert's judgments.
[60] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 195.
[61] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 404.

developed fashion in several of Humbert's subsequent works. Likewise, one sees a repeated emphasis on the behaviour and relational dynamics of the friars, frequently framed by a concern for the effectiveness of the preaching mission (see 3.3.2 below).

Humbert's desire to ensure a properly ordered religious life also came to the fore in his dealings with the Dominican nuns of Montargis, whose constitutions were apparently written around 1250 by Humbert in his capacity as the French Provincial.[62] These constitutions eventually impacted other convents and helped define the relationship between the friars and nuns (see 3.3.6 below). Chronologically, the writing of *De tribus* and the constitutions of Montargis, along with Humbert's early work on Dominic's *legenda* and a liturgical lectionary (see 3.3.4 below), suggest that much of Humbert's focus on codification and standardisation as Master of the Order was already evident during his time as Provincial of France.

Depending on whether it began in 1244 or 1246, Humbert's term as French Provincial lasted either ten or eight years. It concluded in 1254, not long after he arrived at the Order's General Chapter in Buda (modern-day Budapest). This was the first General Chapter of the Order to be held in eastern Europe—a sign of the friars' rapid expansion across the continent. John of Wildeshausen, the fourth Master of the Order, had died on 4 November 1252. The electors, once assembled, chose Humbert of Romans '*cum magna concordia*' as the Master of the Order on 31 May 1254.[63]

3.3 Humbert and Identity-Making in the Mid-Thirteenth Century[64]

Humbert's nine years as Master of the Order (1254–63) were characterised by a flurry of activity, both in terms of writing and administrative interventions. For the purposes of this

[62] R. Creytens, 'Les Constitutions Primitives Des Soeurs Dominicaines De Montargis (1250)', *AFP*, 17 (1947), 48–50, 56, 67–84.
[63] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Buda, 1254), 71.
[64] Although a contemporary term, the notion of 'identity' can be helpful in explicating the core elements in 'the self-understanding and self-definition of a religious community'. See K. Panster's remarks and relevant

thesis, certain key themes and controversies that characterised Humbert's tenure as Master will be examined to help situate the *Expositio* in relation to Humbert's larger goals and challenges. As should become clear, the 1250s were a critical period in which the Order's identity and self-understanding were increasingly codified in written form and the precise meaning of what it meant to live as a 'Friar Preacher' was defined, in no small part, by Humbert himself.

3.3.1 Naming the Friars: Neither Canons nor Monks

Humbert knew that Dominic's early community in Toulouse had adopted the *Rule of Augustine*—a rule associated with the reform movement of the canons regular—and had also added a set of *consuetudines* taken largely from the Canons of Premontré.[65] Moreover, as discussed in 2.7, the Holy See initially dealt with the Friars Preachers under the traditional category of canons while gradually providing a series of administrative accommodations that ultimately gave shape to the Order of Preachers, which the Holy See first called 'friars' in 1218.[66]

These administrative and legal shifts occurred, however, not only at the level of the Holy See, but within the Order as well—and it is here that Humbert's role comes to the fore. As discussed, the privileges granted to the Order in the decade after its confirmation came to be enshrined in the Order's internal legislation as its *consuetudines* were revised and reconceptualised into full set of *Constitutions*. Both the Master of the Order and the Order's General Chapters essentially made their mission and identity as preachers clearer in this process. Continuing in the direction already set by Dominic's early community, the

bibliography in 'Norm and Form: Virtues as Constituents of Identity in Medieval Religious Communities', in *Identität Und Gemeinschaft*, ed. by M. Breitenstein and others (Berlin, 2016), 100 n. 5.
[65] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 1.
[66] MOPH, XXV, 86–7.

work of corporate preaching was seen as something requiring its own mode of life, which therefore lead to a shift in religious and legal language:

> It is not surprising that the Dominicans progressively distanced themselves from the *ordo canonicus*. Raymond of Penyafort [Master from 1238–40] eliminated the word *monasterium* from the prologue of the *Constitutions* and tried to eliminate the word *canonicus* from the text, but he overlooked one instance, which was subsequently removed by the General Chapters of 1249–1251, which also suppressed the designation of the *Constitutions* as a customary.[67]

According to Tugwell, these changes reflected the move away from a monastic model of religious life that (broadly understood) included the canons regular in favour of a new model that consciously accommodated the more ambulatory preaching ministry of the community.[68] Moreover, this change in language did not only address the legal categories under which the community operated, but also reflected an assertion of its identity—one that stressed that the friars were, in themselves, a different kind of community. That these developments took place concurrently with Humbert's ascent through various administrative positions in the Order bears noting. As part of a second generation of friars, who came to hold positions of authority as the Order's sense of identity was maturing, Humbert seems to have internalised this desire to distinguish the friars from the canons regular so that they might be recognised as embodying distinct spiritual projects. In doing so, one might observe, Humbert and the friars were echoing a process that had taken place much earlier in the eleventh and twelfth centuries when some canons regular had tried to emphasise (including through polemics) how their mode of life differed from the lives of the monks, even when their actual religious practices sometimes closely overlapped.[69]

Notwithstanding real continuities with the canons regular—a point that Humbert himself acknowledges in his *Expositio*—the friars were clearly something new in European

[67] Tugwell, 'Notes (1995)', 21. For consistency, I have adjusted the spelling and formatting.
[68] Tugwell, 'Notes (1995)', 20–21.
[69] On these earlier polemics and their limits, see especially Bynum, 'The Spirituality of Regular Canons', 28–33.

religious life.[70] Indeed, it was precisely the *newness* of the friars that became part of the argument against their legitimacy at the university of Paris and elsewhere (see 3.4.1). And the apparent emphasis on their distinct identity was not diminished, but rather intensified by the opposition they faced.

If the friars were different than the canons, they were also emphatically not monks who stayed in monasteries—much to the consternation of their opposition (see 3.4 below). With this context in mind, one can see why Humbert makes a point of explaining in the *Expositio* why the name 'monk' is wholly inappropriate for the friars: 'the monk, whose name comes from "keeper of one"—μόνου and *custos*—must be alone with himself, which is contrary to the state of preachers.'[71] Humbert was wrong about the etymological origins of the term, but the assertion remains: the friars were neither monks nor canons because they lived a different manner of life.

In terms of the broader medieval context, the friars also marked something of a shift in the Middle Ages as the bond between religious communities and specific locales was beginning to give way to larger organisational models. The rise of the Franciscans and Dominicans played a significant role in this development since they consciously rejected the 'stability of place' (*stabilitas loci*) that was characteristic of the Benedictine *Rule* and monasticism in general.[72] The Friars Preachers, who stressed the itinerancy of their members, ultimately employed a pan-European structure that divided most of Europe into Provinces, united under the Master and the General Chapter.[73] This too influenced the friars' sense of identity. Humbert rigorously policed the use of language in this regard,

[70] *Exp. reg.*, iv (p. 50).
[71] *Exp. reg.*, iv (p. 50).
[72] G. Andenna, 'Identità Locale e Identità Religiosa', in *Religiosità, e Civilità Identità Delle Forme Religiose (Secoli X-XIV)*, ed. by G. Andenna (Milan, 2011), 207.
[73] The developmental history of the Order's provincial structure is examined in detail in Tugwell, 'Dominican Structures of Government II', 5–109.

insisting that the friars not allow themselves to be identified by the places they happened to be assigned:

> ...reprehensible are the brothers who call themselves or permit themselves to be called the Friars of St. Jacques [in Toulouse] or of St. Nicholas [in Bologna], or names of this kind; and more reprehensible are the superiors who do not give direction about this error. For it happens that in various places the brothers are thought to be from diverse orders. Moreover, it happens that in many nations it is not yet even known that there is an Order of Friars Preachers.[74]

Humbert was highly cognisant and self-conscious about the Order having a universal mission: the friars existed 'for preaching and the salvation of souls', as the Order's early *Constitutions* had declared, and this did not know any territorial limits.[75] Any localised name was therefore to be rejected, as Humbert makes clear. Yet the foregoing quote also shows Humbert's reasoning was not centred on the loss of legal prerogatives but rather that the Order's role and identity be clearly distinguishable from other religious communities and recognizable to populations across Europe. To borrow an analogy from advertising, Humbert saw the Order's 'brand' as needing to be protected and promoted. The Order's 1256 General Chapter, held in Paris under Humbert's leadership, agreed. They declared that 'our brothers ought to be called Friars Preachers and not by any other names.'[76]

This link between consistency in the Order's public image and its larger mission occurs repeatedly in Humbert's writing and in a variety of contexts. C. Bruzelius's architectural study of mendicant churches draws attentions to a particular section of Humbert's *Commentary on the Constitutions*:

> Established religious orders ... show uniformity not only in their observances, but also in their habits [of behaviour] and in their buildings and such like. It makes me groan to think how far from achieving this we are, for they have churches and conventual buildings of the same shape, organized in the same way, while our churches and buildings are of all types and arrangements.[77]

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[74] *Exp. const.*, 12 (p. 148).
[75] *Constitutiones antiquae*, prologus (p. 311).
[76] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Paris, 1256), 81. Translation mine.
[77] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 39. Bruzelius' translation, provided above, is derived from Berthier's edition of the *Exp. const.*, ch. 3 (p. 5).

Humbert's lament appears driven not only by a concern for an internally well-ordered community, but also a desire to see his Order demonstrate the same cohesion to the outside world that other, longstanding religious communities displayed. One can perhaps see something of a competitive spirit here, seeking to match the achievements of others. Yet it also seems inherent to Humbert's thought that a successful religious order ought to have a high degree of uniformity in matters both internal and external. In fact, there is a deeply Augustinian character to Humbert's concerns about unity, but one that is rearticulated in the light of the Order's preaching mission and with a heavy focus on the external manifestations of this unity. This is explored at greater length below in the context of the *Expositio* (see 4.7.1).

While Humbert may have been elected to help defend the friars' legal rights at the universities, it was arguably at the social level of the Order that he made his longest-lasting contribution. In comparison with the Masters before him, Humbert's writings painted a far more detailed picture of what a friars' life and behaviour ought to look like. Although he would not have used this precise language, the goal of forging a common institutional culture was clearly one of Humbert's paramount concerns—one that would harmonise with what the Order had gained in law and what it wished to project outwardly.

3.3.2 The Integration and Training of Members

Humbert and those of his generational cohort had not been present at the Order's founding nor known Dominic directly. One might reasonably speculate that this lay (at least partly) behind Humbert's desire to see the Order itself manifest and communicate a strong sense of mission and common identity—providing vicariously what those of an early generation had experienced more directly. For his part, Humbert could at least claim, as he does in his

Expositio, to have heard the preaching of Jordan of Saxony.[78] But by the time of Jordan's death in 1237 and certainly by the time of Peter Seila's death in 1257, the number of friars who could have recounted any personal anecdotes about Dominic or the members of his early community would have been minimal.

Even assuming a handful of these individuals remained, they would have been dwarfed by the growing membership in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Although it is difficult to establish precise numbers, by Dominic's death in 1221 the Order had already established approximately sixty priories of friars, divided into twelve provinces.[79] By 1277, the year that Humbert died, more than 400 priories were listed on the Order's census records.[80] While certainly rapid, the Order's expansion was not random. Rather, the Order targeted urban centres and universities—places where the preaching was seen as most needed to combat heresy and where economic conditions favoured the support of large communities.[81] The Order also sought to recruit university students as novices and, indeed, Humbert's personal history reflects the trend of university students entering the Order. According to Humbert's letter to the Order in 1260, 'more than seventy scholars [*scolares*]' had entered from the university of Paris.[82] Another letter from Humbert, sent only four years later in 1264, refers to seventy more novices having been received at the convents in Paris and Bologna.[83]

While such robust growth must have been welcomed in many quarters, it also presented obvious problems and risks. Hinnebusch notes that friars 'began to raise danger signals about mid-century when the provinces were expanding with the explosive force of

[78] *Exp. reg.*, clvii (p. 478); *Vitae fratrum*, 171.
[79] Mandonnet, *St. Dominic and His Work*, 69.
[80] Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, 262. Hinnebusch's own reconstruction suggests the number was even higher.
[81] Lawrence, *The Friars*, 80.
[82] Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, 55.
[83] Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, 63.

a chain reaction.'[84] Among those concerned was Hugh of St. Cher. In 1257, three years into Humbert's term as Master, Cardinal Hugh sent a letter to the General Chapter that included the following warning:

> The multiplication of convents becomes an occasion for the reception of useless individuals, and it is therefore better to delight in a small but good number rather than to be weighed down by an onerous multitude of the useless.[85]

Hugh's concerns are interesting to consider alongside the simultaneous expansion of the Franciscans, whose growth was far more rapid and which was occurring in a far less organized manner.[86] From Hugh's vantage point in the Roman curia, one can see how he might have wanted his own Order to avoid the problems that were apparent with the Franciscans and which had vexed the Holy See. Hugh's letter to the 1257 General Chapter also overlaps with the concerns expressed in the Pope's 1255 decree, *Sanctis desideriis*, discussed in 3.7 below.

Within this broader context, Humbert's writings can be read at least partially as a response to the problems of growth. Humbert does seem to explicitly share some of the same concerns expressed in Hugh's 1257 letter, but subtle differences also exist. Humbert does not speak of useless members but warns in the *Expositio* about admitting those with insufficient knowledge or ability ('*minus sufficientes in scientia*').[87] On the other hand, he states that this principle 'ought to be observed more or less, according to time, place, and individual cases' and that a good builder does not start with a finished product, but rough wood and stone.[88] He also notes that certain roles, such as cantor or procurator, do not necessarily need the same type of education.[89] Therefore, while advising prudence in admissions, Humbert gives the impression that his general approach to the problem of

[84] Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, I, 280.
[85] *De Vita Regulari*, II, 508 n. 2. Translation mine.
[86] Lawrence, *The Friars*, 81.
[87] *Exp. reg.*, cliv (pp. 472–75)
[88] *Exp. reg.*, cliv (p. 474).
[89] *Exp. reg.*, cliv (p. 474).

growth centres on training and formation so that young recruits might mature into good preachers. And to this end, Humbert's own writings seem especially aimed at teaching the friars exactly what their life ought to look like.

Among Humbert's writings during his time as Master, the above-mentioned *De tribus* exhibits an overarching concern for forming the brethren in the practices of regular observance. Yet *De tribus* can also be understood as a way of responding to the Order's external challenges (e.g., in Paris) by ensuring the internal dynamics of the growing Order were well regulated. The emphasis on obedience (ch. 1) and on proper behaviour towards one's neighbours (ch. 6), along with patience (ch. 5), all reinforce community discipline in ways that would have reduced the likelihood of conflict (both internal and external) while also ensuring that the friars would be responsive to instructions. Humbert repeatedly evinces a concern with shaping the habits of the brethren—in the classical sense of *habitus*, i.e., a stable disposition towards acting in a particular way. *De tribus* served to form the habits of obedient religious, a precondition for an effective preacher in Humbert's view, as well as one who avoides causing scandal.

Along with *De tribus*, one of Humbert's other significant works was *De eruditione praedicatorum* (*On the Formation of Preachers*), which provided guidance on how virtuous Dominicans could master the art of preaching.[90] *De eruditione* proved to be one of Humbert's most widely copied works, but this was often limited to the sections that contained sermon materials and *exempla* as these sections were the most immediately

[90] The complete text of *De eruditione praedicatorum* has never been published, nor does any individual surviving manuscript contain the work in its entirety. Nevertheless, the first section (i.e., the introductory material but not the model sermons) can be found in *De Vita Regulari*, II, 373–484; and a translation of this text was published as Humbert of Romans, *A Treatise on Preaching*, ed. by Walter M. Conlon, trans. by Dominican Students of the Province of St. Joseph (London, 1955). The second section (i.e., containing the model sermons), titled *De modo prompte cudendi sermones*, was published in an incomplete version in La Bigne, *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, XXV, 456–567. Some of the sermons appearing in this second section have been translated as examples in Tugwell, *Early Dominicans*, 183–370. The structure of the work is described in Tugwell, 'Humbert of Romans' Material for Preachers', 105–18; while an overview of its contents and utility is given in Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 476–79.

useful to preachers, including those who had no relation to the Order.[91] Yet the first part of *De eruditione* reveals Humbert's goal of forming preachers according to a particular mode of life:

> His life ought to be as austere as John the Baptist's … the life of God's minister must be without blemish, since his conduct ought to measure up to the dignity of his words. … it does not suffice that the preacher's conduct be simply inoffensive. His life ought to be a shining light to all men and he should preach to them by word of mouth and, above all, by good example.[92]

Divorced from their historical context, these moral exhortations may seem unremarkable. Yet when considered in light of Humbert's concerns about avoiding unnecessary conflict with the secular clergy and others, these passages take on a different tone.[93] Humbert states that the preacher's life ought to avoid giving any offense, but this alone 'does not suffice'. Rather, it 'ought to be a shining light'. Could one could fulfil the requirements Humbert puts forward, such as having a life 'as austere as John the Baptist's', without being a vowed religious? Here and elsewhere, one can detect an implicit argument for religious orders and, specifically, for an order of preachers. Humbert also proceeds to discuss the knowledge required of a preacher, which includes not only a knowledge of Sacred Scripture, but also knowledge of the natural world, 'a knowledge of history' suited to preaching, as well as canon law and the mysteries of the Faith, all of which were to be combined with practical experience and an ability to judge what kind of preaching would be appropriate for one's listeners.[94] The proper use of rhetoric, diction, and the manner of delivery are also addressed.[95] One quickly sees, moreover, how a university education would naturally serve these friars particularly well.

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[91] See SOPMA, II, no. 2013 (pp. 287–8); II, no. 287:2013 (p. 128); Tugwell, 'Humbert of Romans' Material for Preachers', 106–7.
[92] Humbert of Romans, *A Treatise on Preaching*, 37–38.
[93] *De eruditione* was probably compiled after Humbert's term as Master, but his concerns seem to have remained generally the same. For the dating of the work, see Tugwell, *Legendae*, 325–26; Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 153–54.
[94] Humbert of Romans, *A Treatise on Preaching*, 39–41.
[95] Humbert of Romans, *A Treatise on Preaching*, 41–44.

Tugwell argues that *De eruditione* presents 'preaching as a legitimate nucleus for a whole way of life, a whole way of sanctity'—something that was highly original for its time.[96] It fits, moreover, within Humbert's larger corpus of writings insofar as one can see a deep concern for the formation of the brethren, imbuing them with an identity and mode of life fitted to their mission. And, in this regard, it dovetails well with the *Expositio*.

Like the *Expositio*, *De eruditione* reveals a great deal about how Humbert thought friars should live and interact. In the case of *De eruditione*, this can often be found in the sermon materials intended for specifically Dominican audiences. Regarding the non-ordained laybrothers, for example, Humbert claims that the Order offers them a highly favourable living situation. Yet he warns:

> [It is an abuse] if they become proud of their position .... if they want to assimilate themselves too much to the clerics ... if they spend too much time in contemplative occupations ... to the neglect of their duties.[97]

The concern that laybrothers might spend too much time in contemplation rather than manual labour has a rough parallel in the *Expositio*, where Humbert emphasises that ordinary duties ought to take precedence over extra-ordinary prayers and that this applies especially to laybrothers.[98] For Humbert, their role was to provide manual labour while the priests communicated spiritual grace.[99] In both *De eruditione* and the *Expositio*, Humbert offers fascinating glimpses of the social structures of his medieval religious community, including where he felt they need reinforcing. While he teaches that his Order offers the laybrothers a greater degree of equality in the common life than many other communities (e.g., the clerics and laybrothers eat together and serve each other at table), he also believes

[96] Tugwell, *Early Dominicans*, 181. The aligns well with Mulchahey's assessment of the same: 'For Humbert, preaching is more than a formula, it is a calling, a way of life, and more than rhetoric' (*First the Bow Is Bent*, 478).
[97] Tugwell, *Early Dominicans*, 327.
[98] *Exp. reg.*, lv (p. 176).
[99] *Exp. reg.*, lv (p. 176).

in a clear, supernatural distribution of roles.[100] The laybrothers occupy a particular place in this social-spiritual hierarchy and must guard themselves against seeking other, higher places, even if those might be more spiritual or contemplative in nature. As he states in the *Expositio*:

> The state of contemplating is high, while the state of labouring is humble. It is better, however, in the house of God, to run to humility from one's own will than towards the highest things when one is not called to those; and therefore it is better for [the laybrothers] to labour than to pray beyond what is expected.[101]

At work here is something more than keeping individuals in their place, although that obviously also follows from Humbert's advice. Rather, Humbert clearly believes that both personal holiness and the Order's mission depend upon each person carrying out their proper tasks in harmony—tasks that follow from the specific role God has given them and to which they have been directed within the Order. His remarks make clear that manual labour is the very role (*officium*) of a laybrother and therefore the brother's growth in personal holiness depends on his embrace of this, even if others might be called to a more contemplative life in the Order.

Like a watch with many interlocking gears and mechanisms, a high degree of mutual dependency exists in Humbert's system. Accordingly, he holds that the friars need to be formed in and adhere to their proper roles since the corporate success of the preaching mission depends upon their mutual service:

> The division of graces are given for a purpose, so that the servants of God may help each other from these graces. Therefore, just as clerics minister to others through the spiritual graces of teaching and ministry and other things of this type, which they have received, so ought [the laybrothers] help them from the graces of their duties and labour, as they have received.[102]

As Chapter IV discusses at greater length, the *Expositio* is a highly relational text, much like the *Rule of Augustine* that underlies it. As conceptualised by Humbert, it is the

[100] Tugwell, *Early Dominicans*, 326.
[101] *Exp. reg.*, lv (pp. 180-81).
[102] *Exp. reg.*, lv (p. 180).

exchange of spiritual and material goods within the internal life of the community that enables the Order to accomplish its mission effectively. Yet in *De eruditione*, as in the *Expositio*, the public image of the Order is also never far from Humbert's mind:

> [the laybrothers] should live up to the grace they have been given ... in their bearing outside when they are among men. ... They ought to conduct the friars' business graciously, making sure that the Order does not become a nuisance to the world through any tactlessness of theirs.[103]

Recalling that *De eruditione* was written to train preachers, this shows that Humbert wanted his priests to preach to the laybrothers about the image the Order projects to the world. When viewed in tandem with the *Expositio* (see 4.7 below), a pattern emerges in the forming and training friars—whether clerical or lay—namely, that they are being shaped to habitually consider not only how their behaviour impacts the internal function of their community but also external perceptions of the Order.

Ultimately, Humbert created a corpus of writings during his lifetime that addressed the social formation and training of the friars, giving clear instructions about how they should live, work, and relate to each other. The occasion for these writings can be understood, as discussed in this section, partially as a response to the rapid growth of the Order in the mid-thirteenth century and the absorption of so many new recruits. The communication of a religious tradition—one that was still new—was not taken for granted. At the same time, however, one can also see how Humbert's writings reflect the preoccupations of his historical moment, such as the opposition facing the Order and the need for the friars to be careful and intentional about the image they projected. Humbert responded to these internal and external concerns by producing texts that gave guidance on how Dominican life ought to be organised in its social and spiritual aspects. One measure of his success is that no obviously alternative vision of Dominican life and identity seems

[103] Tugwell, *Early Dominicans*, 327.

to have survived from this period or gained any traction. And, indeed, Humbert's work also extended beyond the areas already discussed to one that was arguably even more intimately connected with identity-formation: the liturgy.

3.3.3 Standardising the Liturgy[104]

As mentioned in 2.8, the same General Chapter of 1254 that elected Humbert also commissioned him to produce a corrected version of the *Rule* and a unified liturgy for the Order.[105] At least two attempts at standardising the Order's liturgical books had already failed, beginning with the General Chapter of 1245 and its establishment of a committee of four friars from the provinces of France, England, Lombardy, and Germany (Theotonia).[106] The existence of liturgical variations in different priories is unremarkable at this stage in the Order's history, especially given that the friars had spread rapidly across the dioceses of Europe, many of which had different regional customs. Yet the four friars' initial attempt to harmonize the liturgy was received poorly by the Order's own membership, despite having received the approval of the General Chapters of 1246, 1247, and 1248.[107] Therefore, the General Chapter of 1250, held in London, responded to the friars' complaints by calling for further revisions.[108] While this second attempt at producing a standardised

[104] The standard and only book-length work in English on early Dominican liturgy remains W.R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy: 1215-1945*, 2nd edn (New York, 1945). In many respects, however, this work has been superseded by more recent scholarship and its observations should not be accepted uncritically. Bonniwell is also the main source for the relevant section in A.A. King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (Milwaukee, 1955). Without attempting to be exhaustive, key works of more recent scholarship include the collected articles in Boyle and Gy, *Aux Origines*; and Giraud, '*Totum Officium Bene Correctum Habeatur in Domo*: Uniformity in the Dominican Liturgy', 153–72; Giraud, 'The Dominican *Scriptorium* at Saint-Jacques, and Its Production of Liturgical Exemplars', 247–58; Giraud, 'Production and Notation of Dominican Manuscripts'; Tugwell, 'The Quest for Liturgical Uniformity', 1–52; Urfels-Capot, *Le Sanctoral*; A. Dirks, 'De Evolutione Liturgiae Dominicanae (Series)', *AFP*, 50 (1980), 5–21; 52 (1982), 5–76; 53 (1983), 53–145; 54 (1984), 39–82; 55 (1985), 5–47; P. Gleeson, 'Dominican Liturgical Manuscripts Before 1254', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 42 (1972), 81–135.
[105] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Buda, 1254), 68.
[106] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Cologne, 1245), 33.
[107] *Acta cap. gen* I (Paris, 1246), 35–6; (Montpellier, 1247), 39; (Paris, 1248), 41; P. Gleeson, 'The Pre-Humbertian Liturgical Sources Revisited', in *Aux Origines de La Liturgie Dominicaine*, ed. by L.E. Boyle and P.-M. Gy (Rome, 2004), 102.
[108] *Acta cap. gen.* I (London, 1250), 53-4.

liturgy obtained the approval of the General Chapter of 1252, held in Bologna, subsequent Chapters did not grant their approval, as was needed to make the legislation permanent.[109]

Humbert therefore inherited the task of standardising the Order's liturgy after the repeated failures of others. The scope of the project proved considerable, at least as it was actually undertaken and executed by Humbert. In total, he supervised the synthesis of fourteen complete liturgical books. These provided for the totality of a priory's liturgical life as well as for the prayers a friar would say when travelling. While a number of friars must have been involved in the project, Humbert appears not only to have exercised general oversight of the project, but also to have been engaged in specific editorial decisions.[110]

There is, in fact, a certain affinity between the type of activity Humbert undertook in standardising the liturgy and in his writing of the *Expositio*. Both were works of harmonisation and codification that involved reconciling pre-existing material with a view towards shaping current practices. Both were 'formative' works, aimed at influencing the habits of the friars and their mode of life. The liturgical texts and chants employed by the friars had been adapted from other religious communities for use in Dominican priories.[111] Likewise, the *Rule* had been appropriated from the canons regular but required harmonisation with the mission, lived experience, and future goals of the Order. In both cases, Humbert proved to be the reconciler, producing a uniform Dominican liturgy suited to the Order's needs and, in the case of the *Rule*, providing a hermeneutic through which it could be read as a specifically Dominican text.

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[109] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Bologna, 1252), 63. Permanent changes to the Dominican *Constitutions* required the consecutive approval of three General Chapters.
[110] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 54; Urfels-Capot, *Le Sanctoral*, 48–50.
[111] On this point, see the overview of relevant scholarship provided in I. Smith, '"Dominican Chant and Dominican Identity," Religions 5 (2014): 961–71.', *Religions*, 5 (2014), 961–71. Note that the influence of Cistercian chant actually seems more prominent after Humbert's editing of the liturgical books (ibid., p. 967)

Equally important were Humbert's political skills in implementing his projects. In the case of standardising the liturgy, several General Chapters failed to achieve this goal. Humbert, however, not only obtained the necessary approvals of the 1255 and 1256 General Chapters for the revision (even while it was still in progress), but eventually secured—at least for the most part—the acquiescence of the Order's membership.[112] Humbert's 1256 letter to the Order, sent from the General Chapter while it was meeting in Paris, clearly sought to pacify any objections.[113] He explained the impossibility of satisfying every request and asked for the friars' tolerance if they should find some parts of the liturgy less than graceful.[114]

In order to implement this revised liturgy, Humbert was also able to utilise the system of book production the friars had organized in Paris. This involved employing and overseeing professional groups of scribes who, once given the prototype from which to make copies, could produce multiple *exempla* manuscripts for distribution to the individual provinces, where further copying could take place.[115] At least in theory, these liturgical *exempla* ensured uniformity across the Order.[116] Moreover, with these *exempla*, copies of the *Regula correcta* edited by Humbert were likewise included and distributed to the Provinces, as discussed in 2.8. Similarly, the production of a smaller, portable *exemplum* for the Master of the Order (London, British Library, Add. ms. 23935), also discussed

[112] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Milan 1255), 73; (Paris, 1256), 78. For the acceptance of the revision, see n. 121 below.
[113] Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, 38–42 at 42.
[114] Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, 42.
[115] See the earlier discussion in 2.8 and extensive study by Giraud, 'Production and Notation of Dominican Manuscripts', 51–88; and Giraud, 'The Dominican *Scriptorium* at Saint-Jacques, and Its Production of Liturgical Exemplars', 247–58.
[116] As noted earlier, three of these earliest *exempla* survive: London, British Library, Add. ms. 23935; Rome, Priory of Santa Sabina, General Archives, ms. XIV L1; and Salamanca, Priory of San Esteban, ms. SAL.-CL.01. The first of these was produced for the use of the Master of the Order, as also noted above. Twelve provinces existed at this stage, although it is entirely possible that fewer than twelve *exempla* were originally made. See Giraud, 'Production and Notation of Dominican Manuscripts', 28–29; and for the Salamanca manuscript, see also Fueyo Suárez, 'El *exemplar* de la liturgia dominicana de Salamanca', 81–118.

earlier in 2.8, witnesses not only to Humbert's concern for producing unified books, but also for creating mechanisms to ensure their integrity and observance in the future.

Although early-twentieth century historians of Dominican liturgy have tended to focus on the practical value of liturgical uniformity for preachers (e.g., that it allowed travelling friars to avoid constantly learning new local variations), the role of common worship in fostering a sense of common identity has since become a topic of greater historical and sociological consideration.[117] While Humbert would not have used the language of 'identity', the implicit relationship between liturgical worship, social cohesion, and a sense of one's purpose would likely have resonated with him given his attentiveness to human behaviour and his concern for communal unity. Apart from the unifying value he attributed to common observances (see 4.7.1), his apparently autobiographical vocation story in the *Vitae fratrum* highlights a personal experience of how liturgy and music could impart a sense of purpose to the listener and move one to action.[118] Along these same lines, he noted in the *Expositio* that liturgical chant had the power to 'dissolve the heart in holy emotions'.[119] For Humbert, liturgical worship did not simply express one's interior dispositions, it could also shape them, both individually and collectively.

In addition, ritual activity could also reinforce a community's own internal hierarchy and sense of distinctiveness vis-à-vis other communities. Such identities were not forged through undifferentiated acts of liturgical worship, but precisely through their

[117] Although a full bibliography on this topic is impossible, a helpful introduction to the relevant historiography and a review of recent literature can be found in Rubin, 'Liturgy and Sacraments in the Formation of Religious Identity', 257–64. Along with the other articles in the same collection, also relevant is Rubin's work *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), esp. 12-13, 232-242, 347-349. In addition, for parallels with the relationship of the liturgy and identity in the Italian city-states, see the study by A. Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes 1125-1325* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2005), esp. 235-272; while scholarship on the relationship between monastic identity and liturgy has recently been deepened through a fascinating study by Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*.
[118] *Vitae fratrum*, 170–73; See also the discussion above in 3.2.1.
[119] *Exp. reg.*, lviii (p. 187).

particularities. As S. Boyton observes, the proper liturgies of abbeys and dioceses across medieval Europe were witnesses to this:

> ...even minor details of text or melody could act as markers of traditions specific to an institution, differentiating one church from another even when both were located in the same city. It is no exaggeration to say that, for ecclesiastical institutions, liturgy and ritual formed the foundation of corporate identity.[120]

After Humbert's revisions, the Friars Preachers possessed (at least in theory) such an identity-making liturgy, one that synthesised elements from the different Provinces into a common ritual, giving the friars a mode of worship that was distinct and proper to their Order. This, in turn, was disseminated throughout the Order through the material books whose contents had been determined by Humbert and which were subsequently copied for the local Provinces across Europe—although not always with perfect or immediate adoption.[121] Nevertheless, Humbert's liturgy did succeed to an extent that the earlier revisions had not and subsequent General Chapters did not judge it necessary to repeat the whole project.[122]

At the same time, Humbert's development of a unified Dominican liturgy needs to be contextualised in terms of larger ecclesial trends. Even before Humbert took office, the Order's leadership has expressed a clear desire for a unified liturgy, as is evident in the decisions of the General Chapters already mentioned. And, in this respect, the friars also resembled certain other religious orders, such as the Premonstratensian canons, who had sought to achieve greater liturgical uniformity across their communities even earlier.[123] Humbert's endeavours should therefore be viewed as consistent with a larger movement

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[120] Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, 4.
[121] After the 1256 General Chapter approved Humbert's revision, General and Provincial Chapters urged priors and the friars in general to ensure copies of the books were obtained according to the corrected text. See *Acta cap. gen*. I (Toulouse, 1258), 92; (Valence, 1259), 98–99; (Montpellier, 1265), 130; *Acta prov. Romanae* (Anagni, 1270), 36. For the creation and copying of exemplars for the provinces, see Giraud, 'The Dominican *Scriptorium* at Saint-Jacques, and Its Production of Liturgical Exemplars', 247–58. Certain books of Humbert's revised liturgy seem to have been adopted more readily than others. For the evidence regarding the adoption of Humbert's lectionary in particular, see Tugwell, *Legendae*, 25–49.
[122] This is not to say, of course, that no modifications were subsequently made. See the discussion below.
[123] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 1.

towards liturgical consolidation that extended beyond the Friars Preachers. It also began the process of liturgically memorialising the friars' own unique history. Humbert's liturgy reflected, for example, the General Chapter of 1254's directive that the feast of St. Peter of Verona (d. 1252)—the Order's first martyr-saint—be liturgically celebrated throughout the Order with the rank of 'totum duplex', ensuring that his memory would be recalled and his intercession sought with great solemnity by the friars.[124] Small modifications could also highlight the Order's history and political ties, such as the General Chapter of 1256's instruction that a marginal note be added to every community's martyrology recalling the death of Simon de Montfort (d. 1218) on the 25th of June and explicitly noting Dominic's friendship with him and also directing the brothers to pray for his soul.[125] Subsequent General Chapters would further develop the Order's liturgical calendar, sometimes with a view to promoting irenic relations with other communities. For example, the legislation of the General Chapter of 1260—also held under Humbert—added the feast of Anthony of Padua (d. 1231) to the Order's calendar, thus including this early and important Franciscan saint among those commemorated by the Friars Preachers.[126]

Humbert's own editorial decisions, which were both ritual and musical, also contributed to the further development of a distinctive Dominican chant tradition, as evidenced in Jerome of Moravia's *Tractatus de musica*, which was published before the end of the same century.[127] And in this context, Humbert's remark in the *Expositio* that 'the liturgy is always to be done according to the books' not only supported his general ideas

[124] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Buda, 1254), 71.
[125] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Paris, 1256), 81. While not explicitly mentioned by Ames, this addition to the martyrology would seem to resonate with her observations about how Dominic was increasingly linked with the inquisition and Albigensian Crusade after his death. Cf. Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, 126-129 et passim.
[126] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Strasburg, 1260), 104; this legislation was repeated in two subsequent chapters, as required to become permanent; see *Acta cap. gen.* I (Barcelona, 1261), 107–8, and *Acta cap. gen.* I (Bologna, 1262), 113.
[127] L. Weber, 'Intellectual Currents in Thirteenth Century Paris: A Translation and Commentary on Jerome of Moravia's "Tractatus de Musica"' (unpublished Ph.D., Yale University, 2009), 12.

about good order, but also dovetailed with the implementation of his own initiatives in this area.[128]

Humbert's standardisation of the Order's liturgy also took place in close chronological proximity to the work of several Dominican theologians who were authoring tracts on liturgical topics. Thomas Aquinas, for example, addressed a number of liturgical topics in his *Commentary on the Sentences* around 1252–56, the same timeframe in which Humbert's prototype was being codified.[129] Thomas' work on the *Sentences* set the stage for his later commentary on the Mass in the *Summa theologiae*, written around 1271–73.[130] Albert the Great also authored a well-known medieval treatise on the Mass, *De mysterio missae*, which could have been written no later than 1279 and very possibly in the 1260s.[131] The authenticity of Albert's work has recently been established and seems to show the influence of Humbert's revised liturgy at various points, although Albert draws from a variety of liturgical sources.[132]

Perhaps most interestingly, however, is that Humbert's standardization of the Dominican liturgy coincided with Hugh of St. Cher's authoring of a commentary on the Mass.[133] Such works were common in the Middle Ages, as the existence of Albert and Aquinas' works illustrate. Yet the fact that Hugh should author a work on this topic contemporaneously with Humbert's efforts to standardise the Order's liturgy is suggestive.

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[128] *Exp. reg.*, lviii (p. 189).
[129] For an examination of this material, see A. G. Fuente, 'La Teologia Nella Liturgia e La Liturgia Nella Teologia in San Tommaso d'Aquino', *Angelicum*, 74 (1997), 359–417, 551–601. For the dating of the *Commentary on the Sentences*, see J.-P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 2 vols (Washington, D.C., 1996), ii, 332.
[130] ST III, q. 83, aa. 1-6. For the dating of this section, see Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, ii, 333. For Aquinas' methodology in analysing the Mass, see F. Quoëx, 'Thomas d'Aquin, mystagogue: L'expositio missae de la Somme de théologie (III, q. 83, aa. 4-5)', *Revue thomiste*, 105 (2005), 179–225, 435–72.
[131] J.A. Schneider, 'The Role of the Liturgy in *De Mysterio Missae*', in *Via Alberti: Texte-Quellen-Interpretationen* (Münster, 2009), 434; J.A. Schneider, 'Theology and Liturgy in De Mysterio Missae: A Thirteenth-Century Commentary on the Mass Attributed to Albertus Magnus' (unpublished Ph.D., University of Notre Dame, 2011), 11–12.
[132] See Schneider, 'Theology and Liturgy in De Mysterio Missae', 8, 164–67.
[133] Hugh of St. Cher, *Tractatus Super Missam Seu Speculum Ecclesiae*, ed. by G. Sölch (Aschendorff, 1940).

The last attempt to date Hugh's work placed it in the years 1251–54, with the indication that it was probably not written earlier.[134] Hugh's treatise appears to have been highly successful and widely copied; it still survives in over one hundred manuscripts.[135] Therefore, as Humbert gave the friars a distinctive liturgy, his peers simultaneously provided them with spiritual commentaries. Collectively, these developments aided in the construction of a Dominican identity since they served to form the friars in a distinctly Dominican liturgical tradition both through the rites themselves and through their spiritual-theological explication by Dominican authors.

3.3.4 The *Legendae* of St. Dominic and the *Lectionarium*

Near the beginning of his term as Provincial of France, Humbert had been commissioned by the Order's General Chapter of 1246 to produce a lectionary for the friars' liturgical office of Matins.[136] As noted earlier, this may have been a 'pet project' of Humbert's going back to his time as Roman Provincial given that the *acta* of the 1244 Roman Provincial Chapter called for a lectionary revision.[137] Subsequently, the General Chapter of 1254, which elected Humbert, called for a general revision and consolidation of the Order's entire liturgy including a revised Matin's lectionary.[138] Both the lectionary projects resulting from the General Chapters 1246 and 1254 (completed in 1256) contained liturgical biographies of Dominic—texts known respectively the as *Legenda prima* and *Legenda maior*.[139] As Tugwell observes, 'compiling a lectionary was presumably a collective enterprise, but there are grounds for believing that Humbert himself was responsible for the *legendae* of St. Dominic in the 1246 and 1256 lectionaries' given not only Humbert's specific commission

[134] G.G. Sölch, *Hugo von St. Cher, OP, und die Anfänge der Dominikanerliturgie* (Cologne, 1938), 38–39.
[135] See the extensive list in SOPMA, II, no. 1990; IV, no. 274:1990.
[136] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Paris, 1246), 36.
[137] *Acta prov. Romanae* (Rome, 1244), 4; *Legendae*, 8.
[138] *Acta cap. gen*. I (Buda, 1254), 68.
[139] A critical edition of the *Legenda prima* and one of the *Legenda maior* appear respectively in Tugwell, *Legendae*, 424–40 and 450–532.

but also that 'both *legendae* display editorial procedures which recur in the vulgate *Vitas fratrum* whose revision is also attributable to Humbert.[140] As part of the lectionary, these quasi-official biographies of Dominic were intended to be read throughout the Order during the Divine Office and thus had the potential to influence the friars' shared knowledge and understanding of their founder and the Order's history as part of the friars' regular spiritual diet.[141]



Figure 3.1: Oxford, Keble College, Regensburg Lectionary, ms. 49, fol. 167v
The Dominican nuns' lectionary in Regensburg (c. 1270) contains an early witness to Humbert's 1246 *legenda prima* and includes an illumination of Dominic receiving the *Rule from St. Augustine*.

[140] *Legendae*, 53; for the evidence of Humbert's editorial control over these two works more generally, see 53–56 et passim.
[141] The universal adoption of the lectionary was at least the intention of the 1246 General Chapter: '... per totum ordinem universaliter recipiatur', and similarly the revision of the entire office confirmed by the 1256 Chapter was put forward for universal adoption. See *Acta cap. gen.* I (Paris, 1246), 36; (Paris, 1256), 78.

Once completed, the General Chapter of 1256 confirmed the adoption of the *Legenda maior* as part of the lectionary in Humbert's revised set of fourteen liturgical books, while the subsequent 1260 General Chapter expressed its desire that earlier *legendae* not be copied.[142] The two earlier *legendae* that had enjoyed wide circulation and which were most influential on Humbert's own composition were those of Peter Ferrandi and Constantine of Orvieto, with the latter have been composed as a reworking of the former.[143]

Humbert's *Legenda prima* consisted largely of a shortened and edited version of Peter Ferrandi's text, and it seems that Constantine of Orvieto's *legenda* was not available to Humbert at the stage.[144] The *legenda maior*, however, synthesises the two *legendae* of Peter and Constantine, drawing almost all its contents from them and (on the whole) favouring Peter Ferrandi when choosing between two.[145] In general, Humbert adopted a highly conservative approach in crafting his *Legenda maior* in this manner, opting to retain and homogenise the existing *legendae* into a unified text rather than crafting a new biography or adopting a different presentation of the material.

Both Tugwell and C.C. Ames have made observations about how the depiction of Dominic shifted from the early writings of Jordan of Saxony through these *legendae* of Ferrandi and Constantine and ultimately to the *Legenda maior* of Humbert.[146] Tugwell's observations are mostly of a technical nature and tend to show Humbert as a conscientious

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[142] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Paris, 1256), 78; (Strasburg, 1260), 105; Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, VIII-bis, 42; Tugwell, *Legendae*, 9 n. 25, 31-32.
[143] For a new critical edition of Ferrandi's *legenda*, see S. Tugwell, ed., *Petri Ferrandi Legenda Sancti Dominici*, MOPH, XXXII (Rome, 2015). For Constantine of Orvieto's *legenda*, see 'Legenda Sancti Dominici', in *Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici*, ed. by H.-C. Scheeben, MOPH, XVI (Rome, 1935), 286–352. Although not a legenda as such, nor restricted by the 1260 General Chapter, the *libellus* of Jordan of Saxony was also an important source for Humbert. For this text, see Jordan of Saxony, 'Libellus de Principiis Ordinis Praedicatorum', in *Monumenta Historica Sancti Patris Nostri Dominici*, ed. by H.-C. Scheeben, MOPH, XVI (Rome, 1935), 1–88.
[144] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 58–59.
[145] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 73.
[146] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 59–63, 73–101, 211–46, et passim; Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, 103–14. Ames' study builds upon and refines her earlier observations in 'Doctors of Souls: Inquisition and the Dominican Order, 1231–1331' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Notre Dame, 2002).

editor who frequently removed 'rhetorical flourishes' and digressions from the narrative.[147] Ames argues, however, that the portrait of Dominic observable in these *legendae* underwent changes that reflected developments in the Order's external activities (most notably its growing involvement in the *inquisitiones heretice pravitatis* in southern France and beyond).[148] In this regard, her work complements the major study of L. Canetti, who examined the crafting of the Order's institutional memory of Dominic throughout the Middle Ages.[149] Canetti observed that while Dominic never held any inquisitorial office, he was increasingly represented as an aggressive uprooter of heresy, thus aligning him more closely with the Order's own inquisitorial activities in the decades after his death, which in turn served to give greater moral and spiritual authority to the inquisition itself.[150]

Insofar as Humbert's specific writings are concerned, Ames argues that his *Legenda maior* can be located on this larger trajectory and that its depiction of Dominic reflects Humbert's 'sensitivity about opposition to the Order generally and to inquisition more specifically."[151] While Humbert engaged in a variety of activities to defend the Order from opposition, his writings were directed at bolstering the Order's internal cohesion and

[147] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 97 n. 69, 220-223.
[148] Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, 112–14.
[149] L. Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria: il culto e l'immagine di Domenico nella storia dei primi frati Predicatori* (Spoleto, 1996).
[150] Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria*, 221–66. The subject of Dominic's relationship and attitude toward the *inquisitiones heretice pravitatis* was the subject of an extended debate between C. Thouzellier and M.-H. Vicaire, which was carried out in a series articles published from 1966–71: C. Thouzellier, *Cathatisme et Valdéisme en Languedoc à la fin du XII^e et au début du XIII^e siècle: Politique pontificale, controverses* (Paris, 1966), 251; M.-H. Vicaire, 'Saint Dominique et les inquisiteurs', *Annales du Midi*, 79 (1967), 173–94; Thouzellier, C., '*L'Inquisitio* et saint Dominique', *Annales du Midi*, 80 (1968), 121–30; M.-H. Vicaire, 'Note sur la mentalité de saint Dominique', *Annales du Midi*, 80 (1968), 131–36; Thouzellier, C., 'Réponse au M.-H. Vicaire', *Annales du Midi*, 80 (1968), 137–38; Vicaire, M.-H., '*Persequutor hereticorum* ou les "persecutions" de saint Dominique', in *Le Crédo, la morale et l'Inquisition*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 6 (Toulouse, 1971), 75–84. More recent scholarship upholds the view that Dominic could not have personally held the office of inquisitor, but this does not mean that he saw his preaching as incompatible with more coercive methods, whether in the form of crusading or inquisitorial activities. See S. Tugwell, 'Speculum Sanctorale: Introduction', in *Bernardi Guidonis: Scripta de Sancto Dominico*, by Bernard Gui, ed. by S Tugwell (Rome, 1998), 168–73; Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors*, 55–57, 74.
[151] Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, 112.

increasing its external effectiveness. According to Ames, the *Legenda maior* formed part of Humbert's internal efforts:

> Humbert warned expressly in *De eruditione predicatorum* that witnesses to inquisitorial sentences and condemnations would often think the church was 'excessively cruel' toward persons whom they believed rather to be good and pious. While Humbert recommended a persuasive sermon to allay the crowd's displeasure, the brothers who delivered those sermons needed to be confident as well about the holy accuracy of that duty. We might see Humbert's model sermons and his *legenda* as complementary external and internal reassurance...[152]

While offering a compelling analysis in many respects, Ames was not able to take advantage of the more recent critical edition of Humbert's *Legendae* since the latter was published at almost the same time as her own work.[153] For this reason, some of her analysis of Humbert's editorial decisions may warrant qualification. For example, Humbert incorporated an account from Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernai's *Historia albigensis* about a miracle where Dominic's book was subjected to an 'ordeal by fire' to resolve a dispute over the truth of its contents (the book subsequently leapt out of the fire).[154] Ames heavily interprets Humbert's choice of Pierre de Vaux-de-Cernai's version of this story over the accounts found in *Libellus* of Jordan of Saxony and in the *legendae* of Peter Ferrandi and Constantine as reflecting Humbert's desire to emphasise the wilfulness obstinacy of those who held heretical views.[155] On the other hand, Tugwell, operating independently of Ames, argues that Humbert may have adopted Pierre de Vaux-de-Cernai's version since it claimed to be based on Dominic's own words—something that Humbert (who was certainly

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[152] Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, 113.
[153] Ames' book *Righteous Persecution* was published in 2009 while Tugwell's edition of the *Legendae* was published slightly beforehand in 2008. In its absence, she relies upon the text of the *Legenda maior* found in Humbert of Romans, 'Legenda s. Dominici', in *Monumenta historica sancti patris nostri Dominici*, ed. by A. Walz, MOPH, XVI (Rome, 1935), 355–433. Ames does not engage with Humbert's *Legenda prima*, which was not included in Walz's edition, but which was available before the publication of Tugwell's edition in the (admittedly somewhat obscure) version of H. Barth, 'Die Dominikuslegende im ersten Lektionar Humberts von Romans (1246)', *AFP*, 54 (1984), 101–12. It is not clear, in any event, that this would have significantly altered her argument or necessitated major changes in her position.
[154] Within the *Legenda maior*, the account can be found in Tugwell, *Legendae*, no. 12 (pp. 464-65). For the underlying source, see *Petri Vallium sarnaii monachi Hystoria albigensis*, ed. by P. Guébin and E. Lyon, 3 vols (Paris, 1926), I, no. 54 (pp. 47-49).
[155] Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, 111–14.

cautious about unattested and second-hand reports of visions and miracles throughout his corpus) may have gravitated toward.[156] Nevertheless, Ames' larger point about the overall trajectory of Dominic's medieval biographers still stands and one can also locate a few places in Humbert's *Legenda maior* where contemporary concerns do seem to have influenced the text—such as the way Humbert presents the monastery of Prouille in exceedingly positive terms at the same time he was coordinating the return of various nuns' monasteries to the Order's pastoral care.[157] Overall, however, Tugwell presents Humbert's editorial work primarily as one of consolidation rather than reflecting a strong ideological bent, often noting that in many cases Humbert could be borrowing from either Peter Ferrandi or Constantine since the differences between Humbert and his underlying sources are often so minimal.[158] Still, Ames' claim that Humbert took account of the Order's present situation and sought to bolster the Order both internally and externally through different genres of writing aligns rather well with the overall claim of this thesis—namely, that the *Expositio regulae* constitutes a means by which Humbert hoped to strengthen the Order internally by forming the friars in an institutional culture that would minimise scandal and also increase their external effectiveness in their mission.

3.3.5 *De officiis ordinis*

Although it has attracted relatively little attention, an interesting counterpart to Humbert's *Expositio* can also be found in his *Instructiones de officiis ordinis* (Instructions Concerning the Ministries of the Order).[159] Written between 1256–63 and perhaps specifically between 1260–63, the work offers a description and explanation of each role that a friar might

[156] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 73; for Humbert's editorial approach to visions and miracles generally, see 53–55; and also the relevant comments and examples pertaining to Humbert's critical evaluation of sources in Urfels-Capot, *Le Sanctoral*, 621–97.
[157] On Humbert's depiction of Prouille, see *Legendae*, 79–80.
[158] See Tugwell, *Legendae*, 212–17.
[159] The most recent edition remains *Instructiones Magistri Humberti de Officiis Ordinis* in *De Vita Regulari*, 179–371.

potentially fulfil within the Order.[160] This includes Master of the Order, Prior Provincial, shoemaker, librarian, cellarer, nurse, gardener, and many others. Needless to say, it reveals Humbert as someone deeply concerned with the microcosm of religious life, including the social and relational interactions that defined much of daily living. Unlike treatises commonly written for those who held authority, Brett observes that 'Humbert often devotes more space to those officials who are less prestigious than to those of greater importance.'[161] One can see Humbert, therefore, seeking to form friars who may have been newer to religious life as well as those attending to the lower and more mundane aspects of the Order's functioning. In *De eruditione*, Humbert wrote that 'whoever holds an office and does not know his obligations is certain through ignorance to do it badly, as happens to a cantor who is ignorant of the rubrics of the Divine Office.'[162] And Humbert clearly sought to ensure that no one would be ignorant of how to carry out their role.

In many respects, *De officiis* is a 'how to' book, explaining the functional aspects of each position within the Order and containing the fewest scriptural citations of any of Humbert's works.[163] The *Expositio*, however, with its superabundance of scriptural citations, not to mention quotations from the Church Fathers, overlaps and provides a spiritual framework for many of these same tasks. For example, while *De officiis* explains what a Prior Provincial ought to do in carrying out his office, the *Expositio* contains ample discussion of the virtues needed for such a superior and the vices that he ought to avoid.[164] The works are therefore dissimilar, yet fit together like puzzle pieces when considered as part of a larger project: the social and spiritual integration of a community constructed for a common mission.

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[160] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 22 n. 52.
[161] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 134 n. 2.
[162] Humbert of Romans, *A Treatise on Preaching*, ix.
[163] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 134.
[164] *De officiis*, ii (pp. 195–201); *Exp. reg.*, xlii (p. 147), xliii (p. 151), cxxxviii (pp. 416–17), clxxvii–cxcv (pp. 543–92).

3.3.6 Consolidation and the Cloistered Nuns

Although the *Expositio* appears to have been written specifically with the friars in mind, Humbert's interaction with the cloistered nuns during the 1250s adds another important bit of context to the *Expositio's* composition and Humbert's larger aims. The cloistered nuns of the Order were contemplatives whose role came to be understood as socially distinct but spiritually tied to the preaching of the friars: the nuns prayed for the friars' preaching and the friars' preaching inspired women to join the nuns. According to the traditional narrative, Dominic had established the nuns' convents precisely to serve as spiritual 'centres of energy' to propel the friars' preaching mission forward.[165]

In fact, however, the historical development of this relationship is more complex. While the traditional narrative can claim some basis in the early correspondence of Jordan of Saxony and the cloistered nun Diana d'Andalo, the spiritual relationship between the mission of the friars and contemplative nuns had not yet fully solidified by Humbert's era.[166] Rather, Humbert engaged in a complex series of political and rhetorical efforts to define the Order's relationship with the nuns more precisely—a development in which Hugh of St. Cher also played a critical role. Once again, one can see Humbert's concern with stabilising the Order and consolidating its identity, which in this instance included clarifying the institutional ties between the friars and the nuns. And in the case of the nuns, Humbert exercised far more direct power over the nuns' governing texts than he did with the friars.

[165] G. Vann, *To Heaven with Diana! A Study of Jordan of Saxony and Diana d'Andalò with a Translation of the Letters of Jordan*, 2nd edn (New York, 2006), 6–7.
[166] For the Latin text of Jordan's correspondence, see Jordan of Saxony, *Beati Iordani de Saxonia Epistulae*, ed. by P.A. Walz, MOPH, XXIII (Rome, 1951). An English translation, based on an earlier Latin edition, can be found in Vann, *To Heaven With Diana!*, 47–121.

The rule initially followed by the first convent of women established by Dominic and Diego at Prouille in 1206 remains uncertain.[167] Given the prevalence of Augustine's *Rule* among many women's communities in this period—not to mention its use by the canons at Osma—a feminized version of the *Rule* may have been adopted or imposed at the Prouille convent from the beginning.[168] In any event, the *Rule of Augustine* did ultimately become the normative rule at Prouille.[169] Notably, however, the *Rule* did not provide for enclosure, although this did not necessarily preclude it. Yet in 1220, when a group of women in Madrid also asked to associate with the Friars Preachers, Dominic wrote to them: 'Let none of the sisters go outside the gate, and let nobody come in, except for the bishop or any other ecclesiastical superior, who comes to preach to you or on visitation.'[170] Whether Dominic's instructions constituted a new development or simply an extension of what was already established at Prouille continues to be a point of debate.[171]

From this point forward, things become more complicated. While the initial founding of the convent of Prouille had created an early relationship between Dominic and this individual convent of nuns, Honorius III subsequently directed Dominic to take charge of organising all the nuns' communities in Rome, transferring to him a project abandoned by the Gilbertines.[172] This ultimately led to the creation of an enclosed convent at San Sisto,

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[167] For the composition of the community at Prouille, see S. Tugwell, 'For Whom Was Prouille Founded?', *AFP*, 74 (2004), 5–125; but cf. the important critique in M.G. Pegg, 'The Paradigm of Catharism; or, the Historians' Illusion', in *Cathars in Question*, ed. by A. Sennis (Woodbridge, 2016), 40 n. 86; and 'Innocent III, les «Pestilentiels Provençaux» et le paradigme épuisé du catharisme', in *Innocent III et le Midi*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 50, 2015, 292–94.

[168] For the prevalence of the *Rule of Augustine* among women's communities from the twelfth century onward, see T. Johnson, 'La Preghiera Corale Intesa Come Luogo di Formazione e Definizione d'Identità: l'Esempio dell'ordine dei Frati Minori', in *Religiosità, e Civilità Identità delle Forme Religiose (secoli X-XIV)*, ed. by G. Andenna (Milan, 2011), 37–38.

[169] J.A. Smith, 'Prouille, Madrid, Rome: The Evolution of the Earliest Dominican *Instituta* for Nuns', *Journal of Medieval History*, 35/4 (2009), 346.

[170] V.J. Koudelka, *Dominic*, trans. by S. Tugwell (London, 1997), 163 (doc. no. 178). A Latin edition of the letter can be found in S. Tugwell, 'St. Dominic's Letter to the Nuns in Madrid', *AFP*, 56 (1986), 5–13.

[171] Smith sees a 'realignment' of the relationship between the nuns and the friars at this stage, while Tugwell works from the premise that the Prouille community had a form of observance that included enclosure. Smith, 'Prouille, Madrid, Rome', 347.

[172] Smith, 'Prouille, Madrid, Rome', 348.

where the Augustinian *Rule* was also to be followed.[173] After this, all communities of Dominican nuns observed enclosure, regardless of their location, supplementing the norms in Augustine's *Rule* with individual constitutions. Prouille either conformed to this practice or had already adopted it.

In subsequent decades, the number of convents connected with the friars grew rapidly, as did the challenge of providing for their spiritual care. Concern that the friars' primary mission of preaching was being overwhelmed by the pastoral care of the nuns boiled over during the tenure of John of Wildeshausen, who was Master from 1241–52.[174] John convinced Innocent IV to issue a decree in July 1252 establishing that the Friars Preachers would not have to assume the care of more convents until a period of twenty years had elapsed.[175] Subsequently, however, Innocent IV issued the decree *Evangelice praedicationis officium* (26 September 1252) that sought to resolve the problem more rapidly.[176] This decree cut the Order's ties with all nuns' convents, excepting only Prouille and San Sisto. Unsurprisingly, this papal intervention produced a backlash, although John of Wildeshausen's death shortly thereafter on 4 November 1252 left the matter unresolved until the Order elected a new Master in 1254—namely, Humbert of Romans.

Taking stock of the backlash against *Evangelice*, Innocent IV largely delegated the entire matter to Hugh of St. Cher on 18 February 1254.[177] As will become apparent in 3.7, this prefigures how Innocent's successor, Alexander IV, handled matters pertaining to the *Rule of Augustine* and the friars roughly one year later. Yet insofar as the nuns were concerned, Tugwell observes that Hugh and Humbert were apparently of the same mind on the matter, favouring a clear institutional relationship: 'Hugh immediately set about

[173] Smith, 'Prouille, Madrid, Rome', 347–50.
[174] Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, I, 391.
[175] BOP VII, no. 375 (p. 30). Regarding the correct date of this decree, cf. Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, I, 391, n. 134.
[176] BOP I, no. 269 (p. 217)
[177] BOP VII, no. 380 (p. 32).

restoring nuns to the Order's care, and he evidently worked out an agreed strategy with Humbert before the General Chapter of 1255.'[178] Through a series of deft political steps, Hugh arranged for various nuns' convents to be reunited with the Order, achieving this almost completely by 1257.[179] Yet this also meant that the Order re-inherited the complex history of each monastery's founding—a challenge for Humbert:

> Nuns had accrued to the Order monastery by monastery, and each house's observance was determined by its own particular history. Humbert, with his concern for uniformity, plainly found this unsatisfactory, but it was open to question whether the Order had the power to legislate for the nuns ... After the 1257 Chapter Humbert therefore asked Alexander IV to authorize him to produce uniform constitutions for all the nuns, which the pope did on 27 August [1257] in *Affectus promptitudo*.[180]

Humbert thus authored a unified set of constitutions for the nuns, which he promulgated as Master in 1259, and which were based on those he had produced for the convent at Montargis while he was Provincial of France (see 3.2.2).[181] The new constitutions emphasised both enclosure and silence, confirming a view of the nuns' vocation as primarily contemplative.[182] His concern for standardisation was evident in other areas as well, such as the nuns' manner of celebrating the Divine Office and their uniformity in religious dress.[183] These concerns show a clear overlap with Humbert's writings for the friars, especially in regard to whether one was recognisable as a member of the Order. Humbert likewise included a chapter in the nuns' constitutions about the novices and their instruction, paralleling the concern he demonstrated for the friars' formation (see 3.3.2 and 3.5).[184]

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[178] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 79.
[179] S. Tugwell, 'Were the Magdalen Nuns Really Turned into Dominicans in 1287?', *AFP*, 76 (2006), 44; Tugwell, *Legendae*, 308.
[180] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 309–10.
[181] Creytens, 'Les Constitutions Primitives Des Soeurs', 61; cf. Tugwell, *Legendae*, 308–16.
[182] The 1259 nuns' *Constitutions* are printed in AOP III, 337–47. For Humbert's views on enclosure and silence for nuns, see Tugwell, *Legendae*, 76, 315.
[183] AOP III, 339–41.
[184] AOP III, 343; cf. *De officiis*, v (p. 213).

Whereas Hugh had advanced the cause of reorganising the nuns politically, Humbert gave close attention to the internal dynamics, structures, and identity-markers that ensured the ties between the Order and the nuns would take a specific shape. Although this also meant the abandonment of many local customs, Humbert's penchant for uniformity in matters such as clothing and observance 'to a large extent prevented the differences in usages which were the bane of those who attempted to govern the [Poor] Clares.'[185]

As the foregoing also illustrates, the collaborative partnership between Humbert and Hugh was a powerful one, capable of influencing both the Holy See and the Order. At roughly the same time that Hugh and Humbert were resolving the matter with the nuns, the crisis regarding use of the *Rule of Augustine* was also beginning to emerge (see 3.7). Whether Hugh and Humbert were so similarly minded on that question—at least initially—is far less clear.

3.3.7 Routinization? The Relevance of a Weberian Analysis[186]

When considering Humbert's consolidation of the internal life of the Order it is tempting to adopt a Weberian analysis as a method of explanation. At the risk of greatly oversimplifying matters, Max Weber detailed a process whereby the 'charismatic' authority of a religious founder is passed on to his or her successor and subsequently embodied in an organisation's institutional structures. In utilising the term 'charisma' to describe the founder, Weber repurposed a traditional theological term for use in analysing social change.[187] For Weber, charismatic authority rested on a community's 'devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual

[185] C. Tulloch, 'Religious Dress in Italy in the Late Middle Ages', in *Defining Dress: Dress as Object, Meaning, and Identity*, ed. by A. de la Haye and E. Wilson (Manchester, 1999), 80–81.
[186] The focus of this section is on M. Weber's understanding of 'routinization' in religion, not the extent to which medieval religion was rational. For the latter, see the study by D.L. d'Avray, *Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis* (Cambridge, 2010).
[187] A. Even-Ezra, 'The Conceptualization of Charisma in the Early Thirteenth Century', *Viator*, 44/1 (2013), 152.

person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him.'[188] Having attracted committed followers, the transfer of the leader's authority to a successor could take a variety of forms, but the long-term trend moved towards the creation of permanent administrative and bureaucratic structures that became the bearers of this (previously charismatic) authority. Weber termed this process 'routinization' (*Veralltäglichung*).[189]

Was Humbert simply completing a process of 'routinization' in the Order by consolidating structures of authority and creating behavioural norms to replace the personal bond that Dominic had established with his first followers? Certainly, some of Humbert's activity was aimed at institutionalising the Order's distinguishing features, which were inherited from Dominic and his original community. Moreover, if Humbert was a Weberian 'routinizer', the *Expositio* might be a prime example of this process, clarifying how authority was maintained through obedience and establishing in detail how the friars ought to live in accordance with the mind and legacy of Dominic, precisely at a time when direct knowledge and memory of him was fading.

Yet while Weber's ideas are attractive for describing certain aspects of Humbert's work, there are limits to their applicability. Dominic himself, in fact, does not necessarily fit the ideal example of a charismatic leader in Weberian terms. This becomes more apparent when one draws on recent historical research and strips away some of the hagiographical patina that surrounds Dominic and the Order's early history.[190] While Dominic did attract followers, his followers seem to have been primarily drawn to his preaching mission without necessarily intending to imitate Dominic's personal piety. This contrasts with the way the person (or legend) of Francis of Assisi seems to have played a

[188] M. Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building* (Chicago, 1968), 48.
[189] Weber, *On Charisma*, 54–65.
[190] The work of S. Tugwell is especially helpful here, including his multipart series, 'Notes on the Life of St. Dominic', detailed in the bibliography.

greater role in Franciscan piety.[191] As C.H. Lawrence points out, Dominic 'did not inspire the great outpouring of hagiographical literature and legend … nor did his life-story become a source of dissension among his followers.'[192] It is likewise telling that the Friars Preachers did not make any apparent effort to preserve Dominic's sermons. His only surviving letter, in fact, was written to nuns.[193]

For Weber, the charismatic founder was fundamentally an individual.[194] Yet Dominic was not the sole actor in the creation of 'his' Order. Although he was certainly a point of continuity in the Order's early development, he was also closely bound up with other notable individuals, including bishops Diego and Fulk, not to mention Innocent III, who were all integrally involved in crafting a permanent preaching mission and bringing the Friars Preachers into existence. Later generations may have condensed this narrative so that it centred on Dominic himself, but Dominic does not fit smoothly within Weber's definition of a figure who commands hero worship or whose legitimacy rests on personal charisma.[195] A. Wesjohann has argued that Dominic did demonstrate such a Weberian charisma, but admittedly in a way that was more 'weak' (*schwach*) and situational.[196] At the same time, Dominic's exercise of 'charismatic' authority cannot be easily contrasted with more 'traditional' or 'bureaucratic' modes of authority, which is another Weberian criterion.[197] Rather, at practically every stage, Dominic seems to have acted with the

[191] One should be careful, however, not to overgeneralise or read contemporary Franciscan piety backwards into a medieval context. Many individuals joined the early Franciscans without having met Francis and their reasons for joining were not limited to (or even necessarily focused on) imitating his person. See the helpful remarks in A. Power, 'The Problem of Obedience Among the English Franciscans', in *Rules and Observance*, ed. by M. Breitenstein and others (Munich, 2014), 133–34, 139–40.
[192] Lawrence, *The Friars*, 66.
[193] See n. 170 (p. 94) above.
[194] W. Stark, *The Sociology of Religion: A Study of Christendom*, 5 vols (London, 2000), iv, 1–2.
[195] Weber, *On Charisma*, 48.
[196] A. Wesjohann, 'Flüchtigkeit und Bewahrung des Charisma, oder: War der heilige Dominikus etwa auch ein Charismatiker?', in *Charisma und religiöse Gemeinschaften im Mittelalter*, ed. by G. Andenna, M. Breitenstein, and G. Melville, Vita regularis, 26 (Munich, 2005), 227–60.
[197] Weber, *On Charisma*, 51–52.

blessing of higher authorities, seeking their authorisation for his actions and working within existing structures, even if he accomplished something novel within that larger context.

If Dominic himself does not fit perfectly within Weber's definition of an individual charismatic leader, problems also arise when trying to see Humbert as a Weberian 'routinizer'. Humbert was not Dominic's immediate successor, which would normally have been the person to routinize charismatic authority.[198] Rather, by Humbert's era, many of the major administrative structures of the Order were already well in place. Yet this was not due entirely to Dominic's early successors. Rather, many of the basic mechanisms of administration, such as annual General Chapters, the structure of Provinces and Priors Provincial, and the organization of priories, all originated during Dominic's own tenure as Master. One can argue, therefore, that Dominic himself had already undertaken the process of routinization, as G. Melville suggests:

> ...during the General Chapter of Bologna in 1220 Dominic transferred the highest authority in the order from himself to the General Chapter. Immediately afterwards the order's *Constitutiones* were passed. The text of positive law replaced the word of the charismatic leader. Guiding norms now existed in writing rather than being represented by the master's exemplary action, the founder's normative function being replaced by a different medium.[199]

Melville engages Weber's theories even more explicitly in a separate work, remarking that Dominic 'transferred his charisma onto [the Order's] institutional form, thereby already "routinizing" it (to use Max Weber's word) in his lifetime.'[200] Melville's observations are helpful in adapting Weber's framework to the specific case of Dominic. Yet his observations also raise questions about the explanatory usefulness of Weber's routinization process given that in this case the charismatic leader—himself an awkward fit within that

[198] Weber, *On Charisma*, 54–58.
[199] G. Melville, 'System Rationality and the Dominican Success', in *Franciscan Organisation in the Mendicant Context*, by M. Robson and J. Röhrkasten (Munich, 2010), 387.
[200] Melville, *Medieval Monasticism*, 238.

category—was also the agent of his own routinization.[201] This, of course, also leaves far less room for describing Humbert as a routinizer if that role was already fulfilled by the founder himself. Ultimately, Weber's framework may simply be a less useful mode of explanation for the specific development of the Friars Preachers than for other religious communities whose maturation conform better to this model. Perhaps unsurprisingly, D.L. d'Avray, who has often applied Weberian analysis to religious orders, has tended to focus on Francis rather than Dominic as an example of charismatic authority.[202] Other sociologists of religion such as W. Stark have expanded the Weberian framework by placing reforming figures like Dominic and Francis in their own category, speaking of them as 'minor founders', and including them among various individuals who brought change or renewal to established religious systems.[203]

While acknowledging, therefore, the limits of a 'pure' Weberian analysis, Weber's ideas about routinization need not be completely dismissed in regard to Humbert since they do draw our attention to his role in further solidifying the Order's internal structures and clarifying what it meant to live as a Friar Preacher in the years after the founding generation had died. Weber himself was highly concerned with relational dynamics, especially between a leader and his community, and such ideas are certainly not foreign to Humbert's writings. Yet rather than fitting the mould of a 'successor', whose routinizing activity would have been centred on matters related to legitimacy and the transfer of authority, Humbert seems more focused on the complex microcosm of his community. Insofar as he was an 'organiser' and concerned with 'conservation', he does exhibit the characteristics

[201] Interestingly, W. Stark argues something similar for Francis: 'It was Francis himself, then, who initiated the "routinization" of his movement, its transmutation into something like the older, and that meant, the fully organised, orders.' *The Sociology of Religion*, iv, 89.
[202] d'Avray, *Medieval Religious Rationalities*, 30, 80–84. It must be noted, however, that d'Avray discusses far more than simply 'routinization' in Weber and in regard to 'value rationality' and 'instrumental rationality' he has a great deal to say concerning the Dominican Order.
[203] Stark, *The Sociology of Religion*, v. 4, 84; cf. M. Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* (Honolulu, 1998), 43.

that Weber associated with a successor figure.[204] But this, of course, could be said of many superiors and Humbert is perhaps better conceptualized as one who sought to deepen a distinctly Dominican identity by better ordering and defining the abundance of functional relationships that already existed in his Order.

Ultimately, a Weberian analysis seems helpful for highlighting certain features of Humbert's tenure that fall within the broad spectrum of routinization as an ongoing process. Beyond that, however, categorising Humbert a 'routinizer' or successor figure seems either a bit too forced or too generalised to be analytically useful.

3.4 The Broader Ecclesial and Social Context: Responding to Antifraternalism

Having considered the relevant context for the *Expositio* by examining Humbert's challenges and activities within the Order and his apparent concern with the formation and consolidation of a distinct Dominican identity among the friars, it is now essential to consider the larger social, political, and ecclesial circumstances in which it was written. These, of course, are closely linked. The challenges facing the Order *ad extra* influenced and shaped Humbert's concerns, giving him every reason to articulate the friars' way of life more clearly in order to bolster the Order's cohesion in a sometimes hostile environment.

The term 'antifraternalism' has been coined by historians to describe the significant and at times widespread opposition to the friars, which affected not only Dominicans but also Carmelites, Franciscans, the Begging Friars, and various others communities associated with the friars movement.[205] Although historians have conceptualized

[204] Stark, *The Sociology of Religion*, iv, 86.
[205] An extensive literature exists on this topic. For recent studies, see among others, G. Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance, and Remembrance* (Oxford, 2012); P.R. Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature* (Princeton, 2014); Rayborn, *Against the Friars*; G.L. Dipple, '"Si Sind All Glichsner": Antifraternalism in Medieval and Renaissance German Literature', in *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honour of John V. Fleming* (Leiden, 2009), 177–92; G. Geltner, 'William of St Amour's De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum: A False Start to Medieval Antifraternalism?', in *Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honour of John V. Fleming*

antifraternalism as 'a phenomenon driven by competition over material and political resources as well as by envy', a recent study by G. Geltner argues for a far more complex picture.[206] Motives for opposition to the friars varied greatly and the phenomenon of antifraternalism persisted through the Reformation, passing through various stages along the way. As has been documented by Geltner, antifraternalism did not only take the form of intellectual polemics and political machinations, but also eruptions of physical violence, which appear to have been more common than previously thought.[207] Therefore, while the theological treatises of the period are important for understanding how the friars' legitimacy was challenged, they are insufficient sources by themselves for fully grasping the contours of the conflict. The friars also faced threats to their own physical safety and, at a practical level, needed to consider how to avoid provoking violent attacks or escalating the crisis. This sheds another light on Humbert's careful discussions of the friars' behaviour in the *Expositio*. One should not, for example, be too quick to assume that Humbert was only concerned about spiritual dangers when he warned the friars against wandering outside the convent or being restless in their behaviour.[208] Internal discipline and self-policing had a critical role to play in the friars' response to external opposition, especially when the continuance of their mission and, indeed, their own safety could also be at stake.

Underlying some of the opposition to the friars was the perception that they operated outside the established norms and traditional structures of the church. As H.-J. Schmidt notes, the secular masters at the University of Paris:

> ...did not only condemn [the mendicant's] way of life, their claim to lead a life of absolute poverty, and their provision of pastoral care outside the parishes and dioceses, they also rejected their organisational concept and especially the fact that

(Leiden, 2009), 105–18; C. Ocker, 'Contempt for Friars and Contempt for Jews in Late Medieval Germany', in *Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by S. McMichael and S. Myers (Leiden, 2004), 145–46.

[206] Geltner, *Medieval Antifraternalism*, 5.

[207] Geltner, *Medieval Antifraternalism*, 47–54.

[208] *Exp. reg.*, cxxxii (p. 399), clxxxiv (pp. 560–65).

> they established an alternative hierarchy and territorial units which disregarded the traditional ecclesiastical districts.[209]

Although the Friars Preachers had first been established in Toulouse, they defined themselves by their mission of 'preaching for the salvation of souls', which was effectively boundless in principle. Their organisational structures reflected this, allowing them to relocate personnel across Europe without regard for diocesan boundaries. Their structures were rational, given their purpose, but the Paris masters had a point in arguing that it departed from the heretofore traditional model.

As should be clear from the foregoing, part of what enabled the friars to operate so independently from diocesan structures were their ties to the papacy. Papal claims to supra-episcopal authority had a long history, but Innocent III had articulated with particular intensity the idea that the Pope possessed the *plenitudo potestatis*—a view reiterated by many of his successors.[210] The friars' movement had arisen at roughly the same time and the papacy often, although not always, saw the friars as serving goals that overlapped with its own.[211] As discussed in 2.6, the friars had secured various papal privileges and subsequently aided the papacy through their preaching of doctrinal orthodoxy, their advocacy of the crusades, their service as inquisitors, and their fostering of popular devotion to the papal office. In many ways, the friars' fortunes were bound up with the papacy's own and therefore it is not surprising to see Humbert refer to the late Innocent III in the *Expositio* as 'magnus' or to see Humbert respond to a request of Gregory X by writing a major treatise, the *Opus Tripartitum*, advising the pope on his own powers and

[209] H.-J. Schmidt, 'Establishing an Alternative Territorial Pattern', in *Franciscan Organisation in the Mendicant Context*, ed. by M. Robson and J. Röhrkasten (Berlin, 2010), 7.
[210] C. Gallagher, *Canon Law and the Christian Community: The Role of Law in the Church According to the Summa Aurea of Cardinal Hostiensis* (Rome, 1978), 51–52. Note, however, that the concept of the *plenitudo potestatis* did have limits with regard to secular authorities, even in Innocent's thinking. See Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216): To Root Up and To Plant*, 257; W.D. McCready, 'Papal Plenitudo Potestatis and the Source of Temporal Authority in Late Medieval Papal Hierocratic Theory', *Speculum*, 48/4 (1973), 654–74.
[211] Lawrence, *The Friars*, 181.

responsibilities with a view towards the Second Council of Lyon and its attempt to bring the Greek churches back into union with Rome.[212] Yet if papal patronage was integral to the friars' success, this relationship could also sour at times, to the friars' detriment.

Unsurprisingly, the debate over the friars' ecclesial role (and indeed, their legitimacy as a form of religious life) found its way rather naturally to the papal court. The challenge to the friars' liberties came most fiercely from their critics at the universities, not only because the universities were centres of theological discourse but also because they were places where the friars' growing institutional influence was keenly and directly felt.

3.4.1 The Secular-Mendicant Controversy at the University of Paris[213]

Whether Humbert became Provincial of France in 1244 or 1246, he occupied a critical supervisory role for the friars in Paris when the controversy with the secular masters at the university began to reach its zenith. The controversy already had begun to flare in 1228–29 when the friars declined to honour a faculty strike called by the university masters. That strike had been provoked by a series of events, including an altercation in a tavern, which brought to the fore the dispute between the local Parisians and the masters over the legal privileges enjoyed by the students.[214] During the strike—known as the 'Great Dispersion' because masters and students dispersed to other university locations—John of St. Giles (a secular master) enabled Roland of Cremona (a Dominican) to finish his requirements for becoming a master in theology.[215] This was accomplished legally with the approval of the

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[212] *Exp. reg.*, xxvii (p. 104); C. Carozzi, 'Humbert de Romans et L'Union avec Les Grecs', in *1274 Année Charnière, Mutations et Continuités* (Paris, 1977), 491. Remarkably, the most recent printing of Humbert's *Opus Tripartum* is found in E. Brown, ed., *Appendix Ad Fasciculum Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum Sive Tomus Secundus* (London, 1690). No manuscripts of the work are known to be extant. SOPMA, II, no. 2015.

[213] A substantial literature exists concerning these events. For a list of recent major works on the topic, see Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition*, 12 n. 3.

[214] Rayborn, *Against the Friars*, 37–38. A relatively contemporary, but not always reliable, account of the 1229 strike can be found in *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani Chronica majora*, ed. by H.R. Luard, 7 vols (London, 1872), III, 166–69.

[215] A.G. Traver, 'Rewriting History? The Parisian Secular Masters' *Apologia* of 1254', *History of Universities*, XV/1997–1999 (1997), 10–11.

university chancellor and the archbishop of Paris, William of Auvergne (d. 1249), but without the vote of the secular masters who were on strike and thus unavailable.[216] Accordingly, Roland was then licensed and proceeded to take up a chair in theology in 1229 and began teaching the friars at St. Jacques.[217] Only a few years later, John of St. Giles followed his student Roland and entered the Order in 1231, gaining for the Dominicans a second chair.[218] The friars' growing influence thus became a centrepiece of the controversy. Indeed, by using the strike to their advantage, 'the Preachers had *ipso facto* demonstrated that their primary allegiance was to their Order and not to the University.'[219]

The tension between the secular masters and the mendicants was not limited to the Dominicans and grew more acute as the influence of other religious orders also increased. Alexander of Hales, another secular master, became a Franciscan in 1236, giving a third chair to the mendicant friars on the faculty.[220] Moreover, unlike the secular masters, religious orders often arranged to keep their chairs 'within the family', so to speak, by ensuring that the holder of a chair was ultimately succeeded by a member of the same order. Thus, the chair in theology obtained by John of St. Giles was in turn passed to the Dominican friar Guerric of St. Quentin (d. 1245), and may have subsequently passed to Albert the Great in 1245.[221] During this period, Thomas Aquinas also travelled to Paris, probably by late 1245 or early 1246, to become Albert's student.[222] Meanwhile Humbert's

[216] Traver, 'Rewriting History?', 11, 18–22; P.R. McKeon, 'The Status of the University of Paris as Parens Scientiarum: An Episode in the Development of Its Autonomy', *Speculum*, 39/4 (1964), 654.
[217] CUP I, no. 34 (p. 94), unnumbered footnote.
[218] Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 364; Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition*, 13.
[219] Traver, 'Rewriting History?', 15–16.
[220] S. Delmas, 'Alexandre de Halès et le studium franciscain de Paris. Aux origines de la question des chaires franciscaines et de l'exercice quodlibétique', in *Les collèges réguliers en Europe au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. by A. Sohn and J. Verger (Bochum, 2012), 37–38. Earlier studies seem to (erroneously) list Alexander's entry date as 1231, e.g., M.-M. Dufeil, *Guillaume de Saint-Amour et la polémique universitaire parisienne, 1250-1259* (Paris, 1972), 5.
[221] S. Tugwell, ed., *Albert & Thomas: Selected Writings*, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York, 1988), 10–11; Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 366 n. 51.
[222] Tugwell, *Albert & Thomas*, 10–11; Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, I, 24. After remaining with Albert in Paris for roughly two years, Thomas returned with Albert to Cologne in May 1248, only to return alone to Paris in 1252 to begin his teaching in theology. Tugwell, *Albert & Thomas*, 11, 104–5, n. 87. Hugh of St.

role as Provincial of France during this time and his proximity to Albert and Thomas in Paris would have ensured his familiarity with the controversies and politics playing out at the university.

The secular masters saw themselves at risk of losing control of the university. Hoping to stave off these developments, they passed a statute in 1252 limiting each religious order to one chair, among other restrictions.[223] The Dominicans, having held two chairs since 1231, refused to relinquish either of them, resulting in their official expulsion from the university—although they continued to teach in their own priories.[224] In 1253, another faculty strike was called, again sparked by a conflict between students and the Parisian locals. The friars, once again, refused to support the strike.[225]

The pope at the time, Innocent IV, had been initially supportive of the friars and favoured reconciliation between the parties. In August 1253, he asked for delegates from the seculars and the friars to travel to Rome so that the matter might be resolved.[226] The secular masters sent William of Saint Amour (c. 1200–72), perhaps the friars' fiercest and most famous critic. William, like Humbert, had been born around 1200 in Burgundy and attended the university of Paris. Unlike Humbert, however, who left the university to join the friars in 1224, William completed his training in canon law and subsequently became a secular master in theology in 1250. His writings painted the role of the friars in apocalyptic terms, characterising them as hypocrites and antichrists.[227]

Practically, however, the position of the seculars was slipping. By 1254, six colleges existed at the university that were associated with religious orders.[228] Moreover, in that

Cher seems to have played a critical role in convincing the Master of the Order, John of Wildeshausen, to give Thomas this assignment. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, I, 37.
[223] The statue can be found in CUP I, no. 200 (pp. 226-27).
[224] Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition*, 13–14; Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, ii, 71.
[225] Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition*, 14.
[226] CUP I, no. 225 (pp. 249–50)
[227] Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition*, 15.
[228] Traver, 'Rewriting History?', 27.

same year, 'only three chairs remained in secular hands, three others belonging to the friars, a further three being held by cathedral canons, and the remainder being dispersed among the additional orders.'[229] Nonetheless, William's powerful rhetoric and advocacy at the Roman curia was aimed at shifting the opinion of the pope and the secular masters issued a letter on 4 February 1254 to further bolster their case.[230]

The controversy at the university of Paris was thus reaching a perilous moment for the friars when Humbert was elected Master on 31 May 1254. As noted, his education at Paris and his position as Provincial of France were almost certainly factors in his election. Upon this election, he immediately wrote an encyclical letter from the 1254 Chapter to the friars that acknowledged, in the most forceful of terms, the challenges facing the Order. Although brief, the letter incorporates an appeal to unity as well as a reference to regular discipline—themes that Humbert would repeatedly emphasise.[231]

Yet Humbert had barely been in office six months when Innocent IV issued *Etsi animarum* (21 November 1254), a bull granting almost everything the secular masters sought, severely limiting the friars' rights at the university and as placing boundaries on their pastoral work.[232] Brett describes the bull as 'cataclysmic' for the friars.[233] The secular masters' success at this moment can partly be explained by their skilled advocacy: 'through an adept manipulation of language, the secular masters ... presented a worst-case scenario' for their future at the university.[234] Yet this cataclysm for the friars turned out to be short lived. Less than three weeks later, on 7 December 1254, Innocent IV died, while his successor, Alexander IV, proved to be a powerful ally for the friars. Having served as

[229] Rayborn, *Against the Friars*, 40. Note, however, that some uncertainty exists among historians concerning the precise numbers. Cf. Traver, 'Rewriting History?', 9 n. 6; 27-30.
[230] For the letter, see CUP I, no. 230 (pp. 252-8).
[231] For the letter, see *De Vita Regulari* (Berthier, ed.), ii, 485-486.
[232] *Etsi animarum*, CUP I, no. 240 (pp. 267-70).
[233] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 23.
[234] Traver, 'Rewriting History?', 27.

Cardinal-Protector for the Franciscans before his accession, Alexander IV had a close relationship with the friars. He also seems to have taken a Dominican, Martin of Opava (Troppau) (d. 1278), as his confessor by May 1261—an influential role that Martin would continue to play for subsequent popes over roughly 20 years in the curia.[235] Alexander IV revoked *Etsi animarium* before December had even ended, issuing the bull *Nec insolitum* on 22 December 1254.[236] He followed this on 14 April 1255 with another bull, *Quasi Lignum Vitae*, which favoured the friars in numerous ways at the university, eliminating any restrictions on their chairs and effectively breaking any hope of the secular masters maintaining the control they desired.[237] This turn of events brought its own backlash:

> The Dominican Humbert of Romans noted that by the end of 1255, the masters had effectively blacklisted the Dominicans and incited hostility against them. The friars were subjected to verbal abuse in the streets, and had things thrown at them ... The point was clearly to make their lives as miserable as possible and to treat them as traitors to the university, so that they would be afraid to walk the streets. Indeed, King Louis [IX] had to assign a unit of armed guards to escort them about the city.[238]

At one point during this period a mob attacked the friars' convent in Paris, temporarily rendering them prisoners, unable to function as priests outside or to beg for food and alms.[239] And it was under Louis IX' royal protection that Thomas Aquinas gave his inaugural lecture at Paris, while demonstrations took place outside against the friars.[240] One can readily grasp, therefore, why Humbert mentions Louis positively twice within the course of his *Expositio*.[241] Louis had a long history of association with the friars and on various occasions came to their aid for motives both pious and political.[242]

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[235] A.-D. Von Den Brincken, 'Martin von Troppau', in *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Patze, Vorträge und Forschungen, 31 (Sigmaringen, 1987), 159.
[236] *Nec insolitum*, CUP I, no. 244 (pp. 276-277).
[237] For the text, see CUP I, no. 247 (pp. 279-285).
[238] Rayborn, *Against the Friars*, 47.
[239] Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, VIII, 32–36; CUP I, no. 273 (pp. 310-12).
[240] Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, I, 79.
[241] *Exp. reg.*, lxiii (p. 197), cxlii (p. 426).
[242] See L.K. Little, 'Saint Louis' Involvement with the Friars', *Church History*, 33/2 (1964), 125–48; J. Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, trans. by G.E. Gollrad (Notre Dame, 2009), 253–59, 485, 610–14.

Ultimately, the controversy at the university did not diminish until William of St. Amour overreached in his rhetoric. In March or April 1256, he published an attack on the friars known as *De periculis novissimorum temporum* (On the Dangers of Recent Times).[243] The work characterised the friars as pseudo-apostles and harbingers of the Antichrist, but as Geltner notes, 'William's true audacity lies less in a ham-fisted anti-fraternalism than in the targeting of several powerful accomplices to the mendicants' success: prelates, laymen, popes, and kings.'[244] William compounded this in 1256 by publicly preaching against both secular and ecclesiastical authorities.[245] Among other things, William 'criticised the king [Louis IX] for wearing too simple clothes and assiduously attending matins, attributing these practices to the counsel of his Dominican confessor.'[246] In turn, Louis IX ensured that these sermons and *De periculis* made their way to Rome where *De periculis* was formally condemned by Alexander IV in October 1256.[247] Having made enemies of both the pope and the king, William's influence rapidly deteriorated. Moreover, once Aquinas and Bonaventure were given places on the theology faculty at Paris, William was also intellectually (and polemically) outclassed at his own university. While problems would occasionally flare up again among the friars and the secular masters, the conflict had largely exhausted itself in Paris by 1259.[248] Yet its legacy can still be seen in Humbert's writings, as one might expect for a superior whose tenure overlapped with these events.

[243] For the Latin text with translation, see G. Geltner, ed., *William of Saint-Amour: De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum* (Paris, 2008).
[244] Geltner, *De Periculis*, 2.
[245] The relevant sermons can be found in A.G. Traver, ed., *The Opuscula of William of Saint-Amour: the Minor Works of 1255-1256* (Münster, 2003). For the controversy over the dating of these sermons, see Geltner, *De Periculis*, 11 n. 51.
[246] D.L. Douie, 'St. Bonaventure's Part in the Conflict between Seculars and Mendicants at Paris', in *S. Bonaventure, 1274-1974* (Grottaferrata, 1973), 597.
[247] For the pope's condemnation, see CUP I, no. 288 (pp. 331-3); cf. CUP I, no. 289 (pp. 333–5).
[248] Rayborn, *Against the Friars*, 50.

3.4.2 Collaboration, Deflection, and Discipline

William of St. Amour's piercing rhetoric and apocalyptic imagery had given him much of his persuasive power. While Humbert's style differed considerably, he likewise recognised the power of rhetoric to inspire and to influence behaviour. During this period he provided the rank-and-file friars with a steady stream of encouragement and exhortation in his letters and other writings. If, as discussed above, *De tribus* was written around this time, its emphatic call to 'patience' also dovetailed with Humbert's larger goals. While William had intellectual opponents in Aquinas and Bonaventure, Humbert succeeded in keeping his friars from responding with the kind of inflammatory language that ultimately contributed to William's own undoing. Brett observes a notable contrast in personalities between 'the more fiery William of St. Amour' and the 'low-keyed Humbert'.[249] A number of factors, such as their rapid growth, favoured the long-term success of the friars. Yet the friars were always in danger of undermining their own cause, as the Franciscans had experienced in Paris with the publication of Gerard of Borgo San Donnino's *Introductorius ad Evangelium Aeternum* (1254)—a work condemned as heretical in 1255 because of how he interpreted and expanded upon the thought of Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135–1202).[250] Humbert's call for unity, obedience, and self-policing in the *Expositio* can be appreciated in this context (see 4.7.1, 4.7.2, and 4.7.5).

During this contentious period, Humbert also acted rather shrewdly in coordinating a response to the university masters. As discussed in 3.2.1, Humbert engaged in a subtle effort to drive a wedge between the pastorally-engaged parochial clergy and the university masters. Simultaneously, he aimed to ally the Friars Preachers with other religious orders at the university. Relations with the Franciscans had been contentious at times in the past,

[249] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 22.
[250] J. Hammond, 'Bonaventure's *Legenda Major*', in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. by J. Hammond, J.A.W. Hellmann, and J. Goff (Leiden, 2014), 470. Unfortunately, the *Introductorius* itself has now been lost.

but Humbert sought to mollify such tensions and to coordinate a response to the crisis. This can be seen in 1255 when Humbert and the Franciscan Minister General, John of Parma (r. 1247–57), issued the joint encyclical *Salvator saeculi*.[251]

The joint encyclical attempted to do several things simultaneously. As a collaborative effort by both leaders, it sought to strengthen relations between their two communities and advance a coordinated response. Humbert would also take supplemental steps to bolster this, such as his 1255 letter *Noverit vestra dilectio*, which among other things specified that if a bishop gave permission to the Friars Preacher to preach on a particular occasion but denied the same permission to the Friars Minor, the permission was not to be used.[252] The joint encyclical itself, moreover, presented the two Orders as partners in a divine plan, describing Dominic and Francis as founders who had shown mutual charity and who had assisted each other 'by extolling the other's praises, by faithfully promoting what was mutually useful, and by avoiding scandals and disturbances with each other with the greatest diligence and prudence.'[253] Through this bit of historical reframing, their respective communities were thus encouraged to follow their example.

But much more than this, *Salvator saeculi* sought not only to improve relations between the two Orders, but to appropriate to themselves prophetic language drawn from scripture and redolent of Joachim of Fiore's predictions. Joachim's writings, especially his *Liber Concordia* and *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, had described the arrival of 'spiritual men' (*viri spirituales*) who would usher in the final age.[254] A key study of Joachim's work by M.

[251] The encyclical can be found in various Dominican and Franciscan collections of sources, including Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, VIII, 25-31; *De Vita Regulari*, ii, 494–500; and L. Wadding, ed., *Annales Minorum*, 30 vols (Quaracchi, 1931), III, 380–83.
[252] Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, VII, 21-24 at 23; R.B. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government: Elias to Bonaventure* (Cambridge, 1959), 230–31.
[253] Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, VII, 27.
[254] For a new critical edition of the *Liber Concordia*, see Joachim of Fiore, *Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti*, ed. by A. Patschovsky, Monumenta Germaniae historica. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 28, 4 vols (Wiesbaden, 2017). For the *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, the most recent edition remains the 1527 text originally published in Vienna, but reprinted as Joachim von Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Frankfurt a. M., 1964). A listing of the many references to the *viri spirituales* in these two

Reeves traces the development of the idea of the *viri spirituales*, who would carry out their active and contemplative functions in two groups as they led the world to its ultimate contemplative state (the *ecclesia contemplatium*).[255] While not entirely consistent across his writings, Joachim's two groups of *viri spirituales* came to be conceptualised as two orders that were associated with pairs of biblical personages and symbols (e.g., Moses and Elijah, the two olive trees of Zachariah [Zach. 4:3], Noah's raven and dove).[256] Many later individuals (including friars) were more than willing to see the new mendicant orders of Franciscans and Dominicans as fulfilling Joachim's words—and the encyclical letter of Humbert and John of Parma displayed a noteworthy (albeit careful) willingness to draw close to this same suggestion. Embracing eschatological and apocalyptic rhetoric, it puts forward the friars as having been raised up 'in these last days, at the end of the ages ... for the ministry of salvation.'[257] The encyclical praises Dominic and Francis through pairs of (mostly) biblical symbols (e.g., the two trumpets of Moses, the two Cherubim above the tabernacle, the two sons of the olive of splendour, the two stars of light associated with the Erythrean Sybil).[258] While the letter never mentions Joachim of Fiore by name, most of the same biblical pairs mentioned in the letter likewise occur in Joachim's writings and the one non-biblical reference (the Sybil) is probably also drawn from a work attributed to him.[259]

works has been compiled in M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 2000), 141 n. 1.

[255] Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 141–43; See also M. Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (Stroud, 1999), 29–31.

[256] Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 143.

[257] Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, VIII, 25; Translation mine.

[258] Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, VIII, 25–26.

[259] Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy*, 146–47; F. Andrews, 'The Influence of Joachim in the 13th Century', in *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore* (Leiden, 2018), 239. The work referencing the prophecy of the Erythrean Sibyl is the *Super Hieremiam*. Although widely held to be Joachim's work in the thirteenth century, it is now thought to be the product of one or more later authors. See R. Moynihan, 'The Development of the "Pseudo-Joachim" Commentary "Super Hieremiam" : New Manuscript Evidence', *Mélanges de l'école Française de Rome*, 98/1 (1986), 109–42; and G.L. Potestà, 'Il *Super Hieremiam* e il gioachimismo della dirigenza minoritica della metà del Duecento', in *Mediterraneo, Mezzogiorno, Europa: Studi in onere di Cosimo Damiano Fonseca*, ed. by G. Andenna and H. Houben (Bari, 2004), II, 879–94. No critical edition exists, but the text can be found in *Eximii profundissimique sacrorum eloquiorum ... Abbatis Joachim Florensis scriptum super Hiereiam prophetam* (Venice, 1516).

Although not explicitly claiming to be the fulfilment of Joachim's two orders of spiritual men—a claim that would necessarily have involved a greater endorsement of Joachim's prophetic schema than may have seemed prudent or desirable—the letter nonetheless invites seeing the two Orders as the fulfilment of prophetic foreshadowing (whether biblical, Joachim-inspired, or both).[260] As Jotischky notes, appeals to prophecy could serve a 'validating' function for the two Orders, providing them with another means to claim legitimacy—complementing their appeals to the *vita apostolica*, authorities such as Augustine, and the legal rights they had acquired.[261] In the face of opposition, both John and Humbert were able to leverage the general societal acceptance of the possibility of prophetic discourse and prophetic fulfilment and thus employ it as a way of bolstering the position of their own communities.

Humbert's efforts to cultivate a cooperative relationship with the Franciscans through his join encyclical with John of Parma also had echoes throughout the Order. Internal legislation urging the Dominican friars to promote peaceable relations with the Franciscans not only found expression in the Order's General Chapters but also in parallel legislation at the Provincial level, even after the height of the controversy had crested. The Provincial Chapter of Provence held at Marseille in 1260, for example, admonished the brothers that the Friars Minor "should be received respectfully" and every effort should be made to avoid giving them any offense.[262] Those who did not heed this admonishment were to be punished by the prior.[263] Six years later, the same Province held a Chapter in Limoges and used even stronger language, saying that friars "ought to be exceedingly zealous to

[260] Andrews, 'The Influence of Joachim in the 13th Century', 239. Andrews notes that interpretations of the letter stressing evidence of Joachim's themes are disputed, although the openness to prophetic foreshadowing in general is clearly evident. For the dispute over Joachim's influence on the letter, see Canetti, *L'invenzione della memoria*, 343 and 447; G.L. Potestà, *Il tempo dell'apocalisse: Vita di Gioacchino da Fiore* (Rome, 2004), 892.
[261] Jotischky, 'Patterns of Historical Thinking', 291–93.
[262] *Acta prov. Prov.* (Marseille, 1260), 80.
[263] *Acta prov. Prov.* (Marseille, 1260), 80.

preserve peace and concord with the Friars Minor," and those who acted otherwise were to be severely punished.[264]

At the same time, Humbert also looked to further cement the Order's presence in Rome. While Louis IX had proven to be an important friend, several decisive turns in the controversy had been the result of papal intervention. The potential value of having a consistent voice at the papal court could not have escaped Humbert, especially given his earlier service as Prior Provincial of the Roman Province. Accordingly, by 1256 Humbert had established the position of *Procurator ordinis* (Procurator of the Order), also called the Procurator General, who was permanently based in Rome as an official intermediary between the Order and the Roman curia.[265] The friars seem to have quickly recognised the advantages of having such a position—only four years later a General Chapter warned the friars against writing to the *Procurator ordinis* on behalf of friends seeking curial favours.[266]

Humbert's efforts to foster new alliances were not limited to the Franciscans or the creation of the *Procurator ordinis*. One can see the same concern in several of his subsequent writings, such as *De officiis,* which displays Humbert's 'constant emphasis ... on the importance of cultivating friendship and cooperation among his friars, the Franciscans, and the secular hierarchy.'[267] *De officiis* sought to instil this concern throughout the Order's leadership, forming the friars in a particular way of thinking about the Order's external relations. Humbert speaks, for example, about the need for priors to 'preserve and multiply friends of the Order and gain the favour of bishops, magnates, priests, clerics and nobles, and if possible, all others'.[268] The events at Paris had shown the

[264] *Acta prov. Prov.* (Limoges, 1266), 121–22.
[265] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Paris, 1256), 81 (ln. 40). See also Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 31 n. 63.
[266] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Strasburg, 1260), 105.
[267] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 134.
[268] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 138. Brett's translation, quoted above, is from *De officiis*, vii (p. 206).

critical importance of having friends in the right places and one can see Humbert trying to embed this lesson in the Order's institutional memory. One might add, moreover, that Humbert himself had benefitted from having the right friends as patrons (i.e., Hugh of St. Cher) and so the notion that the Order's fate was tied to collaborative relationships surely fit well with his own experience.

Concerning the institutional memory of the events at Paris, it is noteworthy that in 1255, when the crisis was particularly intense, Humbert wrote to the friars in Orleans that 'we are nowhere and never safe.'[269] Geltner argues that Humbert actually overstated the danger the friars faced at that time, which helped to establish the narrative that the Order was the weaker party in a great struggle. Subsequent generations picked up on this description of events:

> By reinforcing their own order's sense of victimhood during (and implicitly beyond) the original affair, mendicants were enhancing their corporate identity from within by developing a Christological understanding of their orders' tribulations...'[270]

In deflecting the assault against the Order, Humbert simultaneously moulded the Order into a more uniform body with shared experiences and narratives. One might say the Order came to be 'battle-hardened' and shaped by the events—but also by their carefully constructed memory, which further crystalized their identity. This came to be true not only in terms of mission, which was always relatively clear, but in terms of their communal behaviour and its connection to their mission. The theological treatises written by Aquinas and others to defend the legitimacy of mendicancy can be seen as part of this process, since they reinforced mendicancy and the friars' mode of life as absolutely essential to their preaching. Interestingly, S. Steckel and S. Kluge have also observed:

> ...during this important episode of Dominican identity formation—the period when the Order was attacked harshly in the quarrels at the University of Paris, but also

[269] Geltner, *Medieval Antifraternalism*, 108. Humbert's letter which Gelter quotes can be found in CUP I, no. 273 (pp. 309–13). The relevant passage is on p. 312.
[270] Geltner, *Medieval Antifraternalism*, 108.

> underwent a first marked generational renewal—chastity seems to have received much attention.[271]

Humbert's remarks on this topic will be explored at greater length in 4.7.6, but here too one sees Humbert responding to the friars' external challenges by driving them to live more disciplined and carefully-ordered lives, while simultaneously taking the opportunity to reinforce the public markers and identity-defining aspects of religious life, which included separation from women. Lastly, the *Vitae fratrum*, as already discussed, was compiled by Gerard of Frachet and edited by Humbert during this same period and its collection of *exempla* likewise served 'to sharpen and consolidate Dominican norms and identity'—a goal Humbert pursued at multiple levels throughout his tenure.[272]

3.5 Parallels with Bonaventure

Antifraternalism confronted the Friars Preachers with numerous challenges, but it would be a mistake to conclude that their difficulties were unique or that the particular situation at Paris was their only heated encounter with opposition. Indeed, throughout the Middle Ages, mendicant communities often experienced periods of difficulty with local bishops, secular clergy, and general antifraternal sentiment.[273]

As just discussed, Humbert and John of Parma had worked together in the face of the mendicant controversy at Paris, but this was certainly not the only example of Dominicans and Franciscans facing overlapping problems. In this regard, certain parallels can also be observed between how Humbert and his Franciscan contemporary, Bonaventure (1217/21–74), responded to similar situations.[274] Only three years into Humbert's service

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[271] 'Under Pressure. Secular-Mendicant Polemics and the Construction of Chaste Masculinity within the Thirteenth-Century Latin Church', in *Celibate and Childless Men in Power: Ruling Eunuchs and Bishops in the Pre-Modern World*, ed. by A. Höfert, M. Mesley, and S. Tolino (Abingdon, 2018), 278.
[272] Steckel and Kluge, 'Under Pressure', 278.
[273] For recent studies on antifraternalism, see n. 205 above. In addition, the work by F. Andrews also provides some complementary material pertaining to lesser-studied groups of friars. See *The Other Friars: The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006).
[274] Although potentially an interesting path for future investigation, no attempt is made here to provide a complete comparative study of Bonaventure and Humbert. Rather, this section limits itself to highlighting

as Master of the Order of Preachers, Bonaventure was chosen to replace John of Parma as Minister General of the Franciscans, a position Bonaventure held from 1257–74. Although separated by at least a decade in age, both Bonaventure and Humbert had studied at Paris, and Bonaventure may have studied for a time under Hugh of St. Cher, as Humbert did.[275] In general, points of intersection between the governance of Bonaventure and Humbert have been overshadowed by the more frequent comparisons between Aquinas and Bonaventure in matters of theology. But while Bonaventure's theological output naturally invite comparison with Aquinas, the historical parallels between Humbert and Bonaventure in matters of governance are equally striking and remain a mostly unexplored topic.

At the time he took office, Humbert's own election filled a leadership vacuum—his predecessor John of Wildeshausen having died over a year and a half earlier—while Bonaventure replaced John of Parma after the latter's position became untenable due to his association with the condemned *Introductorius* of Gerard of Borgo San Donnino (mentioned in 3.4.2 above).[276] At this stage, both Orders held chairs at the university of Paris and were rapidly growing, as already noted, and both faced opposition from secular masters, although greater theological suspicion loomed over the Franciscans due to the *Introductorius*. For both Humbert and Bonaventure, therefore, fostering better internal discipline and consolidating their orders' identity emerged as key themes in their governance.

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certain parallels that are potentially useful for better understanding and contextualising Humbert's activities as Master in view of his composition of the *Expositio*. For overviews focusing on Bonaventure's time as Minister General with current bibliographies, see especially D.V. Monti, 'Bonaventure as Minister General', in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. by J.M. Hammond, W. Hellmann, and J. Goff (Leiden, 2014), 543–78; G.G. Merlo, *In the Name of St. Francis*, trans. by R. Bonnano (St. Bonaventure, NY, 2006), 200–220; M.J.P. Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006), 82–94; in addition, the works by D. Burr referenced in n. 295 below are significant for recent historiographical shifts in understanding Bonaventure's role as Master General.

[275] L.J. Smith, 'Bonaventure', ed. by W.W. Kibler, *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia* (1995), 154.

[276] For John of Parma's governance and his resignation, see among others, D. Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2003), 29–32; Monti, 'Bonaventure as Minister General', 552.

These parallels can be observed on several levels. In response to William of St. Amour, Bonaventure defended the rights of the mendicants on theological grounds, engaging in a series of written debates over 'disputed questions' in 1255–56, while also authoring related works such as *De humilitate,* which appeared in September 1255.[277] Although not a theological treatise, Humbert likewise defended the friars vigorously in his encyclical letter from early-April 1256 which excoriated those threatening the Order in Paris.[278] But as the conflict progressed, both Humbert and Bonaventure seem to have recognized that the heated rhetoric of William might also be effectively combatted by demonstrating greater reserve on their side, especially as William's attacks became ever more far reaching. During the Lenten and Easter seasons of 1256, for example, when William's invectives against the friars turned particularly sharp, 'Bonaventure's sermons during the same period are a striking contrast as they make no allusion to conflict.'[279] Humbert may have encountered Bonaventure around this same time since he had arrived in Paris by Pentecost for his Order's General Chapter of 1256—from which Humbert chose to send another letter adopting a much calmer tone and urging the friars to 'not to be troubled if they should hear that our brothers are enduring tribulation in some times and places'.[280]

In addition to the controversy at Paris, M. Schlosser describes how the 'immense influx' of new recruits lead the 'former companions [of Francis] who were still alive to be deeply worried about the ideals of the original founding charism.'[281] Here too a parallel with Humbert can be observed since the same problems of growth that Humbert faced as

[277] Douie, 'St. Bonaventure's Part in the Conflict', 589–90; V. Mäkinen, *Property Rights in the Late Medieval Discussion on Franciscan Poverty* (Lueven, 2001), 27–29. Bonaventure's most famous theological defence of mendicancy, the *Apologia pauperum*, was written in the autumn of 1269, during a later period of controversy. M. Schlosser, 'Bonaventure: Life and Works', in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. by J. Hammond, J.A.W. Hellmann, and J. Goff (Leiden, 2014), 46, 48–49.
[278] Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, VIII, 31–38.
[279] Douie, 'St. Bonaventure's Part in the Conflict', 597.
[280] Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, VIII bis, 41; See also *Acta cap. gen.* I, 78–83; *De vita regulari*, ii, 501–02.
[281] Schlosser, 'Bonaventure: Life and Works', 28.

Master were even more present for Bonaventure, whose order was expanding considerably faster.[282] Humbert's response can partly be seen in the instructions he gives for the Novice Master in *De officiis* (discussed above in 3.2.2 and 3.3.5) and the considerable importance he attached to that role. For his part, Bonaventure published in 1260 a set of his own *Instructions for Novices.*[283] Commenting on Bonaventure's *Instructions*, D. Monti observes that 'Bonaventure undoubtedly shared the sentiments of his fellow major superior, Humbert of Romans, concerning what he wrote in *De officiis*, namely, that "the whole hope of a religious Order hinges on the initial formation of the novices"'.[284] Insofar as the novitiate was a place where novices were incorporated into a larger culture and way of life, both superiors had endeavoured to shape the formation of novices through their writings and instructions.

In addition, along with standardising novitiate formation, Humbert and Bonaventure also contributed to forging a common corporate memory about their respective founders. On this point, both Bonaventure and Humbert composed official biographies of their respective founders—and, indeed, both did so at the request of their General Chapters. As discussed above (3.3.4), Humbert's first attempt at a biography of Dominic, the *Legenda prima*, was undertaken in 1246, when Humbert was Prior Provincial of France, while his second, the *Legenda maior*, was promulgated in 1256 when he was Master.[285] Both of Humbert's *legendae* were written as parts of larger lectionary projects and intended as liturgical texts, rather than stand-alone works.

[282] An useful overview of the expansion of the Franciscans throughout Europe can be found in 'Franziskaner, B. Verbreitung in Den Übrigen Ländern Europas', *Lexikon Des Mittelalters* (Zurich, 1989), cols 807–820.
[283] Bonaventure, 'Instructions for Novices (c. 1260)', in *Writings Concerning the Franciscan Order*, trans. by D. Monti, The Works of St. Bonaventure, 5 (St. Bonaventure, NY, 1994), 149–51.
[284] 'Instructions for Novices (c. 1260)', 145. Humbert's remark can be found in his *De officiis*, v (p. 213).
[285] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Paris, 1246), 36; (Paris, 1256), 78; Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, VIII-bis, 42.

Four years after the promulgation of Humbert's *Legenda maior*, the Franciscan General Chapter of 1260, held in Narbonne, requested the production of a definitive *legenda* for Francis.[286] This project, entrusted to Bonaventure, was similar in certain respects to the one undertaken by Humbert and there is good reason to believe he attended Humbert's example in crafting it.[287] Yet interestingly, unlike Humbert, Bonaventure composed his biography of Francis in larger and smaller versions (i.e., the *Legenda maior* and *Legenda minor*). The former could serve as a stand-alone text, perhaps used for table reading, while the *Legenda minor* was a liturgical version suitable for reading at Matins.[288] Tugwell judges that Bonaventure's two-sized approach had certain advantages, ensuring a more successful distribution of the work, and that Humbert had made a 'tactical mistake' by linking his *legenda* solely to the lectionary—from which it ultimately become unmoored and circulated separately.[289] One might speculate, therefore, that Bonaventure not only followed Humbert in producing a *legenda*, but also learned from Humbert's example in better arranging the material for distribution.

In any event, by producing these *legendae,* both leaders not only gave their respective Orders new biographies, but also new glasses through which to view the lives of their founders. As biographies, Brett judges the *legendae* of Humbert and Bonaventure to be inferior to earlier works on literary and historical grounds.[290] But from an historiographical perspective, the real value of Humbert and Bonaventure's works lie not in how accurately they depict their respective subjects but in their witness to the shifts that

[286] The 1260 Franciscan General Chapter at Narbonne has generally been taken as the one that called for a new *legenda* of Francis. This is not without dispute, however. For this debate and the question of the dating of Bonaventure's *Legenda minor*, see T.J. Johnson, 'The *Legenda Minor*', in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. by J. Hammond, J.A.W. Hellmann, and J. Goff (Leiden, 2014), 445–50; cf. A.T. Haase, 'Bonaventure's "Legenda Maior": A Redaction Critical Approach' (unpublished PhD Thesis, Fordham University, 1990), 51 n. 65. For the distribution of Humbert's *Legenda maior* by this point, see Tugwell, *Legendae*, 30–51.
[287] Johnson, 'The *Legenda Minor*', 447–48.
[288] Schlosser, 'Bonaventure: Life and Works', 29.
[289] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 30, 276–77.
[290] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 96 n. 67.

were occurring in how the two Orders curated the memory of their founders. As M. Schlosser has noted, a *legenda* is 'not just a simple biography ... [but] the attempt to paint a certain picture of a person.'[291] How the members of a religious community remembered and understood their founder could have a significant impact in how they carried out and perpetuated his mission and legacy.[292]

Along these lines, Bonaventure's writings—and, indeed, Bonaventure's tenure as Minister General—have often been interpreted as part of an effort to keep the Franciscans unified amidst rising factionalism over questions of poverty.[293] Indeed, Brett interprets Bonaventure's *legendae* in this manner, judging them to be 'devoid of controversial matter' precisely so as to avoid anything that would favour the movement of 'Spiritual Franciscans' and contribute to division.[294] Yet more recent scholarship has brought this once rather common interpretation into serious doubt. For example, D. Burr has argued that the division between Spiritual and Conventual Franciscans must be dated to later period, given the lack of evidence for distinguishable factions until well after Bonaventure's death in 1274 and the still 'unfocused' quality of the tendencies that would subsequently characterise and define the Spiritual and Conventual Franciscans in the early-fourteenth century.[295] Following this line, Bonaventure's *legendae* are best seen not as attempts to hold together diverging groups but as texts consistent with his other writings—writings that reflected the

[291] Schlosser, 'Bonaventure: Life and Works', 30.
[292] For the role of 'collective memory' and the process of 'collective remembering' in monastic communities see, among others, H. Lundhaug, 'Memory and Early Monastic Literary Practices: A Cognitive Perspective', *Journal of Cognitive Historiography*, 1 (2014), 98–120; J. Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1992), 125–91.
[293] See the analysis and critique of this interpretation in Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 35–36.
[294] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 96 n. 67.
[295] Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 40–41. This work expands on Burr's (still useful) but earlier and more specialised study, *Olivi and Franciscan Poverty: The Origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy* (Philadelphia, 1989). Burr's interpretation of the history of these divisions seems to have gained fairly wide acceptance. See, for example, Mews and Welch, *Poverty and Devotion in Mendicant Cultures, 1200-1450*, 2; K.L. Hughes, 'Bonaventure's Defense of Mendicancy', in *A Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. by J.M. Hammond, W. Hellmann, and J. Goff (Lieden, 2014), 512–13; N. Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209–1310* (Cornell, 2012), 6 n. 9; K. Madigan, 'The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis by David Burr (Review)', *American Historical Review*, 107/4 (2002), 1282–83.

development and institutional maturation of the Franciscan Order as the Franciscans continued to reinterpret the significance of Francis' historical role and the contemporary meaning of his legacy.[296] While this may remove some of the institutional drama behind Bonaventure's *legendae*, it actually increases the extent to which the *legendae* of Humbert and Bonaventure can be seen as having been composed under somewhat similar (as opposed to radically different) circumstances. Both Orders were undergoing processes of development and consolidation and both were negotiating how their founders' lives and examples would be remembered and understood as part of their evolving sense of identity and mission. This is not to say, of course, that their *legendae* are similar in structure or contents. Not only did Dominic and Francis have different personal histories but Bonaventure's *legendae* also reflect his own theological orientation, incorporating Apocalyptic and eschatological themes that echo (but also redirect and temper) the line of thought popularised by Joachim of Fiore—and, one might add, some of the language of the encyclical of John of Parma and Humbert.[297] Humbert's efforts, by comparison, seem far less theologically ambitious and more exclusively focused on producing a uniform life out of the existing biographies (see the earlier discussion in 3.3.4). Yet without attempting a full textual or thematic comparison, which would require an extended digression, a parallel can be noted in that both Bonaventure and Humbert faced similar tasks in assimilating their founders to the realities of their Orders' developing character and institutional roles.[298] Both

[296] See D. Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary* (Philadelphia, 1993), 27–28, 44; Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 37.
[297] This is especially true of the *Legenda maior*. On this point, see the thorough analysis by Hammond, 'Bonaventure's *Legenda Major*', esp. 470-473. Regarding the joint encyclical, Bonaventure's *Legenda maior* and the encyclical share the same opening line from Tit. 2:11. See the observations in L. Pellegrini, 'Il Ruolo "profetico" Di Francesco d'Assisi: Analisi Sincronica Del Prologo Della "Legenda Major"', in *Francescanesimo e Profezia*, ed. by E. Covi (Rome, 1985), 368–368 n. 11.
[298] Burr notes that many historians have found in Bonaventure's *legendae* 'a Francis more to be venerated than imitated', although Burr himself modifies this somewhat by adding that Francis became rather 'a different sort of model, one lying beyond our reach *yet drawing us after it*' (emphasis added). Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 37. J.T. Hammond, however, strongly stresses the notion of imitation in the *Legenda maior*, although in a way adapted for the circumstances of the Franciscans at that time, cf. 'Bonaventure's *Legenda Major*', 462–66.

thus contributed to the process of forging institutional memories of their founders shaped by contemporary circumstances.

In practice, the two Orders diverged in how they sought to implement these new *legendae*. While the 1260 Dominican General Chapter made clear that only Humbert's *legendae* were to be copied, no significant attempt was made to suppress other circulating biographies.[299] In contrast, the Franciscan General Chapter of 1266 stated:

> ...all the legends of the Blessed Francis that have been made should be removed [*deleantur*]. Wherever they find these outside the Order, let the brothers strive to remove [*deleantur*] them.[300]

As a result, earlier versions of Francis' life were destroyed outright or scratched away from their parchment so that it might be reused.[301] That nothing similar occurred or was insisted upon by the Dominicans has generally been taken as suggesting that less controversy existed over the Dominic's intentions and that Dominican 'identity' was not as dependent upon it.[302] Tugwell argues that for Humbert the primary concern was 'uniform observance and his more specific commitment to the ideal of a standardized lectionary.'[303] Therefore, while Humbert and Bonaventure may parallel each other in the production of their *legendae*, they differ in the relative importance of these works—and, arguably, in the relative importance of their founders—which seems reflected in how vigorously they were imposed.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to conclude that Bonaventure and Humbert held different views about the importance of uniformity in liturgical matters.[304] On the contrary,

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[299] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Strasburg, 1260), 105.
[300] Francis of Assisi, *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*, ed. by R.J. Armstrong, W.J. Short, and J.A.W. Hellmann, 3 vols (New York, 1999), I, i, 18.
[301] Francis of Assisi, *Francis of Assisi*, I, i, 29 n. 23. Happily, the text of some earlier versions survived, often preserved by other religious communities.
[302] Melville, 'System Rationality and the Dominican Success', 387.
[303] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 248.
[304] On this point, J.T. Hammond has argued that it was actually a desire for liturgical uniformity that led the 1266 Franciscan General Chapter to impose the *Legenda maior* so aggressively, rather than a desire to ensure an irenic depiction of Francis. Although Hammond is clearly in the minority in his interpretation, it would strengthen the parallels noted above. See Hammond, 'Bonaventure's *Legenda Major*', 456–57.

as with Dominicans, the liturgy served as a key place of identity formation for the 'second generation' of Franciscans:

> While the first generation of the Order of Friars Minor initially constructed their own evangelical identity along the streets of Europe and beyond, the second generation focused themselves on the cloister and, in particular, on the choir inside the conventual church as the most appropriate *locum Dei* in which the new candidates, praying and preaching, would be formed in accordance with the growing institutional identity of the Order.[305]

The Divine Office played a particularly important role in this interior formation and Bonaventure was an important figure in clarifying its mode of its celebration.[306] In his *Instructions for Novices*, for example, the first chapter concerned the proper celebration of the Divine Office—something Humbert also explicitly instructed the Novice Master to educate Dominican novices about.[307] Insofar as one's sense of identity as a friar was first acquired in the novitiate, training in corporate worship was an integral part of this socialisation.

Along with communal observances and liturgy, the friars' identity was also shaped by environment and the material structures they inhabited. The architecture of the friars' churches in the Middle Ages—a subject of study in its own right—was sometimes a matter of contentious debate within both Dominican and Franciscan communities.[308] C. Bruzelius observes that Bonaventure needed to reconcile poverty and itineracy with the construction of permanent Franciscan friaries.[309] Although the Franciscans had developed basic architectural guidelines as early as 1239, which were essentially reiterated in the 1260 Constitutions of Narbonne, the practical implementation of these norms was another

[305] Johnson, 'La Preghiera Corale', 247. Translation mine.
[306] Johnson, 'La Preghiera Corale', 248–49.
[307] *De officiis*, v (p. 217).
[308] Recent studies of particular note include Kennedy, *Sanctity Pictured*; Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*; Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches*; Bruzelius, 'The Architecture of the Mendicant Orders', 365–86. See also the works listed in n. 12 of Chapter I above.
[309] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 40.

matter.[310] Bonaventure clearly felt it necessary to reiterate prohibitions against luxury in building—something he began doing as early as his first encyclical letter (1257).[311] As with the Franciscans—indeed, to a much greater extent—the Friars Preachers had enacted legislation regulating the construction of buildings.[312] And like Bonaventure, Humbert repeatedly pushed back against pressure to build ever-grander structures.[313] Humbert, in fact, complains about the friars in this regard in the *Expositio*: 'many seem to care more about collecting stones and wood for physical buildings than about the books pertaining to the ministry of souls!'[314] Moreover, under Humbert, the 1258 General Chapter enacted legislation insisting upon 'humble and moderate' buildings that complied with the *Constitutions*, while the 1261 General Chapter levelled penalties upon a convent in Barcelona for having constructed dormitories that went beyond the law's stipulations.[315] Ultimately, both Bonaventure and Humbert acted similarly in seeking to temper the building ambitions of their friars, which reflected not only concerns about poverty but also the risk of scandal and charges of hypocrisy.[316]

Finally, although might also hope to find a relevant parallel between these two leaders by comparing Humbert's *Expositio* with the *Expositio super Regulam Fratrum*

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[310] For the 1239 regulations, see C. Cenci and G. Mailleux, eds., *Constitutiones generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum I (Saeculum XIII)* (Grottaferrata, 2007), frag. 34 and 35 (p. 9) and vest. 69, 71–72, and 87 (pp. 52-53, 55); cf. with those of 1260 in C. Cenci and G. Mailleux, eds., 'Constitutiones generales narbonenses anni 1260', in *Constitutiones generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum I (Saeculum XIII)* (Grottaferrata, 2007), 75; or, in translation, D. Monti, tran., 'The Constitutions of Narbonne (1260)', in *Writings Concerning the Franciscan Order*, Works of St. Bonaventure, V (St. Bonaventure, NY, 1994), III.15-18 (pp. 85-86); and see the analysis in R.A. Sundt, 'The Architectural Constitutions of the Franciscan Order: Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, 38/2 (2019), 67–68.

[311] For Bonaventure's 1257 letter, see *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae opera omnia*, 11 vols (Quaracchi, 1882), VIII, 468–69 at 469.

[312] See especially the study of Sundt, 'Mediocres Domos', 394–407. The *Constitutions* operative and edited under Humbert also included numerous provisions pertaining to the construction of buildings. See 'Liber constitutionum ordinis fratrum praedicatorum (iuxta codicem prototypum B. Humberti in Archivo Generali Ordinis Romae asservatum)', *ASOP*, 3 (1897), 98–104.

[313] Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 40.

[314] *Exp. reg.*, cxl (p. 423).

[315] *Act cap. gen.* I (Toulouse, 1258), 93; (Barcelona, 1261), 111.

[316] Bonaventure, in fact, directly addressed charges of hypocrisy and claims that the friars were departing from their *Rule* in the erection of buildings in 'Letter in Response to Three Questions of an Unknown Master (1254-55)', in *Writings Concerning the Franciscan Order*, Works of St. Bonaventure, V (St. Bonaventure, NY, 1994), 48–49.

Minorum sometimes attributed to Bonaventure, recent scholarship appears to have settled on attributing the authorship to John Peckham [Pecham] (c. 1230–92).[317] If Bonaventure did write the *Expositio super Regulam Fratrum Minorum*, he would not have been the first to compose such a commentary, as discussed below in 4.4.1. Indeed, several other Franciscan commentaries had already been written on Francis' *Rule* by this point.[318] Humbert, in fact, may have taken some inspiration from the earliest Franciscan commentators when he undertook to write the *Expositio* as the first Dominican commentary on Augustine's *Rule*. Yet, as also discussed in 4.4.1, commentaries on Francis' *Rule* are not necessarily the best or most fruitful texts for comparison with Humbert's *Expositio* since they comment on radically different base texts and often bear little resemblance in style or content. Ultimately, if both Bonaventure and Humbert, who were contemporaries and formed in the same academic environment, did both author rule commentaries at roughly the same time, then the most significant parallel probably lies not in their contents but in their respective use of this genre as a tool for achieving greater institutional stability and

[317] The text can be found in *Opera Omnia Sancti Bonaventura*, 15 vols (Paris, 1864), viii, cols. 391–437b. The work was largely attributed to Bonaventure until this was challenged by F.M. Delorme in 1929 and again in 1932, with John Peckham posited as the author. See F. Delorme, ed., Meditatio pauperis in solitudine auctore Anonymo (Florence, 1929), xxv; F.M. Delorme, 'Trois chapitres de Jean Peckam pour la défense des Ordres mendiants', *Studi Francescani*, 29 (1932), 49. Following on this, E. Longpré defended Bonaventurian authorship in 1937 (E. Longpré, 'Bonaventure (Saint) [1221-1274]', DHGE, IX, cols. 781–83), as did S. Clasen in 1940 (S. Clasen, *Der hl. Bonaventura und das Mendikantentum. Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte des Pariser Mendikantenstreites (1252-72)*, Franziskanische Forschungen, 7 [Werl, 1940], 25–27). Yet C. Harkins subsequently offered the most extended case to date in 1969 for attributing the work to Peckham See C. Harkins, 'The Authorship of a Commentary on the Franciscan Rule Published among the Works of St. Bonaventure', *Franciscan Studies*, 29/1 (1969), 157–248, although this was briefly challenged by E.R. Daniel, 'The Desire for Maryrdom: A Leitmotiv of St. Bonaventure', *Franciscan Studies*, 32 (1972), 86–87; and again by S. Clasen, 'Bonaventuras Expositio super Regulam Fratrum Minorum', in *San Bonaventura, Maestro di Vita Francescana e di Sapienza Cristiana*, 3 vols (Rome, 1976), II, 531–70. Yet Harkins' arguments seem to have won the day, as can be seen in the most recent scholarship, including I. Brady, 'The Writings of St. Bonaventure Regarding the Franciscan Order', in *San Bonaventura Maestro Di Vita Francescana e Di Sapienza Cristiana*, 1976, I, 108–10; J.-F. Codet-Calogeras, 'John Pecham's *Commentary on the Rule of the Friars Minor*', in *The English Province of the Franciscans (1224-c.1350)* (Leiden, 2017), 130–46; D. Flood, tran., 'John Pecham', in *Early Commentaries on the Rule of the Friars Minor*, 3 vols (St. Bonaventure, NY, 2017), II, 97.

[318] Notably the '1242 Commentary' and, depending on dating, the commentary written by Hugh of Digne in the late 1250s and David of Augsburg in c. 1260–73. All three can be found in vol. I of Flood, *Early Commentaries on the Rule of the Friars Minor*, I.

observance of norms. And on this point, both Bonaventure and Humbert did work to achieve similar ends.

One should not, of course, overplay the similarities noted above. Bonaventure was clearly a more sophisticated theologian, whose literary output often focused on speculative questions well outside Humbert's areas of competence. Humbert, on the other hand, was an adept canonist and whose own corpus also reflects a preoccupation with the mission of preaching. And while both served as heads of their respective Orders, the Franciscans and Dominicans had become religious orders through rather different processes and circumstances.

Yet the parallels between Humbert and Bonaventure remain striking. Similar difficulties existed for these 'second generation' superiors and their communities. And, critically, the mechanisms they deployed in hopes of defending and consolidating their respective Orders often overlap. These parallels are not without relevance insofar as an analysis of Humbert's *Expositio* is concerned. Indeed, they not only illuminate the broader context in which the *Expositio* was written but also suggest that Humbert's *Expositio* may offer insights into issues that transcend the particular experiences of the Dominican friars. Moreover, while further research would be necessary to fully explore this possibility, the fact that Humbert and Bonaventure were grappling with similar challenges and responding in parallel ways suggests that the *Expositio* could also be useful in shedding light on matters that Bonaventure did not specifically write about but which were nonetheless relevant to the Franciscans and perhaps other religious communities at the time.

As Part II of this chapter shows, the Holy See's policies towards religious communities during this period also displayed a marked tendency to treat new religious communities in parallel fashion. Here, however, the fact that the Friars Preachers managed to sidestep an attempt to impose a consolidated 'Dominican Rule' on the Order stands out

in contrast with the experience of some other religious. It also constitutes an essential part of the proximate context for Humbert's authorship of the *Expositio*.

PART II

3.6 Papal Intervention and Reform of Religious Communities

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were especially fertile periods for the emergence and growth of new religious communities.[510] Not surprisingly, therefore, the varying responses of the hierarchy and, in particular, the papacy, have received considerable attention by historians. Perhaps most notably, H. Grundmann, argued that new forms of religious life were looked upon with deep suspicion prior to the papacy of Innocent III and were frequently subject to disciplinary action or condemnation for heresy. In Grundmann's view, Innocent's pontificate marked a shift towards 'absorption ... into the hierarchical Church', redirecting the energies of these new communities into the renewal of existing structures.[511] Whether or not one follows Grundmann's analysis of this period in all its details, by the mid-thirteenth century the papacy was certainly involved in approving new religious communities and reforming (or consolidating) those that had emerged in the previous decades. The papal registers for this period bear clear witness to this, containing numerous decrees that show the extent to which the papacy sought to shape the internal and external development of these various groups.[512]

Examples of this include Gregory IX (r. 1227–41), who entered into disputes among the Franciscans over poverty and how Francis's *Rule* ought to be observed.[513] Among his decrees, the bull *Quo elongati* (1230) declared Francis' *Testament* to be non-binding, which

[510] D. Knowles, *From Pachomius to Ignatius: A Study in the Constitutional History of the Religious Orders*, The Sarum Lectures: 1964-65 (Oxford, 1966), 41–43; Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, 209.
[511] Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, 5, 31.
[512] An overview of the papal letters from the thirteenth century concerning the Carmelites, Augustinians, and Dominicans, as well as editions of the letters concerning the Franciscans can be found in A. De Prosperis, 'Ricerche sulla documentazione pontificia relativa agli Ordini Mendicanti nel secolo XIII, con edizione di 62 lettere papali per i Frati Minori' (unpublished PhD, Università degli Studi di Padova, 2011).
[513] A useful overview may still be found in D. Nimmo, *Reform and Division in the Medieval Franciscan Order, from Saint Francis to the Foundation of the Capuchins* (Rome, 1987), esp. 57-60, 71-72, 200; but a more up-to-date historiography and examination of pertinent themes can be found in the articles collected in *Gregorio IX e gli ordini mendicanti: atti del XXXVIII convegno internazionale, Assissi, 7-9 ottobre 2010* (Spoleto, 2011).

had a profound impact on how Francis's *Rule* was interpreted and applied.[514] Overlapping more immediately with Humbert's reign, Alexander IV—apart from revoking *Etsi animarum* and siding with the friars at the university of Paris—also involved the papacy in the bilateral relationships between the Franciscan friars and the Poor Clares. Even before he was pope, Alexander had been involved in convincing Clare of Assisi to accept stricter enclosure for her community.[515] As pope, in 1259, at the behest of Isabelle of France (d. 1270), he approved a particular rule for the Franciscan nuns at the Abbaye de l'Humilité-de-Notre-Dame that strengthened the friars' oversight and essentially required the friars to maintain a close relationship with the nuns, decisions which naturally influenced othered communities and subsequent developments.[516]

Alexander's involvement in both the external relationships and inner workings of religious communities was by no means limited to the Franciscans. His decree *Licet ecclesiae catholicae* (April 1256) unified various hermit communities that followed diverse rules, essentially creating the 'Augustinian hermits' as a new religious order out of many independent groups.[517] The governance of the Carmelites was also an object of Alexander's activity. His decree *Religionis vestre meretur* (1256) instructed Priors General and Priors Provincial about to conduct visitations and make assignments.[518]

In these matters, Alexander was not acting very differently from his predecessors, nor indeed his successors. The Cistercians and Premonstratensians, not to mention the military orders and various other groups, were all subject to papal intervention in different

[514] For a critical edition, see H. Grundmann, 'Die Bulle "Quo Elongati" Papst Gregors IX', *AFH*, 54 (1961), 1–25. For an English translation, see Francis of Assisi, *Francis of Assisi*, I, I, 570–75.
[515] J.F. Godet-Calogeras, 'Francis and Clare and the Emergence of the Second Order', in *The Cambridge Companion to Francis of Assisi*, ed. by M.J.P. Robson (Cambridge, 2012), 122.
[516] This went beyond what was previously envisioned in earlier *Rule of St. Clare*. See the study of this community and the development of its rule in S.L. Field, *Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century* (Notre Dame, 2006), 61–94; also B. Roest, *Order and Disorder: The Poor Clares Between Foundation and Reform* (Leiden, 2013), 61–62.
[517] Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 72, 83–84.
[518] Andrews, *The Other Friars*, 22.

aspects of their communal life, their organisational structures, and their religious observances in the course of the thirteenth century.[519] One can reasonably argue that papal activism in regard to religious life was part of a continuous and accelerating development from at least the twelfth century. The Fourth Lateran Council gave its own impetus to these developments by advancing various monastic reforms and seeking to limit the creation of new religious orders.[520] By Humbert's era the papacy was neither shy nor timid in involving itself in the details of religious life and in seeking to resolve disputes within such communities.

Although G. Melville warns against overgeneralising, he notes that various mid-thirteenth-century papal bulls stress the dangers of decline in '*vigor religionis*' or '*rigor disciplinae*'.[521] Decline and decadence were perennial topics of concern among religious communities, but just as monastic communities had attracted the attention of the papacy at the end of the twelfth century, new religious orders became a focus of papal concern in the mid-thirteenth century as their numbers grew and their founders died. It is within this context of an activist papacy that Alexander IV's bull *Sanctis desideriis* (3 February 1255) concerning Dominican government and legislation was issued.

3.7 The Crisis over the *Rule of Augustine*

Humbert begins the *Expositio* by referring to the 'talk [*sermone*] that has gone forth among the friars about the *Rule of blessed Augustine*' and his fear that 'talk of this sort [*sermo*

[519] For the Cistercians, see S.C.J. Naslund, 'Papal-Cistercian Relations: 1198-1241, with a Particular Emphasis on France' (unpublished PhD, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1976), 6–46, 140–65. Gregory IX sought to reform the Premonstratensian in 1234 and ordered that their statutes be rewritten to bring about greater conformity among their houses. B. Ardura, *Prémontrés, histoire et spiritualité* (Saint-Etienne, 1995), 76. A vast literature exists on the military orders and their relations with the papacy. Among others, see R. Hiestand, 'Some Reflections on the Impact of the Papacy on the Crusader States and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders*, ed. by Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001), 3–20.
[520] Cf. Vauchez, 'The Religious Orders', V, 221–23; Lat. IV, cans. 12–13 (pp. 240–2).
[521] G. Melville, 'Ordensstatuten Und Allgemeines Kirchenrech', in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Munich, 13-18 July, 1992*, ed. by P. Landau and J. Müller, Monumenta Iuris Canonici. Series C: Subsidia, 10 (Vatican City, 1997), 700–701.

huiusmodi] would be an occasion ... of decreased devotion towards the *Rule.*'[522] Unfortunately, the semantic range of *sermo* makes it difficult to pin down the precise matter to which Humbert was referring. Theoretically, a 'rumour' (another possible translation of *sermo*) about abandoning the *Rule* may have been circulating among the friars. If so, this could suggest that *Sanctis desideriis* had already been published and that the friars were discussing its contents or what they had heard about it. This would be consistent with later datings of the *Expositio* that place it after February 1255 or even after Humbert's time in office (see 4.2.2).

Alternatively, *sermo* may refer to an ongoing discussion or debate among the friars that was already in progress prior to any papal intervention. This would accord more closely with Tugwell's preferred dating of the *Expositio* to around 1252–55, shortly before *Sanctis desideriis* was issued. The question of the *Expositio's* date is examined more closely in 4.2.2, but it suffices to note here that Humbert's prologue does not provide an easy answer to the question. Humbert does indicate that he was responding to some sort of conversation taking place among the friars—one that prompted his concern about the *Rule's* reputation in the Order. Yet as will be made clear in 4.7, Humbert's *Expositio* attempts to do far more than simply uphold the value of the *Rule*, regardless of what first prompted Humbert to begin writing.

There are, in any case, several reasons why the *Rule* might have been losing some of its appeal, given the historical development of the Order surveyed in Chapter II. Although the *Rule* possessed the weight of antiquity, this also meant that it came with many historical connotations. As discussed, the *Rule* initially helped bolster the Order's claim to legitimacy by grounding it in the authority of Augustine and a longstanding tradition. Yet as the Order became more established in its own right, it also sought to distinguish itself

[522] *Exp. reg.*, prologus (p. 43).

from other religious communities as an *ordo praedicatorum*. As Chapter II showed, Augustine's *Rule* was practically synonymous in Humbert's era with the reformed canons regular, who had emerged with their own distinct identity in the wake of the Gregorian Reforms of the eleventh century. Augustine's *Rule* therefore continued to link the Friars Preachers, at least implicitly, to the canonical tradition under whose umbrella they had first taken shade but under whose shadow they did not wish to remain.

While the *Rule*'s authority and brevity were practically and politically convenient for the establishment of a new religious community with a new mission, its adoption arguably created the preconditions for a future debate over the Order's core identity and the suitability of the *Rule* as a governing document for the friars. Although Dominic himself had lived according to the *Rule* as a canon at Osma and also as a friar, the *Rule* could never claim to be the *ipsissima verba* of Dominic—only a text that he had borrowed and repurposed. Likewise, the historical circumstances of the *Rule's* adoption by the friars provided an opening for future criticism. Innocent III had instructed Dominic and his community to adopt an existing rule and the community in Toulouse had done so by choosing Augustine's *Regula recepta* (see 2.7). Yet Humbert reports that Dominic had originally sought to compose his own rule and was redirected by the pope's response.[523] Nothing from Dominic's lifetime actually confirms this particular detail, but one can easily see how this (perhaps common) narrative of the Order's founding—whether true or not—could lead to the conclusion that the *Rule* was something extrinsic to Dominic's original vision.[524] The *Constitutions*, by comparison, were more clearly a product of the early community at Toulouse and arguably more reflective of the original intentions of Dominic and his first followers. Although partially adapted from an outside source—the

[523] *Exp. const.*, 1 (p. 114); Tugwell, *Legendae*, 292, 294.
[524] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 292.

Premonstratensian *consuetudines*—the *Constitutions* included additional material in which Dominic's authorship could be perceived and which offered more specifics about the Order's way of life and mission. This, in turn, had been refined under Dominic's leadership and by many subsequent General Chapters, as noted earlier.

During the first stage of the Order's development, the friars sought a stable canonical status that would allow them to carry out their preaching mission unfettered. But by the second generation, the friars increasingly emphasised the distinction between themselves and other forms of religious life in multiple ways. The Order's expansion well beyond its original foundation in Toulouse surely drove part of this concern. From a sociological standpoint, a stronger rhetorical emphasis on the Order's distinctive features and unique mission may have been an important mechanism by which the friars kept themselves together, retaining a sense of their own 'collective identity' as they grew rapidly alongside many other religious communities in Europe.[525]

In addition, the Order had secured various papal privileges tied to the mission it was fulfilling. Projecting a sense of clarity about the Order's life and purpose—and thus the ecclesial function and niche it occupied in the larger church—presumably helped it to maintain the status it had acquired. Yet at precisely the same moment when the Order was trying to make its name and distinctive mission more widely known, the *Rule* continued to carry forward its strong associations with the canons regular. In this context, the *Rule* probably served as a reminder of the Order's more ambiguous beginnings. Certainly it did little to distinguish the friars from other communities that shared the same governing text.

The discussion in 3.3.1 regarding the removal of any references to the *ordo canonicus* from the language of the Order's *Constitutions* under Raymond of Penyafort (r.

[525] Differentiating one group from another is inherent to the construction of a collective identity. See S.N. Eisenstadt and B. Giesen, 'The Construction of Collective Identity', *European Journal of Sociology*, 36/1 (1995), 74, 76.

1238–40) accords with this reading of events. Tugwell links these and speculates that around the same time that the language of the *Constitutions* was adjusted 'there began a movement to get rid of the *Rule* of St. Augustine and replace it with a distinctive Dominican Rule, a movement which won the support of Hugh of St. Cher and, through him, Alexander IV.'[526] Although plausible, insufficient evidence exists to confirm that such a movement against the *Rule* predated *Sanctis desideriis*. Alternatively, if the initiative to reorganize the Order's governing legislation began with Hugh of St. Cher, Humbert's words in the prologue could just as easily be understood as a response to the rumours sparked by Hugh's initiative. Ultimately, given solely the surviving evidence of Humbert's prologue and the text of *Sanctis desideriis*—which refers only to Hugh of St. Cher—one is limited to speculating about a broader 'movement' to eliminate the *Rule*, how extensive it might have been, or if it even existed at all. Nevertheless, Humbert's concern about the friars drawing back from the *Rule* is certainly evident, and *Sanctis desideriis*—whether published shortly before or after the *Expositio*—forms part of the same historical context.

3.7.1 Pope Alexander IV, Hugh of St. Cher, and *Sanctis desideriis*

As Van Engen notes, most Dominican historians in the twentieth century (apart from Tugwell) interpreted the reorganisation of Dominican legislation proposed in *Sanctis desideriis* as a novel, personal initiative of Hugh of St. Cher.[527] One can see how *Sanctis desideriis* might be interpreted this way, given that Pope Alexander IV addresses Hugh directly and speaks of his 'laudable and worthy proposal'.[528] Yet while Hugh's suggestion may have prompted the bull—the existence of a larger movement being impossible to verify—Engen criticises Dominican historians who have painted Hugh's actions as extraordinary or radical:

[526] Tugwell, 'Notes (1995)', 21.
[527] Van Engen, 'From Canons to Preachers', 270.
[528] BOP I, no. 11 (p. 271).

> ...Hugh had in fact proposed to the pope something fully understandable, even quite traditional, that he 'fuse' the best elements drawn from the '*regulam, constitutiones, et consuetudines*' into a single binding rule that would define their order, way of life, and obedience.[529]

As noted above, the papacy routinely entered into questions concerning religious communities and their organisational structures during this same period. Alexander IV, moreover, having been the Cardinal-Protector of the Franciscans, was personally aware of the difficulties they had experienced in stabilising their administrative structures.

The text of *Sanctis desideriis* expresses no concern for the Friars Preachers losing a sense of unity or splintering—a problem that would come to characterise the devotees of Francis—but it does express a concern that 'the vigour of regular observance not be weakened ... through some neglect by its future members'.[530] The Order's rapid growth is an important contextual element here, especially when seen in tandem with Hugh's letter to the 1257 General Chapter, discussed above in 3.3.2, which highlighted the dangers of accepting too many new and 'useless' members.[531] Even if the bull had not mentioned Hugh specifically, its language is redolent of his concerns. Of course, a decline in religious observance was also a concern for the papacy in this period, as discussed earlier, and it is easy to see how both Hugh and the pope might see forging a unified, fixed rule as a bulwark against this. The Order's dual *Rule*-and-*Constitutions* structure left the door open for continuous alteration, and the *Constitutions* were routinely adjusted by General Chapters. *Sanctis desideriis* delegated the matter of revising the Order's governing legislation to Hugh and gave him the option of synthesising these texts into a unified rule or producing some other solution to preserve the Order from future 'decadence' and to keep it stable in its observance.[532]

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[529] Van Engen, 'From Canons to Preachers', 270.
[530] BOP I, 271, no. 11. Translation mine.
[531] *De Vita Regulari*, II, 508 n. 2.
[532] BOP I, 271, no. 11.

Although the text of *Sanctis desideriis* focuses only on the danger of declining observance, it is worth asking how the events at the university of Paris may have also influenced its promulgation. The Order had just emerged from a rapid series of changing fortunes under popes Innocent IV and Alexander IV—the latter having revoked the bull issued by the former that threatened the Order's growing influence at the university. Having likewise experienced over forty years of expansion, Van Engen suggests that the Order had reached 'a moment of reckoning' in regard to its future and governance.[533] Accordingly, both the pope and Hugh may have seen this as an opportune moment for the Order to adopt a more fixed form of governing legislation, cementing in place what the friars had learned through experience and securing it against future decline. Alexander IV may have also seen this as complementing his support for the friars against the seculars at the university since the friars would presumably benefit from greater institutional stability, reducing the likelihood of any future missteps that might jeopardize their status or spark antifraternal reactions through scandal or laxity.

The bull gave Hugh wide authority to carry out this legislative rewrite, but this is not altogether surprising. Along with proposing the idea, Hugh was also the sole Dominican cardinal in the papal curia and was presumably the most suited to carry out a task requiring specialised knowledge of the Order's governance. As discussed in 3.3.6, the matter of the Order's complex relationship with its cloistered nuns had been entirely delegated to Hugh by Innocent IV only one year earlier, after the papal bull *Evangelice* had aroused opposition. In collaboration with Humbert, Hugh was in the process of handling that matter smoothly and had therefore shown an aptitude for such tasks. In delegating Hugh the authority to rework the Order's governing documents, Alexander IV largely repeated what his predecessor had done for the Order's nuns.

[533] Van Engen, 'From Canons to Preachers', 270–71.

As Hugh's theological and scriptural works demonstrate (e.g., the *Correctorium Bibliae*, *Concordantiae Bibliae*), he also possessed the type of coordinating skills that might be required for producing a synthetic work of this sort. In addition to the practical experience he had gained within the Order and the papal curia, Hugh may have also been trained in canon law, although scholars remain uncertain on this point.[534] Yet despite the authority granted to him in *Sanctis desideriis* and his apparent capacity to accomplish this task, no unified 'Dominican Rule' was ever produced.

3.7.2 The Road Not Taken: *Sanctis Desideriis*

In seeking to explain why nothing appears to have come of *Sanctis desideriis*, the twentieth-century Dominican historian W.A. Hinnebusch opined that 'there must have been massive opposition to this attack'.[535] While possible, this hypothetical opposition to Hugh's 'attack' left no evidence. No direct mention of Hugh's initiative exists in the *acta* of the General Chapters nor in any other known writings from the period. Hinnebusch concedes this when he writes that there is 'no record of how Hugh tried to use his powers' and that his plan to reorganise the Order's government made a 'silent exit'.[536] One might reasonably wonder, therefore, if the proposal was simply abandoned rather than repulsed.

Since any evidence surrounding the bull and its impact seems to be lacking—apart from perhaps Humbert's *Expositio*—it is worth noting that historians do not seem to have expressed any doubts about the bull's authenticity. Insofar as the original is concerned, a transcription appears in the *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum* (BOP), published in 1729, which indicates the bull still survived at that point—complete with papal seal and hemp cord—in the General Archives of the Order.[537] Sadly, at some stage thereafter, the

[534] J. Verger, 'Hugues de Saint-Cher dans Le Contexte Universitaire Parisien', in *Hugues de Saint-Cher (+1263), Bibliste et Théologien*, ed. by L.-J. Bataillon, G. Dahan, and P.-M. Gy (Turnhout, 2004), 14.
[535] Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, I, 233.
[536] Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, I, 233.
[537] BOP I, no. 11, note a (p. 271).

manuscript appears to have been lost. No shortage of historical events in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries might explain its disappearance from the archives in Rome. A listing for the bull does appear at no. 2296 in the *Schedario Baumgarten* that points to the *Fondo Domenicani* at the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (now Archivio Apostolico Vaticano).[538] Unfortunately, a search of this location yields only a handwritten transcription of the bull with the words '*concordat cu[m] origi[na]li*' at the bottom and possibly made around the same time that the BOP was being edited. This cursive transcription is included below (figure 3.2) since it provides another witness to the bull and contains some very minor transcription differences from the BOP version.

Given the apparent authenticity of the bull, its evident lack of impact must be due to other factors. In this context, the chronology of Hugh and Humbert's travels may be helpful. Hugh was apparently at the papal court in Naples when the decree was issued to him on 3 February 1255. As it happens, Humbert's joint letter with John of Parma is dated 2 February 1255, which (in some editions) lists Milan as the place of its composition.[539] Tugwell argues that while early February 1255 is a plausible date for Humbert's distribution of the encyclical, the connection with Milan is untenable and may be the result of the subsequent copying of a manuscript carried to Lombardy by John of Parma.[540] Tugwell suggests that Humbert was already 'somewhere much closer to the papal court' in February, but it can be said with even greater certainty that he had arrived at the court no later than 23 March 1255 on the basis of a recorded property transfer that Humbert had arranged for a Dominican convent.[541] If Humbert did not already know of Hugh's initiative before arriving at the papal court, he would certainly have become aware once both of them

[538] G. Battelli, ed., *Schedario Baumgarten: descrizione diplomatica di bolle e brevi originali da Innocenzo III a Pio IX.* (Città del Vaticano, 1965), II, no. 2296 (p. 7).
[539] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 297–98. For a discussion of the letter itself, see 3.4.2 above.
[540] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 298–99.
[541] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 307; V.J. Koudelka, 'Pergamene del Convento Domenicano di Messina (1218-1397)', *AFP*, 44 (1974), no. 15/36 (pp. 78-9).

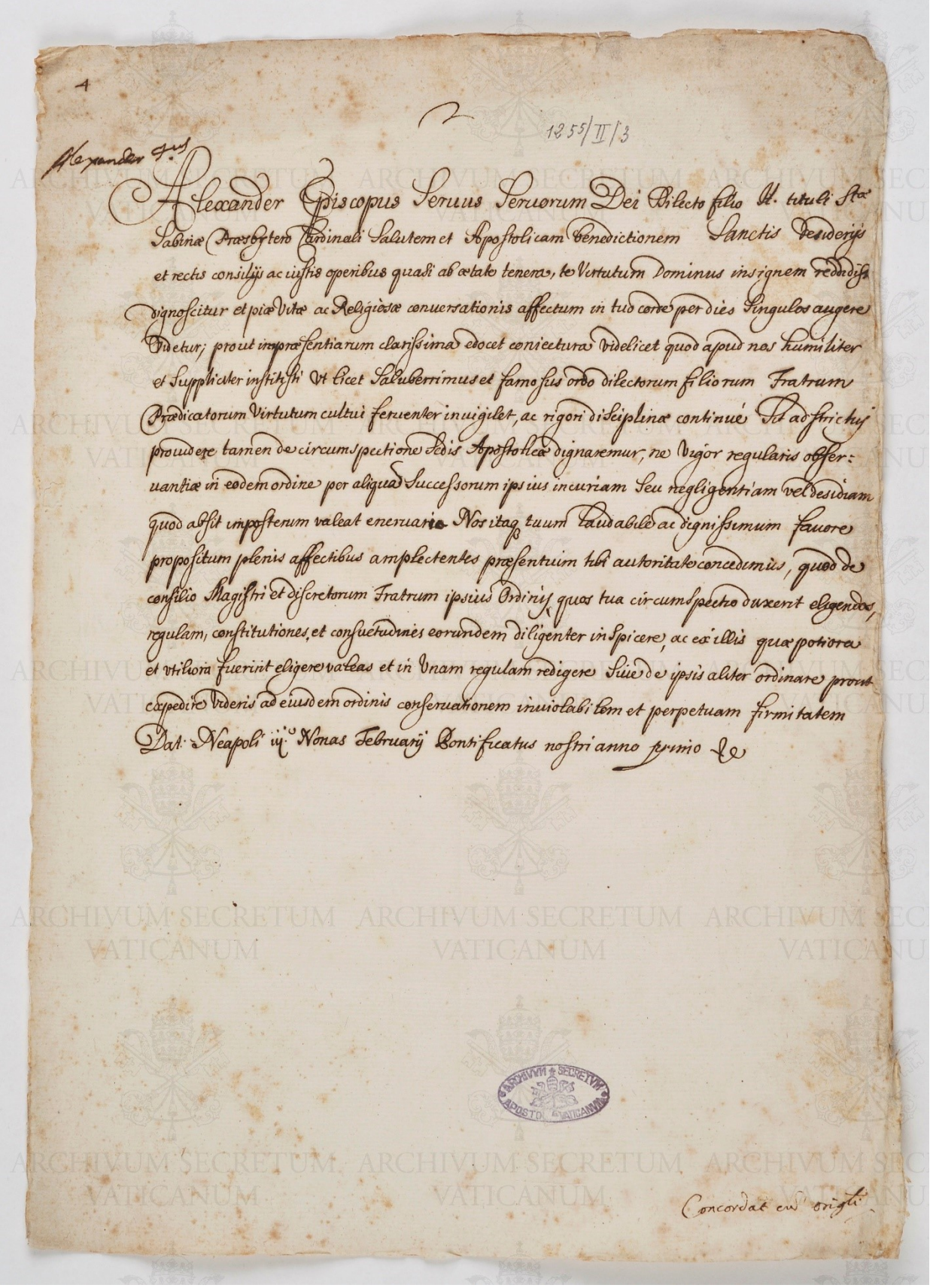


Figure 3.2: Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano (now Archivio Apostolico Vaticano), *Sanctis desideriis* (cursive transcription), fond. Dom. II, 11

were present in Naples—only one month after *Sanctis desideriis* had been issued. It would have been extremely odd if the Master of the Order and its only cardinal, who shared a personal relationship stretching back thirty years, did not discuss the matter at this stage. Not only did it touch on the very heart of Dominican government, but *Sanctis desideriis* itself instructed Hugh to take counsel with the Master and other discreet friars in carrying out his task.[542] This would have been Hugh's first opportunity to do so in person with Humbert.

Given that Hugh's proposal did not come to fruition, it can probably be inferred that Humbert and whatever other friars Hugh consulted were against the idea. Certainly Humbert's intellectual rationale for why Augustine's *Rule* is integral to the Order's life and mission can be found in the *Expositio's* text. One might also speculate that if the friars with which Hugh consulted did not perfectly observe the discretion enjoined upon them, then Humbert's reference in prologue of the *Expositio* to 'talk [*sermone*] having gone forth among the brethren about the *Rule of Augustine*' might well have begun at this stage.

One final piece of evidence may also shed some light on why Humbert would have opposed abandoning Augustine's *Rule* in 1255, apart from the various reasons he already provides in the *Expositio* itself. Humbert's encyclical letter *Noverit vestra dilectio*, mentioned above in 3.4.2, describes the decisions of the 1255 General Chapter regarding the Order's interactions with the secular clergy.[543] Although the Order had essentially won the battle for its academic chairs at Paris by that point, the Chapter made numerous concessions to the demands of the secular clergy despite Alexander IV's reversal of Innocent IV's earlier bull. As noted in 3.4.1, Brett interprets these concessions—made under Humbert's leadership—as an attempt to drive a wedge between the secular clergy

[542] '...quod de consilio Magistri et discretorum Fratrum...' BOP I, no. 11 (p. 271).
[543] Reichert, *Litterae encyclicae*, VII, 21–24.

who served as pastors from the secular clergy who were university masters in Paris. The latter would presumably never drop their opposition to the friars' growing influence at the university, but the pastoral clergy could perhaps be won over by the friars conceding on many of the pastoral practices that the local clergy found objectionable (e.g., offering the sacraments to the laity without the local pastor's permission).[544]

Here, however, Humbert's description of the Order's relations with the pope may offer a window on *Sanctis desideriis*, especially since *Noverit vestra dilectio* was written only three months later. Humbert states that the pope had advised him about complaints 'against the Order, from many prelates in diverse places'.[545] The Order therefore needed to resolve these matters, 'lest the Roman Church be compelled to ordain something grave'.[546] The voluntary concessions made to the secular clergy by the Order's 1255 Chapter are best understood in this light.[547] Moreover, although one cannot be certain, Hugh's proposal to rework the Order's governing documents, as found in *Sanctis desideriis*, may have also been aimed at heading off more aggressive papal action. Certainly both *Sanctis desideriis* and *Noverit vestra dilectio* point to the pope's concern about the Order's internal discipline and the tensions that existed with the secular clergy. The precise mechanism for addressing these matters could take different forms but the need for the Order to better police its friars and to defuse conflicts with the secular clergy was a preoccupation of both Humbert and the Holy See.

The *Expositio* can be seen in this context not merely as an *apologia* for keeping Augustine's *Rule*, but also as an attempt to alter the behaviour of the friars and thus defuse outside criticism, as will be discussed at greater length in Chapter IV. Humbert clearly

[544] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 26. *De vita regulari*, ii, 487.
[545] *De vita regulari*, ii, 487. Translation mine.
[546] *De vita regulari*, ii, 487. Translation mine.
[547] S. Steckel, 'Rewriting the Rules. The Secular-Mendicant Controversy in France and Its Impact on Dominican Legislation, c. 1230-1290', in *Making and Breaking the Rules. Discussions, Implementation, and Consequences of Dominican Legislation* (Oxford, 2018), 116; Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 24.

preferred to avoid making major changes to the Order's governmental structures, focusing instead on inculcating a particular culture among the friars through social-formative texts like the *Expositio*. Common behaviours, obedience to superiors, and the avoidance of certain activities are all discussed at length in the *Expositio*, allowing Humbert to address diverse external criticisms by shaping how the friars habitually acted.

Given Humbert's penchant for uniformity and order, it may seem surprising that he did not take the opportunity offered by *Sanctis desideriis* to collaborate with Hugh in composing a fixed 'Dominican Rule'. Yet Humbert may have sensed the inherent political dangers in such an approach. The authority of the *Rule*, after all, had originally provided the friars with a claim to legitimacy alongside other religious communities. Setting it aside precisely when antifraternal sentiments were heightened might well have given the friars' critics a new opportunity to challenge the Order's legitimacy. *Sanctis desideriis* delegates the writing of a new rule to Hugh, but it does not specify whether this unified rule would have been subject to papal revision and confirmation—something that would have had its own political perils. At the very least, such a change might have been destabilising for an order whose governmental mechanisms were still relatively new and which were simultaneously attempting to incorporate an abundance of new members and new houses.

In addition, much of the Order's institutional flexibility rested precisely upon the brevity of the unchanging *Rule* relative to the changeable *Constitutions*. While Alexander IV and Hugh clearly saw the dangers in having changeable *Constitutions*, Humbert hints at the advantages in the *Expositio* when he speaks about the *Rule*'s terseness allowing other useful statutes to be easily fitted to it.[548] This system had served the friars well as they matured from a small band of preachers in Toulouse to a pan-European organisation with institutional commitments in Paris, Oxford, Rome, Salamanca, Krakow, and elsewhere.

[548] *Exp. reg.*, iv (pp. 50–1).

Since one could not know what the future might hold, adopting an unchanging and tightly-written 'Dominican Rule' might curtail the Order's ability to adapt. Although some of the Order's critics might have welcomed this development, Van Engen points out the likely consequence for the friars: '[it] would have been to freeze a way of life still in the making, thereby betraying the core genius of the Dominican constitutions.'[549] Ironically, the fact that the Friars Preachers avoided fracturing in subsequent centuries in the manner of the Franciscans may be partly due to their rejection of this tighter, fixed legislation and their retention of a more flexible combination of governing texts.

3.8 Conclusions: Locating the *Expositio regulae* in Context

While successfully derailing the move to rewrite the *Rule* and *Constitutions*, Humbert ultimately addressed many of the same concerns that lay behind *Sanctis desideriis* through the *Expositio*. Rather than composing a new rule, Humbert used the *Expositio* to interpret its provisions—and did so with a view to shaping the friars' social behaviour by highlighting what (he believed) was essential to the good ordering of the community and its public image. In fact, this approach may have achieved something deeper than a top-level reorganisation of legislative texts. For the *Expositio* aimed at influencing every friars' habits of life and, as will be discussed, in an almost comprehensive way.

As this chapter has shown, the *Expositio* did not emerge in a vacuum, but was the product of an individual who was shaped by his historical context and his desire to advance his Order's mission. Humbert's formative influences included his own experience at the university of Paris (3.2.1), where he was trained in canon law, met Hugh of St. Cher, and joined the Friars Preachers. His career within the Order, especially as Prior Provincial of Rome and then of France (3.2.2), involved him in the oversight of large numbers of friars

[549] Van Engen, 'From Canons to Preachers', 273.

and gave him direct experience with the internal and external challenges facing the Order on a variety of fronts. From the 1240s to the 1260s, the Dominican Order was beset by several crises, which can partly be attributed to the Order's growth. Both Humbert's rise to prominence in this tumultuous era and his election as Master in 1254 are crucial for understanding much of his corpus, including the *Expositio*. His writings reflect the need to respond to antifraternalism at a social rather than a solely theological level (3.4) and a related desire to give clear expression to what distinguishes the Friars Preachers from other forms of religious life. Parallels exist with Bonaventure (3.5), especially insofar as both were concerned with forming their respective communities in a mode of life and collective identity.

Within these multiple circles of context, Humbert's *Expositio* adopts a different course than Hugh's papally-authorised proposal to replace Augustine's *Rule* and the Order's *Constitutions* with a unified text. Whether the *Expositio* was written precisely in response to this or had already been started remains obscure, but it seems probable that Humbert was personally involved in deflecting this move by Hugh and the pope. Yet while the *Expositio* can be juxtaposed to *Sanctis desideriis* and presented as an *apologia* in defence of the *Rule's* suitability, this is an insufficient assessment or explanation of its purpose. At heart, the *Expositio* presents Humbert's hermeneutic for how the *Rule* ought to be interpreted by the friars: a hermeneutic that does not merely explain the *Rule*, but serves Humbert's larger goal of forming the friars in a particular way of life—one that was itself shaped by the Order's challenges in that era, the need to self-police, and the behaviours Humbert saw as essential to advancing the Order's objectives.

CHAPTER IV
AN EXAMINATION OF THE *EXPOSITIO REGULAE BEATI AUGUSTINI*

4.1 Introduction

Although often a prolix author, the length of Humbert's *Expositio regulae* outstrips all his other writings. Yet despite this—or perhaps because of it—the *Expositio* remains one of Humbert's least studied works. Comprising roughly 180,000 words in Latin and yielding 600 pages in Berthier's 1888 printed edition, it has not been translated into any contemporary language and presents a true challenge to anyone seeking to make overall sense of its ample verbiage and to situate its contents in relation to its historical context.

Accordingly, this chapter is divided into two parts so as to better examine the *Expositio* from several critical angles. The first part focuses on the *Expositio's* authorship, dating, material transmission, sources, and relationships to other commentaries. The second examines the *Expositio's* contents, looking first at its structural organisation and then examining certain themes and Augustinian *topoi* that have been repurposed by Humbert for his own goals. Together, these set the stage for Chapter V, which draws upon this analysis to discuss Humbert's intentions in writing the *Expositio* and its historical impact inside and outside of his Order.

PART I

4.2 Authorship and Dating of the *Expositio regulae*

4.2.1 Authorship

The attribution of the *Expositio* to Humbert of Romans enjoys a longstanding and widespread consensus due to the consistent witness of the manuscript tradition as well as various external authorities. Of the nineteen extant and complete (or nearly so) manuscripts that could arguably be dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, sixteen include an

ascription to Humbert of Romans in the original production[1], while two others include ascriptions to Humbert added in later hands.[2] The remaining manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, ms. 715, contains a colophon suggesting some confusion between Humbert[us] and Lambertus (Lietbert), abbot of Saint Ruf (1100–10).[3] This may be due to Humbert's own reference to Lietbert as an '*expositor hujus regulae*' in chapter 45 of the *Expositio*.[4] Although a commentary on Augustine's *Rule* has sometimes been attributed to Lietbert—the same commentary often attributed to Hugh of St. Victor—this is clearly a different work than Humbert's *Expositio*.[5] This confusion seems to have been limited to this particular manuscript, at least among surviving fourteenth-century copies, and a still-later hand has corrected the attribution by way of an addendum to the colophon.[6]

External references to Humbert's authorship can also be found in the writings of other Dominican friars, including his contemporary Stephen of Salanhac (d. 1291), who mentions Humbert as an expositor of the *Rule* in his early history of the Order, dated to c.

[1] Basel, Basel University Library, ms. B. VII. 10, fol. 1r; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451, fol. 1r; Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 340 (Cat. Gen. 585), fol. 1r; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 221, fol. 25r; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 228, fol. 1r; Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36, fol. 23r; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 4180, fol. 185r; Melk, Benediktinerabtei, ms. 292 (formerly 516), fol. 2r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 108, fol. 1r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. lat. th. c. 22, fol. 1r; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XII. D. 3 (Cat. 2148), fol. 1r; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XIII. D. 23 (Cat. 2315), fol. 1r; Prague, Národní muzeum (Knihovna Národního muzea v Praze), cod. XV. B. 1 (Cat. 3546), fol. 1r and 163v; Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 66, fol. 1r; St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. XI. 13, fol. 1r; Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 417, fol. 4r.

[2] Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3, fol. 4r, and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 107, fol. 158r.

[3] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, ms. 715, fol. 119r.

[4] This is chapter 45 according to Berthier's numbering, but chapter 53 in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, ms. 715.

[5] For the authorship of this commentary, see E. Frunzeanu and M. Paulmier-Foucart, 'Saint-Victor et les premiers dominicains', in *L'Ecole de Saint-Victor de Paris: Influence et rayonnement du moyen age a l'epoque modern* (Turnhout, 2010), 493–94 n. 2; Châtillon, 'Un commentaire anonyme', 185–200; J. Châtillon, 'A Commentary on the Rule of Saint Augustine from the Abbey of Saint-Ruf', *Crosier Heritage*, 18 (1986), 4–6; C.W. Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality* (Missoula, MT, 1979), 24 nn. 17–18 and appendix 2. For the text of commentary itself, see PL 176.881–924. Note also the discussion that follows below (see 4.4.2).

[6] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, ms. 715, fol. 119r.

1278.[7] The *Expositio* is likewise attributed to Humbert in a number of early lists (catalogues) of works written by the Masters of the Order as well as in chronicles of the Order, including those written by Laurence Pignon (1412) and Louis de Valladolid (c. 1414), although these both date from a later period.[8]

Beyond the near-unanimous manuscript tradition and support provided by external authorities, the *Expositio* also manifests the concerns of a Dominican friar, remarking explicitly upon the life of the Friars Preachers, the religious observances and virtues that are useful for preachers, and the organisational structures proper to the Order.[9] It was evidently written by someone who felt free to critique the friars' behaviour (including that of superiors) and exhort them to do better. The author, moreover, did not hesitate to offer his guidance on matters of canon law and the Order's legislation—both of which Humbert was qualified to do. The language and mode of the commentary is also stylistically consistent with Humbert's other writings, most obviously in the way it arranges its authorities and abundant *exempla* as well as its prolixity and uneven structural divisions—features also evident in Humbert *De eruditione praedicatorum*.[10] The author of the *Expositio* also mentions having personally heard the preaching of 'Master Jordan' (d.

[7] Stephanus de Salaniaco and Bernardus Guidonis, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum Ordinem insignivit*, ed. by T. Kaeppeli, MOPH, XXII (Rome, 1949), xxii, 170. Salanhac's work was subsequently expanded and edited by Bernard Gui (d. 1331), but the reference to Humbert's composition of the *Expositio* is probably original to Salanhac (see idem, xxiv). See also Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 122.
[8] Early catalogues that reference Humbert's authorship of the *Expositio* are detailed in Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 122. For the chronicles of Laurence Pignon and Louis de Valladolid, see Meersseman, *Laurentii Pignon Catalogi et chronica*, 21; and Ludovicus de Valleoleti [Louis de Valladolid], 'Die Tabulae Ludwigs von Valladolid', ed. by H.C. Scheeben, *AFP*, 1 (1931), 251. For the dating and surviving manuscripts of these two works, see SOPMA, III, nos. 2820 and 2909.
[9] In addition to the prologue, see *Exp. reg.,* i (p. 44), iii–v (pp. 47–53), viii–xi (pp. 56–61), xiv (p. 70), xviii (pp. 77–78), xix (pp. 81–92), xxiii (pp. 95–96), xxx (pp. 116–19), xli (pp. 143–44), xliv (pp. 151–52), xlix (p. 162), liii (p. 172), lv (p. 181), lix (pp. 189–192), lxx (p. 211), lxviii (p. 207), lxxv (p. 226, 229), lxxix–lxxx (pp. 237–44), cv (p. 337–44), cxix (p. 371), cxx (p. 374), cxxx (p. 394), cxxxix–cxl (p. 419–21), cxliii–clv (pp. 433–41), cxlix (p. 450), cliii (p. 469), clxix (p. 516).
[10] Tugwell wryly remarks, 'I doubt if there has ever been another book as absurdly constructed as *De eruditione praedicatorum*' (*Legendae*, 325). While not quite as egregious, the *Expositio regulae* does reflects a similar lack of compositional balance in its major divisions. See Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 140; Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 118.

1237), which Humbert likewise remarks upon elsewhere.[11] Finally, the text itself contains two passages that are effectively identical to passages in Humbert's *Commentary on the Constitutions* (see 4.2.3 and 4.5). For all these reasons, the attribution of the work to Humbert seems secure.

4.2.2 Dating

Concerning the date of the *Expositio*, certitude remains elusive. Several internal factors are helpful, however, in establishing a *terminus post quem*. An account provided by Humbert in chapter 144 of the *Expositio* describes how Roland of Cremona (1178–1259) refuted the philosopher/astrologer Theodore (d. c. 1250), who served at the court of Frederick II.[12] This exchange between Roland and Theodore can be dated to late 1238.[13] In addition, Humbert makes a reference to William of Auvergne as '*quod dignus memoria episcopus*' and reminisces about his behaviour using the imperfect tense, suggesting that William was deceased—his death having occurred in 1249.[14] Finally, Humbert also speaks of Frederick II (1194–1250) using the perfect past tense when describing the Emperor's love of books.[15]

[11] *Exp. reg.*, clvii (p. 478); *Vitae fratrum*, 171 (for Humbert's authorship of this section of the *Vita fratrum*, see 3.2.1 above).
[12] *Exp. reg.*, cxliv (pp. 437–8).
[13] Humbert mentions that Frederick II was near Brescia at the time, which was under siege by Frederick II in 1238 (D. Abulafia, *Frederick II* [London, 1988], 308–9). The dispute is also recorded elsewhere, such as by Stephanus de Salaniaco and Bernardus Guidonis, *De quatuor*, 32–33.
[14] *Exp. reg.*, lxviii (p. 207); Tugwell, *Legendae*, 288.
[15] *Exp. reg.*, cxlii (p. 426); Tugwell, *Legendae*, 288–89. An examination of the earliest manuscripts consistently confirms this use of the perfect past tense in Berthier's printed edition: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, ms. 715, fol. 76r; Basel, Basel University Library, ms. B. VII. 10, fol. 109r; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451, fol. 96v; Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 340 (Cat. Gen. 585), fol. 93v; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 221, fol. 158r; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 228, fol. 108v; Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36, fol. 113v; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 107, fol. 107v; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 4180, fol. 120r; Melk, Benediktinerabtei, ms. 292 (formerly 516), fol. 100r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 108, fol. 181r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. lat. th. c. 22, fol. 96v; Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3, fol. 166v; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XII. D. 3 (Cat. 2148), fol.75r; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XIII. D. 23 (Cat. 2315), fol. 113r; Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, cod. XV. B. 1 (Cat. 3546), fol. 106r; Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 66, fol. 140r; St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. XI. 13, fol. 77r; Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, ms. 241, fol. 167r; Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 417, fol. 133r.

This moves the earliest possible dating of the text—or at least its completion—to after Frederick II's death on 13 December 1250.

Other factors suggestive of later *terminus post quem* are less convincing. Brett argues that Humbert would not have referred to Roland of Cremona as '*vir magnus*' until after his death, but Tugwell offers a counterexample from the *Vitae fratrum* (edited by Humbert) that refers to Albert of Cologne as '*magnus*' even though Albert was certainly still alive at the time.[16] Similarly, the phrase '*dilectioni vestrae*' in the prologue of the *Expositio* led Creytens and Brett to suggest that Humbert was writing to the Master of the Order, leading to the conclusion that the *Expositio* was completed before or after Humbert himself held this office.[17] Yet Tugwell argues that this is inconclusive since the prologue could have easily been addressed to Hugh of St. Cher or to some other significant figure with the same phrase.[18]

A final textual element that has attracted attention in determining the *terminus post quem* is Humbert's use of the phrase '*aliquibus vestrorum*' (some of yours; some of your people), also in the prologue. This expression likewise raises questions about the intended recipient of the *Expositio*—such as the Master of the Order or a General Chapter—and whether Humbert was therefore out of office at the time of its composition.[19] Here too, Tugwell rejects this line of reasoning and suggests that '*aliquibus vestrorum*' could easily be a corruption of '*aliquibus nostrorum*' (some of ours; some of our people), although Tugwell was not able to consult more than two manuscripts at the time of his writing.[20] Taking this observation as a starting point, an examination of the larger manuscript tradition

[16] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 121; Tugwell, *Legendae*, 289; see also the brief observations about Albert's fame in Tugwell, *Albert & Thomas*, 3.
[17] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 151 n. 119; Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 121.
[18] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 290.
[19] This was the opinion of Berthier, *De Vita Regulari*, I, xix, n. 2; cf. Heintke, *Humbert von Romans*, 87; Tugwell, *Legendae*, 289.
[20] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 290. Unfortunately, Tugwell does not identify the manuscripts he examined.

provides additional support for Tugwell's supposition. Specifically, among the twelve fourteenth-century manuscripts that contain a copy of the prologue, six clearly contain the words '*aliquibus nostrorum*' rather than '*aliquibus vestrorum*', as is consistent with Tugwell's speculation.[21] Four others say '*aliquibus vestrorum*', while the manuscript Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 108, although ambiguous, probably says '*vestrorum*' as well.[22] The scribe who copied Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 221, was apparently uncertain about the matter and simply wrote '*aliquibus*' without any further qualification.[23] While these examples do not establish '*nostrorum*' as the original text, they do show that '*nostrorum*' was a common rendering and that uncertainty about the matter existed within the transmission of the text. Therefore, Humbert may well have been referring to his own friars during his tenure as Master of the Order. Unfortunately, the phrase '*aliquibus nostrorum*', even if it could be confirmed with certainty, would not definitively prove that Humbert was Master at the time of the *Expositio's* composition since the phrase could also have been used by him earlier when he was Prior Provincial.[24] But given the real possibility that '*aliquibus vestrorum*' is simply a corruption of '*aliquibus nostrorum*', the *terminus post quem* remains 13 December 1250.

On the other side of the spectrum, fewer internal and external reference points exist from which to draw conclusions about the *terminus ante quem*. Humbert died on 14 July 1277, providing an absolute date before which the work must have been completed. In addition, Heintke notes that Humbert's description of Louis IX's abstemious drinking habits in chapter 63 employs the present tense, unlike some references to the king in

[21] Basel, Basel University Library, ms. B. VII. 10, fol. 1r; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451, fol. 1r; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 228, fol. 1r; Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36, fol. 23v; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XII. D. 3 (Cat. 2148), fol. 1r; Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, cod. XV. B. 1 (Cat. 3546), fol. 1r.
[22] Melk, Benediktinerabtei, ms. 292, fol. 2r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 108, fol. 3r; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XIII. D. 23 (Cat. 2315), fol. 1r; Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 66, fol. 6r; St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. XI. 13, fol. 2v.
[23] Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 221, fol. 25r.
[24] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 290.

Humbert's other writings, which therefore suggests a date before the king's death on 25 August 1270.[25] This provides the outer boundary for the work's composition, resulting in an overall range of December 1250 to August 1270.

It is worth noting, however, that the passage concerning Louis IX's drinking behaviour uses both the present and past tenses in Berthier's printed edition, creating a rather odd grammatical construction:

> Ludovicus etiam rex Francorum in vase quo bibit dicitur habere signum usque ad quod mensurabatur ei vinum, et residuum totum implebatur aqua, et fuit fere in eadem quantitate cum vino.[26]

On this basis, Tugwell suggests that the *Expositio* may have been written while Louis IX was away from France on crusade between 1248–54 (or rather, that it was written 1250–54, assuming we take into account the abovementioned reference to Frederick II).[27] Essentially, Tugwell hypothesises that the mixed tenses in this passage indicate that Louis IX was living, but temporarily absent. Tugwell acknowledges, however, that this explanation depends on the textual accuracy of the printed edition and that 'without a full study of the manuscripts Berthier's text can neither be confirmed nor invalidated'.[28]

While the existence of just over 100 surviving manuscripts makes an exhaustive examination impossible at this stage, a few observations suggest potential problems with this theory. Berthier does not specify his precise sources for this passage but refers elsewhere to having consulted a mix of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts in the preparation of his edition.[29] Yet an examination of all nineteen complete manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (plus the incomplete fourteenth-century manuscripts

[25] Heintke, *Humbert von Romans*, 88.
[26] *Exp. reg.*, lxiii (p. 197).
[27] *Legendae*, 290 n. 3.
[28] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 290 n. 13.
[29] Berthier states in his introduction that he principally used the following: Rome, Bibl. Vat. lat., ms. 521 (1436); Rome, Bibl. Vat. Pal. lat., ms. 569 (15th c.); Vienna, Dominikanerkloster, ms. 139-109 (1464); Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 417; Toulouse, Bibliothèque d'étude et du patrimoine, ms. 169; and Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 340 (Cat. Gen. 585). See *De Vita Regulari*, I, xxii–xxiii.

Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, ms. 241 and Toulouse, Bibliothèque d'étude et du patrimoine, ms. 169) reveals that the overwhelming majority use the present tense throughout the passage.[30] While a new critical edition would be needed to completely confirm this reading, it seems entirely plausible that the verb tenses were subsequently modified over the course of repeated copying to reflect the fact that Louis IX had long since died.[31] Accordingly, the mixed tenses in Berthier's printed edition probably reflect a conflation of the different tenses found in earlier and later manuscripts. In any case, the suggestion that the mixed tenses in Berthier indicate Louis IX's temporary absence seems unlikely given that the present tense is used so widely in the earliest manuscripts and Berthier's particular combination of mixed tenses does not seem to occur in any of the manuscripts examined herein. Therefore, unless a future study should demonstrate a compelling case to the contrary, attempts to date the *Expositio* on the basis of Louis IX's temporary absence should probably be set aside.

Other attempts to more precisely date the text within 1250–70 have been undertaken by various scholars. Among those who have favoured a later dating within this range are Berthier, Heintke, Mandonnet, and Brett. Berthier favoured a time after Humbert's

[30] For the verbs underlined above, the following use only the present tense (i.e., *habere*, *ministratur* [not *mensuratur*], *impletur*, and *est*): Arsenal 751, fol. 32v; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451, fol. 37r; Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 340 (Cat. Gen. 585), fol. 39v; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 221, fol. 75v; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 228, 42r; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 107, fol. 50r; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 4180, fol. 50v; Melk, Benediktinerabtei, ms. 292, fol. 41r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 108, fol. 81r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. lat. th. c. 22, fol. 38r; Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3, fol. 72r; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XIII. D. 23 (Cat. 2315), fol. 52r; Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, cod. XV. B. 1 (Cat. 3546), fol. 42r; Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 66, fol. 57r; St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. XI. 13, fol. 32r; Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, ms. 241, fol. 67v; Toulouse, Bibliothèque d'étude et du patrimoine, ms. 169, fol. 98r; Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 417, fol. 57v.

[31] The three fourteenth-century manuscripts that do not use the present tense exclusively are Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XII. D. 3 (Cat. 2148), fol. 29v, which uses the present tense throughout the passage except for the verb *ministrabatur*; Basel, Basel University Library, ms. B. VII. 10, fol. 44v, which employs *ministrabatur* and *implebatur*; and Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36, fol. 61r, which has *habuisse*, *ministrabatur*, and *implebatur*. In terms of dating, Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36 is late and may be from the early-fifteenth century. None of the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century manuscripts use *mensurabatur*, despite its appearance in Berthier, although it can be found in some fifteenth-century texts.

resignation as Master primarily because of the phrase '*aliquibus vestrorum*', which, as discussed above, no longer seems certain.[32] Humbert's use of the phrase '*quamdiu vixero deservire'* (as long as I live to serve) also caught Berthier's attention, which he took as implying that Humbert was close to death.[33] Tugwell dismisses this, however, as 'hardly compelling'.[34]

Heintke's arguments depend upon Berthier's work and also Heintke's own view that Humbert would not have had sufficient time to write the *Expositio* prior to his resignation.[35] Yet this seems a weak basis upon which to date a given work, especially given the surprising productivity of many medieval authors. And, one might add, Humbert's own demonstrated capacity to produce works of significant length throughout his career.

Brett's reasons for favouring a later date have largely been covered in the discussion above and depend principally on Humbert's use of '*vir magnus*' to describe Roland of Cremona and the appearance of the phrase '*dilectione vestrae*' in the prologue, both of which have been addressed by Tugwell.[36] Brett also seems to contradict himself at one point. He argues that Humbert wrote the *De officiis* between 1257 and 1263 (the year Humbert resigned) and that the *Expositio* was written after this. Yet he also writes that the *De officiis* does not discuss the office of lector at any length and states that this 'probably results from the fact that Humbert deals with him more fully in his *Expositio regulae*', suggesting an earlier date for the *Expositio*.[37]

[32] Berthier, *De Vita Regulari*, I, xix.
[33] Berthier, *De Vita Regulari*, I, xix.
[34] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 288 n. 9.
[35] Heintke, *Humbert von Romans*, 87–88.
[36] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 120–21.
[37] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 142. One could perhaps take Brett to mean that Humbert intentionally left a lacuna in the *De officiis* because he intended to deal with the office of lector subsequently in the *Expositio regulae.* This seems odd, however, since the *De officiis* is the far more obvious place to describe the office of lector. Of course, nothing excludes the possibility that both works were composed simultaneously.

Mandonnet, by way of comparison, favours the view that Humbert started the *Expositio* during his term as Master, but only finished it afterwards.[38] He depends upon Heintke for his reasoning, however, and like Berthier holds that the prologue must have been directed to a superior authority, which no longer seems certain.

Although frequently repeated, these arguments for a late dating seem to have been largely dismantled by Tugwell. The additional manuscript evidence introduced above lends support to Tugwell's suspicion that '*aliquibus vestrorum*' was originally '*aliquibus nostrorum*', leaving no real reason to believe that Humbert could not have been Master of the Order while writing the prologue, although Tugwell's suggestion that the *Expositio* may have been written while Louis IX was on crusade does not, in the end, seem sustainable.

Scholars favouring an earlier date of composition are fewer in number. Creytens held that the *Expositio* was composed between 1248–54, during Humbert's term as the French Provincial.[39] Yet for reasons already discussed concerning Humbert's remarks about Frederick II, the beginning of Creytens' range cannot be correct and must be adjusted to after 1250—at least insofar as the completion of the work is concerned. Creytens also thought that the *Expositio* was addressed to the Master and therefore Humbert could not have been Master at the time. On this point, Creytens' arguments resemble those outlined above and are subject to the same challenges advanced by Tugwell.

Creytens does note that the *Expositio* never draws from the *Vitae fratrum*, despite the fact that the *Vitae* contains *exempla* that might have complemented the moral exhortations found in the *Expositio*.[40] Unfortunately, Creytens' conclusion—that the work was written before the *Vitae* started circulating in 1260—seems a weak one. As Brett points out, Humbert only cites the *Vitae* once in his entire corpus.[41]

[38] Mandonnet, *Saint Dominique*, II, 272, n. 72.
[39] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 151–54; cf., however, Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 121 n. 19.
[40] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 153.
[41] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 121, n. 19; cf. *Exp. const.*, 42 (p. 247).

Despite differing on various points, Tugwell shares Creytens' preference for an earlier dating of the *Expositio*, such as when Humbert was still Provincial of France. Kaeppeli and K. Grubmüller hold similar views.[42] Tugwell introduces a new argument, however, when he suggests that Alexander IV's bull *Sanctis desideriis* (1255) would have required a more explicit mention in the *Expositio's* prologue than simply speaking about '*sermone qui exiit inter Fratres*'. Tugwell believes this supports a pre-1255 dating for the work's composition (i.e., 1250–55).[43] While not an unreasonable hypothesis, it may have been politically inexpedient for Humbert to directly confront the papal bull in the prologue. In fact, it is entirely possible that Hugh and Humbert had already discussed *Sanctis desideriis* in person at Naples in 1255 and decided not to act on the papal authorisation to rewrite the Order's *Rule* and *Constitutions* (see 3.7.1). In this case, Humbert's primary concern in writing the *Expositio* would not have been to impede *Sanctis desideriis* directly but rather to respond to the rumours about the (abandoned) initiative, which could easily have raised larger questions about the Order's commitment to the *Rule* and undermined devotion to it—something Humbert does explicitly mention. Simply put, the absence of any overt reference to *Sanctis desideriis* seems inconclusive and so does not demand a dating before 1255. Nevertheless, the *Expositio* should probably not be dated too far away from 1255—on either side—since the language of the prologue does suggest a relationship with the broader context in which *Sanctis desideriis* was issued.

Surprisingly, the text of Augustine's *Rule* embedded within the text of the *Expositio* does not appear to have received any attention in the discussion of dating.[44] As noted in 2.8, Humbert issued a corrected version of the *Rule*—the *Regula correcta*—at the behest

[42] SOPMA, IV, no. 2016 (p. 289); K. Grubmüller, 'Humbert von Romans', *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelaters, Verfasserlexikon* (Berlin, 1983), 298; cf. Tugwell, *Legendae*, 289, n. 9.
[43] *Legendae*, 290, 405.
[44] I thank S. Tugwell for this suggestion as a possible way of refining the date of the *Expositio*.

of the 1254 General Chapter.[45] This text can be seen in Rome, Priory of Santa Sabina, General Archives, ms. XIV L1, fol. 36v (c. 1256) and also in London, British Library, Add. ms. 23935, fols. 73v–74v (c. 1270). Since it is difficult to imagine Humbert not using his own corrected text of the *Rule*—assuming it had been completed—as the basis for his commentary, one should be able to compare the text of Augustine's *Rule* quoted in the *Expositio* to the *Regula correcta* to help establish whether the *Expositio* was produced before or after the *Regula correcta*.

Unfortunately, the manuscript tradition reveals a surprisingly complicated picture.[46] Although the text of the *Rule* found in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Expositio* shows a high degree of overlap with the *Regula correcta*, small variations often appear throughout the text. These include transpositions in word order, variant conjunctions (e.g., *atque* instead of *et*), and occasional variations in the tense or voice of verbs (e.g., *sunt* instead of *fuerint*). Adding to the complexity is the way in which the *Rule* itself is quoted within the *Expositio*. Typically, the *Expositio* provides a brief quotation from the *Rule* followed by a longer segment of Humbert's commentary. This process repeats until the whole text of the *Rule* is exhausted. Early medieval commentaries were often organised by using a short cross-reference (*lemma*) from a source followed by an associated commentary. This method of 'lemmatised' or catenated commentary was employed for various types of works and differed from the method associated with many 'glossed' bibles (e.g., the *Glossa ordinaria*), which frequently presented the biblical text in a central location on the page surrounded by comments.[47] Yet unlike either of these

[45] *Acta cap. gen*. I (Buda, 1254), 68.
[46] As should be clear from the discussion herein, the scribes themselves noticed variations in the text. In fact, the manuscript Halle (Saale), Universität-und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Qu. Cod. 125, begins on fol. 1r with the scribe noting that there are differences observable in the text of Augustine's *Rule* at beginning of the manuscript and how it appears in the commentaries of Hugh and Humbert that follow.
[47] L. Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden, 2009), 2–3, 91–139. Both interlinear and marginal glosses of the Bible did exist, however, and Humbert shows himself to be familiar with both styles, as he makes clear in ch. 162 (p. 495).

approaches, all surviving thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts of Humbert's *Expositio* always provide a full quotation of a segment of the *Rule* followed by its associated commentary rather than employing a *lemma* as a cross-reference to a specific sentence or paragraph of the *Rule*. Thus, the whole of the *Rule* is ultimately quoted throughout the course of the commentary.

Interestingly, Humbert's method bears a resemblance to the approach adopted by Hugh of St. Cher in his biblical commentaries. Hugh's commentaries of this sort are usually termed '*postilla*', a term that reflects their layout and methodology:

> The word *postilla*, of unknown origin, seems to have been newly coined for Hugh's commentary [on the bible]. *Postilla* may originally have been a librarian's word to distinguish a commentary that looked like the Gloss in layout from one that returned to the old catenated layout, but retained the Gloss's coverage of a biblical book virtually word-for-word.[48]

Although the precise layout of Hugh's works vary from manuscript to manuscript (or printed edition), his *postillae* generally operate in a manner similar to a lemmatised commentary, except that his *lemmata* essentially quote the whole biblical text over the course of the commentary.[49] Humbert moves through the *Rule* in a similar fashion with block quotations that are sometimes written in a larger script (depending on the manuscript) followed by Humbert's own commentary in a smaller script—a feature also seen in some of Hugh's *postilla* manuscripts (e.g., Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 145).[50] Having studied under Hugh in Paris (see 3.2.1 above), Humbert would certainly have been familiar with Hugh's methods and writings, although Humbert directed his somewhat similar approach to a different base text.[51]

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[48] Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria*, 220.
[49] Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria*, 220; P. Stirnemann, 'Les manuscrits de la *Postille*', in *Hugues de Saint-Cher († 1263)*, ed. by L.-J. Bataillon, G. Dahan, and P.-M. Gy (Turnhout, 2004), 38–41.
[50] Without exception, all the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts present the *Expositio* in a two-column format, regardless of whether or not text of the *Rule* is presented in a larger script within the column.
[51] This is not to imply, of course, the Humbert's work was akin to Hugh's *postillae*—a far more ambitious project—in every respect; merely that one can see certain resemblances in their *mis-en-page* (allowing, of course, for variation depending on the manuscripts in question) and especially in their manner of

Yet beyond the block quotations from the *Rule* that preface each section of Humbert's commentary, Humbert also frequently incorporates 'in-text' quotations or short references to the *Rule* in the course of his comments. These can vary in length and sometimes constitute true *lemmata* cross-references. These 'in-text' quotations can be revelatory, especially when more than a few words are quoted, since one can find 'in-text' quotations that actually disagree with the wording of the longer segment of the *Rule* quoted directly above them. One can see this clearly, for example, in Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451, fol. 140r–v, where a passage of the *Rule* (viii.2) containing the phrase '*ne per oblivionem aliquid pr*[*a*]*etereatur'* is introduced and then quoted by Humbert as '*ne per oblivionem aliquid negligatur*' (figure 4.1).[52] There is, of course, no reason to assume that this disjunction first appeared in Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451. It may well have been introduced at some earlier stage in the transmission history. What is clear, however, is that this phenomenon is not limited to Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451, nor to manuscripts that distinguish between higher- and lower-level scripts when presenting quotations from the *Rule* (such as St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. XI. 13 and Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 221). Rather, the same phenomenon appears in manuscripts where the scripts do not change and the text appears to have been written in a continuous fashion by the same hand (see, for example, Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 228, fol. 162v). Interestingly, the scribe(s) who wrote the fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Expositio* associated with the Cistercian Abbey at Rein, Austria, must have been aware of the particular discrepancy just mentioned since they introduce this passage by rendering the text: '*pr[a]etereatur vel neglegatur*'.[53] Yet here too, Humbert's

incorporating their base text. For a survey of Hugh's project in the *postillae* and its relationship to Dominican education and preaching, see Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 485–502; Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria*, 220–23. On the particular question of Hugh's collaboration with others on the *postillae*, see also the observations in Smith, 'Hugh of St. Cher and Medieval Collaboration', 245–59.

[52] *Exp. reg.*, cc (p. 609).

[53] Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 66, fol. 210v.

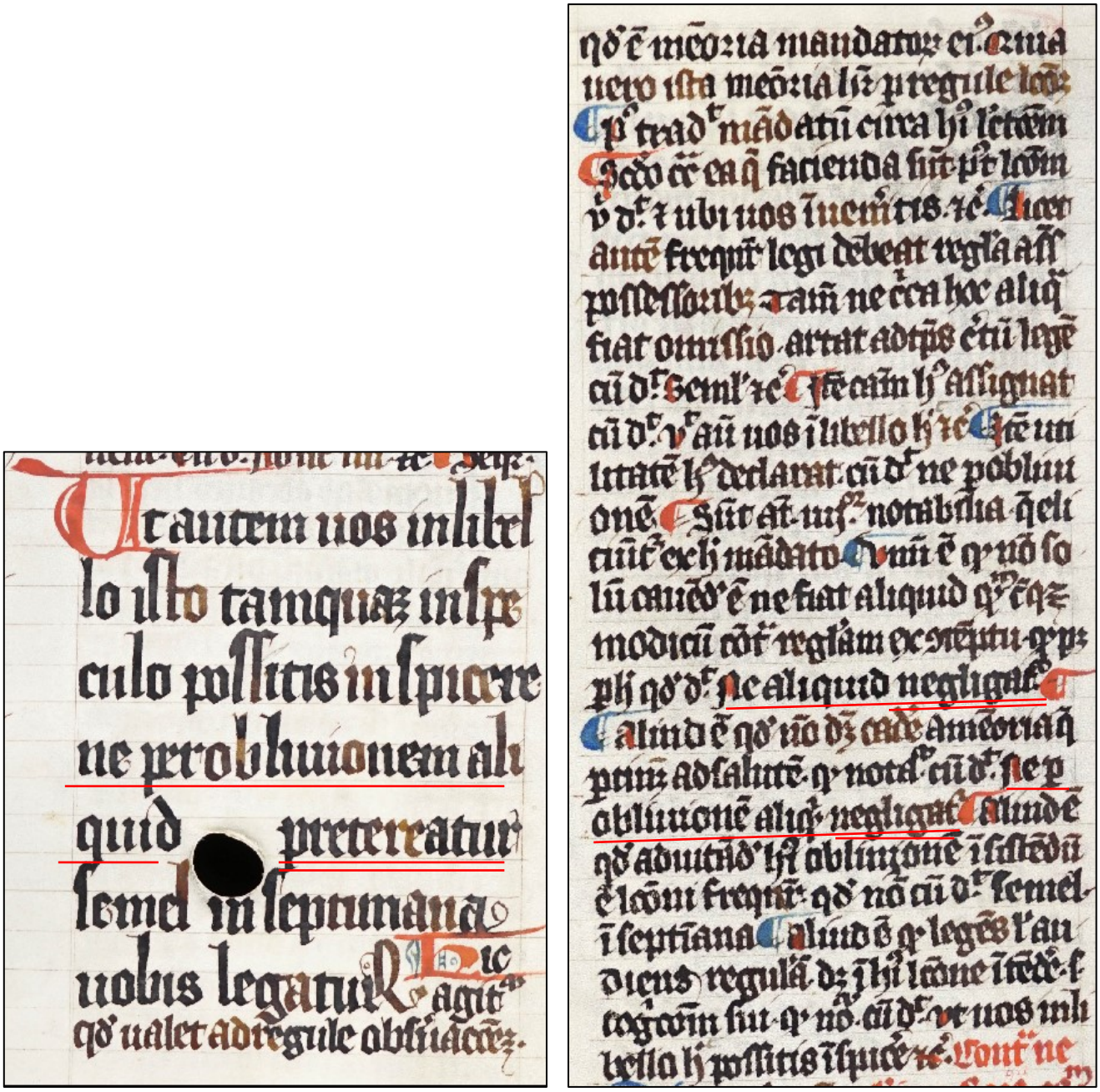


Figure 4.1: Passage from Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451, bottom of fol. 140r (left) and top of 140v (right)

The introductory quotation from the *Rule* (left) employs *pr*[*a*]*etereatur* as a verb,
while the same passage is quoted later on the same page by Humbert using the verb *negligatur*.
I have added the red underscores above to highlight the relevant passages.

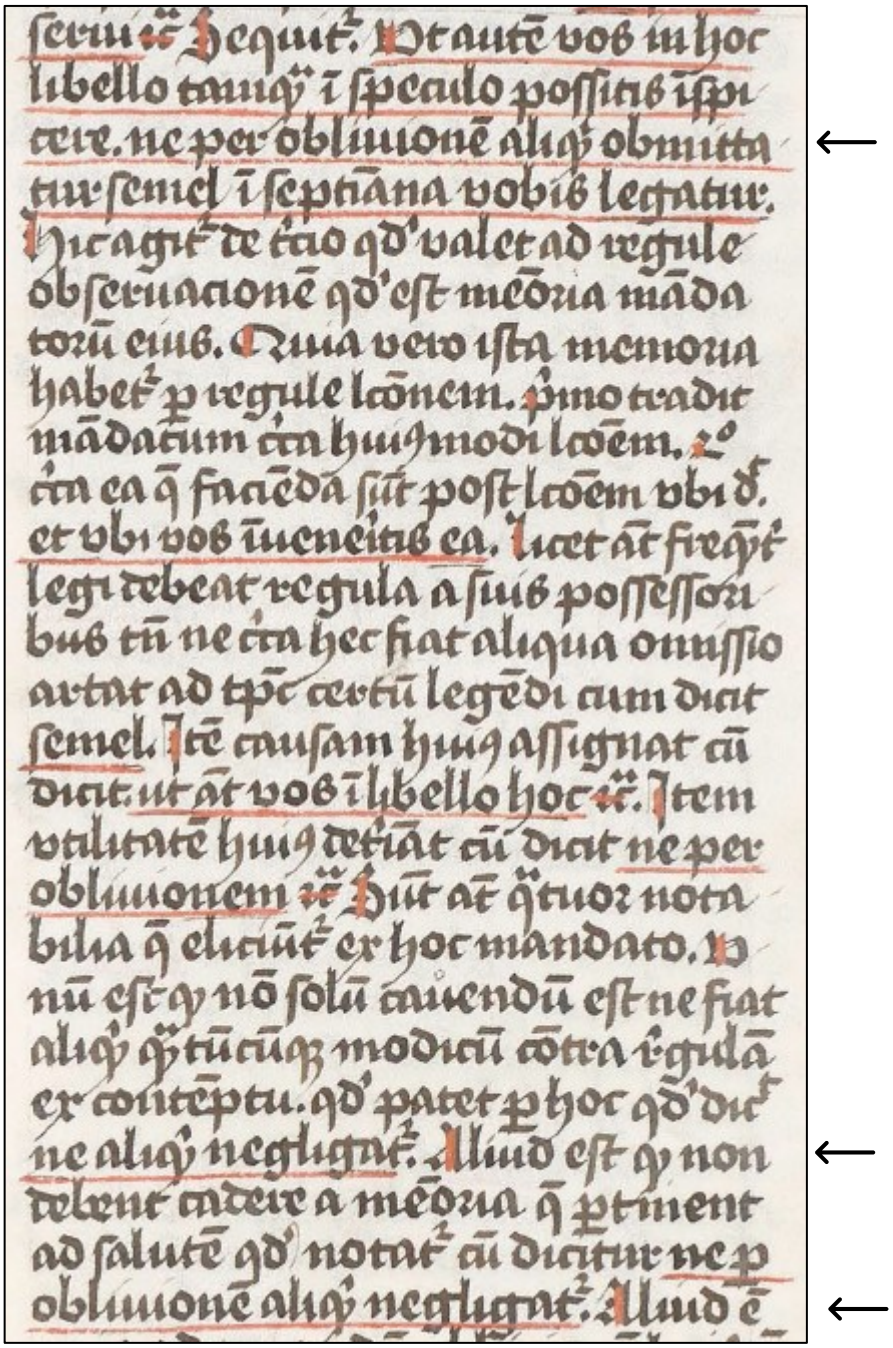


Figure 4.2: Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas ms. E36, fol. 152r

The same quotation from Augustine's *Rule* is shown with two different verbs: the introductory quotation uses *obmittatur* while the same text is then quoted twice in Humbert's comments using the verb *negligatur*.
The red underscores are original to this manuscript.

comments only use the verb '*negligatur*'.[54] A different variant in the same passage occurs in Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36, fol. 152r, which initially quotes this text of the *Rule* as containing the verb '*obmittatur*' but subsequently uses '*negligatur*' in Humbert's comments (figure 4.2).

Without exception, all nineteen of the (complete) surviving thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts give the verb as '*negligatur*' whenever Humbert quotes this section of the *Rule* in his comments—as is also consistent with the use of '*negligatur*' in his *Regula correcta*.[55] While one would not wish to draw too many conclusions from these points of agreement between Humbert's 'in-text' quotations and the *Regula correcta*, other examples also exist. Notably, word additions and omissions reflect this same tendency.

For example, in the section of Augustine's *Rule* (iv.7) that reads '*ne coepta progrediantur*' in the *Regula correcta*, one finds manuscripts of the *Expositio* that quote this same passage with the addition of the word '*male*' so that the text reads '*ne male coepta progediantur*'. Yet these same manuscripts subsequently quote this same text twice according to the form found in the *Regula correcta*—that is, without '*male*'—within the body of Humbert's comments.[56] This occurs even though the text was introduced with '*male*' only a few lines earlier.

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[54] Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 66, fol. 210v.

[55] In addition to the four manuscripts mentioned above, Basel, Basel University Library, ms. B. VII. 10, fol. 160r; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 221, 230v; Melk, Benediktinerabtei, ms. 292, fol. 149v; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 108, fol. 250r; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XIII. D. 23 (Cat. 2315), 168v; Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, cod. XV. B. 1 (Cat. 3546), fol. 157r; and St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. XI. 13, fol. 112r, have *pr*[*a*]*etereatur* in the introductory quote and *negligatur* in the comments. The manuscripts Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, ms. 715, fol. 111r–v; Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 340 (Cat. Gen. 585), 136r–v; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 107, fol. 152v; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 4180, fol. 177v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. lat. th. c. 22, fol. 142v; Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3, fol. 227r; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XII. D. 3 (Cat. 2148), fol. 107r; and Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 417, fol. 200v, employ *negligatur* in both. The incomplete manuscript Toulouse, Bibliothèque d'étude et du patrimoine, ms. 169, fol. 191r, has the verb *obligantur* in the *Rule*, but still has *negligatur* in Humbert's comments. Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, ms. 241 is missing the relevant folios.

[56] *Exp. reg.*, xcvi (pp. 298–99). The following lack *male* only in Humbert's comments: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451, fols. 62v–63r; Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36, fol. 83r–v. The following lack *male* in both the introductory quotation from the *Rule* and in Humbert's comments:

Similarly, regarding the text of the *Rule* (i.5) that reads '*qui autem non habebant*' in the *Regula correcta*, all complete thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Expositio* first introduce the text as '*qui vero non habebant*'. Yet all but one of these manuscripts quote this same passage with '*autem*' rather than '*vero*' when it appears in the course of Humbert's comments, reflecting the text as found in the *Regula correcta*.[57]

One can also see a parallel phenomenon with the order of certain words, such as in the passage of the *Rule* (vii.2) where the text reads '*etsi quid servatum minus fuerit*' in Humbert's *Regula correcta* while various manuscripts of the *Expositio* first introduce the text as '*etsi quid minus servatum fuerit'.* Yet the majority of these same manuscripts reflect the word order found in the *Regula correcta* in Humbert's subsequent comments, regardless of how they appear in the introductory quotation from the *Rule*.[58]

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, ms. 715, fol. 92r; Basel, Basel University Library, ms. B. VII. 10, fol. 72r–v; Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 340 (Cat. Gen. 585), fols. 62v–63r; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 221, fols. 110v–111r; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 228, fol. 71r–v; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 107, fol. 75v; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 4180, fol. 81r–v; Melk, Benediktinerabtei, ms. 292, fol. 67v; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 108, fol. 128r–v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. lat. th. c. 22, fol. 63v; Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3, fol. 115r–v; Prague, XII.D.3, fol. 50r; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XIII. D. 23 (Cat. 2315), fol. 73r–v; Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, cod. XV. B. 1 (Cat. 3546), fols. 70v–71r; Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 66, fol. 92r–v; St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. XI. 13, fol. 51v; Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 417, fol. 85r–v; also the incomplete manuscripts Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, ms. 241, fol. 111v and Toulouse, Bibliothèque d'étude et du patrimoine, ms. 169, fol. 121v.

[57] *Exp. reg.*, xxviii (pp. 106, 109); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, ms. 715, fols. 13v, 14v; Basel, Basel University Library, ms. B. VII. 10, fols. 18r, 19r; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451, fols. 15v, 16r; Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 340, fols. 18r–v; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 221, fols. 45r, 46r; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 228, fols. 16v, 17v; Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36, fols. 38v, 39v; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 107, fols. 25r, 26r (read '*autem*' for '*antem*'); Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 4180, fols. 22r, 23r; Melk, Benediktinerabtei, ms. 292, fols. 17r, 18r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 108, fols. 35r, 37r; Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3, fols. 27v, 29r; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XII. D. 3, fols. 11v, 12r; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XIII. D. 23, fols. 22r, 23r; Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, cod. XV. B. 1, fols. 16v, 17r; Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 66, fols. 26r, 27r; St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. XI. 13, fols. 13v, 14v; Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 417, fols. 25v (not legible), 26r. Likewise the incomplete manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, ms. 241, fols. 28r, 29r. Toulouse, Bibliothèque d'étude et du patrimoine, ms. 169 is missing the folios for this chapter. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. lat. th. c. 22, fols. 15v, 16v, is the sole exception, containing '*vero*' in both cases.

[58] *Exp. reg.*, clxxv–clxxvi (pp. 539, 541). Manuscripts that show the same word order as the *Regula correcta* in Humbert's comments but not in the introductory quotation are Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451, fol.123v–124r; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 221, fol. 201v, 202v; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 228, fol. 142r–v; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XII. D. 3, fol. 95r; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XIII. D. 23, fol. 147r–v; Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, cod. XV. B. 1, fol. 139r–v; Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 66, fol. 182r, 183r; St. Florian,

More examples could be brought forward, but unfortunately Humbert's 'in-text' quotations from the *Rule*—as distinct from the introductory quotations where segments of the *Rule* are first presented—do not provide sufficient coverage to fully reconstruct the text of the *Rule* that he was using. The cases examined herein do hint at a correlation between the text of the *Rule* found in Humbert's comments and the text of his *Regula correcta* (even when the introductory quotations in the *Expositio* differ). Although not conclusive, this would be consistent with the notion that Humbert was working with the *Regula correcta* as his base text when writing the *Expositio*, pointing to a date of composition for the *Expositio* after late 1254. One hesitates, naturally, to make an overly strong claim for this position until an exhaustive examination of all the evidence has been carried out, including a thorough study of the abundant fifteenth-century manuscripts, as would appropriately take place in the course of producing a critical edition. This does, however, appear to be a fruitful area for further exploration that may suggest a more precise dating of the *Expositio* (at least in regard to the *terminus post quem*).

Given everything noted above, one can confidently say that the work was composed between the death of Frederick II (13 December 1250) and that of Louis IX (25 August 1270). The view that Humbert could not have authored the text while Master (1254–63)

Stiftsbibliothek, ms. XI. 13, fol. 98v. The manuscripts Basel, Basel University Library, ms. B. VII. 10, fol. 140r, 141r, and Melk, Benediktinerabtei, ms. 292, fol. 130r–v, read '*minus servatum fuerit*' in both the introductory quotation and Humbert's comments, suggesting the text of Humbert's comments may have been normalised to accord with the introductory quotation in these manuscripts. On the other hand, manuscripts that accord with *Regula correcta* in both the introductory quotation and Humbert's comments are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, ms. 715, fol. 98r–v; Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36, fol. 136r–v; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 107, fol. 135v, 136r; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 4180, fol. 153v, 154v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. lat. th. c. 22, fols. 124v, 125r; Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3, fols. 199r, 200r; Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 417, fol. 174v–175r; and the incomplete manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, ms. 241, fols. 217v, 218v. Only the incomplete manuscript Toulouse, Bibliothèque d'étude et du patrimoine, ms. 169, fol. 174r–v, shows the word order of the *Regula correcta* in the introductory quotation but not in Humbert's comments. An odd variant exists in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 108, fol. 225r, where the introductory quotation reads '*observatum non fuerit*' and this likewise appears in Humbert's comments on fol. 226r. However, a shift from '*servatum*' to '*observatum*' and '*minus*' to '*non*' can probably be explained by a copying error due to how similar these words look when abbreviated. If this is correct, the original source would have accorded with the *Regula correcta* in both instances.

seems untenable and there are reasons to suspect that the work was composed after the *Regula correcta* (c. 1254). It is also evident that the work is closely related to the social and political dynamics surrounding *Sanctis desideriis* (3 February 1255), although it cannot be said with certainty whether the *Expositio* was composed shortly before or after the promulgation of the bull.

4.2.3 Chronological Relationship to the *Commentary on the Constitutions*

Closely related to the dating of the *Expositio regulae* is the question of its relationship to Humbert's other legal commentary, his unfinished *Commentary on the Constitutions* (*Expositio super Constitutiones*).[59] Until recently, it was widely accepted that the *Expositio regulae* was composed before Humbert's *Commentary on the Constitutions*. This order of composition seemed to follow from the nature of the documents themselves, given that the friars first responded to Innocent III by adopting Augustine's *Rule* and then added their own *consuetudines* (which ultimately became their *Constitutions*) (see 2.7 above). Unsurprisingly, these texts were often then presented in this same sequence (i.e., *Rule* + *Constitutions*) in collections of Dominican legislation.[60] Perhaps influenced by this, H.-M. Vicaire wrote that Humbert's *Commentary on the Constitutions* 'follows immediately and naturally upon the *Expositio regulae*' and most other scholars, including Heintke, Creytens, Hinnebusch, and Brett have postulated dates that place the *Commentary on the*

[59] The most commonly cited edition of the *Expositio super Constitutions* remains Berthier, *De vita regulari*, ii, 1–178; but this has been considerably improved upon by the critical edition found in S. Reisner, 'Die Expositio super constitutiones fratrum Ordinis Predicatorum des Humbertus de Romanis' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Vienna, 2004), 113–290.

[60] Although it is possible to find early manuscripts that contain a copy of the *Constitutions* without the *Rule*, including from the thirteenth century (e.g., Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. VIII. B. 23, fols. 67r–79v), early manuscripts that do include both seem to consistently preface the *Constitutions* with the *Rule* as one might naturally expect. See, for example, Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, MS 101 (Santa Cruz 54), fols. 79r–111v; Provins, Bibliothèque municipal, ms. 58, fols. 93r–125r; Rome, Priory of Santa Sabina, ms. XIV L1, fols. 36v–40v; and London, British Library, Add. ms. 23935, fols. 70v–74r, 572r–579v. This is also reflected in the printed editions, e.g., *Regula beati Augustini et Constitutiones ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Salamanca, 1543); *Regula s. Augustini et Constitutiones FF. Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Rome, 1690); *Constitutiones Fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum auctoritate, apostolica approbatae* (Paris, 1841).

Constitutions after the *Expositio*.[61] Moreover, given that Humbert completed his composition of the *Expositio regulae*, while the *Commentary on the Constitutions* was left as an incomplete work, one could easily assume that Humbert had first concluded his work on the *Expositio* before starting the *Commentary on the Constitutions*.[62] Yet a counterintuitive chronology has recently been proposed by Tugwell that challenges this consensus.

Tugwell has suggested that Humbert began the *Commentary on the Constitutions* earlier, while he was still Provincial of France (1247–54). Following this chronology, Humbert set aside his work on the *Commentary on the Constitutions*, leaving it incomplete, and shifted his attention to Augustine's *Rule* once the *Rule's* continued use in the Order became a topic of debate. At a later stage, Humbert's unfinished *Commentary on the Constitutions* received a series of updates, probably by Humbert himself, which further muddied the waters.[63]

Tugwell's chronology departs from the previous consensus but it resolves several difficulties and is compelling in many respects. It finds (unintentional) support in a 2004 doctoral thesis by Sonja Reisner, which contains a critical edition of the *Commentary on the Constitutions*.[64] Although Reisner did not immediately recognize the implications of her study, one of the manuscripts she examined (Bologna, Bibl. dell'Archiginnasio, ms. A 214) lacked all reference to the 1254–56 liturgical revisions of Humbert.[65] This manuscript likewise lacked any reference to the version of the *Vitae fratrum* that circulated around

[61] Vicaire, 'Dictionnaire de spiritualité', col. 1111. Translation mine. Heintke, *Humbert von Romans*, 88–91; Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 151–54; Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, II, 290; Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 197–98; cf. Tugwell, *Legendae*, 287 n. 5.
[62] The *Commentary on the Constitutions* never came close to completion, having only engaged the prologue of the *Constitutions* and the first two chapters of its first distinction, leaving the vast majority of the *Constitutions* untouched. Tugwell estimates that had Humbert continued his commentary apace, he would have needed '1500 more pages just to accommodate the rest of the first distinction' (*Legendae*, 295 n. 22).
[63] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 287–95.
[64] Reisner, 'Die expositio super constitutiones'; cf. Tugwell, *Legendae*, 286.
[65] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 286, 294.

1260.[66] Since previous scholars had only examined printed editions of the *Commentary on the Constitutions*, which did include these references, the work had been routinely dated to the 1260s.[67] Having now identified a manuscript lacking all these features, Reisner's study pointed to an earlier date for the initial composition of the *Commentary on the Constitutions*, congruent with Tugwell's suggestion that it may have been written before the *Expositio*. The evidence for later updates to the *Commentary on the Constitutions* in the manuscript tradition also aligns with Tugwell's observation that Humbert had a 'propensity to tinker' with his writings and that earlier and later redactions of Humbert's works have sometimes come down to us.[68] This observation has particular relevance for any future critical edition of Humbert's *Expositio regulae* and provides an incentive to consult the manuscript tradition (as this thesis attempts to do) when making historical claims rather than relying solely on the existing printed editions of Humbert's works.

An additional factor that suggests the *Commentary on the Constitutions* was begun before the *Expositio* is the way in which Humbert refers to Augustine's *Rule* within the *Commentary*. Tugwell argues that if Humbert had just completed the nearly 600-page *Expositio* upholding the *Rule's* importance he would not have begun his *Commentary on the Constitutions* by baldly stating that Augustine's *Rule* had been adopted because the friars' own proposal for a 'new and strict rule' had been rejected.[69] Humbert does qualify this remark in the *Commentary on the Constitutions* by saying Augustine's *Rule* was adopted 'not undeservingly' (*non immerito*) since it had effectively served other orders that

[66] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 286, 294.
[67] The notable exception is Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 151; cf. Tugwell, *Legendae*, 285.
[68] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 68, 286, 295. Tugwell leans toward the view that the later updates to the *Commentary on the Constitutions* were made by Humbert himself, although one cannot completely exclude the possibility of other hands.
[69] Tugwell, *Legendae*, 291; Reisner, 'Die expositio super constitutiones', 47–48; 'Proinde beatus Dominicus et fratres sui temporis, cum non potuissent obtinere a domino papa secundum fervorem conceptum novam et artam regulam et ab hoc repulsi proposito elegissent regulam beati Augustini...' (*Exp. const.*, 1 [p. 114]).

were excelling.[70] Yet Tugwell reasonably holds that Humbert's language in the *Commentary on the Constitutiones* makes more sense if he wrote this text before the controversy over Augustine's *Rule* had erupted—and thus before he had started the *Expositio regulae*.

While not absolutely conclusive, Tugwell's observations and his plausible explanation for why Humbert might have abandoned the *Commentary on the Constitutions* in favour of the *Expositio regulae* make for a relatively persuasive case for reversing the normal order of composition when combined with Reisner's manuscript discovery. Although establishing the date of either commentary with perfect accuracy remains elusive, the chronological relationship between these two works now seems less intuitive but more critically grounded than was previously the case.

4.3 Transmission History

4.3.1 Extant Manuscripts

As with the rest of Humbert's works, no autograph of the *Expositio regulae* has survived. Nor are any examples of his script believed to be extant, as is likewise true of many medieval authors. On the other hand, an abundance of manuscripts do witness to the transmission history of the *Expositio* in its post-autograph (or post-dictation) form. Of these, all but one were produced after the close of the thirteenth century.

The sole surviving manuscript from the late thirteenth century was kept, until recently, in Pont-à-Mousson, France, in the Bibliothèque municipale (now the Médiathèque communautaire) under shelfmark 'codex 3', where it was photographed for microfilm on 7 November 1952. Sadly, after rigorous investigation, the library now considers the

[70] *Exp. const.*, 1 (p. 114).

manuscript's whereabouts to be unknown.[71] It has been suggested, on the basis of what can still be determined from the microfilm, that the manuscript was probably produced locally in Lorraine, c. 1280–1300, making it the earliest known text of the *Expositio*.[72] This particular manuscript is likewise notable for having been created for the use of canons regular—presumably the Premonstratensians located in Pont-à-Mousson—but especially for having been edited to reflect the practices and identity of that community.[73] The omission of various chapters, paragraphs, and even the replacement of the word 'preachers' with 'canons' make it a particularly interesting witness to the *Expositio's* impact beyond the Friars Preachers themselves (see the discussion in 5.4).

Among the manuscripts that could be plausibly dated to the fourteenth century, eighteen containing the full text (or nearly so) of the *Expositio* still survive.[74] These have all been consulted for this thesis (either physically or in electronic form) in addition to the abovementioned microfilm of Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3, along with other fourteenth-century manuscripts containing portions of the text (e.g., Paris,

[71] Correspondence received from the *Médiathèque communautaire* on 3 March 2015 and 10 June 2015. This conclusion is particularly distressing given that the manuscript was one of only five to survive the shelling of the town's older library on 6 September 1944.

[72] My thanks to Patricia Stirnemann of the IRHT, Paris, for providing this informal assessment about the manuscript's provenance on the basis of the script and penwork. Her suggestion about the dating accords with what has generally been proposed in descriptive catalogues, namely, that the manuscript was produced around the late-thirteenth century.

[73] Markings indicate that the manuscript was in the possession of the Premonstratensian Abbey of St. Marie-Majeure, but this particular abbey is too new to have been the original holder. Premonstratensian canons have been in this same area, however, since the twelfth century.

[74] There are Basel, Basel University Library, ms. B. VII. 10, fols. 1r–175r; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451, fols. 1r–150v; Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 340, fols. 1r–142r; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 221, fols. 25r–242v; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 228, fols. 1r–171v; Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36, fols. 21v–157v; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 107, fols. 1r–158v; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 4180, fols. 1r–188v; Melk, Benediktinerabtei, ms. 292, fols. 2r–157v; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 108, fols. 3r–258r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. lat. th. c. 22, fols. 1r–149v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, ms. 715, fols 2r–119r; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XII. D. 3, fols. 1r–11r; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XIII. D. 23, fols. 1r–177v; Prague, Národní muzeum (Knihovna Národního muzea v Praze), cod. XV. B. 1, fols. 1r–166r; Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 66, fols. 1r–219r; St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. XI. 13, fols. 1r–116v; and Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 417, fols. 1r–212v. It should be noted that the dating of these manuscripts sometimes results in a range of possibilities that extend into the early-fifteenth century. This is noted below when pertinent to a particular manuscript or argument.

Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, ms. 241; Toulouse, Bibliothèque d'étude et du patrimoine, ms. 169; etc.). The late-fourteenth-century manuscript Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36, which has also been consulted electronically for this thesis, has not yet been catalogued and does not appear in any previously list of *Expositio* manuscripts, including those given in Kaeppeli's *Scriptores O.P. Medii Aevi* and Creytens' article on Dominican commentators.[75] Among other things, Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36 remains in exemplary condition and contains a copy of Humbert's prologue, which is found only in a subset of the manuscripts. As with many of the manuscripts from this period, it probably originated in a German-speaking region, although some uncertainty exists in this regard.[76]

Considered together, the nineteen manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries containing the full text include thirteen that contain only Humbert's *Expositio* (sometimes prefaced or followed by a copy of Augustine's *Rule*).[77] Presumably the considerable length of Humbert's *Expositio* made it unwieldy to combine with other major works. Nevertheless, the six remaining manuscripts do join the *Expositio* with shorter texts, including three manuscripts that contain the twelfth-century *Expositio in Regulam s. Augustini* attributed to Hugh of St. Victor (or Lietbert of St. Ruf) mentioned earlier.[78] In at least these three cases, it also seems clear from the manuscripts themselves that these works were copied as part of the same project rather than having being collected and bound together at a later date. Apart from the common subject matter, Hugh of St. Victor's

[75] cf. Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 122–30.
[76] 'Library Purchase Description' (1959), Bookseller Correspondence Archive, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas (Lawrence, Kansas).
[77] Namely, Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451; Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 340; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 228; Melk, Benediktinerabtei, ms. 292; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 108; Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. lat. th. c. 22; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, ms. 715; Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XII. D. 3; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XIII. D. 23; Prague, Národní muzeum (Knihovna Národního muzea v Praze), cod. XV. B. 1; St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. XI. 13; Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 417.
[78] The three manuscripts containing the *Expositio* by Hugh (or Lietbert) are Basel, Basel University Library, ms. B. VII. 10, fols. 175v–194r; Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36, fols. 3v–21r; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 221, fols. 5r–24v.

Expositio had the advantage of brevity, making it relatively easy to include without the codex becoming significantly larger. Many of the total number of surviving manuscripts (i.e., including those of the fifteenth century) also appear to have been produced and owned by canons regular, as is discussed at greater length in 5.4.2 below, and it would not be difficult to imagine that the inclusion of Hugh of St. Victor's *Expositio* would have appealed to them. Yet among the three fourteenth-century manuscripts that include Hugh's *Expositio* along with Humbert's, at least one (i.e., Basel, Basel University Library, ms. B. VII. 10) is clearly Dominican, having come from the Dominican priory in Basel.[79] Moreover, it has been shown by M.-L. Ehrenschwendtner that at least some of the Dominican nuns' convents that adhered to the 'Observant Reform' of the fifteenth century read the *Expositiones* of Humbert and Hugh at table during the season of Lent in alternating years (see 5.4.3).[80] Therefore, while an examination of the roughly one-hundred surviving manuscripts would be needed to establish the relative frequency of the pairing of these texts among friars and canons, one would not be surprised to discover that Hugh of St. Victor's *Expositio* circulated with some regularity alongside Humbert's own both inside and outside the Order.[81]

The transmission of the *Expositio* in the fifteenth century raises additional questions since a far greater number of manuscripts have survived from this period. Beyond the nineteen manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, more than 80 extant manuscripts from the fifteenth century have been identified as containing Humbert's

[79] The manuscript itself contains an inscription on the verso of the first (unnumbered) folio that reads '*Iste liber est fratrum predicatorum domus basiliensis*'. See also the discussion of its provenance in G. Meyer and M. Burckhardt, *Die Mittelalterlichen Handschriften Der Universitätsbibliothek Basel. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, Abteilung B: Theologische Pergamenthandschriften (Basel, 1960), I, 702.
[80] M.-L. Ehrenschwendtner, *Die Bildung der Dominikanerinnen in Süddeutschland vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 2004), 188–89.
[81] At least one example among the fifteenth-century manuscripts with a clearly established Dominican provenance is Mainz, Stadtbibliothek, ms. II 122, which pairs the *Expositio* of Humbert (fols. 1r–128r) with that of Hugh of St. Victor (fols. 132r-143v).

Expositio, although more may still come to light.[82] This number does not include the many extracts and fragments of the *Expositio* that were sometimes copied or bound together with other works, nor the translations into Early New High German (*Frühneuhochdeutsch*) and Early Modern Spanish (see below 5.4.3).[83] As with earlier manuscripts, those of the fifteenth century are found widely across Europe, with the largest number surviving in modern-day Germany (~32 manuscripts) and Austria (~13 manuscripts).[84] Possible reasons for the considerable number of manuscripts in German-speaking areas are discussed in 5.4, but here too the influence of the Observant Reform in these regions seems likely.[85] It should be noted that while the provenance of many fifteenth-century manuscripts remains uncertain insofar as their relationship to religious communities is concerned, 40 of the 45 manuscripts with an established link to religious communities were produced for non-Dominicans (i.e., roughly 89%).[86] The vast majority of these were associated with communities of canons regular (30 manuscripts), while a third more (10 manuscripts) were connected with other religious communities, including those who both followed Augustine's *Rule* (e.g., Servites, Teutonic Knights) and those who did not (e.g., Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries). This prevalence of surviving manuscripts among non-

[82] See Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 123–30; and SOPMA, II, no. 2016; IV, no. 289:2016. To these lists should be added Halle, Universität-und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Qu. Cod. 125, fols. 15r–192v, and dated to c. 1469–70.

[83] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 130–34; SOPMA, II, no. 2016; To these lists, add Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XVI. D. 18 and Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, cod. M II 24, fols. 1r–264v.

[84] These numbers should be understood as approximates. There are a considerable number of manuscripts that are mostly or partially complete and which may be either 15th or 16th century and so their inclusion or exclusion in these numbers is open to debate.

[85] Van Engen, 'From Canons to Preachers', 265 n. 14.

[86] The statistics given in this paragraph are derived (with some updating on my part) from the provenance of the (Latin-language) fifteenth-century *Expositio* manuscripts given in Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 123–27, and to which I have also added Halle (Saale), Universität-und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Qu. Cod. 125. Not every association is completely secure, however, and one should keep in mind that 21 fifteenth-century manuscripts in Creytens lack provenance altogether insofar as their relationships with religious communities are concerned. The thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts, although a much smaller sample size (19), show a rather similar distribution (3 Dominican, 7 Canons Regular, 3 Benedictine/Cistercian, 6 undetermined). The handful of additional manuscripts listed in SOPMA lack clear provenance insofar as their relationships with religious communities are concerned; yet given their small number these would not have significantly altered the overall picture given above.

Dominican communities is particularly fascinating when one considers Humbert's preoccupation with forming his own brethren and emphasising their distinctiveness relative to other religious orders (see the discussion in 5.4.2).

Concerning the scribal transmission of the *Expositio* over time, some general tendencies can be observed. The first regards the inclusion of Humbert's initial 'prologue'. As discussed above in 4.2.2, the prologue explains—albeit more briefly than one might like—Humbert's reasons for writing the *Expositio*. As noted above, the prologue appears only in a subset of the surviving manuscripts. Generally, this is not due to lost folios; rather, the prologue was intentionally omitted in the production of many copies.[87]

This frequent omission can be explained by several factors. Comprising only 148 words in Latin, the prologue seems to have been directed to a specific individual in the Order, possibly Hugh of St. Cher or the Master of the Order, as discussed earlier.[88] Copying the prologue may have been seen as superfluous once the circumstances that prompted Humbert to write the *Expositio* had become fairly remote. Creytens suggests, moreover, that the majority of manuscripts without the prologue were destined for public reading or for use in non-Dominican communities, and thus the inclusion of this brief introduction to an unknown Dominican superior would have seemed unnecessary.[89]

Apart from the frequent omission of the prologue, a second observable tendency in the transmission history concerns the variation in the chapter divisions. Although the underlying text of the *Expositio* remains substantially the same, the chapter divisions and their numbering vary considerably in the manuscript tradition, albeit with some discernible patterns. For example, among the twelve fourteenth-century manuscripts that contain the

[87] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 128.
[88] The number of words has been determined from Berthier's text in *De Vita Regulari*, i, 43.
[89] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 128.

prologue, ten are divided into 198 chapters.[90] Those that lack the prologue often reflect a different and less consistent division and are frequently divided into 216 or 217 chapters. The chapter titles also vary somewhat, partly (but not solely) as a result of abbreviation and ellipsis. Various manuscripts also show later corrections to the chapter titles and divisions, further complicating the picture. Although most manuscripts contain a 'chapter list' at the beginning or end of the *Expositio* (see 5.4.1), these do not always align with the actual divisions in the text, as one can see in Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 340.[91] Accordingly, it is difficult to determine which chapter divisions were original (if any), although the frequent correlation between the inclusion of the prologue and 198 chapters is suggestive (at least among the earliest manuscripts). This may, of course, simply be a consequence of which manuscripts were most widely copied or which have survived over time.

A full analysis of all variations introduced over the course of the *Expositio's* transmission will only be possible with a complete critical edition, although a few notable variations have been discussed above in 4.2.2. The prospect of producing a critical edition remains a daunting task given the complexity and scope of the manuscript tradition. But future scholars may at least take comfort in the fact that the *Expositio* comments upon a *Rule* that was essentially stable.

[90] Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 221; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 228; Melk, Benediktinerabtei, ms. 292; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 108; Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XII. D. 3 (Cat. 2148); Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XIII. D. 23 (Cat. 2315); Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, cod. XV. B. 1 (Cat. 3546); Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 66; St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. XI. 13. Basel, Basel University Library, ms. B. VII. 10 also includes the prologue and has 197 chapters.

[91] This manuscript lists 214 chapters in the table of chapters (fol. 3r) while the text itself contains titles and numbering for 217 chapters.

4.3.2 Printed Editions[92]

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, printed editions of the Latin text of the *Expositio* appeared in Haguenau (1505), Paris (1513), Dillingen (1581), Como (1602, 1605), Lyon (1677), Valladolid (1752), and Manila (1869).[93] Although medieval manuscripts of the *Expositio* were produced under the auspices of canons regular and various others, the production of printed Latin editions seems to have been an exclusively Dominican affair—although they (and their printed translations) were sometimes distributed rather widely, as is discussed in 5.4.3. Interestingly, one can see how editors of these editions were forced to confront some of the same questions about the integrity and organisation of the text that had faced their medieval predecessors. For example, a variety of different chapter enumerations were adopted while certain printed editions also abridged or omitted parts of the text—both of which were already evident in the manuscript tradition. The desire to produce a shorter, pared-down version of the printed text was already evident in the 1505 edition published in Haguenau, which appears to be the first edition produced on a printing press and which omits chapters and truncates portions of the text.[94]

The last printed edition, published in Rome in 1888 and edited by J.J. Berthier, attempts to provide a critical text according to the standards of the time. As noted, this edition has been employed as the starting point for the analysis herein, albeit with frequent comparison to the surviving manuscripts. The strengths of Berthier's edition, as Creytens observed, are its inclusion of an unabridged text and its use of some 'manuscrits de valeur' in its editing, along with the inclusion of a limited apparatus.[95] Berthier seems to have

[92] This section addresses printed editions of the Latin text. Printed translations, which began appearing in the late-fifteenth century, are discussed in 5.4.3 in relation to the Dominican observant reform, to which they were closely connected.
[93] These are given in Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 134; and to which can be added Humbert of Romans, *Expositio B. Humberti super regulam B. Augustini Episcopi* (Manila, 1869).
[94] *Expositio Umberti Generalis Magistri ordinis Predicatoru[m] super Regula[m] beati Augustini episcopi. Expositio Hugonis de Sancto Victore super eande[m] regulam Beati Augustini* (Hagenau, 1505).
[95] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 135.

utilised six principal manuscripts and was also aware of several others that he references from time to time.[96]

As with any work, however, Berthier's edition suffers its share of limitations. Many of his editorial decisions could now be revisited on the basis of other manuscripts and newer methodologies. While a new critical edition is certainly to be desired, Berthier's edition continues to be the most 'modern' and readily-available text employed by scholars, even if it is not the final word on Humbert's *Expositio*.

4.4 Relationship to Other Rule Commentaries

As stated in the introduction to this thesis, rule commentaries constitute a genre of medieval writing within which Humbert's *Expositio* may be situated. Without attempting to be exhaustive, even a brief comparison of the *Expositio* to other rule commentaries can be helpful in highlighting some of the unique structural and stylistic features of the *Expositio*. While numerous rule commentaries survive from across the spectrum of medieval religious life, commentaries by Franciscan friars and Augustinian canons seem to be the most contextually proximate and the most apt for comparison.

4.4.1 Comparison with Franciscan Rule Commentaries

The Franciscan friars often provide an interesting (and frequently divergent) analogue to the Friars Preachers and their rule commentaries are no exception. Before he died, Francis of Assisi sought to exclude the possibility of any commentary being written about his *Rule*:

> I strictly command all my cleric and lay brothers, through obedience, not to place any gloss upon the Rule or upon these words saying: 'They should be understood in this way'. But as the Lord has given me to speak and write the Rule and these words simply and purely, may you understand them simply and without gloss and observe them with a holy activity until the end.[97]

[96] See n. 29 above for the list of manuscripts employed in Berthier's edition.
[97] 'Testament (1226)', in *Francis of Assisi*, ed. by R.J. Armstrong, J.A.W. Hellmann, and W.J. Short, 3 vols (Hyde Park, NY, 1999), I, 127. For the Latin text, see *Opuscula Sancti Patris Francisci Assisiensis*, ed. by K. Esser (Grottaferrata, 1904), 82.

Francis' desire for a rule 'without gloss' presumably reflected his hope that his followers might escape the pattern he observed among other religious whose rules were heavily commented upon and sometimes contentiously debated by their followers (e.g., Benedict, Chrodegang, Augustine). Commentaries possessed the power to reinterpret the author's original words and this was potentially threatening to a religious founder concerned about laxity or decadence.[98]

Concern about future decline and decadence also lay behind *Sanctis desideriis* and the move to produce a unified 'Dominican Rule', as is evident in the text of the bull itself (see discussion in 3.7.1). Yet the founding experience of Dominic's early community at Toulouse differed considerably from Francis' own experience and, perhaps because of this, neither Dominic nor the early Friars Preachers seem to have worried that their legislation would be diluted through commentary. On the contrary, having inherited an unchanging text in the form of Augustine's *Rule*, Dominic and the early Friars Preachers immediately sought to expand upon it through *consuetudines* in order to help realise their desire for a preaching order. Given their different starting points, it is unsurprising that the early Friars Preachers showed a much greater openness to supplementing and contextualising their *Rule* since such elaboration was not perceived (initially) as a threat to their authentic religious observance but rather as an essential means to achieving it.

Sanctis desideriis arguably reflects a reaction against this flexibility roughly one generation after Dominic. But whereas Francis saw commentaries and legislative flexibility as roads that could lead to the abandonment of a community's zeal, Humbert likely saw the adoption of a fixed 'Dominican Rule'—proposed in *Sanctis desideriis*—as a threat to the original flexibility that had been integral to the friars' success. And, in fact, Humbert not

[98] In retrospect, Francis might well have judged his fears to have been well founded. As D. Flood notes: 'In their 1242 *Expositio regulae*, the learned Four Masters define the poverty of chapter VI [of Francis' Rule] to mean something clearly different from what Francis meant in 1223.' 'Interpreting Francis and Clare of Assisi from the Middle Ages to the Present (Review)', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 98/1 (2012), 71.

only embraced a genre that Francis rejected, but the inspiration for doing so may have (ironically) come from the Franciscans themselves. As noted in 3.5, it is entirely reasonable to think that Humbert may have been closely observing developments among the Franciscans around this same time. In 1230, after Pope Gregory IX issued the decree *Quo elongati* setting aside (among other things) the restrictions against glosses in Francis' *Testament*, a Franciscan commentatorial tradition began to emerge.[99] In 1242, the Franciscans produced their first widely-distributed rule commentary—the so-called *Commentary of the Four Masters* (1242)—shortly before Humbert began his *Commentary on the Constitutions* around 1248.[100] Likewise, the further production of Franciscan rule commentaries may have overlapped—at least in the case of the commentary by Hugh of Digne (c. 1250s)—with the years when Humbert would have been working on the *Expositio regulae*.[101]

When compared, however, Humbert's *Expositio* differs considerably from these early Franciscan commentaries. Structurally, the *Commentary of the Four Masters* (1242), and the commentaries of Hugh of Digne (c. 1250s), David of Augsburg (c. 1260–73), John of Pecham (c. 1276–9), John of Wales (c. 1280s), and Peter Olivi (c. 1288) are all lemmatised commentaries that utilise cross-references (of varying length) rather than the

[99] A critical edition of *Quo elongati* can be found in Grundmann, 'Die Bulle "Quo Elongati" Papst Gregors IX', 1–25.
[100] L. Oliger, ed., *Expositio Quatuor Magistrorum super Regulam Fratrum Minorum (1241-1242)* (Rome, 1950); For an English translation, see Flood, *Early Commentaries on the Rule of the Friars Minor*, I, 10–29. This dating of Humbert's *Commentary on the Constitutions* assumes that one accepts the proposal of Tugwell for a dating based on the evidence of Bologna, Bibl. dell'Archiginnasio, ms. A 214. See the discussion above in 3.4.2. Even if this dating is wrong, however, only a later (rather than earlier) date for Humbert's earliest commentatorial work (whether on the *Expositio* or the *Commentary on the Constitutions*) would be possible. That the Franciscans were the first to produce a rule commentary is thus evident in either case.
[101] For the Latin text and its dating, see D. Flood, *Hugh of Digne's Rule Commentary*, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum, XIV (Grottaferrata, 1979); For an English translation, see Flood, *Early Commentaries on the Rule of the Friars Minor*, I, 41–160.

method of quoting (and incorporating) the entire text of the *Rule* employed by Humbert and described at length above.[102]

Yet far greater differences exist in their contents. The Franciscan commentators and Humbert are elucidating different base texts, which makes any line-by-line comparison impossible. But Humbert's *Expositio* also adopts a very different methodology in commenting upon the *Rule*. It amasses a tremendous number of *exempla* and 'chains of authorities' from scripture, church fathers, classical authorities, etc.—all of which are brought together to emphasise certain points. This yields a highly exhortative commentary. In contrast, substantial compilations of outside sources are relatively rare in most of the early Franciscan commentaries, which tend to focus on particular canonical or moral questions that have arisen in the interpretation or observance of Francis' *Rule*. While Humbert does pose numerous questions within the *Expositio*, these are generally employed rhetorically as points of departure for the exhortations that follow and only occasionally serve as detours for answering specific canonical questions that may have arisen about how the *Rule* should be interpreted. When such canonical or moral questions are taken up, moreover, a change in Humbert's style is usually very evident as well (as discussed in 4.6 and 4.7.3).

All early Franciscan rule commentaries are also considerably briefer than the *Expositio*, although this is not especially surprising given the extraordinary length of Humbert's work. Still, the *Expositio* gives the impression of being a far more comprehensive project—one aimed at shaping the totality of the friars' lives—rather than

[102] In addition to the texts already referenced (i.e., the *Commentary of the Four Masters* and the commentary by Hugh of Digne), the standard Latin editions for the other commentaries are: D. Flood, ed., 'Die Regelerklärung Des David von Augsburg', *Franziskanische Studien*, 57 (1993), 201–42; J. Pecham [attrib. Bonaventure], 'Expositio super regulam fratrum minorum', S. Bonaventurae opera omnia, 8 (Florence, 1898), 391–437; D. Flood, ed., 'John of Wales' Commentary on the Franciscan Rule', *Franciscan Studies*, 60 (2002), 93–138; D. Flood, ed., *Peter Olivi's Rule Commentary*, Veröffentlichungen Des Instituts Für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, 67 (Wiesbaden, 1972).

simply resolving individual disputes or providing clarity about the *Rule's* meaning. One would not wish to overgeneralize here, given that the Franciscan commentaries also seek to communicate a certain ethos of life. Yet Humbert's ambitions seem much broader as he embraces a wide variety of rhetorical devices aimed at moving the friars to modify their behaviour. This constitutes perhaps the most fundamental difference between Humbert's *Expositio* and the early Franciscan rule commentaries: Humbert's project is more obviously an attempt at moral suasion designed to encourage behaviour modification and to produce consistency in social conduct.

4.4.2 Comparison with Commentaries on Augustine's *Rule*

At least ostensibly, other commentaries written on Augustine's *Rule* would seem to be the most natural works for comparison with Humbert's *Expositio*, although the number of such commentaries is limited. D. Reinke identified four extant commentaries on the *Rule* that circulated in the twelfth century (and therefore predated Humbert): (1) the *De questionibus regulae sancti Augustini solutis* by Richard of St. Victor; (2) the *Colloquium magistri et discipuli in regulam b. Augustini de vita clericorum* (known in English as the *Bridlington Dialogue*) attributed to Robert of Bridlington; (3) a commentary within the *Liber de Ordine* (sermons 8-14) by Adam of Dryburgh; and (4) the previously-mentioned *Expositio in Regulam* attributed to either Hugh of St. Victor or Lietbert of St. Ruf;.[103] In addition to these, C.W. Bynum has noted the existence of an anonymous preface and prologue to the *Rule* found in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 2207, fols. 8r–16v, which dates from the last quarter of the twelfth century and which also warrants some

[103] Reinke, 'Austin's Labour', 164. For printed editions, see Richard of St. Victor, *De questionibus regule sancti Augustini solutis*, in M.L. Colker, 'Richard of Saint Victor and the Anonymous of Bridlington', *Traditio*, 18 (1962), 201–23; Robert of Bridlington, *The Bridlington Dialogue: An Exposition of the Rule of St. Augustine for the Life of the Clergy*, trans. by A Religious of C.S.M.V. [Sr. Penelope] (London, 1960); Adam of Dryburgh and J.-P. Migne, 'Liber de ordine, habitu et professione canonicorum ordinis praemonstratensis', in *Patrologiæ cursus completus*, Series Latina, 198 (Paris, 1855), cols 514–610; Hugh of St. Victor, 'Expositio in Regulam Beati Augustini', in *Patrologiæ cursus completus*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, Series Latina, 176 (Paris, 1854), cols. 881–924.

consideration in this context.[104] Creytens also lists a commentary by Eustachius of Lens (d. c. 1226) that is now lost.[105] When compared, the surviving commentaries on Augustine's *Rule* from this period demonstrate a significant diversity in style and content.

As the title suggests, *De questionibus* of Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173) follows a question-and-answer format in responding to twenty questions about Augustine's *Rule*. An Augustinian canon at the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris, the topics addressed by his *De questionibus* often pertain directly to the life of the canons regular. Although a much more limited work than the *Expositio*, some of the topics raised by Richard also attracted (independently) the attention of Humbert. In particular, Richard, like Humbert, asks whether the provisions of the *Rule* are all precepts (demanding obedience) or simply counsels (exhortations).[106] Similarly, Richard tries to clarify the relationship of the 'priest' (*presbyterus*) and 'superior' (*praepositus*) mentioned by Augustine—an obvious issue for a community of clerics.[107] Other questions that intersect with Humbert's commentary often pertain to the highly-specific parts of the *Rule*—i.e., the sections most likely to require adaptation in particular circumstances. Examples of this include the requirement to always travel in pairs and the accommodations to be made for those unable to fast.[108] The observance of poverty and the ownership of property—central issues in the canonical reform movement—are also concerns common to both Richard and Humbert, although as a mendicant Humbert's *Expositio* naturally addresses matters (such as begging for alms) that did not arise in Richard's community.[109]

[104] Bynum, 'The Spirituality of Regular Canons', 38–40, 45.
[105] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 142.
[106] *De questionibus*, ii (pp. 204–5), viii (pp. 210–211); cf. *Exp. reg.*, xii (pp. 62–66)
[107] *De questionibus*, xvii (p. 220); cf. *Exp. reg.*, cv (pp. 337–44)
[108] *De questionibus*, xii (pp. 213–14), xiii (pp. 214–15), xv (pp. 218–19); *Exp. reg.*, lxxxi (pp. 244–48), lxv (pp. 201–2).
[109] *De questionibus*, iii (pp. 205–6), iv (p. 206); cf. *Exp. reg.*, v (pp. 51–53), xxi (pp. 90–93), xxviii–xxxi (pp. 106–20), xl (pp. 141–43), lxxii–lxxix (pp. 214–40), cxvii (pp. 366–68), et passim.

Yet while Richard and Humbert do share a few common themes—including some that were almost unavoidable given the text of the *Rule*—their interests (and styles) as commentators diverge far more often than they overlap. For all the topics already noted, the length of Humbert's coverage in the *Expositio* vastly exceeds that of Richard's *De questionibus*, as reflects the different character and scope of these works. Richard's concern for the nature and limits of 'stability' (*stabilitas*) as well as particular questions such as whether a canon must remain at his house of profession do not find any parallel in Humbert's writing, nor would one expect this from a mendicant friar in the mid-thirteenth century. Moreover, Richard provides relatively little in terms of *exempla* or scripture passages to illustrate his points, both of which are characteristic of Humbert's writing. While Richard seeks to answer questions about the proper interpretation of the *Rule* with brief and practical responses, Humbert often uses the *Rule* as a jumping off point for exhorting the friars on a wide variety of topics pertaining to religious life. Richard, of course, approaches the *Rule* from a different historical context than Humbert, but equally evident are the different aims each person had in composing their commentaries. As C.W. Bynum observes, 'Richard's treatise is not really a work of moral and spiritual advice ... but rather a discussion of twenty questions of a practical nature'.[110] Humbert's work, on the other hand, reflects grander ambitions. Lastly, it should be noted that if Humbert was aware of Richard's *De questionibus*, he did not leave any indication of it in the *Expositio*.

Sometime after Richard wrote his *De questionibus* in Paris, his contemporary, Robert of Bridlington (fl. 1147–60), composed his *Dialogue* on Augustine's *Rule*. Although Robert wrote the *Dialogue* in Yorkshire, Richard's treatise must have been passed on to him at some stage since Robert incorporates the majority of *De questionibus*

[110] Bynum, 'The Spirituality of Regular Canons', 38 n. 48.

into his own work.[111] Robert's treatise adapts and absorbs Richard's work into a different literary style, adopting the convention of a 'dialogue' between a master and a disciple. A considerably longer work than *De questionibus*, the *Dialogue* adopts a more pedagogical approach and frequently includes passages related to moral theology not found in Richard's *De questionibus*.[112] Moreover, one feature of the *Dialogue* highlighted by C.W. Bynum, is 'an awareness of the obligation to edify' in conduct and speech.[113] Bynum sees this as consistent with Augustinian rule commentaries more generally, which she has argued stress edification 'by word and example' (*verbo et exemplo*) as a characteristic feature of canonical spirituality.[114] Although nothing suggests that Humbert made any direct use of the *Dialogue*, the *Expositio* does echo some of this 'double emphasis' that Bynum identifies with the canons regular.[115] More generally, however, edification by example seems eclipsed in the *Expositio* by Humbert's treatments of preaching as the primary mode by which friars are to instruct others—a topic not absent from the commentaries of the canons regular, but which is less emphasised as distinctive in itself.[116]

Differing in style from both the *Dialogue* and *De questionibus*, the *Liber de Ordine* of Adam of Dryburgh (d. c. 1212), a Premonstratensian canon at Dryburgh Abbey, contains within it a series of sermons (nos. 8–14) that offer a continuous commentary on the text of Augustine's *Rule*.[117] Here too, no evidence suggests any direct borrowing by Humbert.

[111] Colker, 'Richard of Saint Victor', 183.
[112] Colker, 'Richard of Saint Victor', 186, 192.
[113] Bynum, 'The Spirituality of Regular Canons', 38.
[114] For the commentaries, see Bynum, 'The Spirituality of Regular Canons', 37-40 et passim; and, as a feature of canonical spirituality generally, see also her earlier *Docere Verbo et Exemplo*, esp. 77-93.
[115] The precise phrase '*verbo et exemplo*' (and its conjugations) only occurs twice, i.e., *Exp. reg.*, xix (p. 81) and xlv (p. 154). However, similar expressions (e.g., *verbo et opere*, etc.) can be found in a few places elsewhere, e.g., *Exp. reg.*, xliii (p. 151) and lv (p. 176), while Humbert clearly endorses the idea that 'a preacher ought to show by example what he says with words' (*Exp. reg.*, lxxix [pp. 239–40]; see also ix [pp. 57–58], lix [p. 191]).
[116] Bynum notes the place of preaching in commentaries by canons regular but also observes that it was not preaching *per se* that the canons highlighted as distinguishing themselves from monks and others. See 'The Spirituality of Regular Canons', 37–39.
[117] For the text of the sermons, see n. 103 above, while Adam's unique synthesis and contribution within the ambit of Augustinian thought has more recently been examined in J. F. Worthen, 'Adam of Dryburgh and the Augustinian Tradition', *Revue d'Etudes Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, 43/2 (1997), 339–347. The

Several places do exist, however, where Humbert and Adam employ the same scriptural passages as *auctoritates* in expounding upon the *Rule*. Yet these are often commonplace passages or passages that are unsurprising given the context (e.g., Ps. 132: 'How good and pleasant it is when brothers dwell in unity').[118] Moreover, these parallel citations, which are not overly numerous, do not always occur in reference to the same sections of the *Rule*. Some parallel quotations from non-scriptural authorities can also be found, but these often stem from widely disseminated sources (e.g., Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, Benedict's *Rule*) or conventional expressions (e.g., Cato's '*Legere et non intelligere est negligere*'), which hardly suggests any direct dependence or influence.[119]

Stylistically, however, Humbert's *Expositio* does bear some resemblance to Adam's work insofar as both amass quotations from scripture, early church fathers, and other sources for rhetorical and illustrative purposes—as, indeed, one might expect (in Adam's case) of a work that was first delivered as a series of medieval sermons. The stylistic resemblance to Humbert's *Expositio* highlights the fact that Humbert's work shares certain features of medieval sermons—or collections of sermon material—which accord with the exhortative character of the *Expositio* even though it is not of precisely the same genre (see further discussion in 4.5).

Another text associated with the reformed canons is the twelfth-century *Prologus et Praefatio* found in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 2207, fols. 8v–16v, the author of which is unknown.[120] Unlike Adam of Dryburgh's work, the style of this text

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standard biography remains J. Bulloch, *Adam of Dryburgh* (London, 1958); but this can be supplemented by Worthen's article and also D. Jones, *An Early Witness to the Nature of the Canonical Order in the Twelfth Century: A Study in the Life and Writings of Adam Scot, with Particular Reference to His Understanding of the Rule of St. Augustine* (Salzburg, 1999).

[118] PL 198, col. 563; *Exp. reg.*, cxxiv (p. 402).

[119] For the quotation from Gregory's *Moralia* in Adam and Humbert: PL 198, col. 578; *Exp. reg.*, cxlii (p. 430); For Benedict's *Rule*: PL 198, col. 569; *Exp. reg.*, clxxv (p. 537); For Cato: PL 198, col. 602; *Exp. reg.*, cxlviii (p. 446).

[120] S. Weinfurter, 'Vita canonica und Eschatologie', in *Secundum Regulam Vivere* (Windberg, 1978), 146–49.

bears little resemblance to Humbert's *Expositio*. Although termed a 'prologue and preface', the work is no mere introduction but rather an attempt to locate Augustine's *Rule* in the broad historical context of Adam and Eve's fall, Christ's redemption, the early Church, and the present age. Having done so, the author proceeds to argue that '*in modernis temporibus*' one must not only recall the precepts and rules of the Apostles but also hand them on anew and pursue them with vigour.[121] A proponent of the canonical reform movement, the anonymous author presents the *Rule* as preserving the early life of the apostles within the Church as a kind of 'medicine' for the decadent present age.[122] A strong polemical quality also runs throughout the work as the author attempts to put forward the canons regular as a higher vocation than the secular clergy and as a mode of life that especially embodies the *vita apostolica* and a wide variety of related virtues.[123]

The historical, polemical, and eschatological themes present in the *Prologus et Praefatio* do not overlap significantly with those in the *Expositio* and Humbert gives no indication of having borrowed from it—assuming he was aware of its existence. One can recognise, however, that both medieval works repurpose Augustine's *Rule* for their own ends. These ends, of course, differed considerably. Humbert, for his part, attempts to dislodge the *Rule* from its almost-exclusive association with the canons regular and thus weaken the very link that the author of the *Prologus et Praefatio* tried to forge during the canonical reform. But both see the *Rule* as emblematic of the *vita apostolica* and a highly useful tool for addressing the particular ecclesial needs of their age. Thus they share a common appreciation of the *Rule* as an historical text with contemporary relevance.

In contrast with all the commentaries considered thus far, Humbert clearly knew and borrowed from the *Expositio in Regulam s. Augustini*, traditionally attributed to Hugh

[121] *Prologus et Praefatio*, ln. 57–62.
[122] *Prologue et Praefatio*, ln. 16; Weinfurter, 'Vita canonica und Eschatologie', 154.
[123] See the helpful observations on this point in Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo*, 48–49.

of St. Victor or Lietbert of St. Ruf.[124] Within the *Expositio*, Humbert refers to Hugh of St. Victor by name in nine places, sometimes explicitly naming him as the author of the *Expositio in Regulam*.[125] One can also locate places where Humbert cites the author of the *Expositio in Regulam* simply as 'The Expositor' or 'The Expositor of the Rule'—employing a type of circumlocution typical of scholastic authors.[126] In Berthier's edition Humbert also cites the same commentary as being by Lambertus (i.e., Lietbert) of St. Ruf on a single occasion, but the manuscript tradition is inconsistent on this point and one can find the same reference given as 'Gilbertus', 'Albertus', or 'Hugo', depending on the source (as the apparatus in Berthier acknowledges).[127] Humbert likewise refers to the *Expositio in Regulam* on more than one occasion simply by the title of the work, without any reference to the author.[128] Although some of these variations can be attributed to scribal corrections or perhaps the identification of references carried out by secretaries who may have assisted Humbert, Creytens suggests that the variations also reveal that Humbert himself was uncertain about Hugh's authorship or that his opinion underwent change as he wrote.[129] One might also add that resolving the question of authorship may not have been terribly important to Humbert since the commentary was a widely-known and heavily-copied work that enjoyed considerable authority among both canons regular and Augustinian hermits, regardless of whether it was written by Hugh of St. Victor or Lietbert of St. Ruf.[130]

[124] Concerning this commentary's authorship, see n. 5 above.
[125] *Exp. reg.*, xvi (p. 72), lxxi (p. 248), lxxxiv (p. 256), four times in lxxxv (pp. 256, 257, 259), cv (p. 343), and clxxxviii (p. 578).
[126] *Exp. reg.*, lviii (p. 188), lxvi (p. 204).
[127] *Exp. reg.*, xlv (p. 155 n. 4).
[128] *Exp. reg.*, xx (p. 88), lxvi (p. 204), ciii (p. 328).
[129] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 146.
[130] For the surviving manuscripts, which number over 200, and the influence of this work, see Châtillon, 'Un commentaire anonyme', 164–65; and Reinke, 'Austin's Labour', 165.

Of course, what was never in doubt for Humbert or his readers was that the author of this commentary was a canon regular.[131] This did not, however, dissuade Humbert from drawing upon the text for his own purposes—notwithstanding his own evident desire to distinguish the friars from the canons and from other religious communities (see 3.3.1). In general, the *Expositio* refrains from commenting on the relative merits of the canons' religious life except to say that their rule (i.e., Augustine's *Rule*) suits the friars better than would the religious rules of monks because the life of the canons more closely resembles the friars in terms of apostolic activity.[132] Humbert does remark that wealthy orders of canons often permit their members to purchase their own vestments—something Humbert says violates Augustine's *Rule* and which should not be imitated by the friars.[133] Yet, on the whole, Humbert maintains an irenic approach to other forms of religious life throughout the *Expositio*, perhaps influenced by the friars' desire for allies amidst their challenges with the seculars in the 1250s. As noted in 3.4.2, Humbert sought to make common cause with the Franciscans and openly encouraged the friars to cultivate good relations with other clergy during this same time. His generally uncritical and unpolemical approach to other communities in the *Expositio* appears consistent with this—even if it was a difficult tightrope to walk for an author trying to emphasise his own Order's distinctiveness.

At the same time, while Humbert was willing to cite the *Expositio in Regulam* attributed to Hugh or Lietbert, this work did not serve as an overall model for Humbert.[134] Apart from a handful of references, as Creytens notes, Humbert's text 'is completely independent' and 'the same must also be said about the structure and method of

[131] This was true not only because of the attribution of the work to Hugh of St. Victor or Lietbert of St. Ruf but also because the text itself makes various references to the canons and their mode of life. See PL 176, cols. 881, 892, 898, and 920.
[132] *Exp. reg.*, iv (p. 50).
[133] *Exp. reg.*, cxv (p. 361).
[134] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 147.

exposition.'[135] One is tempted to qualify this slightly because there is a greater affinity in genre between these two works than between Humbert's *Expositio* and Robert of Bridlington's *Dialogue*, Richard of St. Victor's *Quaestiones*, or the anonymous *Prologus et Praefatio*. Nonetheless, Creytens astutely observes that Humbert does not subdivide the text of the *Rule* in the same manner as Hugh/Lietbert, indicating that Humbert has not simply expanded upon the earlier work but approached the structure of the text altogether differently.[136]

Stylistically, the commentaries of both Humbert and Hugh/Lietbert rely heavily on scriptural quotations in explicating the *Rule*. Yet As J. Châtillon notes, the author of the Hugh/Lietbert commentary was 'not a canonist, and still less a casuist'.[137] Accordingly, unlike Humbert, he does not demonstrate the same emphasis on behaviour and moral exhortation. Rather, he often spiritualises the practical prescriptions given in the *Rule*, taking the text in a rather different direction than Humbert's commentary.[138] One can also see how the texts diverge in matters pertaining to study and preaching. For example, E. Frunzeanu and M. Paulmier-Foucart observe that while 'Lietbert of St. Ruf ... holds strictly to the reading of the *sacra pagina,* Humbert, speaking on the same point, develops at very great length an opening towards secular knowledge'.[139] As noted in 3.5 and also discussed in 4.7.7 below, Humbert adopted a rather nuanced approach to who could (or should) study philosophy in the Order of Preachers, which was consistent with the legislation of the Order's General Chapters and which can be seen in the *Expositio* as well.[140] But the simple fact that the same passage of Augustine's *Rule* could be used as a springboard to two very

[135] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 141. Translation mine.
[136] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 141.
[137] Châtillon, 'Un commentaire anonyme', 181.
[138] Châtillon, 'Un commentaire anonyme', 181–85.
[139] Frunzeanu and Paulmier-Foucart, 'Saint-Victor et les premiers dominicains', 493. Translation mine.
[140] *Exp. reg.*, cxliii (pp. 435–39); Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 223–24, nn. 18; 230–233. See further references and discussion in 4.7.7 below.

different (even contradictory) conclusions shows the extent to which rule commentaries could be used to develop and cultivate diverse spiritualities—to use an anachronistic term—even when starting from the same base text.

On certain points, however, the commentary attributed to Hugh/Lietbert did clearly influence Humbert's *Expositio*, but only in specific, limited ways. Humbert quotes from Hugh/Lietbert to emphasise the importance of the community's interior unity[141], to clarify the meaning of the phrase 'the one in authority' in a particular passage of the *Rule*[142], to argue that one should 'prefer the authority of the elders even to reason' when it comes to singing chant[143], to explain the proper time for eating and fasting[144], and to elucidate the relationship between prayer and obedience.[145] While one would not wish to draw too many conclusions from Humbert's handful of borrowings, they do suggest that Humbert drew from Hugh/Lietbert's commentary mostly when he wanted to bolster the authority behind a particular religious observance or support the status of the superior's office. He does not quote from the work, for example, when he wishes to stress the value of preaching, the usefulness of books, or the vices that might befall an individual. Rather, he seems to find the work most useful when clarifying the authoritative nature of some particular practical norm or the power attributed to a superior. The absence of any quotations pertaining to preaching is especially interesting since the topic of preaching is certainly not absent from Hugh/Lietbert's commentary.[146] Yet Humbert is clearly selective and opts for alternative sources in several places (such as this) where he could have drawn from this commentary but chose not to do so.

[141] *Exp. reg.*, xvi (p. 72); cf. PL 176, col. 882.
[142] *Exp. reg.*, xx (p. 88); cf. PL 176, col. 885.
[143] *Exp. reg.*, lviii (p. 188); cf. PL 176, col. 892.
[144] *Exp. reg.*, lxvii (p. 204); cf. PL 176, col. 893.
[145] *Exp. reg.*, xlv (p. 155); cf. PL 176, col. 891.
[146] See PL 176, cols. 902, 910, and 923.

Taken together, these comparisons with Hugh/Lietbert's commentary and the other commentaries on Augustine's *Rule* point to the originality of Humbert's work. While Humbert developed his *Expositio* within an existing genre and drew from a large number of pre-existing materials, the work is not as derivative as its abundant use of quotations might suggest. It does not have an obvious 'parent' text from which it descends, nor does it rework a previously-existing commentary. Indeed, Humbert clearly chose not to build upon or rework the commentary of Hugh/Lietbert—as, for example, Robert of Bridlington had done with the work of Richard of St. Victor. Rather, the *Expositio* reflects a compilation of material into a new synthesis highlighting the friars' own mission, the spiritual and practical challenges associated with their religious life, and how the friars ought to thus behave in light of these. While some resonances exist with earlier commentaries, on the whole, comparisons largely bring the *Expositio's* differences (rather than similarities) into sharper relief.

4.5 Humbert's Sources

Consistent with the character of the *Expositio*, Humbert has been described as a '*compilator*', which should not be understood as a thief or plagiariser but as one who brings together extracts of source material(s) and joins them together with his own words in a unified work.[147] Among the most striking aspects of the *Expositio* are the copious quotations from various *auctoritates* and the abundant *exempla* used to illustrate individual points or to persuade and exhort the reader. In many places, the work can seem little more than a pastiche of *exempla* and 'chains of authorities' drawn from scripture, patristic and

[147] Tugwell, 'Humbert of Romans "Compilator"', 56. For the scholarly debate over the technical use the term 'compilatio', see R.H. Rouse and M. Rouse, '*Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* Revisited', in *Ad Litteram: Authoritative Texts and Their Medieval Readers*, ed. by M.D. Jordan and K. Emery Jr (Notre Dame, 1992), 113–34; A. Minnis, '*Nolens Auctor Sed Compilator Reputari*: The Late-Medieval Discourse of Compilation', in *La Méthode Critique Au Moyen Âge*, ed. by M. Chazan and G. Dahan (Turnhout, 2006), III, 47–63.

classical sources, and related materials.[148] Yet Humbert's choices are critical here since his own views and thoughts are expressed through these sources and in tandem with them. One can surely see something of the medieval preacher in his writing, bolstering his claims with *auctoritates* and *exempla*, as though he were giving a sermon to the friars.[149] Although writing a rule commentary, Humbert's approach gives the impression that (for him) the genres of commentary and sermon overlap.

At the same time, the inclusion of an abundance of outside material can be further explained by a desire to provide a resource for communities with limited access to such sources. Tugwell writes helpfully about the 'cultural instinct which generated *summae* and encyclopaedias', which he sees as a phenomenon common to many medieval Dominicans:

> ...compilations of various sorts are not necessarily just designed to present material in a compact form or in some usefully systematic arrangement, they are also designed to provide material which most friars would otherwise lack. The underlying feeling seems to be that the brethren in houses which do not have good libraries of their own should nevertheless not be deprived of any material that is available to better-placed brethren. Whether such material is immediately useful or not does not matter very much.[150]

If one adopts this perspective, it is possible to see why Humbert might have included so many examples, references, and quotations to support each observation about the *Rule*. Moreover, if one looks at the surviving manuscripts of the *Expositio*, some evidence seems to support the view that the text functioned as a reference work for friars (and others) interested in locating material on specific topics. This is discussed at greater length in 5.4.1, but the creation of indices, which already appear in the early manuscripts of the *Expositio*,

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[148] M.M. Mulchahey provides a helpful and relevant discussion of the use of 'chains of authorities' in Hugh of St. Cher's *Postillae*. See *First the Bow Is Bent*, 488–90. As Humbert's teacher and collaborator, it is interesting to note the parallel in styles, which also has resonances with medieval sermons. See further discussion below in this section.

[149] A helpful overview of the (extensive) literature on the use of *exempla* in medieval preaching can be found in P.B. Roberts, 'The Ars Praedicandi and the Medieval Sermon', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. by C.A. Muessig (Leiden, 2002), 52–54. For a relevant theological (as opposed to rhetorical) rationale for the use of *exempla*, see Bernstein, 'The Exemplum as "Incorporation" of Abstract Truth in the Thought of Humbert of Romans and Stephen of Bourbon', 94.

[150] Tugwell, 'Humbert of Romans "Compilator"', 54, 55.

imply that the work was not simply read cover-to-cover but employed as a tool for diverse purposes, possibly including sermon preparation.

Likewise, certain scholastic disputations (*quaestiones*), such as those pertaining to canonical matters (e.g., the obedience owed to one's superior, the binding character of the *Rule*, and the revelation of faults) were probably not included in the *Expositio* simply as digressions, but rather out of a desire to provide useful material and analyses for resolving disputes in communities that lacked easy access to legal resources or canonists. In short, the mindset described by Tugwell can be readily seen throughout Humbert's *Expositio*, even when—or perhaps *especially* when—the inclusion of so much material suggests a lack of editorial restraint.

Elsewhere in his corpus, Humbert offers his own hierarchy for what kind of sources preachers ought to utilise and his remarks may offer some insight into his composition of the *Expositio*. In his *De dono timoris* (*The Gift of Fear*), which is essentially a collection of *exempla* for preachers, Humbert gives certain criteria for preachers to apply in choosing their examples.[151] These criteria include a story's aptness in light of the sermon's purpose and also the story's plausibility. Humbert's comments in *De dono timoris* are especially noteworthy given the affinities between sermon material collections and the *Expositio* noted above:

> ...no *exemplum* should be included which does not have a sufficient weight of authority behind it. In such matters a story can be taken to have sufficient authority if it derives from something that has been said by distinguished people like masters in theology or bishops or cardinals. *But it is better* to take material which is found in one of the books which the church uses, even if they are not fully authoritative, like the *Lives of the Fathers* or the liturgical lives of the saints. *But it is better still* to take material from the books of the approved doctors of the church, like Gregory and Isidore and Jerome. *The best thing of all* is to take material from the Bible. But the books of well-known philosophers can also count as having sufficient authority, as can the book of creation.[152]

[151] For the recent critical edition of this work, see n. 42 in Chapter I above.
[152] Translation from Tugwell, *Early Dominicans*, 376. Emphasis added.

This same hierarchy finds an echo in the source materials Humbert incorporated into the *Expositio*. Without question, the biblical text provides the largest share of quotations and references. Communities of friars would have had access to the biblical text and thus in this instance it was not a question of providing access to an obscure resource.[153] Rather, the biblical text's authority and normative value for a religious community made it the most important (and potentially the most persuasive) source for exhortation. The ample and applied use of scriptural quotations in the *Expositio* would also have reinforced the friars' knowledge of scripture and helped to form them in their role as preachers by illustrating how biblical quotations and *exempla* could be employed to emphasise and develop various spiritual themes.[154]

Yet even given these reasons for preferring scripture over other *auctoritates*, the extent to which Humbert relies upon the biblical text for source material is extraordinary. Within the *Expositio*, specific quotations or references to the Bible appear 2,325 times.[155] Although this includes roughly sixteen places where a biblical quotation or reference occurs within a larger quotation from a patristic source, it does not include the many other places where Humbert makes non-specific references or allusions to the biblical text or recalls a biblical character or scene without a direct quotation or citation. Although the *Expositio* is

[153] Only a few years before Humber took office, the 1249 General Chapter held in Trier stressed that friars were to become familiar with the whole bible through the progressive lecturing on the text by the conventual lectors. See *Acta cap. gen.* I (Trier 1249), 47; Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 135. The Order's *Constitutions* also made explicit provisions for certain books to be provided for students, which included the Bible. See *Constitutiones antiquae*, d. ii, c. 28 (p. 361); and 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 177. Humbert himself also states in his *De officiis* that each community ought to possess certain books for study, including Bibles with and without gloss. See *De officiis*, iii (p. 263).

[154] The overall place of the bible in Dominican education (e.g., in the Order's *ratio studiorum*, in *schola* lectures, and for academic study) has been examined in Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 135–41, 180–83, 340–44, et passim; See also the complementary observations in A. Maierù, 'Dominican *Studia* in Spain', in *Philosophy and Theology in the 'Studia' of the Religious Orders and at Papal and Royal Courts*, ed. by K. Emery, Jr., W.J. Courtenay, and S.M. Metzger, Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale (Turnhout, 2012), 25–29; and K. Elm, 'Studium und Studienwesen der Bettelorden. Die "andere" Universität', in *Stätten des Geistes*, ed. by A. Demandt (Cologne, 1999), 111–14, 118–20.

[155] This statistic (as well as those that follow) has been derived from a close reading of Berthier's printed edition. Allowance should be made, however, for variations in the manuscript tradition as well as certain places where Humbert's citations are ambiguous.

a particularly long work, this far exceeds anything seen in the rule commentaries considered earlier. An analogue can be found, however, in Humbert's own treatise on preaching, *De eruditione praedicatorum* (see 3.3.2), which was written some time after the *Expositio* and which provides model sermons on various topics. Although not true for every work of Humbert's, *De eruditione* incorporates copious references to scripture and thus the parallel between this and the *Expositio* strengthens the case that Humbert (at least implicitly) approached his model sermons and his rule commentary as belonging to somewhat overlapping genres.[156] Both were aimed at persuading audiences to live in particular ways and both target audiences who accepted the biblical text as an authoritative source for moral behaviour—indeed, the *most* authoritative source. Moreover, the rhetorical effect of employing so many biblical quotations in order to explain how the friars should observe the *Rule* probably made the listeners feel as though they were mostly being exhorted to follow the Bible. Indeed, the *Rule* and the scriptures seem to almost converge in the *Expositio*—but through the interpretive hermeneutic that Humbert provides.

Humbert's heavy use of scripture in the *Expositio regulae* can also be seen clearly when it is juxtaposed to his *Commentary on the Constitutions*. While both works comment on normative/legal texts and reflect Humbert's penchant for didactic lists and subdivisions, an unmistakable change can be detected in Humbert's rhetorical style. While the *Commentary on the Constitutiones* does make use of scripture, the *Expositio* adopts a far more exhortatory mode of writing with a much higher ratio of biblical references per page.[157] Although one should not overplay the difference—Humbert is certainly capable of

[156] This was, of course, certainly the case with medieval *biblical* commentaries and sermons, which have been described as 'adjacent genres' with 'bidirectional influences'. See P. Delcorno, 'The Voice of the Preacher: Late Medieval Model Sermons', in *In the Mirror of the Prodigal Son: The Pastoral Uses of a Biblical Narrative (c. 1200–1550)* (Leiden, 2017), 99.

[157] In the *Expositio*, Humbert incorporates an average of 3.9 scriptural references per page over the course of 591 pages. In contrast, the *Commentary on the Constitutions* has an average of 1.5 references over the course of 178 pages.

deploying a barrage of scriptural authorities in the *Commentary on the Constitutions* when he wishes to do so—nevertheless, exhortation and persuasion by appeal to scripture is a far more sustained and dominant mode of writing in the *Expositio*. If, as Tugwell speculates, Humbert set aside the *Commentary on the Constitutions* in order to address the controversy over Augustine's *Rule*, this would also help explain why Humbert also switched to a far more sermonising rhetorical style—one aimed squarely at influencing behaviour rather than simply commenting upon a legal text.

Alongside scripture, extra-biblical sources also shape the tenor of the work. One of Humbert's preferred sources is the *Vitae patrum* (*Lives of the* [*Desert*] *Fathers*).[158] As discussed in 3.2.1, Humbert oversaw the final editing of the Order's own *Vitae fratrum* (*Lives of the Brethren*) around this same time and his abundant use of the *Vitae patrum* in the *Expositio* may simply reflect an appreciation for the usefulness of this genre in providing preachers with *exempla* for edification.[159] Yet beyond this, the friars also showed a tendency to appropriate certain elements of the spiritual tradition of the Desert Fathers—something already apparent in Dominic's devotion to John Cassian's *Conferences* and in the very name and project of Gerard of Frachet's '*Vitae fratrum*'—and which Humbert further advanced by drawing heavily on the text of the *Vitae patrum* in the *Expositio*.[160]

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[158] Humbert explicitly references the *Vitae patrum* 62 times in the *Expositio*.

[159] For an overview of the use of the Desert Fathers as *exempla* in medieval preaching, including among the Friars Preachers, see C. Delcorno, 'Les dialogues des Pères du Désert et les exempla des prédicateurs', in *Formes dialoguées dans la littérature exemplaire du Moyen Âge. Actes de colloque*, Colloques, congrès et conférences sur le Moyen Âge, 14 (Paris, 2012), 23–53.

[160] Dominic's devotion to the *Conferences* is described by Jordan of Saxony, *On the Beginnings of the Order of Preachers*, i.13 (p. 3). This appropriation of the Desert Fathers by the friars is explored at length in A. Boureau, 'Vitae fratrum, Vitae patrum. L'Ordre dominicain et le modèle des Pères du désert au XIIIe siècle', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes*, 99/1 (1987), 79–100; but see also the pertinent observations in D.E. Delarue, 'Concepts of Solitude in Jacob de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*', in *Solitudo: Spaces and Places of Solitude in Late Medieval and Early Modern Cultures*, ed. by K.A.E. Enenkel and C. Göttler (Leiden, 2018), 125–26; and Jotischky, 'Patterns of Historical Thinking', 268, 284–86. Humbert also later included the *Vitae et Dicta Patrum* among the books to be studied by novices in his *De officiis*, V, xviii (p. 230). Nor were the Friars Preachers the only medieval community to claim kinship with the Desert Fathers or to draw on the *Vitae patrum* to emphasise this. See, for example, the discussion in E. Saak, '*Ex Vita Patrum Formatur Vita Fratrum*: The Appropriation of the Desert Fathers in the Augustinian Monasticism of the Later Middle Ages', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 86/1 (2006), 191–228; Jotischky, 'Patterns of Historical Thinking', 267–69; and his earlier A. Jotischky, 'Some

The Desert Fathers were not, of course, a source of competition for Humbert's own Order and thus they provided a source of *exempla* and spiritual pronouncements that did not imply deference to a contemporary community. But Humbert seems rather unimpeded in his willingness to draw from a wide variety of sources and so reflects the attitude of various medieval scholastics and encyclopaedists who sought to appropriate everything they found useful. As these scholars tended to view their own works as heirs to anything good that came before them, Humbert seems to view his community in much the same sense.

At the same time, however, Humbert often assiduously indicates his sources, specifying where the *exempla* or quotations originated by providing the author or title of the work. He also makes clear in the *Expositio* when he himself is the source, indicating 'I saw' or 'I heard' in various places.[161] Humbert likewise shows a great deal of caution when repeating the accounts of others—a tendency Tugwell also observes in Humbert's editing of the *Vitae fratrum*, where Humbert often adjusts how miracle stories are introduced to ensure that he is not personally affirming their veracity.[162] Similarly, Humbert tends to downplay anything in the *Vitae fratrum* that would cause conflict with the Franciscans.[163] This same irenicism and political sensitivity in his use of sources is also manifested in the *Expositio*, as discussed below.

Beyond the *Vitae patrum*, Humbert also makes extensive use of Bernard of Clairvaux. Over the course of the *Expositio*, Humbert cites Bernard 117 times, considerably more than any other non-biblical authority—with the exception of the Gregory the Great (127 times).[164] Augustine's works are also frequently cited (106 times), although a little

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Mendicant Views of the Origins of the Monastic Profession', *Christianesimo Nella Storia*, 19 (1998), 31–49; B. Ward, 'The Desert Myth: Reflections on the Desert Ideal in Early Cistercian Monasticism', in *One Yet Two: Monastic Tradition East and West*, ed. by M.B. Pennington (Kalamazoo, 1976), 183–99.

[161] *Exp. reg.*, lxxv (p.229), cxx (p. 374), cxxv (p. 383), cxli (p. 425), cxliv (p. 427), clvii (p. 478), cciii (p. 614).

[162] e.g., *Exp. reg.*, cxliv (p. 427); *Legendae*, 54.

[163] *Legendae*, 54–55.

[164] Note that the claim (in an otherwise helpful article) by Breitenstein that the *Expositio in Regulam* attributed to Hugh of St. Victor is the most quoted authority in Humbert's *Expositio* is clearly an error. Cf.

over two dozen of these references are from *De singularitate clericorum*, which Humbert mistakenly attributed to Augustine (see 4.7.6 below).[165] Nevertheless, Humbert's use of Augustine's works to elucidate his own *Rule* is an obvious choice, especially given Augustine's stature as a saint and theologian in the West. Likewise, Gregory's *Moralia in Job* and *Regula Pastoralis* were natural and venerated repositories to draw upon for moral exhortation. More surprising is Humbert's copious use of Bernard's writings. Humbert, in fact, demonstrates considerable familiarity with the breadth of Bernard's works in the *Expositio*, including *De consideratione*, *De praecepto et dispensatione*, various sermons (e.g., *Sermones Super Cant. Canticorum,* '*Missus est*', *etc.*) and *epistolae* (e.g., *Epistola* [28] *ad Eugenium*), and others. Humbert also lists several of Bernard's works in his *De officiis* among those that should be studied by the friars in the novitiate, although there is little overlap between these works and those quoted within the *Expositio*.[166] Humbert's general appreciation for the Cistercians can also be seen in his model sermons in *De eruditione praedicatorum*, which presents the Cistercians in a highly favourable light, especially when compared to their Benedictine predecessors.[167] And, one might add, Humbert ends his *Expositio* with a quote he attributes to Bernard.[168]

'The Success of Discipline: The Reception of Hugh of St. Victor's *De Institutione Novitiorum* in the 13th and 14th Centuries', in *Rules and Observance*, Vita Regularis, 60 (Munich, 2014), 209.

[165] Note that the 106 citations mentioned above do not include places where Humbert is referring to Augustine's words in the *Rule* itself, nor to places where Humbert is discussing Augustine's background, theology, or what others have said about him.

[166] *De officiis*, V, xviii (p. 230). The works by Bernard explicitly mentioned in *De officiis* are his *Meditationes*, *De gradibus superbiae*, and *De diligendo Deo*. On these, see the discussion in Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 110, 112; Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 140 n. 40.

[167] On this point, see the analysis by J.A. Spież, 'Cystersi a dominikanie w XIII wieku, czyli o współpracy i rywalizacji między zakonami', in *Cystersi w społeczeństwie Europy środkowej: Materiały z konferencji naukowej odbytej w klasztorze oo. Cystersów w Krakowie Mogile z okazji 900 rocznicy powstania Zakonu Ojców Cystersów*, ed. by A.M. Wyrwa and J. Dobosz (Poznań, 2000), 766–68.

[168] The closing quote of the *Expositio*, to which Humbert adds only a simple doxology, reads: '*Quoties tentationibus resistimus, daemones superamus, angelos laetificamus, Deum honoramus. Ipse nos hortatur ut pugnemus, adjuvat ut vincamus, certantes spectat, deficientes sublevat, vincentes coronat.*' (Exp. reg., ccix [p. 633]). Although Humbert attributes it to Bernard, it seems to originate in the *Meditationes piisimae de cognitione humanae conditionis*, which were commonly attributed to Bernard in the Middle Ages but which are now held to be the work of an unknown author. The full text can be found in PL 184, cols. 483–508, and the passage on col. 504.

Humbert's use of Bernard is particularly interesting when one considers that during this same period, after having enjoyed considerable growth in the previous century, the Cistercians had begun to look apprehensively at the friars' success in recruitment and were debating how they should adapt to these changing circumstances.[169] Yet several factors may have contributed to why Humbert saw the Cistercians—and Bernard in particular—as an agreeable source for spiritual appropriation.[170] On one hand, drawing on existing traditions may have been something of a necessity, given that the friars were still a new movement and Humbert's own Order had not yet produced much literature of this type.[171] Humbert may have also been influenced by Hugh of St. Cher, who likewise demonstrates an appreciation of Bernard's writings in his works.[172] Like Hugh of St. Cher, Humbert was from Burgundy, where the Cistercians had first flourished, and the immense legacy of Bernard's life and writings would have been well known to Humbert. Humbert was also politically astute and Cistercian communities were nearly-ubiquitous in thirteenth-century Europe. He therefore had every reason to seek good relations with them in the 1250s, especially given the challenges the Order was facing. Repeated references to Bernard in the *Expositio* would help shape the friars' attitudes towards the Cistercians, presenting them in a positive light—just as Humbert had sought to do with the Franciscans.

Yet other, more subtle motives may have also been at work. By drawing so heavily on Bernard in particular, whose order had flourished but which was now showing signs of stagnation, Humbert was also able to imply a type of chronological succession. As the work of A. Jotischky has recently shown, mendicant orders in the thirteenth century developed

[169] P. King, 'The Cistercian Order: 1200-1600', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, ed. by M.B. Bruun (Cambridge, 2012), 38.
[170] Regarding the specific case of the novitiate, Mulchahey suggests that certain texts were recommended by Humbert in *De officiis*, including Bernard's *Meditationes*, to help provide for the interior formation of the novices, especially given that Humbert's own instructions were largely focused on exterior discipline. See Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 112.
[171] Breitenstein, 'The Success of Discipline', 221.
[172] Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria*, 221 n. 76.

various ways of grounding their identity in relation to the past and their understanding of the unfolding of a providential plan—and the Friars Preachers were no exception.[173] The Cistercians had played a role in the Order's earliest history when Dominic and Diego d'Acebes first encountered their preaching mission in southern France—and thus by this intersection of events they were forever linked narratively to the beginnings of the Friars Preachers. Jotischky has argued in particular that Gerard of Frachet's *Vitae fratrum* 'uses the Cistercians to foretell, and thereby validate' the arrival of the Friars Preachers by including numerous stories therein where Cistercian monks had spiritual premonitions or insights into the emergence and flourishing of the Dominicans.[174] The Cistercians of early Dominican history are thus presented in a quasi-prophetic role, pointing the way to the Friars Preachers.

At the same time, as S. Reisner has recently detailed, Dominicans began appropriating notable visions and events associated with the Cistercians for their own legitimation, self-affirmation, and identity-building.[175] As she observes, a vision attributed to Dominic's mother, which involved her giving birth to a dog that sets the world aflame—a story that began appearing in Dominican historiography in the *legenda* of Dominic by Peter Ferrandi and the revised edition of the *libellus* of Jordan of Saxony—seems patterned closely on an earlier hagiographical tradition associated with the mother of Bernard.[176]

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[173] Although included in a work on Carmelite history, Jotischky probes the ways Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinian hermits made use of the past (whether through appeals to historical narratives, prophecy, or scripture) to locate their place in the church and in relation to other movements, whether earlier or contemporary. For Dominicans in particular, see Jotischky, 'Patterns of Historical Thinking', 281–86, 290–93.

[174] Jotischky, 'Patterns of Historical Thinking', 281–83; The relevant episodes that Jotischky refers to can be found in Géraud de Frachet, *Vitae Fratrum*, 1.1.iii (p. 8); 1.2.ii (pp. 11-12); 1.5.vii (pp. 32-33); 1.5.ix (pp. 34-5); 1.6.xii (p. 49); 1.6.xiii (p. 50); 1.6.xvi (p. 51).

[175] S. Reisner, 'Konkurrenz auf dem "geistigen Markt": dominikanische Wunder- und Mirakelberichte des 13. Jahrhunderts im Lichte neuer motivgeschichtlicher Forschungen', in *Bettelorden in Mitteleuropa. Geschichte, Kunst, Spiritualität*, ed. by H. Specht and R. Andraschek-Holzer (St. Pölten, 2008), 679. The three miracles/visions summarised herein receive a full analysis in ibid., 665–80, upon which this paragraph draws. Reisner's relies upon earlier editions of the relevant texts, however, and so more current references are provided below.

[176] Reisner, 'Konkurrenz auf dem "geistigen Markt"', 665–70; Laurent, 'Legenda S. Dominici Petri Ferrandi', 210–11. Resiner states that the Dominican version of the story first appeared the *legenda* of Peter

Likewise, the *Dialogus miraculorum*, compiled by the Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach (d. c. 1240), includes the story of a Cistercian monk who was given a vision of heaven but did not see any Cistercians there; that is, until Mary opened her mantle and revealed all the Cistercian saints under her protection.[177] A Dominican version of the same miracle subsequently appeared roughly forty years later in Gerard of Frachet's *Vitae fratrum* and underwent successive adaptations in Thomas of Cantimpré's *Bonum universale de apibus* and Theoderic of Appoldia's *Liber de Vita s. Dominici*.[178] Lastly, a Cistercian story, also found in the *Dialogus miraculorum*, attributed the deflection of a problematic initiative by Pope Innocent III to a series of extraordinary prayers adopted by the Cistercians.[179] This, in turn, influenced Thomas of Cantimpré account of the death of Innocent IV and, subsequently, the regular adoption of certain psalms and litanies by the friars.[180]

While Humbert does not cast the Cistercians in a quasi-prophetic role within the *Expositio* nor re-clothe any of their stories in a Dominican guise, he nevertheless complements these approaches by positioning the historical counsel and wisdom of Bernard as part of a spiritual treasury that was now being passed on to the friars. By honouring this Cistercian saint as an authority from an earlier century—alongside Augustine, Gregory, and the Desert Fathers—Humbert also relativizes him, inserting

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Ferrandi and notes its absence from the first version of Jordan's *libellus*. The recently published critical edition of Peter's *legenda* suggests, however, that Jordan's revised *libellus* provided the source for Peter. In either case, a dependence on the *Vita prima* of Bernard seems likely. See Tugwell, *Petri Ferrandi Legenda Sancti Dominici*, §3 (pp. 268-69); cf. William of Saint-Thierry, *Vita prima sancti Bernardi Claraevallis Abbatis: liber primus*, ed. by P. Verdeyen, CCCM, 89B (Turnhout, 2011), 33–34.

[177] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum. Dialog Über Die Wunder*, ed. by H. Schneider, Fontes Christiani, 86, 5 vols (Turnhout, 2009), III, d. VII, c. 59 (pp. 1500-2).

[178] Géraud de Frachet, *Vitae Fratrum*, 6.iv (pp. 40-1); Theodoricus de Appoldia, 'Liber de vita et obitu et miraculis s. Dominici, et de ordine quem instituit', in *Acta Sanctorum*, 67 vols (Paris, 1867), 35 (August vol. I), 579–80. Reisner's analysis of Thomas of Cantimpré's adaption of the story was also put forward in detail in her earlier '"Sub tuum praesidium confugimus": Zur Instrumentalisierung von Visionen und Wunderberichten in der dominikanischen Ordenshistoriographie am Beispiel der Schutzmantelmadonna', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 43/3–4 (2005), 393–405; and is now reflected in the most recent critical edition, see Burkhardt, *Bonum universale de apibus*, II.10.16, n. 19 (pp. 332-333).

[179] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, III, d. VI, c. 6 (pp. 1296-99).

[180] Reisner, 'Konkurrenz auf dem "geistigen Markt"', 676–80; *Bonum universale de apibus*, II.10.20-21 (pp. 338-339); *Act cap. gen*. I (Paris, 1256), 82–83.

Bernard and his community into the broad background of spiritual figures and reformers belonging to the church's past, while the friars stand in the foreground, very much in the present. This follows rather logically from his understanding of the friars as a 'new institution, with ancient authority', having been sent by God in these 'last days' as 'equally new and old'.[181] Likewise, if one looks at how he describes the history of the Order's government in his *Commentary on the Constitutions*, he notes that both Premonstratensian and Dominican *Constitutions* open in the same manner since the friars had borrowed the prologue from the canons regular. Humbert goes on to say that this borrowing was legitimate since 'the Premonstratensians reformed and added to the religious life of blessed Augustine just like the Cistercians had done to the religious life of blessed Benedict'.[182] The Friars Preachers, in turn, simply did the same thing through their own legislative process—and they did so, as Humbert writes, 'claiming as their own the prerogative of an order of blessed Augustine as regards not only the offices of teaching and preaching but also (and legitimately) as pertains to their manner of life'.[183] He therefore presents the Friars Preachers as both lawful heirs of an earlier tradition (thus possessing the same rights) and also as part of a continuing pattern of reform and augmentation.[184] While praising the elements introduced by the Premonstratensians and Cistercians, Humbert's chronological presentation cannot help but imply that the friars are now entering the fray as their (new and improved) successors, which is not terribly different than what the friars' earliest historians were doing by other means.

Returning then to the topic of Humbert's sources, the *Expositio* also incorporates a number of classical references, including Seneca (48 times), Aristotle (22 times), and

[181] *Legenda maior*, 1.13–14 (p. 451).
[182] Exp. const., 1 (p. 114).
[183] *Exp. const.*, 1 (p. 114).
[184] Although Humbert focuses squarely on religious communities here, one can detect certain parallels with the thought of Gregory VII on reform as a continuous process in the church. See n. 23 in Chapter II above and the secondary literature by Ladner in particular.

Cicero (9 times). Tugwell thinks it probable that the classical sources found in Humbert's *De eruditione praedicatorum* were obtained through *florilegia*, and this may have been the case for the *Expositio* as well.[185] In certain instances, Humbert may also be repeating popular phrases or expressions, such as his remark that it is 'written in Merlin' (i.e., in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*) that 'pleasures weaken princes'.[186] In all likelihood, Humbert did not actually utilise the *Historia* as a source—this is the sole quotation from that work—but simply repeated a well-known bit of folk wisdom, perhaps known to him from memory. He may also have encountered the stories of the *Historia* during his early life, especially given the wide distribution of Geoffrey's work in Francophone areas and Humbert's Burgundian origins and studies in Paris.[187]

Structurally, Humbert often 'chains' these authorities together in a manner not unlike many medieval preachers might use in constructing a sermon. As Mulchahey notes, 'the chaining of authorities ... was a device universally employed by the preachers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.'[188] This method of expounding upon or 'dilating' a text by means of multiple authorities, known as '*per auctoritates concordantes*', was not merely a widespread practice, but one that came to be taught in various medieval treatises on preaching, including the *Ars concionandi* sometimes attributed to Bonaventure.[189]

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[185] Tugwell, 'Humbert of Romans "Compilator"', 50. Attempts to link the particular citations in the *Expositio* with a known and extant *florelgium* have not yet proved successful, but this hardly excludes the possibility, especially given that such resources circulated widely among preachers.

[186] *Exp. reg.*, cxxx (p. 393). This line appears in *The Historia Regum Britanniæ of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. by A. Griscom (London, 1929), 395, ln. 15; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of the* De Gestis Britonum, ed. by M.D. Reeve, trans. by N. Wright (Woodbridge, UK, 2009), 116.256 (p. 156-7).

[187] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *History of the Kings of Britain*, vii.

[188] Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 409.

[189] Bonaventure, 'Ars concinandi', in *Opera omnia* (Quaracchi, 1901), 18, no. 41. For the authorship of this work, see the thoroughgoing survey of this debate and the relevant literature in R.B. Smith, *Reading the Sermons of Thomas Aquinas* (Steubenville, 2016), 44–45, n. 30. As Smith also notes, the third section of (Pseudo?-)Bonaventure's *Ars concinandi*, including the discussion of the *per auctoritates concordantes* method, was largely copied over into chapter 39 of Robert of Basevorn's *Forma praedicandi* (c. 1322) (ibid., 46, 133ff). Discussion of this same method can likewise be found in the fourteenth-century treatise by Thomas Waley, 'De modo componendi sermones', in *Artes Praedicandi: Contribution a l'histoire de la rhêtorique au moyen age*, ed. by Th.-M. Charland (Paris, 1936), cap. 9.

Moreover, biblical commentaries that provided exegesis by aggregating quotations of authorities—such as Hugh of St. Cher's *Postillae*—provided valuable resources for medieval preachers employing this method in their sermon construction.[190] While the *Expositio* was a commentary on a rule, rather than scripture, Humbert's repeated gathering of *auctoritates* to support his exposition of the *Rule* often bears a close resemblance to this same method of preaching and biblical exegesis.[191]

As noted in 4.4, Humbert only borrows from one other Augustinian rule commentary (i.e., the commentary attributed to Hugh of St. Victor or Lietbert of St. Ruf). But Hugh of St. Victor's *De institutione novitiorum* is also enthusiastically embraced by Humbert, notably in regard to its definitions of discipline (*disciplina*) and gesture (*gestus*):[192]

> ...discipline is the preservation of respectability [*honestatis*], of which it is too little to avoid doing evil, but one must seek to appear irreproachable [*apparere irreprehensibilis*] in all that one does.[193]
>
> ...gesture...concerns the manner and configuration of the members of the body in all activity, or the way of carrying oneself.[194]

Humbert, as has been noted, was particularly attentive to how the friars presented themselves publicly and the image of the Order they projected. M. Breitenstein discusses Humbert's appropriation of Hugh's language from *De institutione* and notes that 'Hugh wrote his treatise because he sought to achieve a specific standardisation of the conduct of

[190] Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 488–89.
[191] While it exceeds what is possible here, further research could certainly be done in this area, especially given the contact between Humbert and Hugh of St. Cher. Also, the precise relationship between the chaining of authorities as a mode of exegesis (in both biblical and rule commentaries) and its use in preaching also invites further study. For the relationship between biblical commentaries and preaching more generally, see Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 480–526; L.-J. Bataillon, 'De la *lectio* à la *praedicatio*. Commentaires bibliques et sermons au XIII[e] siècle', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 70 (1986), 559–75.
[192] Regarding Humbert's recommendations to the novitiate regarding the works of Hugh of St. Victor, which may have included reading *De institutione*, see Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 110 n. 154.
[193] *Exp. reg.*, lxxxii (p. 248); cf. *De institutione*, 10 (p. 48)
[194] *Exp. reg.*, lxxxv (pp. 256–57); cf. *De institutione*, 13 (p. 58)

novices at St. Victor'—something Humbert also sought, but for his whole Order.[195] Hugh's definition of gesture forms part of a rather sophisticated treatment of the relationship between interiority and exteriority in religious life in *De institutione*.[196] While Humbert's own views on these questions, which tend to focus on external behaviour, are discussed in 4.7, his adoption of Hugh's framework for understanding discipline and gesture fits aptly with his desire for standardisation. Indeed, Hugh's programme for instructing novices about self-discipline and exterior comportment must have seemed eminently useful as a spiritual resource given Humbert's larger goals. Yet by incorporating language from Hugh's *De institutione* into the *Expositio*, Humbert also transfers it from its original context—where it was intended for the training of novices—into a work aimed at influencing every Dominican friar.

Among the still other sources from which the *Expositio* draws, Humbert himself should be mentioned. Despite the shift in style discussed above, two parallel passages exist in the *Expositio* and the *Commentary on the Constitutions.* Both passages focus on 'secret prayers', i.e., those said privately rather than as part of a public liturgy.[197] Assuming Tugwell is correct about the order in which these two commentaries were written, it would seem that Humbert decided to repurpose some of his material from the *Commentary on the Constitutions*. Moreover, these passages appear in Bologna, Bibl. dell'Archiginnasio, ms. A 214, which represents a pre-1256 redaction of the *Commentary on the Constitutions*.[198] This strongly suggests that Humbert did not add these passages at a later stage of revision, after the *Expositio* had (presumably) been written, but that they were part of the original text of his *Commentary on the Constitutions*.

[195] Breitenstein, 'The Success of Discipline', 221.
[196] See E. Falque, 'Le Geste et La Parole chez Hugues de Saint-Victor: *L'Institution des Novices*', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 95 (2011), 386–90, 394–96, et passim.
[197] *Exp. const.*, 31 (p. 198, ln. 18–p. 199, ln. 12) || *Exp. reg.*, liii (p. 172); *Exp. Const*., 32 (p. 203, ln. 12–13, 18; p. 204, ln. 1–11, 20–23) || *Exp. reg.*, l (p. 166).
[198] Bologna, Bibl. dell'Archiginnasio, ms. A 214, fols. 87v–88r, 90r–v.

Why Humbert chose to copy these two particular blocks of material from the *Commentary on the Constitutions* into the *Expositio* is not clear. Each block runs about 200 words and has been placed, more or less integrally, into the middle of topically-similar chapters in the *Expositio*. The block of material copied into chapter 53 of the *Expositio* also includes several *exempla*, raising the question as to whether it (or perhaps both blocks) might have been taken from a common *florilegium* used for both commentaries, rather than by copying from one commentary into the other. However, since the same block also includes a reference to Dominic and a story proper to the history of the Friars Preachers, it seems unlikely that an otherwise unknown *florilegium* circulating at such an early stage in the Order's history would have provided this precise combination of topically-appropriate *exempla* related to the value and timing of private prayers in tandem with specifically Dominican content. Instead, it seems more probable that Humbert simply recycled some of his own material, albeit only a small portion of it, by salvaging these passages from the *Commentary on the Constitutions* after he had abandoned the work. The fact that both blocks appear relatively early in the *Expositio* may also be somewhat telling. The contents of the *Commentary on the Constitutions* may have still been fresh in Humbert's mind during the initial stages of writing the *Expositio*. One consequence of the material's inclusion in the *Expositio* is that it subsequently found a much wider audience (at least insofar as the surviving manuscripts suggest).[199] Yet Humbert did not continue to borrow from the *Commentary on the Constitutions*, leading to the conclusion that he decided to set it aside completely as he turned to other source materials.

Despite the passing remark by Brett that *De tribus* might have 'served as a reference in the development' of the *Expositio*, there are no direct borrowings in the text.[200] Assuming

[199] While the *Commentary on the Constitutions* survives in about a dozen manuscripts (several of which are fragments), this is far less than the *Expositio*. See SOPMA, II, no. 2018 (p. 290); IV, no. 290:2018 (p. 129).
[200] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 195.

De tribus was written first (see 3.2.2), it is possible that the attention given to obedience in *De tribus* may explain why Humbert seems to devote less attention to that topic in the *Expositio*—although this requires significant qualification, as discussed below (see 4.6).

In addition to the foregoing, there are other, potentially fruitful investigations that could be carried out concerning Humbert's use of sources. Humbert quotes widely and his sources tell us about what works were available to him and which may have been drawn upon by other medieval authors as well. Inquiries could also be carried out on whether Humbert's use of legal sources bears any relation to what is known about canon law instruction at Paris during the first part of the thirteenth century, when Humbert was in attendance. Although examinations of this sort exceed what is possible here, Humbert's copious use of sources in the *Expositio* opens up in multiple directions for future research.

PART II

4.6 The Organisational and Rhetorical Structure of the *Expositio regulae*

The rhetorical structure and style of rule commentaries have not yet attracted a great deal of scholarly attention despite being integral to a proper understanding of how these texts functioned and influenced their readers. Future studies, analogous to those more recently undertaken on medieval sermons, scripture commentaries, and *glossae* would be a welcome addition. In the absence of this, however, and without attempting an exhaustive literary analysis or repeating what has already been said regarding Humbert's use of sources for rhetorical effect, a brief consideration of how Humbert arranges and organises his material is in order.

As noted, Humbert's *Expositio* opens with the so-called 'prologue'—possibly the core of an original letter introducing the work—directed to an unknown recipient (see 4.2.2 and 4.3.1). Although containing only 148 words in Latin, it offers Humbert's self-declared rationale for writing the *Expositio* and includes some observations about its contents, both of which are useful for an organisational analysis of the text. As already discussed in 3.7, Humbert begins by stating that he was prompted by some talk [*sermo*] that was circulating among the friars and which had the potential to lessen devotion to the *Rule*. But after this, Humbert adds:

> ... there occurred to me certain things that pertain to the praise of the *Rule*; certain things that show it to be appropriately suited to the preacher's state, with the addition of certain things that pertain to poverty; and, in carrying out this same exposition, certain other things that declare in what manner the customs [*mores*] of the Friars Preachers are drawn out from [*sunt educti*] the *Rule*, and many other things that I think will edify the brethren willing to read them, and strengthen them in love and reverence for the *Rule* [and bring about no small number of other spiritual fruits as well].[201]

[201] *Exp. reg.*, prologus (p. 43). The phrase in brackets at the end of the quotation appears only in a footnote in Berthier's edition but can be found in many of the earliest manuscripts and was likely part of the original text; Tugwell, *Legendae*, 288 n. 6.

Humbert's stated intentions in composing the *Expositio*, although important for understanding how he presented his completed work, must be taken with a grain of salt. His description of his writing process makes clear that the prologue was written after the *Expositio* was completed, and while helpfully summarising and 'packaging' the work for its readers, the prologue does not fully capture what the *Expositio* actually does or contains. Nor is this simply a matter of Humbert having written about various topics that he does not expressly mention. Rather, there is good reason to believe that he sought to accomplish several goals that went well beyond his stated aim of offering 'praise of the *Rule*' and strengthening devotion to it. His other intentions, which emerge as recurring and coordinating themes in the text, are discussed at length in 4.7 and 5.2 below.

Structurally, Humbert arranges the *Expositio* so that the prologue is followed by a preface (*prooemium*) comprising the first five chapters. Although not unremittingly 'scholastic' in its character, the *Expositio*'s first chapter begins in a classically scholastic manner by asking: 'what is the usefulness of this book?'. Humbert answers that the *Expositio* will 'make clear what is doubtful, elucidate the reasons for what is handed on [in the *Rule*] and show the utility of what is contained therein'.[202] Already this goes beyond Humbert's stated intentions in the prologue and yet, as one might expect, Humbert does considerably more than this over the subsequent 600 pages. Yet tellingly, he also explains that he hopes this work will help the friars 'to know what [the *Rule*] requires from them, and by this knowledge have devotion to it, and from this devotion diligently observe what is contained in it'.[203] This progression from 'knowledge' to 'devotion' to 'observance' highlights a key ambition and the ultimate goal of Humbert's *Expositio*: to shape the friars' collective behaviour. Moreover, while Humbert's sincerity is not in question when he

[202] *Exp. reg.*, prooemium, i (p. 44).
[203] *Exp. reg.*, prooemium, i (p. 44).

claims to desire a better knowledge and observance of the *Rule*, what this means in practice is mediated and explained in the *Expositio* through Humbert's own interpretive lens.

Most of the remainder of Humbert's preface provides a defence of the *Rule's* suitability for the Friars Preachers. Within this section, Humbert responds most directly to any attempt to abandon Augustine's *Rule* in favour of some other governing text, although without mentioning any specific initiative in this regard (e.g., *Sanctis desideriis*).[204] Perhaps equally interesting, however, is Humbert's attempt to provide an historical framework for understanding the proper place of Augustine's *Rule* in relation to earlier religious movements.[205] He offers a narrative of religious life that starts 'in the beginning ... when religious life first began to arise in the Church' and which proceeds to briefly recall the early anchorites and coenobites, turning then to the *Rule of Benedict* with its own reliance upon the *Rule of Basil* and the *Institutes* of John Cassian.[206] While acknowledging the authority of the *Rule of Benedict*, Humbert situates Augustine's *Rule* in relation to Benedictine and other modes of religious life by stating that Augustine was 'formed by the example of the apostolic life ... and began living according to a rule established under the holy Apostles [*sub sanctis Apostolis*]'.[207] He then asks rhetorically, 'who doubts that the apostolic life is to be preferred to all other modes of living?'[208] Thus he argues that the antiquity of Augustine's *Rule* speaks in its favour and that it should be preferred 'not only to modern rules but even to the *Rule of blessed Benedict* since Augustine's *Rule* is many years older, as is plain from the chronicles.'[209] Given that Humbert himself belonged to a

[204] As noted earlier, the absence of any specific mention of *Sanctis desideriis* or any initiative to abandon the *Rule* in the *prooemium* has informed some arguments regarding the date of the work. See 4.2.2 above.
[205] Although Humbert's use of history has received some attention in relation to his *Opusculum tripartitum* written for the Second Council of Lyon (1274) in Carozzi, 'Humbert de Romans et L'Histoire', 849–62, his historiographical framework for explaining the emergence of new religious orders over time has not yet been explored. This is given further attention in 4.7.8 below.
[206] *Exp. reg.*, prooemium, ii (p. 45).
[207] *Exp. reg.*, prooemium, ii (p. 45). The 'rule established under the holy Apostles' may be a reference to how Augustine's *Rule* appropriates Acts 4:32–35.
[208] *Exp. reg.*, prooemium, ii (p. 45).
[209] *Exp. reg.*, prooemium, ii (p. 45).

very new movement, this is a paradoxical claim—one that is simultaneously conservative, by arguing that the past offers the best norm for a holy life, and yet rather bold in suggesting that his own (new) community can claim to embody this more ancient rule in the context of an altogether different mission. Although the authority of Augustine was part of the reason why the friars first adopted the *Rule*, Humbert's *Expositio* revisits (and to some extent reinterprets) this rationale in the changing context of the 1250s. In fact, by building a substantial rhetorical and intellectual edifice upon the *Rule*, Humbert goes considerably further than the early friars who saw the *Rule* mostly as a convenient way to legally establish a stable group of preachers (see 2.7 above). Now, however, the *Rule* is explicitly put forward as providing the foundation of an 'apostolic life ... to be preferred to all other models' and effectively serves as an overarching framework for the life and spirituality of the Friars Preachers as Humbert develops it in the *Expositio*.

Humbert's preface makes various other claims and arguments, but one passage warrants special attention. He remarks that the *Rule of Augustine* concerns 'mostly spiritual deeds, such as the love of God and neighbour, the unity of hearts, the harmony of practices [*concordia mores*] and the like, as is generally evident throughout.'[210] This brief assessment shows what Humbert considers to be the primary themes of the *Rule*. Specifically, along with spiritual deeds, Humbert sees the *Rule* as focusing on both interior unity ('unity of hearts') and external conformity ('harmony of practices'). Yet while Humbert develops both of these themes within the *Expositio*, the latter receives far greater stress. Given his contemporary circumstances, he had ample reason to focus on keeping the friars both united and out of trouble (see 3.4). Yet an emphasis on unity (both interior and exterior) also accords with a concern for identity-making, another underlying theme in Humbert's corpus, as previously discussed (see 3.3). While the *Rule of Augustine* contains many elements,

[210] *Exp. reg.*, prooemium, ii (p. 46).

Humbert's identification of the 'unity of hearts' and (especially) 'harmony of practices' as the *Rule's* major themes reveals a great deal about his own intentions (see 4.7.1 and 5.2).

By itself, Humbert's stress on these principles of unity and harmony would not be remarkable if merely presented as introductory remarks. Not only the *Rule*, but the Order's earliest *Constitutions*—and, indeed, the Premonstratensian constitutions upon which they were based—all began by expressing a desire that the community 'should be found uniform in the observances of our canonical religion, so that the unity we are to maintain inwardly in our hearts will be fostered and expressed by the uniformity we observe outwardly in our behaviour.'[211] Rather, what distinguishes Humbert's *Expositio* is not that it echoes the sentiments of the Order's *Constitutions* or those of other communities that took their lead from Augustine's *Rule*, but its thoroughgoing attempt to achieve this uniformity—particularly in external behaviour—through various means of moral suasion and according to a particular shape and form formulated by Humbert and influenced by his historical circumstances. Taken as general principles, many diverse forms of religious life could be (and were) crafted within the framework provided by Augustine's *Rule*. Yet Humbert's *Expositio*, as shown below, sought to do more than simply uphold the *Rule* as a suitable framework. Rather it aimed to form the brethren themselves in highly specific ways, tailored for the challenges of the moment.

After the preface, in the body of the *Expositio*, Humbert adopts—and yet to a large extent also ignores—a sevenfold division of the *Rule*. Modern critical editions (e.g., Verheijen) follow an eightfold division of Augustine's *Rule* as more reflective of the original text, but medieval scribes and authors frequently divided the work into seven sections—a division that echoed the sevenfold symbolism found in many Christian writings

[211] *Constitutiones antiquae*, prologus (p. 311); Translation taken from Tugwell, *Early Dominicans*, 456. Tugwell also provides a comparison with the early Premonstratensian constitutions (in translation), which contains an identical statement. For comparison with the underlying Latin, see P.L. Lefèvre and W.M. Grauwen, eds., *Les statuts de Prémontré au milieu du XIIe siècle* (Averbode, 1978), 1, ln. 5–7.

and practices.[212] Certain manuscripts of the *Expositio* note this sevenfold division with a header across the top of the folios (e.g., Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 4180) or in the margins (e.g., Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 107, fols. 158r–160r). Humbert, in a manner consistent with this medieval division of the *Rule*, identifies seven major themes that he associates with these seven sections.[213] Yet while ostensibly upholding this division, Humbert often ignores it in practice and does not distribute his own commentary evenly, as this table shows:

Section	Topic	Equivalent Virtue/Vow	Words (Apx.)
-	Prologue	-	148
-	Preface (*Exp. reg.* i-v)	-	2,500
I	Religious life as 'a state of common life'	Unity	29,000
II	Religious life as 'a state of penance'	Penance	23,800
III	Religious life as 'a state of rectitude'	Honesty	35,000
IV	Religious life as 'a state subject to many necessities (needs)'	Poverty	37,500
V	Religious life as 'a state of brotherhood'	Fraternity	14,000
VI	Religious life as 'a state of subjection'	Obedience	3,000
VII	Observing the *Rule*	Observance	28,600

At first glance, one might conclude that Humbert gives relatively little attention to obedience in comparison to other topics (e.g., poverty). The reality, however, is more complex. Along with having already written extensively on obedience in *De tribus* around this same time, Humbert also discusses obedience and the binding character of the *Rule* at length throughout his discussion of the common life (Section I) and religious life as a 'state

[212] For medieval Christian symbolism pertaining to the number seven, see H. Meyer, *Die Zahlenallegorese im Mittelalter: Methode und Gebrauch* (Munich, 1975), 133–39. Since much of this symbolism takes its origin from biblical literature and Near Eastern numerology, see also the pertinent scholarship given in G.G. Reinhold, 'Einführung: Die Zahl Sieben in Natur und Kosmos', in *Die Zahl Sieben im Alten Orient: Studien zur Zahlensymbolik in der Bibel und ihrer altorientalischen Umwelt*, ed. by G.G. Reinhold (Frankfurt am Main, 2008), 3.

[213] Note that Humbert first identifies six themes in the *Rule* in *Exp. reg.*, ii (pp. 46-47), but adds that the *Rule* also treats of their observance, which he identifies as the topic of the *Rule's* seventh section in *Exp. reg.*, clxxiv–clxxv (p. 529).

of rectitude' (Section III). Similarly, his remarks about poverty often overlap with obedience to superiors in matters of material distribution and service. Therefore, by the time a reader of the *Expositio* arrives at Section VI, much of the subject matter related to obedience has already been addressed. A similar interpenetration of themes occurs in his discussion of poverty (Section IV). Although seemingly the longest section, Section IV includes extensive comments about the usefulness of study in the Order and matters pertaining to good teaching technique. Likewise, the seemingly brief treatment of fraternity in Section V overlaps heavily with Humbert's examination of the common life in Section I. In short, Humbert's work does not employ a clean, systematic division of topics, but rather reflects the ebb and flow of his thought as he weaves together one thread of Augustine's text with another.

In fact, although Humbert does frequently display the scholastic penchant for itemised list-making and even occasionally adopts the question-and-response (*quaestio*) mode of argumentation—something Hugh of St. Cher also does at times in his *postillae*—the *Expositio* more often resembles a meandering preacher who is trying to be comprehensive rather than a theologian who is trying to be methodical.[214] The subsequent creation of indices and the insertion of paratextual devices, found in various manuscripts of the *Expositio*, undoubtably served to make navigating Humbert's somewhat unwieldly text more manageable (see 5.4.1). It also helps to explain the variation in chapter titles and in the enumeration of chapters found across the manuscript tradition, as already discussed.

Humbert, moreover, is not only uneven in how he divides the *Rule* globally, he is also uneven in how he divides the individual paragraphs and sentences of the *Rule* for analysis. In certain places, an individual sentence (or phrase) will be given considerable

[214] G. Dahan, 'L'exégèse de Hugues. Méthode et herméneutique', in *Hugues de Saint-Cher († 1263)*, ed. by L.-J. Bataillon, G. Dahan, and P.-M. Gy (Turnhout, 2004), 88–89.

attention, extending across multiple columns or even whole chapters of the *Expositio*.[215] In other places, Humbert will include a much more substantial excerpt of the *Rule* in an introductory quotation but provide only minimal commentary before proceeding to the next excerpt.[216] Over the course of the *Expositio*, the entirety of the *Rule* is quoted in block-quote fashion, but the size of the quotations and the amount of commentary devoted to each varies widely. Here too, those familiar with Hugh of St. Cher's *postillae* will not be surprised by the variable lengths of commentary that might follow a particular passage. This can be partially explained, in Humbert's case, by the fact that Humbert has sometimes already addressed certain topics earlier in the *Expositio*, as likewise applies to the section divisions mentioned above. The *Rule* itself also repeats certain themes, making an even distribution of the commentary more difficult. Nonetheless, Humbert clearly prefers to use certain phrases as jumping off points for exploration of much wider topics, while other portions of the text seem to capture less of his attention.

Ultimately, while Humbert perceived (or at least thought he perceived) an organisational structure inherent in the *Rule* itself, this exercised only a light influence over his structuring of the *Expositio* and his progression from topic to topic. Moreover, despite what he implies in his opening preface, Humbert does not appear to work consistently from a hierarchy of themes conceptualised at the outset of his writing.[217] Rather, the text of the *Expositio* most often reflects the winding path of Humbert's own concerns as he moves from engaging one passage of the *Rule* to another. In so doing, he incorporates a mix of structures and hierarchies to provide some order to individual sections of the *Expositio*, but

[215] e.g., *Exp. reg.*, lxxviii–lxxx (pp. 235–44); lxxxii–lxxxvi (pp. 248–68); xcvii–xcix (pp. 303–17); cxl–clv (pp. 418–76); clxxv (pp. 529–39); clxxxi–clxxxviii (pp. 551–78).
[216] e.g., *Exp. reg.*, lxx (pp. 210–11); lxxi (pp. 211–13); cxx (pp. 372–77).
[217] One can note, for example, that Humbert proceeds to address 'self-knowledge' only in chapter 204 of the *Expositio*—a topic that would have logically come far earlier in almost any preconceived schema, if one were imposing a schema on the *Rule*. Instead, his reflection on self-knowledge is prompted by Augustine's remark near the end of the *Rule* that one should read it regularly 'in order to see yourself as in a mirror' (*Praeceptum*, viii.2).

which fall short of providing a coordinating schema for the whole work. Yet despite its rather sinuous structure, it would be a mistake to conclude that Humbert's *Expositio* was aimless in character. On the contrary, as discussed below, Humbert was an active and consistent interpreter of the text who was clear-minded about how the *Rule's* prescriptions ought to be understood and applied in his contemporary circumstances.

4.7 Thematic Analysis: Humbert's Appropriation of Augustinian *Topoi*

As already suggested, the *Expositio* cannot be read apart from the historical events of the mid-thirteenth century and the challenges facing the friars during this period. It would likewise be inadequate to interpret the *Expositio* simply as an expression of Humbert's desire to provide 'useful' reflections for his Order, despite his suggestions to the contrary. Rather, one ought to consider how Humbert reinterprets and re-purposes Augustine's *Rule,* asking what Humbert seeks to accomplish based on what we know of his historical circumstances and other writings.

Humbert's *Expositio* absorbs Augustine's *Rule* into a much larger and different conceptual project. Augustine had his own monastery in view—a single community of apparently like-minded and mostly lay individuals.[218] Humbert, on the other hand, was concerned with the rapid growth of a pan-European religious order facing the internal pressures of growth and acute periods of external opposition. Humbert's style, so profoundly different than Augustine's refined Latin, mediates the *Rule* through ideas, categories, and canonical structures that had developed during the intervening centuries. Humbert does show some awareness of these different historical circumstances, but his concern was never to reconstruct Augustine's original intentions or monastery but rather to apply Augustine's words to his Order's present needs.

[218] Although some diversity in social backgrounds must have also existed in the monastery (or developed as it grew) given the norms found in the *Rule* for those who were previously wealthy or poor (e.g., *Praeceptum*, i.4-7, iii.3-5). See especially Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 173, 176–77, 348.

In terms of content, various themes can be identified in the *Rule* that are also present in Augustine's larger corpus. Scholars have often attended to these common Augustinian themes or *topoi* in the *Rule*, producing a considerable literature. Less attention has been given, however, to how these were received and reinterpreted in subsequent centuries. Certainly, Augustine himself reinterpreted many ideas and themes from classical literature in service of his own goals. In a sense, Humbert was continuing a process in which Augustine himself had been a participant. While it would be impossible to adequately examine every theme that Humbert develops or introduces across roughly 600 pages, the following sections consider several pertinent *topoi* in Augustine's *Rule* that Humbert developed in light of his own context and the particular challenges facing the Friars Preachers.

4.7.1 Unity, Unanimity, and Uniformity

The theme of unity (*unitas*) holds an essential place in Augustine's ecclesiological thought. Dovetailing with his trinitarian theology and his understanding of charity (*caritas*), Augustine saw ecclesial unity as a consequence and reflection of God's own unity and as a constitutive feature of the church.[219] Augustine did not, however, formulate his thoughts on ecclesial or social unity solely by a deductive consideration of divine attributes. Rather, the Donatist schism, which began in the early fourth century and which weighed heavily upon Augustine as a bishop in North Africa, focused his attention on such questions. As the chief protagonist in the intellectual response to Donatism, Augustine developed the themes of charity and unity in his writings at great length.[220] One can see this clearly in his

[219] *Sermon* 356, n. 8 (p. 117); *De unitate ecclesiae*, ii.2; M.-F. Berrouard, 'La Première Communauté de Jérusalem Comme Image de l'unité de La Trinité. Une Des Exégèses Augustiniennes d'Act 4, 32a', in *Homo Spiritalis: Festgabe Für Luc Verheijen, O.S.A. Zu Seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by C. Mayer (Würzburg, 1987), 214–24; A. Ployd, *Augustine, the Trinity, and the Church: A Reading of the Anti-Donatist Sermons* (Oxford, 2015), 101.

[220] Augustine himself acknowledges that 'the things that needed to be said about the unity of Christ's body ... were not said with anything like the same clarity until the Donatist schism began to press hard on our weaker brothers and sisters.' *Exp. of Ps. 54*, 22 (p. 75). The classic and foundational study of Augustine's

anti-Donatist works and homilies.[221] In turn, the same themes can be detected in his *Rule*, where charity and unity are given as the fundamental principles to which all else is subordinated (see 2.2.1).

Humbert received Augustine's *Rule* in an altogether different historical context, more than eight hundred years after the Donatist schism. Nevertheless, in commenting on the *Rule*, Humbert found that Augustine's concerns often overlapped with his own—most notably in regard to corporate unity. Yet the matter at hand for Humbert was not the unity of the church in North Africa or Augustine's original monastery. Rather, Humbert seems to have readily recognised that the *Rule* could be employed to promote unity and discipline among the friars in a moment when tighter self-regulation seemed critical for their survival. While writing on the *Constitutions* of the Order had given Humbert an opportunity to resolve internal legal questions and to offer some exhortations, the *Rule* offered Humbert a spiritual framework that could be developed for the purpose of forming the friars in consistent moral behaviour, training them to focus on their common mission, and instructing them to avoid conflict. Ultimately the *Rule* proved to be a highly potent rhetorical tool in the service of this goal since it carried both the authority of Augustine and Augustine's stress on communal unity.

The form of Augustine's *Rule* that Humbert inherited—the *Regula recepta*—began by enjoining the brothers to love God and neighbour, a line that originated in the *Ordo monasterii* but which had migrated to the *Praeceptum*, creating the *Rule* that Humbert knew

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controversies with the Donatists, originally published in 1951/52 and revised in 1985, is W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa* (Oxford, 2000), 227–43; but see the important review of this work by P. Brown, 'Religious Dissent in the Later Roman Empire: The Case of North Africa', *History*, 46 (1961), 83–101. More recent work has tended to focus on the role of violence and regional politics in the controversy. See especially M. Gaddis, *There Is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire* (Berkeley, 2005), 103–50 and the bibliography therein.

[221] In particular, it is a major theme throughout *On Baptism against the Donatists* and Augustine's *Answer to the Letters of Petilian the Donatist*. See also sermons 340A (pp. 304–5); 359, 4–5 (pp. 202–3); 400, 8–10 (pp. 476–78); 360C, 2–5 (pp. 388–90); *Exp. 2 of Ps. 33*, 7 (pp. 28–29); *Exp. 2 of Ps. 101*, 8 (p. 68); *Exp. of Ps. 106*, 14 (p. 235); *Exp. of Ps. 119*, 9 (pp. 508–9).

(see 2.5).[222] After this adopted opening sentence, the *Regula recepta* speaks about the types of unity that should prevail in a monastic community:

> First, on this account you are gathered into one (*in unum*), that you may have unanimity (*unanimes*) in the house, and that you may be of one mind (*anima una*) and one heart (*cor unum*) in God.[223]

As noted earlier, this passage was also echoed in the Order's *Constitutions*, which were themselves dependant on a Premonstratensian precursor.[224] Underlying this language is the clear influence of *Acts* 4:32ff, which speaks of the apostolic community in Jerusalem being of 'one heart and mind' (*cor et anima una*). Verheijen and other scholars have argued that *Acts* 4:32ff provides the central inspiration for Augustine's notion of monasticism, animating many of Augustine's writings on monastic topics.[225] This contrasts with some other early Christian authors on monasticism, including Augustine's contemporary John Cassian (d. c. 435), who tended to stress monastic solitude and made infrequent use of *Acts* 4:32ff as a point of reference for monastic life.[226]

Within the *Rule*, the emphasis on unity of mind and heart drawn from *Acts* 4:32ff is also echoed elsewhere in the text, e.g., 'live in unanimity and concord', which is further reinforced through the practical instructions given throughout the *Rule*. One cannot overstate the relative importance of these themes and the communal orientation of Augustine's thought, both as it pertains to the *Rule* and his impact on western monasticism generally. As R.A. Markus notes, 'the work of a generation of scholars has taught us that [Augustine's] views marked a decisive shift towards the monastery conceived in terms of

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[222] Note that Humbert was aware of versions of the *Rule* that lacked this opening line, but he understood those as being intended for women's communities (see 2.5).
[223] *Praeceptum*, i.2. Translation mine.
[224] *Constitutiones antiquae*, prologus (p. 311); see also n. 211 above. For the *Constitutions* in use at the time of Humbert, see 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 31–32.
[225] L. Verheijen's 1975 lectures at the Villanova Augustinian Institute were dedicated to this topic. See *Saint Augustine's Monasticism in the Light of Acts 4.32-35* (Wetteren, Belgium, 1979); Ployd, *Augustine, the Trinity, and the Church*, 116–21.
[226] R.A. Markus, 'City or Desert? Two Models of Community', in *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge, 1991), 167.

concord, brotherhood, and unity rather than the quest of personal holiness through renunciation and ascetic living. The creation of a perfect community rather than the pursuit of individual perfection came to be the keynote of his theology of the monastic life.'[227]

To appreciate Augustine's project one must also recognise that he sought far more than a well-ordered community, free of obvious social divisions or strife. His understanding of communal 'unanimity' (*unanimis* and *unanimitas*), which is derived from his theology of divine '*unitas*' and his understanding of the apostolic life as characterised by '*cor et anima una*', envisions a union among the monks so profound that they may be likened to a single individual—as though they had one soul despite many bodies.[228] Augustine's influences include classical ideas about friendship and even etymological links between the adjective for unanimity (*unanimis*) and the Latin words '*unus'* and '*animus*'.[229] Yet while Augustine builds upon classical understandings of friendship, he considers true unanimity achievable only through grace, thus adding '*in Deum*' to the end of the phrase '*anima una et cor unum*' in his *Rule* and in his other writings that draw from *Acts* 4:32ff.[230] Good laws and structures could facilitate this degree of unanimity, as the *Rule* attempts to do, but social and political structures could not substitute for God's '*unitas*', communicated through the grace of charity, which gives rise to '*unanimis*' (or '*unanimitas*') among the community.

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[227] Markus, 'City or Desert? Two Models of Community', 158.
[228] Verheijen, *Saint Augustine's Monasticism*, 64–66.
[229] An extensive literature exists on friendship in Augustine's thought. The most useful resource in English remains M.A. McNamara, *Friends and Friendship for Saint Augustine* (New York, 1964); but cf. K. Paffenroth, 'Friendship as Personal, Social, and Theological Virtue in Augustine', in *Augustine and Politics*, ed. by J. Doody, K. Hughes, and K. Paffenroth (Oxford, 2005), 53–66; and more recent treatments by J.T. Lienhard, 'Friendship, Friends', *Augustine Through the Ages* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 2009), 372–73; T. Nawar, 'Augustine on the Dangers of Christian Friendship', *The Classical Quarterly*, 65/2 (2015), 836–51. For the other influences noted above, see Zumkeller, *Augustine's Ideal*, 30; cf. R. Lorenz, 'Die Anfänge des abendländischen Mönchtums im 4. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.*, 77 (1966), 40 n. 21; E. Forcellini and others, eds., 'unanimis', *Lexicon totius latinitatis* (Padua, 1940); Cicero, *Laelius De Amicitia*, ed. by J.G.F. Powell (New York, 2006), 92-93 (p. 460); K. Demura, 'Anima Una et Cor Unum; St. Augustine's Congregations and His Monastic Life', in *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church*, ed. by W. Mayer, P. Allen, and L. Cross (Strathfield, NSW, 2006), IV, 257–66.
[230] The manuscripts of the *Praeceptum* differ on whether the text reads '*in Deum*' or '*in Deo*', with the former having almost certainly been original. The text of Humbert's *Regula recepta* reads '*in Deo*'. In any event, Augustine added this reference to God to the biblical phraseology. See 2.5 for a fuller discussion.

While the monks retained their individual personhood, this unity in spirit meant that no sharp distinction could be drawn between their individual good and the community's common welfare, which also made the common ownership of property a natural and even necessary corollary.[231]

Augustine's vision for the social unity of a well-functioning monastery thus follows from his theology of God. Augustine understood the communal life, which the church had received through the example of the Apostles according to his understanding, to be a visible sign of the unity of the Trinity as well as the unity that exists in Christ through the hypostatic union.[232] By way of contrast, while Humbert affirms many of the same theological points that Augustine makes—often by way of scripture quotations—his treatment of these themes lacks the theological sophistication and synthesis that Augustine displays in his corpus. Indeed, despite the fact that the *Expositio* is an 'exposition' of Augustine's *Rule*, Humbert does not engage in any significant speculative inquiry into Augustine's theological ideas about ecclesial or divine unity as they relate to the *Rule* or monastic life. Instead, Humbert demonstrates a rather different set of intellectual interests and competencies.

While the *Expositio* does consider the role of unanimity in religious life, its focus is relentlessly practical and exhortative, consistent with Humbert's training in law and his personal experiences in governing the friars in diverse circumstances. This approach, which also involves the repurposing of Augustine's text in certain key ways, can readily be seen in how Humbert comments upon the line quoted above. After introducing the text about being of 'one mind and heart in God', Humbert quickly moves to a consideration of the superiority of communal religious life (coenobitic life) over solitary (anchoritic) religious

[231] C. White, *Christian Friendship in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge, 1992), 215–16.
[232] Zumkeller, *Augustine's Ideal*, 124–34.

life.[233] While providing an outline of monastic life, Augustine's *Rule* was not written specifically as an argument advocating communal religious life. Yet Humbert takes the passages that exhort unity and redeploys them as a brief *apologia* for communal religious life.[234] Although Humbert is careful to affirm the goodness of anchoritic life, he details nine advantages to living in a community, which allows him to then conclude: 'the coenobitic [communal] state is generally more adequate to preachers than that of anchorites, as is apparent from the many reasons given above, which likewise show that for preachers the religious state is more appropriate than the secular one'.[235] This discloses Humbert's real concern—not the superiority of the communal state as such, but rather its fittingness for the Friars Preachers. The reference to the secular state (*status saecularis*) should be understood here not in reference to lay persons but rather to clerics who were not part of a religious community or under a rule (i.e., 'secular clergy'). In short, Augustine's remarks about imitating the unity of the apostles provided Humbert with an opportunity to advocate for the Friars Preachers vis-à-vis the secular clergy and to bolster the friars' sense of communal identity as something inherently tied to their preaching mission. Moreover, there is a type of spiritual logic at work here that effectively leads to the conclusion that the mission of preaching naturally goes hand-in-hand with a communal life under obedience. Given the dispute with William of Saint-Amour and the secular clergy at the university of Paris discussed earlier, one cannot help but see these comments as a way of grounding and emphasising—for the friars themselves—the coherence and legitimacy of their own way of life in contrast to those who opposed them.

[233] *Exp. reg.*, xiv (pp. 67-70).
[234] For a discussion of Augustine's views on communal life in comparison to the views of Cassian and others on the solitary life, see Markus, 'City or Desert? Two Models of Community', 157–80.
[235] *Exp. reg.*, xiv (p. 70).

Humbert also finds Augustine's language of unanimity eminently useful for speaking about the social behaviour of the friars in community. He directly links the Order's corporate unity to their own welfare and salvation:

> Coming together into a congregation for the sake of unanimity, we say that we are gathered into one. Although we are gathered for the sake of our salvation as the ultimate end, yet we could pursue this elsewhere. We chose to lead a life of unanimity with others so that by this life [of unanimity] we might come to salvation, and thus unanimity is the immediate end of the congregation, which is directed towards the other end [of achieving salvation].[236]

Like Augustine, Humbert stresses the importance of unanimity in the community, but he underscores its particular relationship to the friars' own salvation. On this point, Humbert's application of a scholastic framework—reflected in his language of 'ends' (*finis*)—also allows him to drive home this point: the brethren should be striving for unanimity if they wish to be saved. While the passage being commented upon in Augustine's *Rule* has a rich, biblical rhetorical style, Humbert opts for the logical directness of scholastic discourse, stressing the ordering of ends, their relationship, and how they are to be pursued.

Yet as this case illustrates, Humbert's arguments are primarily motivational and moral, not theologically speculative, even when scholastic discourse is sometimes employed. While Augustine's corpus contains a developed theology about the relationship between God and monastic unity, Humbert adapts these same themes for the purpose of motivating the brethren. For example, while commenting on this same passage from the *Rule*, Humbert introduces citations from *John* 17:11, *Acts* 4:32, and *Philippians* 2:2 to affirm a connection between trinitarian unity, the unity of the early church, and the desire of the Apostles for unity.[237] In highlighting these particular texts, Humbert is not unlike Augustine, who also found them to be useful sources of reflection. Yet instead of unpacking their theological meaning, Humbert places these passages before the brethren as *motives*

[236] *Exp. reg.*, xiv (p. 70).
[237] *Exp. reg.*, xvi (p. 71).

for unity (*motiva ad unitatem*).[238] In other words, they are introduced as encouraging examples so that the friars might act in ways similar to the Apostles. Again, Humbert reveals himself to be more a preacher than a theologian—and one deeply concerned about shaping the behaviour of his community.

To be clear, Augustine's *Rule* was not composed as a speculative theological work. Yet Humbert has great freedom in choosing how to comment upon the *Rule* and in what direction he wishes to unfold the text. Since he does not do this sparingly, one can reasonably conclude that Humbert has developed the text in the manner he thought most useful. A great deal of Humbert's writing on this same passage, for example, concerns how unity can be undermined, disturbed, or misused in practice. Moreover, Humbert's chapter on 'evil unity'—something Augustine never mentions in the *Rule*—falls under this same passage and reveals another aspect of Humbert's thought on this subject:

> But there are others who, although they are not in union with evil men, still do not have one heart in God [*non habent unum cor in Deo*] ... since they resist good things, and oppose reforms, corrections, restrictions, new constitutions that are good, and similar things that are helpful in promoting the good.[239]

Humbert's remarks likely reflect something of his own experience and frustrations with trying to implement legislation aimed at improving the behaviour of the friars.[240] At the same time, it is a significant rhetorical move to redirect Augustine's remarks about unity—which, for Augustine, would have involved arriving at a common opinion within a (relatively small) monastery—to accepting reforms and legislation determined by General Chapters that were often held hundreds of miles away.

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[238] *Exp. reg.*, xvii (p. 74).
[239] *Exp. reg.*, xvii (p. 75).
[240] Certainly the *acta* of the Roman Province during the time when Humbert was Prior Provincial contain a number of admonitions enjoining the friars to observe practices that, at least according to the Order's *Constitutions*, they should have already been keeping (e.g., the tonsure, the avoidance of money and possessions, refraining from frivolous accusations, the admission and ordination of friars only after they had reached the acceptable age, etc.). All of these can be found within *Acta prov. Romanae* (Rome, 1243–44), 1–4.

Humbert clearly shares Augustine's concern for unity, but the historical circumstances and geographical boundaries of Augustine's monastery and the Friars Preachers were profoundly different. These factors played an important role in shaping how each approached and understood what actually constituted a unified community. One can more easily imagine the profound degree of spiritual unity envisioned by Augustine in the context of a single monastery, even if never fully realised in practice. While Augustine expected this to be manifested in behaviour, his understanding of unity was primarily an interior, spiritual reality. For Humbert, who presided over a religious order composed of thousands of individuals spread over much of Europe—individuals who also varied greatly in education and cultural background—such an interior unity must have often seemed rather aspirational in practice.

In fact, Humbert details a multitude of ways that unity can be undermined in the Order, such as by disputes among great persons living in the same priory, by envy of the accomplishments of others, and by the difficulties of individuals 'from diverse places and nations' living together in one priory due to their 'various customs and diverse preferences'.[241] Elsewhere he reprimands friars who waste time by arguing about wars and princes (i.e., the politics of the day) and also recounts a story about French and English monks living in Normandy who were rebuked by King Philip [II] of France for arguing about such things rather than praying.[242]

Interestingly, Humbert's words on this subject in the *Expositio* also align with the warnings issued by several Provincial Chapters held in the Province of Lombardy around this same time. In particular, the Provincial Chapter held in Milan in 1258 warned the brothers to avoid arguing about wars and engaging in partisan discourse so that they might

[241] *Exp. reg.*, xviii (p. 78).
[242] *Exp. reg.*, cliii (p. 471). Humbert does not specify which Philip of France was involved but the context suggests that Philip II (r. 1180–1223) was the monarch depicted in the story.

not give scandal or endanger the Order (*pro vitando scandalo aliorum et ordinis periculo*), while the 1260 Chapter in Ferrara added that they should avoid the same behaviour in their written letters.[243] Although the references to wars or feuds (*guerrae*) in these Provincial *Acta* are non-specific and could refer to a variety of conflicts, many of the northern Italian cities were undergoing a contentious process of consolidation under different '*signori*' during this period.[244] Accordingly, the Province of Lombardy may have had very immediate reasons for wanting to avoid internal division over these conflicts and any public suggestions of partisanship (or at least partisanship toward the wrong faction, depending on the changing circumstances). This also seems borne out by the Provincial Chapter of 1264, which warned the brothers to speak 'cautiously and with circumspection, whether about the Lord Pope or the prelates of the church, or the secular powers or their partisans [*partibus*], lest an incautious word [*sermone*] produce an occasion of scandal or agitation against the Order.'[245] Given the repetition and development of these warnings, the turbulent politics in Lombardy almost certainly formed part of the background for this legislation.[246]

As Master and a former Roman Provincial, Humbert was surely aware of the partisan disputes in Lombardy. But his concerns in the *Expositio* were also broader and directed toward forming an institutional culture throughout the Order. Humbert therefore takes Augustine's language about avoiding quarrels (*lites*) and develops it with a view to preventing quarrels among the friars and resolving them when they occur. Humbert dedicates considerable verbiage to these matters, including several scholastic *quaestiones* dealing with particular aspects (e.g., whether one must forgive a brother immediately and

[243] *Acta prov. Lombardiae* (Milan, 1258), 141 and (Ferrara, 1260), 142.
[244] Most notably, the conflict between the Della Torre and Visconti families in Milan before 1277. For an introduction to the relevant politics of the time in Lombardy, see T. Dean, 'The Rise of the *Signori*', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. by D. Abulafia (1999), v, 458–78. See also A. Gamberini, *The Clash of Legitimacies: The State-Building Process in Late Medieval Lombardy* (Oxford, 2018), 61–67.
[245] *Acta prov. Lombardiae* (Bologna, 1264), 144–45.
[246] Note, however, that legislation of this sort is not exclusive to the Province of Lombardy. One can find similar injunctions against friars arguing about wars in the Province of Rome, e.g., *Acta prov. Romanae* (Siena, 1251), 11.

what kind of satisfaction is required for verbal offences).[247] While the various biblical injunctions to forgive exercise a considerably influence over these sections, one can also see that Humbert is acutely sensitive to the fact that such quarrels undermine social relations in the community, which in his framework he describes as a disturbance to fraternal love (*turbatio dilectionis fraternae*).[248] At the same time, however, Humbert belonged to an Order where disputation (*disputatio*) formed a key part of the academic education and the training of preachers.[249] Humbert dedicates chapter 153 of the *Expositio* to these types of disputations—a topic certainly not envisioned originally by Augustine when he wrote the *Rule*.[250] While identifying and elaborating upon three types of disputations in which friars might become engaged (i.e., the scholastic, the ecclesiastical, and the extraordinary), Humbert focuses primarily on the faults and vices that are likely to undermine a friar's effectiveness in such disputations.[251] Of course, while Humbert wanted the friars to avoid missteps in public debates, not infrequently, the same vices he identifies would also presumably undermine communal unity if they characterised the friars' behaviour when disagreeing with each other. This is especially evident in his discussion of 'extraordinary' disputations, which might arise in any context (including within communities), and wherein Humbert warns against being too eager to dispute and exhorts the friars in general 'to defer to great men'.[252]

Ultimately, Humbert walks a difficult tightrope. He heartily encourages scholastic disputations, remarking that 'from these come many benefits' and thus 'theologians should

[247] Essentially all of *Exp. reg.*, lvix–lvxiv (pp. 481–500), deal with quarrels, with particular *quaestiones* scattered throughout.
[248] *Exp. reg*., clx (p. 488).
[249] Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, esp. 167-75; A.J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance* (Philadelphia, 2013), 133–70.
[250] *Exp. reg*., cliii (pp. 464–72).
[251] In Humbert's schema, 'scholastic' disputations were those that ordinarily took place according to medieval academic practice in the context of a university, while 'ecclesiastical' disputations were those that arose with unbelievers (perhaps in public), and 'extraordinary' disputations were those that might arise in almost any context, such as among friars discussion some practical question.
[252] *Exp. reg*., cliii (p. 470–71).

not neglect these'.[253] This language in the *Expositio*, moreover, anticipates to some extent the legislation subsequently promulgated at the General Chapter of 1259, including the directive to otherwise unoccupied lectors that they should attend disputations.[254] Yet at the same time, the *Expositio* seeks to form friars who will not be disposed to quarrel with each other within the community or enter too readily into disputes that will lead to the Order's public embarrassment.

The corporate good and unity of the community is certainly in view here, but with different horizons than Augustine. In fact, Humbert's admonishments tend to reflect a far more exterior focus. As Mulchahey observes concerning a passage about the Master of Novices in Humbert's *De officiis*: 'Humbert of Romans begins with the rules guiding the exterior man and trusts that outward discipline will lead to inward reorientation.'[255] This essentially inverts Augustine's order, although both Humbert and Augustine would have considered interior and exterior unity mutually reinforcing. In many respects, the *Expositio* preoccupies itself with outward *uniformity* (*uniformitas*) in the friars' behaviour and common life. Although Humbert employs the word '*uniformitas*' only occasionally, it may better capture what he understood 'unanimity' to mean in practice. Certainly, when Humbert speaks of 'uniformity' directly, he praises it: 'greater uniformity of life is beneficial to the brethren, because variety induces distress among body and soul, but uniformity quiet and peace.'[256] He also draws a comparison between the conventual life and the uniform movement of the heavens.[257] These remarks occur in an extended

[253] *Exp. reg*., cliii (p. 464).
[254] *Acta cap. gen*. I (Valence, 1259), 99. The General Chapter of 1259 is particularly important for a series of directives pertaining to study, often anachronistically labelled as the Order's first *ratio studiorum*. For a discussion of its significance in Dominican education, see Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 223–24.
[255] Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 114.
[256] *Exp. reg.*, lxxv (p. 225).
[257] *Exp. reg.*, lxxv (p. 225).

discussion about the pattern of conventual life and the need to conform to the expected practices of the community.[258]

It would be a mistake, however, to interpret Humbert's concern for uniformity in the smaller, even picayune matters of religious life as simply reflecting an obsessive need for control. Certainly, a desire for control may have played a part, and Humbert shows no hesitation in micromanaging (to use a modern expression) the various roles and offices in the Order through detailed descriptions of their responsibilities and functions (as much of his *De officiis* demonstrates). But while he manifests very clear ideas about how different roles should be carried out, this differs from the type of micromanaging associated with direct control over individuals and day-to-day decision making—something not entirely conceivable on a large scale in an age without modern communications. Rather, Humbert seems far more concerned about influencing how the friars are 'formed' or instructed in the innumerable details of Dominican religious life—details that were not provided in the *Rule*. While he praises the *Rule* for focusing on spiritual matters and not particular practices, he nonetheless seems to have focused his own efforts on filling in the details between the gaps of Augustine's broad strokes.[259]

In short, Augustine's overarching concern for unity of mind and heart in the monastery provided Humbert with the perfect springboard for addressing a multitude of practical, social, and ecclesial-political problems facing the Order. The rapid growth of the Order, the controversy over the friars at the university of Paris, the rise of antifraternalism, and the various other challenges discussed in 3.4, all represented dangers to the Order's cohesion. It seems evident that Humbert's appropriation of Augustine's emphasis on unity, which in Humbert's *Expositio* often practically slides into a call for conformity and

[258] *Exp. reg.*, lxxv (p. 223).
[259] *Exp. reg.*, ii (p. 46).

obedience to norms, reflects a sensitivity to external dangers, even if Humbert's exhortations were ultimately ordered to a spiritual end as their highest goal. The Order's fracturing, loss of influence, and the dissipation of energy and personnel were all real possibilities—which Humbert could also see the Franciscans of his era simultaneously confronting. Given the options available to him, Humbert clearly concluded that it was not wise to abandon Augustine's *Rule* in this context. Rather, he took the *Rule* and its emphasis on unity and used it to defend the friars' way of life, to shape their comportment and corporate spirituality, and thus enable the Order to better respond to its challenges. The impact of this approach on the formation of a distinct sense of identity for the Friars Preachers is discussed below (see 5.2).

4.7.2 Obedience and Order

In order to obtain the ends of unity and charity in his monastery, Augustine attempted to provide for the good ordering of his community through the norms contained in his *Rule*. Although it would require an extended digression to fully explore Augustine's broader understanding of authority and its potential role in fostering unity and charity[260], his *Rule* reflects certain key elements of his thought about how a superior ought to exercise his authority and its relationship to monastic obedience.

Structurally, Augustine's *Rule* envisions both a superior (*praepositus*) and a priest (*presbyterus*) who exercise authority in the monastery, as noted in 2.2.2. Although Augustine describes the practical role of the superior in some detail, his remarks about the priest are brief, indicating only that he possessed greater authority and that the superior should refer to him matters exceeding the superior's own power.[261] Not surprisingly,

[260] For an excellent orientation, however, see the discussion and bibliography in C. Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (Oxford, 2000), 3–33.
[261] *Praeceptum*, vii.3: '...ut ad presbyterum, cuius est apud vos maior auctoritas, referat, quod modum vel vires excedit'.

commentaries on the rule written by clerics often attempted to clarify this relationship, as already noted in regard to Richard of St. Victor's *De questionibus* (see 4.4.2 above). Humbert is no exception in this regard. Yet Humbert also displays some historical awareness on this point as he tries to find parallels for how Augustine's monastic community might have functioned in its original context. He writes:

> It should be noted ... that a bishop is sometimes called a priest in some cities ... It seems, moreover, that in the time of Augustine the cathedral church was so ordered, as many still are in many places, such that the chapter had the bishop himself as its senior authority, and under him someone who was then called the superior [*praepositus*], although nowadays different churches call them by different names. These two had different jurisdictions in the same convent ... so the bishop would pronounce in cases that pertained to him and the superior [*praepositus*] in cases that pertained to him.[262]

Understandably, Humbert does not get the historical details precisely right. Although debate continues as to which monastery Augustine's *Rule* originally pertained, it is likely that the 'priest' Augustine mentions was in fact a priest (*presbyterus*), not a bishop, and that his original monastery was composed largely of lay-monks (see the earlier discussion in 2.2.2). Humbert's point of reference is clearly the cathedral canons of his own age. Nonetheless, the most interesting aspect of Humbert's historical reconstruction is not its accuracy but rather its attempt to interpret Augustine's *Rule* by contextualising it. Yet once he does so, he then relativizes the text by making clear that it no longer determines the present state of affairs in its details. Rather, he seeks to preserve its notion of hierarchy, but makes clear that the specifics can change and that the language is flexible.

This sets the stage for Humbert's larger retooling of Augustine's terminology concerning authority figures at various points in the *Expositio*, such as when he writes that 'among superiors there is a certain superior who has the fulness of power [*potestatis plenitudinem*] with regard to all people and all things, namely, the Pope'.[263] Although never

[262] *Exp. reg.*, cv (p. 337).
[263] *Exp. reg.*, clxxv (p. 530). Here and elsewhere I have rendered the word '*praelatus*' as 'superior' when it refers to an individual to whom the friars owed direct obedience, which is less evident from the English

mentioned in the *Rule*, Humbert introduces the Pope to emphasise the doctrinal claim that obedience was owed to him by all clergy and laity—an authority often employed to the benefit of the friars, but which could also compel them to submit to difficult decisions.[264] Likewise, Humbert indicates that while Augustine's monastery may have had a bishop as its head, this is not the case in every situation: 'Augustine's church was so ordered that the bishop held the place of the Abbot and the superior [*praepositus*] served as the Prior ... but, wherever the bishop does not hold the place of the Abbot, a religious is held more subject to his superior, by whatever name the superior is called, than to the bishop'.[265] Humbert is clearly thinking of his own Order here and his commentary opens the way for harmonising the *Rule's* terminology and its monastic structure with the governmental structure of the Order found in the *Constitutions*.[266]

Humbert, no stranger to serving as a religious superior, also takes the opportunity in the *Expositio* to discuss how superiors are often disliked or spoken against by their subjects: 'a superior is like a target at which arrows are shot: for one person slanders against him, another murmurs, another judges'.[267] Humbert's observations are also borne out by the penalties imposed by various Provincial and General Chapters on friars who undermined or spoke against their superiors.[268] Since in Humbert's view this can undermine

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word 'prelate'. Note, however, that Humbert's general preference for the (weaker) term *praelatus* over the word *superior* when referring to friars in authority may have implications for how Dominicans understood obedience in general. See M. Vargas, 'Weak Obedience, Undisciplined Friars, and Failed Reforms in the Medieval Order of Preachers', *Viator*, 42/1 (2011), 293.

[264] Although it goes beyond the scope of this thesis, the recent study by U. Horst, *The Dominicans and the Pope: Papal Teaching Authority in the Medieval and Early Modern Thomist Tradition*, trans. by J. Mixson (Notre Dame, 2006) provides a helpful overview of Dominican theological approaches to papal authority. See especially pp. 7–21 for the mendicant controversy and its relationship to Aquinas' writings on papal authority.

[265] *Exp. reg.*, clxxv (p. 530-1).

[266] The Order's *Constitutions*, apart from the prologue and the vow formula, do not generally engage with *Rule*'s language directly, as is especially evident in regard to the *praepositus* and *presbyter*. Humbert's efforts here can be seen as an attempt to smooth over this disjunction.

[267] *Exp. reg.*, clxxxviii (p. 577). Humbert uses this comparison twice. See also clxxxii (p. 556).

[268] For example, see *Acta prov. Prov*. (Toulouse, 1263), 100, where two friars are penalised for undermining their prior; *Acta prov. Prov*. (Condom-en-Armagnac, 1285), 290, which penalises various friars for disobedience and writing a defamatory letter against their prior; and *Acta cap. gen*. I (Bordeaux, 1287), 241, where three friars are disciplined for slander against the Master. The Order's *Constitutions* also

obedience and good order, he admonishes the friars not to engage in such behaviour. Yet in a characteristically scholastic way, he balances this by also encouraging superiors to exercise patience:

> [the superior] finds one person to be hardly obedient, another acting immorally, another foolishly, and still others in one fault or sin or another, and so on. Unless he is patient, he will always be disturbed and never tranquil, which is greatly contrary to the proper state of a superior. For like God, who rules all things in perfect tranquillity, so also must the superior order all things tranquilly, and not be disturbed by the disturbances of others.[269]

Humbert's writings challenge the sometimes-idealised depictions of the early Dominicans and he is nothing if not realistic about the faults and failings of his brothers. But beyond this clear-eyed realism, one can see Humbert's desire to obtain the smooth and effective functioning of his Order—a desire undoubtably heightened by the tensions of the period.

More notably, Humbert also develops the theme of obedience in ways that undoubtably depart from the original orientation given in Augustine's *Rule*. In Augustine's *Rule*, as R. Markus has noted, obedience possessed a 'horizontal' quality (see the earlier discussion in 2.2.2).[270] Although Augustine conceptualises obedience as something owed to the superior, the close connection between obedience and the common good dominates the *Rule's* instructions about the sharing of goods and the importance of placing the welfare of the community over one's own private interests.[271] Markus observes:

> [Augustine] dealt with obedience to the superior only in the penultimate chapter [of the *Rule*], after dealing with all the communal arrangements, and immediately following a chapter devoted to quarrels among the brethren and their reconciling. The importance assigned to the superior is modest: he is to distribute what is due to each member of the community—hardly the supreme importance assigned to him in an older monastic tradition.[272]

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explicitly listed conspiring against priors or superiors among the *graviores culpa*, see 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 59.

[269] *Exp. reg.*, clxxxviii (p. 577). That superiors did not always show such patience can also be seen in the Provincial *acta* of various Provinces. Thus, for example, the Province of Lombardy felt it necessary to legislate in 1266 that priors and their vicars were not to impose precepts or sentences of excommunication too readily on their brothers. See *Acta prov. Lombardiae* (Genoa, 1266), 146.

[270] Markus, 'City or Desert? Two Models of Community', 163.

[271] Cf. *Praeceptum*, v.1–9, et passim.

[272] Markus, 'City or Desert? Two Models of Community', 162–63.

In truth, Markus may be understating the place of the superior somewhat.[273] Augustine does, after all, say that 'the superior is to be obeyed as a father'—no small matter in the late-antique world—and this does have clear parallels with how Benedict later describes the Abbot in a monastery.[274] Moreover, the *Rule* states that one is 'not to offend God in him [i.e., the superior]' and 'the superior has the principal task of seeing to it that all these precepts are observed'.[275] Nonetheless, Markus is surely correct to place Augustine's notion of obedience in the context of a communal life that places paramount importance on being of one mind and heart, with the superior as the servant of this goal.[276]

As already noted, Humbert's most extensive work on obedience can be found in *De tribus* rather than the *Expositio* (see 3.2.2). Yet his discussion of obedience in the *Expositio* touches on several points and distinctions not mentioned there. Specifically, chapter 175 of the *Expositio* pertains directly to the lived experience of obedience in community. Among other things, Humbert distinguishes between 'perfect' and 'imperfect' obedience.[277] Imperfect obedience, according to Humbert, describes one's behaviour when they obey only insofar as they are required in some matter. Perfect obedience, on the other hand, goes beyond this and involves a prompt willingness, driven by charity, to obey in a manner that is 'perfect and abundant' even when one is not strictly required to obey.[278] Humbert borrows this distinction from Bernard's *De praecepto et dispensatione*, whose influence

[273] On this point, Markus' observations rely partly upon the writings of H. McCabe. While McCabe's brief observations on this topic are insightful, they are more focused on challenging contemporary presuppositions about obedience than obtaining a precise reconstruction of Augustine's understanding of the matter. See H. McCabe, 'Obedience', in *God Matters* (London, 1987), 226–34.
[274] *Praeceptum*, vii.1. Translation mine. Cf. *Benedicti Regula*, ii.2-3, 7, 24; xxxiii.1; et passim.
[275] *Praeceptum*, vii.1, 2. Translation mine.
[276] On this point, see also Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great*, 10–11, 17–18.
[277] As noted, the language of 'perfect' and 'imperfect' obedience was not unique to Humbert, although the meaning could vary considerably depending on the medieval author. Aquinas adopts an understanding of the terms essentially identical to Humbert in the 10th of his *quodlibetal questions* and like Humbert depends on Bernard of Clairvaux for this understanding. Interestingly, Aquinas would have debated this particular *quodlibetal* in Lent or Advent 1258, while Humbert was Master and (it would seem) not long after the *Expositio* had been composed. See *Thomas Aquinas's Quodlibetal Questions*, trans. by T. Nevitt and B. Davies (2019), xxvi, 146–47, 206–7.
[278] *Exp. reg.*, clxxv (p. 529)

throughout chapter 175 is readily evident.[279] While Humbert had already touched upon a similar distinction in *De tribus*, he only adopts Bernard's language of 'perfect' and 'imperfect' in the *Expositio*, suggesting a maturation of his thought.[280] In *De tribus*, Humbert proceeded methodically through a discussion of nine characteristics of obedience, but he does not mention or follow this pattern in the *Expositio*.[281] Rather, he makes a favourable, but passing, reference to Bernard's framework of seven steps (*gradus*) of obedience, which heavily overlaps.[282] While Humbert may simply have hoped to incorporate as many outside writings as possible to support his larger arguments—rather than abandoning his previous framework—Bernard's writings appear far more influential in the *Expositio's* treatment of obedience than anything seen in *De tribus*.[283]

Yet while Humbert shares Bernard's desire to see obedience manifested fully in the community (i.e., through 'perfect obedience'), Humbert and Bernard differ greatly in the particulars. For Bernard, the *Rule of Benedict* functions determinatively and prescriptively for the praxis of religious life—something that goes far beyond the equivalent function of Augustine's *Rule* for the friars.[284] Humbert would not have encouraged, for example, the type of literal observance of the *Rule* that Bernard desires for his monks. To do so, in fact, would have been counterproductive to what Humbert was trying to achieve in harmonising the *Rule* with the larger mission of the friars.

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[279] *Exp. reg.*, clxxv (p. 529); cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, 'De praecepto', in *S. Bernardi Opera*, ed. by J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, and H. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome, 1963), III, vi.12. Humbert also makes some use of Bernard's *De praecepto et dispensatione* in *Exp. const.,* 7 (pp. 129, 132, 135, 137), 15 (p. 159), 19 (p. 162–63).
[280] *De tribus*, vii (pp. 5–6).
[281] *De tribus*, v–xiv (pp. 4–10).
[282] *Exp. reg.*, clxxv (p. 531).
[283] For an analysis of Bernard's approach to obedience beyond what is possible here, see J. Quillet, 'Aspects de la doctrine bernardine de l'obéissance', in *Saint Bernard et la philosophie*, ed. by R. Brague (Paris, 1993), 165–77; and G.E. Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux* (Oxford, 2000), 32–37.
[284] For the considerable influence of the *Rule of Benedict* on Bernard, see the orientation provided by J. Leclercq, 'Introduction', in *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux: Treatises, I* (Spencer, 1970), 81–96.

Humbert, in his approach, is rather careful to define the limits and scope of the *Rule's* legal power, while nonetheless granting it a great deal of moral authority (see the discussion below in 4.7.3). He argues, for example, that no one can be obliged to perfect obedience by the law itself and thus he notes that 'Augustine delivers no particular mandate concerning it'.[285] Of course, Augustine was not working with the categories of 'perfect' and 'imperfect' obedience and the *Rule's* entire conception of religious life as a union of mind and heart suggests that perfect obedience of will was rather close to what Augustine had envisioned. Yet Humbert readily distinguishes what is strictly required by law—understood primarily in terms of external conformity—with what is simply desirable, such as a 'willing and prompt' obedience in all matters. Humbert's canonical training is on display throughout chapter 175 as he proceeds to detail who must be obeyed, in what order, and to what extent. He discusses, at least in a general way, the different types of jurisdiction that may exist among different types of superiors, such as bishops, abbots (whether enjoying exemption or not), and monastic priors. He even notes that 'although certain saints, out of a perfection of obedience, are found to have obeyed not only their superiors but even their equals, indeed, sometimes even their inferiors ... yet no religious is held to obey anyone except their superiors'.[286] This, one might observe, departs considerably from the overall ethos of 'horizontal obedience' that Markus sees as characteristic of Augustine's *Rule*, as noted above.

To this, Humbert also adds a discussion about when superiors should not be obeyed, which he says can occur 'in many cases', such as when a superior gives a command beyond his authority, or contrary to one's vow of profession, or which is physically impossible, or which would undermine a still higher superior's authority, and so forth.[287] One can glean

[285] *Exp. reg.*, clxxv (p. 529).
[286] *Exp. reg.*, clxxv (p. 530).
[287] *Exp. reg.*, clxxv (pp. 531-32).

from these discussions not only legal advice but Humbert's desire to offer clear guidance about the complex functioning of the vow of obedience in a large and varied religious community—a network of relationships well beyond anything envisioned in the *Rule* or experienced by Augustine's original monastic community.[288]

After working through all the distinctions and clarifications regarding legal jurisdiction and authority, Humbert then returns to the matter of 'perfect obedience'. Unlike a precept that binds under sin, Humbert describes perfect obedience as a virtue—one that the law cannot oblige but which is, indeed, a critical virtue in community life: 'among all the virtues necessary for a religious, perfect obedience is among the most important'.[289] What follows in this same chapter is largely an extended exhortation to perfect obedience wherein Humbert argues that perfect obedience gives the individual peace, gains him favour with superiors, makes him useful to his community, enables him to conquer pride, renders one's sacrifices and prayers more effective, gains merit, guards against sins, and brings one to greater glory in heaven.[290] Thus, as he often does, Humbert turns the *Expositio* into an exhortation, one that aligns with Augustine's call for communal unanimity, even while reorienting much of the emphasis toward externals. Humbert does this, moreover, largely by appealing to the individual's good—an appeal somewhat at odds with Augustine's effort to avoid decoupling the individual from the common good—and in a manner that probably reflects Humbert's preaching experience and his own rhetorical strategies for motivating others. Insofar as he enters more deeply into the *Rule's* provisions, Humbert also tends to read much of the *Rule* through legal and moral categories rather than

[288] While the *Constitutions* did penalise disobedience (see 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 58–59)., Vargas critiques Humbert for having provided enough exceptions and limitations on the superior's use of obedience as to leave 'those friars managing provinces and convents hard pressed to find any practical tools against disobedience' (Vargas, *Taming a Brood of Vipers*, 258). This is actually rather consistent with the claim made herein that Humbert fundamentally preferred to form an obedient institutional culture through moral suasion rather than rely on other, more directly coercive measures, to achieve the same goals.
[289] *Exp. reg.*, clxxv (p. 533).
[290] *Exp. reg.*, clxxv (pp. 533-35).

familial or theological ones, and his treatment of obedience reflects this. Humbert's own legal background surely provides part of the explanation for this tendency, but in the face of the challenges surrounding the Order, it would also seem that he wanted his friars to be very clear about what obedience strictly required, what was a matter of virtue, and what one should do in a number of exceptional circumstances.

Humbert also subtly reworks the relationship between superiors and communal unanimity in the *Rule*. As discussed earlier, Augustine sees obedience to a superior as an expression of the community's shared mind and heart. Humbert, however, almost reverses this order of causality when he presents perfect obedience to the superior as a virtue that gives peace to the whole community.[291] For Humbert, obedience itself fosters communal unanimity, while in the *Rule* it is less evident that obedience creates unanimity so much as it reflects the community's unity of heart and mind. The distinction here is modest, but both obedience and unanimity are often approached more instrumentally in the *Expositio*, i.e., as means to an end, which enable the friars to achieve their missionary goals. Augustine, for his part, tended to see the community's unity in charity as a visible, quasi-sacramental expression of the nature of God, and thus more properly an end in itself (as discussed above in 2.2.2). While Humbert would not have argued with Augustine's theology in principle, his focus on the friars' preaching mission contributes to a practical reorientation in how the *Rule's* provisions are presented.

The *Expositio's* treatment of obedience also reveals another aspect of Humbert's thought—one that seems particularly notable given the historical context. Despite the challenges facing his Order, Humbert does not adopt an especially authoritarian approach, repeatedly opting for exhortation instead.[292] As discussed, he also carefully delineates the

[291] *Exp. reg.*, clxxv (p. 533).
[292] A feature of Humbert's and the Order's early governance that, depending on one's perspective, may have also created a number of challenges. See Vargas, *Taming a Brood of Vipers*, 148, 258.

limits of obedience and how dubious situations might be resolved. Above all, Humbert seems concerned with the proper and orderly functioning of the Order's social and organisational structures, more than simply bolstering the power of superiors. In such a system, at least ideally, true conflicts of obedience would be rather rare since all parties would understand their particular roles in service of the mission. Ultimately, Humbert desires that both superiors and subjects carry out their respective tasks smoothly and with clarity about what is required. In short, while Humbert's discourse on religious life may be rather totalizing, it is not totalitarian in its vision or methods of implementation.[293]

4.7.3 The Relative Authority of the Rule

Early in the *Expositio*, Humbert considers the question of the *Rule's* binding force.[294] His comments give every impression that this was a delicate and uncertain matter, at least regarding various particular questions. Despite its relative brevity, not every provision of the fourth-century *Rule* was equally practical for a thirteenth-century community of preachers. Moreover, as discussed above, the *Rule* existed alongside the Order's *Constitutions*, which had their own legal framework and language. The writing of the *Expositio* thus provided an opportunity to address lingering questions about the *Rule's* real authority—an opportunity that Humbert seized upon.

To some extent, Humbert had already addressed the binding character of the *Rule* in his *Commentary on the Constitutions*. There he argued that a violation of the *Rule*, all things being equal, was more serious than a violation of the *Constitutions* since the *Rule* had greater authority.[295] Moreover, since at least the General Chapter of 1236, the Order's *Constitutions* had been understood to bind only 'under penalty of law' (*ad poenam*) rather

[293] For monastic or religious life as a totalizing world, see B. Layton, 'Rules, Patterns, and the Exercise of Power in Shenoute's Monastery: The Problem of World Replacement and Identity Maintenance', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 15/1 (2007), 59.
[294] *Exp. reg*., xii (pp. 62–66).
[295] *Exp. Const*., 1 (p. 114)

than ‘under sin’ (*ad culpam*), with the exception of violations carried out ‘in contempt’ or in regard to a ‘precept’.[296] Humbert thus argues for the primacy of the *Rule* and upholds the potential of Augustine’s *Rule* to bind under grave sin, unlike the *Constitutions,* placing it above the latter in terms of relative authority.

Yet, while Humbert upholds this general principle in his *Commentary on the Constitutions*, he uses the twelfth chapter of the *Expositio* to take up the specific question of whether everything in the *Rule* binds ‘as a precept’—that is, under sin—rather than simply as a counsel or norm that might result in an external penalty. As he occasionally does elsewhere in the *Expositio*, Humbert’s writing style shifts at this point to resemble a scholastic *quaestio*.[297] He begins by presenting a position that he does not hold, then brings forth the opposing arguments, and finally mediates between them. The language he uses to introduce the first position, i.e., ‘*videtur quod sic*’ (it seems so), followed by his introduction of the opposing arguments with ‘[*sed*] *contra*’ (but on the contrary), along with his use of ‘*respondeo*’ (I respond), are common stock-phrases of scholastic discourse used to organise dialectical arguments. Again, one can see hints of Humbert’s background training in canon law from the university of Paris. Indeed, he appears to naturally adopt this mode of writing whenever he engages certain topics that touch on matters of law. While this raises interesting questions about his own thought processes, it raises even more interesting questions about how the *Expositio* was received by its audience. While generally

[296] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Paris, 1236), 8. Humbert argues that the *Constitutions* had been understood to apply *ad poenam* rather than *ad culpam* from the earliest days of the Order and reflected the original intentions of Dominic himself. See *Exp. const.*, 13 (p. 154); Tugwell, ‘Dominican Structures of Government III’, 62. Vargas’ remark that this applied to both the *Rule* and the *Constitutions* seems directly at odds with Humbert’s discussion in chapter twelve of the *Expositio* and the actual text of 1236 General Chapter, which speaks only of ‘*constitutiones notr*[*a*]*e*’; cf. Vargas, *Taming a Brood of Vipers*, 256. For further consideration of the legislation distinguishing ‘*ad poenam*’ from ‘*ad culpam*’ among Dominicans, see G.G. Meersseman, ‘La loi purement pénale d’après les statuts des confréries médiévales’, in *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck*, 2 vols (Gembloux, 1951), II, 975–1002.

[297] Although discussed in many places, an excellent introduction to shape and form of this style of argument can be found in J. Marenbon, ‘The Form and Later Development of the *Quaestio*’, in *Later Medieval Philosophy (1150-1350)* (London, 1987), 27–34.

a work of exhortation, the shift into scholastic modes of discourse on legal questions implies that these sections may have had impacted the reader/listener rather differently. While Humbert sometimes explicitly states that he is offering only his opinion, the informed opinion of a trained canonist presented in scholastic form—let alone one who held the highest rank in the Order—must surely have carried more force than a mere exhortation.[298]

In his answer to the question itself, Humbert provides a rather fascinating hermeneutic for the appropriation of the *Rule* by the friars. He argues that if the text of the *Rule* always bound under precept, the friars would sin mortally whenever they failed to act according to the text, which would include a great many things. Humbert uses the example of a brother who fails to consider inwardly the psalm that he sings aloud—presumably a common shortcoming given the great quantity of psalmody found in the Order's liturgical books. Humbert considers it unreasonable to maintain that every failure to observe the *Rule's* (affirmative) command concerning meditation on the psalms was mortally sinful.[299] Yet he also rejects the view that only the 'negative' commands bind under sin since this would still render guilty anyone who went somewhere without a companion or who used the oratory for a purpose other than prayer.[300] He argues 'this would be a cruelty'.[301] This also implies, of course, that these things happened with at least some frequency.

In examining possible solutions to the problem, Humbert explicitly excludes the view that the *Rule* only binds under precept when a superior explicitly issues a command

[298] Although, one must also readily note that Humbert's exhortations were rarely ever 'mere exhortations' since they were often joined with considerable chains of authorities and *exempla*. Nonetheless, the change in style could not have been lost on the reader (or hearer). Note too that Humbert, who was certainly not a speculative thinker when it came to matters of theology, also shows a willingness to engage in speculation on canonical matters through the use of the *quaestio* format.
[299] See *Praeceptum*, ii.3. Note that the question here is whether these behaviours are viewed as sinful. This is distinct from whether they are listed as faults in the *Constitutions* and subject to penalties, as failures to externally observe the correct way of reciting/singing the divine office and some of the behaviours discussed by Humbert clearly are. See 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 56–60.
[300] See *Praeceptum*, ii.2, iv. 2.
[301] *Exp. reg.*, xii (pp. 62-63).

according to the *Rule*. This, Humbert realised, would subordinate the *Rule* to the superior's will and strip it of all force of its own—a view he declares to be 'manifestly false'.[302] Ultimately, Humbert proceeds through many different permutations of these arguments and arrives at a solution derived (he claims) from the Gospels. According to Humbert, in the Gospels, the language of precept sometimes indicates that one intends to actually give a precept, e.g., 'this is my commandment'. But at other times precepts are given without such a precise formula. Moreover, commands are sometimes given 'in the manner of a precept' when only a strong exhortation is intended.[303] Humbert argues that the language of the *Rule* works similarly. This approach raises significant questions about how one might tell the difference between a precept and an exhortation (or counsel) if verbal formulas (e.g., '*praecipimus*') cannot always be taken as signalling the difference. Such a situation, he notes, would seem to be the cause of many scruples.[304]

Accordingly, Humbert offers the following criteria to help discern what binds under sin and what does not:

> If indeed it is asked how these are to be distinguished and known, I answer: by reason. For reason ... is able to judge easily what a wise man intends to oblige the followers of his rule ... Therefore, in the Divine Scripture, in places where Scripture speaks in a uniform manner, we are wisely taught by reason and doctrine what are precepts and what are counsels or simple exhortations, and so also in this work.[305]

This hermeneutic makes clear that (for Humbert) the verbal formulas found in the *Rule* are not sufficient in themselves for interpreting their binding character. This is a far cry from the perspective of Francis of Assisi, discussed above in 4.4.1, who insisted that his own rule was entirely intelligible from its simple language and should therefore always be

[302] *Exp. reg.*, xii (p. 63).
[303] Humbert cites Mk 7:36 as an example of a precept that does not bind under grave sin. In that passage, Jesus charges the deaf mute not to tell anyone about his miraculously healing. Humbert thinks that no one could possibly hold that Jesus intended to bind the person under grave sin not to preach about the miracle. *Exp. reg.*, xii (pp. 63–64).
[304] *Exp. reg.,* xii (p. 64).
[305] *Exp. reg.*, xii (p. 65).

presented '*sine glossa*' (without gloss). Instead, Humbert compares Augustine's *Rule* to Scripture, the *most* glossed of any text, and makes clear that reason, teaching (doctrine), and grace are needed to distinguish the binding character of the *Rule's* norms. This, in turn, opens wide the door for commentary and tradition to play a major role since being 'wisely taught by reason and doctrine' implies some ongoing, communal effort to establish the meaning of the text—one that is handed down and perhaps debated. And on that score, Humbert himself undertook precisely this project. Given his perspective on the insufficiency of the *Rule* to interpret itself, the potential impact of written commentaries could not have been lost on him.

Along with providing a framework for establishing the *Rule's* binding character, Humbert's *Expositio* also considers the practice of dispensation. Various scholars have noted the innovative use of dispensation by Dominicans, including how it became institutionalised as an ordinary tool of governance and how it was used to facilitate study and the Order's preaching mission.[306] Building on ideas already discernible in 1216, the legislation of the General Chapter of 1220 thoroughly incorporated into the Order's *Constitutions* the power of superiors to dispense their subjects for just reasons, most especially in regard to study and preaching.[307] Augustine's *Rule*, on the other hand, never specifically mentions the concept of dispensation. One might infer that the superior mentioned in the *Rule* had the authority to relax certain provisions, but the text itself never gives an explicit warrant for this. In fact, according to the *Rule*, the superior must ensure that 'all these [commands] are kept, and if they are not kept, that this is not negligently

[306] Van Engen, 'From Canons to Preachers', 286, 289–93; F. Cygler, 'Zur Funktionalität der dominikanischen Verfassung im Mittelalter', in *Die Bettelorden im Aufbau*, ed. by G. Melville and J. Oberste (Münster, 1999), 400–405.
[307] *Constitutiones antiquae*, prologus, ln. 12–20 (p. 311), d. I, c. vi (p. 317), d. II, ch. xxix (p. 362); Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, I, 83–84, 170; Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 17–18, 38–39.

overlooked but corrected and punished'.[308] Although Humbert employs considerable verbiage to exhort the friars to observe the *Rule*, he declares very early in the *Expositio* that the '*Rule* sometimes admits dispensation', harmonising it with how the friars approached their *Constitutions*.[309] His basis for this assertion, which he puts forward with uncharacteristic brevity, hangs on a single analogy:

> As in the knowledge of a skill [*in scientiis*] a rule teaches the art to be known, so this work [of Augustine] teaches the art of living. And, as one governs oneself through a rule in a skill, so through this work one governs oneself in life. And thus, as a rule has exceptions, so sometimes [this] rule admits dispensation.[310]

By Humbert's era, the Friars Preachers had fully embraced the concept of dispensation as an integral part of their governance. His choice of an analogy, however, is fascinating. Like a painter or sculptor who knows the principles of their craft and yet also knows when to depart from them to achieve the best results, Humbert implies that living a religious life is more akin to an art or a skill than to the unfailing or meticulous observance of instructions. One wonders whether such an analogy would have been so easily made in the post-Tridentine period or even in other religious communities founded on upholding strict observance. In any case, Humbert seems to take it almost for granted that the *Rule* must admit of exceptions since it concerns human activity. Of course, matters pertaining to Christian morality are not under consideration here, nor is Humbert granting that individual friars may exempt themselves—note Humbert's careful shift from the language of 'exception' to 'dispensation' in the analogy above. Yet Humbert nevertheless establishes a strong rationale for granting dispensations when useful. This necessarily places a great deal of trust in the judgment of superiors. And, in fact, Humbert treats of dispensation repeatedly throughout the *Expositio* in order to offer additional principles and guidance—something which can also be seen throughout the Order's General and Provincial Chapters during this

[308] *Praeceptum*, vii.2. Translation mine.
[309] *Exp. reg.*, vii (p. 56).
[310] *Exp. reg.*, vii (p. 56).

time.[311] Nevertheless, in those cases where local superiors had the authority to dispense, the responsibility for ensuring the observance of the *Constitutions* and for determining when uniformity should be relaxed in particular cases fell to them. One can therefore see why Humbert may have thought it especially important to address the topic of dispensation at length in the *Expositio* and thus to help form superiors according to his own mind on the matter.

Considered in its totality, Humbert's approach to the relative authority of the *Rule* aims to avoid two extremes. In one scenario, the *Rule* would lack any legal force and would serve only an exhortative role. In another scenario, the *Rule* would bind invariably under sin and thus present more spiritual risks than helps for salvation.[312] Humbert provides, therefore, a hermeneutic that seeks to resolve these concerns and harmonise the *Rule* with the actual practice of the Order, which had the added benefit of making the Order's retention of the *Rule* easier to defend. From a social and organisational perspective, Humbert's approach (including his support for the power of dispensation) had the additional advantage of relativising several of the *Rule's* more difficult provisions—particularly those that seem at odds with the friars' preaching mission. For example, later in the *Expositio*, Humbert's method of interpretation effectively mitigates the *Rule's* limitations on borrowing books (see 4.7.7). Ultimately Humbert's desire to defend the retention of the *Rule* goes hand in hand with his enshrining of principles that (he

[311] See, among many possible examples, *Acta cap. gen*. I (Metz, 1251), 58, which states that priors should not dispense too easily from fasts; (Milan, 1255), 76, which prohibits dispensing an entire convent from a fast; (Barcelona, 1261), 109, which discourages making dispensations too easily; and (Florence, 1272), 164, which nullifies dispensations given without legitimate cause to admit novices below the approved age. Similar guidance can also be found various Provincial Chapters, e.g., in the Province of Provence, see *Acta prov. Prov.* (Montpellier, 1242), 21–22, directing priors to uphold fasting requirements rather than dispensing; (Avignon, 1245), 28, and (Toulouse, 1254), 60, both urging priors not to dispense for age or education when admitting novices; and (Montpellier, 1259), 78, directing prior not to dispense too easily from fasting on Fridays.

[312] *Exp. reg.*, xii (p. 64).

undoubtably hoped) would make the interpretation of the *Rule* less problematic going forward and even enhance its moral authority.

4.7.4 The *Expositio* and Non-Conforming[313] Behaviour

The historiographical framework operative in many nineteenth and early-twentieth century histories of the Friars Preachers—perhaps especially those written by friars themselves—tended to portray the thirteenth century as the 'golden age' of the Order's flourishing, followed by cycles of decline and reform.[314] This narrative arc, which is a motif common to many religious order histories, has been increasingly challenged by contemporary scholarship as overly simplistic.[315] In the shifting historiographical sands of more contemporary scholarship, Humbert's *Expositio* offers an important object of study since it was written during the supposed 'golden age' of the thirteenth century and yet repeatedly highlights the disorder and nonconforming behaviour that existed among the friars. Although certainly not classifiable as a reformer, Humbert's work occasionally reads like a call for reform—albeit of a moral (behavioural) character rather than a structural one—at the very moment when the Order was supposedly in its first flourishing. Accordingly, Humbert's *Expositio* raises real questions about how much non-compliance with norms and legislation simultaneously coexisted with the Order's growth and success. The *Expositio* may also point, as already suggested, to the external pressures confronting the Order, inspiring Humbert to respond by advocating for greater self-policing and for avoiding any behaviour that might give rise to scandal (see 4.7.5).

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[313] I have opted for the word 'non-conforming' to describe behaviour that Humbert characterises in more moral terms as disobedient or sinful. While almost any adjective runs the risk of suggesting some degree of moral judgment, the use of the term 'non-conforming' is an attempt to avoid adjudicating between Humbert and those friars who did not conform to *Humbert's* expectations (or perhaps share them!) in regard to the proper way to observe the Order's mode of life.

[314] For an excellent analysis of the relevant Dominican historiography and a critique of this 'inherited narrative', see Vargas, *Taming a Brood of Vipers*, 6–22; also his earlier, 'How a "Brood of Vipers" Survived the Black Death: Recovery and Dysfunction in the Fourteenth-Century Dominican Order', *Speculum*, 86/3 (2011), 688–714; and 'Weak Obedience', 285–86; see also Huijbers, *Zealots for Souls*, 7–8.

[315] Vargas, *Taming a Brood of Vipers*, 16.

In either case, examples of the nonconforming behaviour abound in the *Expositio*. While complaints about lazy, drunken, or gluttonous friars are common among many medieval authors, the *Expositio* does not simply offer examples of such behaviour for ridicule, but rather as evidence that such behaviour directly impaired the Order's mission and successful functioning. For example, with regard to obedience, Humbert writes:

> There are friars who make themselves so obstinate against obeying their superiors that their superiors are greatly exhausted by them before they can move them to do anything, just as one carrying stones struggles with them... there are others who expect long discussions before they obey...there are others who are always found to be unready, deferring the time when they will obey, saying they must first do this or that...there are others who indeed obey, but they complain while they follow the command...there are others who when asked to do something displeasing twist the intention and judge that the command was given with evil intent...there are others who behave in such a manner that no superior dares to give them a burden, like an untamed horse that bites and kicks.[316]

This passage, which is hardly unique, belies any suggestion that the friars' early success was the result of their having achieved perfect 'unity of mind and heart' as envisioned in Augustine's *Rule*. Instead, it offers a far more variegated picture of the early Order, where corporate success and communal friction often coexisted. Even if one holds that Humbert was trying to provide a thorough list of possible vices, the vividness of his descriptions here and elsewhere suggests these were not merely hypothetical constructs—a point readily confirmed by the *acta* of Provincial and General Chapters.[317]

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[316] *Exp. reg.*, clxxv (pp. 535-38).

[317] An exhaustive list is impossible here, but an abundance of *acta* from General and (especially) Provincial Chapters include penances imposed on individual friars for various infractions against the Order's laws. Examples from Humbert's years in office include *Acta cap. gen.* I (Milan, 1255), 77, which penalised several friars who expended money by bringing others (possibly servants) to the Chapter contrary to the law; (Barcelona, 1261), 110–11, which imposed several penances on friars and removed the Prior Provincial of England because he had refused to accept foreign students at Oxford; *Acta prov. Romanae* (Florence, 1254), 18, which imposed penances on two visitators for neglecting aspects of their office; (Rome, 1259), 24, which gave significant penances to a prior who had received back into his convent (without permission of his Provincial) friars who had previously left and apostatised; and *Acta prov. Prov* (Narbonne, 1262), 94, which penanced the prior of Limoges by requiring him to fast on bread and wine for three days, say three masses, and recite the whole psalter, but without specifically naming his fault. While these are only a handful of the many examples of individual disciplinary actions in the *acta*, many Chapters also imposed more general penances that applied to anyone who might have committed a particular act, presumably seeking to help prevent a particularly problematic behaviour from reoccurring. For example, *Acta prov. Prov*. (Toulouse, 1254), 62, imposed a penance of fasting for one day on bread and water on any friar in the previous year who went from one convent to another without appropriate testimonial letters—

Repeatedly, Humbert lays bare in the *Expositio* the disjunction between certain friars' behaviour, which he saw as inconsistent or even criminal, and the unity and uniformity described in the *Rule*. Along with the descriptions above, one can find numerous passages in the *Expositio* where Humbert highlights how the Order's 'common' observances failed to be observed by all. The 'midnight office' of Matins, for example, has often been presented in secondary literature (and, indeed, by Humbert himself) as a signature practice and penance of the early Dominicans.[318] Yet Humbert bitingly remarks, 'there are some who scarcely ever rise for Matins, but find fabricated reasons to almost always remain away, as if it sufficed for them to be present at the divine praises only during the daytime'.[319] Given that corporate worship in a religious community served not only a latrial function but also a unitive one, fostering and manifesting social cohesion, habitual absences from a major portion of that worship would have undermined this. Humbert similarly mentions regular absences from morning prayer (*lauds*) and the late-evening office (*compline*).[320] Again, when combined with the other nonconforming behaviours described in the *Expositio* and in the various *acta* of the Provincial and General Chapters, one sees a far more variegated picture of the Order's 'golden age' than typically presented.

Along the same lines, Humbert dedicates an entire chapter in the *Expositio* to 'restless brethren' (*fratres inquieti*) who not only fail to be disciplined in their personal lives but also routinely disrupt the lives of others:

> These types of friars are like flies, which are restless animals. At one moment they alight upon one person and then upon another, and so they make their rounds among many, bothering them all. At one moment they scandalise one man, then they argue with another; they make fun of one person, then they provoke another, and so forth.[321]

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and also on the prior who sent them. Examples of these more generalised penances in the various *acta* are abundant.

[318] Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, I, 349–50; Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy*, 134–42. *Exp. reg.*, xlvii (p. 158).

[319] *Exp. reg.*, xlvii (p. 158).

[320] *Exp. reg.*, xlviii, xlix (pp. 161–65).

[321] *Exp. reg.*, clxxxiv (p. 561).

Nor was Humbert alone in referring to *frates inquieti*. Rather, the phrase already appears in the legislation of the General Chapter of 1238, which expressed itself rather succinctly on the topic by saying: 'We wish that jails be constructed for restraining apostates and restless brethren.'[322] While Humbert employs the phrase to refer to relatively minor social annoyances, imprisonment itself was reserved for the most serious non-conforming behaviour, of which apostacy was the gravest.[323] While the existence of 'restless brethren' of varying degrees may not be surprising, it points to the challenges that existed for Humbert and others in authority who sought achieve greater conformity and consistency in the behaviour of the friars during a time of rapid growth. In fact, during this same period the Order also repeatedly received correction from the Holy See about its tendency to rapidly admit new members to solemn vows, even without completing a full novitiate.[324] Moreover, rivalry between the Dominicans and Franciscans had contributed to the admission of ever-larger numbers, leading the pope to intervene directly in 1244 with the bull *Non solum in favorem* to require a one-year novitiate rather than six months for both Dominicans and Franciscans, although the Dominicans took several years to integrate this into their own legislation.[325] Not infrequently, General and Provincial Chapters urged priors to respect the Order's emerging legislation requiring that novices be eighteen years of age and possessed of a certain degree of learning and/or aptitude, although leeway for

[322] *Acta cap. gen*. I (Paris, 1238), 10.
[323] In addition to the relevant passages in the *Constitutions*, i.e., 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 58–60, a preliminary study of Dominican imprisonment legislation has been carried out by W. Hoyer, '*Volumus ut carceres fiant*: Medieval Dominican Legislation on Detention and Imprisonment', in *Making and Breaking the Rules: Discussion, Implementation, and Consequences of Dominican Legislation*, ed. by C. Linde (Oxford, 2018), 323–47, with 329-43 focusing on crimes resulting in imprisonment.
[324] Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, I, 294–99; S. Tugwell, 'Dominican Profession in the Thirteenth Century', *AFP*, 53 (1983), 12–15.
[325] BOP I, 144; See discussion in Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 82–83. As Mulchahey notes, the new requirement was only a change for the Dominicans and the integration of this papal directive into the Order's legislation began (and proceeded unevenly) with the General Chapter of 1250.

dispensation was also granted by certain Chapters.[326] In this period of swift growth and still-stabilising admission practices, friars sometimes discovered only after professing solemn vows that they were not capable or desirous of living a religious life according to the *Rule* and *Constitutions*. Humbert offers numerous, often unsparingly realistic observations about seemingly ill-disposed brethren and how they could disrupt the social functioning of the community. Consider, for example, his remark about friars who refuse to accept certain travelling companions:

> For there are some who do not wish to be with very religious men since they are not able to put up with so much religion, which is a kind of burden for them.[327]

Humbert's remark startles not simply because of its bluntness but also because it discloses the presence of friars in the Order who were ill at ease with the behaviour of 'very religious men', thus suggesting rather varied levels of religious commitment (or at least behaviour) among professed members.

One can locate many other examples in the *Expositio* of dissonance within the life of the Order, but the overall impression given by the *Expositio* remains the same: nonconforming behaviour among thirteenth-century friars was more common than the 'inherited historical narrative' suggests. The many Provincial *acta* that also include penances and disciplinary actions taken against various friars lend support to this as well, but especially those that include disciplinary actions taken against those responsible for

[326] *Acta cap. gen*. I (Bologna, 1240), 17; (Florence, 1272), 164; (Bordeaux, 1277), 191. In addition, for permission to admit younger than eighteen, see the legislation in *Acta cap. gen*. I (Montpellier, 1265), 129. Similar legislation abounds in the Provincial Chapters, which sometimes provides greater detail about the particular circumstances and cases occurring in those regions. See, for example, *Acta prov. Romanae* (Rome, 1244), 3; (Rome, 1246), 5–6; (Orvieto, 1250), 10–11; (Florence, 1254), 17; (Viterbo, 1258), 22; (Naples, 1260), 24; *Acta prov. Prov.* (Avignon, 1245), 28; (Narbonne, 1250), 40; (Montpellier, 1252), 48; (Limoges, 1253), 55–56; (Toulouse, 1254), 61; (Marseille, 1260), 81; (Toulouse, 1263), 100; (Limoges, 1266), 117; (Beziers, 1269), 143; (Sisteron, 1270), 146; (Narbonne, 1272), 161; (Agen, 1276), 203–5; *Acta prov. Lombardiae* (Ferrara, 1256), 140; (Genoa, 1266), 143; (Mantua, 1268), 146; (Faenza, 1273), 151. These examples are representative, not exhaustive, and do not include legislation aimed at eliminating the promotion of friars to sacred orders below the recommended age or the admission of former apostates or members of other religious communities to the novitiate. Regarding admission legislation and related developments, Mulchahey provides an extremely helpful narrative overview. See *First the Bow Is Bent*, 83–85.

[327] *Exp. reg.*, cxxv (p. 407).

helping to ensure conformity to the *Constitutions*.[328] Yet the *Expositio's* real value lies not only in the examples that it offers of nonconforming behaviour—examples admittedly shaped by Humbert's own rhetorical strategies—but rather how it showcases Humbert's response to nonconformity in the community. The *Expositio*, like Humbert's *De tribus* and his encyclical letters, forms part of his answer to the Order's challenges (both internal and external)—one focused on the social formation of the friars.

In response to unruly behaviour, Humbert directs that superiors must be firm in giving correction, dedicating chapter 183 to this subject. He vigorously criticises superiors who are slow or negligent to correct, comparing them to princes who have a sword carried before them in procession but who will never use it.[329] He describes a certain type of superior who never wishes to hear about the faults of his subjects or who is irritated when told that his subjects should be corrected. Such superiors, Humbert writes, 'desire to conceal everything'.[330] Humbert explores, rather fascinatingly, the psychology of such superiors, who ought to be moved by legitimate anger to take action but 'who never use their irascible power in the service of the good' and instead 'bear everything with a certain foolish patience, as though they had no feelings'.[331] As an excuse for their unwillingness to correct, they rationalise their situation by saying it is better to rule with kindness than with strictness and with love rather than fear. Yet while Humbert says that this will work for some subjects ('the better ones'), he adds that the greater number (*plures*) need to be

[328] See n. 317 above for penalties and disciplinary actions in general. However, to give merely one additional example that hints at broader problems, the 1254 Provincial Chapter of the Roman Province imposed a penance of three days of fasting on bread and water and three receptions of 'the discipline' (strikes with a whip) on fr. Frugerio for 'completely neglecting' to carry out the office of visitator—thus indicating he himself had responsibility for helping to ensure conformity among the friars to the *Rule* and *Constitutions*. The same Chapter also penanced fr. Bonaiuto, another visitator, for failing to communicate in writing about the state of the community he had visited. *Acta prov. Romanae* (Florence, 1254), 17–18. While one can also find various examples of priors receiving penances (as also noted in n. 317 above), penances imposed on visitators suggests that the self-correcting mechanisms of the Order's life did not always function perfectly either.
[329] *Exp. reg.*, clxxxiii (p. 557).
[330] *Exp. reg.*, clxxxiii (p. 558).
[331] *Exp. reg.*, clxxxiii (p. 558).

corrected with fear to change their behaviour.[332] Humbert repeats this same claim later in the *Expositio,* attributing it to Augustine in both instances.[333] It shows, among other things, that Humbert does not presume a virtuous community. Rather, he views the community as composed of friars with varying dispositions and temperaments who often need to be induced by external factors to change their habits.

One must be careful, however, not to draw the wrong conclusion about Humbert's approach to leadership from his observations about negligent superiors. While he clearly wishes to see the friars formed in certain modes of behaviour, his advice to superiors can sometimes seem contradictory. On one hand, he takes a rather aggressive stance in chapter 183 when suggesting superiors ought to be vigilant in giving correction. He does the same in chapters 191 and 192 when he argues that superiors should not be too soft (*mollis*) towards their subjects and that it is necessary for a superior to be feared. On the other hand, he argues in chapter 193 that a superior should take greater care to be loved rather than feared, even while affirming the necessity of the latter.[334] He also enjoins superiors, across the span of several chapters, to show patience towards their subjects (as noted earlier), treating the weak with kindness (including those who suffer from lust, doubt, a bad temperament, and fickleness), and offering regular encouragement rather than excessive strictness in their words.[335] He sharply criticises superiors who only offer correction and never encouragement: 'such superiors do not have anything in their ark except the rod of correction and the tablets of the commandments, while in the ark of God there was also manna, which was sweet.'[336] Showing a keen sense of human nature, Humbert also argues that such strictness will produce many undesired effects, such as leading some friars to

[332] *Exp. reg.*, clxxxiii (p. 558). See Augustine, *Ep.* 185 (*De correctione Donatistarum*), 21.
[333] *Exp. reg.*, cxcii (p. 586).
[334] *Exp. reg.*, cxciii (pp. 587–88).
[335] *Exp. reg.*, clxxxv–clxxxviii (pp. 565–76).
[336] *Exp. reg.*, clxxxv (p. 566).

abandon good works, or inducing them to depart from the Order, or driving some to despair. Others, he notes, may contemplate harming the superior.[337] And, as the Provincial *acta* record, this sometimes took place.[338]

Concerning a superior's use of punishment, Humbert clearly holds that punishment has a role in correcting people's behaviour, but preferably not in ways that increase the danger of sin by relying too heavily on formal precepts (which bind under sin). Synthesising Humbert's advice for superiors into a simple framework presents certain difficulties. Humbert, like many medieval thinkers, believed that a virtuous mean existed between extremes—in this case, between a superior's excessive strictness and laxity. How this should look in practice, however, cannot always be deduced from Humbert's words.[339] The *Expositio* itself relies heavily on exhortations and does not generally indicate specific punishments for specific infractions—one finds such specificity much more readily in the Order's *Constitutions* and various *acta*.[340] Rather, insofar as it seeks to train superiors, the *Expositio* can be likened to a tradition of practical wisdom that intends to hand on good advice about human nature and how one might influence others. At root, it aims to describe what types of people superiors (and subjects) ought to be, aware that the example one gives will also have an important impact: '[for] the superior is like a manuscript from which other books are transcribed.'[341]

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[337] *Exp. reg.*, clxxxv (pp. 566–67).
[338] For example, the Roman Provincial Chapter of 1253 expelled a friar who beat his prior in the face with a rock in the night (*Acta prov. Romanae* [Rome, 1253], 14), although it seems that simply undermining or speaking against the prior was the more common response, e.g., *Acta prov. Prov*. (Toulouse, 1263), 100; *Acta cap. gen*. I (Bordeaux, 1287), 241.
[339] This is not to say, however, that we do not have any idea what was actually done in certain cases. As noted above, the *acta* of the General and Provincial Chapters, do provide records of particular penances and disciplinary actions that were imposed.
[340] Aside from the specific cases in the various *acta* already discussed, the Order's *Constitutions* provided detailed lists of faults according to gravity, sometimes with information as to what punishments would be appropriate. For the relevant sections of the *Constitutions* edited under Humbert in 1256, see 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 56–60.
[341] *Exp. reg*., clxxxii (p.

While Humbert's exhortations to superiors may aim at forming virtuous leaders, often leaving the precise details of the penalties they should impose to the Order's proper legislation, one notable exception concerns expulsion from the Order. On this topic, Humbert offers several clear examples of what can (or cannot) serve as grounds for dismissal, although legislation in the Order's *Constitutions* (including those edited by Humbert) also address this same question.[342] Humbert considers expulsion (*expulsio*) to be the greatest of penalties that can be imposed on a friar, exceeding any other penance or punishment that might be inflicted, which accords with the order of faults and punishments given in the *Constitutions*.[343] Despite Humbert's vigour in urging correction and his desire to achieve greater uniformity and social cohesion, he treats expulsion as something to be imposed only under highly limited circumstances. Indeed, Humbert surprises in his willingness to tolerate nonconforming behaviour without endorsing expulsion:

> Other approved religious orders have the practice of expelling thieves, murders, and sodomites. The first because they cause harm to property, the second because they do the same to bodies, and the third to souls. *But this is not to be approved* unless there is no probable hope about their correction. One is then taken to be incorrigible. Therefore, only for incorrigibility should one be expelled, whether true incorrigibility, as when one refuses penance, or presumed incorrigibility, as in the cases discussed...[344]

While perhaps unexpected given his focus on uniformity and social cohesion, Humbert's willingness to permit even those guilty of murder to remain in the Order reveals an important aspect of how he understood the nature of religious life. Inherent to the nature of religious life was the conversion of sinners. Therefore, expelling repentant sinners ran contrary to the *raison d'être* of religious life in general and Humbert's religious instincts. For Humbert, the question does not depend on the severity of the sin but rather on 'incorrigibility' (*incorrigibilitas*). Those who acknowledged their sinfulness and embraced

[342] 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 59–60.
[343] *Exp. reg.*, cv (p. 339); 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 59–60.
[344] *Exp. reg.*, cv (pp. 339–40). Emphasis added. I have translated Humbert's use of *sodomita* as sodomite because it conveys the pejorative sense that is present in the original text.

penance were ‘correctable’ or ‘corrigible’, while those who refused penance or showed no willingness to change were ‘incorrigible’.

Humbert’s linking of expulsion with incorrigibility aligns with the language of the Order’s *Constitutions*, going back to its earliest versions, and indeed with the directive concerning expulsion in Augustine’s *Rule*.[345] Yet Humbert expands upon this by clarifying what constitutes incorrigibility and discussing the possible attendant circumstances in much greater detail. For example, while a refusal to do penance was manifest proof of incorrigibility (i.e., ‘true incorrigibility’), other cases required careful discernment by superiors. Humbert discusses, for example, the case of someone who commits offensive acts repeatedly, but who is always willing to do penance. He states they cannot be expelled for their actions alone since they are willing to do penance, but that repeated actions contribute to a presumption against their sincerity (i.e., ‘presumed incorrigibility’). Thus, Humbert allows such recidivists to be either sequestered (i.e., imprisoned) or, once incorrigibility seems established, eventually expelled. Even here, however, Humbert makes several distinctions, noting that the person should not be expelled if they are likely to do damage to others (either to property, persons, or souls). This offers some insight into how Humbert viewed the Order in relation to the larger society, given that he hesitates to unload problematic individuals on the outside world as though the larger population were a reality disconnected from the Order. Rather, in these cases and in others, Humbert enjoins sequestration or, if this is truly impossible, recourse to the assistance of a higher authority.[346]

Humbert not only prohibits expulsion beyond a limited number of situations, he also shows a surprising willingness to readmit previously expelled members who have

[345] See ‘Liber constitutionum (1256)’, 59–60; cf. *Constitutiones antiquae*, d. I, c. xxv (p. 339); cf. *Praeceptum*, iv.9.
[346] *Exp. reg.*, cv (p. 340).

repented. Here too the question turns on incorrigibility and whether the individual appears capable of and willing to change. Interestingly, Humbert also considers the possibility that some former friars who are incapable of change may wish to return solely as imprisoned members (*ad carcerem*).[347] The viability of this situation depended on the facilities available at the priory, but as noted, Humbert generally favours imprisonment over dispersing unruly individuals in the larger community. Accordingly, he notes that imprisonment limits the harm an individual might cause. A readmitted friar living as an imprisoned member would not be permitted to wear the habit, but Humbert leaves open the possibility that such an individual might eventually undergo a conversion and return to the life of the community in the future.[348]

Dominican legislation on imprisonment has only recently become a topic of scholarly interest and Humbert's remarks in the *Expositio* have not yet received any attention in this regard.[349] Concerning the Order's legislation, W. Hoyer observes that prior to 1238 imprisonment was not among the penalties given in the Order's *Constitutions*.[350] Yet Humbert's willingness to embrace this possibility in the *Expositio* may not be entirely surprising given that he seems highly attentive to the prospect of rehabilitation and also cognisant of the common good beyond the cloister. At the same time, there are reasons to believe Humbert did have reservations about the excessive use of imprisonment. The admonitions added under Humbert to the *acta* of the 1258 General Chapter direct the Prouille convent not to incarcerate its members too easily—suggesting that the penalty had

[347] *Exp. reg.*, cv (p. 341). For a consideration of jails as a standard feature of priory architecture, see W.A. Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers* (Rome, 1951), 198–99; G. Geltner, 'Brethren Behaving Badly: A Deviant Approach to Medieval Antifraternalism', *Speculum*, 85/1 (2010), 57 n. 43.
[348] *Exp. reg.*, cv (p. 341).
[349] The first focused exploration of imprisonment among Dominicans is the article by Hoyer, 'Volumus ut carceres fiant', 323–47. Hoyer also includes a useful list of recent works on imprisonment as a punishment in the Middle Ages, including in clerical and monastic contexts (see p. 323 n. 1).
[350] Hoyer, 'Volumus ut carceres fiant', 324. As noted earlier, the 1238 General Chapter requested the construction of jails. See *Acta cap. gen*. I (Paris, 1238), 10.

been imposed more readily in that location than Humbert thought appropriate.[351] This too seems consistent with the general tenor of Humbert's remarks in the *Expositio*, which prefer incarceration to expulsion in certain cases, but which are always given in the context of matters considered extremely grave.

Although clearly in use before the 1270s, it was through a series of actions by the General Chapters of 1273, 1274, 1275, and 1276 that the Order's *Constitutions* were modified in a more permanent way so that imprisonment became a legally stable option for the gravest of faults throughout the Order.[352] Humbert was out of office as Master by this point, but his *Expositio* may provide something of a bridge in tracing this legislative development. For while Augustine's *Rule* and the earliest *Constitutions* only discussed expulsion and lacked any mention of sequestration/imprisonment, the revised (post-1276) *Constitutions* provided this as an additional option to superiors, thus allowing for greater flexibility depending on circumstances—precisely the kind of graduated approach advocated in the *Expositio*.

Humbert's often strong invectives against nonconforming behaviour must ultimately be read alongside (and perhaps in tension with) his willingness to retain problematic members and even readmit those who had been expelled. While Humbert consistently stresses corporate uniformity in the *Expositio*, his emphasis on forming a harmonious society did not express itself in the ready expulsion of friars. Rather, Humbert repeatedly urges superiors toward patience and directs them to employ options that leave open the possibility of personal transformation. His hesitation in expelling unruly members

[351] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Toulouse, 1258), 94: 'Quod apud Prulianum non mittantur amodo fratres de facili in carcerem.'; Hoyer, 'Volumus ut carceres fiant', 327.
[352] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Pest, 1273), 169; (Lyon, 1274), 173; (Bologna, 1275), 179; and (Paris, 1276), 183. Dominican legislation required the approval of three Chapters to permanently modify the Order's *Constitutions*. In this case, four chapters were involved since the language used by the General Chapter of 1273 was itself modified by General Chapter of 1274. See the discussion in Hoyer, 'Volumus ut carceres fiant', 327–28.

may also be partly influenced by the realities of survival in medieval Europe, where harsh challenges might follow from the loss of one's network of social relationships. Also, while he does not mention it directly, the challenge of antifraternalism discussed in 3.4 may also have played a role in shaping Humbert's approach to expulsion. Foisting the Order's difficult members upon the outside world might not only impose challenges upon the larger society but also haunt the Order itself by providing the Order's enemies with examples to showcase. This historical context, combined with Humbert's explicit prioritising of spiritual goods over material ones, helps to explain his willingness to keep even those guilty of murder sequestered within the priory (if penitent) rather than expel them.

More generally, Humbert's counsels to superiors and his approach to nonconforming friars hint at the interpersonal struggles that clearly took place within the social universe of the convent. Notwithstanding his criticisms of negligent superiors, Humbert—himself a superior for several decades—shows a great deal of sympathy for superiors who had to deal with grave disciplinary challenges. He mentions that some superiors, when confronted with situations they are unable to correct, are tempted to give up in despair.[353] He offers pastoral advise to such superiors and encourages them to refer the matter to their own superior, who may be better able to handle the situation or who might be able to exercise authority that they do not possess.[354] Local superiors were not infinitely powerful, but limited and sometimes weak individuals. Complementing the more dramatic examples recorded in the various *acta*, the *Expositio* offers a peek into the interlocking personal and emotional struggles of superiors and their subjects and provides another window on how medieval religious communities functioned—or failed to function—in ways that rules and constitutions do not reveal by themselves.

[353] *Exp. reg.*, clxxvi (p. 542).
[354] *Exp. reg.*, clxxvi (p. 542).

The inclusion of such advice for superiors also raises questions about the target audience of the *Expositio.* The diversity of material included in the *Expositio* suggests that Humbert assumed the work would be read (or heard) by a wide cross-section of friars. Presumably, the readers (or hearers) of the *Expositio* would find at least some sections of the work useful and attend to the passages that spoke to their particular situation. The development of indexes and the likely use of the *Expositio* as a reference book fits naturally with this (see 5.4.1). One might wonder, of course, how his particular advice for superiors and his criticisms thereof might be received by the wider population of friars. Yet by presenting such a wide-ranging set of exhortations and criticisms, each friar who read or heard the *Expositio* would have learned both how he and everyone else should (and should not) act in the complex network of the Order's social structure—at least according to Humbert. Perhaps hearing how a superior ought to act in certain cases might also induce friars of a lesser status to act differently, or help to train friars to be superiors in the future. Humbert's evident empathy toward superiors in the *Expositio* might also have provoked or at least invited some compassion toward those in charge, inducing friars to be more understanding and forgiving toward those who had authority over them.

Ultimately, Humbert approaches matters of discipline and correction through a socially formative and didactic matrix rather than a primarily punitive one. His writing suggests that his overarching goal was the formation of a virtuous culture with common goals and expectations—something that he did not presume would naturally occur. Superiors had to be vigilant in correcting faults, but at the same time, one could not achieve a unified society simply through strict laws and the expulsion of members. Rather, his instructions to superiors in the *Expositio* are probably best understood as an attempt to train them in how to bring about a conversion of mores in ordinary friars—something Humbert himself sought to accomplish throughout the Order. Humbert's writings likewise presume

the interconnectedness of the Order, both in its complex web of internal relationships and as a community embedded and linked to the good of the larger medieval world. This, in turn, offers an important key to understanding his approach not only to nonconforming members but also to the functioning of the Order in general.

4.7.5 Self-Policing, Fraternal Correction, and Friendship

To the extent the Order could police its own members and, when possible, keep its more challenging friars under wraps within their own priories rather than expelling them, the Order was in a better position to be seen as a responsible actor and less likely to be subject to public attention or backlash. Yet while Humbert's writings reflect a desire to control both public impressions and to instil certain normative values and behaviours amongst the friars, the *Expositio* must still be understood in the historical context of its time and not as the product of a later period. Therefore, while Humbert's willingness to give guidance on the minutiae of religious life might easily be termed 'micromanaging', it must be borne in mind that he micromanages in a particularly medieval way. For example, he primarily seeks to influence behaviour by exhorting the friars through rhetoric, authorities, and *exempla,* and by linking certain behaviours to spiritual benefits or punishments. He does not, on the other hand, attempt to control behaviour by promoting the centralisation of power. In fact, Humbert's vision was far more distributed than centralised. Although administratively complex by the standards of the time, the Order did not (and could not) embody the type of centralisation made possible only by newer communications methods. Such an approach to governance would have been unimaginable in the medieval world that Humbert inhabited. Rather, Humbert's world was both wide and diverse, with many interlocking levels of power relationships that nonetheless left local priories a great deal of responsibility for their own functioning, and which required them in many respects to be self-

regulating.[355] A great deal depended, therefore, on local leadership, social cohesion, and how directives that came from the General and Provincial Chapters were interpreted and implemented. The notable brevity of legislation from the General Chapters in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries attests to their more limited ambitions, especially when compared to the voluminous productions of subsequent centuries.[356] To achieve greater uniformity, Humbert therefore had to employ the means available to him rather than simply direct control and centralisation.

Beyond the exhortations to superiors discussed above, the *Expositio* shows an attentiveness to self-policing by encouraging friars not only to avoid certain behaviours but also to report themselves and others by confessing (or accusing) their faults before the community—a practice ritually carried out in the daily prioral chapter meetings and known as the 'chapter of faults' (*capitulum culparum*).[357] Humbert does not directly discuss the procedural aspects of the chapter of faults in the *Expositio*, although it is well documented in the Order's *Constitutions*.[358] Humbert does, however, describe in *De officiis* how novices—who were required to leave the daily chapter before the professed members of the community confessed their faults—were to be introduced to the practice as part of their novitiate formation.[359] Humbert also emphasises in the *Expositio* that faults brought forward by the friar himself were to be punished less severely than faults discovered or

[355] On this point, see Vargas' criticisms of early-twentieth-century historiography of the Order, which tended to (overly) stress centralisation in early Dominican government. See *Taming a Brood of Vipers*, 212–17. Vargas, however, also argues that a more centralised mode of governance did ultimately come to dominate because of the failure of this more distributed approach. See ibid., 217–47.
[356] For the General Chapters from 1220–1844, see Reichert, B.M., ed., *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 9 vols. (Rome-Stuttgart, 1899–1904).
[357] As a monastic practice, the chapter of faults predated the friars. For the standard overview of its historical development, see R. Schmitz, 'Chapitre des coulpes', *Dictionnaire de spiritualité: ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire* (Paris, 1953), cols. 483-488.
[358] *Constitutiones antiquae*, d. I, c. ii (pp. 314–15); For the relevant section of the *Constitutions* edited under Humbert, see 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 112; Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, I, 181, 354. During Humbert's era the chapter of faults took place daily, becoming progressively less frequent in subsequent centuries (ibid., 354).
[359] *De officiis*, v (p. 217).

pointed out by other friars.[360] He likewise makes two observations about the social dynamics involved: (1) that self-accusation creates far less difficulty for superiors and other brethren, who must otherwise prove the fault of someone they accuse, which can be a fractious experience; and (2) that those who accuse themselves, if treated leniently, will induce others to do the same.[361] Humbert, attentive to these dynamics, thus sought to incentivise and foster this practice of self-accusation.

While self-accusation was ideal, Humbert also envisions the community policing the behaviour of its errant brethren through other mechanisms. Within the *Rule* itself, Augustine provided a multi-step procedure for the correction of brothers who had looked lustfully at women.[362] He then added that the same procedure was to be followed for other offences, which were likewise to be 'detected, hindered, reported, convicted, and punished'.[363] While Augustine did provide, according to Humbert, a 'rational and orderly process' for addressing offences by members of the community, Humbert remarks that he did so only in a summary fashion (*per hujusmodi recapitulationem*).[364] Over the course of chapters 96–111, Humbert develops Augustine's outline into a far more elaborate presentation taking into account the greater complexity of the Order's social and administrative structures, as well as certain factors that Humbert himself wished to emphasise.

As noted above, the chapter of faults provided a daily mechanism for friars to accuse themselves of faults against the *Rule* or *Constitutions*. Beyond this, however, the chapter also provided a forum for friars to be accused by others if their confreres had reason to

[360] *Exp. reg.*, cxi (p. 355).
[361] *Exp. reg.*, cxi (p. 355).
[362] *Praeceptum,* iv.7–9.
[363] '...inveniendis, prohibendis, indicandis, convincendis, vindicandisque peccatis...', *Praeceptum*, iv.10. Translation mine.
[364] *Exp. reg.*, cvi (p. 346).

believe they had committed a fault.[365] The Order's *Constitutions* provided guidance on what types of accusations could not be legitimately made, such as those made on suspicion alone (*ex sola suspicione*).[366] Likewise, the order of speaking, the answering of questions, and the role of the superior are also addressed therein.[367]

Humbert's *Expositio* provides extensive moral advice and practical distinctions pertaining to the making of accusations. He admonishes, for example, those who accuse their brothers with bad intentions, saying they are 'like doctors who under the pretext of giving medicine give poison.'[368] He also deals with a great many practical questions not fully addressed by the *Constitutions*, such as whether one needs one or more witnesses to make an accusation, whether this admits of exception, whether one should refrain from making accusations that might give scandal, etc.[369] Yet in all of these discussions and those of related matters, Humbert never directly cites the Order's *Constitutions*.[370] Rather, he provides a parallel set of observations that—while not contradicting the *Constitutions*—follow the structure of Augustine's *Rule* and the apparent ebb and flow of Humbert's own thoughts on the matter. Interestingly, at one point, Humbert quotes 'the law' (*iura*) as saying that a person who accuses another without proof should be punished with the punishment they sought to inflict.[371] This he cites within the *Expositio* as coming from a decree of Innocent III recorded in the *Decretals of Gregory IX* (c. 1234).[372] The Order's

[365] *Constitutiones antiquae*, d. I, c. ii (p. 315); 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 112.
[366] *Constitutiones antiquae*, d. I, c. ii (p. 315); 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 112.
[367] *Constitutiones antiquae*, d. I, c. ii (p. 315); 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 112; Although dated in certain other respects, a helpful narrative presentation of the Dominican chapter of faults is given in G.R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order, 1216 to 1360*, Publications of the University of Manchester. Historical Series, 44 (Manchester, 1925), 42–44.
[368] *Exp. reg*., xcix (p. 314).
[369] *Exp. reg*., xcvii (pp. 304–7), c–ci (pp. 317–25), ciii–civ (pp. 328–36).
[370] Humbert rarely mentions the Order's *Constitutions* directly in the *Expositio*, which is not altogether surprising given that he had begun (and abandoned) a separate work on the topic. See 4.5 above.
[371] *Exp. reg*., civ (p. 333).
[372] According to traditional (but non-intuitive) citation format, the reference is c. 2, X, 5, 2 (i.e., *Quinque Libri Decretalium*, book 5, title 2, chapter 2); for the text, see E.A. Friedberg and A.L. Richter, eds., *Corpus Iuris Canonici editio Lipsiensis secunda post Aemilii Ludouci Richteri, Pars Secunda, Decretalium Collectiones, Decretales D. Gregorii P. IX Compilatio* (Union, NJ, 2000), cols 748–749.

own General Chapters of 1254, 1255, and 1256, all of which were held under Humbert, also inserted a somewhat similar provision into the *Constitutions*, specifying that anyone who accused another without proof should suffer a punishment proportionate to the gravity of the fault.[373]

In addition to expounding upon and incorporating mechanisms such as the above to ensure the smooth functioning of the chapter of faults—and in ways that harmonised it with the *Rule's* earlier procedures for confronting wayward brothers—Humbert's other major contribution to fostering a culture of self-policing among the friars is his discussion of 'fraternal correction' (*correctio fraterna*). Fraternal correction was ordinarily meant to precede any public accusation or recourse to superiors, although Humbert introduces certain clarifications and exceptions to this principle.[374] Although the basic notion of fraternal correction appears in the *Rule*, the precise phrase does not, which can partly be explained by a shift in the Latin meaning of the words '*correctio*' and '*correptio*' from the time of Augustine to Humbert.[375] From early on, however, the concept of fraternal correction was taken to have had a biblical warrant (cf. Mt. 18:15–17), which in turn underwent considerable refinement and formalisation during the Middle Ages. The Franciscan Alexander of Hales (d. 1245)—a contemporary of Humbert—articulated many of the basic questions about fraternal correction that came to shape scholastic discourse on this topic.[376] Yet while his questions determined the starting point for most subsequent

[373] *Acta cap. gen*. I (Buda, 1254), 69; (Milan, 1255), 74; (Paris, 1256), 78. While tempting to take Humbert's citation of the *Decretals* rather than the Order's *Constitutions* as indicating that the *Expositio* was written before the General Chapters of 1254–56, the lack of direct engagement with the *Constitutions* in the *Expositio* makes this hard to sustain. Humbert may simply be supplementing with greater specificity the general principle that false accusers should be punished appropriately. As it happens, the Order only adopted the principle of punishing false accusers with the penalty they sought to inflict in the early 1290s. See *Acta cap. gen*. I (Ferrara, 1290), 255; (Palencia, 1291), 260; (Rome, 1292), 265.
[374] *Exp. reg.*, xcvii (pp. 304–6).
[375] *Praeceptum*, iv.7. For a summary of the linguistic issues and a useful bibliography on this point, see V. Grossi, 'Correction', ed. & trans. by A. Fitzgerald, *Augustine Through the Ages* (Grand Rapids, 2009), 242–44.
[376] T. Shogimen, 'From Disobedience to Toleration: William of Ockham and the Medieval Discourse on Fraternal Correction', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 52/4 (2001), 602–3; G.S. Moule, *Corporate*

scholars, his answers were often modified or reworked. Aquinas, for example, departs from Alexander on certain matters related to fraternal correction and emphasises the role of the common good in determining whether a correction ought to be made privately or publicly—something to which Humbert is also attentive.[377]

When compared to Alexander and Aquinas, Humbert's teaching on fraternal correction appears less theologically sophisticated than Aquinas', but arguably more nuanced and tailored to the experience of religious life than Alexander's general principles. Unlike Alexander, who straightforwardly insists on the biblical order of correcting another's sins privately before exposing them publicly, Humbert allows for more flexibility, depending on the particular circumstances.[378] While flexible on this point, Humbert rigorously analyses the ways fraternal correction might be pursued. All of chapter 96 in the *Expositio* focuses on fraternal correction, while chapter 97 discusses the proper order to be observed in carrying it out. Within these chapters, Humbert introduces numerous distinctions not originally present in the *Rule*, significantly expanding upon Augustine's outline.

For example, in discussing how correction should be made, Humbert remarks that 'great persons ought to be corrected differently than our equals or subordinates; grave sins should be corrected in one way, lighter ones in another; hidden sins ought to be corrected or handled differently than manifest ones. In all things, the place, the time, and the opportunity ought to be considered.'[379] At first glance, Humbert only appears to be filling in the details of Augustine's general outline. Yet by introducing numerous criteria—including social criteria—not originally specified by Augustine, he also shifts away from

Jurisdiction, Academic Heresy, and Fraternal Correction at the University of Paris, 1200-1400 (Leiden, 2016), 247 n. 23.

[377] ST II-II, q. 33, a. 7; Shogimen, 'From Disobedience to Toleration', 603.

[378] Alexander of Hales, *Quaestiones disputatae 'Antequam esset frater'*, t. 19 (Quaracchi, 1960), I, Q. xxviii, d. 1, m. 2 (p. 503).

[379] *Exp. reg.*, xcvi (pp. 301–2).

the *Rule's* general tenor on matters of class and community life—something Augustine had handled very delicately and often by omission. While the *Rule* does anticipate the coexistence of monks from diverse social backgrounds, Augustine's general 'insouciance' in the *Rule* on these matters, as Brown describes it, left ample room for potential friction in the monastery.[380] Augustine took this approach, rather than coercing a higher degree of uniformity (as other monasteries had done) through law and other mechanisms, in order to direct the monks toward a purification of their attachments over time through the shared experience of communal living, teaching them both forbearance and charity.[381] Humbert, however, was far more willing to specify what communal unity looked like in practice, aware that the Order should (in his judgment) also seek to project a consistent image to the outside world if it wished to be successful in its mission. Once again, Humbert clearly does not wish to recreate Augustine's original monastery or its precise social dynamics but to bring Augustine's *Rule* into his own larger project of shaping the behaviour of the medieval friars. Thus the nuances of hierarchy and relative social status (e.g., 'great persons') are now brought more explicitly into consideration, even though these are absent from the *Rule's* language pertaining to fraternal correction. In total, Humbert not only presents the *Rule's* teaching on fraternal correction in a way that is compatible (or, at least, not incompatible) with the Order's *Constitutions* but which also sought to further integrate the *Rule* into the social structures and expectations of mid-thirteenth century religious life, which were obviously different than those of Augustine's late-fourth-century monastery.

On the other hand, Humbert readily embraces with little modification those elements of Augustine's thought that already align well with his overall goals. Humbert

[380] *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 175–77.
[381] *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 176–77; A. de Vogüé, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité*, 12 vols (Paris, 1996), II, 150. The *Rule* does envision a certain kind of equality in the distribution of goods and clothing, but it has been described as an '*égalité qualitative*' rather than an '*égalité quantitative*'. See S. Légasse, *Pauvreté chrétienne* (Paris, 1985), 67.

argues, for example, that true friendship (*amicitia*) should inspire one to make a fraternal correction as an act of charity—a thoroughly Augustinian notion.[382] And in typically Humbertian fashion, he combines this theological observation with a list of incentives for making fraternal corrections, arguing among other things that one might even gain a friend through fraternal correction because 'although a religious will sometimes consider correction an annoyance at the beginning, his subsequent reflection on the correction in his heart will direct him to his true friend.'[383]

Throughout the *Expositio*, Humbert repeatedly demonstrates a desire to create a self-rectifying culture of virtue without requiring recourse to coercive authority. That is not to say, of course, that a shared culture could not be coercive. Nevertheless, Humbert clearly prefers to foster such a culture through exhortation and social pressure rather than obtain similar results through the more direct means available to him (e.g., formal precepts, imposed penances, and imprisonment or expulsion). Such methods might correct nonconforming behaviour more immediately—but also, perhaps, more superficially and with less enduring impact. His comments on fraternal correction typify a key aspect of his thought that can be discerned in his writings on religious life: that the success of the Order's mission depends on a deeply rooted ethos of life that requires far more cultivation than the simple application of law and penalties can alone achieve.

4.7.6 Scandal and Separation from Women

Although Humbert typically avoids referring to specific events in the *Expositio* that are contemporary to him, the problem of antifraternalism and the opposition faced by the friars at the University of Paris form part of the context for the *Expositio's* composition (see 3.4.1). Therefore, Humbert's remarks about fraternal correction and the role of superiors,

[382] *Exp. reg.*, xcvi (p. 300); *Praeceptum*, iv.10; Zumkeller, *Augustine's Ideal*, 154–58; see also the studies on Augustine and friendship listed in n. 229 above.
[383] *Exp. reg.*, xcvi (p. 303).

discussed above, need to be read in this light, as do his remarks about chastity and the friars' contact with women. For Humbert, interactions between the friars and women were potentially fraught with danger—not merely because friars might be tempted to break their vows, but also because of the scandal that might result from any such behaviour.[384] Given the existing tension in Paris and the extent to which the Order was under both public and official scrutiny, the illicit behaviour of a few friars could easily produce a political nightmare.

Nor was this simply a hypothetical concern. During the height of the controversies in Paris—long before Boccaccio and Chaucer made the friars' sexual indiscretions a topic of satire—William of St. Amour accused the friars of using their words and spiritual influence to seduce women in Paris.[385] William's accusations went hand-in-hand with his antifraternal agenda, but the prevalence and clientele of brothels near the friars' priories in other parts of Europe suggest that such accusations may not have been entirely without merit (although most surviving evidence stems from the fourteenth century).[386] The *acta* from Provincial and General Chapters held during this period also reflect various preventative steps taken by the Order, such as restricting young priests from hearing the confessions of women[387], limiting women from access to the friars' choir in their churches[388], and generally discouraging familiarity and unnecessary interaction with

[384] On the other hand, 'spiritual friendships' between friars and nuns also occupy a place in the Order's history, beginning with the second master of the Order, Jordan of Saxony (d. 1237) and the nun Diana d'Andalo (d. 1236). See especially the recent study by S.E. Watts, ''Let Us Run in Love Together': Master Jordan of Saxony (d. 1237) and Participation of Women in the Religious Life of the Order of Preachers' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of St Andrews, 2016). Also relevant is A.-L. Méril-Bellini delle Stelle, 'L'écriture de l'amitié spirituelle dans l'œuvre hagiographique de Thomas de Cantimpré (1200-ca 1265/1270)', *Médiévales. Langues, Textes, Histoire*, 64/64 (2013), 135–51. For Humbert's own involvement in the Order's consolidation of the pastoral care of nuns, see 3.3.6 above.
[385] Szittya, *The Antifraternal Tradition*, 59.
[386] Geltner, *Medieval Antifraternalism*, 99–100.
[387] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Paris, 1247), 40; *Acta provinicae Lombardiae* (Milan, 1258), 141; (Bologna, 1264), 144; (Bologna, 1272), 149; *Acta prov. Prov.* (Avignon, 1288), 318; See also *Acta prov. Prov*. (Narbonne, 1250), 38; (Cahors, 1255), 63; (Montpellier, 1259), 77; (Béziers, 1261), 90; *Acta prov. Romanae* (Anagni, 1252), 13; (Florence, 1257), 21; (Perugia, 1277), 48.
[388] *Acta cap. gen*. I (Trier, 1249), 47; *Acta prov. Prov*. (Montpellier, 1240), 17; (Narbonne, 1243), 24.

women.[389] The *acta* of this period likewise record disciplinary penalties were meted out to disobedient friars, although as Geltner observes, these 'seldom describe violations in detail, preferring instead the use of opaque terms such as *scandalum*, *crimen*, *excessus*, and *irreverentia*'—although at least the general category or severity of the fault can usually be extracted.[390] Certainly, the typically urban location of Dominican priories, chosen for the greater preaching and begging opportunities they provided—not to mention the biblical example of preaching in cities and towns (cf. Lk. 8:1)—meant that the opportunities for scandal were often more proximate and more visible to the public than for monasteries located in remote areas.[391] Unsurprisingly, the Order's *Constitutions* listed such 'sins of the flesh' among the '*graviores culpa*', but also gave guidance as to how the friar ought to be punished depending on whether the sin was publicly known.[392]

General concerns over scandal and the observance of chastity would probably have been more than sufficient to move Humbert to address these matters in the *Expositio*, but the political atmosphere at the highest levels also provided a strong incentive to stress chastity among the friars. Louis IX, a strong ally of the mendicants and the Dominicans in particular, had begun a campaign to suppress, reform, and/or expel prostitutes from Paris (and other cities and towns in France) by a royal edict issued in 1254, the same year Humbert was elected Master.[393] Two years later he would choose Humbert to be the godfather to his son, Robert.[394] Obviously, for the friars to be publicly involved in sexual

[389] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Paris, 1247), 40; (Bologna, 1262), 116; *Acta prov. Lombardiae* (Bologna, 1269), 147; *Acta prov. Prov.* (Limoges, 1266), 122; (Avignon, 1288), 318; *Acta provinicae Romanae* (Rome, 1246), 5; (Rome, 1247), 7; (Rome, 1248), 8; (Perugia, 1249), 9; (Rome, 1253), 15; (Anagni, 1256), 19–20; (Orvieto, 1261), 25; (Viterbo, 1264), 30; (Anagni, 1265), 31.
[390] Geltner, *Medieval Antifraternalism*, 88.
[391] Steckel and Kluge, 'Under Pressure', 275.
[392] 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 59. The apparatus in this edition also helpful notes the modifications and additions to this section (and others) from the time of the *Constitutiones antiquae* to the 1256 *Constitutions*.
[393] B. Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. by J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1991), 212, but cf. 214-15 regarding its long-term consequences. See also K. Nowacka, 'Persecution, Marginalization, or Tolerance: Prostitutes in Thirteenth-Century Parisian Society', in *Difference and Identity in Francia and Medieval France*, ed. by M. Cohen and J. Firnhaber-Baker (Farnham, 2010), 185–86 and 190–91.
[394] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 37.

scandals (especially in Paris) at the same time the French king was actively trying to curtail such behaviour would have been politically awkward. The *Expositio's* heavy emphasis on avoiding scandal and illicit contact with women coincides with the timeframe of Louis IX's initiative. When combined with the accusations of William of St. Amour and the risks posed by any loss of public support, Humbert had an abundance of reasons to be sensitive about the friars' conduct with women and how they were perceived in this regard.

Nor was Humbert the only Dominican to be worried about the brethren's behaviour with women. In fact, Humbert's writings fit rather neatly within a larger pattern of concern expressed by the Order's leadership at that time. In addition to the numerous *acta* of the various Chapters already mentioned, scholars have noted that the cautionary words about chastity attributed to Dominic on his deathbed and reported by Jordan of Saxony as well as the subsequent writings of Thomas of Cantimpré and still other internal 'didactic literature' of the Order during this same period, all of which strongly emphasised chastity and the avoidance of illicit behaviour with women.[395] Humbert's admonitions on this topic in the *Expositio* are therefore not unique but instead form part of a broader discourse among the friars about dangers to chastity.

Yet perhaps because of Humbert's rhetorical style and his lengthy treatment of this subject, Brett has described the *Expositio* as reflecting an 'obsession with sexual temptation and the possible resulting scandal'.[396] Although Humbert—always a prolix author—arguably provides some grounds for this claim given his abundant verbiage, this characterization is potentially misleading if Humbert's writings are viewed independently of their historical context and the particular sources upon which Humbert relied. The

[395] Jordan of Saxony, *On the Beginnings of the Order of Preachers*, x.92 (p. 24); Steckel and Kluge, 'Under Pressure', 278–79. With regard to *Thomas of Cantimpré*, Steckel and Kluge highlight his *Bonum universale de apibus* (c. 1258) and its chapters dedicated to *De virtute castitatis, De fuga peccati contra naturam,* and *De virtute innocentiae et simplictatis*, as especially relevant (ibid., 279). For the text, see Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, II.29-30 (pp. 273-360), II.36 (pp. 383-387).
[396] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 67.

historical events already described partly explain why Humbert, simply as an astute and politically sensitive administrator, might have been especially concerned about sexual scandals during this period. In the case of the *Expositio*, an intrinsic cause for this attention can also be found in the fact that the *Expositio* comments upon Augustine's *Rule*. Given Augustine's own focus on sexual morality, both in the *Rule* and in his other writings, a substantial treatment of chastity by a commentator seems almost inevitable. This is not to suggest that Humbert's own psychological makeup played no part in his writing, but one can readily see how factors apart from any personal fixation may have contributed to the *Expositio's* treatment of the subject.

Moreover, concerning Humbert's sources, an aspect that does not appear to have been previously noted by scholars is Humbert's heavy reliance upon a treatise known as *De singularitate clericorum* in chapter 98 of the *Expositio*. Although theologians in the twelfth century typically attributed this treatise to Cyprian of Carthage, the author of this third-century work is now considered unknown.[397] Humbert repeatedly cites Augustine as the author, which may explain why he makes such extensive use of this treatise. In total, 29 quotations from *De singularitate* appear in chapter 98. As a result, much of this chapter, which is titled 'Against Familiarity with Women', is simply a pastiche of this work.[398]

While Humbert thought he was using Augustine's own writings to comment upon the *Rule's* teaching on chastity, a much more complex history surrounds *De singularitate's* origin. The treatise seems to have been written to combat a third-century phenomenon in

[397] The most recent Latin edition remains Ps. Cyprian, 'De singularitate clericorum', in *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia*, ed. by G. [W.A.] Hartel, CSEL, 3 vols (Vienna, 1871), III, 173–220. An English translation and examination of the text has recently appeared in D.S. Fruchtman, 'De Singularitate Clericorum: A Third-Century Treatise Against Spiritual Marriage' (unpublished MA Dissertation, Indiana University, 2007), ii; cf. D. Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, 1993), 35–37, 68; and P. de Labriolle, 'Le « Mariage Spirituel » Dans L'antiquité Chrétienne', *Revue Historique*, 137/2 (1921), 216–21.

[398] *Exp. reg.*, xcviii (pp. 307–14). This is the title used by the Berthier edition, which also appears in various manuscripts. As noted earlier, however, the manuscript tradition frequently shows variation or ellipses in titles.

North Africa known locally as 'spiritual marriage' or 'spiritual friendship'.[399] In the author's original context, 'spiritual marriage' referred to (supposedly) celibate clerics who were cohabitating with women who likewise claimed to be living celibately. Written in response to the scandals that emerged from these living situations, the treatise not only argues for clerics to abstain from sexual relations with women but also to live in nearly complete separation from them.[400]

If Humbert had access to the full text—a possibility given the diversity and quantity of his quotations—he may have also been able to glean something of the work's original context. Yet given his mistaken notions about the author, it is unlikely that he fully appreciated the nuances of the controversy. In any event, he appropriates the treatise in a thoroughly de-contextualised manner, using it to provide general guidance about how the friars should ordinarily behave towards women—a far cry from the controversy-inflamed circumstances of the original treatise.

The treatise's appeal to Humbert, however, may have had less to do with its specific directives than with the author's concerns about scandal. For although Humbert and the author of *De singularitate* lived in very different historical periods, both were highly sensitive to public perceptions. This may help to explain why Humbert saw the treatise as a useful source for the *Expositio*, especially given the immediate challenges facing the friars. Ironically, the unknown author's call for a profound separation of clerics from women may have been more easily heeded in a community of solemnly vowed friars than in the original context for which it was written (i.e., parochial clergy).

At the same time, it is not always clear how Humbert expected the friars to harmonise the exhortations he gave (or quoted) in the *Expositio* with the demands of their

[399] Fruchtman, 'De Singularitate Clericorum', v.
[400] Fruchtman, 'De Singularitate Clericorum', i.

apostolic mission. Brett touches on this when he suggests that Humbert 'seems to be calling on his charges to neglect to some degree their duty to labour for the salvation of women's souls'.[401] For the most part, Humbert joins quotations from *De singularitate* with repeated exhortations against 'familiarity' (*familiaritas*) with women—exhortations that were subsequently echoed when a series of General Chapters held partially under Humbert between 1262–66 inserted similar language into the Order's *Constitutions*.[402] Although the term *familiaritas* can admit of a certain spectrum of intimacy, within the *Expositio* Humbert uses this term in the context of admonishing friars who spent a dubious amount of time around women (at least compared to what he considered appropriate) and who thus put themselves in the proximate occasion of sin, even if they did not necessarily commit any grave sins as such.[403] Given that *De singularitate* was written against those who practised cohabitation but claimed to be chaste, one can see why Humbert may have found the text especially useful since it provided admonishments that he could redirect toward those who claimed innocence in their intentions even while their behaviour suggested otherwise (at least to Humbert).[404] Yet it remains a considerable repurposing of *De singularitate*, given its original context, and this helps to explain why the *Expositio* might sometime seem at odds with the effective pastoral care of women, as Brett suggests.

Independent of his borrowings from *De singularitate*, Humbert does give particular attention to sins and temptations associated with looking upon women. This focus on 'sight' in the *Expositio* has a foundation in the *Rule* itself (4.3–4.10), but Humbert builds upon it

[401] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 67.
[402] Two Chapters introduced and approved the inclusion of '*familiaritate mulieris*' among the *graviores culpae* listed in the Order's *Constitutions*. See *Acta cap. gen.* I (Bologna, 1262), 116; (London, 1263), 119. This language was subsequently changed to '*mala familiaritate*', without any specific mention of women, and thus required three more Chapters to fully confirm its insertion into the *Constitutions*. See *Acta cap. gen.* I (Paris, 1264), 123; (Montepulciano, 1265), 126; (Trier, 1266), 131; cf. also (Paris, 1247), 40.
[403] *Exp. reg*., xcviii (pp. 307–14). This parallels its subsequent use in the *Constitutions* where it was added as a *gravior culpa* but as a sin distinct from '*peccata carnis'*. See n. 402 above and cf. 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 59.
[404] See especially *Exp. reg*., xcviii (pp. 307–12).

through his contention that 'the eyes are more disposed towards occasions of sin than any other sense'.[405] Indeed, the *Expositio* seems to argue for a stricter discipline in regard to sight than the *Rule* itself, such as when Humbert writes: 'it says here [in the *Rule*] that it is not prohibited to see [*videre*] women, but it should be noted that while it is not prohibited, given the danger of transgression ... it is still not safe.'[406] Humbert further observes that unlike taste, hearing, touch, or smell, 'sight always has something that it may see, and if it wants, in which it is able to sin, and therefore it is able to sin almost unceasingly'.[407] Moreover, as D. Elliott has observed, medieval theories of vision stemming from Aristotle and Augustine held that objects (when seen) left an impression on the soul and these sense impressions could have a lasting dispositive impact on the individual, which went hand in hand with concerns about activating lustful desires not only among men, but especially among women.[408]

But Humbert's concerns are not limited to the individuals who may sin in this manner. Rather, he observes that such behaviour 'does not occur without becoming notorious or offending others who see it'.[409] The sense of sight, therefore, not only enables sin, but also enables others to discover it. Humbert expands upon this further by developing Augustine's notion of 'the Divine gaze' that sees all things.[410] Following Augustine, he argues that no person's activity ever goes unobserved by God and underscores this in the *Expositio* with a chain of scriptural quotations.[411] While Humbert, in typical fashion, provides numerous reasons why the friars ought to better regulate their own behaviour, the recurring emphasis on sight and observation in the *Expositio* also highlights Humbert's

[405] *Exp. reg.*, lxxxvi (p. 268).
[406] *Exp. reg.*, lxxxviii (p. 274).
[407] *Exp. reg.*, lxxxvii (p. 269).
[408] D. Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1998), 38–39.
[409] *Exp. reg.*, lxxxiii (pp. 253–54), lxxxvii–xciii (pp. 268–91). Quotation from lxxxiii (p. 253).
[410] *Praeceptum*, iv.5.
[411] *Exp. reg.*, xciv (pp. 291–95).

own preoccupation with the Order's public image. More than simply discouraging sins of lust, Humbert clearly wishes to train the friars to think in terms of perception (both human and divine) and the consequences that would follow from the discovery of certain behaviours—cultivating an awareness that he obviously hopes will reduce both sin *and* scandal.

Humbert's focus on sight also overlaps with certain trends in Dominican architecture during the same period. As recent studies have shown, Dominican churches in Italy and elsewhere in Europe during this period often created spaces where friars and laypeople could both be present, but which carefully regulated visual access through the use of an 'intermedia'—essentially a barrier separating the space in the church designated for the laity (termed the *ecclesia laicorum*) from the space designed for the choir of the friars (termed the *ecclesia fratrum*).[412] Dominicans were among the most active promoters of these architectural partitions, with legislation from the Order's 1249 General Chapter specifically mandating that these partitions exist to limit the ability of the friars and the laity to see each other.[413]

At the same time, it would be wrong to conclude that Humbert was only interested in regulating the friars' interactions with women in public spaces. For example, *Expositio* warns against women serving as laundresses in the priory on the (less-than-convincing) grounds that Augustine only uses the word for laundryman (*fullo*) in his *Rule*.[414] Evidently Humbert thought that women who performed this task would be at risk of developing an inappropriate familiarity, especially given their handling of habits and other garments. Yet beyond this particular matter, Humbert's strict interpretation of Augustine's language on

[412] Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches*, 25-40 et passim; Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying*, 11, 31, 57. See also the studies listed in n. 12 of Chapter I above.
[413] *Acta cap. gen*. I (Trier, 1249), 47; Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches*, 25 n. 1; J.E. Jung, *The Gothic Screen: Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, ca. 1200-1400* (Cambridge, 2013), 22–23.
[414] *Exp. reg.*, cxxv (p. 383); cf. *Praeceptum*, v.4.

this point, while he gladly takes a much looser approach elsewhere (see 4.7.7 below), highlights again how the *Expositio* does not simply comment upon the *Rule* but interprets it and deploys it for particular ends.

Although concerns about sin and scandal are fundamental to Humbert's writings on chastity, one can also detect another underlying concern. For a religious community composed of celibate men and whose collective identity was integrally tied to this paradigm, inappropriate contact with women represented not only a moral threat but (at least potentially) an existential one. From the moral perspective operative in the *Expositio*, illicit sexual activity would compromise the integrity of individual friars—potentially undermining their preaching and evangelical effectiveness. But from a sociological and organisational perspective, the overall cohesion and stability of the community might also be put at risk through departures and the abandonment of vows.

Insofar as the Friars Preachers in this period negotiated questions of chastity, they were not radically different from other mendicant orders. In comparing the writings of Franciscans and Dominicans on male identity and chastity during this period, Steckel and Kluge have noted that 'generally speaking, the Dominican tradition shows a reserve towards contact with women similar to the Franciscan one.'[415] Yet Steckel and Kluge also detect subtle differences in how Dominicans and other religious orders sought to safeguard the chastity of their members:

> Members of the [Dominican] Order were not only to master their own desires but were also to be made aware of specific dangers and temptations tied to concrete situations, in order to be able to withstand and counter them. The main strategy for maintaining chastity seems to have shifted [from earlier orders, e.g., Benedictines]—it is no longer one of avoiding women but of acquiring preventative knowledge about the dangers they represent. Even more than [the Franciscan] Salimbene's misogynistic *topoi* and individual anecdotes, the Dominican *exempla* were destined to create and dramatize awareness of the constant threats to male chastity.[416]

[415] Steckel and Kluge, 'Under Pressure', 278.
[416] Steckel and Kluge, 'Under Pressure', 280.

One might ask how Humbert's *Expositio* fits within this categorisation. On one hand, the *Expositio* does dedicate a significant amount space to providing situational examples and warnings about how friars might be tempted. Even Humbert's use of *De singularitate* is interesting in this regard since Humbert gives several illustrations of how friars might creatively rationalise their familiarity with women and then adapts arguments from *De singularitate* against them.[417] The *Expositio* also shows sensitivity to the psychology of attraction, discussing both the situational circumstances and personal characteristics that might lead to the forming of relationships between men and women.[418] In these respects, the *Expositio* demonstrates the 'preventative approach' by instructing friars about dangerous circumstances and the need for situational awareness and mental self-knowledge.

On the other hand, as already noted, Humbert also repeats much of the language about avoiding contact with women found in earlier sources and even adds his own endorsements of this approach. Promoting such distancing was, moreover, the principal aim of *De singularitate*. Therefore, the 'avoidance approach', which Steckel and Kluge describe as characteristic of earlier religious communities (e.g., Benedictines) can also be easily found in Humbert's *Expositio*. Overall, their analysis of Dominican writings on chastity during this period certainly applies to parts of the *Expositio*, but the sheer quantity of material contained within this work makes it difficult to place the text squarely in either category.

Beyond inculcating preventative knowledge or encouraging avoidance, Humbert also employed the technique of associating repulsive images with sexual sins in order to shape how friars actually perceived certain behaviours. For example, he writes:

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[417] *Exp. reg.*, xcviii (pp. 309–12).
[418] See, for example, *Exp. reg.*, lxxxix (pp. 279-83).

> It would be detestable if one were to urinate out of the nose or defecate through one's mouth, which are not the passageways designed for these things. How detestable therefore it is in the sight of God when one lusts through the eyes, which are designed to contemplate heavenly things![419]

In such passages, Humbert seeks to create mental links between disgusting and repellent imagery and disallowed behaviours through a psychological technique now known as 'association'.[420] Although the number of such passages in the *Expositio* is limited and Humbert's comparisons and examples are drawn from external sources, one can see the preacher's instinct for adopting sharp visual imagery in hopes of creating a lasting mental impression—and in this case, a highly unpleasant one.[421] Here, as in other places, Humbert's writing demonstrates that the *Expositio* does exists simply to provide commentary, but as a work aimed at behaviour modification and socialisation according to a specific paradigm.

Regarding the *Expositio's* overall treatment of chastity, Humbert would hardly have been considered unusual among medieval moral theologians or spiritual writers for viewing women as snares for the virtue of men. Somewhat surprisingly, however, Brett states that Humbert 'never mentions the other side of the coin, that men can also be a temptation to women'.[422] Yet this is not strictly correct. Humbert states in the *Expositio* that 'just as a man's desire is excited by the sight of a woman, so also a woman's desire is excited by the sight of a man' and therefore it is best for 'good men, especially those who are attractive,

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[419] *Exp. reg.*, xciv (p. 294).
[420] The use of evocative imagery (whether positive or negative) to influence an audience is an ancient rhetorical technique (see, for example, Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, bk. 2). Concerning repellent images, however, recent psychological research has contributed extensively to our understanding of how disgust can become associated with certain behaviours, objects, or people. For a survey of the literature, see L.F. Barrett, M. Lewis and J.M. Haviland-Jones, eds., *Handbook of Emotions*, Fourth edition (New York, 2018), 815–34.
[421] Other examples include a description of how touching a woman is like touching a 'sack of dung', a comparison that Humbert also imports from earlier sources. *Exp. reg.*, xciv (p. 294); cf. Odo of Cluny, *Collationum libri tres*, ii.9 (PL 133, col. 556). Extremely useful here are also the observations of P. Brown on the origins of such harsh comparisons and vivid stories in ancient Near Eastern misogyny and their inclusion in some early Christian ascetic literature. See P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), 242–45, eBook Collection (EBSCOhost).
[422] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 66.

to appear rarely or never among women, but to stay hidden, not only on account of themselves but also because of the susceptibility of women'.[423] In fact, within chapter 89 of the *Expositio* Humbert discusses five different factors that may entice women towards men, three types of women that are more easily attracted to good or holy men, and at least three different ways that friars ought to combat this.[424] When citing Jerome on the subject he adds that Jerome speaks about preserving 'both your [chastity] and hers'.[425] While Humbert clearly did not view men and women as equals, he did recognise that temptation can work both ways.

Ultimately, any fair consideration of how the *Expositio* treats the friars' interaction with women requires one to grapple with both the uneven nature of the text, the sources it adapts and inherits, and the historical circumstances in which it was written. Although Brett suggests an obsession with sexual misbehaviour and scandal on the part of Humbert, this seems to overstate the matter. Indeed, Humbert explicitly reproves 'religious communities where great zeal is displayed in countering sins of the flesh, yet many other evils are tolerated.'[426] While his exhortations to avoid illicit contact with women are copious and certainly not immune from the sexism and misogyny of the period, they do not constitute an extraordinarily large portion of the *Expositio*, nor do they seem especially original. Rather, his focus on the subject goes hand-in-hand with his perception of the social and political dangers of the moment as well as the contemporary concerns expressed by the *acta* of the Order's General Chapters and the writings of other Dominican and Franciscan authors at the time. On this point, the *Expositio* is best understood as a compilation and synthesis of existing spiritual material that was shaped by its historical context, as well as

[423] *Exp. reg.*, lxxxix (pp. 279–80, 281); see also the larger contextual observations about medieval theories of sight, women, and lust in Elliott, *Fallen Bodies*, 38–45.
[424] *Exp. reg.*, lxxxix (pp. 279-83).
[425] *Exp. reg.*, lxxxix (p. 280).
[426] *Exp. reg.*, cvi (p. 344).

Humbert's own penchant for reflecting on human failings and his hope of influencing the friars' behaviour.

4.7.7 Reconciling Study with Poverty and the *Rule*

Contrasts are often drawn between the Dominican friars and their Franciscan counterparts regarding the relative importance that each placed on poverty and study. According to the common narrative, while Francis praised the virtue of 'Lady Poverty' and adopted a rigorously ascetic life, Dominic gave primacy to preaching (with study as its prerequisite), incorporating poverty as a means rather than an end. Yet this contrasting dichotomy vastly oversimplifies matters. Within one generation, Franciscans were teaching at universities and had mitigated some of Francis' directives on poverty. Meanwhile, Dominic's own (often surprisingly strict) views about poverty were frequently repeated by hagiographers, inspiring the early friars to pass restrictive legislation about architecture and lands.[427] In short, both orders wrestled with the relationship of poverty to their mission and identity, even if the missionary focus of preaching helped to keep the Friars Preachers from fracturing over this particular question.

Although the longest section of Humbert's *Expositio* appears to focus on the life of poverty (see chart in 4.6 above)—or more precisely, the religious life as 'a state subject to many necessities'—this section does not actually provide much of a theological framework for understanding Dominican views of poverty. Rather, it treats of a broad range of administrative topics pertaining to the practical needs of the brothers and how they are to be handled. Under this section, Humbert considers such diverse matters as the appointment of officials, the vice of grumbling, the use of medicine, the care of the sick, the assignment of travelling companions, the role of books, study, and philosophy in the Order, faults

[427] For a compilation and study of the relationship between Dominican legislation on poverty and architecture, see Sundt, 'Mediocres Domos', 395–97; W.A. Hinnebusch, 'Poverty in the Order of Preachers', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 45/4 (1960), 440–50.

committed by students and teachers, and many other subjects.[428] This is entirely consistent with Humbert's approach elsewhere, where the course of his commentary often follows a rather circuitous path that embraces an assortment of diverse matters along the way.

While Humbert does defend an integral relationship between poverty and preaching in the *Expositio*—highlighting various links between the example of Jesus, the *vita apostolica*, and the example of Dominic—administrative and relational matters pertaining to poverty repeatedly take centre stage in this section of the *Expositio*. Typical of this are Humbert's exhortations about making due provision for the friars' garments, the management of common property, and the need to ensure that the friars' needs are met in an equitable manner without creating envy or resentment.[429] More often than not, the *Expositio* simply approaches poverty from the perspective of maintaining good order in the community.[430]

Another related aspect of the *Expositio's* treatment of poverty concerns the degree to which 'study' receives particular attention in this same section. Like the visible witness of apostolic poverty, study served the preaching mission of the Order, although this arguably created an inherent tension in the friars' spiritual discipline since the friars needed to acquire books and pursue educational opportunities that strict poverty might seem to preclude.[431] The negotiation of this relationship was already underway well before Humbert

[428] This section runs from *Exp. reg*., cxii–clviii (pp. 356–481). Humbert's views on the role of philosophy are interesting in their own right and have received attention elsewhere as part of the larger project of training Dominican preachers, most extensively in Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, xviii–xix, 14, 229–35, et passim. A full consideration of this topic would exceed what is possible here and would overlap heavily with Mulchahey's analysis, but it may be noted in passing that for much of the Order's early history, including under Humbert, the study of books by ancient philosophers required dispensation. This was true even after the first so-called *ratio studiorum* of the General Chapter of 1259 was issued (see ibid., 223–24 n. 18). Concerning Humbert's own views, Mulchahey observes that while he 'is usually cast as the hero in the larger saga of the Dominican order and the new learning ... Humbert's own views on the matter of secular studies could best be described as moderate', with Humbert acting as a reconciler between more extreme positions (ibid., 230).

[429] See, for example, *Exp. reg.*, cxii–cxvii (pp. 356–68), cxxi–cxxiv (pp. 375–81), clviii (pp. 423–26).

[430] Tellingly, this same section includes chapters 'against the vice of grumbling' (*Exp. reg*., cxviii [pp. 368–70]) and also 'on the mutual service of the brethren' (*Exp. reg*., cxxxviii [pp. 416–17]).

[431] Given both their utility and value, the Order's *Constitutions* attended closely to the management of books in the convents, including their safekeeping, copying, transfer, availability, and dispute resolution.

came to prominence in the Order, in part because the legacy of Dominic's own example was itself slightly ambiguous.[432] On the one hand, Dominic's own commitment to mendicancy had led him to reject a significant donation in Bologna that would have reduced the friars dependence on daily begging.[433] On the other hand, Dominic readily sent several friars to the University of Paris and enjoined the importance of study upon the brethren.[434] His acts of canonisation likewise included an oft-repeated incident where he sold his (parchment) books to provide for a beggar, saying: 'I do not wish to study over dead skins while men die of hunger'.[435] While certainly not incoherent, translating the legacy of Dominic's approach to poverty and study into a consistent and sustainable spiritual discipline for the members of the Order was an ongoing process during the Middle Ages. By the time Humbert became Master, the Order's involvement in European educational institutions (e.g., Paris, Bologna, Oxford) was already well established.[436] Under Humbert, the Order's General Chapter of 1259 also passed legislation composed by eminent Dominican theologians that outlined a practical vision for study and the intellectual training

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See *Constitutiones antiquae*, d. II, c. 21 (p. 357); d. II, c. 28 (pp. 361–62); d. II, c. 31 (p. 364); 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 167–68, 171–79. For a detailed analysis of this legislation and the friars' management of books, see P. Maranesi, 'La Normativa Degli Ordini Mendicanti Sui Libri in Convento', in *Libri, Biblioteche e Letture Dei Frati Mendicanti (Secoli XIII-XIV)* (Spoleto, 2005), 192–225. See also the earlier but still essential work of K.W. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars 1215-1400* (Amsterdam, 1964), 18–46, 90–99, 135–37. One can also readily locate abundant Provincial legislation pertaining to the management of books, such as prohibiting their sale or (unauthorised) transfer, e.g., *Acta prov. Romanae* (Florence, 1254), 17; or regulating their disposition after the death of a lectior, e.g., *Acta prov. Prov.* (Toulouse, 1258), 75.

[432] For a highly useful study of how the early friars adapted in their approach to poverty and mendicancy during and immediately after Dominic's own lifetime, see Lappin, 'From Osma to Bologna, From Canons to Friars, From Preaching to The Preachers: The Dominican Path Towards Mendicancy', 31–58.

[433] Tugwell, *Early Dominicans*, 77; S. Tugwell, 'Notes on the Life of St. Dominic', *AFP*, 66 (1996), 108.

[434] The relationship between Dominic's own intentions and the incorporation of a strong intellectual and academic component in the Order's life has been the subject of some debate. See S. Tugwell, 'St. Dominic and the Intellectual Side of Dominican Life', in *Dominikanie w Srodkowej Europie w XIII-XV Wieku*, ed. by J. Kloczowski and J.A. Spiez (Poznán, 2002), 111–25; Mulchahey, 'Societas Studii', 446–65; cf. P. Mandonnet, 'De l'incorporation des Dominicains dans l'ancienne université de Paris, 1229-1231', *Revue Thomiste*, 4 (1896), 139.

[435] A. Walz, ed., 'Acta Canonizationis S. Dominici (Bologna)', MOPH, XVI (Rome, 1935), no. 35. Translation mine.

[436] H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, New ed. (Oxford, 1936), I, 344–97.

of friars, later termed the Order's first '*ratio studiorum*'.[437] Complementing their active involvement in teaching and learning, the friars also came to employ numerous professional scribes in Paris for the copying of books and contributed to the introduction of the *pecia* system of manuscript production at the university.[438] These intellectual (and commercial) ties to the university community generated academic relationships (both collaborative and combative) that further shaped the Order's institutional character and contributed to its overall influence and success.[439]

How Humbert navigates the complex relationship between poverty and study in the *Expositio* offers an important point of entry into understanding the Order's evolving sense of mission and identity during this period. The very fact that Humbert deals so extensively with study, books, and teaching in the *Expositio* under a section broadly devoted to poverty points to the dynamic tension that existed between these aspects of the friars' life. In the *Expositio*, Humbert not only attempts to explain how Augustine's *Rule*—with its own provisions for common ownership and book borrowing—can be harmonised with the friars' actual practices, but also takes the *Rule* as a jumping off point to discuss a wide array of behaviours connected with both study and the observance of poverty. His interpretation of the norms for the borrowing of books epitomises this. According to the *Rule*, books were 'to be requested at a definite hour each day' and apart from this, requests were to be denied.[440] E. Speakman comments upon this by observing that this sentence from Augustine's *Rule* was 'only a bit of economic legislation which finds a precedent as early

[437] *Acta cap. gen*. I (Valenciennes, 1259), 99–100; an extensive consideration of this legislation's relevance for the formation of Dominicans and the creation of *studia artium* is found in Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 222-236 et passim. The committee was composed of Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great, Peter of Tarentaise, Florence of Hesdin, and Bonhomme of Brittany (ibid., 223 n. 17).
[438] Giraud, 'The Dominican *Scriptorium* at Saint-Jacques, and Its Production of Liturgical Exemplars', 255–56; R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, 'The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250-ca. 1350', in *La Production Du Livre Universitaire Au Moyen Âge*, ed. by L.J. Bataillon, B.G. Guyot, and R.H. Rouse (Paris, 1988), 84; Giraud, 'Production and Notation of Dominican Manuscripts', 81–88.
[439] Concerning the collaborative character of the Order in its academic projects and their links to Dominic himself, see Mulchahey, 'Societas Studii', 465 et passim.
[440] *Praeceptum*, v.10 (Lawless trans.).

as Pachomius'.[441] Yet this single sentence receives no less than fifteen chapters of commentary in the *Expositio*.[442] From this sentence, Humbert derives that books must be acquired, that they must be kept in certain ways, that reading is commendable, and that study is useful for preachers. This leads to a discussion of the role that philosophical studies should play in the Order (see 4.5 above), the superiority of virtue over knowledge, the dangers of knowledge without virtue, the faults that one might have in pursuing study, in handling books, or in attending lectures, as well as the faults of teachers and those who write books, and the faults one might commit in disputations, among other topics.[443] Throughout these chapters, which like much of the *Expositio* are highly exhortatory in character, Humbert strongly advocates for the acquisition of books and for friars to zealously pursue study and learning. Yet along with this are warnings about poverty and the dangers of excess, such as when he approvingly quotes Jerome: 'Let whoever wishes to have their old books on purple parchment with gold and silver writing have them, provided that they permit me and my poor friends to have our leaves of paper.'[444] Exorbitant expense, the overaccumulation of books, the preference for beauty over accuracy, and the inordinate attachment to books as possessions all attract Humbert's attention, who juxtaposes the counter-example of Dominic in his poverty selling his books to feed the poor man.[445] Humbert does not, ultimately, attempt to offer a theoretical resolution to any tensions that exist between poverty and study in the Order—if anything he highlights these by incorporating both his own exhortations for convents to acquire books and the example of Dominic who sold his books. Nor does he directly engage in the *Expositio* with the

[441] Speakman, 'Rule of Augustine', 71–72.
[442] *Exp. reg*., cxl–clv (pp. 418–76).
[443] *Exp. reg.*, cxliv–cliii (pp. 435–72).
[444] *Exp. reg*., cxlix (p. 448). The sentence is taken from Jerome's *Prologue to Job* and has been shortened by Humbert. For the original context, see Jerome, *Préfaces aux livres de la Bible*, ed. by A. Canellis, Sources chrétiennes, 592 (Paris, 2017), 404.
[445] *Exp. reg*., cxlix (pp. 448–50).

Order's own legislation, which balanced poverty and study in part by carefully regulating the overall management of books, including penalties for those who mishandled them.[446] To some extent, Humbert adopts in a more regulatory approach later in his *De officiis*, where he provides detailed guidance for the librarian in the management and oversight of a priory's books.[447] In the *Expositio*, however, he complements the Order's administrative and penal efforts primarily by exhorting friars toward a virtuous mean in order that they might avoid the excesses of bibliophilia while not neglecting their books or studies.

Apart from the specific concerns addressed in this section, the interpretive framework that Humbert deploys in commenting on the *Rule's* prescriptions regarding books is also highly revelatory since it demonstrates Humbert's method for bridging the gap between the thirteenth-century life of the friars and Augustine's original monastery. This can be seen with particular clarity in the following passage:

> Lastly, it is asked how this command [about borrowing books at specific times] is kept in our Order and, if it is not kept, whether one can omit it in good conscience.
>
> I answer: as stated above, the intention of this command is that one study. Accordingly, it is said that books are to be requested at certain hours—thus moderately—so that students are not regularly drawn away from the divine office or from other activities. Preachers, however, must study more than other religious. Therefore, the early fathers [of the Order], in choosing the *Rule* of Saint Augustine, also gave great liberty about this article on study, not only conceding books in common, but also for some books to be granted to the use of individuals, and increasing the hours of study.
>
> ... therefore, we keep this command in substance, and even more so than others; but not in regard to its manner, and in this the fathers of the Order and the Chapters were and are able to dispense for a reasonable cause, especially since our manner of life is better than others; for no one is thought not to keep a command if they substitute something better.[448]

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[446] In addition to the relevant references to the *Constitutions* and the management of books given in n. 431 above, note also that damaging or mishandling of books is listed among faults comparable to negligently treating the equipment and trappings associated with the altar ('Liber constitutionum (1256)', 57). See also the observations about Dominicans and borrowing books in L. Smith, 'Lending Books: The Growth of a Medieval Question from Langton to Bonaventure', in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, ed. by L. Smith and B. Ward (London, 1992), 272–73.
[447] *De officiis*, xiii (pp. 263–66).
[448] *Exp. reg.*, clv (p. 476).

The *Expositio's* interpretation of this passage stretches any plausible reading of Augustine's original purpose to the extreme. Humbert presumably knew that he was inflating Augustine's text to accommodate the goals of the friars, but this passage further supports the view that Humbert's highest concern was not recovering Augustine's original intentions in the *Rule*—assuming that was possible—but rather providing the friars a hermeneutic for interpreting it: a hermeneutic shaped by the authority of the Order's Chapters, the practices of the early friars, and Humbert's own sense of what should be read strictly and what should be read loosely. He is, as it were, consolidating the 'received' interpretation of the *Rule* as normative, but also clarifying and defining what that received interpretation entails.

Many of Humbert's exhortations in these chapters on poverty and study are written broadly enough to embrace friars studying at various locations and Humbert, in keeping with this style, never directly mentions the contemporary situation at Paris in the *Expositio*. Yet his exhortations in this same section also frequently touch upon situations where the friars may have been open to external critique. For example, Humbert criticises students who skip lectures, daydream, doubt everything they hear, or who think that lectures are unnecessary since they can learn everything on their own, and those who do not understand what they are being taught but lack the motivation to ask questions.[449] Given Humbert's own experience as a student at the university of Paris, one cannot help but wonder if there are some hints of the autobiographical in his descriptions. In any case, Humbert's sense for human behaviour and social psychology is on full display as he reproves students who choose their lectures based on their classmates' preferences or who undervalue young (or old) teachers.[450] A desire to form a studious culture can be seen throughout these chapters,

[449] *Exp. reg.*, cl (pp. 450–55).
[450] *Exp. reg.*, cl (pp. 454–55).

which has an obvious relationship to the Order's success in preaching but also to the promotion of its public image and reputation.[451]

Along similar lines, Humbert warns friars who compose books to consider how their writings might be received.[452] The Order's General Chapters clearly shared this concern: the same 1254 General Chapter that elected Humbert legislated that 'nothing written or compiled by our brothers may be published unless first diligently examined by expert brothers appointed by the Master of the Order or Prior Provincial.'[453] The Chapters of 1255 and 1256 confirmed this same legislation, inserting it into the Order's *Constitutions*.[454] As it happens, very similar steps were also taken by the Franciscans, who were facing the consequences of Gerard of Borgo San Donnino having published his *Introductorius* in 1254.[455] That the Dominican Order was particularly sensitive to theological controversies that could arise at the university of Paris is also evident in the legislation of 1243 General Chapter—repeated in the 1256 General Chapter held under Humbert—that the brothers were to delete or remove any writings that fell under 'the errors condemned by the Parisian masters,' which referred to the teachings condemned under the chancellorship of William of Auvergne in 1241 and 1244.[456]

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[451] One can also find parallels in the Order's legislation aimed at remedying the same faults that Humbert identifies. The methods, however, differ. For example, the 1265 Chapter of the Roman Province gave Thomas Aquinas the power to send any students of his who were 'negligent in their studies' back to their home priories. See *Acta prov. Romanae* (Anagni, 1265), 32. But while Chapters could impose penalties or make reassignments (as in this instance), Humbert's *Expositio* aims primarily to exhort, cajole, and otherwise motivate students by appealing to their own benefit, highlighting negative alternatives, and providing both explanations and appeals to respected authorities so as to produce an equivalent change in behaviour.

[452] *Exp. reg*., clii (pp. 459–64).

[453] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Buda, 1254), 69. Translation mine.

[454] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Milan, 1255), 73–74, and (Paris, 1256), 78; 'Liber constitutionum (1256)', 179.

[455] See Monti, 'Constitutions of Narbonne (1260)', VI.21 (p. 103). The requirement found in the 1260 Constitutions of Narbonne that any book first be reviewed prior to publication appears to have had earlier origins in the steps first taken by John of Parma in 1254 after Gerard of Borgo San Donnino published his *Introductorius* and possibly also in the legislation of the Chapter of 1257. See ibid., 103 n. 130; Salimbene de Adam, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, trans. by G. Baglivi and J.R. Kane (Binghamton, NY, 1986), 471; and A. Power, *Roger Bacon and the Defence of Christendom* (New York, 2012), 58, 60.

[456] *Acta cap. gen.* I (Paris, 1243), 27, and (Paris, 1256), 80–81. For additional background and context on the 1241/44 condemnations by William of Auvergne and the Dominican reactions to these events, see the recent study by D. Grice, *Church, Society and University: The Paris Condemnation of 1241/4* (2019).

But while the Chapters promulgated legislation to prevent friars from authoring or compiling works that were theologically or philosophically suspect, Humbert's *Expositio* provided ample explanation about why friars needed to be cautious in publishing. In making his case, Humbert attempted to strike a balance, arguing that new books are useful for the church but that only a few should write books 'that will be made public'.[457] While providing a chain of biblical supports for this view—noting, for example, that only a few of the Apostles wrote books—he also underlined that harm could come to both the author and the Order's reputation through controversial or poorly written books:

> ...[ideas] reduced to writing cannot be disowned or expressed differently as in a verbal exchange. Therefore, those who gladly misrepresent the words or deeds of a good person will have greater opportunities for slander when they find something in writing that is infelicitous.[458]

This caution in the *Expositio* make particular sense in the context of William of Saint-Amour's attacks on the friars (see 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 above), given that William and his supporters had readily compiled and used Joachim of Fiore's writings against his followers (often with considerable reworking of the original texts).[459] Likewise, the condemnation of Gerard of Borgo San Donnino had amply demonstrated the dangers that could befall the friars if their writings came under suspicion. In fact, Humbert observes, books are often condemned by the church for containing a single error and he specifically mentions Joachim of Fiore writings on the Trinity in this context.[460] The loss of control over one's words and the risks involved in their public distribution form a significant part of Humbert's concerns here, as when he remarks that 'many who know how to preach competently will not dare to preach before great men or in the presence of a great multitude,

[457] *Exp. reg.*, clii (p. 459).
[458] *Exp. reg.*, clii (p. 460).
[459] For William of Saint-Amour's polemical use of Joachim's writings against his followers, see S. Grosse, 'Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, and the Critiques of Joachimist Topics from the Fourth Lateran Council to Dante', in *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore*, ed. by M. Riedl (Leiden, 2017), 154. See also the broader discussion in 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 above.
[460] *Exp. reg.*, clii (p. 460).

... Yet what is written and made public is able to reach all the great ones of the church and all literate people and is able to endure until the end of the world; thus, whoever attempt such a work—with what fear ought they approach it!'[461] While Humbert was certainly not trying to end all publications by the friars, he repeatedly attempts in the *Expositio* to instil a sense of reserve and caution in composing or compiling new texts; an internal disposition that fits hand in hand with the above-mentioned legislation designed to provide structural protections against problematic works.

Ultimately, Humbert's exhortation in the *Expositio* about how the friars ought to conduct themselves in matters of both study and poverty are deeply intertwined with the social context and public perceptions of the Order. Aware that public perceptions could impact the effectiveness of the Order's mission, Humbert tailors his commentary on the *Rule* to address the Order's social and political challenges by cultivating a corporate culture. Indeed, more than simply providing an abstract or idealised vision of Dominican life, Humbert repeatedly shows a desire to shape behaviour of the brethren in ways that complement the Order's legislation and are fitted to navigating the challenges and dangers facing the Order as he perceived them.

4.7.8 Humbert's Historiography of 'The Early Church'

As discussed earlier (see 2.4), the proper ordering of religious life had occupied many eleventh- and twelfth-century reformers who took their inspiration from the example from the apostles in the first century—or at least their understanding of how they had lived. Although the friars emerged later, the language of the *vita apostolica*, which had come into renewed prominence during the Gregorian reforms, abounds in the *Expositio* and in other early Dominican writings (as discussed in 2.4–2.6 above). Yet Humbert's continuity with

[461] *Exp. reg.*, clii (pp. 460–61).

these earlier reformers can be seen not only in the language of the *vita apostolica* but also more generally in his understanding of the early or 'primitive' church (*ecclesia primitiva*)—a historical concept and term that also gained renewed currency in the Middle Ages especially through the writings of Peter Damian and Gregory VII.[462]

While Humbert's use of history has received attention in regard to his later writings on the Crusades (*De predicatione crucis*) and the proposed union with the Orthodox Church (*Opusculum tripartitum*), the *Expositio's* use of history has not yet attracted any similar interest.[463] Certainly, the *Expositio* offers a less synthetic view of history than these works and most of its historical references are given simply by way of example or illustration. Nevertheless, while more anecdotal in its use of history, Humbert's willingness to appeal to the past (and to the early church in particular) in the *Expositio* reveals something about how he contextualises the friars' present situation and his vision for the Order's future.

As can be seen in his other writings, Humbert has a notion of the church's changing praxis as it passes through different 'stages' or 'states' (*status*).[464] His brief discussion in

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[462] G. Olsen, 'The Idea of the *Ecclesia Primitiva* in the Writings of the Twelfth-Century Canonists', *Traditio*, 25 (1969), 70. The term itself had been used at least as early as John Cassian (d. c. 435). See J.-C. Guy, *Jean Cassien: Institutions cénobitiques*, Source chrétiennes, 109 (Paris, 1965), 2.5.2. The most extensive study of the idea of the '*ecclesia primitiva*' remains P.C. Bori, *Chiesa primitiva: l'immagine della comunità delle origini (Atti 2,42-47; 4,32-37) nella storia della chiesa antica*, Testi e ricerche di scienze religiose, 10 (Brescia, 1974); but these should be supplemented by several more recent works by G. Olsen in addition the abovementioned. See his 'References to the *Ecclesia Primitiva* in the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms', in *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. by K. Pennington and S. Kuttner (Vatican City, 1985), 289–307; 'The Image of the First Community of Christians at Jerusalem in the Time of Lanfranc and Anselm', in *Les Mutations Socio-Culturelles Au Tournant Des XI^e Siècles: Études Anselmiennes (IV^e Session)*, ed. by R. Foreville (Paris, 1984), 341–53; 'Bede as Historian: The Evidence from His Observations on the Life of the First Christian Community at Jerusalem', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 35 (1982), 519–30; 'Reform After the Pattern of the Primitive Church in the Thought of Salvian of Marseilles', *Catholic Historical Review*, 68 (1982), 1–12; also relevant is P. Garnsey, *Thinking about Property: From Antiquity to the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge, 2007), esp. 63-65, 72-74, 76-80, and 82-83; P. Garnsey, 'Peter Olivi on the Community of the First Christians at Jerusalem', in *Radical Christian Voices and Practice: Essays in Honour of Christopher Rowland*, ed. by Z. Bennet and D.B. Gowler (Oxford, 2012), 35–50; and the relevant section in G. Miccoli, *Chiesa Gregoriana: Ricerche sulla Riforma del secolo XI* (Florence, 1966), 225–99.

[463] An excellent introduction to Humbert's use of history in relation to these two works can be found in Carozzi, 'Humbert de Romans et L'Histoire', 849–62.

[464] *Opisculum tripartitum*, 11 (p. 192); cf. Carozzi, 'Humbert de Romans et L'Histoire', 856. Note that Humbert's use of the term stages (*status*) in reference to the church's development is distinct from Joachim of Fiore's broader and more developed use of the term when referring to different stages in human history. On this point and Humbert's modest use of Joachim's ideas, see B.E. Whalen, *Dominion of God:*

the *Expositio* of the origins of different forms of religious life (connected to the emergence of the rules of Benedict and Augustine) establishes a type of historical teleology that ultimately points to the Friars Preachers.[465] On the whole, however, Humbert's primary interest in the early church—at least insofar as the *Expositio* is concerned—centres on the common ownership of goods. Thus, the entirety of chapter 24 focuses on communal ownership in the early church.[466] As already discussed, this concern was a characteristic feature of the eleventh- and twelfth-century canonical reforms, which understood the *vita apostolica* especially in terms of common life and communal ownership (see 2.4).

Humbert uses chapter 24 to answer a series of questions, one of which is whether common ownership in the early church was achieved through a specific vow—a question with obvious relevance to his own Order.[467] He answers, however, that common ownership in the *ecclesia primitiva* resulted solely from the perfection of charity that existed among the early Christians.[468] Nevertheless, he argues that while the early Christians achieved this through perfect charity without a vow, a life vowed to the *Rule* leads to the same result (presumably even if perfect charity has not yet been obtained).[469] Humbert thus uses this chapter not only to justify the friars' practice of communal ownership through vows, but more significantly, to suggest the continuity of this practice with the lived example of the *ecclesia primitiva* and the Apostles.

Christendom an Apocalypse in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, MA, 2009), 196. For additional observations comparing their approaches to historical development, see Carozzi, 'Humbert de Romans et L'Histoire', 859–60.

[465] See *Exp. reg.*, ii (p. 45).

[466] *Exp. reg.*, xiv (pp. 67–70).

[467] Strictly speaking, the Friars Preachers took only a vow of obedience. Yet since this established a juridical relationship between the individual and the Order, which included promising to obey the *Constitutions*, it encompassed the three evangelical councils (poverty, chastity, and obedience) and all that pertained to the life of the friars. For the origins and shape of the vow formula, see Tugwell, 'Dominican Profession', 5–52.

[468] *Exp. reg.*, xxiv (p. 97).

[469] '*...sicut tunc omnia erant communia, sic etiam sint omnia communia degentibus sub regula sua*' (*Exp. reg.*, xxiv [p. 97]).

Yet while suggesting continuity on one hand, Humbert also tries to account for what was seen as an historical change in the church's practice—namely, the apparent move away from common ownership in general. The *Expositio* offers a fascinating analysis in this regard. Contrary to any suggestion that Reformation scholars were the first to emphasize distinctions between the pre- and post-Constantinian praxis of the church, twelfth-century canonists had already suggested that the conversion of Constantine resulted in a shift away from common ownership and the church refusing gifts of land to the church becoming a landowner and embracing individual possession of goods.[470] While Humbert allows that this change may have occurred earlier in some places and that only the church in Judea strictly held their goods in common, he nonetheless concurs with the notion that Constantine's conversion was the turning point in the church's practice.[471] One can clearly see here Humbert's dependency upon the medieval canonists as he cites Gratian's *Concordia discordantium canonum* no less than four times in reference to common property, the early church, and the pre- and post-Constantinian eras.[472] Gratian in particular equated the *ecclesia primitiva* with the whole of the pre-Constantinian period, further standardising this terminology.[473] One can reasonably assume that Humbert encountered these distinctions and ideas through his canonical training at Paris.

Yet for Humbert, and others, this was not necessarily a negative development. Rather he sides with those who thought this change reflected a positive maturation of the Christianisation of society and not a negative turn: 'it is not licit to say that this was not good'.[474] Such a view was not unique to Humbert. Rather, as P. Garnsey observes:

> The assertion of a natural continuity and progression in property arrangements from the first Christian community to later periods in the history of the Church is an

[470] Olsen, 'The Idea of the *Ecclesia Primitiva*', 74, 81–86.
[471] *Exp. reg.*, xxiv (p. 98).
[472] *Exp. reg.*, xiv (p. 79), xxiv (p. 98).
[473] B. Black, 'The Donation of Constantine: A New Source for the Concept of the Renaissance?', in *Studies in Renaissance Humanism and Politics* (Farnham, 2011), 56.
[474] *Exp. reg.*, xxiv (p. 97).

> example of a tendency, much favoured by Church leaders and canonists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to view the institutions of the primitive Church as immature and unformed, requiring development beyond the prototype model.[475]

This same view can be observed in the writings of Bede (d. 735), Anselm of Havelberg (d. 1158), and others who tended to see progress rather than decline when reflecting on certain changes in church praxis over the course of time (although obviously not in every respect).[476] Indeed, despite Humbert's extensive incorporation of Bernard of Clairvaux's writings into the *Expositio*, he does not follow Bernard's more pessimistic narrative connecting greater worldliness in the church to Constantine and his 'donation'.[477] In this regard, Humbert shows himself to be more influenced by the canonists, who viewed the development in more positive (or at least neutral) terms.[478] There is a certain irony here, of course, since Humbert fully supported communal ownership and the renunciation of personal property by his own friars. Yet Humbert's theological framework enabled him to reconcile this position by holding that religious poverty was not expected of every Christian living in the world. Humbert also seems to think that private property made more sense once the world was primarily Christian since—he believes—it enabled more people to be helped directly by believers than through a centralised distribution by the church.[479] While Humbert's understanding of a philanthropic economy raises a number of questions, his desire to explain historical change is apparent in the *Expositio*, especially when it seems necessary to justify or explain the practices of the friars—perhaps even to the friars themselves.[480]

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[475] Garnsey, *Thinking about Property*, 78–79.
[476] Garnsey, *Thinking about Property*, 78–79. For Bede in particular on this point, see Olsen, 'Bede as Historian: The Evidence from His Observations on the Life of the First Christian Community at Jerusalem', 523–27, 530. For Anselm, see J.T. Lees, *Anselm of Havelberg: Deeds into Words in the Twelfth Century* (Leiden, 1998), 203–5.
[477] Black, 'The Donation of Constantine', 56–57.
[478] Olsen, 'The Idea of the *Ecclesia Primitiva*', 80, 82.
[479] *Exp. reg.*, xxiv (p. 98).
[480] The fact that chapter 24 is organised around a series of questions raises the possibility that Humbert is providing answers to questions that might be commonly asked by (or of) the friars.

Elsewhere in Humbert's writings he notes that a good preacher needs a 'knowledge of history' (*scientia historiarum*) so that he can draw upon it in composing sermons.[481] Hugh of St. Victor had also made appeals to the church's history in his own commentary on Augustine's *Rule*.[482] Yet while Humbert's historiographical endeavours are more limited in the *Expositio* than in other places, his use of history in the *Expositio* is notable because it shows both the influence of the medieval canonists and their historical reconstructions as well as how the intellectual frameworks operative in the Middle Ages differed from later (and earlier) dichotomies. For Humbert, there was no question of Reformation-era polemics about continuity and discontinuity in doctrine between the pre- and post-Constantinian church. He apparently saw no danger or difficulty in attributing important changes in church practice to Constantine, although he recognised that some saw these developments as negative rather than positive. He could also point to the lack of private ownership in the pre-Constantinian church and exhort people to imitate this example (i.e., by joining the friars) without concern that this would be taken as a criticism of the church's overall legitimacy. The legitimacy of religious mendicancy and the attacks on the friars' movement were far more proximate concerns to Humbert than any suggestion that the church in general had abandoned its principles. In short, both his choice of examples and the rhetorical approach he employed in appealing to ancient practices were shaped by the historical circumstances of his era. At the same time, one can see a certain foreshadowing of the historical consciousness found among many reformers in later centuries who also looked to the pre-Constantinian church (as they understood it or reconstructed it) as a source and example for renewal—but with much more radical notions of what that might entail.

[481] *De eruditione praedicatorum*, ix (p. 401); Tugwell, 'Humbert of Romans "Compilator"', 56.
[482] PL 176.886, 889. For the authorship of this work, see n. 64 (p. 162) above.

4.8 Conclusions

Throughout this chapter an attempt has been made to closely examine Humbert's *Expositio* from a series of differing vantage points. Part I explored authorship, dating, material transmission, sources, and the *Expositio's* relationship to other commentaries, while also addressing many of the major factors that gave the text its particular character as a medieval literary work. Following upon this, Part II examined its organisational structure, contents, and selected themes, highlighting how Humbert reappropriated and repurposed Augustinian *topoi* in light of his own historical circumstances and the crises facing his Order—producing a text that was not merely descriptive but aimed at (re-)shaping the friars' behaviour.

CHAPTER V
INTENTIONS AND IMPACT

5.1 Introduction

Having examined the *Expositio's* historical context in Chapters II and III, and its sources, parallels, and contents in Chapter IV, Humbert's intentions can now be more clearly discerned and questions about the actual impact of the work can be intelligently asked. Accordingly, this chapter will explore the stated and unstated goals of the *Expositio*, the evidence for its use in Dominican and non-Dominican communities, the prevalence of manuscripts from the later 'observant reform', and the conclusions that can be drawn from these findings. In this analysis, some contemporary sociological theories about the construction of 'collective identity' will also be briefly considered insofar as they help to elucidate Humbert's goals and the role the *Expositio* played in the process of identity-making.

5.2 Humbert's Purpose(s) in the *Expositio regulae*

As discussed in 2.7, the adoption of Augustine's *Rule* in 1216 created a hybrid system of governing texts whereby the friars explicitly professed obedience to both the *Rule* and the Order's *Constitutions*. Given the differences that existed between Augustine's fourth-century monastery and the friars' mode of life in the thirteenth century, harmonising these documents required some finesse. Humbert's *Expositio* constitutes the first sustained attempt to explain how the friars ought to read the *Rule* in relation to the Order's *Constitutions*, while also assessing the *Rule's* canonical authority and providing guidance on when it should be strictly or loosely applied to the friars' circumstances—the answer to which could vary depending on the subject matter.

According to Humbert's prologue, his *Expositio* was written to praise the *Rule*, to show its aptness for the life of the friars, and to offer some reflections on poverty.[1] He also mentioned his desire to clarify some matters, to show how the friars' customs are 'educed' or 'drawn out from' the *Rule*, and to provide some edifying material for the brothers.[2] Yet beyond these seemingly benign and straightforward goals, the 600-page *Expositio* also displays several parallel intentions.

The *Rule* had originally provided a legal basis for the legitimacy of Dominic's early community, allowing them to establish a stable band of preachers on the authority of an ancient yet flexible text (see 2.7). Speakman sums this up well: 'the true motive was the union of prestige and pliability'.[3] While the *Rule* served this purpose effectively in the early decades of the Order, Humbert subsequently drew upon the same authority of the *Rule* for novel purposes, including some that Dominic was unlikely to have envisioned. Commenting upon Augustine's *Rule* gave Humbert an opportunity to speak about the friars' religious observances and to influence (at least potentially) the shape and contours of their life according to his own priorities and concerns. Augustine's original vision provided the scaffolding for this project, but Humbert, like other medieval commentators, built upon and stretched his source text in new directions. The effect, as Speakman also noted, was that it 'almost seems that this fifth-century saint and bishop [Augustine] had foreseen and provided for vast fields of activity utterly unknown to his own time'.[4] Humbert held that the Order was nonetheless faithful to Augustine's *Rule*, at least in substance, since they looked to the purpose or intention of the text. But his project was one of application, not historical re-creation, and his sense of fidelity to Augustine must be understood accordingly. While the *Rule* was partly chosen by Dominic for its lack of specifics,

[1] *Exp. reg.*, prologus (p. 43).
[2] *Exp. reg.*, prologus (p. 43).
[3] Speakman, 'Rule of Augustine', 72.
[4] Speakman, 'Rule of Augustine', 57.

Humbert largely turned this on its head, employing every textual opportunity to define the minutiae of the friars' lives and behaviour, with the *Rule* serving as the *Expositio's* point of departure. As Chapter IV has shown, Humbert not only expanded upon the *Rule* but also reinterpreted it and deployed it for purposes far removed from its original context. Humbert, moreover, focused on certain passages in the *Rule* not necessarily because they were interesting in themselves (or in their original setting) but because they were useful in a thirteenth-century context.

Notwithstanding his modest claims in the prologue, Humbert seems to have been pursuing several simultaneous goals—as, indeed, one might expect with a commentary of such size. These included obtaining greater uniformity of behaviour and appearance, policing unacceptable activity, ordering the relationships and social dynamics among the friars, regulating interactions with outsiders, and projecting a particular image of the Friars Preachers to the larger European world. All of these goals seem closely tied to Humbert's sense of what would best advance the preaching mission of the Order and what would protect the Order from antifraternal rhetoric and the opposition it was facing in Paris and elsewhere. Together they also served to inculcate a particular sense of identity among the Friars Preachers, expressed not only in their common mission but also in their uniform comportment and shared mode of life.

Insofar as the *Expositio* has received scholarly attention, discussions of its purpose have focused on the debate over the *Rule's* retention in relation to the papal bull *Sanctis desideriis*. As examined in 3.6–3.7, *Sanctis desideriis* may have been Humbert's proximate motivation for writing the *Expositio*, but it seems entirely possible that Humbert had already defused this political move with Hugh of St. Cher before he began writing.[5]

[5] Nor can the alternative be entirely excluded, i.e., that he began writing the *Expositio* before *Sanctis desideriis* was issued. See 3.7 and 4.2.2.

Certainly, the *Expositio* does serve as an '*apologia*' in defence of the *Rule*, and a rather compelling one (at least rhetorically). It presents the *Rule* as uniquely suited to the life and training of preachers, even when this requires a bit of creative interpretation on Humbert's part (e.g., in the norms on borrowing books). Nonetheless, while solidifying the *Rule's* place as a governing document may have been one of Humbert's goals, it would be a mistake to reduce his ambitions in the text to this aspect. Rather, the *Expositio* often seems primarily aimed at influencing and shaping the friars' social behaviour through the very process of explaining and interpreting the *Rule*. While Humbert tends to phrase his moral exhortations in a way that suggests their timeless or perennial value, it is not difficult to see contemporary events and challenges hovering in the background. On this point, Brett's words regarding Humbert's *De tribus* apply equally well to the *Expositio*: 'it reveals the strategy which Humbert employed in the Order's struggle with the seculars, namely, the best defence is a good example on the part of the brethren'.[6] In short, the *Expositio* did not seek simply to save the *Rule*, but to utilise it as a tool for forming a virtuous society (according to Humber's understanding)—one that included self-regulation and community policing—and which form part of Humbert's response to the exigencies of the moment by better organising his own friars. This, in turn, helped to further crystallise the community's identity since as K. Pansters has observed, religious identity can be 'reinforced and integrated by interiorizing [normative] virtues during processes of spiritual formation, transformation, and conformation', which is precisely what the *Expositio* sought to achieve.[7]

To this end, Humbert wrote the *Expositio* in such a way that it would provide the brothers with a hermeneutic for interpreting the *Rule*. To retain its utility, the *Rule* needed

[6] Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 197.
[7] Pansters, 'Norm and Form', 119.

to be soft enough to fit comfortably within the Order's larger legal framework. Yet Humbert needed the *Rule* to also be hard enough to swing at those friars whose behaviour was unacceptable. The *Expositio* seems tailored to achieve this balance. He privileged the received customs and laws of the friars as normative for interpreting the *Rule* (as discussed in 4.7.7), but the *Expositio* also covers many undefined matters, and Humbert did not hesitate to expound upon what was acceptable and what was not.

In regard to the social formation of the friars, Humbert focused almost exclusively on external behaviour. As Mulchahey notes in her study of early Dominican education, 'Humbert has little to say regarding the contemplative life'—an observation generally borne out by the text of the *Expositio*.[8] Indeed, his largely exclusive focus on exterior behaviour is rather striking, especially given his heavy reliance on the writings of Augustine and Bernard. Humbert, as noted, does praise Augustine's *Rule* for focusing more on spiritual matters than bodily observances.[9] Yet his own writings target the friars' behaviours, habits, and morals mostly by enjoining outward conformity to certain norms. Whether or not this is a legacy of his canonical training, it has numerous implications for any analysis of Humbert's project in terms of identity-making (see 3.3 and 5.3) since he sees the formation of individuals mostly as a function of shaping external actions, with the assumption that the interior, subjective sense of identity and mission will follow upon this.

At the same time, the interior life of the friars did not entirely escape Humbert's concerns, as evidenced by the *Expositio's* discussion (among other things) of how friars might mentally rationalise spending excess time with women (see 4.7.6). Further, as Mulchahey observes, Humbert's reading recommendations for novices do show an attentiveness to the interior life.[10] Yet her summary of Humbert's overall approach holds

[8] Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 111.
[9] *Exp. reg.*, ii (pp. 45–6).
[10] Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 112–13.

true as well: 'Humbert of Romans begins with the rules guiding the exterior man and trusts that outward discipline will lead to inward reorientation'.[11] Accordingly, the *Expositio* mostly directs its attention towards external behaviour, which also served Humbert's goal of keeping the Order in the good graces of external authorities.

Related to the *Expositio's* overall hermeneutic, the text also seems especially interested in communicating a tradition of shared goals and expectations. Humbert's consolidation of the Order's practices, public image, and liturgy coincides with a time when many friars would have been too young to have known Dominic or his earliest community directly (see 3.3.2). As noted earlier, the personal connection with the Order's first generation would have been growing thin by the time the *Expositio* was written. Accordingly, the transmission of Augustine's *Rule* took on additional importance because it formed a link with the life of the early friars. It is therefore helpful to see the *Expositio* against this background of generational transition, with Humbert aiming not only to preserve the *Rule* for functional reasons, but also as 'formative literature' that could help incorporate new friars into a tradition and mode of life that had been handed on and which the *Expositio* now sought to mediate.

Given all that has been said about the *Expositio*, it is tempting to describe it simply as presenting Humbert's 'vision' of religious life. While this assessment does capture something of the flavour of the work, it risks understating or simply missing much of its actual thrust. The *Expositio* does not present, in an abstract way, a utopian ideal about how a religious community ought to function. If anything, the *Rule* itself more closely approximates that concept. Instead, the *Expositio* takes aim at the actual (and often sub-optimal) behaviour of an already existing community and seeks to improve it. Adopting a 'carrot and stick' approach, it calls out perceived vices with piercing examples and shaming

[11] Mulchahey, *First the Bow Is Bent*, 114.

illustrations, describing their consequences (for both the community and for individuals), and enumerating the benefits that would follow from right behaviour. Humbert likewise seeks to delineate the relationships among the friars and to foster the efficient functioning and self-policing of the community. As such, the *Expositio* is much more that a vision statement. Rather, the *Expositio* seems designed to drive its audience towards a particular way of living and relating by inducing (or discouraging) certain behaviours. Its closest rhetorical relative is perhaps the 'sermon'—admittedly a massive genre in its own right—and yet this is by no means a perfect analogy.[12] Still, if compared to medieval sermons, a rhetorical form with which Humbert was certainly familiar, the *Expositio* does sometimes resemble a moralising or exhortative sermon. While it does not share the same organising structure or sustained arguments that one would expect to find in a sermon, the multiplication of examples, illustrations, biblical injunctions, and use of *auctoritates* do evoke the collections of sermon materials that Humbert and others helped to compile. Yet ultimately, the wide-ranging nature of the *Expositio* allowed Humbert to undertake a far more comprehensive project than any single- or multi-topic sermon could possibly attempt: the socialisation of the friars into a common way of life and a shared sense of mission and identity.

5.3 Theories of Socialisation and Collective Identity

If, as has been suggested, Humbert's goals in writing the *Expositio* included (at least implicitly) the better ordering of his community around a common mission and closely-shared patterns of behaviour, it may be helpful to consider his text in relation to contemporary theories of socialisation and collective identity. Although conceptually modern, certain sociological categories and concepts have sometimes been employed

[12] For a discussion of the genre, see B.M. Kienzle, 'Introduction', in *The Sermon*, ed. by B.M. Kienzle (Turnhout, 2000), 145–74, and the collected articles therein; Also, G. Donavin, C.J. Nederman and R. Utz, eds., *Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon* (Turnhout, 2004).

retrospectively to help explain processes of socialisation and identity formation in pre-modern religious communities. Classics in this area include the writings of Arnold van Gennep, whose work was subsequently built upon by Victor Turner, and the writings of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, among many others. Both van Gennep and Turner focused on the use of rituals tied to changes of status within a community and how the notion of community (or '*communitas*' in Turner's preferred formulation) comes into existence and is maintained.[13] Humbert, as noted in 3.3.3, was the figure most responsible for the standardisation of the friars' liturgy, which included the rites for the profession of vows, the admission of novices and their clothing with the habit, and similar ritual processes that marked changes of status within the Order, not to mention the daily rhythm of prayer and study. As in 3.3.3, this should be seen alongside his other writings, which often focus on the intellectual and relational formation of the friars. While at first glance Turner's analysis of the ritual process and the notion of *communitas* seem an obvious framework for helping to understand Humbert's overall project, much of Turner's scholarship centres on 'liminal' communities that existed on the margins of society. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Franciscans attracted Turner's attention since he understood Francis 'to be compelling the friars to inhabit the fringes and interstices of the social structure of his time, and to keep them in a permanently liminal state.'[14] While there is some overlap with the experience of the Friars Preachers, who were also mendicants, Turner's framework may not be the best approach for explaining Humbert's specific goals in the *Expositio*. Rather, Humbert seems particularly concerned with strengthening the Order's growing prominence *within* medieval society and avoiding its marginalisation. In

[13] The most well-known and relevant work of Turner on this subject is *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York, 1969), esp. chapters 3 and 4.
[14] Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 145.

contrast, the 'optimal conditions' for the flourishing of Francis' community, according to Turner, was at the edges of the social structure.[15]

Likewise, Turner's analysis of the use of ritual, while certainly not irrelevant to the Order under Humbert's tenure, does not seem as immediately useful as one might hope. The phenomena that Turner describes are not unique to the Friars Preachers, nor especially pertinent to the *Expositio*, which does not dwell extensively on ritual activity or processes—apart from the basic importance of the Divine Office and being present in the chapel on time. Therefore, without discounting the broader merits or value of Turner's sociological theories—or even their relevance to a more general consideration of Humbert's governance—their usefulness as an analytical tool for the *Expositio* seems limited.

The work of P. Berger and T. Luckmann on the 'social construction of reality' would, on the other hand, appear to be somewhat more applicable, especially in clarifying the role of the *Expositio* in reinforcing patterns of behaviour. They note, for example:

> It is impossible to understand an institution adequately without an understanding of the historical process in which it was produced. Institutions also, by the very fact of their existence, control human conduct by setting up predefined patterns of conduct, which channel it in one direction as against the many other directions that would theoretically be possible.[16]

Within this paradigm, one can identify Humbert as an important actor in the process whereby the life of the Friars Preachers became more clearly delineated and their 'predefined patterns of conduct' became more codified. Humbert manifestly sought to hand on the Order's sense of institutional mission, its collective memory, and its common observances—things which Berger and Luckmann term (non-pejoratively) 'sedimentation'—through a process of written and oral transmission.[17] For the friars, this

[15] Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 145.
[16] P.L. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (New York, 1966), 55.
[17] Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, 67–72.

not only took place through formal education but also through their common life and their participation in the mission of preaching. The *Expositio*, with its careful consideration of the friars' social behaviour and shared life, can perhaps be seen, in Berger and Luckmann's framework, as a tool of 'secondary socialisation', i.e., a process whereby individuals acquire 'role-specific knowledge' and become part of a 'sub-world' with its own normative, affective, and cognitive components.[18] Indeed, both the *Expositio* and *De officiis* attempt to orient friars to their life in the Order and their own specific roles within that world. In this regard, there are many points of resonance between Humbert's writings and Berger and Luckmann's theories about how societies and their subgroups interpret their social environment and maintain themselves. While a full sociological analysis exceeds what is possible here, Berger and Luckmann might also see Humbert's project in the *Expositio* as part of the 'reality-maintenance' process that continually reaffirms the social structures of a community and the individual's subjective sense of reality and identity.[19] Certainly, Humbert seems intent on upholding both the *Rule* and the mode of life that he had received from the generation before him. He sought also to build upon this foundation by shaping the friars' expectations and social behaviour in ways that seemed good to him, precisely so as to protect and extend what he had received. Ultimately, Berger and Luckmann offer many possible insights into the appropriation of social realities by individuals and communities that appear at least somewhat reflected in the development of the Friars Preachers and in Humbert's writings, including the *Expositio*. Thus, this may be a fruitful path for future interdisciplinary research, especially given the wide influence of Berger and Luckmann's scholarship, which many other sociologists have also built upon.[20]

[18] Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, 138.
[19] Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, 149–50.
[20] For an overview, see H. Vera, 'Rebuilding a Classic: The Social Construction of Reality at 50', *Cultural Sociology*, 10/1 (2016), 3–20.

In addition to Berger and Luckmann, the work of Alberto Melucci also offers an interesting sociological framework for analysing Humbert's project in the *Expositio*. In recent decades, Melucci and other sociologists have argued that the concept of 'collective identity' can be a powerful analytical tool when trying to understand social movements and collective action. In particular, Melucci has stressed that collective identity should not be understood in a 'reified' fashion as a 'thing' but rather as a process that involves a 'system of relations and representations' that are continually renegotiated within certain limits.[21] Although focused on contemporary social movements, Melucci's general observations may be helpful here for unfolding the purpose of Humbert's *Expositio*, albeit with qualifications. One would not wish to suggest, of course, a simple equivalency between contemporary social movements and the historical phenomenon of the mendicant friars. Nonetheless, some points of commonality do exist. For example, the Friars Preachers were self-consciously organised for a particular type of social action (i.e., preaching and conversion) as their own documents and writings attest. Their identity was closely bound up with this collective activity and Melucci's analytical framework seems applicable in this regard. Seen in this light, Humbert's *Expositio* can be understood as part of the 'active process of negotiation' over the group's identity in relation to its mission. Humbert's work proves especially interesting here because it emerges from certain tensions, both internal and external, about how the friars ought to live in common and in view of the public in order to effectively carry out their mission. It reveals divergence within the community over their commitments to certain observances originally adopted in view of achieving their goals.[22] Much of Humbert's *Expositio*, as has been discussed, focuses on exhorting the brethren to adhere to certain practices and to cultivate certain behaviours for the good of their collective

[21] A. Melucci, 'The Process of Collective Identity', in *Social Movements and Culture*, ed. by H. Johnston and B. Kalndermans (Minneapolis, 1995), 43–44, 50, 52; A. Melucci, *Nomads of the Present*, ed. by J. Keane and P. Mier (London, 1989), 34–36.
[22] Cf. Melucci, 'The Process of Collective Identity', 55.

mission. Yet while Humbert paints many friars as failing in various respects or simply lax, it is reasonable to assume that at least some of these friars did not share Humbert's views on the importance of certain observances or how they should be kept. Likewise, Humbert's understanding of the precise operation of certain relationships (e.g., between superiors and subordinates) would not have required such emphasis if they were already universally shared. At least in these matters, the *Expositio* can be seen as part of a dynamic of re-negotiation taking place within the Order as it matured and struggled to define itself vis-à-vis its mission. In this process, its collective identity was continually being forged.

Some of Melucci's other observations may also have relevance, such as his remark that during times of conflict 'the internal solidarity of the group reinforces identity'—a point that seems especially applicable to Humbert's tenure during the 1250s when the friars were facing attack from antifraternal actors.[23] Melucci notes that 'relationships with the outside—with competitors, allies, adversaries, and especially the reaction of the political system and the apparatus of social control—define a field of opportunities and constraints within which the collective actor takes shape, perpetuates itself, or changes.'[24] Humbert's work in guiding the Order through the 1250s, including his composition of the *Expositio* and his other works, can be seen as an integral part of this process of shaping and perpetuating his community within the context and constraints of the moment.

Obviously, many aspects of Melucci's thought about contemporary social movements and social action do not easily translate to medieval communities. Melucci himself stressed how contemporary persons differed from their predecessors.[25] Moreover,

[23] Melucci, 'The Process of Collective Identity', 48.
[24] Melucci, 'The Process of Collective Identity', 52.
[25] Note, however, that when Melucci compares contemporary persons who live in a 'complex society' to their earlier predecessors, he is specifically comparing contemporary persons to those formed in a nineteenth-century 'industrial-capitalist' society. In some ways, Melucci's post-industrial 'complex society', where 'meaning and symbol' have become more important than material success, has surprising resonances with the medieval world. See Melucci, *Nomads of the Present*, 45.

the Friars Preachers were far more institutionalised than the 'new social movements' that Melucci analysed. Nor do the Friars Preachers fully accord with the criteria he used for identifying social movements.[26] Nonetheless, his general insights about the relationship of collective action and identity formation, which can only be touched upon herein, seem to intersect in interesting ways with what took place in the 1250s among the Friars Preachers and Humbert's writings in the *Expositio*.

5.4 Reception and Impact of the *Expositio regulae*

Having examined how the text of the *Expositio* reveals some of Humbert's more implicit aims and having also considered his project in relation to some contemporary theories of socialisation and identity formation, it now seems appropriate to pair this analysis with a consideration of the text's impact and influence, insofar as this can be discerned. It should be stated at the outset, however, that this thesis does not claim—nor, indeed, does it depend upon proving—that Humbert's *Expositio* had a significant impact on the lives of his contemporaries or even the Dominican friars in general. Claims about Humbert's motives and intentions, which are central to this thesis, are obviously distinct from asking whether his efforts were successful. Moreover, the *Expositio* is an important literary artefact worthy of study in its own right—one that witnesses to various aspects of medieval religious life and the social-ecclesial realities of Humbert's era, as discussed at length in the chapters above. Nevertheless, this thesis does intend to at least raise the question about whether the *Expositio* had any discernible influence during Humbert's lifetime and afterward, whether inside or outside the Order. This is directed, in part, at a major lacuna in the existing historiography since neither Heintke nor Brett nor Tugwell explore this question at any

[26] Cf. Melucci, *Nomads of the Present*, 29.

length.[27] Creytens, having identified so many surviving manuscripts, seems to take it largely for granted that the *Expositio* was an overwhelming success without actually asking what its practical impact may or may not have been.[28] His concern was largely to explain why such a long and arguably tedious commentary would have been so widely copied—a question he answered by referring to 'the more substantial spiritual nourishment' it offered.[29]

To raise the question of impact, even if one acknowledges that it cannot be fully answered, inevitably surfaces certain methodological questions, especially since the survival of manuscripts depends heavily upon the vicissitudes of history and thus leaves an imperfect impression of how a text may have been distributed, let alone used. Nor does the simple fact of a text's distribution prove that it was read or that its words affected any change in the behaviour of its readers (or hearers). Humbert's intentions, moreover, were multifaceted and focused on forming a religious culture. Assessing the precise degree of influence the *Expositio* had on the behaviour and mentality of the friars inevitably runs up against the limits of what can be known through historical sources. Aware, therefore, of the significant methodological challenges that exist in reaching strong conclusions about the 'success' of the *Expositio*, this thesis will proceed cautiously, contenting itself with trying to open a window—even a very narrow and cloudy one—on whether the *Expositio* found an audience and whether it seems to have achieved any of Humbert's goals.

5.4.1 Evidence from *Tabulae*, Paratextual Devices, and Decoration

Among the *Expositio's* surviving manuscripts, *tabulae capitulae* or 'chapter lists' are a near-universal feature, presumably because of the inherent usefulness of a table of contents

[27] Heintke and Tugwell do not appear to ever mention the *Expositio's* impact, while Brett includes only a footnote at the end of his relevant chapter pointing the reader to Creytens' article for information about its influence (Brett, *Humbert of Romans*, 133 n. 69).
[28] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 155–57.
[29] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 156.

in a work of such length and complexity. Of the nineteen (complete) surviving manuscripts from the fourteenth-century, only two, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 4180 and Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XII. D. 3 (Cat. 2148), lack such a table. Even this, however, may be due to the loss of opening or closing folios. In some instances, these lists were also the subject of decoration, such as the alternation of red and blue ink, which may have helped with readability when navigating such lists. More notable examples include Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 107, which opens with a decorated *tabula capitulae* on fol. 1r (although now sadly suffering the effects of age and perhaps use) and Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36, fols. 21v–23r, which alternates red and blue ink for the initial letter of each chapter in the table and provides the first initial of the prologue with its own decorative treatment (figure 5.1).

Although chapter lists appear consistently at the beginning or end of the *Expositio*, they are by no means identical across the surviving manuscripts, nor are they always accurate or complete. One finds, for example, in Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 340 (Cat. Gen. 585), fols. 1r–3r, a table that lists 214 chapters, which is three fewer than the numbering used in the text itself (although the text is complete). Such discrepancies are apparently common among *tabulae* in medieval manuscripts, perhaps owing to the way they were compiled, which originally involved the creation of a separate booklets added to the text, although by the fourteenth century they were better integrated.[30] The rationale

[30] M. B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', in *Medieval Learning and Literature*, ed. by J.J.G. Alexander, M.T. Gibson, and R.W. Hunt (Oxford, 1976), 123.

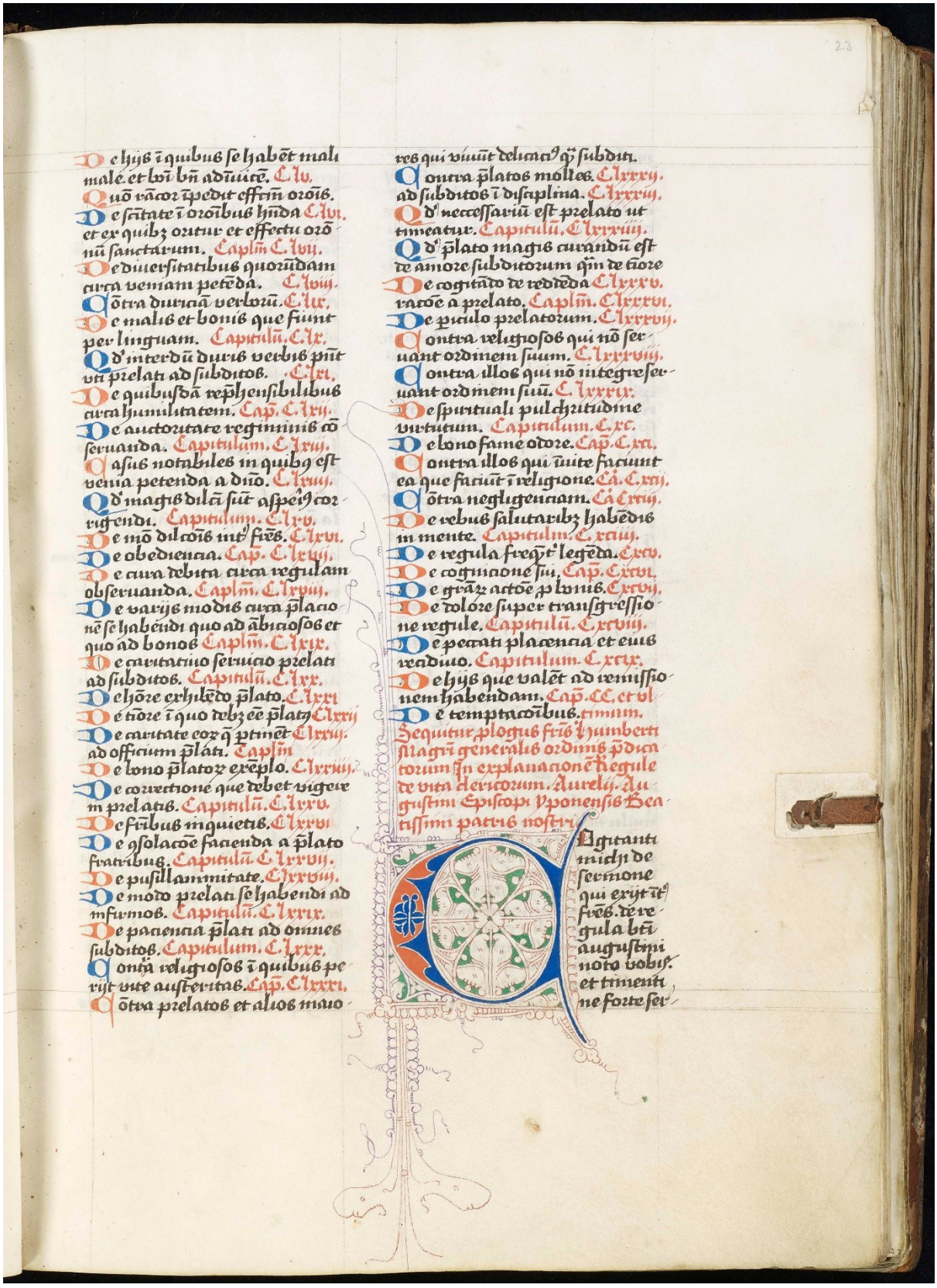


Figure 5.1: Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas Library, ms. E36, fol. 23r

A final portion of the *tabula capitulae*. Note the use of chapter numbers and alternating colours. The decorated '*C*' in '*Cogitanti*' marks the beginning of Humbert's prologue.

behind the choice of chapter titles and to what extent Humbert himself had any hand in their original division and enumeration is not known. But the absence of any internal cross-references in the *Expositio*—apart from the sevenfold division of the *Rule*—suggests that the enumeration of chapters was undertaken relatively late in relation to the work's composition.

Humbert's work is lengthy and explores many individual topics. Yet some of its chapters are relatively self-contained, easily lending themselves to being read in sections or used for reference. For this reasons, *tabulae capitulae* were more than simply nice additions to the text. Rather, they made the work more useful, enabling readers of the *Expositio* to locate specific topics of interest. An additional and even more powerful tool for this same purpose can be seen in the use of indexes. One can find several manuscripts that contain a '*tabula de notabilibus*', essentially an alphabetical subject index that identifies major themes throughout the text. Such *tabulae* were first developed in the 1230s–40s, particularly to assist clergy in mining such texts for sermon material.[31] When combined, as they sometimes were, with marginal markings that indicated '*nota bene*', these *tabulae* could provide a fairly rapid way to locate specific, relevant material in an otherwise sprawling work.

Among fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Expositio*, Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451 contains a *tabula de notabilibus* beginning on fol. 146v that provides a prime example of this referencing system. According to the colophon, this particular *tabula* was compiled by the Dominican friar Rudolph (Rudolfum) of Rohats from Pethovia (Ptuj in modern-day Slovenia), about whom nothing else is known (figure 5.2).

[31] C.F. Briggs, 'Late Medieval Texts and Tabulae: The Case of Giles of Rome, *De Regimine Principum*', *Manuscripta*, 37/3 (1993), 254, 266–67; R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland* (1979), 11–23.



Figure 5.2: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 451, fol. 147v

The colophon at the bottom-left introduces Rudolph of Rohats' *tabula de notabilibus*, which begins on the right column. Note the use of chapter numbers and reference letters to indicate locations within a chapter.

Rudolph's table uses a system that combines chapter numbers with alphabetical reference codes to indicate the place that a particular topic appears in a specific chapter. Likewise, the manuscript Basel, Basel University Library, ms. B. VII. 10 contains a navigation aid that operates in a similar manner. Another, less sophisticated index can be found in Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 66, beginning on fol. 3r. This *tabula de notabilibus* gives only chapter references, rather than a location system for identifying places within a chapter. Each of these *tabulae* appear to have been created independently as they include different items, implying that multiple scribes (presumably to satisfy the desire of their patrons) considered it a worthwhile project to create a cross-reference system for the text. Since a project of this sort was a laborious one, especially given the length and nature of the work, this lends support to the notion that these manuscripts of the *Expositio* were intended to be used, at least as a reference, and not merely copied for the sake of preserving the work.

In addition, surviving manuscripts of the *Expositio* frequently contain other types of notations that indicate when certain authorities are being quoted, such as Augustine, Gregory, Bernard, or the *Glossa ordinaria* (figure 5.4). Various reasons existed for highlighting the authorities in the margins, but Humbert's text compiled numerous source materials that readers could easily borrow for diverse purposes. Incorporated as part of the production of the manuscript, it gave the reader a tool for locating arguments made on the basis of particular authorities. Presumably it also helped the reader keep track of who was 'speaking' at a given point in the text, which may have been difficult in a highly synthetic work of this type.

Another common feature among fourteenth-century manuscripts (and also Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3, the sole surviving thirteenth-century manuscript) is an abundant appearance of manicules indicating important passages. The sheer quantity of manicules found in some of the surviving manuscripts suggests that many

different sections of Humbert's *Expositio* were found to be useful, depending on the community in which the manuscript was kept. The manuscript Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 340 (Cat. Gen. 585) is rather illustrative in this regard, employing both manicules and *nota bene* abbreviations—the former even within its chapter list, identifying those chapters that might be of special interest. While the 'nota bene' marks were likely part of the original production of the manuscript, the manicules suggest subsequent use, as do the marginal comments.[32]

The manuscript St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. XI. 13 offers another example in this regard, one that is particularly noteworthy for the superabundance of manicules it displays in certain sections. The monastery of St. Florian (in modern-day Austria) appears to have been the original owner of the manuscript, but St. Florian was not a Dominican community. Rather, as a monastery of Augustinian canons, its possession and apparent use of the manuscript hints at the wider influence of the *Expositio* (see 5.4.2). A single column on fol. 31r, dealing with gluttony, contains no less than twenty-four manicules. Another folio (figure 5.3) shows numerous markings alongside a chapter about when it is legitimate to take meals. By themselves, debates over food and fasting in a religious community are unremarkable. That Humbert of Romans' thoughts on the matter would be heavily annotated in an Augustinian community is more surprising and perhaps suggests that he had come to be seen as an authority on the *Rule*. More generally, one can simply note that certain sections of the *Expositio* attracted greater attention in particular contexts and thus presumably exerted greater influence, even while others appear to have been passed over in silence.

[32] W.H. Sherman, 'History of the Manicule', in *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2008), 40–41, 45–48.

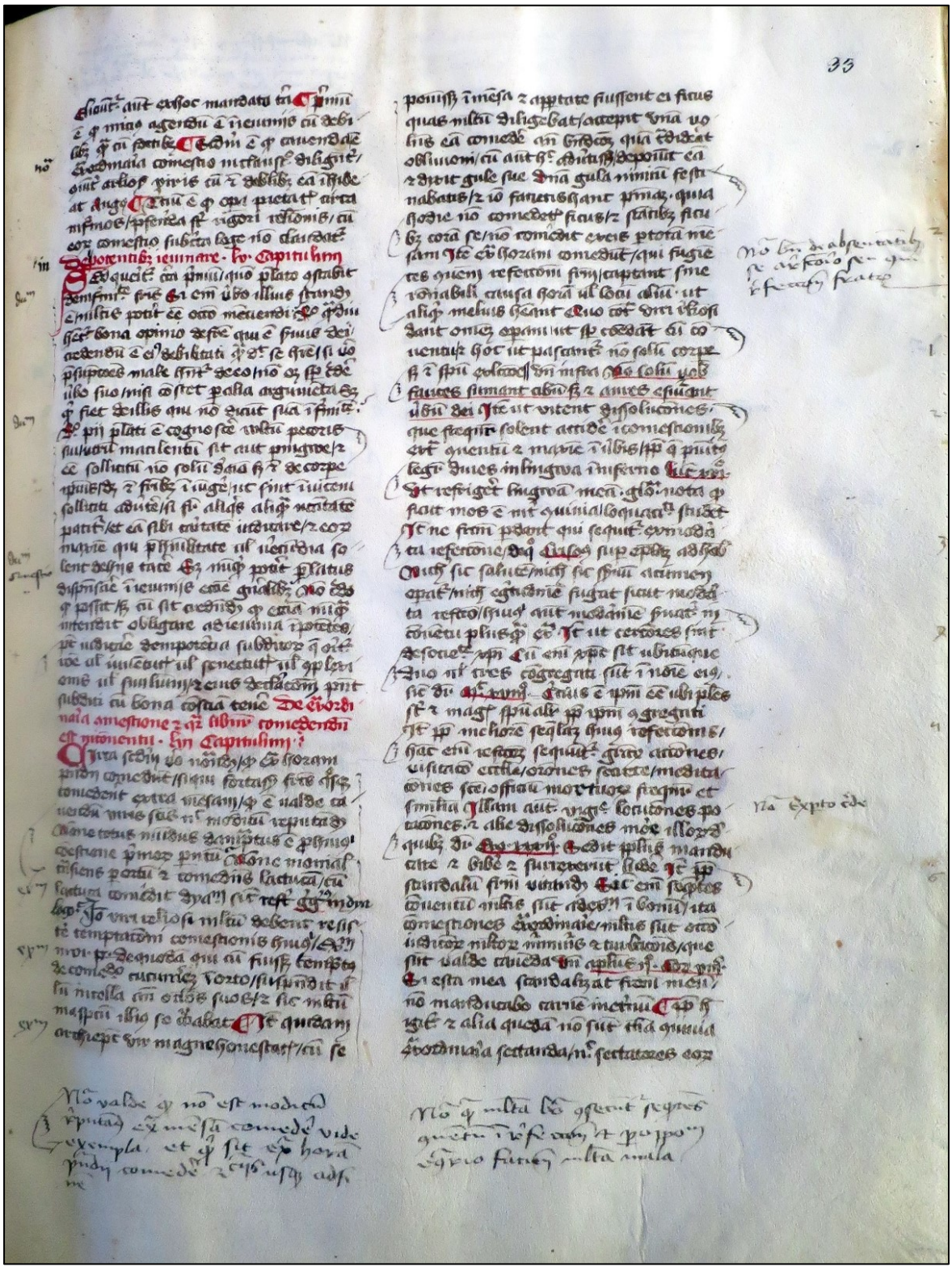


Figure 5.3: St. Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. XI. 13, fol. 35r

A page containing numerous manicules and notations, some of which highlight *exempla*, in a chapter pertaining to mealtimes and 'extraordinary meals'.

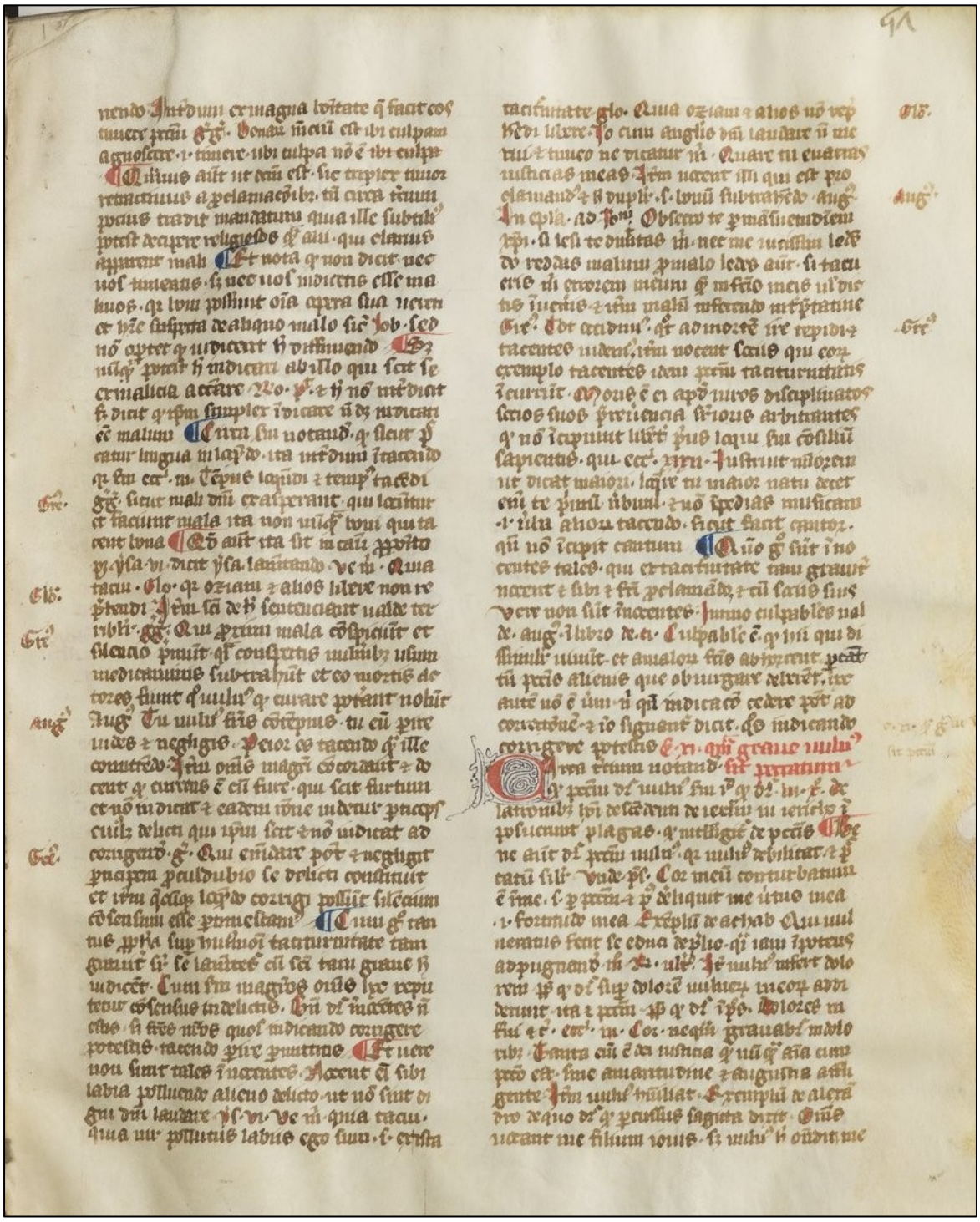


Figure 5.4: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal, ms. 715, fol. 57r

Marginal notations indicate the different authorities quoted by Humbert (i.e., Gregory the Great, the *Glossa ordinaria*, and Augustine).

On the whole, the early manuscripts of the *Expositio* do not show much decoration apart from the already-mentioned chapter lists, the opening initial, and the use of red and/or blue ink for the first initial of different chapters. Historiated initials, for example, are rare. This may have simply been a matter of economy and would certainly be consistent with the use of the text as a reference or for reading at meals and in community 'chapters' rather than as a devotional work. A few exceptions with more elaborate decoration do exist, however, such as the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. lat. th. c. 22, which contains an historiated initial of a Dominican friar (figure 5.5). This illustration of a Dominican friar, although fairly generic in its depiction, is notably bearded. Thus initial may have been intended to represent Dominic, who is described in some sources as having had a beard.[33] Despite the initial's placement at the beginning of Humbert's *Expositio*, it seems unlikely that it was intended to represent Humbert's likeness, given that he was not a missionary and therefore presumably clean-shaven. And, of course, the late-fourteenth century dating of the manuscript precludes any actual resemblance to his person. Yet the lack of any iconographic symbols (apart from the book) typically associated with Dominic (e.g., the presence of a star, dog with a torch, or lily) leaves the matter open—and perhaps the illustrator was familiar with depictions of Dominic including a beard and so drew a generic Dominican in this manner as a proxy for Humbert.

[33] Dominic is depicted inconsistently in art, frequently having a beard but sometimes appearing clean-shaved. See Cannon, *Religious Poverty, Visual Riches*, 196; C.P. Hourihane, ed., 'Dominican Order, II: Iconography', *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture* (Oxford, 2012), I, 307. Among early sources, Peter Ferrandi reports Dominic grew a beard 'for a time' (*aliquanto tempore*) in view of undertaking missionary work in the East. See Tugwell, *Petri Ferrandi Legenda Sancti Dominici*, no. 32; and the discussion in S. Tugwell, 'Notes on the Life of St. Dominic', *AFP*, 68 (1998), 68–70; Vicaire, *Saint Dominic*, 227.



Figure 5.5: Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. lat. th. c. 22, fol. 1r
Historiated initial of a bearded Dominican friar

Ultimately, the chapter lists, 'nota bene' marks, other paratextual devices, and decorations applied to Humbert's *Expositio* all witness to how the text was received in the act of producing copies. Aside from implying that these copies of the *Expositio* were produced with the intention that the work be used as a reference and not simply archived, these markings reveal that various efforts were made to make the work more 'user friendly' and accessible to its readers. These chapter lists and indexes would also have influenced the way readers interacted with the *Expositio*, facilitating a more rapid and targeted reading of particular sections, rather than simply a linear reading or perusal of the text. Furthermore, in the case of specific manuscripts with manicules and/or marginal comments, we can see glimpses of how the text was engaged by its readers after its production. Collectively, these provide important data points in assessing how the text functioned beyond the page and offer another lens, beyond the commentary itself, through which Augustine's *Rule* was read.

5.4.2 Beyond the Friars Preachers: Signs of (Bidirectional) Influence

Humbert clearly intended the *Expositio* for his own Order, as the prologue and its Dominican-specific contents attest. Yet the surviving manuscripts indicates that the *Expositio* also circulated widely beyond the Friars Preachers. Given that the friars had been consciously trying to distinguish themselves from the canons regular in the same period when Humbert first wrote the *Expositio* (see 3.3.1), this development remains surprising.

In his article on Dominican commentators, Creytens observed that copies of Humbert's *Expositio* could be found in the libraries of the Benedictines, Carthusians, Cistercians, Celestines, Teutonic Knights, Servites, and others.[34] Some of these communities may have been interested in the *Expositio* because of the wide range of topics it discussed and the materials it brought together, which may have been useful for sermon composition or moral instruction, as discussed earlier. Since the canons regular—at least houses influenced by earlier reforms—largely followed the *Rule of Augustine*, as did the Teutonic Knights, the *Expositio* also offered them potentially useful content precisely because it was a commentary on the *Rule*.

Yet while much of Humbert's commentary would have been applicable to any community following Augustine's *Rule*, Humbert's particular interpretations of the virtue of obedience, the binding character of the *Rule*, the nature of poverty, the role of study, and the importance of preaching were specifically targeted towards his own friars, thus raising questions about how the text was received by non-Dominican audiences. Theoretical and practical differences on these matters among religious orders could be considerable, although it seems that the *Expositio* was not rejected on this account.

Along these lines, the manuscript Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3 offers a fascinating—although perhaps rather singular—witness to the early

[34] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 155.

reception and adaptation of the *Expositio* outside the Friars Preachers. As briefly noted in 4.3.1, this manuscript was copied for the Premonstratensians canons at Pont-à-Mousson but was also systematically edited to modify references from 'friars' to 'canons' and to remove chapters and even individual paragraphs and sentences that seemed linked to the friars.[35] Completely omitted are chapters 3–5, which pertain to preaching as suitable for the religious state, the appropriateness of the *Rule* for preachers, and why poverty is suitable for preachers.[36] Also omitted are chapters 9 and 10, both of which concern the relationship between charity and the preacher, as well as chapters 59 and 79, which speak respectively of how a preacher ought to discipline his flesh and wear a cheap habit.[37] Notably, chapters 143 and 144, pertaining to the usefulness of study for preachers and the study of philosophy in the Order are likewise omitted.[38] But tellingly, the canons kept the preceding chapter 142 that commends 'sacred reading' but does not refer to preaching or philosophy.[39] They also retained the subsequent chapter 145 on 'those who neglect religion for the sake of study'.[40] More oddly, chapter 147 on 'the evils of knowledge without virtue' has been left out.[41] But far less surprising is the collective omission of chapters 149–153, which concern a wide range of faults particularly relevant to the Order (i.e., faults related to the purchasing of

[35] Throughout Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3, proper references to the Friars Preachers (*fratres praedicatores*), Friars (fratres), and Preachers (*praedicatores*) have been replaced with canons (*canonici*), religious (*religiosi*), or similar language (e.g., those professed to the *Rule* of Augustine), as can be seen, for example, in fols. 4rb; 7rb; 45va; 75rb; 89vb; 91ra; et passim. More generic uses of the terms, e.g., 'among brothers' (*in fratribus*) or when the *Rule's* own use of brothers (*fratres*) would seems to require it have been left intact, e.g., fols. 5va; 7rb; 11rb; et passim.
[36] The absence of these chapters can be seen in fol. 4va, where the text skips from the end of chapter 2 to the beginning of chapter 6 (according to Berthier chapter numbering, which is also employed in the footnotes that follow below); cf. *Exp. reg,* iii–v (pp. 47–53).
[37] On fols. 6vb–7ra, the text skips from the end of chapter 8 to the beginning of chapter 11; and on fol. 68rb from chapters 58 to 60; and likewise on fol. 89vb, from chapter 78 to 80.
[38] On fol. 169vb, the text skips from the end of chapter 142 to the beginning of 145, omitting all of *Exp. reg*, cxliii and cxliv (pp. 433–39).
[39] Fols. 166v–170v.
[40] Fols. 166v–170v.
[41] This omission also oddly retains the first sentence of chapter 147, effectively introducing the topic, but omits any new chapter heading and also the contents of the chapter, which consists primarily of a chain of authorities as well as some organisational summarising of the previous chapters at the end. See fols. 171rb–171va, for this skip from the end of chapter 146 to the beginning of 148.

books, students attending lectures, teachers, writers of books, and participants in disputations), and also chapter 155, which pertains to how books are requested in the Order (an attempt by Humbert to harmonise the *Rule* with the Order's actual practice).[42] Moreover, one can find redactions within chapters, such as the removal of a paragraph offering John the Baptist as an example of a hermit preacher, but which then upholds the communal (coenobitic) life as more suitable to preachers in general.[43] In short, by carefully omitting various elements and adjusting the text to refer to canons rather than friars, the *Expositio* was revised to provide a text more suitable for the life and identity of the Premonstratensians at Pont-à-Mousson.

Equally interesting is the historiated initial that opens Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3 (figure 5.6). Not only were the references to the friars in the text replaced with references to canons, but—in notable contrast to the abovementioned Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. lat. th. c. 22—the historiated initial that opens the work depicts a Premonstratensian canon and St. Augustine kneeling before a Trinitarian-Crucifixion scene. Due to similarities in dress, the canon could easily be mistaken for a Dominican friar, but the absence of a black *cappa* and belt, not to mention the provenance of the manuscript, leave little doubt that the figure is a Premonstratensian. Ultimately, the choice to place a canon regular at the beginning of the commentary goes hand-in-hand with the adaptions made to the *Expositio*'s text throughout this manuscript.

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[42] On fol. 172vb, the text skips from the end of chapter 148 to the beginning of 154; cf. *Exp. reg*., cxlix–cliii (pp. 448–72); and on fol. 173vb, the text skips from the end of chapter 154 to the beginning of chapter 156; cf. *Exp. reg*., clv (p. 476).

[43] Compare fol. 11rb, with *Exp. reg*., xiv (p. 70). Other examples also exist throughout, e.g., the omission of three paragraphs pertaining to preachers on fol. 15ra, and several sentences later on fol. 15rb; cf. *Exp. reg*., xviii (pp. 77–78); and fol. 17ra–b; cf. *Exp. reg*., xix (pp. 81–82); omission of a paragraph on preachers on fol. 90va; cf. *Exp. reg*., lxxx (p. 242); omission of reference to the Master and granting permission to transfer to a stricter order on fol. 133ra; cf. *Exp. reg*., cv (p. 343); the elimination of few sentences referring to preachers and their need for books on fol. 165ra; cf. *Exp. reg.*, clx (p. 421); etc. Interestingly, an *exemplum* referring to Dominic has been retained, but the reference to him as '*pater noster*' has been omitted (fol. 60va; cf. *Exp. reg*., liii [p. 172]), while another *exemplum* in the same chapter that speaks of a person entering a church of the Friars Preachers and finding no friars at prayer (as they supposedly would have been in more pristine times) was retained (fol. 60va–b).



Figure 5.6: Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3, fol. 3r
St. Augustine and an Augustinian canon kneeling before a Trinitarian/Crucifixion scene.

These adaptations witness to the bidirectional flow of influence between the canons regular and the friars—a process of transmission that was also carefully mediated. Dominic, after all, had initially appropriated the Premonstratensian *consuetudines* to create his friars' own *Constitutions*, thus supplementing Augustine's *Rule*, which had been used by Dominic himself when he was a canon regular at Osma (see 2.6).[44] One generation later, Humbert wrote the *Expositio*, which reinterpreted elements of the *Rule*—long-associated with the canons regular—to better adapt it to the life of the friars. Yet within that same century and perhaps his own lifetime, the Premonstratensian canons at Pont-à-Mousson redacted Humbert's text so that his commentary on the *Rule* could be better used by them. While both communities sought to keep their identities clear—as one can see from how the friars progressively eliminated the word 'canons' from their *Constitutions* and how the

[44] As Tugwell points out, much of the adaptation also involved the deletion of passages that friars did not consider particularly necessary or relevant. See Tugwell, *Early Dominicans*, 455.

Premonstratensians did the exact opposite to the *Expositio*—their mutual borrowing of texts also highlight the permeability of these cultivated distinctions.

The interpenetration of texts across religious orders and the manner in which these texts were received, repurposed, and sometimes 'glossed', can also be seen in other aspects of the *Expositio*. Humbert, as noted earlier, quotes from the canon Hugh of St. Victor, reframing Hugh's comments on the *Rule* in the new context of the *Expositio*. These comments were, in turn, read through the lens of the *Expositio* by the communities of canons who made use of Humbert's commentary. Humbert likewise quotes from Bernard of Clairvaux extensively, despite the fact that Bernard's Cistercian community was founded along very different lines. These same repurposed quotations subsequently found their way into at least one Cistercian community by way of Humbert's *Expositio*.[45] When one considers that Humbert's writings do not simply concern moral behaviour in general but also the specific nature of obedience, the role of philosophy studies, and various other specific practices discussed above, the circulation and influence of such a text suggests that the carefully cultivated distinctions in religious identity did not preclude these communities from engaging with (or even meditating upon) texts written from different perspectives—even when it concerned something as foundational as a community's rule.

Beyond the direct witness of the surviving *Expositio* manuscripts and their distribution, evidence also points to the use of the *Expositio* in some sermons that survive in non-Dominican religious communities. For example, a number of fifteenth-century sermons survive from the Swedish abbey of Vadstena, the original abbey from which the Order of the Holy Saviour (more commonly known as the Brigittines) spread throughout Europe. At this double abbey, several sermons and exhortations preached by Brigittine

[45] Specifically, the Cistercians at Neuberg, as is evident from the provenance of Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. 677.

friars include ample quotations from Humbert's *Expositio*.[46] With a few exceptions, the Brigittine nuns appear to have been the intended audience for these sermons, which are thought to have been delivered in the Swedish vernacular, although prepared or copied down in Latin.[47] Knowledge of Humbert's *Expositio* was therefore not only shared among the particular Brigittine friars who could read the text directly, but also among the nuns who heard their sermons, whether or not they could also read the text themselves. That Humbert's writings were held in high regard among the Brigittines is also evident from an oration delivered by a Brigittine friar to the 1487 Brigittine General Chapter in Gnadenberg. The *Expositio* was explicitly quoted in this oration and Humbert was referred to as the '*doctor egregius*' (the distinguished doctor) before the assembled superiors of the Brigittines.[48] While one should not overstate the importance of these scattered references in this particular community, it remains striking that the *Expositio* should turn up in such unexpected contexts in both the vernacular and the Latin preaching of multiple Brigittines friars. Moreover, the Brigittine General Chapter of 1487 undertook the reform of their own *Rule*, so the appeal to Humbert's *Expositio* in that context seems particularly noteworthy.

Although it is impossible to be exhaustive in this regard, medieval library lists also yield fascinating results regarding the distribution and use of Humbert's *Expositio*. Apart from the surviving manuscripts, which indicate a heavy distribution among those who followed the *Rule of Augustine*, library lists also suggest that the *Expositio* could be found in even more unlikely places. The Carthusian Charterhouse in Aggsbech, Vienna, typifies this. According to a late fifteenth-century library list, their library held a copy of Humbert's *Expositio* even though their rule and form of life were substantially different.[49] Similarly,

[46] M. Berggren, ed., *Homiletica Vadstenensia: ad religiosos et sacerdotes*, CCCM, 229 (Turnhout, 2009), xxx, 17, 43, 44, 60, 83, 154–55, 221.
[47] Berggren, *Homiletica Vadstenensia*, xvii–xx.
[48] Berggren, *Homiletica Vadstenensia*, I.5, ln. 69-71 (p. 221).
[49] T. Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, 5 vols (Vienna, 1915), I, 591.

the manuscript Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 340, discussed earlier, also appears to have belonged to a Carthusian Charterhouse. Perhaps even more interesting is the case of the Benedictine Schottenstift, also in Vienna. There, a fifteenth-century source includes Humbert's *Expositio* not only among the books possessed by the community but also as one specifically appointed for table reading, indicating that Humbert's work was read aloud to the monks during their regular meals.[50]

The *Expositio* repeatedly demonstrates that influences could flow back-and-forth between communities. Humbert was seemingly content to quote from Benedict, Bernard, and may other figures and to enjoin the friars to imitate them, at least in certain respects, despite the fact that they followed different rules of life. What is important to recognise, however, is that Humbert contextualised these quotations within his larger framework, employing them in whatever way seemed best suited to serve his larger goals. One cannot help but wonder, therefore, how Benedict was understood when read in a Benedictine monastery by way of Humbert's *Expositio*. Certainly, they must have heard their founder's words being communicated through a very different 'voice'. The same would apply to Bernard of Clairvaux's words being heard in a Cistercian community by way of the *Expositio*, and so forth.

Humbert clearly wrote his work with the challenges facing his own Order in mind, which led him to address the friars' faults and struggles as well as their notable deeds and virtues. Accordingly, Humbert provides an important window onto the medieval world of religious life, but especially in regard to its dysfunctions and challenges. His comments, exhortations, and frequent rebukes of certain behaviour on the part of the friars are revelatory in this regard. Yet here too, one must wonder how such exhortations and descriptions were received by non-Dominican communities who read this text. Humbert

[50] Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, I, 442.

never mentions the specific names of individual friars or houses, but surely the Benedictines, Cistercians, and others who read his text understood that he was rebuking members of his own Order. Had he lived another century, Humbert himself, who was extraordinarily self-conscious about the public image of the friars and how they were perceived by the outside world, might well have been rather disturbed to discover that so many other religious communities had access to his less-than-flattering descriptions of the friars' behaviour. Yet perhaps these other orders also saw something of themselves in Humbert's writings. But certainly they came to know far more about the foibles of the friars than if the *Expositio* had not been written.

5.4.3 Relevance to the 'Observant Reform'

As noted, direct evidence for the influence of the *Expositio* on the friars during Humbert's own lifetime is limited. Only Pont-à-Mousson, Médiathèque communautaire, cod. 3, can be dated to the late thirteenth century—and this manuscript was produced for the Premonstratensian canons, not for Dominicans. Yet evidence for the *Expositio's* impact among the friars becomes far more apparent once one turns to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The large number of surviving manuscripts from this period coincides closely with the rise of the 'observant reform', a movement that influenced (to varying degrees) the majority of religious orders from around the end of the Avignon Papacy in the late 1370s to the early 1500s.[51] The development of the observant reform among the Friars Preachers remains an understudied topic, having received far less attention than the same

[51] For an overview of the observant reform, which impacted many religious orders, as well as a survey of recent historiography, see especially Mixson, 'Religious Life and Observant Reform in the Fifteenth Century', 201–14; Roest, 'Observant Reform in Religious Orders', IV, 446–57; J. Van Engen, 'Conversion and Conformity in the Early Fifteenth Century', in *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, ed. by K. Mills and A. Grafton (2003), 39–45. In addition, a key collection of essays on the Observant Reform that remains highly useful is K. Elm, ed., *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, Berliner historische Studien, 14 (Berlin, 1989).

phenomenon among Franciscans.[52] To the extent that it has been studied, the causes and coherence of the Dominican observant reform have been the subject of much debate and disagreement.[53] Nonetheless, the observant reform among the Friars Preachers is generally thought to have had two distinct phases.

The first phase began with Conrad of Prussia, who obtained permission to establish the first reformed priory in Colmar in 1388–89.[54] Coinciding with this was the preaching of the Dominican Henry of Bitterfeld (d. c. 1404–6), who wrote a treatise in 1389 titled *De formatione et reformatione ordinis praedicatorum* that helped to foster the reform movement among the Dominicans.[55] During this first phase, however, the observant movement experienced only modest growth and localised influence.[56] The second phase of the Dominican observant reform came later, in tandem with the reign of Pius II, who canonised Catherine of Siena in 1461 and who supported renewed efforts to reform the friars.[57] It was in this period that the observant reform came to the forefront and ultimately dominated the Order's politics and religious practices. Subsequently, it was the narrative of the observant reform that became the primary prism through which the Order's history (and the conflict between the Observant and Conventual Dominicans) was understood, read, and interpreted.[58]

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[52] M.M. Tavuzzi, *Renaissance Inquisitors: Dominican Inquisitors and Inquisitorial Districts in Northern Italy, 1474-1527* (Leiden, 2007), 49. For a useful bibliography of works relevant to the Dominican observant reform, see Huijbers, '"Observance" as Paradigm', 111 n. 2. The two most essential studies remain E. Hillenbrand, 'Die Observantenbewegung in der deutschen Ordensprovinz der Dominikaner', in *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, ed. by K. Elm (Berlin, 1989), 219–71; and P.F. Wolfs, 'Dominikanische Observanzbestrebungen: die Congregatio Hollandiae (1464-1517)', in *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, ed. by K. Elm (Berlin, 1989), 273–92.
[53] Vargas, 'Weak Obedience', 306.
[54] Huijbers, *Zealots for Souls*, 205–7; Jones, *Ruling the Spirit*, 88–89.
[55] Huijbers, '"Observance" as Paradigm', 111. Although an edition is forthcoming, Henry's treatise currently exists only in manuscripts. See the documentation in Huijbers, *Zealots for Souls*, 190 n. 75.
[56] Huijbers, *Zealots for Souls*, 181.
[57] Huijbers, *Zealots for Souls*, 182.
[58] Huijbers, *Zealots for Souls*, 106, 217–23, 240–41, 327, et passim.

Interestingly, the surviving manuscripts do not fall neatly on either side of this two-phase division, with at least thirty-five extant manuscripts predating the canonisation of Catherine of Siena and many more appearing thereafter, giving the impression that copies were produced throughout. This may be partly due to the fact that a number of the manuscripts were produced in German-speaking areas, where the observant reform continued to develop across the two main phases.[59] Most of these manuscripts, however, were actually produced for communities of canons regular, making it difficult to determine on the basis of manuscript evidence alone whether demand for Humbert's *Expositio* increased within the Order during the second phase of the Dominican reform. Certainly, the greater number of observant friars during the second phase would make it logical to assume a greater demand. But, in any event, the popularity of the *Expositio* during the observant reform is evident, both inside and outside the Order, and there is good reason to think that it shaped the thinking of those advocating a return to a more 'pristine' form of Dominican life.

As mentioned, Henry of Bitterfeld's treatise *De formatione et reformatione ordinis praedicatorum* played a significant role in launching the observant reform among the friars. Early in this treatise, Henry cites Humbert's *Expositio* concerning difficult matters pertaining to obedience, indicating that he knew Humbert's work and considered the *Expositio* an authoritative source for such matters.[60] Similarly, although Henry's *Tractus de vita contemplativa et activa* only engages the *Rule of Augustine* directly at one point, he immediately comments upon this passage by drawing from Humbert's *Expositio*.[61] While these examples do not imply that the *Expositio* provided a comprehensive vision for Henry

[59] Jones, *Ruling the Spirit*, 89.
[60] No printed edition of *De formatione et reformatione* exists. However, the reference to Humbert's *Expositio* can be found in Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, ms. Aa 114, fol. 148rb.
[61] Henricus Bitterfeld de Brega, *Tractatus de vita contemplativa et activa*, ed. by B. Mazur, L. Seńko, and R. Tatarzyński (Warsaw, 2003), 168. Although the footnote on p. 168 indicates that the source cannot be found in Humbert, the correct reference is *Exp. reg.*, cxciii (p. 587).

about Dominican life, it does show that the *Expositio* was being read (or at least cited) by the earliest reformers, well over a century after Humbert had written it for a very different context.

Another prominent figure in the Dominican observant reform was Johannes Nider (d. 1438). Along with advocating for greater observance in the Order, especially with regard to poverty, Nider also promoted forms of lay piety that were derived from religious life.[62] Nider's importance for the observant movement, both in German-speaking areas and more generally throughout Europe, can hardly be overstated. Like Bitterfeld, Nider also quotes from Humbert's *Expositio*, as can be seen in his *De reformatione religiosorum libri tres*—one of the most significant works in the first phase of the reform.[63] Similarly, Henry of Herford (d. 1370), a Dominican chronicler who lived shortly before the first phase of the reform, includes a brief sketch of Humbert's life in his narrative of human history—the *Liber de Rebus Memorabilioribus*—and mentions that Humbert authored the *Expositio*. What is striking is not that Henry mentions the *Expositio*, but that he does not mention any other writings of Humbert's apart from his editing of the *Vitae fratrum*. Concerning the *Expositio*, he also adds that it is '*multum utilem et diffusam*'.[64] This reference, occurring as it does in a mid-fourteenth-century chronicle, further suggests that the work enjoyed some degree of popularity during the reform movement. To this can be added the example of Johannes Uytenhove (d. 1489), a vicar for the observant friars in Holland, who likewise

[62] Note, however, that Nider's views on poverty were more nuanced than the earlier reformers, which may have contributed to the success of the reform in this second stage. M.D. Bailey, 'Religious Poverty, Mendicancy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages', *Church History*, 72/3 (2003), 473–82.
[63] J. Nider, *De reformatione religiosorum libri tres* (Antwerp, 1611), 208, 265. Nider also shows a familiarity with Humbert's *Commentary on the Constitutions* in his *Praeceptorium Decalogi* (Douai, 1611), 176.
[64] Henry of Herford, *Liber de rebus memorabilioribus, sive Chronicon*, ed. by A. Potthast (Göttingen, 1859), 209. Note that a reference to Humbert's *De tribus* appears to have been added later in the manuscript tradition.

demonstrated familiarity with the *Expositio* in his *Tractatus pro reformatione*—a letter written during the second period of the reform in 1471.[65]

Brief mention should also be made of the surviving translations of the *Expositio*. As noted earlier, surviving translations exist in early New High German (*Frühneuhochdeutsch*) and in Early Modern Spanish.[66] While the translator of the Spanish text remains unknown, the German translation has been tentatively attributed to either Georg Falder-Pistoris (d. 1452) or Johannes Meyer (d. 1485).[67] Both were Dominican friars active in promoting the observant reform in German-speaking areas, including among the nuns and even among non-Dominican communities.[68] Surviving manuscripts of the German translation tend to be from the late fifteenth century and thus coincide with the larger number of reformers who were active during this period.[69] Several of these manuscripts can be directly linked to convents of Dominican nuns, hinting at possible crossover influence of the *Expositio* on the nuns. Among the more notable examples, a mostly-complete translation and two partial copies can be found (in manuscript) in the library of the Dominican convent of St. Catherine's in Nuremberg—one of several convents described as a 'powerhouses of reform' and whose nuns helped engineer reforms in still other convents as well.[70] In addition, beyond the manuscripts listed in Creytens and in

[65] J. Uytenhove, 'Tractatus "Pro Reformatione" (Lettre de Jean Uyt Den Hove, à Charles-Le-Téméraire Touchant La Réforme Religieuse)', ed. by R.-M. Martin, *Analecta S.O.P.*, 16 (1923), 296–97. As with Nider and others, Uytenhove also draws repeatedly on Humbert's *Commentary on the Constitutions*.
[66] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 130–31; SOPMA, II, no. 2016; To these lists, add Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, Univ. cod. XVI. D. 18 and Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, cod. M II 24, fols. 1r–264v.
[67] See the current research information provided in 'Humbertus de Romanis: Auslegung Über Sankt Augustins Regel', *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, 2017 <https://data.cerl.org/istc/ih00550000> [accessed 21 April 2020], hereafter listed as ISTC, no. ih00550000; cf. Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 130, 133 n. 42.
[68] E. Spielvogel, 'Georg Falder-Pistoris: Reformator österreichischer und süddeutscher Dominikanerklöster des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 83/3–4 (1975), 325–51; Huijbers, *Zealots for Souls*, 134.
[69] For manuscripts known to contain the German translation and their dating, see the references provided in n. 66 above. For printed editions, see the discussion below and earlier in 4.3.2.
[70] Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Cent. VI, 46[e]; Cod. Cent. VI, 58, fols. 247v–276r (partial); and Cod. Cent. VII, 29, fols. 139v–170v (partial); K. Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8-1502)* (Oxford, 2014), 13.

Kaeppeli's *Scriptores Ordinis*, the German translation found in Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, cod. M II 24, fols. 1r–264v, can be connected with the Dominican nuns' convent at Mariazell (Brno) through a link with the Dominican friar Heinrich Sigel.[71]

The mostly-complete German translation found in the manuscript at St. Catherine's probably served as the basis for the text found in the German-language incunabula of the *Expositio*, which first begin to appear in Ulm in the 1480s.[72] Ulm was deeply impacted by the observant reform as a city and the local civil government provided support to the movement for a variety of reasons.[73] It turn, Ulm saw the adoption of observant practices among male and female houses of Dominicans, Franciscans, and various other religious communities.[74] Extant copies of the German translation of the *Expositio* printed in Ulm can presently be found in at least 57 institutions (with some possessing multiple copies), although a number of copies survive only partially or in fragments.[75] The vast majority of these copies, whether complete or in fragments, can be found in Germany (33), Austria (11), and Switzerland (6).[76] While a full study of the incunabula of the German translation of the *Expositio* exceeds what is possible here, it is worth noting that the Dominican observant reformers Felix Fabri and Ludwig Fuchs had developed a close relationship with more than one printing house in Ulm and a connection between the appearance of a printed edition in Ulm of the German translation of the *Expositio* and Fuch's effort to promote the observant reform has been hypothesised by Peter Aemlung.[77]

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[71] See signature and inscriptions on fols. 1r, 329r, and 343r.
[72] Creytens, 'Les Commentateurs (I)', 131–32.
[73] See the discussion of Ulm in Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher*, 13, 59–65.
[74] Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher*, 13, 59–65.
[75] ISTC, no. ih00550000.
[76] ISTC, no. ih00550000.
[77] Fuch's efforts to promote the observant reform were not limited to Dominican communities and Aemlung suspects the appearance of the printed edition of the German translation is actually tied to Fuch's efforts to reform a community of Poor Clares at Söflingen Abbey. In any event, far more copies were certainly printed than would have been necessary for a single community. See P. Amelung, *Der Frühdruck im deutschen Südwesten, 1473-1500: eine Ausstellung der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart* (Stuttgart, 1979), 232–35; Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher*, 66.

Beyond the *Expositio*, there is evidence that Humbert's other writings also influenced the observant reform, including his *De officiis ordinis*, which found an echo in the vernacular *Buch der aemter*, written for Dominican nuns by Johannes Meyer.[78] Similarly, Antoninus of Florence (d. 1459), a Dominican theologian devoted to the observant reform, incorporated one of Humbert's letters on observance into his *Chronicon* (world chronicle), specifically in reference to the nuns and their decline.[79] Given that the reformers appear to have found inspiration in Humbert's overall corpus, it is not surprising that the *Expositio* found a particular home among them as well, especially given their interest in returning to a stricter adherence of the *Rule* and *Constitutions*. Moreover, a concern for 'obedience and community concord' was an important aspect of the observant reform, and Humbert's own emphasis on unity and uniformity surely fit well with these desires.[80]

While nothing suggests that the *Expositio* provided the master plan for the observant reform, the surviving manuscripts, incunabula, and references to the *Expositio* in the writings of the reformers point to its relevance to the movement. In fact, there may be a parallel with the history of the *Rule* itself. Augustine's *Rule*, after all, had only limited impact in the era of its composition. It became, however, far more influential centuries later when it was 'rediscovered' during the reform of the canons regular. Humbert's *Expositio* may have experienced a somewhat similar fate. It appears, after all, to have been copied and read by a far wider audience in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries then when it was first written.

The lingering influence of the *Expositio* beyond the observant reform can also be seen in the Latin editions that continued to be produced after the introduction of the printing

[78] Huijbers, *Zealots for Souls*, 134.
[79] Huijbers, *Zealots for Souls*, 159.
[80] See Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher*, 12.

press (see 4.3.2). The first printed edition of the Order's *Constitutions*, published in 1505 and edited by Vincent Bandello, also included a reference to Humbert's *Expositio* on how to handle grave faults and expulsion from the Order (see 4.7.4).[81] Printed copies of the *Expositio* were produced throughout the sixteenth century in various editions, but it seems that the *Expositio's* perceived relevance ultimately waned by the end of that century as the Order entered and emerged from the Protestant Reformation. By that point, of course, the life of the friars had undergone so many substantial shifts that the *Expositio* would have been primarily a text of historical interest rather than a source of practical advice. Nonetheless, a further exploration of the *Expositio* in this period might yet yield interesting results, especially insofar as copies of the *Expositio* appear to have been carried to Latin America and Asia as part of the friars' missionary activity.

5.5 Conclusions

Humbert's *Expositio* does not lack for complexity, having been compiled and constructed from many sources, and reflecting multiple goals and intentions that are not always expressly stated. While ostensibly written to praise the *Rule* and to show its aptness for Dominican life, the *Expositio* deploys an abundance of rhetorical devices aimed at influencing the behaviour of the friars and shaping their identity as preachers. Written in the context of a controversy over the continuing relevance of the *Rule*, the *Expositio* not only emphasises the *Rule's* value, but uses it as a jumping off point to discuss practically every aspect of religious life as lived (or neglected) by mid-thirteenth century Dominicans. A practical, but also a rather comprehensive document, Humbert provided his brothers with a lens through which to interpret the *Rule* and a mirror in which to see their own faults and

[81] V. Bandello, ed., *Regula Beati Augustini, Constitutiones fratrum Ordinis Prædicatorum* (Rome, 1566), 66.

failings, according to his sense of how they ought to be socialised and live in relation to the world and each other.

Implicit in much of the *Expositio's* focus on the friars' social and moral behaviour is a concern for the construction of a distinct Dominican identity. The *Expositio's* preoccupation with how the friars were viewed by outsiders and how they should understand their own particular roles and relationships within the Order are reflective of this. Accordingly, this chapter has examined possible areas of intersection between the text of the *Expositio* and contemporary theories of socialisation and collective identity. Although this is a vast sociological field, the writings of Turner, Berger, Luckmann, and Melucci all offer varying degrees of assistance in unpacking Humbert's aims and the friars' development in the mid-thirteenth century. A greater exploration of these intersections may prove a fruitful avenue for future interdisciplinary research.

Yet as this chapter has shown, the actual impact of the *Expositio* on the friars themselves is difficult to gauge, especially among Humbert's contemporaries. Instead, better evidence exists in the abundance of later manuscripts, their markings and paratextual devices, and the various references to the *Expositio* that can be found in the writings and homilies of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century authors and reformers. These suggest that the work may have achieved greater prominence in this later period, especially among the observant reform movement. Humbert could not have foreseen this development, of course, and he may well have had reservations about the widespread distribution of his work outside Dominican circles.

Like Augustine's *Rule* itself, the *Expositio* appears to have found a home in far-flung places, long after it was written, and perhaps repurposed to serve new goals. This points not only to the broader impact of the work, but also to its complex reception history

in a world where texts could be transmitted over centuries and circulate among diverse communities embedded in very different historical contexts.

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSIONS

When in 1225 Humbert of Romans solemnly professed his vows as a Dominican friar, he did so 'according to the rule of blessed Augustine'.[1] Roughly thirty years later, Humbert undertook the largest writing project of his career to explain how Dominican friars ought to live according to this same *Rule*. As this thesis has attempted to show, the result was something far more complex than the short text of the *Rule* might have suggested. Augustine's *Rule* had a long pre-history before its adoption by the friars, during which time its interpretive context, the connotations it carried, and the behaviours it implied all underwent change. Humbert, for his part, provided his own hermeneutic for how the friars ought to understand the *Rule*, one deeply shaped by the challenges and circumstances of his time.

Yet while the *Expositio regulae* has come down to us in over one hundred manuscripts, it remains an understudied text that still awaits a translation and contemporary critical edition. The value of the *Expositio* lies, moreover, not in its merit as an artefact of medieval literature or scholastic compilation, but as a text that participated in a network of ideas and relations stretching back to Augustine of Hippo and which continued to be engaged by the observant movement long after Humbert's death. It provides a particular window on medieval religious life and the events and challenges that the Dominican friars faced in the mid-thirteenth century. Indeed, it cannot be fully understood without reference to these historical circumstances. Yet, above all, it was written to shape how the friars' embodied their religious profession through their common behaviour and a shared sense of purpose. By providing an interpretive lens for Augustine's *Rule*—one crafted by Humbert himself—the *Expositio* aimed to influence the friars' thoughts and actions, socialising them

[1] Tugwell, 'Dominican Profession', 6–7.

into Friars Preachers according to a certain mode of life and instilling in them a distinctive sense of mission and identity.

To appropriately assess and understand Humbert's work, Chapter I began by surveying the relevant historiography pertaining to the study of medieval religion and to Humbert of Romans and the Dominican friars in particular. This historiographical overview provided the background and major bibliographical reference points necessary for undertaking this study and for locating it in relationship to the broader scholarship that informs its inquiry, its scope, and its limitations.

To investigate the *Expositio's* sources and foundations, Chapter II examined Augustine's *Rule* diachronically, tracing its history from its composition around 397 until its adoption by the Dominican friars in 1216. In the intervening centuries, the *Rule* passed through a period of relative quiescence, only to be 'rediscovered' during the so-called Gregorian Reforms of the eleventh century. As noted in 2.7, when the Friars Preachers selected Augustine's *Rule* as their own, it was all but synonymous with the reform of the canons regular. More than simply providing the core text for the *Expositio*, the *Rule* brought with it a multiplicity of connotations and historical associations, with which Humbert had to reckon and at times redirect.

Complementing the diachronic and genetic approach of Chapter II with a synchronic approach in Chapter III, the contemporary historical context of Humbert's *Expositio* was explored, beginning with Humbert's own life and activity within the Friars Preachers. As one who was tasked with administration not long after joining the Order, Humbert showed a penchant for ordering and codifying the practices of the friars. His education in canon law at the university of Paris and his first-hand knowledge of the ongoing secular-mendicant controversy influenced the shape of the *Expositio*, which is best read in light of both its broader historical context and Humbert's personal aims and goals.

Having then considered the *Expositio's* Sitz im Leben from these various perspectives, Chapter IV directly examined its contents, material history, relationship to other rule commentaries, and major sources. While building on the Augustinian text, Humbert reframed and repurposed Augustine's language for particular ends, redeploying Augustinian themes and *topoi* in ways that were clearly intended to motivate and shape the behaviour of the friars in his own day—often in ways that were far removed from Augustine's original monastic context.

With this analysis of the *Expositio's* themes and language in hand, Chapter V considered Humbert's underlying goals, which went well beyond his modest claims of offering praise of the *Rule* and providing some helpful reflections on poverty and other matters. While the papal bull *Sanctis desideriis* may have been a motivating cause for Humbert's composition of the *Expositio*, this does not fully capture its scope or purpose. Nor does the text merely express Humbert's 'vision' of religious life. Rather, the *Expositio* functions on several levels to achieve a variety of purposes, not the least of which was to forge a greater social unity among the friars, curtail unacceptable behaviour, and project a more consistent public image. Behind much of this lies the challenges facing the Order, including the dangers posed by antifraternalism and rapid growth. While Humbert was politically engaged *ad extra*, his writings were largely directed *ad intra* in hopes of precluding the types of misbehaviour and scandal that might undermine the friars' overall expansion and standing. More than a legal or moral commentary, the *Expositio* was fundamentally a tool for socialising the friars by instilling shared goals and patterns of behaviour. In so doing, it fostered the Order's distinct identity over and against a background of opposition and alternative modes of religious life.

When seen in its proper context, Humbert's willingness to undertake such an immense commentatorial project near (or at) the apex of his ecclesiastical responsibilities

becomes far more intelligible. More than simply a commentary, or even a response to the political challenges related to *Sanctis desideriis*, the *Expositio* served Humbert's overarching goal of consolidating the Order by inculcating certain behaviours and reprobating others, thus helping to form the friars in a consistent way of life. Indeed, much of Humbert's *corpus* can be seen as literature aimed at forming the brethren in precisely this manner, which from Humbert's point of view went hand-in-hand with advancing the Order's preaching mission.

While Humbert seemingly succeeded in derailing any political attempt to abandon Augustine's *Rule*, the actual impact of the *Expositio* upon the friars' behaviour in his own lifetime remains uncertain. Yet the manuscript evidence indicate that the *Expositio* was copied widely in subsequent centuries when the observant movement—desirous of a renewed adherence to the Order's *Rule* and *Constitutions*—appears to have found the *Expositio* a useful resource for its own purposes. At the same time, the *Expositio* seems to have found a home among various non-Dominican religious communities, especially the canons regular, who not only copied but (at least in the case of Pont-à-Mousson) adapted the *Expositio* to better conform to their own way of life, creating a fascinating circle in the reception history of Augustine's *Rule*.

Ultimately, this thesis has attempted to contribute to historiography surrounding Humbert, the friars, and Augustine's *Rule* by building upon the work of other historians and by offering a new treatment of the *Expositio*, its context, and its significance as a medieval text. Accordingly, this thesis has sought to approach the contents of the *Expositio* by probing the web of relations in which the text functioned and by reading it differently than has commonly be the case—that is to say, as a work of moral suasion consciously aimed at shaping behaviour rather than simply as a commentary produced to resolve certain legal questions, to defend the value of the *Rule*, or to offer spiritual reflections on diverse

topics. This, in turn, opens outward in many directions, laying the groundwork for future research and interdisciplinary collaboration that will hopefully have value well beyond the specific focus of this thesis.

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