archa verbi
Subsidia 24

Florian Wöller • Ueli Zahnd (eds.)

Dominican Culture, Dominican Theology

The Order of Preachers and Its Spheres of Action (1215 – ca. 1600)

Aschendorff Verlag

Archa Verbi
Subsidia, Vol. 24

Archa Verbi

Yearbook for the Study of
Medieval Theology

Subsidia
24

Florian Wöller • Ueli Zahnd (eds.)

Dominican Culture, Dominican Theology

The Order of Preachers and Its Spheres of Action (1215 – ca. 1600)

Aschendorff Verlag

Archa Verbi
Annuarium Societatis Internationalis
pro Studiis Theologiae Medii Aevi promovendis

Annuaire de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Théologie Médiévale
Annuario della Società Internazionale per lo Studio della Teologia Medievale
Anuario de la Sociedad Internacional para los Estudios de la Teología Medieval
Jahrbuch der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Theologische Mediävistik
Yearbook of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theology

Subsidia

iussu Societatis edendum curaverunt
Jan C. Klok
Volker Leppin
Ulli Roth

curator
Jan C. Klok

Annemarie Pilarski
Ulrike Treusch
directorium Societatis

Krijn Pansters
praeses Societatis

Printed with support from
CARLSBERG FOUNDATION

This work is licensed under Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 (CC BY), which means that the text may be used, provided credit is given to the author.
For details go to http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/
Creative Commons license terms for re-use do not apply to any content (such as graphs, figures, photos, excerpts, etc.) not original to the Open Access publication and further permission may be required from the rights holder.



1. Auflage 2025

© 2025 The editors and authors. A publication by Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, Münster
This book is part of the Aschendorff Verlag Open Access program.

Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co. KG
Soester Straße 13
D-48155 Münster
buchverlag@aschendorff-buchverlag.de
www.aschendorff-buchverlag.de

ISSN 1865–2964
ISBN 978-3-402-10333-3 (Print)
ISBN 978-3-402-10334-0 (ePDF)
https://doi.org/10.17438/978-3-402-22688-9

Table of Contents

Preface 9

List of Figures 11

1. Florian Wöller/Ueli Zahnd
Dominican Culture, Dominican Theology: Introduction 13

I. Dominican Identities and Cultures of Expertise

2. Jan-Hendryk de Boer
Giving Advice to the Pope
Dominicans as Experts During the Pontificate of Pope John XXII 23

3. Marcel Bubert
Black Friars as Heresy Experts
Dominican Identities and Inquisitorial Expert Culture
in Late Medieval France and Aragon 43

4. Isabel Iribarren
The Monzón Affair (1387–1403) and the Construction
of a Dominican Thomist Identity 59

5. Ulrike Treusch
The Grabow Case
An Example of Dominican Identity at the Council of Constance 79

II. Preaching and Liturgy

6. Christian Troelsgård
Mnemonic Verse, Theology, and Pedagogy
in Augustinus de Dacia's († 1285) *Rotulus pugillaris* 93

7. Carol J. Williams
Guy of Saint-Denis and Jerome of Moravia
on the Modally Sequential Office 109

8. Alberto Ferreiro
In Vigilia Sancti Iohannis Babtiste
St Vicent Ferrer on the Vigil of John the Baptist in a Catalán Sermon 123

9. Kristin Hoefener
Liturgical Chant and Devotional Practices
in Late Medieval Dominican Nunneries 139

III. Memory and Material Cultures

10. Marika Räsänen
Rethinking Relic Devotion in Medieval Dominican Culture 161

11. Kirsten Schut
Lay Death and Burial in Dominican Habits 181

12. Christian Etheridge
The Iconography of Dominican Saints Found on the
Claus Berg Altarpiece Made for the Priory of St Nicholas
in Aarhus, Denmark 197

IV. Dionysian Theology

13. J. Cornelia Linde
Pseudo-Dionysian Thought in Early Dominican Theology
The Concept of *Ordo* in Guerric of St Quentin's *In Lamentationes* 225

14. Samuel Baudinette
Between Philosophical and Christian Contemplation
The Role of Dionysius in the Writings of Albert the Great 241

15. Constant J. Mews
Dionysius, *Theologia*, and Thomas's Final *Summa* 265

V. Albert the Great and the Plurality of Dominican Thought

16. Amalia Cerrito
Faith and Natural Philosophy in Albert the Great's Account
of the *generatio Christi* 283

17. Marco Vorcelli
The Book of Job Through the Lens of the *Nicomachean Ethics*
Aristotelian Fortitude and Virtuousness of Job's Lamentation
in Albert the Great's Commentary on Job 6:11–12 297

18. Paul D. Hellmeier
Neo-Platonic Ways and Levels of Knowledge in the Interpretation
of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Berthold of Moosburg 311

VI. Dominicans on Prayer

19. Jonathan Reinert
Thomas Aquinas on Petitionary Prayer and Divine Providence 327

20. Anja Bork
Meister Eckhart on Petitionary Prayer and the Relationship between God and Human 345

21. Andreas Zecherle
Johannes Tauler on Petitionary Prayer
An Attempt at Bridging the Gap Between Ecclesiastical Tradition and Mystical Thought 359

VII. Dominicans and the 'Others'

22. Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen
The Dominicans and 'the Others'
The Friars Preachers as Vanguard Against Pagans, Orthodox, Jews, Muslims, and Heretics. The Case of the Baltic Sea Region 373

23. Cheryl Midson
The Dominican Order and Eastern Christianity in the Thirteenth Century 395

24. Volker Leppin
Just a Quarrel of Monks?
Dominicans, Augustinians and the Early Reformation 409

List of Contributors 425

Index of Names 427

Index of Places 432

Index of Subjects 435

The Dominican Order and Eastern Christianity in the Thirteenth Century

Cheryl Midson

The participants of the First Crusade had knowledge of the Greek Orthodox Church prior to their arrival to the Holy Land as Urban II had asked for Western Christians to come to their aid against the Muslim threat when he preached at the Council of Clermont in 1095. Also, some of the Normans of Sicily had acted as mercenaries for the Byzantine emperors in campaigns against the Muslims in the eleventh century. While regarded as schismatic by the papacy, the Greek Orthodox Church was still recognized as Christian by the Latin Church.

On their arrival to the Holy Land, the participants of the First Crusade were confronted with several other groups, aside from the Greek Orthodox, who also claimed to be Christian. In a letter sent to Urban II in 1098 from the leaders of the First Crusade after the conquest of Antioch, the crusaders requested that the pope journey to the Holy Land to provide them with spiritual help as "nos enim Turcos et pagenos expugavimus, haerecticos autem, Graecos et Armenos, Syros Iacobitasque expugare nequivimus mandamus igitur et remandamus tibi."[1] Some limited attempts were made in the twelfth century to correct and unite the Eastern Christians under the primacy of the papacy, as happened with the Maronite Church in the 1180s. Often, the leaders of the newly formed Crusader States were content to leave the smaller Eastern Christian Churches alone as they recognised that the native Christian population was needed as their own numbers were so small. Thus, over a century later, Jacques de Vitry, bishop of Acre (1216–1228), in several of his letters[2] and his work, *Historia Orientalis*,[3] revealed that little progress had been made in uniting these Eastern Churches with Rome or to correcting their apparent heretical beliefs and practices.

The *Ordo Praedicatorum* or Order of Preachers was granted papal approval in 1216 by Honorius III (1216–1227) following St Dominic's work to convert

1 *Epistulae et Chartae ad Historiam Primi Belli Sacri Spectantes quae supersunt aevo aequales ac genuinae*, Ep. XVI, 11 September 1098, ed. Heinrich Hagenmayer, Innsbruck 1901, p. 164: "Although we have triumphed over the Turks and the pagans we cannot do the same with the Greek, Armenian, Syrian and Jacobite heretics." Translated as "No. 8: Bohemond, Raymond, Count of St. Gilles, Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, Robert, Duke of Normandy, Robert, Count of Flanders, Eustace, Count of Boulogne, to Urban II; 11 September 1098, Antioch", in eds. Malcolm Barber/Keith Bate: *Letters from the East Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries*, Farnham 2013, pp. 32–33.

2 Cf. "No. 57: James of Vitry, Bishop of Acre, to the Parisian masters and to Ligarde of St Trond and the convent of Aywières (1216 or 1217), Acre", in Barber/Bate 2013, pp. 98–108.

3 Iacobus de Vitriaco: *Histoire orientale = Historia orientalis*, trad. Jean Donnadie, Turnhout 2008.

doi.org/10.17438/978-3-402-22711-4

the heretics of Southern France through mendicant preaching. Shortly after the formation of the order, St Dominic expanded the influence of the order to work throughout Western Europe and beyond as preachers and confessors. The education given to members of the Order ensured that friars had a good knowledge of the Bible and the skills necessary to preach, both to Christians and non-Christians. Their aim was to ensure that existing Christians followed the correct doctrine of the Latin Church and to convert non-believers and heretics to the Christian faith. By 1221, the Dominican Order had spread throughout Western Europe and at the General Chapter held that same year had created eight provinces in Spain, Provence, France, Lombardy, Rome, Hungary, England, and Germany to govern their priories. Their influence began to spread to the East and in 1228, they had provinces in Greece and the Holy Land confirmed at the General Chapter.[4]

Thus, having initially been created to combat the Cathar heresy in Languedoc in 1216, the Dominican Order was well placed with their arrival in the Holy Land to do similar work with the schismatic and heretical Eastern Churches.[5] Both the papacy and the political leaders in the Levant made attempts to use the skills of the Dominican Order to work and improve relations with the Eastern Churches throughout the thirteenth century until the fall of Acre in 1291. This article will examine the Order's involvement with Eastern Christianity and how far the Dominicans were successful in their efforts to unite the Eastern Churches with the Latin Church and, also, with the political leaders of the Crusader States.

1. Jacobites and Nestorians

The Jacobite Church had its beginnings in and around the city of Antioch, which was one of earliest cities to adopt Christianity. The Jacobite Church had adopted Monophysite doctrine in the fourth century and was condemned as heretical at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.[6] Churches who accepted Monophysite doctrine, which had originally gained popularity in Alexandria, believed that Christ only had one divine nature as his humanity was overtaken by his divinity. In opposition to this idea was that of the dual nature of divinity and humanity that existed within Christ believed by the Latin and Orthodox Churches.[7] Originally called the Syrian Monophysite line, the Jacobite Church was named after Jacob Baradaeus, bishop of Edessa (543–578). Jacob acted as a missionary round Egypt, North Syria, and Mesopotamia, he gained followers and was able to preserve the renamed Jacobite Church, which was facing op-

4 *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, ed. Benedictus M. Reichert (Monumenta ordinis fratrum praedicatorum historica 3), Rome 1898, p. 3.

5 Cf. Hinnebusch, William A.: *The History of the Dominican Order. Origins and Growth to 1500*, New York 1965, pp. 172–176.

6 Atiya, Aziz S.: *A History of Eastern Christianity*, London 1968, pp. 174–180.

7 Micheau, Françoise: "Eastern Christianities (eleventh to fourteenth century): Copts, Malkites, Nestorians and Jacobites", in ed. Michael Angold: *The Cambridge History of Christianity. Volume 5: Eastern Christianity*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 373–403.

position by the Greek Orthodox Church and Emperor Justinian.[8] Thus by the thirteenth century, the Jacobite Church had twenty metropolitans and about one hundred bishops.

The Nestorian Church, on the other hand, was condemned as heretical at the Council of Ephesus in 431 and again at Chalcedon in 451 for following the Diophysite belief that Christ had two distinct aspects, divine and human and rejecting the title of God-bearer for Mary. They took their name from their founder, Nestorius, who was bishop of Constantinople in 428 until his exile in 431.[9] To avoid Greek Orthodox persecution, followers of Nestorius fled East and established their church in Persia. From Persia, they began missionary efforts further East to India, China, and Central Asia, where they would encounter the Mongols and thus were present at the court of the Chans when the Latin missionary efforts began in the thirteenth century.

Both the Jacobite and Nestorian Churches were present in the Crusader States and attempts to unite these heretical churches with Rome were some of the earliest made by the Dominican Order less than a decade after the formation of the province of the Holy Land.[10] One of the earliest explicit connections between the Dominicans and Eastern Christianity is a papal bull sent by Gregory IX (1227–1241) in 1235.[11] The pope, a strong proponent for the mendicant orders having begun using them to preach his crusade campaigns, clearly recognized that the Dominican Order was in a good position to work with the Eastern Churches and the Muslims in and around the Levant.

On 15 February 1235 Gregory IX issued the papal bull, *Cum hora undecima*. The bull was an instruction for the friar, William Montferrat OP, to go to preach the word of God in the lands of the infidel and schismatics along with two companions. In the bull, Gregory IX instructed the Dominicans to use their knowledge to preach the word of God and convert the non-believers. Also, through the light of their sermons to correct those who were part of the heretical groups in the lands of the infidels and schismatics to unite them with the Catholic Church. William, along with two of his brethren, traveled to the East and were in discussions with the Nestorian patriarch, Sabrisho V (1226–1256), at Baghdad. Their work appears to have been successful for only two years later in 1237, Philip, the prior of the Dominican province of *Terra Sancta*, wrote to Gregory IX that the Nestorian patriarch had been in contact and had made an agreement with William that he was willing to offer obedience to the papacy and unite with the Latin Church.[12]

In the same letter, Philip revealed that the Jacobite Patriarch, Ignatius Dāwūd III (1222–1253), had also agreed to make a formal submission to Rome after

[8] Atiya 1968, pp. 180–184.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 240–252.

[10] The province of *Terra Sancta* was confirmed at the General Chapter of the Order in 1228, cf. *Acta Capitulorum Generalium* 1898, p. 3.

[11] *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, vol. 1, CXXIII and CXXIV (Gregory IX: *Cum hora undecima*), ed. Thomas Ripoll, Rome 1729, pp. 73–74.

[12] Matthaeus Parisiensis: *Chronica Maiora*, ed. Henry R. Luard (Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 57), vol. 3, London 1876, pp. 396–399; cf. "No. 64: Philip, Prior of the Dominican Province of *Terra Sancta,* to Pope Gregory IX (1237)", in Barber/Bate 2013, pp. 133–135.

receiving instruction from the Dominicans when he had traveled to worship at Jerusalem. These successes clearly pleased the pope as he sent letters to both patriarchs, on 28 July 1237,[13] accepting their submission and welcoming them to the Roman Catholic Church. It is important to note that these submissions did not signify the complete submission of either the Jacobite or Nestorian Churches to Rome but were only the personal submissions of the respective patriarchs. Bernard Hamilton wrote that the pope himself was aware that this was a personal act of submission as Gregory IX did not send the patriarchs palliums, which would have been the physical sign of ecclesiastical unity.[14] However, it is true that a group of Jacobite Christians based around Antioch did follow the example of Ignatius when they also submitted to Rome in 1238. In that year, Gregory IX issued a papal bull[15] to Albert, the Latin patriarch of Antioch (1226–1245), which granted him "the faculty of dispensing Jacobites who had returned to the Catholic obedience from irregularities which they might have contracted [...] while in schism."[16]

The 1237 letter of Prior Philip had also mentioned that the two companion friars who accompanied William Montferrat on his mission, had done so as they were familiar with the local languages. Indeed, knowledge of the local languages were a primary feature of the Dominican Order from the early days of their formation. The constitution of the Order included the instruction that the friars had to learn the local languages around their respective priories to minister effectively to the population on the Latin Christian faith. Later attempts during the thirteenth century by the Dominicans to work with Eastern Christianity in and around the Holy Land were heavily reliant on the friars' skills and it is logical to assume that preaching in the local languages helps to explain what successes they did achieve. The language skills of the friars were also recognized by the secular leaders who made use of the Order as ambassadors and translators in and around the Holy Land province. Philip's letter certainly shows his recognition to avoid reliance on translators as he wrote:

> Unde videntes ostium tantum apertum, ut veritas evangelii dilatetur, dedimus nosmetipsos ad linguas gentium addiscendas: et studium linguarum in singulis conventibus statuimus, laborem novum veteri apponentes.[17]

Innocent IV (1243–1254) would mimic his predecessor Gregory IX's example in 1244 when he sent a letter to the Dominican Order of the *Terra Sancta* prov-

[13] Cf. *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum* 1729, CLXXII (Gregory IX: *Causum conditori omnium*), p. 97.

[14] Hamilton, Bernard: *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London 1980, p. 351.

[15] *Acta Honorii III (1216–1227) et Gregori IX (1216–1241)*, ed. Aloysius L. Tàutu: *Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis. Fontes III.3*, Rome 1950, n° 233 and 233A, p. 312.

[16] Hamilton 1980, pp. 352–353.

[17] Matthaeus Parisiensis *Chronica Maiora*, ed. Luard, vol. 3, p. 398: "Seeing such an opening for the spread of the true Gospel we ourselves have started to learn foreign languages. We have instituted the study of languages in each of our convents thus adding a new task to the existing ones." Cf. Barber/Bate 2013, p. 134.

ince granting the Jacobite priests who accepted papal authority the same rights and privileges as the Latin priests.[18] That it was the Dominican Order of the *Terra Sancta* province given this instruction is strongly indicative of the continuing missionary efforts that the Dominican friars made among the Eastern Churches during the thirteenth century. The following year, Innocent IV sent four parties of Mendicants on missions to the Mongols.[19] One of these parties was led by the French Dominican Andrew of Longjumeau. Andrew was described by Innocent IV in a letter of introduction as a "brother of holy wisdom, endowed with all the virtues."[20] The letters of introduction to the church leaders of the Nestorians and Jacobites, as well as the Mongols, make it clear that the pope intended the mission of Andrew to achieve several aims in both religious and political areas.[21] This included the attempted conversion of the Mongols, the unification of the Eastern Churches with Rome and seeking to learn the political and military goals of the Mongols.

The only surviving evidence of Andrew of Longjumeau's mission are found in an appendix of the work of Matthew Paris and is incomplete.[22] While we do not know what success, if any, Andrew enjoyed with the Nestorian church, the friar certainly seemed to have enjoyed cordial relations with members of the Jacobite church. As a result of Andrew's mission, Ignatius, patriarch of the Jacobite church, renewed his acceptance and submission to Rome. The patriarch had previously taken similar actions in response to interactions with the Dominicans in Jerusalem during his visit there in the 1230s, which demonstrates the influence that the Dominican friars could impart in their missionary work. The death of Ignatius in 1252 revealed the personal nature of the submission as the Jacobite Church broke into schism with two patriarchs 'elected' as his successor. One of the patriarchs, Dionysus VII (1252–1261), was staunchly anti-Latin and direct communication between Rome and the Jacobite church did not resume until 1288.

A papal bull was sent in July 1253[23] by Innocent IV in which the papacy granted the Dominican Order a number of privileges and concessions to allow them to continue their work to unite the Eastern churches. The papal bull reveals that the Dominicans of the *Terra Sancta* province attempted to keep communication open. It was a reissue of the bull, *Cum hora undecima,* issued by Gregory IX, though it granted further concessions to the Dominicans for their missionary and pastoral work in the Holy Land as it confirmed the Order's right to hear

[18] *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum* 1729, LVI (Innocent IV: *Patri luminam prestamus*), pp. 136–137.

[19] De Rachewiltz, Igor: *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*, Stanford 1971, pp. 84–118.

[20] *Acta Innocentii PP. IV. E regestis Vaticanis aliisque fontibus cellecta*, eds. Theodosius T. Haluscynskyj/Meletius M. Wojnar, Rome 1962, p. 95.

[21] *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum* 1729, Appendix (Innocent IV), p. 265: "F. Andreas, ipsiusque socii, ad Orientales, ut eos ad concordiam cum Ecclesia Romana reducerent, Legati. Legesis Epistolas, quas Catholicon Orientis, Catholicon Jacobitarum, Nestoriani et Primas Jacobitarum ad Innocentium IV scripsere."

[22] Matthaeus Parisiensis *Chronica Maiora*, vol. 4, ed. Luard, London 1877, pp. 113–116.

[23] *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum* 1729, CCCXI (Innocent IV: *Cum hora undecima*), pp. 237–238.

confession, to perform funerals, to issue excommunications to those in error, and to end sentences of excommunication. In essence, the Dominican Order was the pope's representative in all those lands of heretics and non-believers.

The Italian Dominican, Riccoldo of Monte Croce, was sent as a missionary to the Eastern Christian churches in around 1288 by the Master General of the order, Munio of Zamora (1285–1291), in response to a request by Pope Nicholas IV (1288–1292). The pope had also written directly to the Jacobite patriarch, Ignatius IV Philoxenus (1283–1292) to renew attempts for the Jacobite Church to submit to Rome.[24] Riccoldo spent a decade in and around the Holy Land traveling through Christian and Islamic territories as a missionary. He was in Baghdad when news of the Fall of Acre reached the city in 1291. The friar wrote a few works related to his experiences as a missionary in the Holy Land. One, the *Liber Peregrinationis*,[25] contains a detailed description of the practices and beliefs followed by the Jacobite Christians, which provided the Dominican's contemporaries with much greater information about this heretical church than had previously been known. Another work by Riccoldo, *Libellus ad nationes Orientales*, includes detailed descriptions of the doctrines of the Jacobite and Nestorian churches for it was also intended to be a guide for future Dominicans going as missionaries to the Holy Land.

From his account, it is clear that the friar, like his fellow Dominicans earlier in the thirteenth century, enjoyed varied successes with the Jacobite Christians as his party had to flee a Jacobite monastery to avoid violence following their attempts to preach to the monks in one case. In contrast, a public disputation in Nineveh with Jacobite prelates seem to have led to the patriarch and other churchmen recognizing the truth of the Latin faith and permitting Riccoldo to preach in Arabic to the public:

> Et convocato clero et magno populo in civitate Ninive grandi in platea propter multitudinem populi predicavimus fidem catholicam arabice, et ostendimus errores Iacobinorum coram populo et clero iacobino, ipso patriarcha et clero asserente, quia sic erat vere, ut dicebamus.[26]

The Dominican Order's contact with the Nestorian Church followed a slightly different path after the apparent initial success in 1237. The Nestorian Church had a much smaller presence within the Holy Land as their area of influence was in Persia and to the East. This meant interactions with Nestorians were rarer before the Mongol expansion began under Chinggis Khan in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. More direct and frequent contact with the Nestorian

[24] *Les Registres de Nicholas IV. Recueil des bulles de ce pape*, ed. Ernest Langlois, Paris, 1891, n° 2218–2224, pp. 391–392.

[25] Ricoldus de Monte Crucis: *Liber peregrinationis*, ed. Johann C.M. Laurent: *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, Leipzig 1864, pp. 101–142.

[26] Ricoldus de Monte Crucis *Liber peregrinationis*, p. 126: "And the clergy and population of the great city of Nineveh convened on a broad street, and we preached the Catholic faith in Arabic before a multitude of people. We pointed out the errors of the Jacobites in front of the clergy and the Jacobite people, and the Patriarch himself and his clergy asserted that what we said was true." Trad. Rita George-Tvrtvić: *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq. Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounters with Islam*, Turnhout 2012, p. 203.

church began under the papacy of Innocent IV, who as mentioned earlier, sent Mendicant embassies to the East to meet with the Mongols and thus the Nestorian Christians present at the Mongol court and the various Mongol military camps. In fact, the party led by the Italian Dominican, Ascelin, owed their survival to one of the wives of the Mongol general they met and who was herself a Nestorian Christian. It was only her intervention that prevented the execution of the entire party. The account of Simon of Saint Quentin,[27] a fellow Dominican in Ascelin's party, seems to suggest that Ascelin was a poor choice of ambassador as his rigidity of character and faith did not endear him to the Mongol leaders.

Further attempts by Dominicans, including that of Andrew of Longjumeau, with both Nestorian Christians and the Mongols seem to have been more congenial than that of Ascelin. These were often more political than missionary in nature. One such case was the second visit to the Mongols made by Andrew of Longjumeau in the 1250s at the instigation of Louis IX of France during his first crusade campaign. Louis sent Andrew and several other members of the Dominican Order to negotiate an alliance with the Khan in response to an embassy of Nestorian Christians who met the French king in Cyprus. Andrew's knowledge of the language and prior contact with the Mongols made him an ideal choice as ambassador, though as we know the negotiations did not go how Louis IX had anticipated.[28]

In the 1260s, the Dominican Thomas Agni de Lentino, bishop of Bethlehem and papal legate, sent fellow Dominican, David Ashby, to the Mongol court to learn more about the Mongols. This was a political mission as the legate recognized the threat the Mongols posed but it also created an opportunity for the Order to missionize to the Nestorian Christians and the non-believers who were present at the Mongol court. David remained there for a number of years and in 1274 acted as translator for the Mongol ambassadorial party who traveled to the Second Council of Lyon. He also wrote a long treatise on all aspects of Mongol life, though sadly the only surviving manuscript was lost in a fire in the nineteenth century. David's mission is a good example of the political and religious aims that a Dominican mission could have.

At the latter end of the thirteenth century, Riccoldo of Monte Croce was sent on a mission to the Nestorian Christians as well as the Jacobites. The amount of detail about the religious rites of the Nestorian Church that the friar provides in his *Liber Peregrinationis* and *Libellus ad orientales nationes* reveals that he must have spent a significant amount of time with them and learnt their language to be able to preach the Latin faith to them. However, the Dominican does not seem to have enjoyed even the marginal successes that he had with the Jacobites as his party was removed from the Nestorian churches. Riccoldo also reported that the Nestorians "et ipsam ecclesiam, in qua predicaveramus contra Nestorium, lavaverunt cum aqua rosacea, et celebraverunt solempnem missam, ut eum

[27] Richard, Jean, ed.: *Histoires des Tartares*, Paris 1965, p. 20–42.

[28] Joinville, John: "Life of Saint Louis", in ed. Caroline Smith: *Joinville and Villehardouin. Chronicles of the Crusades*, London 2008, pp. 137–336: 178–179 and 263–267.

placarent."[29] While the Dominican attempts in and around to correct the errors of the Nestorian Church and unite the church with Rome seem to have met with little to no success, cordial relations did exist between the Nestorians and Rome. Around the time that he requested a Dominican mission to the East, Nicholas IV received an embassy from the Mongols led by a Nestorian monk, Rabban Bar Sauma (c. 1220–1294). While at the papal court, Rabban celebrated mass in the Nestorian rite and received communion from Nicholas IV himself.

As has been discussed, the Dominican Order made several missionary attempts to correct the doctrinal errors of the Jacobite and Nestorian Churches from 1235 till the fall of the Crusader States in 1291. Their language skills and theological knowledge made them excellent preachers in and around the Holy Land and the papacy and the local Latin Church in the Crusader States took advantage of this to make diplomatic and religious overtures to followers of the two churches. While they enjoyed some successes as have been discussed, this was on the level of the individual or a small group, rather than the wholescale conversion and acceptance of either the Nestorian or the Jacobite prelates.

2. The Armenian Church

The Armenian Church and Armenian Christianity had some unique features from other Eastern Christian groups as Armenia was the "first kingdom in history to adopt Christianity as the official religion of both the state and the people at one and the same time."[30] Like the Jacobite Church, the Armenian church was Monophysite in nature and disagreed with the decisions made at the Council of Chalcedon in the fifth century. However, the Armenian Church had already declared its determination to repudiate all control from Antioch, Constantinople, or Rome in the century before. Armenia faced issues from the Byzantines and the Islamic powers from the eighth century onwards, which led to them seeking closer contacts with the Crusaders in the twelfth century.[31] Attempts were made for a union with Rome and alliances were made with Antioch and the Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1155–1190) when he began his failed crusade campaign.

Relations between Armenia and the Crusader States had remained fairly cordial in the first decade or so after Prior Philip's letter in 1237 with the Armenian church leader Constantine I (1221–1267) making an open declaration of working for a union with Rome. In his letter of 1237, Philip had advised the pope that he had also sent four members of his order into Armenia for the purpose of learning the language. Although interestingly he does mention that this was at the request of the king and the local barons, so politics as well as the missionary goals of the order could play their part. This also demonstrates that the political elite of the Latin East recognized the usefulness of the friars for political missions.

[29] Ricoldus de Monte Crucis *Liber peregrinationis*, p. 130 "[...] washed with rosewater the same church in which we had preached against Nestorius, and in order to placate him they celebrated a solemn mass of Nestorius there"; trad. George-Tvrtvić 2012, p. 209.

[30] Atiya 1968, p. 304

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 305–310.

However, these relations had begun to deteriorate after the Armenian king's formal submission to the Mongols. Relations which soured even further when the Armenian king convinced his son in law, Bohemond VI of Antioch (1251–1275), to also give his submission to the Mongols, which had been opposed by the Church and secular leaders of the other Crusader States. This action led to Bohemond's excommunication by the bishop of Bethlehem. In 1262, the Dominican bishop of Bethlehem and papal legate, Thomas Agni de Lentino (1258–1264), had convened an assembly in the Holy Land that included an Armenian theologian, Mxit'ar. At this assembly, Thomas asked Mxit'ar to speak of the Armenian position on various subjects of theology. Although the experience was not particularly comfortable for the Armenian (at least according to the only surviving account written by an Armenian ambassador), it does demonstrate Dominican attempts to study Eastern Christianity.[32]

Urban IV would also make attempts in the 1260s to improve relations with Armenia, both the crown and the church, when he had the Dominican William Freney sent to the Holy Land in 1263. The pope sent instructions to the patriarch of Jerusalem for William to be given a missionary episcopal appointment under the direct control of the papacy. The friar was made archbishop of Edessa (the only Latin appointment to the archiepiscopacy in the thirteenth century as the territory had fallen into Muslim hands in the latter twelfth century) with the express instruction to contact Armenia and to unite their church with Rome and to improve political relations.[33] An improvement in political relations was an important part of Urban's actions as the Latin empire of Constantinople had fallen to the Byzantines just two weeks before Urban's election to the papal see. The pope would have been aware of the precarious nature of the Latin empire and the other Crusader States as he was the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem prior to the papal election. He had traveled to Rome to seek aid for the Latin East when the Cardinals elected him as Pope.

William Freney's activities in Armenia appeared successful as King Het'um I (1226–1269) renewed contacts with Rome and the leaders of the Crusader States (outside of his son-in-law, Bohemond VI of Antioch). The friar seems to have impressed the king so much that Het'um established a Dominican house within his kingdom shortly after William's attendance. William's success and political acumen come as little surprise as the friar enjoyed close relations with Henry III of England and had acted as ambassador on the king's behalf on a number of occasions, including going to the papacy to plead for the king's crusader vow to be commuted. This recognition of the strength of the Dominican education and political ability had been highlighted in the 1250s when Louis IX sent an ambassadorial party of Dominicans, led by Andrew of Longjumeau, to the Mongols.

The Dominican Order made several attempts to convince the heretical Churches of the Jacobites, Nestorians and Armenians to recognize papal primacy and correct their doctrinal errors. There were also contacts between the groups for diplomatic reasons and, as has been mentioned, there were some

[32] Rubin, Jonathan: "Benoit d'Alignan and Thomas Agni: Two Western Intellectuals and the Study of Oriental Christianity in Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Jerusalem" in *Viator* 44 (2013), pp. 189–199: 196–197.

[33] *Les Registres D'Urbain IV*, ed. Jean Guiraud, Paris 1901, n° 338, p. 159.

successes and some failures in both areas. Despite this, it is interesting to see the opinion that several members of the Dominican Order had of these schismatic groups as it is a surprising contrast to the treatment of heretics in the West with the development and rise of the inquisition movement.[34] Both Riccoldo and another Dominican in the Holy Land, Burchard of Mount Sion, present the followers of the Jacobite and Nestorian churches as being generally a good people who have been led astray by their religious leaders. Burchard in his pilgrimage account sums them up in this way:

> Isti tamen in rei veritate omnes simplices sunt et nihil de ipsis heresibus faciunt vel sentient sed homines devote valde continue ieiunantes. Viliter induti et tanti exempli quod inter religiosos ecclesie romane similia minime sum expertus.[35]

Despite their efforts over the thirteenth century, the Dominican Order made little progress in the wholesale conversion of the Eastern Churches regarded as heretical. There were some successes, but this was on the part of the individual rather than a congregation. Their relations with these groups were congenial for much of the time and they were often permitted to preach publicly, though there were some exceptions as had been shown. It was likely aided by the fact that the prelates of these churches were permitted to keep their positions even when there was a Latin prelate appointment for the same locality. This was quite different from the treatment of the Orthodox Church as will be examined now.

3. Greek Orthodox Church

While the Jacobite, Nestorian and Armenian Churches had all been condemned as heretical from the fifth century at Chalcedon, the Orthodox Church was different and was recognized by the Latin Church as a fellow Christian Church, though a schismatic one. There had been a succession of theological disputes and ecclesiastical differences over the centuries between the Greek East and Latin West. These included whether leavened or unleavened bread should be used in the Eucharist, the papal claim of universal jurisdiction and the procession of the Holy Spirit (*filioque*).[36] Tensions continued to rise between the two churches until a formal break in communion occurred with the Schism of 1054, following attempts by the Latin church to force Greek Christians in Italy to conform to the Latin Church.

[34] The inquisition made no real impression in the Latin East until Pope Nicholas IV (1288–1292) sent an instruction to the Dominican Nicholas Hanapes, Patriarch of Jerusalem (1288–1291), to introduce the inquisition in his patriarchate in the papal bull, *Ad extirpandam ubilibet*, in February 1290, cf. *Les registres de Nicholas IV*, ed. Langlois, n° 2095, p. 370.

[35] Burchardus de Monte Sion: *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, trad. John R. Bartelett, Oxford 2019, pp. 196–197: "In truth they are all simple people and neither do nor think anything heretical, but are very devoted people, continually fasting. They are meanly clothed, and of a standard as I have barely experienced among the religious of the Roman church."

[36] Kolbaba, Tia M.: *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins*, Chicago 2000.

The events of the First Crusade and the replacement of Orthodox prelates with Latins by the Crusader leaders further soured relations between the two Churches. The capture of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade in 1204 was viewed as an insult towards Orthodoxy by the Byzantines and meant that relations between the two Churches were extremely poor and attempts were made throughout the thirteenth century to bring an end to the schism. Innocent III (1198–1216) made attempts at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 with Canon four that contained an exhortation for the Greeks to unite with Rome.[37] The First and Second Councils of Lyon in 1245 and 1274 respectively also contained canons related to papal attempts to unite the Orthodox Church under the primacy of Rome. The Dominican Order was granted papal confirmation by Honorius III the year following the Fourth Lateran Council and within two decades, members of the order were heavily involved in papal attempts to end the divide between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches.

However, there are a couple of events that Dominican friars were involved with that caused more tensions rather than easing them to unite the Latin and Orthodox Churches. The most extreme and perhaps famous example being the execution of the twelve Greek Orthodox monks at Kantara in Cyprus in 1231, at the instigation of a Dominican friar named Andrew (this friar was not the Frenchman that was discussed earlier who visited the Mongols). The monks had been imprisoned in 1228 following a visit from the Dominican to their monastery, where they refused to recognize the validity of the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. After three years, they were asked again if they condemned the use of unleavened bread, which they continued to do and in fact declared it heretical. In response, Friar Andrew then proclaimed them to be heretics and requested of the secular court that they be executed for this crime. The result was the burning of the monks as heretics in 1231, which had a rippling effect in Cyprus for the Dominican Order as for the rest of the thirteenth century only one Dominican was appointed to an episcopal see, the rest were Franciscans. This is in direct contrast to the appointments made in the rest of the *Terra Sancta* province where Dominican appointments to bishoprics were far more common, though this is not surprising as much of the general population of Cyprus was Greek Orthodox.

Later in 1277, Thomas Agni de Lentino, patriarch of Jerusalem (1272–1277), papal legate, and member of the Dominican Order, interrogated and imprisoned two Greek monks, Nicephorus and Clement, for refusing to recognize papal authority. The two monks had been sent to the papal legate by the emperor Michael Palaeologus because they would not follow his decision to unite with the Catholic Church. Thomas attempted to persuade them in an assembly, similar to the one that he had summoned an Armeninan theologian to attend in 1262, discussed earlier in the article, then Nicephorus and Clement were interrogated but refused to accept papal authority. The monks were then imprisoned for ten months in Cyprus and only released on Thomas's death.[38] It should be noted that these were the only examples of such extreme treatment of

[37] Tanner, Norman P.: *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, London 1990, p. 235.
[38] Rubin 2013, pp. 197–198.

the Orthodox church in the thirteenth century, but it cannot be denied that interactions between the Dominican Order and Orthodox prelates often skewed to the negative more than the positive.

In 1233, Gregory IX sent representatives from the Franciscans and Dominicans with a letter, *Cum iuxta testimonium*,[39] to the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople, Germanus, to begin discussions to unite the Latin and Orthodox churches. Despite some initial positive signs, no resolution was reached to achieve the union of the two churches at this time. In fact, an ecumenical council held at Nymphaion in 1234 ended with the Mendicants and the Greek churchmen condemning each other for heresy. A similar situation and result arose in 1267 when Clement IV (1265–1268) requested that the Master General of the Dominican Order, John of Vercelli, send three members of the order to the Greeks:

> Si Deo placuerit, per eorum industriam Greci, dudum per invium aberrantes, viam modo Veritatis agnoscant, et profitentis agnitam, ad Sedis Apostilice redeant unitatem, vel, eorum detectis fraudibus, et mendaciis, manus nostras servemus innoxias, ne nobis nunc, vel in posterum eorundem sanguis a Domino requiratur.[40]

It was not until the Second Council of Lyon in 1274 that an agreement was reached to unite the Orthodox and Roman churches at the instigation of Pope Gregory X and Emperor Michael Palaeologus. Unsurprisingly the Dominican Order played an important role in the events surrounding the Second Council of Lyon. Peter of Tarentaise (c. 1225–1276), appointed Cardinal in 1273 to help organize the ecumenical council, was involved in the debates held at the council defending Latin theological views and his interest continued during his short time as Pope Innocent V (January–June 1276). William of Moerbeke (c. 1215/35–1286), a renowned Dominican Scholar of Greek, also participated in the debates. Gregory X also asked Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) and Humbert of Romans (c. 1190/1200–1277) to write treatises regarding the Orthodox Church and the errors they practiced as far as the Latin Church was concerned.

It is important to note that Gregory X was seeking to unite with the Greek Orthodox church for political as well as religious reasons. He had been in the Holy Land, having accompanied Prince Edward of England on his crusade campaign, when news of his election to the papal see reached him. The pope was eager to arrange another crusade to aid the Holy Land and knew that an alliance with the Byzantines could only help with the campaign. The Dominican Order would then also be involved in preaching Gregory's new crusade campaign after the conclusion of the Second Council of Lyon, though the pope's death

[39] *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum* 1729, p. 50.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 485; trad. Joseph Gill: *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198–1400*, New Brunswick 1979, p. 116: "In order that either by their labors, if it please God, the Greeks, who formerly were wandering in inaccessible places, may now acknowledge the truth and, professing it when acknowledged, return to the unity of the Apostolic See; or, with their deceits and lies exposed, we may preserve our hands unstained lest their blood either now or hereafter be required of us by the Lord."

soon brought an end to these plans. Unfortunately, the agreement of unification between the Latin and Orthodox Churches agreed at the Second Council of Lyon failed to be upheld by much of the Orthodox church and to this day the descendants of Constantinople hold Emperor Michael in contempt.

There are many examples of writings by both the Orthodox and the Catholic churches regarding the errors of the other that were composed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One such example is a text from 1252, *Contra errores Graecorum*, composed by an anonymous Dominican residing in Constantinople, probably at their priory in Pera. This text was translated into Greek and intended as a preaching manual to help the Dominican friars to correct the errors of those who practiced the Orthodox faith, and to make them accept the Catholic faith under the primacy of the papacy.

An especially noteworthy example of Dominican works on the theological and doctrinal errors of the Orthodox church is that by the renowned Dominican, Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas had been involved in this debate even before Gregory X had requested it for the ecumenical council. One example is a short treatise *De rationibus fidei contra Saracenos, Graecos et Armenos ad Cantorem Antiochem* written in 1264 regarding the errors in theology by the Muslims and Eastern Christians. It was composed for a cantor of Antioch who had requested the work (probably at the instigation of his local bishop who was himself a Dominican) to help them to deal with the local Christian groups and correct their mistakes in theology and religious practices. This communication between East and West amply demonstrates the renown of Thomas Aquinas but also the strength of communication that the Dominican Order maintained among their houses during the thirteenth century. It also reveals the level of tensions that existed between the two churches over their perceived theological errors and that efforts made by the Dominican Order during the thirteenth century made little progress to resolve these tensions. In fact, the events of 1231 and 1277 had served to increase these tensions and so the papal aim of uniting the Latin and Orthodox Churches failed to come to fruition.

4. Conclusion

Despite some minor efforts by Latin prelates in the Holy Land in the twelfth century, the Eastern Churches that had so surprised the leaders of the First Crusade continued to practice their doctrinal idiosyncrasies at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The formation of the Dominican Order with the express purpose of preaching and converting heretics and pagans in Europe provided the papacy with the tools to instigate a more consistent attempt at missionizing in the Latin East and beyond. Gregory IX, having already begun to take advantage of the Dominican Order to preach his crusade campaigns throughout Western Europe, issued the first missionary bull, *Cum hora undecima,* in February 1235. This granted the *Ordo Praedicatorum* the right to preach the word of God in the lands of the infidel and schismatic with the aim to convert and baptize the people into the Latin Church. The papal bull was reissued a number of

times, granting an increasing number of privileges to the mendicant orders, until Pope Nicholas IV issued the bull in September 1288 only a couple of years before the fall of Acre in 1291.

As has been discussed in this article, at various points of the thirteenth century individual friars of the Dominican Order enjoyed some successes in the conversion of members of the Nestorian and Jacobite Churches such as William of Montferrat, Andrew of Longjumeau and Riccoldo of Monte Croce. These successes were minor and encompassed only the conversions of individuals rather than large scale acceptance of and submission to Latin Christianity. Relations with the un-orthodox churches remained congenial through most of the thirteenth century and often the contacts made by the Dominican Order also had diplomatic and political aims as well as conversion. The pope and the leaders of the Crusader States used the friars' skills to try and gain allies against their various enemies, which at times consisted of the Muslims, Byzantines, and Mongols. William Freney's actions as the titular Archbishop of Edessa in the 1260s with the kingdom of Armenia is a striking example of the political as well as religious aims of Dominican missions in the thirteenth century.

Relations with the Greek Orthodox Church, regarded as schismatic rather than heretical by the Latin Church, were often not as friendly as those with the Nestorian, Jacobite, and Armenian churches. In the three ecumenical councils called by the papacy in the thirteenth century, uniting with the Orthodox Church was an important aim but while the Dominican Order did make attempts to achieve this aim, they met with little to no success. The Dominican Order's strict adherence to Latin doctrine and often harsh condemnation of what they saw as heretical errors in Orthodox doctrine served to heighten the tensions between the two churches. The martyrdom of twelve Orthodox monks in Cyprus in 1231 also served to reduce Dominican influence in the kingdom, which had a predominately Orthodox population.

To summarize the Dominican Order was involved in several ways with the variety of Eastern Christian groups that could be found in the province of *Terra Sancta*, both political and religious. Their fundamental purpose in formation was to preach and convert heretics, and their involvement with these groups in the Holy Land comes as little surprise. But despite their best efforts, the words of the Dominican missionary, Riccoldo of Monte Croce, who spent a decade in the Holy Land in the 1290s perhaps best sums up the overall success of the missionary attempts of the Dominican Order among the Eastern Churches. He wrote in the prologue of the *Libellus ad Orientales Nationes*: "Experientia teste, tartari facilius convertuntur quam sarracenia, et sarracenia quam iudei, et iudei quam christiani."[41]

[41] Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, *Libelli ad nationes orientales*, ed. Kurt Villads Jensen, [2]2014, available online at https://www2.historia.su.se/personal/vallads-jensen/Riccoldo/1.prohemium.pdf; trad. George-Tvrtvić 2012, p. 118: "Experience shows that the Tartars are more easily converted than the Saracens, the Saracens more easily than the Jews, and the Jews more easily than (heretical) Christians."